

WHITES AND DEMOCRACY IN  
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AFRICA **ROGER SOUTHALL**  
WHITES AND DEMOCRACY IN  
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MOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

## WHITES AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA ROGER SOUTHALL

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# WHITES AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

DATA ANALYSIS REPORT

PREPARED BY:  
KATE LEFKO-EVERETT  
DRAFT 2, 3 MARCH 2020

## I. INTRODUCTION

In October of 2019, Citizen Surveys conducted a series of eight, in-depth qualitative focus groups in four provinces of South Africa: the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and the Free State. The research was commissioned by Professor Roger Southall, with support from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS).

## I. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The table below provides an overview of the demographic makeup of each focus group.

### TABLE 1

Location and demographic characteristics of focus group participants

	PROVINCE	AREA	AGE	LANGUAGE	EDUCATION	HH P/M INCOME
1	WC	Cape Town Southern Suburbs	30-40	English	Post-secondary/ University	R10,000 - R20,000+
2	WC	Cape Town Northern Suburbs	45-55	Afrikaans / English	Matric / Post- secondary	<R10,000 - R20,000+
3	KZN	Howick	60-69	English	Post-secondary/ University	R10,000 - R20,000+
4	KZN	Pietermaritzburg	28-40	Afrikaans / English	Post-secondary/ University	R10,000 - R20,000+
5	GP	Johannesburg Northern Suburbs	18-24	English	Some / University	R20,000+
6	GP	Johannesburg Southern Suburbs	45-55	Afrikaans / English	Matric / Post- secondary/ some University	<R10,000 - R20,000+
7	FS	Brandfort	60-69	Afrikaans	Some High School / Post-secondary/ University	<R10,000 - R20,000+
8	FS	Bloemfontein	18-24	Afrikaans	Some High school / some university	R10,000 - R20,000+

## I. DATA ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

All of the focus group discussions were recorded by Citizen Surveys and subsequently transcribed verbatim. Two focus groups, both in the Free State, were conducted in Afrikaans and the transcripts were translated into English. All of the qualitative data captured was analysed using the following methodology:

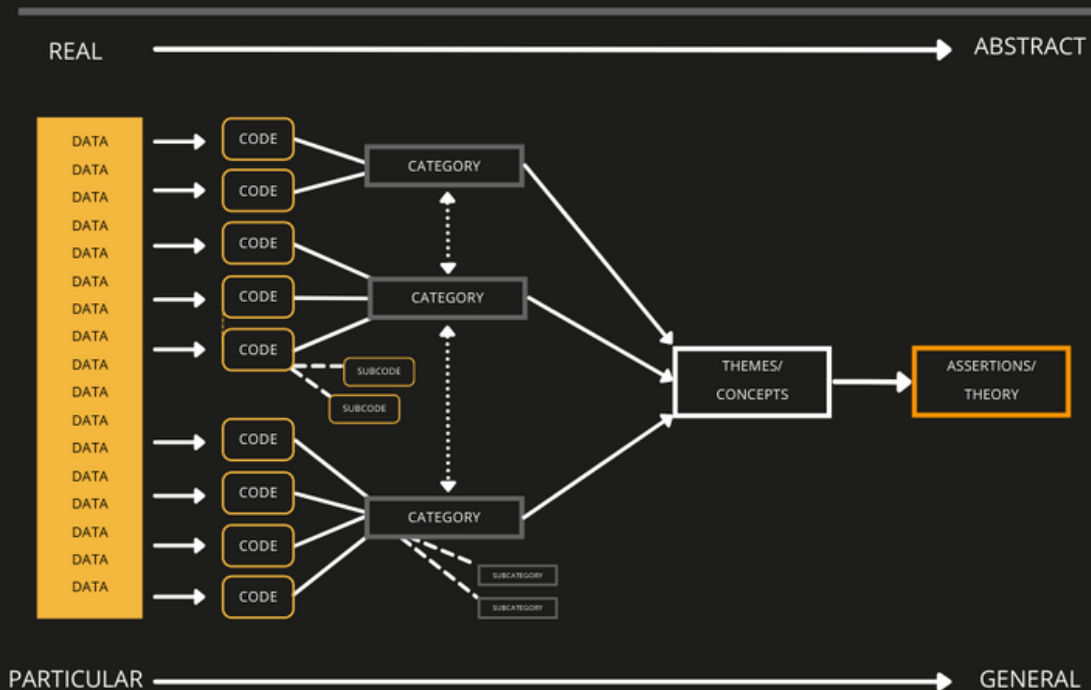
1. All of the transcripts were read and reviewed, alongside the video recordings. Minor edits and corrections were made where necessary. As far as possible, all comments were assigned to individual participants according to the identifying numbers provided at the outset of the discussion, in order to allow for later analysis according to demographic characteristics such as gender, age etc. if required. The only exception was in relation to Group 8, in which there was an error in the video file and the recording only includes audio up until approximately 40 minutes (total length of discussion was approximately 2 hours 40 minutes).
2. All of the transcripts were analysed thematically. A draft code frame was developed including parent codes/themes and four levels of sub-themes. This code frame was discussed, reviewed and validated with Professor Southall.
3. All of the transcripts were coded thematically using the NVivo qualitative data analysis software. This yielded a total of 55 main themes (also referred to as parent nodes), as well as sub-themes within each. All coded data was exported into Word documents and provided to Professor Southall. Each word document contains all relevant texts from across the eight transcripts, according to themes and sub-themes.

Figure 1 below is a useful illustration of how the coding works in practice.

1. Citizen surveys has also provided full details of the research participants. Texts can therefore be matched with individuals for more information about their occupation, education levels, monthly income etc., although names should be withheld in analysis.
2. Saldana, J. 2016, "The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers (3rd Ed), London UK: Sage. See <https://www.sfu.ca/~palys/Saldana-CodingManualForQualResearch-IntroToCodes&Coding.pdf>

**Figure 1**

A streamlined codes-to-theory model for qualitative inquiry



Source: Saldana 2016

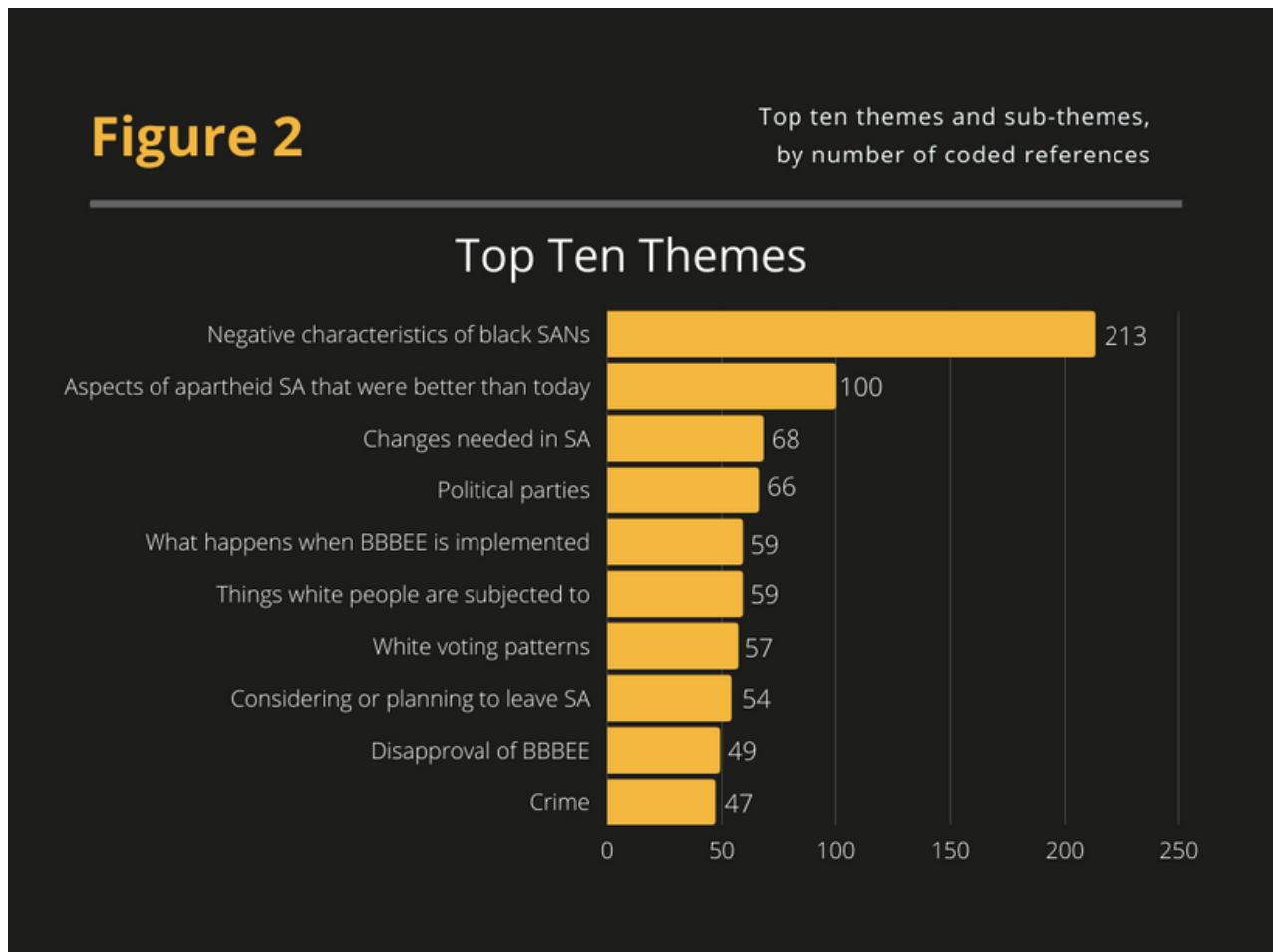
## I. INTERPRETING THE DATA

The following points may be useful to consider when reading/interpreting the data:

- The data was analysed and coded using a programme called NVIVO, which among the most widely used qualitative data analysis software packages. Unfortunately, the format of the NVIVO exports is very basic. The programme exports into simple Word documents that only contain text with headers highlighted in grey. The headers show the original source of the quote - in this case, Group 1. They also show the amount of the Group 1 transcript that is captured in the reference text (in this case, 3.89%) but this can largely be ignored I think!

Files\\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 3.89% Coverage]  
Reference 1 - 3.89% Coverage

- Figure 2 below shows the top ten themes and sub-themes discussed across all eight focus groups, according to the number of references coded.



- The output has been filed digitally in the following way: each of the main themes/parent notes is numbered, from 0 - 154. There is no significance to these numbers other than to keep the themes sequentially ordered (NVIVO defers to alphabetical). I have created a folder for each of the main themes. There is a Word document in the folder that contains all of the texts in the main theme as well as in the sub-themes. There are also individual documents for each of the sub-themes. NB: Each of the documents contains all of the texts assigned to that theme as well as any of its sub-themes.

- Because of the way I have coded (and the limitations of NVIVO) there will be some errors – the same quote may appear duplicated in documents. Also, in most cases, each paragraph contains multiple themes and therefore will appear in multiple documents.

- I generally try to code in "chunks" - some people go word by word but I find it's a bit easier to understand the context of the conversation if you can see the interviewer questions, surrounding comments etc.

- Where you see BH or DL at the beginning of a comment, those are interviewer initials.



# Whites and Democracy in South Africa

## Focus Groups - 2019

### RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 3.89% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.89% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I am number one (number 2). I am from Constantia. I work in IT. I am not going to bore you with the long details because it is long and it's two hours so. I am married. I have three kids who drives me totally insane. They really do. And my motto in life is love your neighbour.

BH: And you three values are? Three things you value most.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: My faith, my family, my country.

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I am number three. I am married with two kids. I am a technical officer. The three things I value I think is respect, honesty and love. My motto is just speak out.

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I am [NAME OMITTED]. I am from Wynberg.

Number four

Group 1, Participant 4, F: Sorry. I am a manager educator for a (inaudible) company. I have a daughter. I am married.

BH: Three things you value.

Group 1, Participant 4, F: Trust, honesty. The other would be joy and happiness.

BH: And something that describes your attitude towards life.

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I just love to be happy and I like to be humble. I like humble people.

BH: Thank you

Group 1, Participant 5, F: I am number five. I work for (inaudible) shop. I am a keeper there. I am married with two children. The three things I value most in life is peace, love and happiness.

BH: And one word that would describe your attitude towards life in general?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Peace. Where there is peace, there is love, everything. It goes with it.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I am number six. I am married with two children. I am a beauty therapist and a housewife. I think three things I value will be my family, my friends and I guess peace. And I think what would describe me is enjoy every moment.

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I am Jermaine. I am number seven. I am an engineer. What can I say about myself? I love to love. If you are going to bring something to me I am going to take it by the balls, basically. What can I say? I am also an easy type of guy. That is all I can say about me.

Group 1, Participant 8, F: I am number eight. I am a teacher. Grade nine teacher. So the day has been long today. (Laughing). I don't have any children. I am in a long term relationship. The three things that would describe me would be, what are the words that we are using? The three qualities? Loyalty, respect, friendship.

And I would describe myself as very realistic.

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Hi. I am number nine. I am a software developer. I am unmarried with no children. The three things I like in life or of myself is number one the wellbeing of our community. Number two religion and number three understanding one another. Mutual understanding. And my motto in life is forget the past. Look at the future. (laughing)

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Are done now? Hi I am number ten. I am a health and safety manager for construction sites. I am not married. No kids. Three things I value well, happiness and love and all the corny little things, yes I do value, but I prefer to have 10.00 people around me with a good sense of humour. If you can deal with the troubles that we have and you can laugh about it and not offend people which is very easy to do but if you can make fun of me and you can laugh. That means a lot more to me because that means that you can get over difficult times. You know, get over hardships. If you can start to make light of situations. So that is very important to me. And all the corny stuff, you know, love, peace, I do value it but make fun of it too.

BH: And number eleven

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I am number eleven. I am single. I value money. I am an analyst. I value integrity, hard work. I am basically a snake (inaudible). I work both sides of the line. I am very serious. I can be off. I can also be a very funny guy. I take life very seriously. Maybe a bit too serious sometimes. I must be honest.

BH: Number twelve

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I am number twelve. I am not married. I have no kids. I have a cat. The thing I kind of value in life is love and my relationship, I like people who are funny and light hearted and I value honesty and genuine people. My motto would be to have no regrets. To rather do things that you regret than regret not doing things. Yes just take life as it comes.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.64% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.64% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I am number two. I have a husband and children which I adore. I live in an okay vicinity, area. Three things I value. I value opinions. I value being loved. 05.00 Yes, like lots. I also value people's way of living. I like to help them develop.

BH: And one word or phrase that describe your attitude towards life?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Godly

BH: Thank you. Number three.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: I almost said my name now. I have a son I am a single mom. I work as a supervisor. My values are loving my family, doing my work to the best of my ability.

BH: And one word that would describe you?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: I am a friendly person.

BH: Thank you

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I am number three

BH: Four

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Oh sorry. Four. In any case, I have two kids and a husband. I live in a not so good area. The three I cherish, respect and honesty. And I would describe myself as a loyal person.

BH: Thank you. Right, number five?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Hello my name is [NAME OMITTED] I am a truck driver. I have a wife, grandchildren, where I live

BH: And the three values?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Excuse me?

BH: Three things you value?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Just come again with that one.

BH: Value

Group 2, Participant 5, M: The three things that you value.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: The three things that I-

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Value. What is that in Afrikaans?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Waardeur (Value)

Group 2, Participant 5, M: I do appreciate my family very much.

Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 3.75% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.75% Coverage

So you start off as number two. Your life stage. The three things you value most. And a word to describe your attitude towards life in general.

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Hi, I am an ex teacher. Now I'm a pensioner which I love. I love being on pension because I can do whatever I like. The three things I value the most are my family, my faith, and I have no idea what the third one is.

BH: How would you describe your attitude towards life in general?

Group 3, Participant 2, F: I'm quite a happy chappy. I am quite friendly. I enjoy people. Love people.

BH: Thank you. Number three.

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I'm retired. I am an ex pastor. The three things I value most are my faith and people. I enjoy being around people and I am concerned about people only because of what I did. My view of life is positive. I don't have a negative view of this country for instance. I feel very comfortable here.

BH: Thank you. Four

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I think the thing I value the most is the peace and quiet that I get now after a corporate world. I like to be challenged so I do quite a lot of hobbies. And the third thing, I guess I am quite a happy guy.

BH: As well yes? Number five

Group 3, Participant 5, F: I'm an anaesthetist by profession and I specialise in [inaudible] health. 05.00 I don't have any children but I just moved here from a busy life in Johannesburg. What I value most. I like the freedom here. I love my independence. And I'll give anything the world wants. Yes I am free. Try anything once.

BH: That is fantastic. Number six

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I am also an ex teacher. Retired. Not from teaching. And what do I value most? People and relationships and life. And life, what defines, is that the question?

BH: Yes

Group 3, Participant 6, F: Optimistic and positive and enthusiastic. And I love people around. And be part of a community.

BH: Number seven

Group 3, Participant 7: I am a retired theatre sister. Moved from Johannesburg down here to Amber Ridge. And the things I value most are my family, health and I guess happiness comes with that if you have the first two. I am very much an introvert so I like the peace and quiet and I am happy so sit at the table with people and not talk but rather just listen.

BH: Today you are going to talk. (laughter)

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Yes but today - So doing this is a little bit out of my comfort zone.

BH: Wonderful thank you. Number eight.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I am a well retired investment banker. I have been retired a long time. I have travelled backwards and forward so I think I'm pretty positive because I have decided that South Africa was going to be my sanctuary to go to. The things I value most are my faith, my family that I have. I am a widower and I have no children. I am a little bit like Marianne. I try anything at least once. I am genuinely very positive and curious. That's it.

BH: Thank you. Number nine.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I am a retired electrical engineer. What I value most is my wife, my family and my religion. What else do I need?

BH: Something that defines your attitude towards life.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I am a very positive person. I hate negativity. I don't do well with negativity. I like to be positive. I like my own space. And I talk a lot. (laughter)

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 2.11% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.11% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I am number two. I am a teacher. I run a pre-school. Three things I also value the most are honesty, kindness and compassion. And a key phrase? I don't know. I think kindness is important especially to things that are less than important than yourself.

BH: Okay thank you.

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I am number three. I am doing my PhD at university in Ecological science. Three things that describe me are, kindness is important to me, helping other people and trying to improve their quality of life. And interacting with other people and finding out about their life stories. And words that would describe me is, adventurous.

05.00

Group 4, Participant 4, M: I am number four. I am a stock controller for an electrician. Three things that are most important to me in my life, first of all is my wife, definitely my job. I am very into my job and my dog.

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I am number five. I am a remote survey administrator and data analyst. I am also currently studying my BSc in IT. Key important things in my life have changed recently but it has definitely become love and relationships, quality of life and adventure.

BH: Oh nice.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I am number six. I am an educator. I teach little children. I also teach a lot of foreigners. I am passionate about life. I appreciate honesty as I give honesty. I am compassionate and I believe that happiness is a choice.

BH: Number seven

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I am number seven. I previously was a construction project manager. I am currently at the moment unemployed because I am going to China to teach in the next couple of weeks. Three things that I value the most would definitely be my daughter, my husband and my friends and I believe in being ethical.

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I am number eight. I am currently a bookkeeper and an accountant. The three things I value the most is freedom of (inaudible)

BH: And something that describes your attitude to life in general.

Group 4, Participant 8, M: Just knowledge.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.43% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: I am number two. I am currently still studying. Three things I value most are, compassion, loyalty and love. And my attitude towards life is hopeful.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I am number three. The three things I value most in life are the ability to tell and share fantastic stories and make memories, um, bravery and using that bravery to stand up for things you believe in. Sorry what was the last thing?

BH: Your attitude to life.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Oh, I would like to think my attitude towards life is fairly carefree.

References 3-5 - 2.81% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Ok, I'm number four. I'm currently studying as well. Three things I value in life, family, family is extremely important to me, the most important thing. Um, second thing, people and relationships. Um. I'm very much a people person. Um. And travel. Travel's very important to me. I think it broadens the mind and helps you to become a more open and a holistic person. So that's cool. My attitude towards life, I tend to say I'm overly optimistic, but can be realistic at the same time. Um, yeah.

BH: Thank you.

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I'm number five. The three things I value most are family, friends and integrity. And I guess the thing that says the most about me would be positively- positivity bordering on stupidity. (laughter)

Group 5, Participant 6, F: Um, I'm number six. I am currently studying but I work on the weekends as a singer and I entertain at kids' birthdays. Um the three things I value most in life are kindness, freedom and experience, especially in travel and culture. Um. And my outlook on life I'd say it is not really one word but don't over plan because then you can set yourself up for disappointment.

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Evening everyone. I'm number seven. I study full time so I'm unemployed. Um. My three, ah, what is the word?

BH: Values

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Values. Okay, respect, discipline and family are my three. And my view on life is a very serious and realistic view on life.

BH: Okay.

Group 5, Participant 8, M: Hi, I'm number eight. Um. I am currently studying. Um and I work as a coach for a small firm in the holidays. So I am kind of, part-time student, part-time work. Um. Three things I value most is loyalty, um, laughing, um and I guess just adventure. Um. 05.00 And my outlook on life I would say is optimistic but realistic.

BH: Okay

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Hello. I'm number nine. The three things – oh, I'm a full time student. The three things I value is honesty, reliability and family. But the one that you make for yourself ah not necessarily the one that you are given. Um. And then my approach to life, probably cautious. (laughter)

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I'm number ten. I'm still a full-time student. I do work part time as a tutor and I promote sometimes as well for brands. Um. Things I most value in life is personal freedom, um, having something to be passionate about and economic security. And I'd say my attitude to life would be "be happy go lucky".

Group 5, Participant 11, F: Eleven. I value, sorry I'm a full time student and I work part-time. Three things I value most in life are family and close friends. Um. Good health and educating yourself constantly. Um. My view towards life I'd like to think is realistic.

#### References 6-8 - 1.04% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Um I think an interesting thing about going to university, especially I think the one I think all of us go to, is that once you leave high school it's a very isolated system, so in high school everyone is kind of like doing the same thing. Being told sort of what to do and you're close with a lot of people and things because of proximity. But when you go to university it is a whole different, like, ball game. You meet so many new people who come from so many different um backgrounds that you really are exposed to a lot of things that you might not have been in high school. So I think that, um especially at the university you can sometimes see what is happening outside like in the greater society and community in one place. So I think that it's, it's interesting to see how all these different things affect people based on their privilege and based on their socioeconomic backgrounds and how they have been brought up and how they view the world. So I think that is quite interesting.

#### Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 4.52% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 4.52% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 2, F: I am a housewife and what I value in life is my children. I still have a full house. And I am a still person. I don't speak much. So I don't communicate well.

BH: And how would you describe yourself? And by the way this is a bilingual group so if you are more comfortable speaking Afrikaans please speak Afrikaans. I will be speaking in English which I believe you all understand. But if there is something that you need to clarify I am sure you all help me find the correct Afrikaans word. That is the explanation of what I am saying.

Group 6, Participant ##: I am going to speak in Afrikaans now. I am a quiet person. I don't talk much. I don't communicate well with other people, yes that is it.

BH: Okay and your attitude to life in general?

Group 6, Participant ##: I'm a happy person.

BH: Thank you. Number three

Group 6, Participant 3, M: My name is number three. (laughter) I'm a positive person. I like to work. I'm, every day I'm on the road. I don't like to sit like this. That's about it.

BH: Okay thank you

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I am number four. I am forty-nine. I haven't got an empty nest. Still one baby at home. I am very positive, outgoing, and talkative.

BH: Oh wonderful.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: And I am positive. That's the thing.

BH: Thank you.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: I am number five. I have two sons. Twenty two and eighteen. He is now writing his Matric. I am separated. Still married but soon I will be gone from my husband. What do I value? My children, they are very important. Peace, I don't like fighting. I hate it. I can't take it. The few friends that I have I value them highly yes I am not always positive but I do try.

BH: Thank you, number six.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: I am number six. I've got a full nest still. One child and home and he's only fifteen years old. I'm a stock controller. 05.00 Enjoy my work a lot. I'm very positive in life.

BH: Thank you.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I'm number seven. I'm a safety officer. I've still got one child. He's twenty-two but he's still at home. My attitude in life is being positive and what I like in life is someone who has got integrity as well as loyalty.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: I am number eight. 008 (laughter). I work for a company that supplies, manufactures industrial runner doors. I do electrical work for them. I value my kids. We've still got a full nest at home - very full. Kids, my work, friendship, loyalty, honesty.

BH: And your attitude to life in general?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Very positive. Very.

BH: Thank you.

Group 6, Participant 9, M: HI, I'm number nine. I've got two boys. One is four. One is ten. I'm a facility supervisor and what I most value in life is my family and dedication to my work.

BH: Thank you.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I'm number ten. I haven't got an empty nest. I am very positive. And a pensioner. I am positive about life and I value, I respect people. If I'm respected I'll respect them. If they don't respect me I'm going to battle the respect to you so it's two way traffic. Respect me, I respect you.

BH: Thank you.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I'm number eleven. I got two boys which is my life. I will do anything for them. They're the reason I get up every day. I am an installer. I do blinds. We work in nice houses. I enjoy what I do. Turn people's homes into masterpieces. And ja um, I like honesty and loyalty and definitely hard work. You know, team work. So my outlook in life is be the best at whatever you do.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 3.44% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##, : Fortunately, we all know each other

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Yes, I'm unmarried, also very religious and very happy here.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I am [NAME OMITTED], married to the most wonderful man on earth, and for us God comes first, and God must always be first in our life. And I'm very happy.

DL: Thank you very much.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: I am [NAME OMITTED], my wife have passed away 2 years ago this month, so I am also single now, I am also very religious, also a Dopper, so I am really very happy, I am a grandfather of 9 grandchildren, two married children,

DL: Then you can be happy.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I am [NAME OMITTED], I am also very religious, I'm in the NG Church, use to be in the AGS Church but went over to the NG Church. Furthermore, I am also single.

DL: Good.

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I am [NAME OMITTED], I am single, also religious and in the NG Church. I have 2 sons and 2 grandchildren and I'm also positive.

DL: Thank you.  
05:01

Group 7, Participant 7, F: [NAME OMITTED]. I stay in Brandfort (in audible) which means I am divorced. I also have 3 grandchildren, I'm not religious, unfortunately being so far away in Brandfort

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I am [NAME OMITTED], I've lived in the Brandfort vicinity since 1959, our farm is between Brandfort and Bultfontein. I've been happily married for almost 54 years, we have 5 children, 9 grandchildren, I'm a member of the NG Church, have been involved with the church for many years, and I'm positive about life. Religion is very important to me, God is our anchor and that is all.

DL: Thank you very much.

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I am [NAME OMITTED]. I was born in Brandfort, still live here, I'm married with 3 children, always been in the NG Church, baptized, married perhaps even buried from the NG Church one day, my language and culture is very important and the town is very close to my heart because I have been a Brandforter all my life.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I am [NAME OMITTED], I have been a widow for 2 years now. God is my all, my anchor, without him I would have never come to be where I am today. I am happy, I carry on day after day, I am happy.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: My name is [NAME OMITTED], I grew up in Brandfort, I still live here in the district, come from the farm, farm for a living and yes I'm a member of the NG Church and single, should somebody be interested. (Laughter)

#### Reference 2 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 4, M: It's as we have said, the white person is for himself. He won't share his bread with me if I don't have any. Many blacks help each other. That's why many of them have a better future than whites. Whites would rather push you aside, instead of helping you. I know, I've been through it. I went through tough times during my life, and was surrounded by good people but they still...just recently in Thabazimbi I stayed in a house which belonged to a black. It had nothing, I made it liveable. I installed a bath, wash basin, toilet; I installed a wash basin in the kitchen, I put in ceilings. There were no windows. I lived for 2 months without windows. I made the place habitable, staying there for 2 years. I stayed without having to pay. And the old lady whose place it was (I installed solar energy) I fetched water with a wheel barrow, and buckets which I used in my home, and when she needed something to be done, I would do it for her, she had a number of houses there, then she would give me R200 or R300. At one of her houses I converted half a garage into a bath room. Afterward people said to me I should have advertised it as a garden and home bath room, I can earn a lot

DL: Your point?

Group 7, Participant ##: She never paid me for that. So I just work for her...

#### Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 4.87% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 4.87% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I'm number 2, I work at the New Yorker restaurant, I'm a waitress and I am a part time UNISA student studying to be an attorney, LLB. Secondly, there are three things that are important to me, justice, that is why I am studying to be an attorney, this is something important to me, I have experienced many injustices in my own life, that is why I decided that I wanted to help others (inaudible).

DL: Describe yourself in a short sentence

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I'm like a bottle of coke, it's the best way to describe myself, as a bottle of coke. I enjoy jokes, I'm bubbly, and I'm very considerate, I'm a very soft person, may not look that way but I hurt easily. I have no children, not married, just a boyfriend, he is a plumber and is currently working in Klerksdorp and will only be home this weekend.



DL: Thank you very much, we hope you don't cry tonight (laughter). On to number 3.

Group 8, Participant 3, M: I'm a graphic designer and I am a fulltime student studying photography. What is important to me is art and photography obviously.

DL: How do you view yourself?

Group 8, Participant 3, M: I am a very quiet person, an introvert, don't go out much.

DL: Good

Group 8, Participant 3, M: The last time I looked, there weren't any children.

DL: Number 4 please

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I'm a professional digital artist, I free-lance for people overseas, do covers (in audible), movie posters. I study graphic design part time. Things important to me is art, honesty, spirituality, I'm a very interesting person obviously, quiet, observant, like a chess player, first observe things thoroughly before I speak. I don't have children.

05:00

DL: Thank you, number 5

Group 8, Participant 5, F: I'm number 5, I'm a student, studying to be a teacher (in audible) I have a degree in BSC in (inaudible). I don't have children, I'm not married, things that are important to me is my family, my religion and my dog obviously. I can describe myself as interesting, friendly.

DL: Thank you.

Group 8, Participant 6, F: I am [NAME OMITTED], I am an agricultural student at (Inaudible), I am un-married, and have no children. What is important to me is religion, family and animals, any animals. I would describe myself as friendly, and that's everything.

DL: Thank you very much.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I am number 7. I am a full time agricultural student a CUT, 3 things important to me is family, religion and friends. I would describe myself (Inaudible) It's difficult for me, as others will say that is not who I am, but I would say I love people and enjoy having people around me.

DL: Thank you.

Group 8, Participant 8, M: I am number 8, I use to study through Interior Designing through UNISA, but have not finished the course and now I do work for yachts...(in audible) I help as an intern, study through Yachts and do interior design on yachts/estimates, I obviously see myself as an extrovert, friendly or at least try to be, no children and no wife

DL: Thank you.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I am number 9, I view myself as a professional student, study clinical technology, not married, have no children. What is important to me are things like the Lord, family and friends and my Meerkat. I am very friendly, love talking, enjoy making people feel at ease and I enjoy my own personal time.

Group 8, Participant 10, M: I am number 10. I am an agricultural student and I also farm part time. The important things to me is religion, family and friends and I see myself as a person reaching out for certain goals, also a quiet, extrovert type of person.

DL: Thank you.

Group 8, Participant 11, M: I am number 11. I study accounting and I work for an accounting firm. Three important things to me is religion, loyalty and being hardworking. I'm also a quiet person, as I get to know people and I feel more at ease with them I might crack a joke. I have no children, unmarried

## PARTICIPANT IDENTITY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 3.71% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.46% Coverage

BH: Okay. Do you identify as a white? Again as opposed to being an English speaking white. Or an Afrikaner or a South African? How do you identify yourself?

Group 1, Participant ##: How do you... Can you repeat that?

BH: Okay. For myself if people say to me "who are you?" What nationality are you? Or how do you see yourself? I would actually call myself an African first before I go to an South African. 1.30.00 Then that is me. That is how I see myself. So I am asking you do you see yourself as an English speaking white or an Afrikaner white, or just an Afrikaner or English?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I see myself as an English.

BH: Just as English?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

BH: Okay. Number five how do you see yourself?

Group 1, Participant ##: A South African citizen

BH: South African citizen. And all these hands up here. That is fantastic. I am just going around the table.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I think that apartheid looks very different in every province. In the Western Cape especially where there is so many mixes you know. And I have Italian and Spanish and coloured and you name it in me. And I feel sometimes very frustrated so I like to consider myself as South African and not a colour because how can you put me in a group? There is so many groups I can enter into. When my family gets together it is such a melting pot and it goes from dark dark dark to lily white so I just want to be South African and I am very frustrated because I still have to say I am a white South African.

BH: Okay

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I am an African

Group 1, Participant 8, F: African

Reference 2 - 2.25% Coverage

BH: Remember no comments okay. Thank you. What do you identify? Do you identify as a white or do you identify as another way?

Group 1, Participant 9, M: The system identifies me as white but I do have Malay and Portuguese ancestry and I look like a Caucasian.

BH: How do you identify yourself?

Group 1, Participant 9, M: I don't want to identify myself as a race. I want to identify myself as a person I am. But to answer the question shortly. Because of modern life I should identify myself as a Caucasian.

BH: Not as a South African?

Group 1, Participant 9, M: No as a white South African. That is what I meant.

BH: Okay, thanks number nine.

Group 1, Participant 10: I, I identify as South African. Yes I don't care white, black, it doesn't matter. And also the living in fear thing I do not live fear because I am white. I do live in fear in this country. But I grew up in that sweet spot. That sweet spot being after freedom and before social media that causes all this terrible panic. I am in that sweet spot where I have realised that if you don't look at the news, if you don't look at your face book and the hundreds of fake news articles and you just speak to your neighbours, things aren't as bad. Things are bad. They are bad but they are not nearly as bad as what we think and we fear. There is a lot of bad stuff happening but because of that I don't fear as a white person. I fear for my life as a person in South Africa because things are bad in South Africa regardless if you are white, black, whatever. There are black people killing more blacks than so?

BH: Thanks number ten. How do you see yourself elevn?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I sometime have to wonder. I am of mixed race. German father. Coloured mother. I see myself as an African man. I think it is a broader spectrum, okay. In terms of fear,

BH: No, no there was never a question about fear. I actually asked how you identify yourself.

Group 1, Participant ##: What you feel comfortable with

Group 1, Participant ##: Oh okay.

BH: Alright. Lauren?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I just identify as South African.

BH: Alright

Group 1, Participant 12, F: And lately as a South African woman.

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes exactly (laughter)

Group 1, Participant 12, F: You know now it has also 1.35.00 become where there is always somebody who is being oppressed and sometimes you don't even realise how oppressed other people in your same population group or, you know.

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 5.13% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.76% Coverage

BH: And how would you describe your attitude towards life?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: My attitude towards life, well I do appreciate any human being.

BH: Appreciation yes.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: No matter where you come from, where you are going to or what your do in silence therefore I am there to better it for you. And if I say better it for you it is not in providing whatever you want but to inspire with words so that you can also find a better life.

BH: Thank you. Right number six.

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Hi I am a welder. I am a mom of four kids. My oldest daughter is in matric. I have one in grade nine. My baby is in grade four. The things I value the most is religion, family and people. I like people. I think I am in a place of transformation. I feel like things have been building. It feels like my kids are getting out of the house. I am starting to feel that you know that you are not needed as much anymore. I don't know if it is menopause or whatever but it is a weird phase in my life and if to describe myself, just to be

the best I can be. That is all I can do, to be the best I can be wherever I am.

BH: Number seven.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: Yes. I am number seven. My name is [NAME OMITTED]. Things what I do is I basically work with other people's business. I run around, get business for people. 10.00 So I am on the road all the time. I have three children. My daughter is already, she is a teacher. She is twenty six and I have two boys of seven, no he is now twelve almost twelve the other one is sixteen. He is sixteen next week. They play soccer so hopefully they will play professional soccer soon.

BH: Oh fantastic.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: The one is actually playing for an academy so we hope. That is the whole thing. He said he is going to look after me so.

BH: Oh yes I would encourage that.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: That is the main thing. Basically a few years ago I was diagnosed with cancer and I managed to survive. Now this year my husband he collapsed with kidney failure so he is on dialysis. We are waiting for a kidney transplant hopefully next year. So that is what I am going through at the moment.

BH: Quite stressful

Group 2, Participant 7, F: Yes. I am thinking gee-whiz we are only so young, you know. Why so young. Three things I value, basically for me, the most important thing is my family, my children and my husband. I think you value your parents more when you get older. So that is definitely who and also you start valuing your house so much and also another thing is I value to have work and to be able to work and I can still do it and look after my family. My attitude towards life is basically to live life to its fullest. I am a very straight forward easy going person and I expect people to treat me the way I want to be treated.

BH: Thank you. Number eight.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: Number eight. Yes. I am an IT technician. I work in the ship industry. I value my faith as a Christian. I value people and I love to know who you are. Build a relationship with people. I am a family orientated person so family and friends are extremely valuable to me. And again I got (inaudible) health so that boils down to I value sports I love (inaudible). What am I missing?

BH: One word that would describe yourself or a phrase.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: Phrase? I am an avid mountain biker so

BH: No mountains as we speak.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I love the outdoors. It is my way to actually de-stress. So I value sports as a way of de-stressing.

BH: Lovely. Right number nine.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Hi I am number nine. I am married. I have two kids. Two daughters. I am a draughtsman. I go out to sites. Site inspections. I value family and honesty. And I think me as a Christian. A word to describe me, I am punctual.

BH: Okay. Right number ten.

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Hi I am number ten. I am a single man. I just got engaged.

BH: Congratulations

Group 2, Participant 10, M, : Thank you. I am a mechanic. I have been a mechanic all the years. I cherish my family. My mom has been there all the years and that. I love what I am doing and I love helping people out when I can help.

BH: Okay. At long lost. Number eleven.

15.00

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Hi I am number eleven. I am a debt collector. Not everybody loves me. I have two children. I am divorced. My son is out of the house. I still have a daughter of thirteen years old. She lives with me. I honour respect, loyalty and hope. One word to describe me, just a loving mother.

Reference 2 - 0.37% Coverage

BH: So now if I said to you how do you identify yourself? Do you identify as whites, as an Afrikaans speaking South African, as an Afrikaner, as an English speaking South African, as a South African. When I say all those words which one do you relate to?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I am a South African.

Group 2, Participant ##: We were all born here.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.48% Coverage

Because it's the South Africans that believe that it is their right to, to say that they own the land because they are South African. What is a South African? As much as we are South African, being a South African is in your heart, you know. Because I was born a South African doesn't make me a South African. It's Ubuntu you know. It's a rainbow nation. Do I believe we live up to that rainbow nation? Not at all. I don't believe that because we have so much hate. I

## 102\_CONCERNS IN SA TODAY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 5.30% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I just think that they should stop stealing at the top and then misleading us here at the bottom.

References 2-4 - 0.50% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I just think that in my opinion the biggest problem in this country at the moment is the political parties. Instead of looking to the people they are fighting each other to score points. And that is on national level it filters down to local level because local level the biggest issue is poverty. Because from that, especially close to where that stems, it basically feeds the drugs. It feeds the crime. We need to work on the poverty thing first and foremost. And from there everything else can fall in easier.

Reference 5 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I agree with what he is saying now but I also I try to break it down one step earlier. And I think what is a massive problem is the lack of enforcing proper education and discipline. Because I think everything has a domino effect from education and discipline. Education and discipline will in term help poverty will in term help criminals here in, I cannot really say back in those days because I did not grow up in those times where things were different in the country. But to know that there was a time when there was quite heavy discipline enforced and now what is happening is more and more is being taken away and more that they are changing schools again with the age that you can leave school. Those things just make the situations worse. 15.00 And it will just continue getting worse and worse if they don't try and nip it in the bud at a young age, education and discipline and everything else should fall in place over the coming years.

Reference 6 - 0.62% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Potholes in the road. (laughing) I think in the community it is the lack of interest in certain areas. I do live in Constantia and some people do feel it is "Constantia" but there is a lack of policing. A lack of interest in sorting out these areas sometimes because basically it is an area with more money. Not that I want them to fix everything but there is a lack of interest with some things. Some things are important. I don't want them to fix the roads every Tuesday but there is some lack of interest from local government side.

BH: So you are talking about the service delivery?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Services. That kind of thing.

References 7-9 - 0.99% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think unemployment is one of the biggest problems we have and the government's inability to educate people to a point where they are employable because there are thousands of jobs that they qualified skilled people for and the unemployment figure here is just outrages on a national level. Even in my community and the people they are unemployed, you know I employ one person. He has a family of six or seven people. Cousins, brothers, uncles, aunts who are not working and it is such a strain on the one person who has employment to try and support his whole family. And for me the government has not come up with anything to address that issue. And that has a knock on effect on everything. Poverty, crime, you know protest delivery, just everything. If people had jobs to go to and felt more self-value and support themselves and support their families they would not be in the streets. They would not be committing crime. They would not be doing drugs. So for me that is the most important thing that the government needs to solve.

References 10-12 - 2.17% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: Yes is fine. Part (inaudible) it is my fault. (laughing) I think media controls a lot of our thoughts and our decisions and how we view things and our reactions to what is happening in our country. And the same happened in Apartheid you know. I have been on both sides of the fence being a child of a mixed race marriage. What I do know is, and also having family overseas, overseas was getting the information that we don't get. So being brought up in say a predominantly white environment, we were told another portion of the truth. And then you go overseas and the media was telling you a whole other story.

And I think that is very much of what is happening today. So the media back then was feeding hate and feeding anger. But it was under the banner of a freedom fight. Now it is freedom fighting for what and for where? I think what is happening now in South Africa is almost mirrors the past in that the truth is not told. So will sit here and go: "there were equal opportunities" or that sort of thing. No there was not equal opportunities. People were treated abominably. Actually, unfortunately, it is no different today. The media tends to fuel that. So it is very frightening that the farmers had been killed. It is very frightening that we don't have infrastructure in place that we should have in place. 30.00 It is frightening that our country has, you know we will look back and we will say oh there was all these things in place. But they were based on fear. There was structure but it was based on fear. Now we are living in a time where we are living in fear because black people have freedom but it is a direct correlation of what was happening and also our country has doubled in its population. We have millions and millions of people here from up Africa that are starving. So they cannot provide jobs when Cape Town's population has doubled in twenty years.

Group 1, Participant ##: And the foreigners.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: It's the foreigners you know. We cannot control things. You cannot put police and yes whatever, or structures in place when a minority is carrying a majority and we have a population that is just exploding at the seams. And there's a media that frenzies this anger and hate and this language and the lack of education where people just continue in that way.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 29 references coded [ 19.32% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: The environment where I am well I cannot actually say that I appreciate it because if I look at the, how can I express myself? If I look at the youngsters and how they are living it actually makes it very uncomfortable for the elders to be. And otherwise yes.

Reference 2 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: First question was in your community.

BH: Yes?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think the crime rate is like hectic.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: In the Goodwood area. Very hectic. And then what I am worried about is the drugs in the country. I am really worried about that. And then the third one is our children. Our children's safety and where are they going to be because if you take it, um, many years ago me as a child could play outside and not get kidnapped. And now the children's getting kidnapped like nothing. Like they can just take your kid and go. I think the punishment for that, for kidnapping kids, in my opinion is bring back the death sentence for that because at the end of the day they are killing people.

Reference 3 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Coming in and out of the country like you want to. It is nothing coming into South Africa now. Anybody can come to South Africa. But nobody can go to England. You have to have a passport, an English test and this and that. You understand?

Group 2, Participant ##: (inaudible) is costing money.

Reference 4 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 11, F: I have a thing. My daughter must go next year to high school. I can't find a school for my child. So she was on the government board, they gave me a school I can send her to. Elsie's River High School. My daughter has blue eyes, blond hair. Ravensmead. That is a zone that you don't want to go into. And then there are names on the list I cannot even pronounce. 20.00 So where must I take my daughter to? You can't keep her out of school, then you are a bad mother. So what must I do?

BH: Okay. And on a national level, what is your major concern?



Group 2, Participant 11, F: I don't really know now.

Reference 5 - 0.43% Coverage

could have lived right next door to the school that was not a guarantee that you were going to get into the school. Which shouldn't be like that because the policy of the school are stated that the first families to be interviewed are those within the (Inaudible) areas. I have seen children and families have been turned away that literally lived on their door step. Like one with boys and one girls.

Reference 6 - 0.27% Coverage

Due to the apartheid there is a lot of hatred from the blacks towards the whites. Maybe not the new generation but it depends on the family itself if they brain feed them on what they went through. They are going to believe what their parents believe.

Reference 7 - 1.15% Coverage

And among the African cultures they believe, they teach their children to not go to school. They value working for a measly income rather than getting a decent education. Even though education is given to them. So it has a negative impact on South Africa within itself and now there is a (inaudible) they don't want to fill the places, to take the roles to receive the education and then we can't receive it in any case. So for white South Africans it is very difficult. It leaves us with a bleak future for our children. We might be lucky enough to have some sort of work but for our children, unless you know someone, unless you start your own business and become an entrepreneur and unless you get along with people you are not really going to fit in. 25.00 We are not going to be accepted within South Africa. What happens is you become educated and you leave the country and South Africa loses quality qualified engineers and so on. Highly qualified people going to another country like Europe or wherever. And that is the disaster for the country as it is as a whole.

Reference 8 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 3, F: I would like to say something on what she said. My son is sixteen years old but he hasn't been in school for two years because I also don't get a school for him. He needs to go to a school of skills. So they also said to me I must take him to Bishop Lavis. He can go to school there. I can't see him there. How he is going to get there. How is he going to get back. Se he is not in school now. Because I feel -

BH: Is he home schooled?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: No.

BH: Okay so what does he do all day?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: He's at home at the moment. I am trying to get a teacher to come and home school him.

BH: Okay. So on a national level. Are you worried about something? For the country

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Our kids need to be educated to get somewhere in life.

BH: Education.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Yes. The school just say sorry I am full. I mean where we are staying he is supposed to go to the school that's in your area

BH: In what area, oh you live in Parow. Okay.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: But they don't have place for him.

BH: There is no vocational schools?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: No.

#### Reference 9 - 0.39% Coverage

A lot of people that I know that are quite educated that has businesses out here, they are leaving. And a lot of friends of mine they are immigrating and I see it the whole time. A few have been leaving. I have another friend of mine, even a priest is now going to Australia at the end of the year. So a lot of people are leaving due to that that they can't go further.

#### Reference 10 - 0.52% Coverage

But in my community where I live in the Parow area, when I was young we used to walk the streets at night and now you can't do it at all. There is a lot of people sleeping around anywhere. And that is another thing that I think that we never used to have. People homeless, sleeping anywhere, breaking in, watching your house. You can't trust anyone. That is the problem that we have. The thing is you can't move because where are you going to get money to move again. That cost too much.

#### References 11-12 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: You just need to just stay there and live with the situation. And in our area you can't even take public transport because people get robbed. Every month we have races there so in our area we are mostly 30.00 people from Zimbabwe, other countries, Somalia and they are selling drugs and prostitution nearby us so you see these things and it is just getting worse and worse. That is my main concern and the BEE and the vagrants as well.

#### Reference 13 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: National I have a big problem because I mean if you have a look just on Tv. and you look at parliament. I mean it is this one fighting that one. It is continuous fighting and they can never agree. And that also (inaudible) up there with their big salaries and yet the people are actually suffering. All of us, you name it. Everybody is suffering. We all have issues. And they never can get into parliament and actually agree on one thing. The example that they state, I mean it is actually ridiculous.

#### Reference 14 - 0.50% Coverage

BH: And at a local level, how do you feel about your city councillor? Do you know who your city councillor is?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No I don't quite frankly I don't care where he is either because why, I mean, nothing happens. If parliament can't even do anything, what is he going to do? So that is how I feel. I think a lot of people feel that way. It is frustration upon frustration to the point of you know rather look into myself. What do I just need to do to get by?

#### Reference 15 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I just wanted to say for me the biggest concern on national level is our resources. Our country's resources are not being taken care of. That for me is a big concern. I am talking about dams. I am now looking at it from another perspective.

#### Reference 16 - 0.41% Coverage

And we don't have any justice system. And I think you cannot trust anybody. You cannot even trust the police. The people that are supposed to protect you are not the people that you can trust. Some of the times even in our own country you cannot trust anyone. You can't even stop down the road for a policeman or a traffic officer. You don't even know whether they are legit or not.

#### References 17-18 - 0.71% Coverage

I think there is a lot of things in parliament, I think the whole parliament system is, from what we have seen, and what we have experienced, is corrupt. And everything that flows from out of there is corrupt. So I think you are on your own and I think that is why I think it was on Carte Blanche where this one time where this one community took the crime in their own hands because you don't do it, I mean I don't agree or disagree 35.00 with it, but that is one way of dealing with it. We are almost in a position where you have to protect yourself. You are standing on your own if you need to protect you. You know most people; even if you go to the police nothing gets done.

#### References 19-20 - 0.43% Coverage

So you can get into any municipality and you can phone, I mean we have had, even in our community, I mean pipes bursts every day, two days later in the time when we have drought, and this happen on a regular basis,

then they only come out. You can phone and phone and phone. There is no service. There is no back up. No one cares. So I think for our resources, for our safety, at this stage there is nothing.

#### Reference 21 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Yes going back twenty years ago in our country how it was and what is today then I will say it is a big difference. The reason why I am say so we where I work I see that happen. Being a truck driver in our work you see everything. So our people basically, I am talking about white, coloured and black, got worked out slowly but surely to make place for the Zimbabwean, Nigerian and Somalians. They can see, I mean the truck drivers, cheap labour. The reason why. I have been paying since let's say, for argument sake say for R10 000 per month. But they will employ him for R5 000 per month. This is what happens. That is why I say I have seen it happen. Day by day. Slowly but surely. What my community concerns, the very same scene. I mean they get pushed in everywhere. Now they will be living in one house. One guy will rent a house. But seventeen, twenty of his family members will also be living in that house. And now what happens there they will be buying that one house and the one next to it. At the end of the day they got building rights and they build themselves a block of flats. Now what happens to me and you? We are being pushed outside (inaudible)

#### References 22-23 - 1.10% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Okay so everybody has been complaining about the crime that is so high but if you look back at it, the crime is high because the kids are uneducated. They don't go to school. So what do they do? They start using drugs. He has a lot of money. He tells me come sell this for me. I will pay you and I will look after your family. Twelve years old and people don't believe this but it is true. From nine years old they start using drugs and they start coming into your house, stealing your stuff. But now we do exactly the same. They steal from us. The people come and tell us. We get in the car we go there. We beat them up because the police are not going to do anything. Then we go back home. They don't come to your house again because they know. Next time you are going to break into that house again people is going to beat you up so stay away. You don't go one or two you go a lot because they are coming a lot. So crime will stay high until our people are educated. And for the community. Our community stands together.

#### References 24-25 - 2.43% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Sorry I just want to (inaudible) I am not sure about the laws of getting all the immigrants in by the other countries but I think there is quite a big problem because there is so many coming in. They are actually taking the jobs because the Zimbabweans and the Malawians are hard workers. So they come in and they take a lot of the work from our own people. I think it is just an influx that at the end of the day there is no restriction to who can come in and our own people are struggling to find work themselves. So I think that creates a whole lot of unemployment. A lot of South Africans don't have work. And the Zimbabweans are there. They got out and they find work. So whether it is a mentality thing or whether the difference between the two but I think that is a big problem and I think that is creating a lot of people coming in illegally, working here illegally and we don't have enough people that is employed so that issues out of unemployment in all levels and effects every level of society.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I just want to say something

BH: Yes but give number ten a chance.

Group 2, Participant 10, M: No it is alright.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I have seen it happen. It is true yes that the foreign people get the jobs but what I see is that it is almost like in the black community that they get angry because the Somalians and the Congolese people they are getting jobs but they have never asked why. Is it because why they come in, they want to work. Our own people do not want to work. They want to sit back. They expect to get the job because hey I must get it and you need to pay me. But you sit there. You expect 45.00 to be paid R15 000 and what do you do all day? You don't do anything. Now here comes a man from another nationality. He says, can I work for you? I say okay fine go for it. What do you want to be paid? He wants to be paid R6000. Now he is doing literally all the work which actually he needs to be paid R15 000 but this man, the South African guy he just sits back and see how he is working and then they ask but why are they getting the jobs? It has been proven continuously that these guys are working. I want a person that works. I don't want a person who sits back and expect listen I want to get paid and I don't do anything.

#### Reference 26 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### Reference 27 - 0.56% Coverage

BH: And other thoughts about apartheid being a crime against humanity? Do you all think it was? Anybody think differently? Number two?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think it was a crime against humanity but I think humanity is what they make of it. It is what you make of your life. Like all people, I am talking about all races, if you have been brought up in a good home and you turn out bad, who are you going to blame? The mother? So why blame South Africa, what you have made South Africa? You know what I am trying to say?

#### Reference 28 - 1.51% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Can I just say something? Um, my child did a thing about apartheid. And I learned with him.

BH: School project?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: School project. The things what I don't understand, is the blacks carry on about the white people. You know who was punished the most under apartheid? Was the coloured people. They were punished the most. They were slaves, they were beaten, they were raped with the white people raping them. But the whites looking away, they didn't see anything. But the black people were never so badly beaten or mistreated like the coloured people. The coloured and the Indians. They were the worst treated ever. But the black people blames the white people for whatever went wrong in their life.

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 8, M: One last thing. My wife, for example, with the coloureds, when my wife's family was living in District Six and they were split apart because some looked white and some looked coloured. So they were forcefully removed from each other overnight and then the whites who were forcefully removed had to flee to the UK. And they left the country and the ones that couldn't leave or who didn't want to leave, that were small classes of white, they chose to stay. And that happened all over South Africa. The coloureds were stuck in the middle. They didn't have a place for themselves. And they are still stuck in the middle.

#### Reference 29 - 1.36% Coverage

BH: Those that you vote for, do you think that they know about you?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: Well if we don't vote for a particular party then we don't have no right to complain about what happens to the country. My point of view, if the ANC was not corrupt I will probably be voting for the ANC. I will be on the ANC's side. Because they are corrupt they have no good track record. But there aren't any party that has a good track record. But you want a party that can fight the battles against another party. You don't want one party to have all the power. And another point of view is I do travel a lot and I see the infrastructure that is run under various parties like the ANC and the DA. The DA's infrastructure is fairly

good. I mean it is really good. Yes there are shortfalls, a lot of shortfalls, we have shortfalls everywhere but go to for example, go to East London and have a look at them. Go to Johannesburg. It is a disaster. They are trying to catch up. Things are not happening there. The roads are falling apart. They should have been budgets for roads to repair the roads where it was never done. Um here, here things are happening. Maybe not hundred percent. So there is no right party. So you have to be very careful when you do choose a party who you vote for.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 25 references coded [ 8.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I think that one of the really big issues is unemployment. Not just in Howick but everywhere in South Africa.

References 2-4 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: High unemployment, poor economy. Those are the things that have to be sorted out.

References 5-7 - 0.69% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: My major concern is the corruption that is going on at the present moment.

BH: Locally and nationally?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Locally and nationally yes I mean it is right here in this town, in Howick. Whatever you read or whatever you hear it is just major corruption. And I mean it is not ten bob here and ten bob there. It is billions of Rands. And there is a new 15.00 thingy coming up every day of something huge that is happening on every front of the economy. And that for me needs to be addressed. I think once that is addressed then we can get down to end that yes.

Reference 8 - 0.67% Coverage

I think that the biggest challenge, not to your specific question, the biggest challenge at the moment is the economy. I think if the economy were to in any way revive we will begin to improve. The edge would come off a lot of people's attitude. At the present time though it is an incredibly low base. The international economy is not helping South Africa's emerging economy. We have it probably to an extent magnified in a place like Howick where it is a little also ran town in an also ran province. But I see green shoots of people trying to create and revive a local economy.

References 9-11 - 0.70% Coverage

As regards the corruption, it is highly publicized. A lot of it is pure malfeasance, I mean it is that. I think it is also ineptitude. There is a lack of education. There is a lack of guidance of how to actually run, there is a skill shortage across our country. And we can look at it to right the wrongs but to be quite frank our generation is probably amongst the last that would be able to possibly go back to help if we were to be re-employed in local authorities and in business again. Private business is struggling. Government business is manned understandably by blacks. It is just a reversal of roles.

References 12-14 - 0.43% Coverage

As regards the ANC, I wish it to begin a party of government rather than a party of protest which it is traditionally. But that is where its roots lie. It is in a very difficult position in terms of trying to move things forward because of its past performance and its corrupt ministers it is desperately trying to hang on to power. The path that leads is very very narrow.

References 15-16 - 0.26% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: For me the thing that worries me the most is the waste. So much money has been poured into wonderful schemes. Really theoretically great ideas but nothing has come out of there. Nothing practical.

Reference 17 - 0.08% Coverage

The other thing is the great divides between the haves and the have not.

References 18-20 - 0.44% Coverage

So don't know if I didn't know about those kinds of things but I think that that situation has been exacerbated. We have recently come back from Northern Natal and the poverty right next to it opulence. It is just frightening. And if you think of so many brilliant schemes and laws that we have got, that are just not enforced. 20.00 I think we missed so many wonderful opportunities.

#### References 21-23 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 5, F: No, I am just sad that the last ten years has been such a waste. You know to try and get all that back. Trying to get all these schemes back, and like you said, the opulence and the poverty and the pain of some of these people. I find that distressing as a nurse. Yes I am hoping we are going to go in the right direction. We just need the right people. We are going to get rid of the tribalism. There is just too much tribalism.

#### Reference 24 - 1.17% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I just add to what number eight just said about putting laws? We have so many laws anyway. We are not policing the laws. We are not even getting near it and lawlessness is just, is now creeping in. 30.00 And it is not just becoming a simple protest against whatever you are protesting against. There, there's is a criminal element that is now just, just jumped on the bandwagon basically under the guise of a protest. And, and that what it has become in actual fact. We can have as many laws as we want to-

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Yes but we have recourse to them. If you choose to implement the law or bring the law into being, then, well not into being, but actually use the laws as an effective tool. There are laws available if you take exception to the way you are treated. I understand, I don't know if we're talking about municipal workers vandalising centres of towns. I am not talking about that kind of protest I am talking about the way we interact with other citizenry in this country.

#### Reference 25 - 2.91% Coverage

You see the thing is that I hear about exactly what everyone around the table has said, is is perfectly true for them. But if we keep looking back to the past we have to look back to the past because that explains where we are now by and large. The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable. I don't know if I am threatened by, if anything I am worried about outside South Africa, outside our little bubble here, is a, is a physical damage. That you might be beaten up. You might be mugged because there's people who don't money. But apart from that, um ja, in a sort of an abstract term you don't like the idea of people rioting and burning busses. But if it is not my bus, do I really worry too much? I still just get into my car and drive to St. John's or wherever and have a lekker (nice) time, go out for lunch. My life has not changed apart from the fact that I think well, ja, I might have to watch that red traffic light 1.10.00 because somebody might go through it or I am not going to walk alone down Jo'burg Eloff Street anymore when I'm visiting Jo'burg. But apart from that things are tickety boo. I'm, I'm, okay but there's people, when we said, when you talked about this micro economy here, there are people who are substantially materially worse off in our environment and they have to find, they want to ask the question as we are sitting and saying this and that and the other they are saying why am I still in the position or why have my children still not got a future? Why have I still not got this and that and the other? Service delivery. And they – it's an easy scapegoat.

#### Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 21 references coded [ 7.48% Coverage]

#### References 1-4 - 0.69% Coverage

BH: About what is going on in South Africa today, and in your community? So your major concern facing South Africa today

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I definitely think the municipalities and government organisations are on the brink

of collapsing. And I am mean, using the municipality here is already in arrears and basically gone under administration because of the amounts of debt that they have. So I just think failure to manage funds, um that for me is scary because they wanting to implement NHI which is, I'm fearful about because if they can't manage individual districts under the municipality how is that going to be? So that for me is a concern.

References 5-7 - 0.92% Coverage

BH: Okay. Other people

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I have a fairly (inaudible) the reasons why the municipality has gone under administration, and yes there is a few suggestions. The factor of maladministration funds as well as the factor of the government workers really are not doing their job. They come in; they earn a salary which is fantastic we all want to earn our salaries but they actually have to bring consultants in actually do the task 10.00 because - not because of an incapacity (inaudible) but the "not my problem" attitude that generally, that goes around government. I also worked for government. I was one of a very few handful of employees that was doing my job and about five, six other jobs simultaneously because most people just actually didn't care. They weren't worried about it. When it comes to work, I'm getting my salary, that's all that matters.

References 8-9 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think it really occurred about mid-2005, 2006 that it is where suddenly things just starting to fall down a little bit. 1980 to '94, '95 I didn't see any major apparent shifts besides that African people could then move into suburban whites' neighbourhoods and um the segregation of lines were diminished but the towns still were clean. Some were well managed, things like that. The municipal employees that carried through that time period still were passionate about their work. And that is how it shifted, you know, shifted recently more than at the shift of apartheid.

References 10-12 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: Ten years. Okay. Any other views?

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Actually I have one. To touch on a little bit of a touchy subject is the story of racism and parliament all the time. You hear about it all the time and it's stupid little things that is actually we are spending so much of the taxpayers money on. This man call that man a Mongol. That man call that man this and this and this. And they take everything to the high court and it is just cost so much money of the tax payer's money to take it to the high court. I mean it costs millions and millions of Rands whereas we could spend that money um building a school. Um. Doing good with that money instead of wasting it and nothing ever ever comes of anything that happens in those courts. That is my view of it.

BH: Alright. You want to say something number six?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I agree 100% on what you are saying

References 13-16 - 1.10% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Oh, oh, freedom of - as he was talking it sparked a thought and with regards to the spending of unnecessary funds, I believe that if there is a problem it needs to be fixed you know. And I don't believe like number seven and number five have said is that the money is not being used in the correct manner. It is not being used in the right way, you know? Roads need to be fixed. We have a right to safe roads. We have a right to education. We have a right. It has become very political, very personalised. If I can say that, um. And my view on, that's pretty much my view. Just to touch up of that unnecessary funds.

BH: And how does it compare with life under apartheid?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: How does it compare? Is that, I believe before apartheid if things were broken they were fixed. You know there were the right procedures. There were the right people in place to solve the problems but now it is not even about the problems. People are making the problems, I don't know how to put it in words, and they are making unnecessary problems.

References 17-18 - 0.62% Coverage

BH: What are the major concerns that South African is facing nationally?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I would also say that the spending of money in places where it shouldn't be spent. It's going into people's pockets rather than into where it should be. It should be going into the communities and you know helping to uplift people but it's, that's not happening. 15.00 And through like the charity work that I do I am seeing it first-hand that there are these communities with nothing. And these politicians you see them running around in their Land Rovers, you know, and it's, it makes me angry.

Reference 19 - 0.77% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Nationally the thing that bothers me the most is the violence in the country which trickles down to something that is very close to my heart which is animal cruelty. And because of the level of violence in the country our children grow up to accept that way and it becomes a norm for them. Which is very, very, scary for me because that leads to moral degradation. If you are used to being, if you are used to driving down the road and you see five emaciated – one that's been killed by a car – five emaciated dogs running along the road. It is just a norm. So nobody stops. Everybody post it to Facebook which annoys the crap out of me. Sorry I couldn't stop but I posted it to Facebook. Yes that is what really annoys me.

Reference 20 - 0.57% Coverage

BH: And how does life now compare to apartheid? Better or worse?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Apartheid days there was a sense of community and if you don't happen to see an animal in need the thought would occur to you that that animal actually belongs to someone. So your instinct would be to stop which is very much how our parents raised us. We would stop and assist. There is no more of that. So unfortunately because we have this violence accepted in South Africa as a norm. Ja it's just trickled down and it has led to this absolute, ja, it's not good.

Reference 21 - 1.26% Coverage

And I wanna say that, have you seen the hospitals here? They're getting worse and worse. I am just very grateful that at the beginning of the year I got back onto medical aid because it's a death wish now going into the health facilities, the public hospitals facilities. And I don't feel optimistic about our facilities here. So our free public facilities, public transport and if I can say something that could bring change, a, a friend of mine told me this which actually made a lot of sense to me, is that If government officials and all government or political parties used government services and weren't given the finances and funds to send them to, 1.40.00 I'm gonna talk about Maritzburg, I mean if you took like St (inaudible) (audible) Hilton College, we have here Michael House, most of them are, their parents work for the government. They can afford to pay those lump sums and I believe that if those people in government and parliament use the public transport like taxis and they didn't have these fancy Lamborghinis and Jags there would be a huge change happening, because then they wouldn't want to send their children to the public hospitals and I think that there would be a big change.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 18 references coded [ 7.61% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.89% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think there are lots of concerns. Um. I think a big problem with South Africa which is like the overriding thing for all our little problems is that what we tend to do is quick fixes. We like to think of things um, like there'll be a problem and then we'll sort of just put a plaster on it. And we never actually fix the root of the problem. So there's a bunch of initiatives. There's a bunch of aid projects that go on but once that's done, so once companies are done with their CSR, once you know things have finished, we still sit in a situation where people are homeless, people do not have access to basic things like sanitation, water, and so I think that our biggest problem which adds to all our other problems is the fact that we don't actually fix anything. And we live in this constant cycle of like, quick fix, quick fix, quick fix.

Reference 2 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I feel that it's, I think everything is, there's always someone else to blame for the problems. 10.00 And I feel like, especially lately it's, everyone has the comment, "no, we're, we are in this position because of the apartheid era" and a lot of people take ignorance to that and they just think, like a lot of white people in general, they just start saying no but things have changed and times are different but we can't erase the fact that it did happen and that it was there. But at the same time we can't blame everything on apartheid. In general people still need to build up and still need to educate themselves more in life so that they can improve their situations and circumstances.

Reference 3 - 0.30% Coverage



Group 5, Participant 10, M: I think the major problems are probably corruption and crime, because of – we've got all those fixes but they also don't always work because of stuff like corruption and the funds that should go somewhere don't always get there and our systems are flawed. Yeah.

#### References 4-6 - 1.00% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: So we have major issues, I mean there's a number. It comes down to political issues, it comes down to environmental issues, gender-based violence, um, just the the general running of of society in a sense. You know there's things that work, there's things that don't work but if we are focusing on the bad currently, um, you know I agree – not supposed to say that – I agree, you know it's quick fixes, so if you if you um look at um the gender-based violence or the uh protests that were set around that um I'm pretty sure most people would have been at Wits, they would have gone to it, all of the stories that went up and then a week later there is no mention of it. There's no change in the political system. Everything that everybody pushed forward and was was fighting for, it's just, move onto the next thing. Move onto the environmental issues and then that's finished, we are moving on to the next. There's is no real kind of moving forward.

#### Reference 7 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Again in the same breath as number four, um with the quick fixes it's not very specific and as we all tried, the government aimed for equality where everyone gets the same thing or it is just forced, not specific where in terms of equity they get what they need. So it's quick fixes. Everyone's getting something but not the right thing.

#### Reference 8 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think politically the biggest issue facing our country is that we might fall into a rut like the United States has in forming a dual party system. So instead of looking towards other parties when there is a problem with "our" party we just try and fix the problems within "our" party instead of going to an opposition party or something like that.

#### Reference 9 - 1.65% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Um, my feelings on the political thing. I do believe a lot of our problems stem from a political perspective but I'm actually quite hopeful on it. Because my belief is where a whole lot of our problems have stemmed from is we've had a system right now, we've got politicians running the country who've come from a freedom fighter background and inherently most of them are very good people. Um. They have no real experience, they didn't cut their teeth in the game of um, how to run a country and the administration of a country. Um. And I think we're getting a lot of young politicians coming through the ranks now who don't have the strong credentials and to an extent even feel inadequate because of it. But what they do have going for them is they've come through the ranks as, worked at a municipal level, and worked at a provincial level and understood the system. And I think the more and more we get politicians like that coming in the more a lot of our political problems corrected themselves. I mean, we've got a massive problem with corruption and fraud. I think a lot of it comes down to the politicians don't understand the administration well enough to keep each other in check. And as we get guys like that coming through I think that is where the problem corrects itself. When you look at problems like how do you manage the parastatals, whether it's Eskom, whether it is SAA, these are guys, that's something they have worked on and that's their backup. And I think as we see the next generation coming through I am fairly hopeful that it will turn the scales.

#### References 10-11 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: Um, I don't know. I think in a sense the problems of the apartheid era were segregation, racism, and segregation's gone away. Racism is still like, prevalent. And we still have issues. Like none of it has really been fixed. The segregation is gone but there's still issues that need to be addressed. Ja.

#### References 12-13 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: Well gender-based violence and just racism in general. There is still a lot of hate harboured. Um. And I guess it is because, if you think about it, it wasn't that long ago. 15.00 It is a lot of our parents that were living in that era and there's hatred harboured with our parents and then that's sort of given to the children. And the children grow up with these ideas that this is evil, this is wrong, these people did this wrong to us, we need to hate them, and we need to like, um. So people's minds need to be changed. People need to be more tolerant.

#### References 14-15 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Um. There are still a lot of problems such as poverty 'cause apartheid was aimed at promoting the welfare of white people and downgrading those of people of colour so in order to really fix it the government needs to, once we've ousted corruption, they should work on getting rid of poverty so that without poverty there is less crime. With less crime more kids go to school and therefore school, schooling gets better, education gets better. And then you have more prominent and the right leaders coming forward.

#### References 16-18 - 0.78% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Yes, um, I think one of the major concerns is that when democracy started I don't feel that there was enough of an effort made to stop it right there" sort of nip it in the bud, all those naturalised thoughts that had um come with the apartheid area, uh, era. There, there wasn't enough done to sort of say, that that's over now because there is sort of this generation, um, my generation, still those ideas filtering through. Um. And with young and upcoming politicians that could change the tide if they got a chance, there's no support behind them because people would rather support the guys who have the struggle background. Because they led us once and they can lead us again, and I don't think that um is always the case.

#### Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 3.38% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Corruption. There is a lot of corruption going on these days. I don't know previous years you didn't hear about it. But at this stage you hear about it a lot. Every second day it is corruption, corruption, corruption.

#### Reference 2 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Most people are a law unto themselves because there is no consequence. That's what I feel. There's no – they can do what they like and what happens, they get slapped on the wrist. There's no consequence at all. So they, yes, in apartheid yes there was a death sentence and then people were scared to do something, bad crime.10.00 But now there's no consequence. If they do bad crime, if they kill someone, they get they get a slap on the wrist. Kill someone you get ten years in jail and then you're out. So there needs to be consequence for what people do if they, evil people do evil stuff - they need to be punished.

#### References 3-4 - 1.05% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Work, I'm worried about work. What's going to happen to our kids? Are they going to be sweeping the streets? Or what are they going to do? Sit on the corner and beg for money? It's difficult to get into a college or university if you don't have the funds. Yet again they do offer you a scholarship or a partial exemption but how does one obtain that?

BH: As a white or for people who -

Group 6, Participant 8, M: As a white.

BH: As a white, okay.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Our skin colour

BH: So that stops you from getting the grants to go to university?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: I'm not saying they are stopping us but nobody shows us the paths. This is what you are supposed to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: If you don't go toyi-toyi at the door, they're not going to help you.

#### Reference 5 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: And another thing now is the new law that came in. After grade, what is it, after grade 9 they can leave school. How are they going to, how is this land going to grow if a guy has grade 9? What do they learn?

#### Reference 6 - 0.88% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 2, F: Health Our hospitals and clinics. It is overcrowded and if you walk in there you don't see any of our country's people. It is foreigners that are there. So why are they taking our place where black and white are supposed to go together? And it is dirty. You can't just go to a hospital. You must start at the clinic. They decide if you must go to the hospital. When you get to the hospital you must then wait for hours. Just like you have to sit and wait whole day at the clinic. So with what is happening there, if you do get sick then you don't want to go to the hospital or clinic. Your health deteriorates. I am looking for better health

facilities.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.76% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.51% Coverage

DL: Many thanks. We will now start by just having a nice chat about what is happening in South Africa today and specifically in your community, Brandfort.

First question I have is, what are the most important challenges we have in South Africa today? Who can respond to that?

Group 7, Participant ##, M: The political situation in our country?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes, no law and order, nothing of that in our country.

Group 7, Participant ##: And laws only for certain groups.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes, and they are not applied fairly.

Reference 2 - 0.24% Coverage

DL: Thank you very much number eight. The next question is what concerns you the most – if you think about the situation in South Africa, what worries you the most?

Group 7, Participant ##: The future of the youth,

Group 7, Participant ##: Oh yes most certainly.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 3.62% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.53% Coverage

DL: Thank you. Now that we know each other, we can get on. The first question, what is going on in South Africa today and in our community? The first question, what do you see as the most important challenges in South Africa today. Let's start with number 5.

Group 8, Participant 5, F: Work.

DL: Work, meaning work for?

Group 8, Participant 5, F: I feel that people battle to find employment, unemployment... (inaudible)

References 2-3 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I think the biggest problem is that we discriminate against each other, between white and black, man and woman, disabled, not disabled, whether you have a degree or not, I just feel that people are not treated equally, even though you have a degree in which you studied for, someone below you who is less qualified will see you as over qualified and they don't want to pay the high salary, that is the biggest issue.

Reference 4 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I think we disappoint each other, it's difficult, peoples actions are very different to ours, we are used to speaking normally to each other, nothing racist, but they speak very loudly with each other, that irritates many people

References 5-6 - 1.48% Coverage

DL: You really do not have to keep quiet, speak what is on your heart, you are really just a number and there is no name mentioned, you don't need to be afraid.

Group 8, Participant 2, F: Yes I have a big opinion on the matter. Firstly, the economy is a big problem. Because of the economy, many won't have employment, if there is a low economy, how will people provide employment, yes the economy is a big problem to me, then how the legal system is applied in the country makes no sense to me, there are many double standards as I see it from my studies, so yes, firstly the economy is a challenge and the basis for many problems and then also the judicial system that is not fairly

applied, we are supposed to be a democracy, but unfortunately there is discrimination, like what I read in the newspapers and see on television, as an example, the woman that was assaulted by the African males, but she is the one sent to jail because she used the "K" word, how is that fair, then you see other things circulated in the media, for instance the Spur incident, then there is also the example, when an African person does something against us, nothing gets done and it is not circulated in the media.

References 7-8 - 0.42% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Today I watch the video EFF that said we are going to take your country, you think it is a joke, we are going to warn you and give you notices and then there are already rumours that it has already started happening, that scares me, today you are still living here and tomorrow they say move out, this is now our place.

References 9-10 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 11, M: Discrimination, abductions, there has been a lot in the country and the corruption of people.

Reference 11 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 10, M: I would say politics and the safety in my own home especially if you live on a farm, to feel safe.

## 103\_RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICANS

Files\\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 8.09% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.70% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Yes. In the past three years I thought no, I would not go back to Apartheid until I have read the stats of how many people are killed each day. How many children are raped. And long before Apartheid, even before Europeans got to Africa, the nine different groups of native people had arguments with each other. So one side of Apartheid came from to divide the country provinces so that Tswana, the Zulus, the Sothos, the Vendas, don't mix into each other's neighbourhoods so that they fight. As well as border control. Now a days with the open South Africa all the nine native tribes, plus the two white tribes are living inter-mixed neighbourhoods which is a good thing. We need to know each other's cultures. Now we are living among foreigners and other ethnic groups. So there is tension building up. People are shooting each other's wives. Murdering children. Lots of fights break out. One ethnic group, let's say one province has a better education system, for instance Northwest Tswana, that is not the correct stats. Now they are getting all the jobs because they had a better education system in their province. Now people, instead of loving the Tswana people, they start hating them for taking all the jobs, killing their wives. And then another thing I want to point out is in Apartheid all the money was divided. There was money was divided to housing for each group, and each people and unfortunately the overseas companies boycotted us but they were plans initially to give each group a set of money to develop the neighbourhoods. And then the problem is now after Apartheid things should normalise by itself. But now they are enforcing a reverse Apartheid on top of us. It is like taking a base to neutralise the asset which does not work. So that is just one of my point of views.

Reference 2 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: It's the foreigners you know. We cannot control things. You cannot put police and yes whatever, or structures in place when a minority is carrying a majority and we have a population that is just exploding at the seams. And there's a media that frenzies this anger and hate and this language and the lack of education where people just continue in that way.

Reference 3 - 1.77% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Whenever I speak to people and they talk about Apartheid and the good things about it, it also reminds me where the generation talks about the good old days. My parents talked about the good old days. My grandparents talked about the good old days. I am talking about the good old days to my children. We tend to glorify our growing up and stuff like that because we like to forget the bad. Because we are not comfortable with today. And it happens in all eras. So when we talk about Apartheid and the good things of Apartheid because we are glorifying one or two or three things that might have been a shining light. Like the hard working country. We were under sanctions. We were strong in our rand. But we forget on whose backs it was. We forget about the people who got hurt. And it is not just in 1994. It is still far reach into the day where communities were marginalised and pushed to the sides. They are the ones who are now saying nobody likes us. Nobody loves us. Why must we do anything? And the other groups are saying we are in charge. You owe us everything. Now it courses more dissention between the different culture groups all around this country. So much so that people want to go back and say bring back the death penalty. Bring back the laws concerning corporal punishment. Bring back all these things. It just takes the awareness from ground base, from the home or being aware of what you want your children to be in the future and then working towards opportunities for them. Because you are not aware that I as a man and I go and have three, four, five different kids by four women, that is going to impact that children then you cannot call yourself an adult. But when you are aware that I am the husband to a wife or a husband to a husband or a wife to a wife and your relationship you have grow in teaching these children to become future leaders. That is how you do things.

Reference 4 - 0.77% Coverage

BH: About the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. You wanted to say something?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Yes. Fortunately you know number six answers a lot of my questions. It is an issue where before the time period people were still distinguishing between Black and White and Coloured and Indian and not realising we are all human. It is like you say you sit in a train and you see a Xhosa baby and

you look at the baby and you see this baby is doing the same thing as your child does home you realise. It is the same thing now in this time period, you realise these are actual human beings who love and lost and are looking for answers like you would look for answers. It made a lot of people realise that those people that you use to shove away and say: "you are not the same as us". They are actually human. They do have feelings.

#### Reference 5 - 1.55% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Yes the constitution does. The paper is doing the job. It is the people making decisions behind the paper that is not doing their job. I sat in that equality court case with the Afrikaner, the artist that did that thing that says "fuck Afrikaans".

BH: Yes

Group 1, Participant 2, M: And the "tit for tat" frightened me big time out and what I came to realise is that the magistrate who sits there has to make a decision got a very difficult thing to do because with one point this group is feeling we are now being treated unequally. And the other point is freedom of speech. And now he has to balance all of these things to the end. Until it was pointed out that this artist cannot just say sweep it under the rug. All this pain. All this suffering that me and my family had to go through I can't sweep under the rug. That is why I did this. But he did it in such a way that you could take it or leave it. If you wanted to take it in a negative way you take it in a negative way. And that is a lot of times happening these days is your personal feelings concerning what somebody says to you. That either makes it bad or good. You know if I walk down in the Cape Flats and people call me Kasper or Whitey and stuff like that, I don't get offended. But if I had to go around and be offended about it. (everybody laughing and talking together) But it is like that. The same thing if you walk in Gugulethu and your one friend is calling the other friend there my "darkie friend". And you like saying "you can't say that" but that is how we speak to each other. We don't get offended. But if I had to say it would cause offence because of the quotation from the past. Which is fair.

#### Reference 6 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I would say I am positive. I wouldn't even move to another province. Never mind another country. And I think the reason I am very positive right now is because I feel we are almost in a state of change. I think about the femicides and all the protests that happened all across Cape Town in terms of the woman that was killed at the post office. With social media yes it can be a negative thing but it can also be a very positive thing in terms of making people aware. And I think a lot of people are now, we are getting out of that apartheid era phase thing and we are getting to this thing of saying we are human beings, we are all South Africans and we are all speaking the same language. Whether we are black or white or coloured or Indian, it doesn't matter. We all feel the crime. We all feel um you know, government is corrupt. We are all feeling the same thing. It is no longer this where actual one race is benefitting over another. We are all feeling the brunt of it. And I think again in terms of the privileged people, there is still a few white people that are privileged. There are very few black people that are privileged but the majority of us live in ordinary houses and ordinary suburbs. You don't really have the money or the things to do the things that we want to do so I am happy to stay. I think we are on the verge of something.

#### Reference 7 - 0.68% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Well I am staying. There are family and friends. I love the people that are here. I feel like in other countries there are also major issues of race especially in America. There's pros and cons to wherever you live. I know the crime here is really bad but I also think that apartheid wasn't that long ago and I think we have come very far since then. If I'm comparing it to America we have come very far. Their apartheid was like many more years ago and they are still struggling but I think we have come together in many ways like with this Uyinene that was raped and murdered at the post office I mean we stand together in the important times like when we need to be together. And I mean it's beautiful here so.

#### Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 7.03% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

BH: Alright and do you remember life under the apartheid?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Oh yes. It was nice living. Whites on the one side, blacks on the other side. We could sleep open doors, open windows. Today you can't. We have hedges in the front garden. They climb up. If they want to come in, they come in. It's difficult now, more difficult now to live.

BH: Now is that a colour issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: It is a crime issue. No I am not racist. I get along with anybody, but the crime.

Reference 2 - 0.27% Coverage

Due to the apartheid there is a lot of hatred from the blacks towards the whites. Maybe not the new generation but it depends on the family itself if they brain feed them on what they went through. They are going to believe what their parents believe.

Reference 3 - 0.85% Coverage

And I think also coming back also to where I stay, I stay in Durbanville. Durbanville is still a very nice area. So we are not really that much affected than the outskirts area because I know every area is going (inaudible) I think on the positive side coming to our generation, my children's generation, my school children on high school now integrated with everybody. So for them there is no colour. And that is wonderful. I got people from all different kids coming into my house and you really don't see that. I think it is going to take a while. Their generation might make the difference. But our generation and maybe the generation before us is still struggling with this whole battle of transformation. And hopefully it will be a positive at the end. We can only hope for the best.

Reference 4 - 0.10% Coverage

BH: So these are all from other African countries?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: That is correct.

Reference 5 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

References 6-7 - 1.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I don't know if you, even if we go through that, there is a lot of people, I mean I grew up and I never even noticed apartheid. I sometimes think whether stuff went well with me. I didn't see these things like that way. I never saw apartheid. I went to school. We will talk to everyone. Yes there were whites in school but I didn't see it as odd. This is only whites. This is only blacks. I didn't see it that way. So only later on, I was already out of school. I went to the Technical College and there were like all races, all different languages. But still it was just normal for me. Only later on I realised. I went to Namaqualand, I went to a small little café and for the first time I saw my whole life because I am a city girl and here I see why are these people going the other side in and I am going this side in? You know a shock, so that is when I questioned it. Then I was about seventeen, eighteen years old. But the thing is now that I am grown up I am actually hearing more and more about apartheid but I never grew up even though I was in that era. But my daughter is twenty-six so for her she went to university, everything with all races. They all treat each other the same but there is a lot of problems still. They actually were born in an era with a new government. Everything is different. They go to schools. They mix with everyone. But why is it, what I can't understand is, my daughter has a coloured boyfriend, she has black friends at the university and they are all fine but there is a certain group of people that would just hate you. Just because you are white. And I don't think that hatred is going to

go away.

Reference 8 - 1.13% Coverage

BH: Ok, right. Did you feel relieved when Democracy replaced apartheid?

[number nine nodding his head]

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I mean nobody needs to tell anybody who they are allowed to mix with or who your friends need to be or where that person can go just because of his colour of his skin. I mean if I cut myself, I am going to bleed. That person cuts himself he is going to bleed exactly the same blood as what I have. He works hard, I work hard. Everybody works hard. I mean. So what makes me better than him? Because I am in a white shell, if I can call it that?

Group 2, Participant ##: It doesn't make any difference.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: It doesn't make me any difference. We might speak a different language.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: They are also people. They are also human beings. They also have a heart.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Feelings, everything. And the thing is that I've learned over the years, I mean I had many friends and tell you what, some of them hurt just as bad as we are. And I mean, you can, you can relate to that.

Reference 9 - 0.71% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: How old is Julius Malema? But he, it is easy to say apartheid this, white does this, that. But he didn't live in that era. If we have people like that in South Africa that is going to keep racism alive then there is a very bleak future for South Africa. Because all the older generation is in parliament and they keep on the hurt, on the feelings of South Africans and they keep on playing each the one on to the other one. Until they themselves can sort out their own things hopefully. South Africans are trying to make a better living together what they say a rainbow nation. But then you get the politicians that wants to pull that apart.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 6.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: No that is fine. Your last question under apartheid I think we were blissfully ignorant of what was going on. I think now there is a lot more transparency and I think that is also one of the reasons why there is so much negativity around us. Especially with white folk and people that are not the same as us. You want to call it that.

BH: Now when you say same as us, we talking economically or are we talking colour and culture?

Group 3, Participant 4, M: Economically. Well, all of those. All three yes.

Reference 2 - 0.35% Coverage

Regards to the blacks fearing us and we fearing the blacks, I think the black fellows are scared of us right now. I think this is why there is this big upheaval at the present moment with what is going on in the country. Out of this 55 million there is 5 million others. So really there is nothing to worry about.

Reference 3 - 0.82% Coverage

I don't think we moved on from this war thing. This fighting thing. And as soon as they can get over that, I think it will be a lot better place to live in. I certainly have any ill feelings toward black people do. In actual fact I only have black friends. My wife is also in the education department. And she is the only white lady in the district she that she was at which is Nzinyathi which is huge and I mean she went into areas a lot of you ladies probably wouldn't even think of going into. With a bakkie. I know [NAME OMITTED] goes. I know [NAME OMITTED] will go but [NAME OMITTED] will tell you where [NAME OMITTED] goes. Yes frightening. Absolutely horrific. I think it is the other way around. The fear thing.



#### Reference 4 - 1.22% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 3, M: Yes it was a horrific time. And I don't think it can be turned in anything other than a crime. And anyway you mentioned the word progress I don't know that we have progress today. I think we have the potential to do it all over again.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I understand that. But we can't resent the laws that are put in place to limit our behaviours that will lead back to it. And that is something that I find amongst social, when I mix socially, people may comment about the way protest groups and advocacy groups, about how they react but the fact is nobody like political correctness for its own sake, but it is a, it is an effective tool. And taking on all these points we've actually got to say yes, our venal nature is such that we will, we will do these things but we got to overcome that by educating them and actually keeping, putting laws in place until it becomes innate behaviour rather than, you know learned behaviour rather than just letting ourselves actively return naturally in fact I hate that but there we go.

#### References 5-6 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I don't think it achieved national reconciliation. My personal feeling is that I don't think that this country has been reconciled at all. And I don't think a lot of the rhetoric you get from certain parties um is helping at all. However if you get on the ground dealing with everyday people I do find relationships with black people on the ground much easier today than it ever was before. So, and I often wonder if the politicians would stop their rhetoric for a minute and pay attention to what is actually happening at grassroots they would notice that actually people are getting along reasonably well.

#### Reference 7 - 1.48% Coverage

. As regards where we go now I think we don't like being at the wrong end of the stick. That is it. We talk about - there's a certain amount of black rhetoric. I quite agree with you, if you want want to talk about the EFF as being a political party and it is not even amongst the extreme of, of, of um political views in this country if you actually canvas informally. We are looking at it from our own self-interest point of view once again and saying "isn't it tough" but the fact is it was exceptionally tough and nobody, nobody, we didn't, we didn't protest too much to be quite frank when extreme right wing Afrikaners- and I'm not, were espousing violence against black people in the old days. Um and and as I say, I can understand the the the impetus of self-interest but self-interest is where we sit now. We sit in our little ghetto and our little bubble here and we think it is great and things are, you know we worry about what's happening outside. And you know we we feel a bit sensitive now because we're at the sharp end of the stick now. And it will get worse and we're trying our best but the fact is we're just as I say that the pendulum swung. That unfortunately in the bigger world that's, you know in a thousand years it is not going to make a bits difference one way or the other.

#### Reference 8 - 0.29% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I think that did work. I think it is a lot easier to get on with people. People in the street if you know what I mean. Not, not politicians. Not that kind of level. But the people you interact with has become a whole lot easier.

#### Reference 9 - 0.52% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Can I say something because that truth and reconciliation was over there. For me, in terms of my life, I found I gotta be truthful to myself about how I treat this black person or that person who has done some harm against me, perceived harm, white, black, whatever. It comes down to me accepting people as they are. Warts and all. I've also got warts and all and being truthful within myself. I don't know if that makes sense?

#### Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.58% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes I do. Personally I saw it was a platform for people to vent their personal vendettas and feelings about the apartheid era. And I think that is one of the fundamental problems that we still have in South Africa that everybody is just too entitled to their opinion. We need to all build a bridge and get over it and carry on with a fresh start.

#### Reference 2 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I feel optimistic because I so pray for a change because we live in such a beautiful

country and not all black people are bad. And not all white people are bad.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.77% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I used to work part-time as a sales rep in um like a hunting goods store. And you know the managers, most of the staff were predominantly white Afrikaans people. And like half-way year through they started hiring. So first it was just black people that worked in security, and as tea ladies or cleaners. Um, and then they started hiring cashiers, black people as cashiers, and um sales reps as well. And a lot of complaints like a lot of the white customers and white like managers complained about the black people. And I found it so disgusting, like. In the same in the same sense that like, a lot of white people's opportunities had been taken away because of BEE or whatever. You can't deny that black people are also you know, still denied opportunities because of you know, hatred, like ideas of about who they are.

Reference 2 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Is it me? Ok, um, I just want to say I think we need a better system than the BEE because of all of the issues that um comes out of it. But also at the end of the day it shouldn't be an issue for like, the white working class person. It should be something that is done even like from grassroot level or something. It shouldn't be affecting like citizens of South Africa regardless of their skin colour. 1.10.00 Um, because basically, it's pushing people overseas. I think I'm not the only person sitting here that's had pressure from parents or from relatives to go, "go overseas, better opportunities, whatever, whatever!" But we already know where that stems from, um, and it's just, it creates this climate and it doesn't help tensions, racial tensions and just these ideas, this this racist viewpoint that we, that we have in the workplace.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.56% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.56% Coverage

BH: So how do we get to a state of having each other's interests at heart because you were saying that democracy hasn't really work? That it could work if we were all equal. And you were saying that the truth and Reconciliation Commission hasn't actually reconciled us. So your suggestion that we should all be working together with our interests all at heart, how do we do that? How do you see that we can all work together?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: See that is, that is a bit difficult.

BH: Do you have any ideas?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Take it for instance I got workers there by the work. We work all together. You always get that one that's against you. Or against the other people. Then afterwards he come to talk to this guy, talk to that guy. And he can see them pulling away now with him.

BH: So why do you think that person behaves like that?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Ahh, it's just, to tell you the truth, they are part of the EFF.

BH: The EFF, okay, and what are your views number four? How can we work together with our interests at heart?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I got no idea.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I think a good start would be to get rid of all the hate. All the hating that there is.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.50% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: We saw it in Rhodesia, where my husband worked. When the whites were oppressed like that, the blacks were then in, in the end they came back to the whites and said just take the farms back because we can't handle them, we can do nothing without you. So help us again. It is a fact, we need each other.

Reference 2 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: To be honest, the big thing is that I hate no nation, but they force you to hate. The thing is they hate their own skins because they can't have our skins'. That's the big problem. I worked a lot with non-European ladies when I was involved with welfare, they tell you straight they want to be like this, they want to be white. Look what happened to Michael Jackson

[-1:55:55]

Group 7, Participant ##: and straight hair

Reference 3 - 1.38% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: All of a sudden the thing gets blown up. That woman at...

DL: Penny Sparrow

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Experienced something similar. She got a prison sentence.

DL: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Exactly.

DL: Are certain cases not being taken out of context?

(All talking together agreeing)

Group 7, Participant ##: It's nothing else.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take those two guys who put the Black in the coffin, exactly the same, but now I read in yesterday's paper, the Volksblad, that they will appear in court on the 10th of November. Seems to me the Appeal Court has decided that it is a fake story. They merely wanted to scare him and he was not assaulted as he alleged that he had marks on his body. From his own mother's time he had red marks on his back, there were no marks as a result of being assaulted. Now the Appeal Court has decided that the two guys are innocent and that they may get ? (inaudible)

Group 7, Participant ##, F: But just look how much money was wasted.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But look how they carry on about the K-word.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

(Laughter)

Group 7, Participant ##: I mean they will tell you that you are a bloody white person and you just have to accept it.

DL: However it may be, the thing gets turned around.

Group 7, Participant ##: The funny thing is that Malema may say what he likes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: But he gets away with everything. No action is taken against him.

Reference 4 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: They will keep it alive, because you are already marked. It's a question of hate and grudges so they will keep it alive. Because you're already marked. If it were them, then all the files will disappear. Very quickly too.

Reference 5 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Was it unavoidable, was it necessary, and was it the best outcome for the country?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It was the best because we weren't raised correctly, for example, a white stays here and a black stays there, really things just changed. We are glad things changed, really, but we don't live with each in the right way. There is still too much hatred.

Reference 6 - 0.88% Coverage

DL: If you think you represent all of Brandfort, are they democrats against their will, or are they pro-democracy? Do you want to talk about the district?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I see it as a challenge to see whether we can live together, we can only benefit to work along with them instead of being against one another, so rather pull together, instead of against each other.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with you, but the hatred will never disappear.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But those things one must put behind if you are a Christian.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But that is why the ANC keeps on inciting them that is why they will never get rid of the hatred because they can't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They believe in their forefathers.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: They're not Christians, they don't believe in God. If you don't have God in you, then you don't have love, and if you don't have love you can't...

Reference 7 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: But I want to raise another point. We generalize easily. In our discussion this afternoon I've noticed this, and I include myself, there's a large group of black people who are favourably disposed towards us, and feel as we do, and reciprocally, between blacks and whites. There is a small group, who try to make things difficult for us, and we are inclined to isolate them, and say everyone is like that. But that is not so.

(Agreement.)

Group 7, Participant ##: Not all are like that.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: But isn't it the human tendency to do that?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: It is, and I include myself.

Reference 8 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take the elderly who came along with you/us over the years, mostly the white people who know what it is all about. If you take the elderly today also, how their children treat them, the blacks, how they rob their parents, but nothing gets done about it. So those elderly ones who are now living, would rather side with the white people's apartheid years,

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 0.97% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

My niece and nephew are city people, they have many different races as their friends, they are not so bad but you get far worse people, those who marry across the colour spectrum, they will rather support the person they married.

Or marry impartially.

Reference 2 - 0.38% Coverage

You can now take any wife that you want.

No I think I'll take a white wife.

(Laughter)

Before democracy you would have been jailed if you married someone of colour  
Many restrictions imposed on the country have been lifted.  
You can now skype anyone anywhere where you were not allowed to do so previously.

#### Reference 3 - 0.27% Coverage

Democracy looks picture perfect but it just drives South Africa into a dark hole, it doesn't work, nobody sees each other as equal, every one harbours resentment  
We are now further apart, there is more apartheid.

## BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS

Files\\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 1.59% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.89% Coverage

BH: Okay let's just concentrate on the crime against humanity because we are confusing it with laws and the interpretation of laws within the country at that time.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I sort of had a similar thing just a little bit different where when it comes to Apartheid, Apartheid didn't start as a crime against humanity. It started as trying to segregate, to kind of make things happier amongst everyone. Because these tribal people, they have their kings and they have their leaders, they don't really wanted Democracy because they have their own way. Apartheid then became an operation thing because the whites have more power, have more money and everyone is split up and then it became a little bit of a thing. You split up. Why is that person living in a poor area? And stuff like that. And that is where I think the crime comes in. but the actual Apartheid start, I won't say with a crime but what happened during it. The way they lived.

Reference 2 - 0.10% Coverage

And the other races I don't know if they don't know how to work with money but they just not doing stuff right.

References 3-4 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: I also think it is a little bit of a cultural issue that many black and coloured people have that where I think they are helping their child by making them, so they'll have like five, ten children, and they'll still live under the same roof and all their children will be working and then they'll come home and bring the money home and they support their family. But then a lot of that money does not get used to build themselves up like independently. It's like just for the family. So they end up staying in that same place.

BH: Okay and you are saying white people don't do that?

Group 1, Participant 8, F: It is very rare

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 24 references coded [ 12.61% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

BH: Alright and do you remember life under the apartheid?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Oh yes. It was nice living. Whites on the one side, blacks on the other side. We could sleep open doors, open windows. Today you can't. We have hedges in the front garden. They climb up. If they want to come in, they come in. It's difficult now, more difficult now to live.

BH: Now is that a colour issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: It is a crime issue. No I am not racist. I get along with anybody, but the crime.

Reference 2 - 0.75% Coverage

Also when I was much younger I studied as a fit and turner and I got to my fifth year. I discovered that after I was applying, applying, applying, in my second year the registrar said to me "sorry but you are not going to get an apprenticeship within this country at all". Unless I was a, there was a small percentage were towards coloureds. Those that were given were very fortunate to be given so like maybe a small percentage even less than the coloured were. The rest were towards the blacks. I feel it should be based on merit rather, on how well you did in school, rather than based on colour. So just it is basically apartheid in reverse. So that has a negative effect on the economy and the country.

References 3-4 - 0.27% Coverage

Due to the apartheid there is a lot of hatred from the blacks towards the whites. Maybe not the new generation but it depends on the family itself if they brain feed them on what they went through. They are

going to believe what their parents believe.

#### References 5-6 - 1.15% Coverage

And among the African cultures they believe, they teach their children to not go to school. They value working for a measly income rather than getting a decent education. Even though education is given to them. So it has a negative impact on South Africa within itself and now there is a (inaudible) they don't want to fill the places, to take the roles to receive the education and then we can't receive it in any case. So for white South Africans it is very difficult. It leaves us with a bleak future for our children. We might be lucky enough to have some sort of work but for our children, unless you know someone, unless you start your own business and become an entrepreneur and unless you get along with people you are not really going to fit in. 25.00 We are not going to be accepted within South Africa. What happens is you become educated and you leave the country and South Africa loses quality qualified engineers and so on. Highly qualified people going to another country like Europe or wherever. And that is the disaster for the country as it is as a whole.

#### References 7-9 - 1.07% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I think that we are heading the same way Zimbabwe is heading.

BH: And paint the picture that you think we are heading into.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Well they are killing all the people.

BH: White people?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: They are killing all the white farmers. All the boere. They are killing all the white farmers. And they are the people that has been worrying us for food. It's the same, they burn out the bus but the next day they will go stand there and wait for a bus to come and pick them up. You understand what I am trying to say. They are burning down everything that we have. Trains, busses, I mean the next day they go there and they buy the ticket and they are expecting the train to come. But they are burning our trains which is billions of Rands. They are burning down the Technikons where the people has to go to learn. You understand what I am saying? So where are we going?

BH: So that's the similarity to Zimbabwe?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Exactly

#### Reference 10 - 0.47% Coverage

A lot of South Africans don't have work. And the Zimbabweans are there. They got out and they find work. So whether it is a mentality thing or whether the difference between the two but I think that is a big problem and I think that is creating a lot of people coming in illegally, working here illegally and we don't have enough people that is employed so that issues out of unemployment in all levels and effects every level of society.

#### References 11-12 - 1.18% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I have seen it happen. It is true yes that the foreign people get the jobs but what I see is that it is almost like in the black community that they get angry because the Somalians and the Congolese people they are getting jobs but they have never asked why. Is it because why they come in, they want to work. Our own people do not want to work. They want to sit back. They expect to get the job because hey I must get it and you need to pay me. But you sit there. You expect 45.00 to be paid R15 000 and what do you do all day? You don't do anything. Now here comes a man from another nationality. He says, can I work for you? I say okay fine go for it. What do you want to be paid? He wants to be paid R6000. Now he is doing literally all the work which actually he needs to be paid R15 000 but this man, the South African guy he just sits back and see how he is working and then they ask but why are they getting the jobs? It has been proven continuously that these guys are working. I want a person that works. I don't want a person who sits back and expect listen I want to get paid and I don't do anything.

#### References 13-15 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one

particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### Reference 16 - 0.30% Coverage

But why is it, what I can't understand is, my daughter has a coloured boyfriend, she has black friends at the university and they are all fine but there is a certain group of people that would just hate you. Just because you are white. And I don't think that hatred is going to go away.

#### Reference 17 - 1.51% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Can I just say something? Um, my child did a thing about apartheid. And I learned with him.

BH: School project?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: School project. The things what I don't understand, is the blacks carry on about the white people. You know who was punished the most under apartheid? Was the coloured people. They were punished the most. They were slaves, they were beaten, they were raped with the white people raping them. But the whites looking away, they didn't see anything. But the black people were never so badly beaten or mistreated like the coloured people. The coloured and the Indians. They were the worst treated ever. But the black people blames the white people for whatever went wrong in their life.

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 8, M: One last thing. My wife, for example, with the coloureds, when my wife's family was living in District Six and they were split apart because some looked white and some looked coloured. So they were forcefully removed from each other overnight and then the whites who were forcefully removed had to flee to the UK. And they left the country and the ones that couldn't leave or who didn't want to leave, that were small classes of white, they chose to stay. And that happened all over South Africa. The coloureds were stuck in the middle. They didn't have a place for themselves. And they are still stuck in the middle.

#### References 18-19 - 0.89% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: But I am thinking the ANC is also sending a lot of people from Jo'burg here to make it more corrupted. We have more problems these days in the Western Cape.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Yes bus loads.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I definitely think they are strategizing.

Group 2, Participant ##: Maybe in the rural areas.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: What they do is, why they are getting a lot of voters because they take the majority, it's the uneducated people that are not used to living in our areas and they don't know what they're doing, they're basically putting everything in their head all what we are doing to them and so on in their heads. They get basically the majority votes. That is where they get a lot of the whites (inaudible) that is people who are burning tyres, burning places, um, so ja.

#### Reference 20 - 0.83% Coverage

BH: What about the idea that whites have done well because they were squeezed out of 1.45.00 government



jobs into the private sector where they can make more money? (Number two shaking her head) Okay now why don't you think that number two?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I mean if I can only see where that happened. You know what I am saying?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Whites were retrenched. Chucked out of jobs so that they can come in.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: And that people are struggling now.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because I know a policeman that was thirty-six years in the police. He had to get promotion. One of these darkies comes in, whoop he gets the job. Just out of school. With more salary that that man had thirty six years worked for the government.

#### Reference 21 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I know a nurse. She was a nurse at Groot Schuur for I think it was twenty five years. And a student at the age of twenty nine just finished her course and she came, it was between this lady that had twenty five years and the young student and the student got the job. And she had to be retrenched yes, but not the biggest package ever. And today she is a cleaner.

#### References 22-23 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa today?

Group 2, Participant ##: No (multiple respondents)

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant ##: Because we fear

Group 2, Participant ##: You fear for your kid's lives. You don't want to walk to the shop. Oh it is 8 o'clock. You can't go to the shop.

BH: Are you fearing because you are white or fearing because of crime?

Group 2, Participant ##: No crime.

Group 2, Participant ##: White and crime.

BH: So tell me about white and crime. How does that integrate? It is interesting.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because you hear it frequently on the TV Malema say kill the boere, kill the whites.

Group 2, Participant ##: And they do.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: They are killing the farmers and when you ask them where do your food come from? From Shoprite. That's how clever they are.

#### Reference 24 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: (inaudible) you got to take example, I don't want to bring up our work every time but look at the people there. Their shifts changes at two o'clock. But by quarter past one they say I am done. Tea time for instance, say for arguments sake 1.50.00 should be at ten o'clock. Strictly ten o'clock. Not a minute later, not a minute earlier. That is how it works. Lunch time the same story. And when it comes to, sorry for my term, "tjyalla" time they even say they go home. One o'clock I am gone two o'clock my shift change. But aren't you supposed to work till two o'clock? No one o'clock. I'm done.

#### Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 2.73% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.82% Coverage

I don't think we moved on from this war thing. This fighting thing. And as soon as they can get over that, I

think it will be a lot better place to live in. I certainly have any ill feelings toward black people do. In actual fact I only have black friends. My wife is also in the education department. And she is the only white lady in the district she that she was at which is Nzinyathi which is huge and I mean she went into areas a lot of you ladies probably wouldn't even think of going into. With a bakkie. I know [NAME OMITTED] goes. I know [NAME OMITTED] will go but [NAME OMITTED] will tell you where [NAME OMITTED] goes. Yes frightening. Absolutely horrific. I think it is the other way around. The fear thing.

Reference 2 - 0.73% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I lost a promotion.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: But you could have lost it because you are a woman.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: No because the woman who got the job was a black woman.

Group 3, Participant 7, F: So I could have a lost a job, it was a transfer between departments because of the BEE they wanted a black or coloured or Indian person. And I was white. So they had to motivate.

Group 3, Participant ##: That happened to [NAME OMITTED].

BH: What did you do after that?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: What did I do? I just carried on doing the job as well as I could. And then she, she didn't cut it so she disappeared.

Reference 3 - 0.34% Coverage

BH: So then what did you do?

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I got the job but only because the people wanted me. Because I think a lot of the time the blacks were given the jobs even though they weren't necessarily the right person for the job. But because BEE was the big thing we had to be seen in line on-

Reference 4 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Yes. Not even that. So that's one of the reasons I retired as well. Because the right people were not getting the jobs. That was it.

Reference 5 - 0.40% Coverage

We actually have to create a black middle class in this country as quickly as possible. And there had to be some kind of social engineering to do it. And one of the ways was to put money into creating a black middle class and also promoting black people who showed some vestige of of of ability into jobs so that we would accelerate that process.

References 6-7 - 0.26% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: I couldn't live without our black people. I think they are (inaudible) people.

Group 3, Participant ##: Who would clean up the mess (laughter)

Group 3, Participant 2, F: They are the warmest people.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 29 references coded [ 12.56% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.73% Coverage

The factor of maladministration funds as well as the factor of the government workers really are not doing their job. They come in; they earn a salary which is fantastic we all want to earn our salaries but they actually have to bring consultants in actually do the task 10.00 because - not because of an incapacity (inaudible) but the "not my problem" attitude that generally, that goes around government. I also worked for government. I was one of a very few handful of employees that was doing my job and about five, six other jobs simultaneously because most people just actually didn't care. They weren't worried about it. When it comes to work, I'm getting my salary, that's all that matters.

#### References 2-4 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: Ten years. Okay. Any other views?

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Actually I have one. To touch on a little bit of a touchy subject is the story of racism and parliament all the time. You hear about it all the time and it's stupid little things that is actually we are spending so much of the taxpayers money on. This man call that man a Mongol. That man call that man this and this and this. And they take everything to the high court and it is just cost so much money of the tax payer's money to take it to the high court. I mean it costs millions and millions of Rands whereas we could spend that money um building a school. Um. Doing good with that money instead of wasting it and nothing ever ever comes of anything that happens in those courts. That is my view of it.

BH: Alright. You want to say something number six?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I agree 100% on what you are saying

#### References 5-6 - 0.34% Coverage

There were the right people in place to solve the problems but now it is not even about the problems. People are making the problems, I don't know how to put it in words, and they are making unnecessary problems.

BH: And what did you want to say number three?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Unnecessary problems for (inaudible)

#### References 7-9 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think that reversed apartheid is definitely a very good term that has been used and often [inaudible] adequately applied. In order to rectify past failures. People who are brought in now haven't really been qualified, haven't really been trained to do the work that they are now being hired to do. They are actually brought in under the affirmative action or BEE principle but actually haven't gone through, obtained the relevant knowledge and the relevant practical knowledge.

#### References 10-12 - 1.07% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: What I believe is that the studies and the curriculum that they have is igniting anger amongst the people. Because you read about me as a black woman, I read about how badly my ancestors and my grannie and my grandpa were treated. Off course you wanna get angry. You are not going to get angry because yes you were involved in it, but then you are living in a home where people in your house did have to live under the apartheid regime. And you know what for them it was dreadful and I don't condone it. I don't condone what happened but I do believe that it created a lot of separation amongst the people and a lot of anger. And it has become very hateful, you know, you know, the text books that you read and -

BH: Recalling the past.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes, it's igniting fear. It is igniting hateful speech and us who are also in the universities with black, coloured, Indian people, we are being targeted and we are being ridiculed for things that we had no control over as white people, you know.

#### References 13-14 - 0.78% Coverage

it is unfair the way I believe that apartheid has become reversed and we are now the under-advantaged. Um. My father works for the government and he has a black woman who has just got her degree come in and she is five pay grades above my father but she is asking my dad how to do this job. And that is first-hand how my father sees that why the government is failing. And then his bosses are sleeping, on the desks. Sleeping under the desks. Playing card games at work and that is where the passion is lost for- previously when you had a job you were passionate about it. You put your heart and soul into it, and that's - energy gets passed down. If your boss are playing games what's gonna make you want to do your work at the end of the day. That's just my opinion.

#### Reference 15 - 1.46% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes I just want to say I don't believe that we can reconcile though I wish and I pray that we will. But I don't believe we can because our mind-sets as South Africans, as much as apartheid was a

black and white thing, I believe, what about the xenophobia that is happening now? Then it's black on black. Because it's the South Africans that believe that it is their right to, to say that they own the land because they are South African. What is a South African? As much as we are South African, being a South African is in your heart, you know. Because I was born a South African doesn't make me a South African. It's Ubuntu you know. It's a rainbow nation. Do I believe we live up to that rainbow nation? Not at all. I don't believe that because we have so much hate. I look at the Zulus fighting against the Zimbabweans. And the Zimbabweans, you know, being here looking for work because Zimbabwe has gone the way it has, you know. And everyone says South Africa is another Zimbabwe. It's gonna be like that, it's gonna turn like that. It is a very broad statement, and uh, you know, but I do believe that apartheid is now not actually, apartheid in 199-, 1994, before it was abolished in 1994, I do believe that was a colour thing. But I believe now with the xenophobia it is black on black. So you know they are still the same race so what is it? For me, that's, that's where I get confused.

#### Reference 16 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3 F: I don't necessarily think dig up the past I mean don't make a spectacle of it. I sometimes think that is what is done you know.

#### References 17-19 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: The whole cliché of let the truth set you free didn't really happen here because the truth made people angry. And and naturally, I mean, it's your people, you know. But I don't think it's fighting for your people anymore. I just think it's fighting for power and just, you know, one can can make a statement without being violent.

#### References 20-21 - 1.44% Coverage

BH: Just say what you feel

Group 4, Participant 4, M: The white, the white South Africans at the moment, we getting prosecuted just for about everything.50.00 whereas you can say, how can I say, rest of the nation they can get away. I mean I've seen on the news the last couple of days people have been getting murdered and people getting off scot-free because people don't know how to do their work anymore and all that jazz. Yeah. Um. It's very difficult for me to put it into words without being, how could I say, ah, nasty, should I say.

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I'm happy to mention that if you look at the state capture, um, Jacob literally hasn't been held accountable for any of the seven hundred and something counts that he's has against him. Um. Whereas if you look at Penny Sparrow who was a racist, and who had said a racist word, and she got a sentence against her. So for saying something and for physically doing something, or raping someone, um, there's no justification to that being fair, I mean.

BH: Okay so you are saying racist slurs get a quicker response than other crimes?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Absolutely.

BH: Does it work the other way around? Racist slurs of black people or white people?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: No because many times I have seen shirts of "kill white people" and all of that being posted on social media and nothing gets said about it.

#### Reference 22 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I feel that the biggest problem even now with democracy and the biggest problem in the apartheid era was, in the apartheid era, you weren't entitled because of your race or because of your previously disadvantaged status, to be where you are. You had to earn it. Even us white people, you go to varsity, you pay for varsity. You wanted to get a job, you earned that job. Now in democracy, whether it was democracy or apartheid,1.05.00 now we have this entitlement where things are not earned anymore and I think that's the fundamental problem with even our democracy now. We are not living in a democratic country, we are living in a country of entitlement where because you were born black, you are entitled to more than a white person.

#### References 23-24 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes. A good point but also yes because the violence, for me that's a big one, like

number two said earlier. Violence. It's the violent crime. It's the violence for me. They don't have our best interest at heart.

BH: Of the majority?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes they don't. Because it's like the songs that they sing, it's antagonising, it's, it's-  
References 25-26 - 1.86% Coverage

BH: Come on, please say it. You can say it here.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I just, I just feel I, I am not safe walking in town, where I used to go to in Church Street with my mom to the Ashmal's, just to talk about one shop. We used to park at the Ashmal's in town there and we could park and my mom would say; "come, just come stand next to me". It wasn't like, now we wouldn't even dare to go as two white females into town because we are the minority and if something had to happen, which has happened before-

BH: You don't think anybody would help you?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: No one would help us because they also scared. The black women that I know, my friends, are scared. They don't even want to walk to work because they leave at four a.m. in the morning, it's still dark. They leave from the township, they come, they have now had to fork out more money to have a transport that would now fetch them right outside their homes because they scared. So I don't even think only as a white woman, I say white women, it's now gender-based, but as woman we are inferior and we are not, I don't feel safe. I don't feel safe because if I go to the police officer the police officer is a lot of the time involved and the people that are supposed to protect us are the ones that are making us feel unsafe. I mean I used to walk around with my dog and there would be traffic officers and police officers and would say "hey sexy psst, psst, psst." Those are the people that are supposed to be looking after us. Are you, am I going to go to you and say, I mean, I have been raped? And that's why I say I don't want to stand on toes. I mean I'm really generalising here but it yeah, it's has happened to a few of my friends where the person that was supposed to be you're your your safety actually was the one that committed the crime

Reference 27 - 0.18% Coverage

My neighbour at the time (inaudible) worked in government and they based, well it was actually the Department of Education. They treated him like he owed them something.

Reference 28 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Ja, no, I think um losing their jobs in that way was extremely unfair because look, they really worked towards it. They got all the certificates and stuff. They went through an educational process. Alright? Now you've got these policies coming in and people coming in that doesn't have the right qualifications. And it has been proven. You can see it on tv. It's been proven. They don't have the right qualifications, they can't do their job and it's just running right into the ground. And it's, it's been, you can see it every day.

Reference 29 - 0.95% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Um I also, I would say that it's important to also make sure that you try to make up opportunities for yourself. You don't just wait for someone to come and plonk something on your lap. It's like, a lot of people say oh but its, you go and get all the certifications you know, somebody's just going to get the job who is not actually qualified. But you know the more you improve your skills the greater your opportunities are and like I was saying earlier, as white South Africans we have those sort of opportunities given to us because of the legacy that, that we have. That financially a lot of us, our parents helped us out. Or they supported us in what we were trying to do with our lives. And so we have those those opportunities for us. We just need to take them and to use them to the best of our abilities instead of sort of, sitting on our laurels and waiting for something to happen.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 5.81% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.57% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Um, my feelings on the political thing. I do believe a lot of our problems stem from a political perspective but I'm actually quite hopeful on it. Because my belief is where a whole lot of our

problems have stemmed from is we've had a system right now, we've got politicians running the country who've come from a a freedom fighter background and inherently most of them are very good people. Um. They have no real experience, they didn't cut their teeth in the game of um, how to run a country and the administration of a country.

#### Reference 2 - 0.13% Coverage

I think a lot of it comes down to the politicians don't understand the administration well enough to keep each other in check.

#### Reference 3 - 0.78% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Yes, um, I think one of the major concerns is that when democracy started I don't feel that there was enough of an effort made to stop it right there" sort of nip it in the bud, all those naturalised thoughts that had um come with the apartheid area, uh, era. There, there wasn't enough done to sort of say, that that's over now because there is sort of this generation, um, my generation, still those ideas filtering through. Um. And with young and upcoming politicians that could change the tide if they got a chance, there's no support behind them because people would rather support the guys who have the struggle background. Because they led us once and they can lead us again, and I don't think that um is always the case.

#### Reference 4 - 0.78% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think ah that the TRC didn't actually judge the people who perpetuated apartheid. It just got the trigger men. No ministers were prosecuted at all. They just got away scot-free and another thing is, and I think this was the view at the time, is that it was seen as a white witch hunt in that no freedom fighter leaders were prosecuted at all. Even though gang rape was considered a punishment in (inaudible) for example, and for members in the ANC, if you were a woman and you misbehaved, gang rape is a thing that could happen to you. And we're still seeing that today. Gender-based violence is still a problem in our country and because these people hadn't had to take account for it, it, it's still gonna be seen as a minimal issue.

#### References 5-6 - 0.69% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I don't know, I feel like a lot of white people have to, sometimes feel they have to tip toe around what they say around black people.

Group 5, Participant 6, F: And even when we do there's so much, there's a lot of cultural appropriation that always comes up. And in honesty when it comes to cultural appropriation, um especially with hair, it's almost as if black girls especially, can do certain things with their hair. They can have cornrow, cornrows or um braids or anything. If a white person had to do it, it's a problem. But then black girls are free to get weaves which is a replica of white girl hair and it's not a problem for them to do it.

#### Reference 7 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: A lot of them have immigrated for reasons that they can only find jobs overseas. And here they, the white people that still live here have become hopeless if they lost their jobs or they're looking for something else to do and although we are safeguarded in terms of the general human rights 1.00.00 of like the right to live and all those, we aren't necessarily safeguarded in the sense that um we can't just openly, I mean even for example if you look at um TV competitions, you are more likely to win as a black person than a white person because it's just how the country, it's like how the mindset is. And although white people may have the talents and the capabilities to be in the workplace or hold high positions it's almost because of BEE we don't really have that option anymore.

#### Reference 8 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: To add on with abilities and the fact that we are born frees, because of our parents, grandparents or whatever were around in apartheid we were not necessarily born-free. Same with the sports. Um now look, sports, you, um because, because of apartheid and now what we want to achieve is um is equality there must be this many players of colour in a team, where a guy that could hold the job, a high standard job, this kid could play that, this sport better than him, but because of what's happened we need to play them in. On a personal experience I've had a friend be called on the night before he leaves on an overseas tour to say a POC, a player of colour has been injured um and we need to bring in another one and we [inaudible] to kick you off as well, for another POC. So they get cut short of options-

BH: POC means player of colour?

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Yes. Because of what happened in the past these born-frees aren't really free of the, yeah, what we have to fix.

Reference 9 - 1.00% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: I agree, it's just, some people are fired so that a black person can take their job. And I am saying, if the- for me it does not matter, the colour of your skin when applying for a job. It's who will best fit the criteria you know, have what it takes to do the job. Because obviously I'm not going to hire a hairdresser to become my electrician. Same I wouldn't hire an electrician who's never (inaudible) service to be a hairdresser. I will look at who is the best candidate. And I do agree that we, that people of colour should be given a chance to you know, get jobs and all, but those who have worked their life to get up to their position in the workplace or young white people nowadays can't get jobs because of BEE. So BEE has it's pros and cons like it's meant there to help those who are were in the past, you know, suppressed and everything, and I completely agree with that. However at the same time it's now causing problems for the other races.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 48 references coded [ 20.41% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I mentioned it when we introduced ourselves, its respect. You know in apartheid years you were taught if an adult or somebody with authority speaks to you, you listen and you respect what that people is telling you. And if he says to you this is red, although it is brown, you will still stick with whatever an adult tells you. Today a child in grade three or four stabs his friend. We never had that, sorry for the French, shit in apartheid. We have it now. Why? Because our children has been brought up. You can tell an adult, you can say to someone in authority, you can't touch me because the law protects me. That is bull dust.

Reference 3 - 0.72% Coverage

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Well I will say nationally I don't think that the guys respect each other. I mean is we look at the way they are going on in parliament, how they are attacking each other, how they are fighting and whatever. Sometimes it is a whole mess.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: It is also discipline.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: It's discipline. It is respect for the next guy. It is not there anymore. So how can the children have respect for anybody? Their parents, their teacher, whatever, if this is what is happening at the top?

Reference 4 - 0.42% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: For instance if you look at the courts. It's no more a court. It's a circus - the people carrying on like that. You know in apartheid years there wasn't such behaviour in courts. It is attempt of court. They would lock you up if you do something like that. Today they are having a party in courts.

Reference 5 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 9, M: Mine is mostly the farm killings.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 9, M: Some of the farmers supply food for shops and that, and then, then it went dead. Then they said there are no farm killings. It is all on a national level, where they can more investigate the farmers. And then in the community it's, you get these people they are burning each other with tyres. And in apartheid there was nothing like that in apartheid.

Reference 6 - 0.12% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: If you don't go toyi-toyi at the door, they're not going to help you.

Reference 7 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 3, M: For instance there by my work I got to pick up black workers. They tell you straight, they will-

BH: Sorry the tape recorder. Yes carry on.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: They tell you straight they will rather live in the old apartheid as to live in the country right now.

#### Reference 8 - 1.34% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Exactly, exactly what she is saying now, we, blame, blame apartheid, it's fine, but we never, you will never found our education, our health, our workforce, anything, our schools, whatever you want to, universities, go to any one of them now, as a white person and walk into it and say I want to bring my five or six-year old. That's why they started having private schools or crèches or whatever and home schooling for white people to also get education because you can't go Sebokeng and take your child there because they're going to stab him with scissors like yesterday. Two friends playing in class, black friends playing in class, stabbing the other one, died at school. We never had, you, in your life, during apartheid, call it the way you want, you would never find that 'cause the people, the children and the teachers and the parents had respect for each other and for themselves. You would never find the bull that is continuing in our country now. In apartheid it will never happen.

#### Reference 9 - 1.27% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Because we didn't use to kill them like they are killing our farmers. I mean that's a crime against humanity, to see the way our farmers get killed and it's brutal murders. They brutally murder them.

Group 6, Participant ##: Torture them.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: That didn't happen in the past. That didn't happen in apartheid. They just weren't allowed in our areas and stuff like that. But they, we didn't go around murdering them. We didn't go around killing them. Raping their wives and killing their kids and burning them with irons and stuff like that. So I think apartheid is more now. This is apartheid. That wasn't apartheid (inaudible). So the apartheid, they saw apartheid never worked, but now they got apartheid against whites. And they are killing the whites, they are raping our wives, and they raping our daughters. That's against human that is unhuman. What they are doing is un-human. What we did was never unhuman.

#### Reference 10 - 1.46% Coverage

BH: Alright anybody else want to say anything? So now I am going to ask you; how does apartheid stand up against other atrocities such as the treatment of Jews and other minorities by the Nazis or the treatment of indigenous people say, United States against the Red Indian or Australia and the aborigines, or New Zealand and the Maori's or what Belgians did with the Belgium Congo? How do you think apartheid stands up against those atrocities?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The only difference, sorry, 20.00 those countries, whatever you named now, our country, the blacks, turned the whole thing upside down. They took the aborigines in Australia, the Maori's or whoever they was, they gave them work. They still work. They got their own camp where they live. But every day, they go from their camp, they go to work in New Zealand. After that they go back to their camp. But they've got food. Their children go to school. They are getting an education. The children are getting an education. What did we do? You can't even start to compare anywhere in the world to what is happening in our country. There is no way.

#### References 11-12 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Look at xenophobia.

BH: No, no I am talking about twenty five years ago.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: But I am just saying now. Twenty five years ago there was no such thing. They didn't use to say let's start killing our own people. It's their own people that they are killing. They are burning their shops.

BH: Yes, yes, but that's now.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Twenty five years ago there was no such thing. You didn't even know about this thing like xenophobia.



Reference 13 - 1.04% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: It is definitely different. Definitely.

BH: Tell me in which way is it different.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Well we're not doing the same, exactly now what is happening today. We never did anything like that in the past. I remember my grandfather and my grandmother telling me stories. I grew up in this area. 1977, '76 my grandmother had a newspaper stand. Just around the corner, exactly in this road. We lived here in First Street, Parkhurst. 4 o'clock the morning she used to take a walk up First Avenue and coming up 7th Street. Whenever she saw a black person in the road, they usually stood one side. "Good evening mam" "good morning man" whatever. But she said as time progressed, they started just bumping her out of the way and she eventually gave up her shop.

Reference 14 - 0.28% Coverage

BH: Why don't you think the reconciliation didn't work?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: They didn't judge all the situations the same. If they hadn't done everything the same way maybe it would have worked better.

Reference 15 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I feels like it's a punishment now. We're being punished more for what happened in the past.

Reference 16 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Punishing generation after generation after generation.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 6, Participant ##: And it's getting worse, you know what I mean?

References 17-18 - 0.35% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 9, M: It's like this new youth thing that they got for the youth, they start with, the top people start with the small kids. They start at the shops. They start with meeting at shops. That's where they are starting and then all over, then its chaos.

References 19-20 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It's the past. Keep the past in the past. What is that going to change now? They already took over everything so what else do you want?

References 21-22 - 0.44% Coverage

BH: What would have happened?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think that the system, the systems at that time worked more fairly or more decent than it does now. If I go now as a white person and say that guy called me a boer, what happens to him? They blow you out of the water. But if I call him the "K" word now, I am in prison ten minutes later.

References 23-24 - 0.46% Coverage

BH: Okay. Now I must just ask you not to bash the pencil because of the sound. (laughter) Number ten I am so sorry. I am putting you under huge stress.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And that is the unfairity. If there is a word like that in the English.

BH: Okay. Is it not unfairness? That is a good word.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: If I had a problem with this guy

References 25-26 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Because it wasn't us. We didn't know. We we hear about it only afterwards. Why

punish us? Why punish our children? We are sorry for what happened but the past is in the past. Let's carry on. Make about the future.

Reference 27 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: Okay and you number nine?

Group 6, Participant 9, M: Well mostly it's work. Because every second robot you go to is hijacking. That is how they get their income. They want to hijack that car then sell that car then there is nothing, for work.

Reference 28 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: If you got qualifications, why does the guy who has less, because of his colour, gets the position? Easy as that. So we are getting sweep, BEE, the whole flippen time. Are you for real? Never mind. But any way.

References 29-31 - 0.89% Coverage

BH: The EFF, okay, and what are your views number four? How can we work together with our interests at heart?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I got no idea.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I think a good start would be to get rid of all the hate. All the hating that there is.

BH: Is the hate coming from both sides?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: From both sides.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Both sides, ja.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Both sides.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: And not one of them wants to -

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Not one of them wants to give in

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They don't want to reconcile. I'll spite you, you spite me.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Yes that's the thing yeah.

References 32-33 - 1.62% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think, I just think we, the respect and and and again, white people were brought up that way. And I'm not, I am saying this with the utmost respect.

BH: Yes yes yes.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Black people's culture is miles apart from white people's culture. So what, to me if he touches that pie he has to take it and eat it. Another guy will sit here and he will take all of it. Alright I want that one. I was brought up, I respect this guy he is going to eat that. And the mutual respect is just not there. We respect them from apartheid. We respected them. We still gave them food. They still had education. They still had all that. Take all that respect that you were taught in twenty five years and reverse it and give it back to us. Because if you are going to respect me I am going to respect you. If you are not going to respect me I'm not going to respect you. 1.10.00 And that's where the problem is now. You want to tell my wife she's got nice shoes on. Or a nice pants or whatever she's got that's nice. And I don't like it because I haven't been brought up. That's my wife. Don't talk to her. Don't talk about her or whatever. Give her a compliment, no problem. But the respect part is just zero, from them to us.

References 34-35 - 0.70% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Stop playing the blame game. And-

Group 6, Participant ##: Get over it.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: How long is, since 1994. It's been-

BH: It's twenty five years

Group 6, Participant 11, M: It's twenty-five years it's been democracy but they still blaming everything on apartheid. So if they can't get it right in twenty five years why still blame it on apartheid? It doesn't make sense. So stop playing the blame game. That's the only way to move forward. Forget about the past and look in front of you.

References 36-37 - 0.27% Coverage

BH: And now number three you said education. Tell me some more about education.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Well if you educate the people more you will at least get something in their heads. I'll tell you that.

Reference 38 - 0.43% Coverage

BH: So what is it that we want to get into everybody's heads?

Group 6, Participant ##: Yeah. Forget the past. Go on with the future. That is the main thing.

BH: So do you think perhaps we need to have a special goal that we need to work to?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Yeah, that would, that's what I'm saying, yeah. Something like that.

References 39-40 - 1.09% Coverage

BH: Number five

Group 6, Participant 5, F: My true opinion about this whole story, if respect comes from your culture or the way you were brought up it will never happen. Sorry that's how I feel. It will never happen. They they could not forget about apartheid in twenty-five years. How can we think that it will change now? How? Who's gonna change it? Who's gonna to have respect for the next guy? Nobody has respect. Nobody can work together. I mean if if you've got a business and the majority is black people, and you want to have equal rights or whatever, the, the rules are, but it's not happening. So now you have to get more other cultured people in this business so that they can be on top together. I mean you've only got one culture now at the top. But now we must work together. But how you going to do that? Because it is only black.

Reference 41 - 0.67% Coverage

BH: So you are saying that black economic empowerment and employment equity has divided us more?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Yes definitely. Definitely.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Because those people get the work not because of qualifications-

Group 6, Participant 5, F: No, ja!

Group 6, Participant 4, F: of their skin colour.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: How are you going to rectify it now? You can't.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: So where's the economy gonna end up?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Can't be rectified

Reference 42 - 0.52% Coverage

BH: Ok. Alright. So why do you think white people tend to vote for white parties? Whether it is the Democratic Alliance, Freedom Fight + or political parties such as the ADCP. Why do you think they vote for those parties?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I think number four and number five said that. We understand a white guy will hear if I tell him about my respect, my religion, my culture, my way of life.

References 43-46 - 1.11% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I think the politicians are full of empty promises. I mean how did the ANC get into power? They promised everybody houses. They promised everybody free education. Free this, free that, free, and have they given those people that? No they haven't given the people- now they want to turn around because they can't fulfil their promises and they wanna to blame apartheid. So everything is apartheid's fault. So now who gets, who gets free university? The blacks get free university. Who gets free houses? The blacks get free houses. But they're still not happy. Who's the guys burning down the universities? It is the guys that are failing and they don't get a bursary again for free. So they'll go and burn the university down. But if you pay for something you won't burn it down because you know you're paying for it.

References 47-48 - 1.15% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Okay I just want to make an example. We are not the only country that is so bad. One friend told me overseas in America, some or other suburb was a rich suburb. So the blacks said, right, the people, they want to force him out, they want him out of the rich neighbourhood because that neighbourhood belongs to them. As they tried, they gonna give him the neighbourhood back. So the whi-, the rich people moved out of the neighbourhood. 120.00 The blacks moved in. After six months what was left of the nice neighbourhood? Nothing. All the places had been burned down. The houses. The doorframes, everything has been sold as scrap. So take it for example. Take these blacks. Give them a piece of land. With a farm. House and everything on it. After three or four months you go there. What happened to the place? The place is burnt down. They stay in a shack.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 63 references coded [ 19.41% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: If they can build houses for the black people, they can build houses for pensioners, how many whites are there who do not homes.

References 2-3 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I would say to me, it's the same, because we were 10 children and we stayed next to black people and we basically did everything together with them and there was not anything like you are white and you are black, so for me it is just the same, they are just moaning about the skin colour- you are too white, you can't work.

Reference 4 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I've often spoken about it. They all say they preferred the apartheid years, because then they lived, they received rations, they could come and wake you up at 3 o'clock in the morning to say my child is sick or whatever, now we live in prisons, they cannot come within 3 or 400 meters of your house.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: They themselves are frightened of leaving their homes.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Many of them say it was a better time for them, they were looked after better, yes there were people who abused the system, but today just the opposite is happening, so what's the difference.

Reference 5 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: We saw it in Rhodesia, where my husband worked. When the whites were oppressed like that, the blacks were then in, in the end they came back to the whites and said just take the farms back because we can't handle them, we can do nothing without you. So help us again. It is a fact, we need each other.

Reference 6 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I also just want to say, to me it was better [-2:05:47] in the apartheid's years, there was more consistent discipline, and things just fell into place. I agree that the African people should not be mistreated, all should be treated humanely.

References 7-11 - 0.44% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: The funny thing to me is that they are always burning down their shops, then they need to be rebuilt...

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Or their schools.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Yes or their schools, they burn it down and who pays for it? Tax payers? Nothing gets done about it.

Group 7, Participant ##: Nothing gets done.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They don't get locked up. They can protest as well. They can damage your car but you can do nothing.

#### Reference 12 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes they still blame us for apartheid but they know nothing about apartheid, they are young and cannot remember anything about that era. It's just what their parents told them about that period. But they still blame us

DL: That is very true, we will still get to that.

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Yes, we will.

#### References 13-14 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: To be honest, the big thing is that I hate no nation, but they force you to hate. The thing is they hate their own skins because they can't have our skins'. That's the big problem. I worked a lot with non-European ladies when I was involved with welfare, they tell you straight they want to be like this, they want to be white. Look what happened to Michael Jackson

[-1:55:55]

Group 7, Participant ##: and straight hair

#### Reference 15 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Just to show people overseas how they mourn and cry because they were hurt so badly but we whites did not hurt. Our forefathers (never?) experienced hardships.

#### References 16-18 - 0.92% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No, because they did not know their facts, they called the people in.

DL: Pardon, When you say they called the people in I take it you refer to the ANC?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: The ANC. The ANC did not get or know their facts. They relied on what people came to confess so that they could bring their diary up to date.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes but it's like that with everything they do.

DL: So would you say that both sides of the matter was not really heard?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No. And they just decided that if they don't like you, you don't get amnesty.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes then you're out. Take the man who murdered Chris Hani, Janusz Walus. Look they refuse to give him amnesty. He sits and sits, all talking. And he will never get.

DL: So you feel it was unjust in that sense.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: From newspaper reports regarding this matter one gets the impression of bias and that the lists of the amnesty was not focused on as such.

#### References 19-20 - 1.39% Coverage

DL: Good. Talk about the next one. What about the politicians with the big mouths who often stand on the podiums and talk such a lot about them, how many of them applied?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: One never heard of them. No you don't hear about them. And they still carry on and on like a record that is flippen stuck, it just goes on and on but let a White say something then, there is big trouble. They open their mouths but nothing gets done. They never get to the point

DL: Yes politicians make easy promises but nothing happens and he buys votes with that

Group 7, Participant ##: For sure.

Group 7, Participant ##: Promises that are never kept empty promises, free houses everything free. We should like the ANC make promises so everybody votes for them.

DL: You really have to join in the conversation

Group 7, Participant ##, F: I agree but it's too late now. The promises are many but the real application does not happen. Look how the ANC promised houses to be built for Whites, how many houses are being built?

(Everyone talking)

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They get solar geysers, they get everything, and you can drive into any town how many houses are being built? There are no White squatter camps where you will see houses built for Whites or something. The Whites just have to suffer they must have a look in the various towns these days how many Whites are on the street, how many are begging, there's no houses or food and so on for them but it is given to the Blacks these days.

#### Reference 21 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Also if you look at the way they build, they build the location at the entrances of the towns, they're spreading now, take "Excelsior" as an example, so when there is protest action they cut the town off completely from the outside world. They close the road you can't get through you can't move in or out of town, there's strategic planning behind all these things.

#### Reference 22 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: In in our town at the location there is the most beautiful stadium. Not one match was played there. It's not even fully completed, all those toilets and wash basins have been stolen. They built a high wall around it. There are places where the bricks are being broken down. Now it just sits there. Is it now someone who got a contract.

DL: Yes, received a tender.

Group 7, Participant ##: But it was not necessary.

Group 7, Participant ##: It's millions of Rands

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Houses too.

#### References 23-24 - 1.38% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: All of a sudden the thing gets blown up. That woman at...

DL: Penny Sparrow

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Experienced something similar. She got a prison sentence.

DL: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Exactly.

DL: Are certain cases not being taken out of context?

(All talking together agreeing)

Group 7, Participant ##: It's nothing else.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take those two guys who put the Black in the coffin, exactly the same, but now I read in yesterday's paper, the Volksblad, that they will appear in court on the 10th of November. Seems to me the Appeal Court has decided that it is a fake story. They merely wanted to scare him and he was not assaulted as he alleged that he had marks on his body. From his own mother's time he had red marks on his back, there were no marks as a result of being assaulted. Now the Appeal Court has decided that the two guys are innocent and that they may get ? (inaudible)

Group 7, Participant ##, F: But just look how much money was wasted.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But look how they carry on about the K-word.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

(Laughter)

Group 7, Participant ##: I mean they will tell you that you are a bloody white person and you just have to accept it.

DL: However it may be, the thing gets turned around.

Group 7, Participant ##: The funny thing is that Malema may say what he likes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: But he gets away with everything. No action is taken against him.

#### References 25-28 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes I would also say forgive and forget. Even with movies with all the old apartheid stories, you feel upset all over again. They must leave those things behind. Don't show those movies anymore. It just incites them all over again.

Group 7, Participant ##: It just fans the fires of hatred. And they show those movies more and more these days.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Yes. On TV, how they were treated during those days. It should be stopped.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Songs too. There are songs people sing that people are mad about.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Kill the Boer.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Its number 1 on top. Also the old flag that they display in front of people and they don't like it and the anthem that they want to do away with. Those are not really important things. What difference does it make if they still sing the anthem at rugby matches and so forth, and it has never caused any harm.

#### References 29-31 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: They will keep it alive, because you are already marked. It's a question of hate and grudges so they will keep it alive. Because you're already marked. If it were them, then all the files will disappear. Very quickly too.

Reference 32 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I want to ask another question quickly. How many of these blacks are imported into South Africa? From outside? Years ago, there weren't that many blacks in this country.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: They breed.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They breed because the State looks after them, they get money so the more children they have the more money they get.

Group 7, Participant ##: They must stop child allowances.

Reference 33 - 0.42% Coverage

DL: We will talk about that too just now. You're welcome number 8.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The legislation that the new government introduced, to give black people preference to get job opportunities and we, the others are just overlooked. If they are appointed on merit that's fine, but it is not done on merit, and that is where the problem lies.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: And half of them don't even know what they're doing but they are there.

References 34-35 - 0.41% Coverage

DL: We will talk about that shortly. I'm glad to see you were looking ahead. What problems could you have, should you hold the government accountable?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I will say I hold them responsible for all the rapes, farm murders, number one, and for all the hate they fanned in this country.

Group 7, Participant ##: And the poverty.

Group 7, Participant ##: Poverty.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Places they burn down.

Reference 36 - 0.98% Coverage

DL: I really don't want to be speaking alone, you must really join in the conversation and say ...If you say yes or no, please motivate your statement, so we can get a bit more clarity. Good let's continue. The next one says: is there something that ordinary white people could have done against apartheid. Could they have taken some action against apartheid? What do you say, what could they have done?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Not really, but you could have treated the people working in your house properly, treating them fairly, then I feel that you have also done your part. There were some who treated their domestic workers fairly, but others treated them badly. You could, there was a way.

DL: Good, do you think there were other ways white people could have reacted during the time of apartheid?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: (Muffled response.) Giving food to them at the gate. We did that.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: But today's favour is tomorrow's responsibility. Tomorrow they're back.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: That's also true.

Reference 37 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: And when those people took over, you had to apply for your current post and there things went wrong, because people were not qualified for the position but were appointed to that position. He couldn't do the work. There everything went wrong.

Reference 38 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The people who are now earmarked to get farms they get the farm but most of



those farms fail because he does not have property rights, He cannot get a loan, he can get no security to operate that farm. Another thing.

(All talking, agreeing.)

Group 7, Participant ##: Even if he gets the money he can't do it. He does not have the expertise.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Reference 39 - 0.84% Coverage

DL: The next question connects with this: Is there an absolute silence about the life under apartheid? Do we still talk about it? Or do we keep completely quiet about it?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: We still talk about it a lot.

Group 7, Participant ##: Definitely.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: When you do talk about it, it is all negative. Hate and bitterness as a result of the fact that we can't forgive and forget. We should do it, but no one really does it. It's difficult. The discussion will last for a short while and then the ugliness comes to the fore.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: And it comes basically from the ANC., always bringing this up. Yes, especially Malema and those ones.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: He cannot forget it.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But he had nothing to do with apartheid,

Group 7, Participant 9, F: But the history in school, is about the ANC, it doesn't go farther back.

Reference 40 - 0.77% Coverage

DL: Isn't it a case of our different perspectives; if I talk about white history I see it like this, but from a black perspective I see it differently? How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes, it could also be, because they see their history completely differently, than what we see ours.

Group 7, Participant ##: ...The Zulu's.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Say, the ANC, I say ANC, because it's because of them that we are in the position we are in today.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Take for example the Zulus that were so cruel, that's what our children were taught, about the Voortrekkers and the Zulus and that, so your child knew about things like that and caused children to learn to hate, I mean he knew about all the cruelty and things like that, so maybe it is better on the other hand that those things were also removed.

Reference 41 - 0.29% Coverage

DL: Good, what do you say about it?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: It's like he says if they could think that they could move forward with us, but they still do not allow us a place in the sun they feel they're in charge, whites must now be oppressed, where we supposedly suppressed them, they now want to oppress us.

References 42-43 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I can also say I was also very glad. All went well for 4 years, thereafter they started with their trouble making, whites like this and blacks like that, and apartheid, always apartheid's fault.

References 44-46 - 0.67% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 4, M Those days they had their place and you had yours, and many have said that they led a better life then, that they would like apartheid to return, because they lived a better life then. That's why there are so many without work, sitting on street corners hoping to get something.

DL: So you say democracy was... (Inaudible)

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I agree. For instance the farm labourers, they received their rations at the end of the month, they had mielie meal, coffee, sugar, they got everything, and if you speak to the elderly, they say apartheid must return, because they lived a better life, they had food, the children, they could survive, today they have to steal, murder, to survive.

References 47-49 - 0.88% Coverage

DL: If you think you represent all of Brandfort, are they democrats against their will, or are they pro-democracy? Do you want to talk about the district?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I see it as a challenge to see whether we can live together, we can only benefit to work along with them instead of being against one another, so rather pull together, instead of against each other.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with you, but the hatred will never disappear.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But those things one must put behind if you are a Christian.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But that is why the ANC keeps on inciting them that is why they will never get rid of the hatred because they can't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They believe in their forefathers.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: They're not Christians, they don't believe in God. If you don't have God in you, then you don't have love, and if you don't have love you can't...

Reference 50 - 0.33% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Because I farm, I know a lot of the black people's way of life. He will tell me in the morning them mielie meal is finished. I struggled for a long time to educate him to ask me to bring mielie meal back with me, when I go into town. Initially it did not happen, but late. To elaborate. The people did not learn to plan for tomorrow.

Reference 51 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I have a friend in Welkom, she is a nursing sister, and at this specific hospital they required applications for nursing sisters, and when white sisters applied, they froze the position. Then they consider others but they unable to perform.

Reference 52 - 0.54% Coverage

DL: Let's continue. Now we come to one we spoke about earlier. What about equal employment and BEE? You know regarding equal employment, there is a law, there must be so many Whites, Blacks, Coloured's, and BEE, as we said earlier, and the person had to have a BEE partner in order to participate.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: This to me, is completely wrong. I say, if they are able to do the work, that's fine, then have a black partner, but most of the time you have to take one, but then you still have to do the work yourself.

DL: He gets the money?

Group 7, Participant ##: He gets paid.

Reference 53 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But they can also be proud of the country. They are not proud of the country. To them it still feels as if it's the white man's land. If they were proud they would also repair the roads, plant

flowers on the sidewalks, but nothing.

#### References 54-56 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: We whites can't even do window shopping in the evening, or be out on the street, your kids can't even sleep outside on the lawn

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I was pulled off the scooter in our street recently.

Group 7, Participant ##: Oh no!

DL: So it's a personal thing.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: By three children.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Years ago, the police did foot patrols. Not anymore.

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They rather sit in the police station and sleep in front of a heater

Group 7, Participant ##: Or drunk.

#### Reference 57 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: But I want to raise another point. We generalize easily. In our discussion this afternoon I've noticed this, and I include myself, there's a large group of black people who are favourably disposed towards us, and feel as we do, and reciprocally, between blacks and whites. There is a small group, who try to make things difficult for us, and we are inclined to isolate them, and say everyone is like that. But that is not so.

(Agreement.)

Group 7, Participant ##: Not all are like that.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: But isn't it the human tendency to do that?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: It is, and I include myself.

#### References 58-59 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take the elderly who came along with you/us over the years, mostly the white people who know what it is all about. If you take the elderly today also, how their children treat them, the blacks, how they rob their parents, but nothing gets done about it. So those elderly ones who are now living, would rather side with the white people's apartheid years,

#### Reference 60 - 0.72% Coverage

DL: Good, topic 9 says: What are the benefits, if any, to be a white South African today? Let's touch on that briefly. They say, not just Julius Malema, who reasons that white people still do well in the new SA, in spite of equal employment and BEE, they earn good money, children go to good schools, have better jobs than black people; is that true? What do you say?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I think whites know how to work with money. Blacks really don't know how. They squander everything. A black will take the money and spend it, because he now has the money.

DL: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: You've got to think about tomorrow.

Group 7, Participant ##: I don't think they do that.

DL: It's as we said earlier, planning

DL: Group 7, Participant ##: Yes planning.

Reference 61 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I can't go into detail, but speaking to my child. He does excellent work in a Public Service job, he works hard, he has no choice, and he does his best, but the blacks get the credit. That makes me very sad. But you can do nothing about it

References 62-63 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Just getting rid of a white person in order to replace him with a black, but he was not qualified to do the work, that's the problem, they should have done it fairly if he has the qualifications and experience, and if he can do the work, by all means give it to him.

Group 7, Participant ##: Exactly

Group 7, Participant ##: But that's not what happened. The white under him must do the work, while he sits in his office and (inaudible) gets the money.

Group 7, Participant ##: It is so.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 43 references coded [ 17.92% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I think we disappoint each other, it's difficult, peoples actions are very different to ours, we are used to speaking normally to each other, nothing racist, but they speak very loudly with each other, that irritates many people

References 2-3 - 0.70% Coverage

hen also the judicial system that is not fairly applied, we are supposed to be a democracy, but unfortunately there is discrimination, like what I read in the newspapers and see on television, as an example, the woman that was assaulted by the African males, but she is the one sent to jail because she used the "K" word, how is that fair, then you see other things circulated in the media, for instance the Spur incident, then there is also the example, when an African person does something against us, nothing gets done and it is not circulated in the media.

Reference 4 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I also just want to say that many use apartheid as a big excuse.

References 5-6 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I also don't think they could have handled the situation better, the way I experience it, we live on a farm, you have to suppress them and leave them to carry on by themselves, that's how we experience it on the farm, and you can't leave them to work without someone supervising them whilst they work.

Reference 7 - 1.87% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: What about human rights currently, I can personally testify how my human rights were prejudiced.

DL: I'd like to hear it - what situation did you experience?

Group 8, Participant 4, F: We both stop at the road block, just because he drove past and exceeded the speed limit.

DL: Was he black or white?

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Black, I did not have my seatbelt on. I stood there for a half an hour and tried to apologize, they gave me a fine, and just looked at him and said there you go. How is that not also a crime against human rights? If we are to be equal then we must be equal.

DL: I am glad you mention it, this is what we want to hear.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: And that is just a minor incident

Group 8, Participant 9, F: The worst was now recently at the traffic dept., my license had expired, I applied 3 months before it expired so that I would have the renewal on time, I did not get an SMS to collect it, I went to collect, man next to me was black, they immediately gave it to him even though he also did not get an SMS, but they yelled at me in front of everyone saying you did not get an SMS what are you doing here, but on their system showed that my renewal had been sitting there for 2 months. That is discrimination, why can't I get my license, it is there, it's about service but they don't want to help you because you are white and will just say "fill in the paper", the other one will take time to explain to him if he is black. It happens at every place where you need service.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

carrying

References 9-11 - 0.99% Coverage

DL: The question is was it really necessary to dig into the past to build a better future?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I think they just fuelled hatred. People were already upset and in pain about it – after apartheid they were looking for something to hit back the whites, this was the perfect opportunity to get every ones hatred together and use it as a driving force that they overcome the whites and they succeeded.

Group 8, Participant 7, F: It is not even the people who lived during the apartheid who raise it, it's people who had nothing to do with apartheid who use it to obtain something.

35:00

Group 8, Participant 8, M: It's the young blacks who make you out to be racist, then they come with their apartheid nonsense.

Group 8, Participant ##: But you weren't even part of apartheid.

References 12-15 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: It's their driving force, you go straight to your ancestors and use it as your driving force, you can't live like this in a rainbow nation where there are so many cultures, in a way everyone is done in, if you compare apartheid now, it is 10 times worse than it was then.

Reference 16 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I feel, it's a metaphor, (in audible) I don't know how many of you have ever done babysitting, but I've done it often. It's like a child that starts screaming about something that is not really that bad and you say to him/her you have reason to cry about it, the child will not immediately understand that the person is trying to help him even though he has reason to cry, they basically gave people who wanted to freak out back up by saying it is right, you must be upset, you have a reason to be upset.

Reference 17 - 1.73% Coverage

If we say that it is now 25 years after democracy, should bygones be bygones? How do you feel?

I feel they keep bringing it up, we will never be able to get over it and move on. We can do so much more and move on.

If you are stuck in the past, you can't make progress.

They need to focus on today, what is important to the country.

They are still trying to solve problems from that time.

As you said "we want work, create employment"

May I be a realist and just say that it is a very nice idea but we are just people and people don't know how to let go of the past otherwise we would not still be getting upset about speaking about concentration camps and Hitler. In America they are also still going on about slavery, if your great great grandfather did something to you brother. I agree it is a good thing to let go and move on but people cannot let go

But they keep bringing it up in the school syllabus.

Indoctrination.

The first heading in LO is Apartheid, they should rather teach us how to grow your business, teach practical skills.

Say someone loaned R3000 from you 200 years ago, and another loaned R3000 just last week, which one will you go to first – you will right off the first R3000.

Or you go back to the one who loaned first.

But he could have died already.

Or have forgotten about it.

So you will go to the person who borrowed from you last week because he promised to pay you back next week.

#### Reference 18 - 0.96% Coverage

Remember, apartheid was a white system, were there white people who were against apartheid?

Why would they have stood up for them if they knew that the system was better?

If it was in my time, why would I stand up against it?

People now see it as wrong.

The point is valid, if you see that things are going well in that system why you would want to change it.

Some even today still feel that they are not treated fairly by the government.

Especially the older black workers/people who worked under that system.

They say it was much better for them at that time.

Many have come forward and said it was better

I know 2 or 3 with whom I swot, he is only now doing his degree like us, we actually had the same conversation about this topic and said things were better then than now.

#### References 19-21 - 0.45% Coverage

It's about the level of education, you can see for yourself which will be an empty promise and vote against it Nobody is educated.

The majority, let's say the majority.

Black people are so in dire need of money, that is what they think they are going to get.

But they do it all the time.

Just shows the level of education.

He doesn't think further than his nose.

#### Reference 22 - 0.85% Coverage

You are really sitting with the legality or inheritance of apartheid even though you were not part of it but it does have an influence on us. Last one, did you feel relieved when the system was replaced with democracy, if so why, how did you feel? It actually happened before your birth, so this question is not relevant/applicable to you as you only know the democratic system. Would you like to mention anything?

I would say that I wish apartheid was still here because everything was just so much better

Then you arrive back to her opinion previously made that it went well during that period -in terms of white people it was a good system.

Both sides.

But black people also.

#### Reference 23 - 0.42% Coverage

It is not so that Afrikaaners battle to stand together.

The black people support each other well.

Not necessarily, the Xhosas did.

There are many instances.

Races differ but they stand together (all talking together – inaudible).

There are many of the blacks who stand together with the white, more than whites stand together.

#### Reference 24 - 0.11% Coverage

But if you stay near a location, you often hear gun shots as they shoot at each other.

#### References 25-27 - 1.48% Coverage

ou mean, if it is about a certain cause, then they support each other

But I feel that we can think for ourselves, they are easily influenced and only listen to what they want to hear. One person can easily stir up a crowd and influence them to listen to him  
I think whites like their own growth, you measure yourself against yourself, you want to "grow" bigger, you want to be better than him, whereas they have nothing and so there is nothing for them to measure themselves against so they stand together  
Although, I think that if push comes to shove, then we will stand together much better than they do  
I saw a video of the EFF at Kovies, this is the best way to illustrate what I want to say, they can stand together as much as they want, but when the rugby boys come running, what happens then?  
I also think there is a big difference on whether you grew up on the farm or the city.  
I grew up on the farm so I think I have the wrong mentality.  
My niece and nephew are city people, they have many different races as their friends, they are not so bad but you get far worse people, those who marry across the colour spectrum, they will rather support the person they married.  
Or marry impartially.

#### References 28-29 - 0.35% Coverage

Is it not what we said just now, you did not have a choice, you needed them but when you gave them that power, it went straight to their heads, they put uneducated people in positions that they were not trained for, so they disperse power to others just to make them feel powerful.

#### References 30-31 - 0.71% Coverage

How would you respond to the statement that white people are hesitant democrats? That they are not heart and soul part of the democracy  
What did we all vote for? People in Bloemfontein stood in the rain to vote.  
So, you would say it is not so.  
I think it is the other way around – we wish that democracy can work for us, it's not us against it.  
They basically want to force their own apartheid on us.  
All talking together.  
Autocracy.  
You are a democrat, well then say that  
I am a democrat and I want them to stop using the apartheid that our forefathers used on them against us.

#### References 32-34 - 0.56% Coverage

Illiteracy figure is high amongst the blacks especially and because they have this freeness of speech, they get appointed to positions because it is their right, but they are not qualified to do the work.  
It's not always their fault.  
When it comes to a job application, and you know that you are not qualified but you are black and I have a right to sit here, then they give him the work, but a qualified white man is declined because of his skin colour.

#### References 35-36 - 1.51% Coverage

We are still going to chat about that shortly. Has the government built in a balance between the minority rights as opposed to the majority?  
I think they give far more to the majority, the blacks say they are the minority but actually we are, the government does not dispense the state resources equally, democratically we are all equal, but we aren't and they just further disadvantage us, the whites.  
I agree with her, they don't use the resources fairly, they would rather give it to some who is less qualified than use it to further their own interests than help the whites who are qualified for the same position.  
Yes a small group the majority group enjoy preferential treatment, to the exclusion of the rest which they don't even care about that is why there is more unemployment. Their people in good positions just get more and more money.  
They only look after themselves. The constitution, does it make provision for minority rights  
No it doesn't. They make more allowance for majority groups, as an example, the abolishment of the death sentence because of a black man "Mokonyane" that "pushed for it", it feels as if criminals are getting away with more and more because of our constitution.

#### References 37-38 - 0.81% Coverage

Does that mean that the rights of whites as a racial minority are sufficiently safeguarded? As a minority, are you just part of the system?

I think the white people are viewed outside of the system, the system only works for them, they want to drive us out.

Who is "they"?

The blacks want to drive us, the whites out, they don't want us.

All talk together.

Reference is made to the farm murders (rest in audible).

In essence you are saying the majorities rights overshadow that of the white minority

Yes, if you stand up for your rights, then you are following apartheid or being racist or unequal but all you are doing is standing up for yourself

Reference 39 - 0.28% Coverage

It is very similar in black households, they have only 1 or 2 children, but they are educated and have qualified positions. I've always said you need a certain IQ to have children, I feel illiteracy.. all talk together.

Reference 40 - 0.35% Coverage

I would also say that they bail them out by giving money to woman for children but all that causes is that they keep making children.

01:45:00

This is just what also happened in the UK, 16 year old having twins because she is going to get a subsidy from the state, the same happens here

Reference 41 - 0.26% Coverage

I have don't know if you know/have seen a video of a black pastor somewhere in America, it's on You Tube, who preaches to them about South Africa now and how good it was in the past and he hits the nail on the head.

Reference 42 - 0.39% Coverage

ANC offers a once of street wise meal but the DA says I am first going to give you a slice of bread for the 4 years that you are with me but they only hear Kentucky.

I would say you can eat this marshmallow now or if you wait you will get another one. Most children are so impulsive that they will eat the one immediately.

Reference 43 - 1.29% Coverage

What is the advantage, if any, of being white in South Africa. Many, even Julius Malema, says whites still do well in South Africa despite black economic empowerment, they still earn more, they go to the best schools, have the best jobs.

We work harder for everything we have, they just get everything for free. If I also just got money each month for nothing, if you know you have to work for something, on your land even though they can take it at any stage, you make the most of what you have, why would you not want to do it. If you can offer your children a better live, then you work for it. They don't work for the children, they parents work and send money home, the grandparents look after the children. We don't have the luxury of leaving our children with the grandparents because at 65 many of our parent are still working, very few people can retire. Very few people can say at 65 that they can retire, many have cancelled their medical aids because they cannot survive on the pension.

Are they speaking about all white people?



## COLOURED SOUTH AFRICANS

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: I also think it is a little bit of a cultural issue that many black and coloured people have that where I think they are helping their child by making them, so they'll have like five, ten children, and they'll still live under the same roof and all their children will be working and then they'll come home and bring the money home and they support their family. But then a lot of that money does not get used to build themselves up like independently. It's like just for the family. So they end up staying in that same place.

BH: Okay and you are saying white people don't do that?

Group 1, Participant 8, F: It is very rare

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 4.27% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

Reference 2 - 1.51% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Can I just say something? Um, my child did a thing about apartheid. And I learned with him.

BH: School project?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: School project. The things what I don't understand, is the blacks carry on about the white people. You know who was punished the most under apartheid? Was the coloured people. They were punished the most. They were slaves, they were beaten, they were raped with the white people raping them. But the whites looking away, they didn't see anything. But the black people were never so badly beaten or mistreated like the coloured people. The coloured and the Indians. They were the worst treated ever. But the black people blames the white people for whatever went wrong in their life.

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 8, M: One last thing. My wife, for example, with the coloureds, when my wife's family was living in District Six and they were split apart because some looked white and some looked coloured. So they were forcefully removed from each other overnight and then the whites who were forcefully removed had to flee to the UK. And they left the country and the ones that couldn't leave or who didn't want to leave, that were small classes of white, they chose to stay. And that happened all over South Africa. The coloureds were stuck in the middle. They didn't have a place for themselves. And they are still stuck in the middle.

Reference 3 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think the hopes. What we wanted was equal. To be equal. And now it is actually changing you much. That we are not equal. The whites are actually going to go down. There and the rest of the family up there. But still at the end of the day the coloureds still stay in the middle. So why are we-

BH: Why are we not all equal?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Why aren't we all equal like it was supposed to be?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: It's our salaries and everything at the moment, if you are a white person and you are going to work at a big company you are always going to have a lower salary than the black person. That is just how it works. I am a lot involved with a lot of other colours of people and races so I hear their discussions and where they are working they had top jobs and they will tell me. You know they could get me a work here but they can't because they were told only black or colour but mainly black. So they will tell me. We talk straight, open about everything so everything is changed around.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.21% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Coloureds

Group 4, Participant ##, F: They get shafted really badly. They were shafted under apartheid because they were not white enough and now they're not black enough.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.96% Coverage

Remember, apartheid was a white system, were there white people who were against apartheid?

Why would they have stood up for them if they knew that the system was better?

If it was in my time, why would I stand up against it?

People now see it as wrong.

The point is valid, if you see that things are going well in that system why you would want to change it.

Some even today still feel that they are not treated fairly by the government.

Especially the older black workers/people who worked under that system.

They say it was much better for them at that time.

Many have come forward and said it was better

I know 2 or 3 with whom I swot, he is only now doing his degree like us, we actually had the same conversation about this topic and said things were better then, than now.

## WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.78% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.18% Coverage

BH: So now what I am going to ask you here is why is it given these pro-black policies, that majority of whites are doing relatively well in South Africa today? Is it because of their own individual efforts? Are they helping each other?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

BH: Okay. I want the full picture. You can't say yes.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Let me say this firstly. Let me just go back to the previous question.

BH: No I just want you on this question please.

Group 1, Participant ##: When you look at neighbourhoods, ok? Neighbourhoods, you'll notice there's a lot of factors within the white community that are bonds. Rugby, biere (beers), you know? There's a lotta different things there. Have you ever found that they gang fight in a white area? It doesn't happen. White people don't do that.

Group 1, Participant ##: They will phone the police.

Group 1, Participant ##: There is Ruyterwacht

BH: Can you just hurry up please?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: What I'm saying is that, and also the fact that the captains of industry. The level of education is way higher amongst white people. White people are the kind of people that can, that can stop a job today and basically start something else, you know? You don't find that prevalent amongst others.

References 2-3 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: Yes but I want to know why whites are being successful.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: We are a resilient race.

BH: Is it because they network or is it because of their own individual efforts?

Group 1, Participant ##: They work better with their money.

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

Group 1, Participant ##: And they get inheritance from Ouma

BH: Hang on. Okay I just want one. Yes?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think white people are slightly more selfish. We tend to look after ourselves and our immediate families first before we do anything else, charity, people around us. While people in other communities might look out for people around them a little bit more than just themselves.

Reference 4 - 0.96% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Many - many white people have had the extra like, benefit from apartheid. A lot of them come from money. It is easy to make money and to build things up when you come from money. I mean I don't come from money. I am like a teacher. 1.50.00 I don't even work in a government school. I earn much less in a private school. But the thing is when you have that money you can do anything. Especially if you have an education. A lot, a lot of white people, even though they do come from money they do work very

hard to like, keep building on to what they have. It is not like they took that money and they lived off it, they worked really hard to maintain it and start their own businesses.

BH: Seven

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I just wanted to say that we as white people we get money from our godfathers, parents, you know so you can buy houses, you can buy whatever and that money keeps on coming in for years and years. And the other races I don't know if they don't know how to work with money but they just not doing stuff right.

Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.60% Coverage

BH: So do you think white people help white people?

Group 3, Participant ##: No.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I don't know. Not generally, no. Certain pockets in the community.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I think that people, who help, help people generally.

Group 3, Participant ##: They are. I think so.

Group 3, Participant ##: Help them somewhat.

Group 3, Participant ##: We help the needy. Yes

Group 3, Participant ##: I don't think the colour is actually an issue.

Group 3, Participant ##: I don't think so either.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 8.45% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.69% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I know this, okay this may sound a bit, I feel like we are so quick to be offended by people putting all whites in one box meanwhile we like, tend to put every other race in in a box. And I think that it is, we sit in a very interesting space as young people because we've been exposed to different parts of cultures and traditions and I, I would like to think I'm quite a progressive person like everyone in the room here. And so we're able to sit here and be like, ok, you know, not all white people think like this, which is a, which is a true statement. But I think that it almost like kind of boils down to the gender-based violence thing as well. Um. We are quick to say if you, if your friends are telling rape jokes and you don't stop it you're perpetuating it, right? But like the grandfather example, I have definitely said guys like don't, you know, they're just a bit, you know, and and by doing that I am perpetuating it by calling people out on their things. It's uncomfortable, it's really uncomfortable. But if I don't do it then I am just being complacent in it and I'm just allowing it to continue. And so I think that's why, we're always so quick, and I mean I also do it, I get offended when people put me in boxes. And I think we're really quick to do that but the reality is that we are a lot of talk and no action. And so maybe we need to be in these boxes and feel really uncomfortable in these boxes to get out of them.

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I just wanted to clarify by saying you can't like box in white people in the same breath you can't box in all black people.

Group 5, Participant 4, F: You shouldn't box people.

Reference 2 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I used to work part-time as a sales rep in um like a hunting goods store. And you know the managers, most of the staff were predominantly white Afrikaans people. And like half-way year through they started hiring. So first it was just black people that worked in security, and as tea ladies or cleaners. Um, and then they started hiring cashiers, black people as cashiers, and um sales reps as well. And

a lot of complaints like a lot of the white customers and white like managers complained about the black people. And I found it so disgusting, like. In the same in the same sense that like, a lot of white people's opportunities had been taken away because of BEE or whatever. You can't deny that black people are also you know, still denied opportunities because of you know, hatred, like ideas of about who they are.

#### References 3-4 - 3.24% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I think, so on the BEE side, I think – and I will argue against BEE all night long, but I do think we overstate the the severity of how much the impact of, because I, I look at um my friends that, my white friends specifically that didn't go to university, um every single one of them that either didn't go or didn't get into the course they wanted is, it's because of the colour of their skin. And the reality is, yeah for some of them, that's probably true, but for some of them as well they purely don't qualify. Um and I think we, we um too quick to accept it was a BEE reason whenever we didn't get the job. Or we didn't get the university acceptance we wanted and so on and so forth. But then also on the idea, the point you brought up of the hunting store. So I work um at a at a business consultancy firm during the holidays, and one of the things I help with is like when clients um are looking to either bring in like new staff just out of university or need university students to fill in whatever job, I essentially just place people. Um. And it's gotten to the point where I bluntly ask the clients straight up now "what colour person do you want?" Um, because so often, I mean, it was at the start, it was a case of I would send in thirty applicants that'd all get rejected until I send one that's the correct colour. Um, and it's the most menial and pointless question and I hate that I have to ask it, but it's- it's racist, a lot of it's purely racism, it's not BEE and it's both ways. So we've had, I've placed white staff in a business where they wanted, specifically I asked them what colour, they said no, no, we want a white face because we have a lot of ah European clients that come in and we want a face that they recognise and are comfortable with. This was for a lady, I mean, she was going to be a bookkeeper. Ok, she wasn't interacting with the clients and they didn't know the difference. And I mean I've also have BEE level one firms countering, you know, um, no we're trying to up our BEE rating. Um. And they don't know that I know their BEE scores. They go, yeah, we're trying to up our BEE ratings so we're gonna need a black employee and I sit there and I go, I know you don't need black employees. I know you're level one. Um. And both sides try to justify it for whatever reason but in reality they just want what they want. And I think that's the main problem. Um. And I don't believe from the white side of, if you look at like white companies employing white employees, it's never going to change if they look at black employees in other firms and go, they're incompetent, they're there because of the colour of their skin. If they see black employees who unarguably got the job because they are the most qualified, and in many cases they are in fact, um, you slowly start to change your opinion. But if there's always this question of they meet a black employee from another company, are they there because of the colour of their skin or are they there because they qualify. They're going to look for incompetency's because that's the racist viewpoint that they coming from. Um. I think that's something we need to change.

#### Reference 5 - 1.42% Coverage

And just going off of nine's point, um I, last year I I lived in the UK and I worked there. And I think um the one thing that really struck me was that um, I worked in the cinema, and there were people there who worked there who were supporting their families on the cinema salary. And there were people who were packing bags at like the local supermarket who were earning more money than me. And, but there was, the the biggest thing was that there was no job stigma about it. Like, there was nothing saying um just because you're packing bags uh and earning a good salary it doesn't mean, it it like-

BH: It didn't define you?

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Yeah, it, whereas here like a lot of my friends have said things like, "oh, I never wanna work in MacDonal'd's or like packing bags is not something I I wanna do." And I think that ah historically those kinds of jobs are given to people who aren't as educated and because we've come from a background where we have had different opportunities for education, um, like eight was saying, the hope is that that guy now in this job can earn money to put his kids through, through schooling and to give them an opportunity to come into the workplace um on an equal level where they're not looked at just because of their race but where they're looked at because they had opportunities that weren't previously there for them because of their race.

#### Reference 6 - 0.91% Coverage

BH: Okay any other views?

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I think to an extent getting on well is a fair statement to make. But that doesn't necessarily mean behind closed doors South Africans who are very successful like that aren't inherently racist. Um, I had the privilege or the discomfort of being in the room with um an individual who owns a mining company. Um, and he's a white individual and he's on the phone to essentially a BEE partner of a mine he wanted to open. Um and as polite and as friendly and as understanding as you can possibly imagine over the phone, but obviously I can see him and he's just sitting with his two middle fingers just absolutely flying at this phone. As soon as he hangs up he is the most racist individual that you could possibly imagine. Um, and they'll switch, remember I've showed you, yes, getting along well with, um have respect for, no, um.

Reference 7 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: I guess you think it is surface stuff?

Group 5, Participant 3, M: It's very surface level. Um it it only necessarily has be surface level. That's not to say that all successful white South African are racist underneath the surface but what I'm saying is that there's room for those people to still make it.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 2.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.62% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think, I just think we, the respect and and and again, white people were brought up that way. And I'm not, I am saying this with the utmost respect.

BH: Yes yes yes.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Black people's culture is miles apart from white people's culture. So what, to me if he touches that pie he has to take it and eat it. Another guy will sit here and he will take all of it. Alright I want that one. I was brought up, I respect this guy he is going to eat that. And the mutual respect is just not there. We respect them from apartheid. We respected them. We still gave them food. They still had education. They still had all that. Take all that respect that you were taught in twenty five years and reverse it and give it back to us. Because if you are going to respect me I am going to respect you. If you are not going to respect me I'm not going to respect you. 1.10.00 And that's where the problem is now. You want to tell my wife she's got nice shoes on. Or a nice pants or whatever she's got that's nice. And I don't like it because I haven't been brought up. That's my wife. Don't talk to her. Don't talk about her or whatever. Give her a compliment, no problem. But the respect part is just zero, from them to us.

Reference 2 - 0.52% Coverage

BH: Ok. Alright. So why do you think white people tend to vote for white parties? Whether it is the Democratic Alliance, Freedom Fight + or political parties such as the ADCP. Why do you think they vote for those parties?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I think number four and number five said that. We understand a white guy will hear if I tell him about my respect, my religion, my culture, my way of life.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 6.75% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.44% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Definitely not. I think it was very one-sided. Very one-sided, excuse me for interrupting, why did they not take the Whites who suffered during that time when the flippen English came and murdered us like that, and apartheid, you can say they brought apartheid, really I feel very bitter towards those flippen English, then they still came to visit their brothers, but they never went to the concentration camps to see who they murdered.

Reference 2 - 1.16% Coverage

DL: Yes. So the question I asked about the Colonial Powers, how do you feel about that?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: That's it, yes.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: The thing is now they want to remove Afrikaans, and change everything to English. Any place you walk into is just about English only.

DL: So you feel it's actually an abuse of one of the basic human rights, your own right.

Group 7, Participant ##: There is no basic...

(Everyone talking together) agreeing

Group 7, Participant ##, M: There is no Afrikaans anymore. In the schools there's no Afrikaans anymore

DL: That's true

Group 7, Participant 4, M: If you walk into a job, you have to be bilingual when applying. But with them it doesn't work like that. But you can go to various places, they can't speak Afrikaans, they just say "I don't understand Afrikaans". But you must with them... They insist that you speak to them in English.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I would like to come in here. When making calls to call centres, many of them Telkom, Vodacom, I can just speak about those two, when the one on the other side answers, it's English only. I'm unhappy, I don't hear so well anymore and those people, their way of speaking English I don't understand. It's one huge frustration.

Reference 3 - 0.20% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: The ANC knew they had to stand together, because their future was at stake. We didn't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: But whites can't stand together, that's the problem.

Reference 4 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Was it unavoidable, was it necessary, and was it the best outcome for the country?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It was the best because we weren't raised correctly, for example, a white stays here and a black stays there, really things just changed. We are glad things changed, really, but we don't live with each in the right way. There is still too much hatred.

Reference 5 - 0.58% Coverage

Number 7, how do you feel about it?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: Not happy about it. Like number 6 says, it affects your existence as a human, your thinking is affected, yes, it's bad the way things are, but as I say, I believe it's we ourselves that allowed things to happen, we don't stand together, the way the ANC stands together.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's the biggest problem. (Inaudible)

Group 7, Participant 7, F: It's only by grace from above that we make it through each day.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: And everyone just thinks about his own interests.

Group 7, Participant ##: And the devil, for everyone.

References 6-7 - 0.99% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The main thing for us whites is we don't see the sun shining for someone else.

Group 7, Participant ##: We sometimes make it difficult for ourselves.

Group 7, Participant ##: Start being more concerned about your neighbors, not just about yourself.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Here, the Whites are more concerned about what car he drives, what house he's got, he doesn't see the sun shining for his neighbor.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: You don't know whether your neighbor has food. But you have a lovely plate of food. You don't know what the situation is at his house,

Group 7, Participant ##: We complain, but we don't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: That's our biggest problem. Whites do not and cannot stand together.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Look, in the olden days, it was families who stood together. Not so today.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Take the beaches of Durban for example, or any beach for that matter, what it looks.

Group 7, Participant ##: Like at Christmas time. There is not a white to be seen.

#### Reference 8 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: But I want to raise another point. We generalize easily. In our discussion this afternoon I've noticed this, and I include myself, there's a large group of black people who are favourably disposed towards us, and feel as we do, and reciprocally, between blacks and whites. There is a small group, who try to make things difficult for us, and we are inclined to isolate them, and say everyone is like that. But that is not so.

(Agreement.)

Group 7, Participant ##: Not all are like that.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: But isn't it the human tendency to do that?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: It is, and I include myself.

#### Reference 9 - 0.72% Coverage

DL: Good, topic 9 says: What are the benefits, if any, to be a white South African today? Let's touch on that briefly. They say, not just Julius Malema, who reasons that white people still do well in the new SA, in spite of equal employment and BEE, they earn good money, children go to good schools, have better jobs than black people; is that true? What do you say?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I think whites know how to work with money. Blacks really don't know how. They squander everything. A black will take the money and spend it, because he now has the money.

DL: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: You've got to think about tomorrow.

Group 7, Participant ##: I don't think they do that.

DL: It's as we said earlier, planning

DL: Group 7, Participant ##: Yes planning.

#### Reference 10 - 1.73% Coverage

DL: Then you will be qualified to do the work if you start there. Next. The view is that white people do relatively well in SA, is it due to their own efforts, or do they help each other?

Group 7, Participant ##: They get there on their own.

DL: Their own efforts.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.



Group 7, Participant ##: On their own.

Group 7, Participant ##: There are whites who help one another.

(All talking.)

Group 7, Participant ##: One in a 1000.

Group 7, Participant ##: Minimally.

DL: So generally speaking, they do so on their own?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes on their own.

Group 7, Participant ##: The white person is just for himself.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: It's as we have said, the white person is for himself. He won't share his bread with me if I don't have any. Many blacks help each other. That's why many of them have a better future than whites. Whites would rather push you aside, instead of helping you. I know, I've been through it. I went through tough times during my life, and was surrounded by good people but they still...just recently in Thabazimbi I stayed in a house which belonged to a black. It had nothing, I made it liveable. I installed a bath, wash basin, toilet; I installed a wash basin in the kitchen, I put in ceilings. There were no windows. I lived for 2 months without windows. I made the place habitable, staying there for 2 years. I stayed without having to pay. And the old lady whose place it was (I installed solar energy) I fetched water with a wheel barrow, and buckets which I used in my home, and when she needed something to be done, I would do it for her, she had a number of houses there, then she would give me R200 or R300. At one of her houses I converted half a garage into a bath room. Afterward people said to me I should have advertised it as a garden and home bath room, I can earn a lot

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.44% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.42% Coverage

It is not so that Afrikaaners battle to stand together.

The black people support each other well.

Not necessarily, the Xhosas did.

There are many instances.

Races differ but they stand together (all talking together – inaudible).

There are many of the blacks who stand together with the white, more than whites stand together.

Reference 2 - 1.48% Coverage

ou mean, if it is about a certain cause, then they support each other

But I feel that we can think for ourselves, they are easily influenced and only listen to what they want to hear.

One person can easily stir up a crowd and influence them to listen to him

I think whites like their own growth, you measure yourself against yourself, you want to "grow" bigger, you want to be better than him, whereas they have nothing and so there is nothing for them to measure themselves against so they stand together

Although, I think that if push comes to shove, then we will stand together much better than they do

I saw a video of the EFF at Kovyies, this is the best way to illustrate what I want to say, they can stand together as much as they want, but when the rugby boys come running, what happens then?

I also think there is a big difference on whether you grew up on the farm or the city.

I grew up on the farm so I think I have the wrong mentality.

My niece and nephew are city people, they have many different races as their friends, they are not so bad but you get far worse people, those who marry across the colour spectrum, they will rather support the person they married.

Or marry impartially.

Reference 3 - 0.77% Coverage

In the white culture, in any culture, the husband/man was the breadwinner, now a white man is last on the list, so how must your family be stable if your husband cannot even earn a living

There are also the emotional implications.

A wife/woman cannot support her whole family, have children, look after children, this is just an easy way to make us less in numbers. If you look at f white families, it's the poor ones who have 5 or 6 children, where the more affluent families only have 1 or 2, maximum 2 because it is too costly to support them and you don't have time for them either because your husband cannot work.

#### Reference 4 - 1.29% Coverage

What is the advantage, if any, of being white in South Africa. Many, even Julius Malema, says whites still do well in South Africa despite black economic empowerment, they still earn more, they go to the best schools, have the best jobs.

We work harder for everything we have, they just get everything for free. If I also just got money each month for nothing, if you know you have to work for something, on your land even though they can take it at any stage, you make the most of what you have, why would you not want to do it. If you can offer your children a better live, then you work for it. They don't work for the children, they parents work and send money home, the grandparents look after the children. We don't have the luxury of leaving our children with the grandparents because at 65 many of our parent are still working, very few people can retire. Very few people can say at 65 that they can retire, many have cancelled their medical aids because they cannot survive on the pension.

Are they speaking about all white people?

#### Reference 5 - 0.06% Coverage

Many of the successful people are Europeans.

#### Reference 6 - 0.43% Coverage

Whites flourish because they get on with other South Africans, is it so?

No our whites are selfish.

We can't even stand together as whites at times.

I'm not going to loan out money to someone, just now he is better than me. I'm not saying it in a bad way but it is the survival of the fittest, but I think it is the circumstances, you can't afford it.

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 5.63% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 2.00% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I will tell you why. How many times, and this is all around the world, when BEE came out in the very beginning I sold BEE score cards. The BEE score cards was made out of seven pillars. One of the pillars under the BEE banner is social development. There is also one called employment equity. So you go into a company and tell them listen this is your BEE score. It is not great. In fact it is crap. What you are going to need to do is to work on these specific pillars to get your score up. A lot of the guys, and we actually had a meeting about this one day, is that we found it very funny that people who came here from other countries weren't happy with BEE. The Afrikaners were the guys who were basically wanting to listen to it. And a lot of them said listen here I am scared of this. A lot of them also said listen we are concerned about this but please teach us as to what we are going to do. The point I want to make is this is that you will get a lot of people saying that listen if you shift these three black guys to that section over there or a woman into that section over there this is what this is going to do for you. No we can't do that. Why can't you do that? No because these people have been here for twenty years already and this person knows the job. That is irrelevant. When is that other 2% of people going to learn how to do their job and this is what BEE is about. No then take your BEE and leave.

BH: Okay. So you think that is one of the weaknesses of the democratic settlement?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I think it is not a weakness. I think it is something that wasn't seen to from the beginning. Because BEE itself was a let-down. It didn't basically perform like it was supposed to because the thing is this government said to you need this kind of quota or let's make a good example that we always use to make. You are going to need a license. A license for what? For a car? A bus? A train? A plane? How do we get a license? Where do we go? Where are we going to train? Nothing like that was in place. That is why I said. This government of today is a slapstick. You know that was just a rough over. They are not thorough. They are not concrete.

Reference 4 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think it is very key to have white people in government and business because I think what we supposed to be doing in the beginning when we did the cross over it was not adequate. The education level was not quick enough. The invitation of BEE was too quick. They didn't give ample enough time for people to do the skills. So one of the largest concerns is that there is a lot of skills that white people hold in business today and there is still some value if they transfer their skill like internships. We had apprentices back in the days those kind of things. So there is still this thing of handing over skills and development. But I think a lot of the time now that gap is very small because people who were probable the key in apartheid who had benefited from the skills are now basically going on retirement. So maybe just for skills transfer.

References 5-7 - 0.99% Coverage

BH: Remember we are just saying what we (inaudible) here. So you think they went overseas? And number two, what do you think happened to all those whites?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I have yet to find somebody who lost their job out of BEE or being fired. They were not fired they were basically retrenched and they got paid. What they did with the money afterwards that is where, you know they didn't have any financial savvy and that is why they ended up in caravan parks. I know people who live there. And I know people in Ellisras who I pray for every day, because they go out of their minds and they had a big thing and they bought all those lovely things and 1.45.00 they didn't think to do it more.

BH: They didn't invest it.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: The whole thing came down to, you know, the whole education thing, as it was said, that it was not just the education to do with the primary, secondary, tertiary education but also to do about,

you know the people never had any financial savvy to teach them how to deal with people to, you know that type of thing as well.

#### Reference 8 - 1.14% Coverage

BH: Yes number ten.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I don't know what happened to all of them but I know what happened to one of them. She is lying next to my dad tonight screaming at him that he didn't cook dinner right probably, something like that. My mother was one of those that got...

BH: Retrenched or (Inaudible) or took the package?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Actually none of that happened. She didn't get a package. She went to work and was replaced by two black ladies and they told her don't bother coming back again. She was just told to leave. She didn't even get anything out of it. But then again this was a big firm with a lot of overseas investments and when all of these changes happened they tried to do it as quick as possible for the sake of keeping their business in the country. Yeah, my mother was just told sorry for you, you have been relaxed, and she didn't even get anything out of it unfortunately. Even till today nothing's really come from it. She's one of those - apparently she had quit a few people work with her the same happened to but at that stage they were quite well established. They had their, you know, they had back up plans. They had investments. So they could look after themselves afterwards.

#### Reference 9 - 0.69% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Did many of them just, did they leave their jobs because personally I know my husband had to step down. My husband started the company but his business partner had to become the main member in order for them to- (inaudible)

BH: So he went away and did something else?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: No no, he stayed but he had to get demoted. Demoted in every way. Stocks, everything. So I am not sure if that happened to a lot of white people as well. They just moved down.

Group 1, Participant 8, F: A similar thing happened with my uncle and a friend of mines' mother, they worked at UCT together and they were offered packages. Like either they could take the package or they stepped down and earn like a smaller salary.

#### Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 34 references coded [ 16.07% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 11, F: I have a thing. My daughter must go next year to high school. I can't find a school for my child. So she was on the government board, they gave me a school I can send her to. Elsie's River High School. My daughter has blue eyes, blond hair. Ravensmead. That is a zone that you don't want to go into. And then there are names on the list I cannot even pronounce. 20.00 So where must I take my daughter to? You can't keep her out of school, then you are a bad mother. So what must I do?

BH: Okay. And on a national level, what is your major concern?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: I don't really know now.

#### References 2-6 - 0.75% Coverage

Also when I was much younger I studied as a fit and turner and I got to my fifth year. I discovered that after I was applying, applying, applying, in my second year the registrar said to me "sorry but you are not going to get an apprenticeship within this country at all". Unless I was a, there was a small percentage were towards coloureds. Those that were given were very fortunate to be given so like maybe a small percentage even less than the coloured were. The rest were towards the blacks. I feel it should be based on merit rather, on how well you did in school, rather than based on colour. So just it is basically apartheid in reverse. So that has a negative effect on the economy and the country.

#### References 7-9 - 1.15% Coverage

And among the African cultures they believe, they teach their children to not go to school. They value working for a measly income rather than getting a decent education. Even though education is given to them. So it has a negative impact on South Africa within itself and now there is a (inaudible) they don't want to fill the places, to take the roles to receive the education and then we can't receive it in any case. So for white South Africans it is very difficult. It leaves us with a bleak future for our children. We might be lucky enough to have some sort of work but for our children, unless you know someone, unless you start your own business and become an entrepreneur and unless you get along with people you are not really going to fit in. 25.00 We are not going to be accepted within South Africa. What happens is you become educated and you leave the country and South Africa loses quality qualified engineers and so on. Highly qualified people going to another country like Europe or wherever. And that is the disaster for the country as it is as a whole.

#### Reference 10 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 3, F: I would like to say something on what she said. My son is sixteen years old but he hasn't been in school for two years because I also don't get a school for him. He needs to go to a school of skills. So they also said to me I must take him to Bishop Lavis. He can go to school there. I can't see him there. How he is going to get there. How is he going to get back. Se he is not in school now. Because I feel -

BH: Is he home schooled?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: No.

BH: Okay so what does he do all day?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: He's at home at the moment. I am trying to get a teacher to come and home school him.

BH: Okay. So on a national level. Are you worried about something? For the country

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Our kids need to be educated to get somewhere in life.

BH: Education.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Yes. The school just say sorry I am full. I mean where we are staying he is supposed to go to the school that's in your area

BH: In what area, oh you live in Parow. Okay.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: But they don't have place for him.

BH: There is no vocational schools?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: No.

#### References 11-14 - 1.73% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: If I can just give you my point of view. My brother he worked at UCT for over ten years. He also got his degree and everything but they worked out all the white people basically. He was told he will never get a promotion. All the guys were going, the black people are coming, are new people and they were going to surpass him and getting more salary. And they told him that basically they will never give him extra. He can't go further than what he is. He will just stay there. And then they had to take packages. So now even though he is a project manager he is not working for the City of Cape Town. He could only work on contract. And it's a year contract. They give him another year contract if they want you. Basically after a year they will only do it like after the year. They won't tell you a month before. When it is in the next year, like a month then they will tell you okay they will take you another year whatever. My brother told me that there is only two white people that work there and they said to him, they said that the black people said to my brother them that there are two too many. I mean I am just explaining my point of view here. They basically told him that there are two too many white people even though they are permanent and my brother them is on contract. But my brother says they do no work. They are working themselves to death because they need

to do all the projects and they can't take off because they don't get paid. So they need to be there. You can't set leave because you need to be there. It's for me really, there is a lot of positives but there are a lot of negatives.

#### Reference 15 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: You just need to just stay there and live with the situation. And in our area you can't even take public transport because people get robbed. Every month we have races there so in our area we are mostly 30.00 people from Zimbabwe, other countries, Somalia and they are selling drugs and prostitution nearby us so you see these things and it is just getting worse and worse. That is my main concern and the BEE and the vagrants as well.

#### Reference 16 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### References 17-19 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think the hopes. What we wanted was equal. To be equal. And now it is actually changing you much. That we are not equal. The whites are actually going to go down. There and the rest of the family up there. But still at the end of the day the coloureds still stay in the middle. So why are we-

BH: Why are we not all equal?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Why aren't we all equal like it was supposed to be?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: It's our salaries and everything at the moment, if you are a white person and you are going to work at a big company you are always going to have a lower salary than the black person. That is just how it works. I am a lot involved with a lot of other colours of people and races so I hear their discussions and where they are working they had top jobs and they will tell me. You know they could get me a work here but they can't because they were told only black or colour but mainly black. So they will tell me. We talk straight, open about everything so everything is changed around.

#### Reference 20 - 1.65% Coverage

BH: So do you think we as white are a minority? And do you think our minority rights are being recognised?

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I have to be quite honest. If we talk about democracy, okay democracy for me is, if you qualify for the job you get the job. If you are the best person for the job you get it. So within this democracy there isn't actually a democracy 1.30.00 because, it is a democracy yes but are obviously you know the whole equal rights of so many getting, for how long now? It is thirty years. When is it going to stop? When is it actually equal? When is the right man with the right skills going to get it? For how many years still is this going to carry on? It is coming to a point where yes we understand there was a phase of integration. You know how many whites I have realised how many people want to (inaudible) but it is just going on. So eventually when will this come to an end? And is that democracy at the end of the day? And for me that is the big question. And if you are black or white, whoever is best at that job should get that job because that is the reason why everything is not the way it is because the best person does not get the job. It is not because if you could qualify, or you are the best it is not in the best interest of our country. And I am not and that is the

way I feel and that is why a lot of the things are taking place. A lot of our resources hasn't been looked after. There is not the right people in the right places and a lot of the companies are not performing because it is not now anymore who can do the job it is about.

Reference 21 - 0.17% Coverage

Group 2, Participant ##: The BEE status

Group 2, Participant ##: Yes and I think for me that is the biggest factor. When is that going to end? Is that democracy?

References 22-23 - 1.58% Coverage

BH: Minority rights and constitution.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I take it on myself. When I moved down to Cape Town I was from contract to contract to contract. And when I was working in Metro Rail basically that I went to the person I fall under and I went to him and I asked him listen what is my chances of getting a job here? So he went to his cupboard and he took a file out and he laid it down and he said to me okay, you see this point, this is who we employed first. Now you are a white male, you are about there. So it is first race then gender then this and that and the white male is right at the end of the day. And when I walked out of his office I said to myself so okay what now? If this contract ends, what now? What am I going to do for my life? Two thoughts popped in my brain. Work for yourself. Go out there and try something. Or do you have a friend's father that have a business or something where you can maybe wiggle your way in. And that is the honest truth. That is where, where some people today stands.

BH: So what did happen to you?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Well you know I persevered and kept on going and I said I am not going to stand still. Nobody owes me anything. I don't care what people say so if you want to say in my face BEE I said fine. Good luck for you. Goodbye. I'll go on my merry way. Keep on going. You say you just keep on going. Even if it is talk in your face. I am not going to go lie down and go sit in a corner and say well okay fine I'm beaten, I'm, I'm not going to do that.

References 24-25 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think the whole BEE is a double world anyways has created a private sector and I think for the white, the white men, they just become business owners because the only way you can survive is to get your own business going. And I think that has created two sections. The, the public sector which is under the business sector. And I think most of the business sector has become the white sector of business owners who have had to build up their own business. So there has become a division I think because we have been forced to actually start our own thing. If you want to survive you need to create your own job opportunity. You need to go out and do that because everywhere else you are not going to get it or make it. And I think that has caused class division also 1.35.00 in our country.

References 26-27 - 1.10% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: And you also won't get, if you are white business owner you are still a level 4 BEE company and you won't get government contracts at all. It won't be looked at. You got to be level two or level one um to now be accepted in any tender.

Group 2, Participant 6, F: And is that now democracy? I am just saying.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: That is what is happening at the moment. And there is a lot of corruption within the tender process. Petro SA for example have a tender process and there are certain services that doesn't go through the tender process. Yet they advertise that they are as a fair tender service to the whole of South Africa. To everyone. But those tenders get awarded to three companies who then supply all the services. Not only Petro SA, I mean things has been like that in the country which is totally corrupt which affects the small business, the white owned businesses. Coloureds now they are considered if they are all owned coloured company then they are considered level one.

References 28-30 - 1.06% Coverage

BH: What about the idea that whites have done well because they were squeezed out of 1.45.00 government jobs into the private sector where they can make more money? (Number two shaking her head) Okay now why don't you think that number two?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I mean if I can only see where that happened. You know what I am saying?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Whites were retrenched. Chucked out of jobs so that they can come in.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: And that people are struggling now.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because I know a policeman that was thirty-six years in the police. He had to get promotion. One of these darkies comes in, whoop he gets the job. Just out of school. With more salary that that man had thirty six years worked for the government.

BH: Do you know what happened to him? What did he do when he left?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: No I think he passed on. He died because he couldn't handle it. He had a heart attack. Just after that he died, he passed away.

#### References 31-33 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I know a nurse. She was a nurse at Groot Schuur for I think it was twenty five years. And a student at the age of twenty nine just finished her course and she came, it was between this lady that had twenty five years and the young student and the student got the job. And she had to be retrenched yes, but not the biggest package ever. And today she is a cleaner.

#### Reference 34 - 0.50% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: For everyone to actually work together for the benefit of the country rather than for their own agenda and pockets. And for employment to be given fairly. Done away with the BEE but everybody given employment based on their merits or education or whatever. They chopped and changed the BEE's laws over and over and it doesn't work and it is causing major problems on the economy and this country. Investors as well in this country.

#### Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 6.04% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.26% Coverage

Government business is manned understandably by blacks. It is just a reversal of roles. I see it as a sort of a balancing of the morality of the country to an extent, I mean it is only understandable that that is the situation.

#### Reference 2 - 1.45% Coverage

BH: You said Westminster form of Democracy. So would you call whites reluctant democrats?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I would certainly say so and I still go back to one of my points I made is what, I think of an academic level, and I think of an observation level, we are saying yes it's disappointing, but I go back to, where have we been, I have to ask this because I am interested, what have we, where have we – I'd like to ask, 'cause I'm interested – where have we been prejudiced by the fact of South Africa has become a democratic nation. Have any of us been kicked out of our jobs? Barred from getting a job? This this age group. I mean, where have we suffered or not met our potential individually under, since '94? Are we, are we, are we considerably poorer? And we know we are considerably poorer than we could have been. Look twenty-five years ago I was still kind of forging what I thought was a bit of a career. The fact is I have not suffered. I don't, and it was, I don't think I've suffered in any way. And I don't think my life is, apart from the fact there's a general level of security that makes me a bit nervous um on a personal level, and there's not of the observation of rules and regulations and laws outside that but apart from that, my life, I can't say-

#### Reference 3 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: If I can just answer the question on children because I asked if you have children. That is what had affected me most. Like number eight was saying, like he was saying earlier, I think around the table here our roots are pretty deep here. For us to move out it's pretty difficult. Whether we want to stay or we want to go it's it's it's hard. But for my kids and for many other kids, and this is my personal view, if they



wanted to go overseas, I would say go with pleasure. None of my kids could find jobs in this country. None of them. They all had to travel overseas. And they are all flourishing overseas. And they're in the legal profession and accounting profession and they couldn't get jobs here. So that was hard for me. From from that point of view and and they were top of the class but they were they were they were pretty run of the mill but they couldn't find jobs. Went overseas, then walked into jobs over there.

Reference 4 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: So nobody at this table ever lost their job because they were white?

Group 3, Participant ##: No.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I lost a promotion.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: But you could have lost it because you are a woman.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: No because the woman who got the job was a black woman.

Group 3, Participant 7, F: So I could have a lost a job, it was a transfer between departments because of the BEE they wanted a black or coloured or Indian person. And I was white. So they had to motivate.

Group 3, Participant ##: That happened to [NAME OMITTED].

BH: What did you do after that?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: What did I do? I just carried on doing the job as well as I could. And then she, she didn't cut it so she disappeared.

Reference 5 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: So you got your job back again?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: No. then I decided I will take early retirement. Because I'd had enough of working.

References 6-7 - 0.81% Coverage

BH: So then what did you do?

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I got the job but only because the people wanted me. Because I think a lot of the time the blacks were given the jobs even though they weren't necessarily the right person for the job. But because BEE was the big thing we had to be seen in line on-

BH: It had to be the numbers

Group 3, Participant 7, F: It had to be the numbers yes.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: The industry that I was working in I found a lot of the companies like (inaudible) Tongaat (inaudible), the Illovo's, all those bigger groups 1.25.00 um the engineers were all becoming, there were more black people coming into those positions. Even the Indians were not getting those positions.

References 8-9 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Yes. Not even that. So that's one of the reasons I retired as well. Because the right people were not getting the jobs. That was it.

Reference 10 - 1.23% Coverage

There is also a fact that there is a very real thing that what we are experiencing now. We are experiencing a fear of unrest. Because unless we satisfy the aspirations of a country where probably 50% of the population is, certainly under the age of thirty, we going, we going to be in serious trouble here. The economy is not going to grow but the population will certainly continue to grow. There is going to be more people without things. We actually have to create a black middle class in this country as quickly as possible. And there had to be some kind of social engineering to do it. And one of the ways was to put money into creating a black

middle class and also promoting black people who showed some vestige of of of ability into jobs so that we would accelerate that process. Um I was in two banking groups in this country - 30% of my annual bonus was on meeting my positive discrimination targets. Yeah, that was it. But we saw underneath it. It is a mechanism of trying to create a buffer against the unsatisfied poor. And that's a fact that we (inaudible)

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 29 references coded [ 10.30% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.73% Coverage

The factor of maladministration funds as well as the factor of the government workers really are not doing their job. They come in; they earn a salary which is fantastic we all want to earn our salaries but they actually have to bring consultants in actually do the task 10.00 because - not because of an incapacity (inaudible) but the "not my problem" attitude that generally, that goes around government. I also worked for government. I was one of a very few handful of employees that was doing my job and about five, six other jobs simultaneously because most people just actually didn't care. They weren't worried about it. When it comes to work, I'm getting my salary, that's all that matters.

Reference 2 - 0.34% Coverage

There were the right people in place to solve the problems but now it is not even about the problems. People are making the problems, I don't know how to put it in words, and they are making unnecessary problems.

BH: And what did you want to say number three?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Unnecessary problems for (inaudible)

References 3-4 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think that reversed apartheid is definitely a very good term that has been used and often [inaudible] adequately applied. In order to rectify past failures. People who are brought in now haven't really been qualified, haven't really been trained to do the work that they are now being hired to do. They are actually brought in under the affirmative action or BEE principle but actually haven't gone through, obtained the relevant knowledge and the relevant practical knowledge.

References 5-6 - 0.82% Coverage

BH: Recalling the past.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes, it's igniting fear. It is igniting hateful speech and us who are also in the universities with black, coloured, Indian people, we are being targeted and we are being ridiculed for things that we had no control over as white people, you know. And I do believe that we haven't moved past it. I always say that I believe that it is apartheid just in the reverse. It is just reversed apartheid. You know apartheid is reversed because myself as an educator it has happened to me where I have gone to, I work at rural schools, and I have gone to the principals of these schools and I said please here is my CV. Here is my job. And they say unfortunately I can't employ you because you are not black. They have told me that to my face. So for me-

References 7-10 - 0.90% Coverage

Whether you black, whether you white, a person is a person. That's, we are all people of colour in this country. It is unfair the way I believe that apartheid has become reversed and we are now the under-advantaged. Um. My father works for the government and he has a black woman who has just got her degree come in and she is five pay grades above my father but she is asking my dad how to do this job. And that is first-hand how my father sees that why the government is failing. And then his bosses are sleeping, on the desks. Sleeping under the desks. Playing card games at work and that is where the passion is lost for- previously when you had a job you were passionate about it. You put your heart and soul into it, and that's - energy gets passed down. If your boss are playing games what's gonna make you want to do your work at the end of the day. That's just my opinion.

Reference 11 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I feel that the biggest problem even now with democracy and the biggest problem in the apartheid era was, in the apartheid era, you weren't entitled because of your race or because of your previously disadvantaged status, to be where you are. You had to earn it. Even us white people, you go to varsity, you pay for varsity. You wanted to get a job, you earned that job. Now in democracy, whether it was

democracy or apartheid, 1.05.00 now we have this entitlement where things are not earned anymore and I think that's the fundamental problem with even our democracy now. We are not living in a democratic country, we are living in a country of entitlement where because you were born black, you are entitled to more than a white person.

Reference 12 - 0.18% Coverage

My neighbour at the time (inaudible) worked in government and they based, well it was actually the Department of Education. They treated him like he owed them something.

References 13-16 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Ja, no, I think um losing their jobs in that way was extremely unfair because look, they really worked towards it. They got all the certificates and stuff. They went through an educational process. Alright? Now you've got these policies coming in and people coming in that doesn't have the right qualifications. And it has been proven. You can see it on tv. It's been proven. They don't have the right qualifications, they can't do their job and it's just running right into the ground. And it's, it's been, you can see it every day.

References 17-20 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I think it's the whole BEE and tenders. Because I know personally few people that had businesses and they were once very successful, lost everything, decided they will start their own thing and they don't necessarily want to be BEE compliant but because they will get the tenders, they will get it, because they also need to feed their families so I believe they do well because of the black people they employ.

Reference 21 - 0.16% Coverage

BH: They bring in black partners, do they?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yup! And then that would, it would heighten their chances of getting the tenders.

Reference 22 - 1.22% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Um I still don't, I still don't think so. Um. The employment equity act is still driving (inaudible) if you look at a lot of countries around the world that also have employment equity acts. It's to make sure that the minorities at least get a job. They don't have to have all the jobs; they can at least have a job. The employment equity act in South Africa is still driven in reverse, to make sure the majority have a job.

BH: So you are saying that we should have white economic empowerment?

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think we should have at least a chance. I think that [inaudible] your chance for employment should be based more on your skills sets and your 1.30.00 qualifications than on your skin tone. If there's a black man and a white man that have the exact same qualifications, then I feel that, let them both do a test. And whoever gets the better score gets the job. If however they don't have the same qualifications but they say this is an employment equity post only. That I feel is unfair. And I don't, I feel that the fact that the national and provincial and local is now trying to equalise that, is problematic in its own right.

References 23-24 - 0.52% Coverage

BH: Okay any other views?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think there should be no more BEE or BBBEE. I think it should be based on education and yeah, your skill sets that one has. Um. I do understand that's the way how um the reverse apartheid is almost working and that they feel that they are now entitled to having these high positions which are perfectly fair to me except if it is a company with four directors. There should be two women, two men and different people of colour. It should be more of that.

Reference 25 - 0.55% Coverage

BH: Any other views?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I think BEE has brought about the equalisation. Now that we're balanced so to speak. Let's pull it away and now it's based on your skill sets and how well you can do the job. Because it was

supposed to be a normaliser, but now we are tilting the scales the other way.

Group 4, Participant 7, F: So they've the time to build up the education, the qualifications, to have the money to afford their children to be able to get a further education, but by now the scales should be normalised.

Reference 26 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: There hasn't really been enough time. It has been twenty-five years. So like a child who was born, say, in 1994. They are only twenty-five now. If they have kids their kids are like nearly two. Two to three maybe. Maybe ten years old at the most if they had kids really young. So You know, these are just, these are people who are only just starting their their careers. You know? So what about all the people who were there before, you know, their parents who were also still working, they mustn't like just rip their jobs out from underneath them because, oh, it's been twenty five years. So I don't really think twenty five years is actually that long a time for for, people to have gotten on their feet after such a long- I mean, they've been oppressed since what, 1948 when the apartheid laws came in?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: You're saying we need fifty years?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I am not saying fifty years but give it, give it time. I mean I really don't think we have given it enough time to actually have kicked in properly. I mean the BEE law didn't come in straight away once 1994 happened. This is (inaudible) definitely.

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes recently.

Reference 27 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I understand what you saying with that. My opinion of that is, is back in apartheid era how low was the unemployment level? Whereas giving it twenty five years it has gone to about fifty percent. So give it another twenty five years is it going to go to a hundred?

References 28-29 - 0.95% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Um I also, I would say that it's important to also make sure that you try to make up opportunities for yourself. You don't just wait for someone to come and plonk something on your lap. It's like, a lot of people say oh but its, you go and get all the certifications you know, somebody's just going to get the job who is not actually qualified. But you know the more you improve your skills the greater your opportunities are and like I was saying earlier, as white South Africans we have those sort of opportunities given to us because of the legacy that, that we have. That financially a lot of us, our parents helped us out. Or they supported us in what we were trying to do with our lives. And so we have those those opportunities for us. We just need to take them and to use them to the best of our abilities instead of sort of, sitting on our laurels and waiting for something to happen.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 50 references coded [ 19.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Um I think one of the bigger issues is um with regard to apartheid is the ineffective legislation that was passed post-apartheid to rectify the issues of the past. For example BEE was developed as a fifteen-year policy that was supposed sort out inequality in the work place within those fifteen years. It's been twenty-five years and it's done little to nothing. So we need to implement legislation that's actually effective in getting black people into the workplace, people of colour, etcetera, and that's just not being done.

Reference 2 - 1.45% Coverage

Okay any other thoughts about apartheid, crime against humanity?

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think that um an important thing to realise is that um the core principles of apartheid like segregation and racism were happening many years before it was actually just formalised. Like apartheid was just putting a name to the things that had been done already. And by them putting a name to it allowed people to create legislation that further perpetuated their really messed up ideas. Um, so I think that, like sometimes we forget um that it existed way before the apartheid, before apartheid started and it will continue to exist way after apartheid ended because we haven't dealt with the fundamental issues and crux of the actual problem. So that's why we sit in this situation and then what number five said about like, legislation is very important because um it's all good and well to create these documentations and these laws

that hope to change things but if you don't have the resources, you don't have the people actually committed to dealing with the problem and constantly redeveloping it, as they find things and go along, we're never gonna, we're never gonna get to a solution. So, and I don't think we should, I don't think there is ever an end point. I think it's always something we're going to be working on. But as long as we are working on it, that's, that's what's really important.

#### References 3-4 - 2.37% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: So not necessarily on a crime against humanity, it's more sort of a comment on it and the effect of it in present day. I think it's that what people have kind of failed to understand is that they say, you know, it's, it's been twenty, what, twenty-five years and you know we still, you know, the effects of it. People are saying, oh, but it's been long enough, it's, it's started to fix itself, which is, which is, incorrect to say because the you know, the majority of people who say that tend to be surrounded by people who are also coming from a privilege background. And the the thing that they fail to understand is that um when it comes to um you know, ok, so communities coming from from townships or from rural areas well outside of the the major cities, trying to get on the property ladder, trying to get into university then paying for university, trying to get your matric certificate when there's so much more to do at home. You've gotta look after family. There's more cultural aspects you have to kind of, you know, you have to fulfil. And I, I, ok I won't say I agree but just to jump off that, is that you know you have to change it from grassroots, right. I would say that education should be free at a tertiary level if you are able to qualify for it and you meet a specific criteria, right. Because somebody coming from, I came from a very privileged school. Um, I had you know, fantastic teachers who went through all the systems. I was always going to succeed. I was always going to get into university. And if it was free for everybody if you qualify, I would get in and I can afford it, and that's, that's fine. But when you look at somebody who is coming from an underprivileged background, somebody who can't afford to go to university, they should be allowed to do that because you know just bringing somebody into the working environment for, to meet your BEE points, it's, it's all well and good but 25.00 if the qualification is not there, the economy is not going to grow, the GDP is not going to grow. We aren't gonna grow as as a country. It's just gonna kind of create this melting pot of of anger and somebody loses their job, because of the colour of their skin and they say no, this is the issue and all just starts to kind of of snowball into a big effect, so.

#### References 5-7 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I feel that um although our rights are safeguarded they aren't necessarily all the time for the reason that, although BEE, BEE has been effective in providing more black people with jobs it's almost taken out the majority of the white people who were in the working place. It's taken out their jobs.

#### References 8-10 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: A lot of them have immigrated for reasons that they can only find jobs overseas. And here they, the white people that still live here have become hopeless if they lost their jobs or they're looking for something else to do and although we are safeguarded in terms of the general human rights 1.00.00 of like the right to live and all those, we aren't necessarily safeguarded in the sense that um we can't just openly, I mean even for example if you look at um TV competitions, you are more likely to win as a black person than a white person because it's just how the country, it's like how the mindset is. And although white people may have the talents and the capabilities to be in the workplace or hold high positions it's almost because of BEE we don't really have that option anymore.

#### References 11-14 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: To add on with abilities and the fact that we are born frees, because of our parents, grandparents or whatever were around in apartheid we were not necessarily born-free. Same with the sports. Um now look, sports, you, um because, because of apartheid and now what we want to achieve is um is equality there must be this many players of colour in a team, where a guy that could hold the job, a high standard job, this kid could play that, this sport better than him, but because of what's happened we need to play them in. On a personal experience I've had a friend be called on the night before he leaves on an overseas tour to say a POC, a player of colour has been injured um and we need to bring in another one and we [inaudible] to kick you off as well, for another POC. So they get cut short of options-

BH: POC means player of colour?

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Yes. Because of what happened in the past these born-frees aren't really free of

the, yeah, what we have to fix.

#### References 15-18 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: I must agree with number seven. I know a lot of friends who have gone for job interviews just to even work as a waitress or a waiter. And they say well from your resume you are qualified because they had worked before, but it was brief, because they had bad experiences at the workplace. Well when they went there, my friend was literally told you would be the perfect candidate however you are not black. If you were black, Indian or coloured then we would hire you - because you are white we will not.

#### References 19-22 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I used to work part-time as a sales rep in um like a hunting goods store. And you know the managers, most of the staff were predominantly white Afrikaans people. And like half-way year through they started hiring. So first it was just black people that worked in security, and as tea ladies or cleaners. Um, and then they started hiring cashiers, black people as cashiers, and um sales reps as well. And a lot of complaints like a lot of the white customers and white like managers complained about the black people. And I found it so disgusting, like. In the same in the same sense that like, a lot of white people's opportunities had been taken away because of BEE or whatever. You can't deny that black people are also you know, still denied opportunities because of you know, hatred, like ideas of about who they are.

#### References 23-26 - 1.00% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: I agree, it's just, some people are fired so that a black person can take their job. And I am saying, if the- for me it does not matter, the colour of your skin when applying for a job. It's who will best fit the criteria you know, have what it takes to do the job. Because obviously I'm not going to hire a hairdresser to become my electrician. Same I wouldn't hire an electrician who's never (inaudible) service to be a hairdresser. I will look at who is the best candidate. And I do agree that we, that people of colour should be given a chance to you know, get jobs and all, but those who have worked their life to get up to their position in the workplace or young white people nowadays can't get jobs because of BEE. So BEE has it's pros and cons like it's meant there to help those who are were in the past, you know, suppressed and everything, and I completely agree with that. However at the same time it's now causing problems for the other races.

#### References 27-28 - 1.29% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: Um, so, to bring you back to the question um, I feel that you can't, you just, based on what everybody's been putting forward, that they feel that um the, the white rights aren't protected in the system that we're in. But I feel like you can't really protect every single part of the rights you have won in a democracy where the minority will always have to fit in with the majority votes. Um, I also feel that it's, you know, um, you've got to, you've got to correct the past, right? You can go get, you can qualify for the job because of the school you went to, because of the university, you know, the degree you got, whereas, and so you are able to get the job; you are able to increase your wealth, put your kids through it so they increase their wealth. But now you have the, the people who were um who were discriminated in the past who can't afford to get the degree, they can't, they can't qualify for the job. 1.05.00 It's, you've got to then assist them to get up into the same place that you are. Alright, so yes it, it sucks, it really does. You know you lose your job because you're white and then you, BBEE points. But if you're looking at it from the perspective of the country and the country moving forward, it is needed.

#### References 29-35 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: Um, the only thing that I was going to say is when we started the whole post-apartheid era, um, the, the BEE was supposed to provide more black people with jobs and almost provide a sense of um equality but they didn't necessarily do that because they took white people's jobs away. And, essentially it didn't decrease the unemployment rate which I'm sure it was supposed to do. Um, it was almost supposed to equal it out or just make the situation better. But instead of doing that they just decided okay well instead of the government contributing funds to the businesses to expand them why don't we just decrease the people who are already working there and just meet BEE requirements. And I think that was like a huge problem when it came to the white people's rights to jobs and that.

#### References 36-37 - 3.24% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I think, so on the BEE side, I think - and I will argue against BEE all night long, but I do think we overstate the the severity of how much the impact of, because I, I look at um my friends that, my white friends specifically that didn't go to university, um every single one of them that either didn't go or

didn't get into the course they wanted is, it's because of the colour of their skin. And the reality is, yeah for some of them, that's probably true, but for some of them as well they purely don't qualify. Um and I think we, we um too quick to accept it was a BEE reason whenever we didn't get the job. Or we didn't get the university acceptance we wanted and so on and so forth. But then also on the idea, the point you brought up of the hunting store. So I work um at a business consultancy firm during the holidays, and one of the things I help with is like when clients um are looking to either bring in like new staff just out of university or need university students to fill in whatever job, I essentially just place people. Um. And it's gotten to the point where I bluntly ask the clients straight up now "what colour person do you want?" Um, because so often, I mean, it was at the start, it was a case of I would send in thirty applicants that'd all get rejected until I send one that's the correct colour. Um, and it's the most menial and pointless question and I hate that I have to ask it, but it's- it's racist, a lot of it's purely racism, it's not BEE and it's both ways. So we've had, I've placed white staff in a business where they wanted, specifically I asked them what colour, they said no, no, we want a white face because we have a lot of ah European clients that come in and we want a face that they recognise and are comfortable with. This was for a lady, I mean, she was going to be a bookkeeper. Ok, she wasn't interacting with the clients and they didn't know the difference. And I mean I've also have BEE level one firms countering, you know, um, no we're trying to up our BEE rating. Um. And they don't know that I know their BEE scores. They go, yeah, we're trying to up our BEE ratings so we're gonna need a black employee and I sit there and I go, I know you don't need black employees. I know you're level one. Um. And both sides try to justify it for whatever reason but in reality they just want what they want. And I think that's the main problem. Um. And I don't believe from the white side of, if you look at like white companies employing white employees, it's never going to change if they look at black employees in other firms and go, they're incompetent, they're there because of the colour of their skin. If they see black employees who unarguably got the job because they are the most qualified, and in many cases they are in fact, um, you slowly start to change your opinion. But if there's always this question of they meet a black employee from another company, are they there because of the colour of their skin or are they there because they qualify. They're going to look for incompetency's because that's the racist viewpoint that they coming from. Um. I think that's something we need to change.

#### References 38-41 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Is it me? Ok, um, I just want to say I think we need a better system than the BEE because of all of the issues that um comes out of it. But also at the end of the day it shouldn't be an issue for like, the white working class person. It should be something that is done even like from grassroot level or something. It shouldn't be affecting like citizens of South Africa regardless of their skin colour. 1.10.00 Um, because basically, it's pushing people overseas. I think I'm not the only person sitting here that's had pressure from parents or from relatives to go, "go overseas, better opportunities, whatever, whatever!" But we already know where that stems from, um, and it's just, it creates this climate and it doesn't help tensions, racial tensions and just these ideas, this this racist viewpoint that we, that we have in the workplace.

#### References 42-43 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: I just wanted to jump in on on just on the discussion of the uh the competencies. In in the present, if you're looking at it right now, fully agreed. BEE isn't uh fixed right now, it's a fix for the long-term future. In the long-term if that black empl-, employee, that you said, is he there 'cause of the colour of his skin or not? He is able then afford his kid's education. His kid then becomes qualified, then goes into the workplace and is the most qualified to be in that position. Nobody's gonna sit and go, "is he in there because of the colour of his skin?" It's, he's is most qualified. So, I feel like it's, it's difficult to remove yourself from the present. You've gotta look at what the long-term future is. You know, I mean look, I I have my own, yeah, I disagree with a lot of it as well, like I said it really does suck and it's a reality that we have to face but it's, you, in my opinion it's the long term goal.

#### Reference 44 - 1.34% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Um just going off of eight as well, I think that ah South Africa has also tried to sort of iron out a few of the the issues that that have come with um BEE, I mean now we have triple BEE which is Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment and I think that doesn't necessarily just focus on the colour of your skin but also because there are rich black people the same way there are poor white people. So what triple BEE tries to do is not just look at colour of skin which we tend to think is the the only thing, 'cause it is a big factor. But um, they look at also what kind of school you went to, the hou-, the family income, the household income, how things are run, um which is also really important. And just going off of nine's point, um I, last year I I lived in the UK and I worked there. And I think um the one thing that really struck me was

that um, I worked in the cinema, and there were people there who worked there who were supporting their families on the cinema salary. And there were people who were packing bags at like the local supermarket who were earning more money than me. And, but there was, the the biggest thing was that there was no job stigma about it. Like, there was nothing saying um just because you're packing bags uh and earning a good salary it doesn't mean, it it like-

#### Reference 45 - 0.79% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Yeah, it, whereas here like a lot of my friends have said things like, "oh, I never wanna work in MacDonal'd's or like packing bags is not something I I wanna do." And I think that ah historically those kinds of jobs are given to people who aren't as educated and because we've come from a background where we have had different opportunities for education, um, like eight was saying, the hope is that that guy now in this job can earn money to put his kids through, through schooling and to give them an opportunity to come into the workplace um on an equal level where they're not looked at just because of their race but where they're looked at because they had opportunities that weren't previously there for them because of their race.

#### References 46-48 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Um, I think that with regard to the whole safeguarding of the rights of minorities thing, the political machines are in place but I don't think there's any political drive to protect the the rights of minorities. For example, with um, last year there was a youth employment program that was launched by the ANC and it specifically racially uh disregarded white people because they benefited in the past. This was taken to the constitutional court by Afriforum and the constitutional court ruled it as racist and discriminatory. So there are attempts to get rid of the rights of minorities. But I think thankfully political regimes are in place and white people have the the money to be able to go to court and to fight for their rights, so.

#### References 49-50 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think a lot of the um it goes back to the BEE and white people losing their jobs because of the BEE situation that um they aren't doing so well but overall in companies ah agreed with the point made that the whole world is actually going through economic crisis and it's not really likely that any business is doing too well.

#### Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 4.05% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.05% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Work, I'm worried about work. What's going to happen to our kids? Are they going to be sweeping the streets? Or what are they going to do? Sit on the corner and beg for money? It's difficult to get into a college or university if you don't have the funds. Yet again they do offer you a scholarship or a partial exemption but how does one obtain that?

BH: As a white or for people who -

Group 6, Participant 8, M: As a white.

BH: As a white, okay.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Our skin colour

BH: So that stops you from getting the grants to go to university?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: I'm not saying they are stopping us but nobody shows us the paths. This is what you are supposed to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: If you don't go toyi-toyi at the door, they're not going to help you.

#### References 2-3 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: If you got qualifications, why does the guy who has less, because of his colour, gets the position? Easy as that. So we are getting sweep, BEE, the whole flippen time. Are you for real? Never mind. But any way.

#### Reference 4 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 3, M: In apartheid years you could have walked to a factory, they give you a job. White or black, doesn't matter. Nowadays you walk in a place, either there is no vacancies or they take the black man. That's it.

Group 6, Participant ##: BEE.



Reference 5 - 1.09% Coverage

BH: Number five

Group 6, Participant 5, F: My true opinion about this whole story, if respect comes from your culture or the way you were brought up it will never happen. Sorry that's how I feel. It will never happen. They they could not forget about apartheid in twenty-five years. How can we think that it will change now? How? Who's gonna change it? Who's gonna to have respect for the next guy? Nobody has respect. Nobody can work together. I mean if if you've got a business and the majority is black people, and you want to have equal rights or whatever, the, the rules are, but it's not happening. So now you have to get more other cultured people in this business so that they can be on top together. I mean you've only got one culture now at the top. But now we must work together. But how you going to do that? Because it is only black.

Reference 6 - 0.67% Coverage

BH: So you are saying that black economic empowerment and employment equity has divided us more?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Yes definitely. Definitely.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Because those people get the work not because of qualifications-

Group 6, Participant 5, F: No, ja!

Group 6, Participant 4, F: of their skin colour.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: How are you going to rectify it now? You can't.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: So where's the economy gonna end up?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Can't be rectified

Reference 7 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: If I want to get business from our government, which is 95% black, as a white person, us (gestures around the table) start a company, a business. If there's no BBBEE registered in your company there is no way in hell that you as a white person gonna employ this people (points at others around the table) in that company and get work from the government or any other endeavour for that matter. It's not going to happen.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 21 references coded [ 4.62% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I would say to me, it's the same, because we were 10 children and we stayed next to black people and we basically did everything together with them and there was not anything like you are white and you are black, so for me it is just the same, they are just moaning about the skin colour- you are too white, you can't work.

References 2-4 - 0.72% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: I don't begrudge him his work, I'm not racist. I don't have much love for him, but I'm not racist . That's something that doesn't make sense to me. We must give him employment but our people and our children must sit with folded hands. There's no work for us.

DL: We will talk about that too just now. You're welcome number 8.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The legislation that the new government introduced, to give black people preference to get job opportunities and we, the others are just overlooked. If they are appointed on merit that's fine, but it is not done on merit, and that is where the problem lies.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: And half of them don't even know what they're doing but they are there.

Group 7, Participant ##: He got the job.

#### References 5-7 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: And when those people took over, you had to apply for you current post and there things went wrong, because people were not qualified for the position but were appointed to that position. He couldn't do the work. There everything went wrong.

#### Reference 8 - 0.17% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: A friend of mine recently wanted to start up a company, he had to get a black partner, he couldn't start it and get it registered without a black partner.

#### References 9-10 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I have a friend in Welkom, she is a nursing sister, and at this specific hospital they required applications for nursing sisters, and when white sisters applied, they froze the position. Then they consider others but they unable to perform.

#### References 11-13 - 0.54% Coverage

DL: Let's continue. Now we come to one we spoke about earlier. What about equal employment and BEE? You know regarding equal employment, there is a law, there must be so many Whites, Blacks, Coloured's, and BEE, as we said earlier, and the person had to have a BEE partner in order to participate.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: This to me, is completely wrong. I say, if they are able to do the work, that's fine, then have a black partner, but most of the time you have to take one, but then you still have to do the work yourself.

DL: He gets the money?

Group 7, Participant ##: He gets paid.

#### References 14-15 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Look at our police force and defence force, it's black all over, you don't see whites there anymore.

Group 7, Participant ##: No not at all.

Group 7, Participant ##: For some time now.

Group 7, Participant ##: Whites are turned away everywhere.

#### Reference 16 - 0.68% Coverage

DL: Some say white people were unfairly disadvantaged through equal employment and BEE , what do you think, were any of you affected? Did any of you lose your job as a result?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: For example, as it was mentioned about someone who wanted to start up a family business ...(inaudible)

DL: Anyone else?

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

DL: What do you say?

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I can't go into detail, but speaking to my child. He does excellent work in a Public Service job, he works hard, he has no choice, and he does his best, but the blacks get the credit. That makes me very sad. But you can do nothing about it

DL: Ability. Can he do the work... but gets the money,

Group 7, Participant ##: Responsibility.

Reference 17 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Just getting rid of a white person in order to replace him with a black, but he was not qualified to do the work, that's the problem, they should have done it fairly if he has the qualifications and experience, and if he can do the work, by all means give it to him.

Group 7, Participant ##: Exactly

Group 7, Participant ##: But that's not what happened. The white under him must do the work, while he sits in his office and (inaudible) gets the money.

Group 7, Participant ##: It is so.

References 18-20 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: One shortcoming in the system on their side, they should have first trained the people whom they appointed to fill that position. If that happens a lot will improve.

Group 7, Participant ##: Function better

DL: As was said earlier if they appoint on merit, it would have been better.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: You must start at the bottom and climb the ladder to get to the top; the only time you start at the top is when you dig a hole.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Reference 21 - 0.50% Coverage

DL: Good. The next one: were people pushed out of the public sector and forced to enter the private sector, and that is the reason why white people are doing relatively better? Because in the private sector they make more money.

Group 7, Participant ##: You could not find work in the public sector.

Group 7, Participant ##: You were pushed out.

Group 7, Participant ##: You had to create work for yourself.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Start your own business.

DL: As we've just said; you own efforts

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 14 references coded [ 7.74% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: The worst was now recently at the traffic dept., my license had expired, I applied 3 months before it expired so that I would have the renewal on time, I did not get an SMS to collect it, I went to collect, man next to me was black, they immediately gave it to him even though he also did not get an SMS, but they yelled at me in front of everyone saying you did not get an SMS what are you doing here, but on their system showed that my renewal had been sitting there for 2 months. That is discrimination, why can't I get my license, it is there, it's about service but they don't want to help you because you are white and will just say "fill in the paper", the other one will take time to explain to him if he is black. It happens at every place where you need service.

Reference 2 - 0.27% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: The other thing is when they advertise a position and say if you are not white, then don't even apply, how is that not racist, you cannot just say that it because there is BEE that you are fine.

References 3-4 - 0.56% Coverage

Illiteracy figure is high amongst the blacks especially and because they have this freeness of speech, they get appointed to positions because it is their right, but they are not qualified to do the work.

It's not always their fault.

When it comes to a job application, and you know that you are not qualified but you are black and I have a right to sit here, then they give him the work, but a qualified white man is declined because of his skin colour.

#### Reference 5 - 1.51% Coverage

We are still going to chat about that shortly. Has the government built in a balance between the minority rights as opposed to the majority?

I think they give far more to the majority, the black's say they are the minority but actually we are, the government does not dispense the state resources equally, democratically we are all equal, but we aren't and they just further disadvantage us, the whites.

I agree with her, they don't use the resources fairly, they would rather give it to some who is less qualified than use it to further their own interests than help the whites who are qualified for the same position.

Yes a small group the majority group enjoy preferential treatment, to the exclusion of the rest which they don't even care about that is why there is more unemployment. Their people in good positions just get more and more money.

They only look after themselves. The constitution, does it make provision for minority rights

No it doesn't. They make more allowance for majority groups, as an example, the abolishment of the death sentence because of a black man "Mokonyane" that "pushed for it", it feels as if criminal are getting away with more and more because of our constitution.

#### Reference 6 - 1.44% Coverage

Looking at the systems, equity employment, the other is BEE, Black Economic Empowerment, how do you feel about it?

Equal work creation? that's why all the people are emigrating elsewhere because they can simply not find employment, if you do find employment, then you also don't receive the proper remuneration.

In the white culture, in any culture, the husband/man was the breadwinner, now a white man is last on the list, so how must your family be stable if your husband cannot even earn a living

There are also the emotional implications.

A wife/woman cannot support her whole family, have children, look after children, this is just an easy way to make us less in numbers. If you look at f white families, it's the poor ones who have 5 or 6 children, where the more affluent families only have 1 or 2, maximum 2 because it is too costly to support them and you don't have time for them either because your husband cannot work.

It is very similar in black households, they have only 1 or 2 children, but they are educated and have qualified positions. I've always said you need a certain IQ to have children, I feel illiteracy.. all talk together.

#### Reference 7 - 0.76% Coverage

This is a democratic country, when vacancies are published, then the positions are filled only by black people, how is that fair, even if you look at the medical field it is 40/60 for the blacks, your appointments are much less for us whites, usually women, men do not even stand a chance. If you look at the state hospitals, who do they appoint? Blacks, the whites go through the state training but they try and work them out as quickly as they can

I you want to study in the medical field, you have to just accept them, when it comes to bursaries as well, you approach the university but nothing comes your way

#### References 8-9 - 0.77% Coverage

Basically corruption. Next question says that white people are disadvantaged by equal employment, what do you think and have any of you had first-hand experience of same?

I use to work at the Spur, there was so much injustice, and they don't even take in white waiters, when I started in grade 10, the black male waiters would bribe the managers to let them go and then I would have to take over their duties, discrimination against me as a white person and as a white woman.

On a work application I was told by the lady that they could see from the photo on my CV that I'm white and they only accommodate BEE positions.

#### References 10-12 - 0.94% Coverage

What about white people who lose their work as a result of BEE, is it unfair against white people who are pushed out of the public sector to make it more inclusive.

I say yes, they worked for it but now they are kicked out.

I have a friend who worked for PnP, she was retrenched and her job was given to a black person. They are not allowed to say we are firing you to give your job to another person, they say you are being retrenched.

They are so quick to say it was my farm I'm taking back our ground, but it was my work, it doesn't make sense.

Not one farm did we get for free, it was our work, since whites came into South Africa, and they negotiated the land for cattle.

Look at how many countries, Australia want the white farmers because they can work the land.

#### References 13-14 - 0.51% Coverage

In the private sector you also need to realize that you need the black people, they are the majority.

They are the ones with tenders.

Need to work with them.

So you basically need a BEE partner?

You need to get a tender partner.

My mother and they have a construction company and they had to specially register a new company name that is BEE so that they could get tenders.

Many give it to their brothers or sisters.

## ORIGINS AND INTENT OF APARTHEID

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 3.41% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.89% Coverage

BH: Okay let's just concentrate on the crime against humanity because we are confusing it with laws and the interpretation of laws within the country at that time.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I sort of had a similar thing just a little bit different where when it comes to Apartheid, Apartheid didn't start as a crime against humanity. It started as trying to segregate, to kind of make things happier amongst everyone. Because these tribal people, they have their kings and they have their leaders, they don't really wanted Democracy because they have their own way. Apartheid then became an operation thing because the whites have more power, have more money and everyone is split up and then it became a little bit of a thing. You split up. Why is that person living in a poor area? And stuff like that. And that is where I think the crime comes in. but the actual Apartheid start, I won't say with a crime but what happened during it. The way they lived.

References 2-3 - 1.41% Coverage

BH: Okay I just want more collective views about whether Apartheid was a crime against humanity. Who has got a view on that?

Group 1, Participant 3, F: So I think what they were trying to say is it didn't start off like that. Hardly though. We made laws to make it a crime against humanity. Regardless of whether that or not, we made the laws. And we segregated based on the colour of your skin. And it is the same with the crime. The crime is committed because of the colour of your skin and not what you did; it is a crime against humanity. I mean we can say yes. We can take some of the things and bad things and stuff like that but again what number six was saying, it's the media. I was saying it is very difficult for me to compare Apartheid to now because when I was younger we didn't see. 40.00 It wasn't televised on TV on the crimes that they did and things. We didn't see what actually happens. Only now that we come out. When you start seeing people coming forward and saying this is actually what happened. Do you realise the atrocities that actually took place. But when we were younger, I mean if you were a white person in the Apartheid, you didn't see any crime. I could go anywhere where I wanted to. I could go to any school I wanted to. I had no fear of where I lived. I think my story would be a lot different if I was a black child. And a black woman at that time. My story would be completely different. So it is not about the crime it's the fact of the matter that the crime was the colour of your skin. Not what you did.

Reference 4 - 1.11% Coverage

BH: Alright (inaudible) because I need to move along.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: When it comes to the issue of (inaudible) started as a crime I have the opinion that neither the movement of the American Indians started off as a crime. Neither the Spanish influx into South America started off as a crime. Yet the atrocities started. Same with Germany. Same with Japan. The Japanese were never looked at to say they made a crime against humanity but what they did to the Chinese and the Vietnamese. America, what they did to the Chinese, the Japanese in the Second World War. All these things are a crime against humanity because the people in power spoke via media, via propaganda, via fear mongering made one group of people a scape goat. A one group of people the bane of your existence. You had to get rid of them somehow. Put them in a different area. Killing them. Any of those things is a crime against humanity. You know it happened during the earlier 80's in America, the cities, the suburbs against the prostitutes. When the analogies came out. What happened there as well. It was all to do with fear. And that is why the people vilify, even till this day those people there in the ghettos.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 2.93% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.13% Coverage

For me this crime against apartheid is one man's ideal basically. That is how I feel about this whole thing.

Reference 2 - 1.43% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I entirely agree. I would say that it is a crime against humanity. It outgrew its time.

Yes you mentioned a number of other observations about the Congo, about British rule, about a variety of treatment, but the fact is if one looks at the chronology of those they are aged. Apartheid is a modern phenomenon when people knew better and that is the horrific thing about it. And I think that it was an economic system. It was window dressed to have supposedly positive factors. There were none. It was pure domination of one racial group over another. It in fact grew out of Nazism. That whole philosophy of a dominant race. Yes there was the Aryan aspect to it was primarily economic and if you look at what, if we had to go into the nuts and bolts of it, what we actually let them have as non-whites in this country, was little bits of unwanted land. That was a nominal homeland but we wanted them to work for us. We wanted black people in this country to continue to work for us so they gave them this nominal homeland that they could not fit in to. Not all survive in. But we wanted them to at least feel like there were some sort of equivalency. 25.00 And I just cannot see how we could in any way just. That is my personal view.

#### Reference 3 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: Well perhaps it is because we have been sensitised to the fact that because we live in South Africa but I think apartheid was wrong. And I also think that it is the norm. It has happened throughout history. It is still happening today if you look at the Middle East. I think it is man's nature the predatory nature of man to concur and take what others have. I don't think it is out of the norm. I think it will happen again in the future somewhere else. And I don't think there is any nation on earth that hasn't done it sometime in the past.

#### References 4-6 - 0.73% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I think that point that number eight made about that time. We should have progressed now. We have been through all these stages and we were just at an unfortunate, or not at all, we were coming out of colonialism and so on and South Africa was establishing their identity as a nation. Yes that is how it went. But I think if we look worldwide, the part of maybe the East, the Middle East, there is still that kind of discrimination. It is not against a race but it is against a group, particularly women. And I think that everybody has experienced it but we got to move on. It is just not going to work anymore.

#### Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 6.44% Coverage]

#### References 1-4 - 1.30% Coverage

H: Now I want you to hold this thought because I am going to come much later in the discussion guide about affirmative action, BEE and employment equity. So before we got to the reversal of apartheid we were concentrating on apartheid as a crime against humanity or was it a system of rule which good intentions that went wrong?

20.00

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I don't think either of the two really completely applies. I think that the reason for the implementation of it was in itself a crime against humanity but I think the primary principle that happened was, when they decided to apply the rules, the rules then got applied more harshly than it should have and that is when. So segregation, I didn't agree with. People naturally segregate themselves to people they are comfortable with, that is a fairly natural phenomenon which we still experience throughout the world. People of a certain colour or a certain race will align themselves (inaudible) more of the same personalities. The forced version of it I believe it, I believe that it was a crime and the fact that the black people were then viewed as a sub class then allowed rules to be blown way out of proportion way more so. But I think the original plan of apartheid was there to do-

#### Reference 5 - 0.86% Coverage

BH: I am going to come to that later. So number four what do you think about apartheid being a crime against humanity? Or a system of rule with good intentions

Group 4, Participant 4, M: I think it was a system of rules of good intentions but it was brought out in the wrong way. Because if you look back then, ok, what I don't condone about that time is that everyone had their own separate places that they had to fit inside. The, let's say the blacks and coloureds, they had their own filling stations and beaches. But when you look at it again the employment rating. Almost everyone was employed. And at the moment we are sitting at an almost 40, 50% unemployment rate. And yeah, that just doesn't make sense to me. How, how, how could things change so drastically in just twenty, twenty five years?

That is my view point on that.

References 6-7 - 1.96% Coverage

BH: Apartheid, was it a crime against humanity?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I don't think so. I think it had good intentions and again, it happened because, some people used to say, like when we were small, it depends on on how you look at it. Personally I for one think that it was done because they believed that the people of different skin colour had to live in different areas. It's basically like; if we have to compare us to animals you wouldn't put lions with giraffes. I think that's probably how they saw it. So although we are all people and we bleed the same colour blood I think that was possibly the thinking behind it. But I think that it was done for a good cause and it failed because I saw a lot of the the higher positions was obviously white people in power whereas if you're looking now, things are reversed. And now it's black people in power. So that's maybe where the white people are struggling, um. The older generation as well, um. For one I had a black friend when I was small. She used to come to my house. Her name is Cynthie. We both had (inaudible) She was one of my best friends. And when she came to my house my dad wanted to give her the maid's cup and the maid's plate and I said dad what are you doing? She is my friend, she will drink out of the same plates and the same cups! That is the mentality that my father had that is your plate and your cup. We bathed together and they couldn't understand. But for us it was, I don't know, it was completely normal. So I think it's what has been fed into our minds that we have grown accustomed to and what we were taught about apartheid. So I do think that it was for good intentions but um it did end up failing and back firing and unfortunately as number two said that we are, it's our generation now and it is our children to think about, will be the ones because they trying to make up and make us go through what they went through.

References 8-9 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: Okay. Number eight

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I think it was a system of rule with good intentions. But the thing is intentions change so obviously greed comes in and not everyone that had power had the same intention. So you can't control what everyone else want to do. There's a lot of individual bias.

Reference 10 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I'm going to go against the group and say-

BH: No, no, no, there's no for and against, remember?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Well I am going to say that I do think it was a crime against humanity. I think like number eight said, a lot of greed came into it. It was, you know, they used the excuse of you know, let's segregate everybody because they all should be in their own little quarters or whatever. But they did that so that they could empower themselves and to make themselves wealthy by using other people from different races as as labour that will employ cheaply because they didn't see them as people necessarily. You know they were just, sort of, I mean a little bit better than animals. So, yeah, I think my view is a little bit different to anyone else's because I, I really think that the segregation that happened was not a good thing. It was not something that was well-intentioned and whatever. It was, it was just to help other people get more money, you know, on the backbones of the poor and uneducated.

Reference 11 - 0.91% Coverage

Just to go, I think for me apartheid was a way of dividing and conquering so that like [Participant 3] mentioned, we could, the elitists could get rich off the cane planters and the black people, and- but for me in an ideal situation I would like to live the way that the country was run in apartheid without the apartheid issue. Without the apartheid being implemented. So if we could go back to the old South Africa where infrastructure worked. Roads worked. Traffic officers actually did their jobs. Um. The municipal buildings are how you saw them in the photos that are up in the municipal buildings. Um. So if things could be run the way that they were then, I have no issue with who is doing it as long as it is being done the way it was in those days. Without me having to send my maid home before six o'clock in case she is going to get beaten up on the street. That's not okay.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.22% Coverage]



Reference 1 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Um. There are still a lot of problems such as poverty 'cause apartheid was aimed at promoting the welfare of white people and downgrading those of people of colour so in order to really fix it the government needs to, once we've ousted corruption, they should work on getting rid of poverty so that without poverty there is less crime. With less crime more kids go to school and therefore school, schooling gets better, education gets better. And then you have more prominent and the right leaders coming forward.

Reference 2 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think that although it was a crime against humanity it was almost brought on because of fear of the unknown, and like, not being educated enough to understand other people's cultures. And I think that's also had, like it's made South Africa in general, even in modern times, still seem that way, that um people are afraid of the unknown. If you speak to international people they consider South Africa at the bottom of the ranks when it comes to the economy and things. And people still thinks that we live in mud huts and I think it all just boils down to fear of the unknown and just not being educated enough.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.78% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.54% Coverage

BH: Okay so now I am going to move on to my next topic which was, do you think apartheid was a crime against humanity? Some people say that apartheid was a crime against humanity, other say that apartheid was a system of rule which had good intentions but which went wrong. What are your views?

Group 6, Participant ##: Good. (many nodding).

Group 6, Participant ##: It was good.

Group 6, Participant ##: Went wrong.

Reference 2 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: So do you think it was a system of rule with good intentions but which went wrong or do you say it was a crime against humanity?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: No it was a good intention.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: That's how I feel as well.

Group 7, Participant ##: All agree it was a good system.

DL: So we all say it was a good system with good intentions, there was abuse in the system but there were good intentions.

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Someone will always go against the flow.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 3.71% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.65% Coverage

DL: Let's move. The second subject says was apartheid a crime against humanity. Some say it was a crime against humanity others say apartheid was a system that had good intentions but was incorrectly applied. Would do you think number 5?

Group 8, Participant 5, F: I think it was a system that was not applied correctly, things were better and there was more law and order but they applied it incorrectly against them.

DL: Who is the them – do you mean the blacks? Let's just get clarity

Group 8, Participant 5, F: Yes.

Reference 2 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 6, F: No I don't think it was a crime against humanity it was just a system which I think worked well.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I also think that it was a system that worked well, I just think that people in power like to abuse it- if you have power, you want to show everyone and it just went straight to their heads, but further than that I think the system worked 100%, it's just the more you have the more you want, you just need to break it and be content.

Reference 3 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I have a lot to say.

DL: Just keep it brief.

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I'll break it up into two sentences. Firstly, I'll say that I agree with number 6. I would say that it was not a crime but it was wrongly implemented as already said. The problem I have is how it was implemented against certain races, it would have been better to have the strict laws instead of completely turning it around as they have done.

Reference 4 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I also don't think they could have handled the situation better, the way I experience it, we live on a farm, you have to suppress them and leave them to carry on by themselves, that's how we experience it on the farm, and you can't leave them to work without someone supervising them whilst they work.

Reference 5 - 0.62% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I think it is very unfair against people like my grandmother to say that it was a crime. Yes there was apartheid but I also know how well they looked after those that worked for them, they were carried on their hands if they worked hard for them. I feel that it was unfair against those people as there were honestly white people who really meant well and now they look like just everyday criminals that tried to suppress the blacks, that is certainly not what happened.

Reference 6 - 0.90% Coverage

DL: Let me hear, do you know anything about the homeland policy?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: Is it not about the Zulu or the Khoisan had their tribal lands.

DL: Or Botswana, Transkei, Siskei, Venda.

Group 8, Participant 9, f: It was never said that it is mine, you have no right to it, we came into South Africa and the laws were there, it was never a thing of they killed women and children or took their men as slave to go and work, that was not the idea of apartheid.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: They had freedom.

Group 8, Participant ##, M: It wasn't a concentration camp situation.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: Nobody starved or was hungry. At the moment many more are dying of malnutrition, it is much worse now than it was then.

## THE FACTS AND EVENTS OF APARTHEID

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 7.25% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.70% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Yes. In the past three years I thought no, I would not go back to Apartheid until I have read the stats of how many people are killed each day. How many children are raped. And long before Apartheid, even before Europeans got to Africa, the nine different groups of native people had arguments with each other. So one side of Apartheid came from to divide the country provinces so that Tswana, the Zulus, the Sothos, the Vendas, don't mix into each other's neighbourhoods so that they fight. As well as border control. Now a days with the open South Africa all the nine native tribes, plus the two white tribes are living inter-mixed neighbourhoods which is a good thing. We need to know each other's cultures. Now we are living among foreigners and other ethnic groups. So there is tension building up. People are shooting each other's wives. Murdering children. Lots of fights break out. One ethnic group, let's say one province has a better education system, for instance Northwest Tswana, that is not the correct stats. Now they are getting all the jobs because they had a better education system in their province. Now people, instead of loving the Tswana people, they start hating them for taking all the jobs, killing their wives. And then another thing I want to point out is in Apartheid all the money was divided. There was money was divided to housing for each group, and each people and unfortunately the overseas companies boycotted us but they were plans initially to give each group a set of money to develop the neighbourhoods. And then the problem is now after Apartheid things should normalise by itself. But now they are enforcing a reverse Apartheid on top of us. It is like taking a base to neutralise the asset which does not work. So that is just one of my point of views.

Reference 2 - 1.76% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: Yes is fine. Part (inaudible) it is my fault. (laughing) I think media controls a lot of our thoughts and our decisions and how we view things and our reactions to what is happening in our country. And the same happened in Apartheid you know. I have been on both sides of the fence being a child of a mixed race marriage. What I do know is, and also having family overseas, overseas was getting the information that we don't get. So being brought up in say a predominantly white environment, we were told another portion of the truth. And then you go overseas and the media was telling you a whole other story. And I think that is very much of what is happening today. So the media back then was feeding hate and feeding anger. But it was under the banner of a freedom fight. Now it is freedom fighting for what and for where? I think what is happening now in South Africa is almost mirrors the past in that the truth is not told. So will sit here and go: "there were equal opportunities" or that sort of thing. No there was not equal opportunities. People were treated abominably. Actually, unfortunately, it is no different today. The media tends to fuel that. So it is very frightening that the farmers had been killed. It is very frightening that we don't have infrastructure in place that we should have in place. 30.00 It is frightening that our country has, you know we will look back and we will say oh there was all these things in place. But they were based on fear. There was structure but it was based on fear. Now we are living in a time where we are living in fear because black people have freedom but it is a direct correlation of what was happening and also our country has doubled in its population. We have millions and millions of people here from up Africa that are starving. So they cannot provide jobs when Cape Town's population has doubled in twenty years.

Reference 3 - 0.55% Coverage

What happened before things went bad the government spoke to the traditional native people and asked them can we make sections of a land independent for you. Almost 70% of South Africa. This is your homeland. You can run your own company. You can become an independent company. Lesotho and Swaziland did that. And they said no, they want to be part of South Africa. And thereafter, once they became part of South Africa, they migrated after the Europeans. They use to live on their grounds but whenever the Europeans migrated, let's say Johannesburg for the gold, they migrated after them.

References 4-6 - 1.41% Coverage

BH: Okay I just want more collective views about whether Apartheid was a crime against humanity. Who has got a view on that?

Group 1, Participant 3, F: So I think what they were trying to say is it didn't start off like that. Hardly though. We made laws to make it a crime against humanity. Regardless of whether that or not, we made the laws.

And we segregated based on the colour of your skin. And it is the same with the crime. The crime is committed because of the colour of your skin and not what you did; it is a crime against humanity. I mean we can say yes. We can take some of the things and bad things and stuff like that but again what number six was saying, it's the media. I was saying it is very difficult for me to compare Apartheid to now because when I was younger we didn't see. 40.00 It wasn't televised on TV on the crimes that they did and things. We didn't see what actually happens. Only now that we come out. When you start seeing people coming forward and saying this is actually what happened. Do you realise the atrocities that actually took place. But when we were younger, I mean if you were a white person in the Apartheid, you didn't see any crime. I could go anywhere where I wanted to. I could go to any school I wanted to. I had no fear of where I lived. I think my story would be a lot different if I was a black child. And a black woman at that time. My story would be completely different. So it is not about the crime it's the fact of the matter that the crime was the colour of your skin. Not what you did.

#### Reference 7 - 1.33% Coverage

BH: But now I want you to hold that thought because I am now looking at you for my next intro which was by 1996 when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established South Africa had already become a Democracy and white minority rule had been defeated. Was it really necessary to dig up the past to build a better future?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

BH: Tell me why

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think like they said in the previous one, it was necessary because like I said there were a lot of white South Africans who lived under a rock. We had no idea of what exactly Apartheid meant because we lived in a very sheltered life. So we needed to actually understand why there was this anger coming out of Apartheid. I will use a scenario of saying; "you cannot rape me today and then I am able to tell my story tomorrow. On day three I am okay. I must forget about what you did to me. And I smile and pretend like nothing has happened. That is exactly what happened. We have raped a nation and had this little Truth and Reconciliation Commission and then expected everyone was going to be "kumbaya" and holding hands the next day and forever amen. And that was the problem. We had so many things yes ... in 199, we had made these beautiful laws but nothing was monitored. Nothing was followed up. There was no implementation, so it needed to be done so that it can expose the truth but exposing the truth is not enough to build a relationship.

#### Reference 8 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: My grandfather always said during the time of apartheid, if you were against all these things happening, just by the mere fact that you benefited, you are complicit. Because the education system for the whites were much better. Money was much better because you always got the top jobs even if you couldn't do the work. And you knew some people who couldn't do the work. The same issues we have today, the same as then. And that is the reason I say yes, we were all at fault because we all benefited.

#### Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 8.01% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: And do you remember life under apartheid?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Yes

BH: You were little?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: I was not that old but I know. They used to say this people don't come here and you don't go there.

#### Reference 2 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one

particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### Reference 3 - 1.06% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: No I have never been in favour of apartheid. In fact when I heard apartheid was for first time I asked my mother what does it mean? Then she did inform me that you as a white person are not allowed to mix with any other race. I said but I don't understand because in the morning I would take the bus to school from the farm and I would be with white people. But now this afternoon when I returned to the farm then it would be only me and my coloured friends. So why can't I mix with them? So that is why I say I have never been I favour of apartheid. But looking back at apartheid, there was work for everyone. You could have walked wherever you wanted to.

Group 2, Participant ##: If you were white.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: We wouldn't have been molested. If I look at the rape crime for instance towards women. I mean there was nothing of a kind. And if do it would be punished severely. But if I look at it today there is nowhere you can walk. You don't feel free to walk anywhere.

#### Reference 4 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Can I just say something?

BH: Okay but remember we are not here to agree or to disagree.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No my theory is just that I don't think that if I think back, we didn't hear of any statistics of rape, break-ins, murders and stuff. In apartheid which I think was pretty much kept back from us, you know but we were much protected. So it could have been exactly the same as what it is today. We weren't informed. And that is where the apartheid government kept us back basically. They tried to keep us back with information. With whatever. You know what I mean. Which I totally disagree with. Now we just have more available. And it is more available than.

#### Reference 5 - 1.17% Coverage

BH: Number three? (Pause) Did you see what happened before as a wall that the National party was on one side of the warring forces and the ANC liberation forces were the other side? And in a war there are always two different sides and if it was a war situation there usually are violations on both sides. Do you see it as that or do you see what the liberation fight was about? Do you see it in a different light?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I was very young, I can remember, I think it was my grandfather that spoke one day about how the police hit a person. A coloured person that was working on the farm. And got away with it 1.00.00 without nothing happening to them. I see the routine now, but just change the colour. Do you understand what I am saying? I see that routine. Why would they have that routine? Yes we do have that routine. If you think about it, those years, go into the church, if you are white, you can go into the church. If you are black or coloured you must go into that church. They never stood together. They never had the mind-set that it is just our skin that is changing our views.

#### Reference 6 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think for me growing up well we basically grew up in apartheid. I don't even think we knew that. Our parents made that decision. For us who grew up that was life. So that was normal and I think the first election that I could vote was when Nelson Mandela was actually freed. I think it was 1991. Was

it the first?

Reference 7 - 1.51% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Can I just say something? Um, my child did a thing about apartheid. And I learned with him.

BH: School project?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: School project. The things what I don't understand, is the blacks carry on about the white people. You know who was punished the most under apartheid? Was the coloured people. They were punished the most. They were slaves, they were beaten, they were raped with the white people raping them. But the whites looking away, they didn't see anything. But the black people were never so badly beaten or mistreated like the coloured people. The coloured and the Indians. They were the worst treated ever. But the black people blames the white people for whatever went wrong in their life.

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 8, M: One last thing. My wife, for example, with the coloureds, when my wife's family was living in District Six and they were split apart because some looked white and some looked coloured. So they were forcefully removed from each other overnight and then the whites who were forcefully removed had to flee to the UK. And they left the country and the ones that couldn't leave or who didn't want to leave, that were small classes of white, they chose to stay. And that happened all over South Africa. The coloureds were stuck in the middle. They didn't have a place for themselves. And they are still stuck in the middle.

Reference 8 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think South Africa again that time obviously because of all the sanctions and everything and I know we run a very good country on our own. Very self-sufficient. But I think they would have come to the point where Democracy would have had to take place. I think due to sanctions. I don't think De Klerk had a choice. To be honest. It was something he was forced to do. I think it was a big decision he had to make for the interest of the country. I also think we have opened more doors of opportunity for us in like the World Cup. I mean we have never been part of the World Cup and trading with other countries. So it opened up a door of opportunity for us in many areas and I think at that stage looking at Nelson Mandela, I think his whole attitude is where I think if we had his kind of not personality what he stood for that would have continued with the transition phase would have been much better than what it is at the moment. It would have been a more positive transition. Based on all his successes we would have been stood for the same ethical rights, values. I think it would have been a smoother transition into us becoming a bit equally helped.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.53% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.70% Coverage

That is it. We talk about – there's a certain amount of black rhetoric. I quite agree with you, if you want want to talk about the EFF as being a political party and it is not even amongst the extreme of, of, of um political views in this country if you actually canvas informally. We are looking at it from our own self-interest point of view once again and saying "isn't it tough" but the fact is it was exceptionally tough and nobody, nobody, we didn't, we didn't protest too much to be quite frank when extreme right wing Afrikaners- and I'm not, were espousing violence against black people in the old days.

Reference 3 - 0.73% Coverage

White people were scared of being pilloried by their neighbours. We were complicit. It is like saying, what were the German people doing 1.00.00 when all these Jews were burning in the concentration camps you know three miles away? What were we doing? We were actually a little bit scared ourselves about what the repercussions might be because it was it was it was part of every part of our society. If you were an anti-apartheid proclaimer you didn't know how it would affect your promotion in your place of work because you didn't know the the the views of of your colleagues and your superiors. It was that kind of environment.

Reference 4 - 0.93% Coverage

I mean if I go to a dinner party now I don't know how the Nationalist Party ever got in. (laughter) Because nobody ever voted for them. We all hated apartheid and yet we went along and voted. I mean, people- I

canvassed for the Progressive party. I mean it was a minority party. So where did the rest go? There weren't too many abstainers. Not loads of people abstained and said well, because the government would have got a skrik (fright) if they had actually seen people that actually... but we showed our true colours. Our true colours were that we followed like lemmings behind and well it was for the security. We were indoctrinated. We were worried about a perceived communist threat to our way of life. And that to an extent it is the perceived threat to our way of life still that drives our attitude now.

Reference 5 - 0.17% Coverage

And I think the fact is that we talk about corruption - it was not a phenomenon totally unknown under the nationalist government in this country.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 5.41% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.20% Coverage

The forced version of it I believe it, I believe that it was a crime and the fact that the black people were then viewed as a sub class then allowed rules to be blown way out of proportion way more so.

Reference 2 - 1.31% Coverage

But I think that it was done for a good cause and it failed because I saw a lot of the the higher positions was obviously white people in power whereas if you're looking now, things are reversed. And now it's black people in power. So that's maybe where the white people are struggling, um. The older generation as well, um. For one I had a black friend when I was small. She used to come to my house. Her name is Cynthia. We both had (inaudible) She was one of my best friends. And when she came to my house my dad wanted to give her the maid's cup and the maid's plate and I said dad what are you doing? She is my friend, she will drink out of the same plates and the same cups! That is the mentality that my father had that is your plate and your cup. We bathed together and they couldn't understand. But for us it was, I don't know, it was completely normal. So I think it's what has been fed into our minds that we have grown accustomed to and what we were taught about apartheid. So I do think that it was for good intentions but um it did end up failing and back firing and unfortunately as number two said that we are, it's our generation now and it is our children to think about, will be the ones because they trying to make up and make us go through what they went through.

Reference 3 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I'm going to go against the group and say-

BH: No, no, no, there's no for and against, remember?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Well I am going to say that I do think it was a crime against humanity. I think like number eight said, a lot of greed came into it. It was, you know, they used the excuse of you know, let's segregate everybody because they all should be in their own little quarters or whatever. But they did that so that they could empower themselves and to make themselves wealthy by using other people from different races as as labour that will employ cheaply because they didn't see them as people necessarily. You know they were just, sort of, I mean a little bit better than animals. So, yeah, I think my view is a little bit different to anyone else's because I, I really think that the segregation that happened was not a good thing. It was not something that was well-intentioned and whatever. It was, it was just to help other people get more money, you know, on the backbones of the poor and uneducated.

Reference 4 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I don't think you can reconcile when you have treated a race as bad as the white people of South Africa did in the apartheid times. I don't think that that is ever going to be reconcilable. I don't think- I think we do all just need to, like you said, we draw a line and say "what is in the past is in the past". Let's move forward.

Reference 5 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Can I just highlight on to what you said? So, my opinion is that of, the rest of the world makes South Africa and the whole of, everything of apartheid out to be, it was bad. Um. There is no denial about that. It was horrible what they went through. Having gone home late from work getting questioned where is your ID book? Why aren't you here? 35.00 Those sorts of things.

References 6-7 - 0.34% Coverage

BH: Okay so tell me why you say that number eight?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I knew a guy that was in the army and he used to say that they would be driving around in a truck and on the side of the road pull over just see something then they would just climb off and then beat them up. And then just climb back on the van and they're gone.

References 8-10 - 0.44% Coverage

Okay tell me why definitely number four?

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Um, at the moment I am reading a book on the war. And it's a whole bunch of soldier stories about whatever they went through. And uh, the story that is told that um, whoever was commanding um denied that there was ever South African troops in South West Africa, when he was stationed right there. So that's, that's my viewpoint. I definitely stand by that.

Reference 11 - 0.79% Coverage

BH: Okay other comments?

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I can't recall much of the supporting of the National Party back then, because I don't know how many parties were actually, I know the elections were happening at that time. It wasn't open to all South Africans; it was only open to whites. But how many parties, when the National Party was in power were actually a viable option then, because a lot of the 55.00 parties that are now generally viewed as a black party um were excluded from elections that time and were seen as anti-government. So maybe a lot of the church-going fellow South Africans had no one else to vote for at that time. Unfortunately I was too young when those elections were happening to actually know who was, the other parties.

Reference 12 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: It became, it became comfortable, I mean, if you throw somebody out of their house and now you get to live in that house and it's a nice big house and you either don't pay for it or little for it because it was you know, you're not paying, people had been chucked out, you don't have to compensate somebody for their home, then you just, you're going to go with the flow because it is making your life easier and your life better.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 6.41% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Um. There are still a lot of problems such as poverty 'cause apartheid was aimed at promoting the welfare of white people and downgrading those of people of colour so in order to really fix it the government needs to, once we've ousted corruption, they should work on getting rid of poverty so that without poverty there is less crime. With less crime more kids go to school and therefore school, schooling gets better, education gets better. And then you have more prominent and the right leaders coming forward.

References 3-4 - 1.79% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: More than that, I get, so one, one of the things that I hear about fairly often and what upsets me about apartheid and how it ended, talking about moving into democracy, is the idea of the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation.

BH: I am going to get to that just after this one but carry on with your thought.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: My issue with the TRC is if we look at (inaudible) both sides admitted to things they had done that were bad, essentially it let off a lot of white South Africans off the hook. On things that they have done and gotten away with. And it upsets me because I, I do feel like my grandmother's generation, if I looked at it, was the height of apartheid and they're the generation that had left school, had jobs that was easy to find because of the colour of their skin. They ah had a better standard of living because of the colour of their skin. They're the generation that enforced and upheld apartheid and they sent my father's generation to war over apartheid and to enforce apartheid. And they have a lot to answer for and I feel like the TRC was a great way for them to get out and saying, well we're all sorry, we're all friends now and forget about it. And what they've done there is that they've left their grandchildren to pay the bill. Um. The reason in my mind why we still have a lot of problems when you look at um, like the anger today and the the fact that South Africa is in the place it is today, I think a lot of where we are now and the problems we're trying to solve would have



been solved if they'd owned up and said, these were our actions and we need to answer for them. And I think it's cowardice, um, I think that that generation should've answered for what they've done. (-1:25:42)

#### Reference 5 - 1.38% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think that um an important thing to realise is that um the core principles of apartheid like segregation and racism were happening many years before it was actually just formalised. Like apartheid was just putting a name to the things that had been done already. And by them putting a name to it allowed people to create legislation that further perpetuated their really messed up ideas. Um, so I think that, like sometimes we forget um that it existed way before the apartheid, before apartheid started and it will continue to exist way after apartheid ended because we haven't dealt with the fundamental issues and crux of the actual problem. So that's why we sit in this situation and then what number five said about like, legislation is very important because um it's all good and well to create these documentations and these laws that hope to change things but if you don't have the resources, you don't have the people actually committed to dealing with the problem and constantly redeveloping it, as they find things and go along, we're never gonna, we're never gonna get to a solution. So, and I don't think we should, I don't think there is ever an end point. I think it's always something we're going to be working on. But as long as we are working on it, that's, that's what's really important.

#### References 6-7 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Well, odds are, because the NP with the apartheid system they were pretty much following Hitler's Nazis. They would use a lot of spies as well, as we know a lot of spies were used during apartheid. So they would have probably destroyed the evidence or made sure it was hidden so that no one could have held, hold them accountable for what had happened. So they were thinking ahead that if this gets out, and the international communities hear about it then we'll have more problems than just fighting the MK, so for them-

#### Reference 8 - 1.47% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: On that point, with your average white, some of them were kept in the dark. So they actually had no idea what was happening outside of the suburbs and the cities. They were told, no it's the same. It's where the blacks live but it's the same as the white people and they're just coming in to work. So, I'm not saying all of them, but most of them did not know what was actually happening. And when you look at some entries that they did, a lot of white people said, I really had no idea that this was going on. I thought that you know, they were neighbours that they are the same as us just that they were in their homelands. So I think the blame shouldn't, shouldn't be shifted completely to the average whites, like they should hold some accountability and work towards righting the wrongs that were done in the past. But they should not necessarily be blamed for what those in power did and those who knew what was going on. Because if you are oblivious to what's going on should you really be blamed for what's happening, if you were unaware of it?

Group 5, Participant 11, F: How can you be oblivious to what was going on, like the segregation was so blatantly obvious? Like it was staring you in the face. It was right there.

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Well the segregation, but white people didn't go to where black people lived so they, not all of them knew what really going on during those homelands.

#### Reference 9 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think the vast majority of white people during apartheid, 75% who voted to allow black people to vote in the 1989 referendum, they were victims of propaganda. Because propaganda is an incredibly powerful tool. The human mind is incredibly malleable and if you're fed certain information your entire life, you can only believe that information if you haven't been fed any other information. So, I think, I think white people did realise their mistake towards the end, which is why 75% voted to allow black people to vote. But at the same time there is that 25%. And something needs to happen there.

#### Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 13 references coded [ 5.91% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.27% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Because we didn't use to kill them like they are killing our farmers. I mean that's a crime against humanity, to see the way our farmers get killed and it's brutal murders. They brutally murder them.

Group 6, Participant ##: Torture them.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: That didn't happen in the past. That didn't happen in apartheid. They just weren't allowed in our areas and stuff like that. But they, we didn't go around murdering them. We didn't go around killing them. Raping their wives and killing their kids and burning them with irons and stuff like that. So I think apartheid is more now. This is apartheid. That wasn't apartheid (inaudible). So the apartheid, they saw apartheid never worked, but now they got apartheid against whites. And they are killing the whites, they are raping our wives, and they raping our daughters. That's against human that is unhuman. What they are doing is un-human. What we did was never unhuman.

Reference 2 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: So do you think there were crimes that were committed?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Ja there was crimes.

BH: That the National Party did to black people?

(Number four nodding her head)

Reference 3 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: They had their places where they lived and they didn't get murdered.

References 4-6 - 0.62% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5: Well there was murders.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The uprising. The Hector Peterson party was, it was the uprising at that time. And our government or the National Party at the time took control of the situation and they said him, stop that dude. Don't do that. If you are going to do that we're gonna shoot you. You've got to stop and prevent the fires and burning the tyres, whatever. And they used the army and they stopped that thing in its tracks.

Reference 7 - 0.19% Coverage

BH: Okay so do you agree that the National Party committed violations of human rights in its war against the ANC?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do.

References 8-9 - 0.67% Coverage

BH: And do you see that the anti-apartheid forces were also in war against the National Party government? Do you see that as a war situation as well?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Well I remember when I was a young kid in Amanzimtoti, the ANC used to go and plant bombs in places and hurt innocent people. They used to - I mean I was in Amanzimtoti when a bomb went off. And kids were hurt. Innocent people were hurt. So that is how they got into power. By brutal force. 30.00 So in those years already it was brutal force.

Reference 10 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Do you think that was why there was so few prosecutions?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Of course, ja, because everything happened behind closed doors. That's the main thing.

Group 6, Participant ##: Vlak Plaas is-

(Participant 6 laughing)

BH: Tell me about VlakPlaas.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I don't know much about it. I just heard about it. But I'm saying.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant ##: Vlakplaas. Nobody knew about Vlakplaas. But thank, whoever was, Eugene de Kock with his boys, the BSB and whoever was there, take those guys and put them in charge of this country's government's army now for three years, you won't know this country.

Reference 11 - 1.11% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, F: It might have been different. I mean they know. They know, they say, "Okay, I knew what they did but I still voted for them." But I think a lot of the people did not know what was going on. What the politicians, leaders were doing or whatever.

BH: Why do you think they didn't know what was going on?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Freedom of speech. To be honest

BH: There was no freedom of speech?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: That's it ja. In those days you didn't see a lot in the newspapers. There wasn't quite – ok everything is shown now. They describe it-

BH: Yes but there wasn't freedom of the press, yes?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: No there wasn't.

BH: There was censorship? 50.00

Group 6, Participant 7, F: That's it yes. So if they wanted to take it out, it is out. Our, these normal people didn't get to hear about everything.

References 12-13 - 0.81% Coverage

BH: Do you think if you had gone to Voster in George, and said to him: "Mr. Voster, I heard the six people killed at Uitenhage, were just murdered. Do you think he would have done anything to you?"

Group 6, Participant ##, M: Ja, you would have disappeared.

BH: You would have disappeared? Do you think it is fair then to expect the ordinary white citizen to have stood up against the National Party?

Group 6, Participant ##: No (most shaking their heads).

Group 6, Participant ##: It boils, it boils down again, and I hear what they say, you can't. Again, you accepted that your leadership, National Party or whoever it was-

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 16 references coded [ 7.82% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I would say to me, it's the same, because we were 10 children and we stayed next to black people and we basically did everything together with them and there was not anything like you are white and you are black, so for me it is just the same, they are just moaning about the skin colour- you are too white, you can't work.

Reference 2 - 0.55% Coverage

DL: So the last question under this topic – if apartheid was not a crime against humanity how should we view it today? How do you think we should view it today?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I won't say it was a crime, more of an injustice, I mean, black people could not sit with you in the same restaurant, or use the same toilets, apartheid was all over, even at the Post Office, you

could not stand in the same queue. You don't want to. That's not fair but it is not a crime.

DL: Let's think a little about the homeland policy of apartheid, what do you say about that?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes...

Reference 3 - 0.29% Coverage

DL: Good if we say it was the NP and the ANC, do you feel both were equally guilty, or was one more guilty or less guilty. What is your view?

(Everyone talking together. They were all guilty)

Group 7, Participant 3, F: But the ANC, look how they killed our young men on the border. Terrorists. They were terrorists then.

References 4-5 - 0.22% Coverage

DL: We will get to that, but what you say is true. Number two, what do you think?

Group 7, Participant ##: I feel the same.

Group 7, Participant ##: It is the same.

DL: Both sides committed crimes.

Group 7, Participant ##: In their own right.

Reference 6 - 0.67% Coverage

DL: Good having said all this, whites still voted for the Nationalist Party until 1994, do you think that was right? How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant ##: Until when?

DL: 1994. That was when the first democratic election took place and the NP lost. And it was mainly white people who voted for the NP.

Group 7, Participant ##: Well I didn't vote.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I think it was a case of doing what your parents did. You think that it's the best thing to do, what else will you do? Monkey see, monkey do.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: You were a Nationalist what else could you do? It was the best party at the time.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Yes there was no other party. You had to vote the way your parents voted.

Reference 7 - 0.20% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: The ANC knew they had to stand together, because their future was at stake. We didn't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: But whites can't stand together, that's the problem.

Reference 8 - 0.18% Coverage

DL: There were the old (SAPS) and later the SAP and National Party...

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But that was more for the English so the Nationalists stood for Afrikaans, so voted for Afrikaans.

Reference 9 - 0.79% Coverage

DL: They immigrated. It was like that. The next question: to what degree did the white people know or suspect

that human rights violations were being committed? Do you think everyone was aware of it, was it general knowledge?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No, not everyone.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No. I think many people are very naive.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Not in general.

DL: So you think it was not generally known?

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

DL: These things were often kept secret.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Yes things we never knew about.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Many don't want to know. You don't want to know what your neighbors do, otherwise you may be required to make a statement.

Group 7, Participant ##: Then you're involved.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Glad I don't live next door to you.

#### Reference 10 - 1.97% Coverage

L: Good the next question, to what extent did white people hold the government responsible for what it did? I'm going to explain briefly, how ordinary people can hold the government responsible, just to mention one way: at the ballot box/polling station. Do you think it happened?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: No, it did not happen.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: It was never a fair vote.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The thing is they promised their brothers and sisters everything and when the time came to vote, they all voted but nothing came of it. So say no.

DL: How do you feel number?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I don't know. I agree with her. They promise everything but nothing happens.

DL: So you don't feel that the government was held to account by white South Africans for what it did?

Group 7, Participant ##: Not at all.

DL: Don't you think there was a move away towards the Freedom Front or the DA, away from the NP?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes, because one said no, I definitely won't vote National again, I would rather vote for the Freedom Front or so. Yes it did happen.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I can't remember years? But there was a movement away

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes there was.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I think it was at the beginning of the 80's or later during the 80's, there was a move away from the NP, and other parties started getting support from the voters.

Group 7, Participant ##: The DA also accomplishes more compared to other parties.

01:00:05

DL: Yes. I would say that is the only way to make the government accountable for what it does

Group 7, Participant ##: Even DA municipalities fare better.

Group 7, Participant ##, M: The reverse is also true. It couldn't carry on much longer.

DL: In a democracy isn't that the only power you have for ordinary people to ..(inaudible)

Group 7, Participant 11, M: When they released Mandela they lost a lot of support.

DL: The NP?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Yes.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The reverse is also true. It could no longer carry on. SA was on its knees economically speaking. It couldn't continue. Change had to come.

Reference 11 - 0.68% Coverage

DL: If you think back. The policy of apartheid, made provision for homelands

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Yes.

DL: We must talk about that. Think about it. Understand. It was not like the Germans who indiscriminately killed the Jews.

(Inaudible.)

DL: He had his own homeland to which he could return.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: He had his rights. They were never tortured, or that they will be killed for their views.

Group 7, Participant ##: One could say they were somewhat abused.

DL: If I were black, I could go and vote in Bophuthatswana, if I was a Tswana

Group 7, Participant ##: No, you couldn't.

DL: I could if I were a Tswana

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Could you?

DL: I could if I were a Tswana under apartheid. (Inaudible)

Reference 12 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I came to a stage where I realized that the application of the apartheid policy moved people to the homelands, caused labour problems especially on the farms and he would start worrying about that situation. Something else we discussed at meetings is when the trouble started in the townships, the people who rented a house, they can't own it. A friend of mine at that time said give them property rights then he's got something to lose. If he has something to lose he'll look better after it. Then the answer came, no, it's not our policy.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

01:10:30

DL: If you have your own house you could get security from a bank. Or owned your farm, but if you didn't have it you couldn't get that money.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I don't know if I'm running ahead.

Reference 13 - 0.33% Coverage

DL: But is it not so that during apartheid the NP controlled the recording of history to a large extent? And determined what was taught in the schools?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Yes, that is so.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It could be. But I would say it was the Voortrekkers, they wrote the history as they trekked, and that's how our history originated.

Reference 14 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: If I think of all the sanctions the outside world imposed on us, about this, then we could not go further. And I think our country would have gone up in flames if change did not come.

Reference 15 - 0.17% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Change was inevitable. Even in sport we were excluded because we supported apartheid, so those things had to change. We had no choice, we just had to adapt.

Reference 16 - 0.50% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: There is one point we have not yet raised with one another, and that is that the NP government to my knowledge were religious persons who prayed, they opened Parliament with prayer, people prayed about this matter, which way should we go, what choice is there for us. There was a lot of praying about that. The population prayed a lot about that, and the Lord gave us direction. On voting day 1994, there were people who thought here come big trouble, and everything went peacefully, as you may remember.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.76% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.90% Coverage

DL: Let me hear, do you know anything about the homeland policy?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: Is it not about the Zulu or the Khoisan had their tribal lands.

DL: Or Botswana, Transkei, Siskei, Venda.

Group 8, Participant 9, f: It was never said that it is mine, you have no right to it, we came into South Africa and the laws were there, it was never a thing of they killed women and children or took their men as slaves to go and work, that was not the idea of apartheid.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: They had freedom.

Group 8, Participant ##, M: It wasn't a concentration camp situation.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: Nobody starved or was hungry. At the moment many more are dying of malnutrition, it is much worse now than it was then.

Reference 2 - 0.56% Coverage

DL: If we say that the previous government broke human rights in other words they committed atrocities, did not recognize everyone's rights, does the same not apply to the ANC, is it not a war against the National Party and the ANC and did both sides not abuse the human rights of both parties – what do you say?

Group 8, Participant ##, M: Both are guilty to a certain degree.

DL: Number 5, how do you feel?

Group 8, Participant 5, F: I feel the same way.

Reference 3 - 0.99% Coverage

Subject 6 says where common white people part of human atrocities under apartheid? In general was it the top brass that gave the orders that were guilty or racism against black people as they made the laws. The whites that went to church and went about their daily routine may have committed a small crime here or there but who took the brunt in the end, not the people who tabled the policies or gave the orders, it was the ordinary white person. Does it mean that we have to share responsibility for the crimes committed by the government?

No, you lived under the government and the policies/laws. If you were white, the black people at that time had a pass, if you don't have your pass - it was a law

The law was enforced more

We cannot be held accountable

You had to live

You lived under the law

Reference 4 - 1.49% Coverage

If you were directly involved or if you knew someone then you may have known about it. In general, we don't think many knew about it. To what extent did whites hold the government accountable for the atrocities? Do you think some whites tried to hold them accountable, what do you say number 11?

They may not have verbally said anything because they were too scared because they had the upper hand, they may have known and voted against it, the white government.

I don't know.

Do you think we held the government accountable?

I think so.

What is the only way in which to hold a government accountable for atrocities? Did you vote in 1994 - not yet?

No.

It's really the only way isn't it? You can outvote it if you don't agree with the policy that they table, there were men who were conscientious objectors and did not do military service, you were jailed, you had no choice, and it was difficult to go against the government. Also not before democracy as there was only the Nation Party and the SAPA, no ANC or EFF so it was a big problem to hold the government liable. So in general, we could as white people stand up against apartheid - do you think we could?

We were too few, it would not have helped.

Reference 5 - 0.31% Coverage

Remember, apartheid was a white system, were there white people who were against apartheid?

Why would they have stood up for them if they knew that the system was better?

If it was in my time, why would I stand up against it?

People now see it as wrong.

Reference 6 - 0.51% Coverage

I don't know whether you lived during the time of sport boycotts, the sanctions imposed, we were cut off from the world, there was just one way to come back and that was democracy

They should have just signed a treaty that stipulated that for the generations to come, irrespective of whether they are black or white, these laws/rules must apply, you cannot come and prosecute our children still to come.



## APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA COMPARED WITH TODAY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 15 references coded [ 7.61% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 1.60% Coverage

BH: Okay. I am going to ask another question. How, I know that you are all young, how does it compare with life under Apartheid? Do you think it is better or worse? And if it is worse, in which way?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I am going to ask a question first and then I am going to substantiate my answer.

BH: Okay

Group 1, Participant 11, M: What is important for you in Democracy? Is it where the toilet that you pee in? Is it where you live next to white folks? Is it the beach that you swim in? Is it the amount of money that you can earn because you are now supposedly on even with black, white, blue, pink, yellow peers? To answer your question, people are in general, people are now starting to say even more than back then that, please bring white government back. The reason for that is that you cannot go to Shoprite with under a R100 to buy groceries. It is not going to happen. I recently told somebody from America that our rand was once a lot stronger than your dollar. And he laughed. And I proved it to him and he said to me how is this possible? So from a monetary point of view I go back to that now. Get up from this chair here now and go back because I will tell you why I will go back to. I will go back to clean streets. I will go back to jobs. I will go back to a good education system. I will go back to good healthcare. And those are all factors that should matter when you are paying a bond. When you are raising a family. When you basically working to climb the ladder in life. Look there are people who are not climbing the ladder. I do not form part of that. I am trying to climb the ladder here. I am looking out for kids, siblings, family, etc. So as far as I am concerned we could go back right here, right now. Anytime.

Reference 4 - 0.75% Coverage

BH: So those were the ways that was better. Do you think in any way there was worse, what was worse under Apartheid?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: What was worse? That is interesting. Are you asking me specifically?

BH: Yes

Group 1, Participant 11, M: What was worse? The fact that people were not treated fair. You had shacks. Look I am a money guy. I have also never voted. I don't put my faith in anybody else. To me it is almighty dollar and nothing else. Absolutely nothing else. The reason I never voted is because I am not going to put my faith into anybody around this table or anybody walking outside. 20.00 People are going to fail you. Especially when you are looking at the calibre and the education level of that person that is put at the helm of the ship. For instance rugby players do not play soccer.

Reference 5 - 0.21% Coverage

BH: Okay so now I am just taking you back to my question. My question was what do you think was worse under Apartheid? And you were saying people were not treated fairly.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: People were not treated fairly.

References 6-8 - 0.84% Coverage

BH: Remember I don't want to hear the words "I agree or I disagree" because we want freedom of thought here. Sorry I interrupted you now.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Can I just say something just before we go on? I just want to set the record straight. I am not saying that I will be happy if we have to go back to Apartheid, no, I am saying...

BH: That was what was better? No

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Barbara hold on what was better in my opinion is being led by a bunch of leaders with integrity. From a point of view we got a good education. There was equal business opportunities irrespective of the fact that these people pee in this toilet. These people only live there. To me that is not a big thing. I am about the opportunity. No matter where I am peeing. No matter where I am staying. As long as there is an opportunity to go up.

Group 1, Participant 7, M: So where was the opportunity to go up? (laughing)

References 9-10 - 0.41% Coverage

BH: Okay. Have you thought what you are going to say number seven?

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I just wanted to say that 25.00 I don't think we should go back but there is certain stuff that they did that time that worked. You know what I mean? If you kill somebody now they will literally track you down that same night and they will find you. Here they are not finding anybody. He is killing three four people by the time they come out by you.

Reference 11 - 1.70% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Yes. In the past three years I thought no, I would not go back to Apartheid until I have read the stats of how many people are killed each day. How many children are raped. And long before Apartheid, even before Europeans got to Africa, the nine different groups of native people had arguments with each other. So one side of Apartheid came from to divide the country provinces so that Tswana, the Zulus, the Sothos, the Vendas, don't mix into each other's neighbourhoods so that they fight. As well as border control. Now a days with the open South Africa all the nine native tribes, plus the two white tribes are living inter-mixed neighbourhoods which is a good thing. We need to know each other's cultures. Now we are living among foreigners and other ethnic groups. So there is tension building up. People are shooting each other's wives. Murdering children. Lots of fights break out. One ethnic group, let's say one province has a better education system, for instance Northwest Tswana, that is not the correct stats. Now they are getting all the jobs because they had a better education system in their province. Now people, instead of loving the Tswana people, they start hating them for taking all the jobs, killing their wives. And then another thing I want to point out is in Apartheid all the money was divided. There was money was divided to housing for each group, and each people and unfortunately the overseas companies boycotted us but they were plans initially to give each group a set of money to develop the neighbourhoods. And then the problem is now after Apartheid things should normalise by itself. But now they are enforcing a reverse Apartheid on top of us. It is like taking a base to neutralise the asset which does not work. So that is just one of my point of views.

References 12-13 - 1.76% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: Yes is fine. Part (inaudible) it is my fault. (laughing) I think media controls a lot of our thoughts and our decisions and how we view things and our reactions to what is happening in our country. And the same happened in Apartheid you know. I have been on both sides of the fence being a child of a mixed race marriage. What I do know is, and also having family overseas, overseas was getting the information that we don't get. So being brought up in say a predominantly white environment, we were told another portion of the truth. And then you go overseas and the media was telling you a whole other story. And I think that is very much of what is happening today. So the media back then was feeding hate and feeding anger. But it was under the banner of a freedom fight. Now it is freedom fighting for what and for where? I think what is happening now in South Africa is almost mirrors the past in that the truth is not told. So will sit here and go: "there were equal opportunities" or that sort of thing. No there was not equal opportunities. People were treated abominably. Actually, unfortunately, it is no different today. The media tends to fuel that. So it is very frightening that the farmers had been killed. It is very frightening that we don't have infrastructure in place that we should have in place. 30.00 It is frightening that our country has, you know we will look back and we will say oh there was all these things in place. But they were based on fear. There was structure but it was based on fear. Now we are living in a time where we are living in fear because black people have freedom but it is a direct correlation of what was happening and also our country has doubled in its population. We have millions and millions of people here from up Africa that are starving. So they cannot provide jobs when Cape Town's population has doubled in twenty years.

References 14-15 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 5, F: I say no

BH: Okay. Tell me why

Group 1, Participant 5, F: To a certain extent maybe. But Jaco was talking about the death penalty. Everybody wants the death penalty back. In those years if anybody did some murdered, did something wrong they would get the death penalty. Which is not happening anymore that is why there is such a lot of crime.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 20 references coded [ 10.71% Coverage]

References 1-4 - 0.74% Coverage

BH: And then how does it compare with life under apartheid? Life to living now to life under apartheid.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Life under apartheid on the one side I am going to say was good in the way of safety. And on the other side it wasn't good because why you couldn't actually really communicate with the next person properly like you wanted to. I was more you stay here and I stay there. So we don't talk to each other. But in that way it is better. When apartheid changed, the first change, when Madiba was president, yes all the way, but now, no. It has changed way too much. The crime rate is worse. The trafficking is worse.

Group 2, Participant ##: The abuse of the kids is even worse.

References 5-6 - 0.55% Coverage

BH: Alright and do you remember life under the apartheid?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Oh yes. It was nice living. Whites on the one side, blacks on the other side. We could sleep open doors, open windows. Today you can't. We have hedges in the front garden. They climb up. If they want to come in, they come in. It's difficult now, more difficult now to live.

BH: Now is that a colour issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: It is a crime issue. No I am not racist. I get along with anybody, but the crime.

References 7-8 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I do remember and if I have to think back I just moved from Durban to Cape Town about twelve years ago. And I grew up there in Durban on the Bluff. I had the Bluff. I had my school and further on you had (inaudible) where the coloured community lived. Basically what I can remember is walk one o'clock in the night in the streets, you know you - listen you had your dangers but not as what up until today, where you just don't-

BH: So do you think that was an apartheid thing or was it just a safety issue?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I just think probably that in apartheid you know the police had a certain degree of doing things

BH: So you think it is more the activity of the police services?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Basically yes. Back in the day there was like no nonsense. Even justice was justice or whatever you want to call it. You know, you gonna get what, you gonna get what comes to you if you are going to get caught by the police.

References 9-10 - 0.26% Coverage

I think go back to apartheid age I think people would have reacted better. There would have been more systems in place. Things were much more effective than what they are now. That gave people a sense of security. A sense of things are being done.

Reference 11 - 1.21% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: What the crime rate concerns, like I say twenty years you still felt free to go wherever you wanted to. Now a days you need to lock yourself in. whenever you go out at night time you need to be a couple of people together so you can protect yourself from the bad hands that is going to come your way. Because you can be sure of it you will face it. Now for me as a South African if I protect myself and my family then I am in the wrong because the courts are going to prove me wrong. 40.00 That is what happens. I have seen it. I have heard of it. I mean why has the criminal got more rights than me that is on my

property? I mean he doesn't belong there. But now what happened to you (inaudible) he wait for you to sleep so that he can trespass there. Whenever he gets caught he is going to pull a fire arm at you and truly he will shoot you.

BH: So now I just want to ask you is this a colour issue or is it a general crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Come again please

BH: Colour issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Is it a coloured issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Yes it is a crime issue.

#### Reference 12 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### References 13-16 - 1.06% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: No I have never been in favour of apartheid. In fact when I heard apartheid was for first time I asked my mother what does it mean? Then she did inform me that you as a white person are not allowed to mix with any other race. I said but I don't understand because in the morning I would take the bus to school from the farm and I would be with white people. But now this afternoon when I returned to the farm then it would be only me and my coloured friends. So why can't I mix with them? So that is why I say I have never been I favour of apartheid. But looking back at apartheid, there was work for everyone. You could have walked wherever you wanted to.

Group 2, Participant ##: If you were white.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: We wouldn't have been molested. If I look at the rape crime for instance towards women. I mean there was nothing of a kind. And if do it would be punished severely. But if I look at it today there is nowhere you can walk. You don't feel free to walk anywhere.

#### Reference 17 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Can I just say something?

BH: Okay but remember we are not here to agree or to disagree.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No my theory is just that I don't think that if I think back, we didn't hear of any statistics of rape, break-ins, murders and stuff. In apartheid which I think was pretty much kept back from us, you know but we were much protected. So it could have been exactly the same as what it is today. We weren't informed. And that is where the apartheid government kept us back basically. They tried to keep us back with information. With whatever. You know what I mean. Which I totally disagree with. Now we just have more available. And it is more available than.

#### Reference 18 - 1.17% Coverage

BH: Number three? (Pause) Did you see what happened before as a wall that the National party was on one side of the warring forces and the ANC liberation forces were the other side? And in a war there are always two different sides and if it was a war situation there usually are violations on both sides. Do you see it as that or do you see what the liberation fight was about? Do you see it in a different light?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I was very young, I can remember, I think it was my grandfather that spoke one day about how the police hit a person. A coloured person that was working on the farm. And got away with it 1.00.00 without nothing happening to them. I see the routine now, but just change the colour. Do you understand what I am saying? I see that routine. Why would they have that routine? Yes we do have that routine. If you think about it, those years, go into the church, if you are white, you can go into the church. If you are black or coloured you must go into that church. They never stood together. They never had the mind-set that it is just our skin that is changing our views.

#### Reference 19 - 0.63% Coverage

BH: So you think it was a mind-set. And do you think the Truth and Reconciliation Commission helped to change that mind-set? If we knew what had happened in the past because as a white person, as number nine was saying, information was hidden from us.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: If we knew I think it would have made a big change. If we had to know that happened but they hid it so well.

BH: And you don't think that it came out in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 2, Participant ##: No.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No. I don't think everything. Some of it but not everything.

#### Reference 20 - 1.64% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think for me growing up well we basically grew up in apartheid. I don't even think we knew that. Our parents made that decision. For us who grew up that was life. So that was normal and I think the first election that I could vote was when Nelson Mandela was actually freed. I think it was 1991. Was it the first?

BH: '94

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Yes that was the first election. That was the first year I could vote legally. So we entered into the Democracy. So life before that was normal. That was decisions our parents made to choose. I think the crimes and all that that you are talking about I think it is a minority. The normal average people just lived normally. I think it is the 1.20.00 defence force, looking at the police, we are looking at certain sectors that were committing those crimes. And I think we the normal people we weren't really aware of the extent of the crimes that was taking place on the borders, taking place with the police force. Those are things you kind or hear here and there but it didn't affect us in our communities I think that much growing up. I think you hear the news but that was all covered up. I mean I read a lot of (inaudible) books when I was growing up. I mean a lot of stuff is exposed in those books. You know I was very liberal. Some of us it is in books or things you read about. It is only afterwards when these things came up you really realise to what extent they really mistreated the black people. But I don't think we were kind of aware of that. We grew up normal.

#### Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 3.38% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.91% Coverage

BH: That is wonderful. That makes me very happy. Right we are going to start off by talking about what is going on in South Africa today and obviously in this community of Howick and its environments. So I am just going to tell you what the main points are and then I just want you to climb in and just give me what you feel. What do you feel are the major concerns facing South Africa today? On a national level and this your local community level. And how does it compare with life under apartheid? Number three. You look so engaging.

Group 3, Participant 3, M: It's quite an interesting question. If I think back because [NAME OMITTED] told me of the group you have chosen, the age group, if I think back to the apartheid era we lived a lot in ignorance. We didn't really know what was going on.

Reference 2 - 0.15% Coverage

So comparing it to pre-1994 there was so much we didn't know at the time, and which we found out about later on, which was horrific.

References 3-4 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: No that is fine. Your last question under apartheid I think we were blissfully ignorant of what was going on. I think now there is a lot more transparency and I think that is also one of the reasons why there is so much negativity around us. Especially with white folk and people that are not the same as us. You want to call it that.

Reference 5 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: I think the biggest difference is when I grew up it was the black people who feared an awful lot. You know they feared not being home in time, they feared that you know I know they use to come and knock on the door and what have you and my maid was terrified. But now I think it is the other way around. I think we are the ones that are fearful. Well they are, I know a lot of them do fear the crime. And it is fearing of the crime and I know they also fear the crime but I think we are more fearful than we used to be.

Reference 6 - 0.35% Coverage

Regards to the blacks fearing us and we fearing the blacks, I think the black fellows are scared of us right now. I think this is why there is this big upheaval at the present moment with what is going on in the country. Out of this 55 million there is 5 million others. So really there is nothing to worry about.

Reference 7 - 0.58% Coverage

The other thing is the great divides between the haves and the have not. I am not sure if it is because of the indoctrination of the past when we didn't know exactly how serious these things were for many people. We had an idea as number eight said. Yes we certainly did. As students we protested and did all those kinds of things. We were aware to some extent. To a large extent but not fully. So don't know if I didn't know about those kinds of things but I think that that situation has been exacerbated.

Reference 8 - 0.38% Coverage

Um I believe it was necessary for the very reason that you said number six around this table alone lots of us were not fully aware or aware of what was going on for whatever reason and our truth is our truth. It's our experience and that is our truth but there were other people's truth and we needed to actually become aware of that.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 21 references coded [ 6.43% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.57% Coverage

BH: And how does it compare with life under apartheid?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: How does it compare? Is that, I believe before apartheid if things were broken they were fixed. You know there were the right procedures. There were the right people in place to solve the problems but now it is not even about the problems. People are making the problems, I don't know how to put it in words, and they are making unnecessary problems.

BH: And what did you want to say number three?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Unnecessary problems for (inaudible)

References 2-3 - 0.57% Coverage

BH: And how does life now compare to apartheid? Better or worse?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Apartheid days there was a sense of community and if you don't happen to see an animal in need the thought would occur to you that that animal actually belongs to someone. So your instinct would be to stop which is very much how our parents raised us. We would stop and assist. There is no more

of that. So unfortunately because we have this violence accepted in South Africa as a norm. Ja it's just trickled down and it has led to this absolute, ja, it's not good.

#### References 4-7 - 0.86% Coverage

BH: I am going to come to that later. So number four what do you think about apartheid being a crime against humanity? Or a system of rule with good intentions

Group 4, Participant 4, M: I think it was a system of rules of good intentions but it was brought out in the wrong way. Because if you look back then, ok, what I don't condone about that time is that everyone had their own separate places that they had to fit inside. The, let's say the blacks and coloureds, they had their own filling stations and beaches. But when you look at it again the employment rating. Almost everyone was employed. And at the moment we are sitting at an almost 40, 50% unemployment rate. And yeah, that just doesn't make sense to me. How, how, how could things change so drastically in just twenty, twenty five years? That is my view point on that.

#### References 8-9 - 0.91% Coverage

Just to go, I think for me apartheid was a way of dividing and conquering so that like [Participant 3] mentioned, we could, the elitists could get rich off the cane planters and the black people, and- but for me in an ideal situation I would like to live the way that the country was run in apartheid without the apartheid issue. Without the apartheid being implemented. So if we could go back to the old South Africa where infrastructure worked. Roads worked. Traffic officers actually did their jobs. Um. The municipal buildings are how you saw them in the photos that are up in the municipal buildings. Um. So if things could be run the way that they were then, I have no issue with who is doing it as long as it is being done the way it was in those days. Without me having to send my maid home before six o'clock in case she is going to get beaten up on the street. That's not okay.

#### Reference 10 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I feel that the biggest problem even now with democracy and the biggest problem in the apartheid era was, in the apartheid era, you weren't entitled because of your race or because of your previously disadvantaged status, to be where you are. You had to earn it. Even us white people, you go to varsity, you pay for varsity. You wanted to get a job, you earned that job. Now in democracy, whether it was democracy or apartheid, 1.05.00 now we have this entitlement where things are not earned anymore and I think that's the fundamental problem with even our democracy now. We are not living in a democratic country, we are living in a country of entitlement where because you were born black, you are entitled to more than a white person.

#### References 11-12 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I understand what you saying with that. My opinion of that is, is back in apartheid era how low was the unemployment level? Whereas giving it twenty five years it has gone to about fifty percent. So give it another twenty five years is it going to go to a hundred?

#### References 13-16 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: But how many, how many, when we say ja, ok during the apartheid time there was good employment but how many, do we actually know how many black people were employed during that time? I mean lots of them were living in rural areas and sort of living on subsistence farms and things like that. And I mean there were people going off to work in the mines and to work in construction, as domestic workers, gardeners, etc. so very low paying jobs that nobody else wanted to really do. And I mean, I don't actually know the statistics of how many black people were employed. I mean there could have been massive unemployment back then. But because we were only focused on one race group really -

#### References 17-18 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: But the economy wouldn't have been as strong as it was if they weren't employed.

#### Reference 19 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: But if we all have equal rights you go to this place you get the job okay. If you want to do that you got to have a diploma. If you don't get out. So make equal rights equal opportunities. Um ja, then, like I said I love this country. And then it will flourish again. Like what it used to be.

#### References 20-21 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: I am going to ask you about that. Would you be happy for your children to move away from the country?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I think for the difference between, I saw South Africa when it was amazing. Other younger generations have only seen the mass, you know the mass breakdown, and so I'm hoping- they say history always runs in circles. I'm hoping that we will eventually, I just don't know if it will be in my lifetime (laughs) which is a bit depressing. But for my children's sake, I don't know. It seems like the only reason that I would move would be the economics because everything else is so wonderful about this country. And when you said what, you know, am I an optimist or a pessimist? I'm very much an optimist because compared to other countries we have freedom of choice. We have freedom of religion. We have, you know fortunately gay people can be married in this country. There is so many wonderful things that are just overlooked and just stamped on by all the negativity. And I think that negativity breeds negativity. So if we're all nay-sayers, nothing is going to change. So I think we all need to raise our children to be, to embrace the change and make it work.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.79% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.79% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: More than that, I get, so one, one of the things that I hear about fairly often and what upsets me about apartheid and how it ended, talking about moving into democracy, is the idea of the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation.

BH: I am going to get to that just after this one but carry on with your thought.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: My issue with the TRC is if we look at (inaudible) both sides admitted to things they had done that were bad, essentially it let off a lot of white South Africans off the hook. On things that they have done and gotten away with. And it upsets me because I, I do feel like my grandmother's generation, if I looked at it, was the height of apartheid and they're the generation that had left school, had jobs that was easy to find because of the colour of their skin. They ah had a better standard of living because of the colour of their skin. They're the generation that enforced and upheld apartheid and they sent my father's generation to war over apartheid and to enforce apartheid. And they have a lot to answer for and I feel like the TRC was a great way for them to get out and saying, well we're all sorry, we're all friends now and forget about it. And what they've done there is that they've left their grandchildren to pay the bill. Um. The reason in my mind why we still have a lot of problems when you look at um, like the anger today and the the fact that South Africa is in the place it is today, I think a lot of where we are now and the problems we're trying to solve would have been solved if they'd owned up and said, these were our actions and we need to answer for them. And I think it's cowardice, um, I think that that generation should've answered for what they've done. (-1:25:42)

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 33 references coded [ 18.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I mentioned it when we introduced ourselves, its respect. You know in apartheid years you were taught if an adult or somebody with authority speaks to you, you listen and you respect what that people is telling you. And if he says to you this is red, although it is brown, you will still stick with whatever an adult tells you. Today a child in grade three or four stabs his friend. We never had that, sorry for the French, shit in apartheid. We have it now. Why? Because our children has been brought up. You can tell an adult, you can say to someone in authority, you can't touch me because the law protects me. That is bull dust.

Reference 2 - 0.51% Coverage

BH: Okay other thoughts?

Group 6, Participant 2, F: In earlier years you use to get a hiding or you were reprimanded if you did something wrong. So you knew that you were going to get punished. Today you are not allowed to hit your children any more. If you do they can give you over to the law. So this is where things start. They say bend the tree while it is still small and I still believe in it.

Reference 3 - 0.42% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: For instance if you look at the courts. It's no more a court. It's a circus - the people carrying on like that. You know in apartheid years there wasn't such behaviour in courts. It is attempt of court. They would lock you up if you do something like that. Today they are having a party in courts.



#### Reference 4 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 9, M: Mine is mostly the farm killings.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 9, M: Some of the farmers supply food for shops and that, and then, then it went dead. Then they said there are no farm killings. It is all on a national level, where they can more investigate the farmers. And then in the community it's, you get these people they are burning each other with tyres. And in apartheid there was nothing like that in apartheid.

#### Reference 5 - 1.30% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think that having said all that. We were, we were taught, and I'm saying that with the utmost respect, we were taught at home. You got up in the morning, you make your bed, you get your clothes for school, you polish your shoes, you do whatever. It's been taught at home. What has been taught at home now is to go burn your schools, burn the universities – universities, the hospitals. The ambulance people can't go to work, the tow-truck drivers, the truck drivers, nobody can go to school 'cause you are taught in your house, you don't get your way, go burn it down then they'll give it to you. In my time, I was a child, two, three years, four years old, I went to boarding school. I was turning five. I could make my own bed, I could put my clothes, pack it into my cupboard, put my dirty washing there. Today the mothers do that for the children. Shame I must help my son or my daughter. You are helping them into whatever we got now. It's a balls-up. I don't know.

#### Reference 6 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 3, M: For instance there by my work I got to pick up black workers. They tell you straight, they will-

BH: Sorry the tape recorder. Yes carry on.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: They tell you straight they will rather live in the old apartheid as to live in the country right now.

#### Reference 7 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Ja. Because there was law and order.

Group 6, Participant 5, f: Yes that is what I say.

#### Reference 8 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##, M: There was work. There was opportunity for everybody.

#### Reference 9 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I don't agree with anything that happened, to be honest, but they tried to do something about everything.

#### Reference 10 - 0.07% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Well the economy was better.

#### Reference 11 - 0.07% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Education was better.

#### Reference 12 - 0.05% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##, M: Respect.

#### References 13-15 - 1.34% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Exactly, exactly what she is saying now, we, blame, blame apartheid, it's fine, but we never, you will never found our education, our health, our workforce, anything, our schools, whatever you want to, universities, go to any one of them now, as a white person and walk into it and say I want to bring my five or six-year old. That's why they started having private schools or crèches or whatever and home schooling for white people to also get education because you can't go Sebokeng and take your child there because they're going to stab him with scissors like yesterday. Two friends playing in class, black friends playing in class, stabbing the other one, died at school. We never had, you, in your life, during apartheid, call it the way you want, you would never find that 'cause the people, the children and the teachers and the

parents had respect for each other and for themselves. You would never find the bull that is continuing in our country now. In apartheid it will never happen.

#### Reference 16 - 1.27% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Because we didn't use to kill them like they are killing our farmers. I mean that's a crime against humanity, to see the way our farmers get killed and it's brutal murders. They brutally murder them.

Group 6, Participant ##: Torture them.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: That didn't happen in the past. That didn't happen in apartheid. They just weren't allowed in our areas and stuff like that. But they, we didn't go around murdering them. We didn't go around killing them. Raping their wives and killing their kids and burning them with irons and stuff like that. So I think apartheid is more now. This is apartheid. That wasn't apartheid (inaudible). So the apartheid, they saw apartheid never worked, but now they got apartheid against whites. And they are killing the whites, they are raping our wives, and they raping our daughters. That's against human that is unhuman. What they are doing is un-human. What we did was never unhuman.

#### Reference 17 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Look at xenophobia.

BH: No, no I am talking about twenty five years ago.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: But I am just saying now. Twenty five years ago there was no such thing. They didn't use to say let's start killing our own people. It's their own people that they are killing. They are burning their shops.

BH: Yes, yes, but that's now.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Twenty five years ago there was no such thing. You didn't even know about this thing like xenophobia.

#### References 18-19 - 0.33% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Well that time everybody had a job on the farm. They were all working. They were all getting food. Mielie-meal and meat, from the farmers. They were all working. They had houses on the farms. So what's, that wasn't apartheid.

#### Reference 20 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Things definitely did happen. We can't say there was no crime against humanity. You can't say there were no murders. Or that that was burned down, whatever. Things happened that wasn't right. But I almost want to say that things didn't get out of hand as the way it is now. No those things were wrong. It shouldn't have happened.

#### Reference 21 - 1.04% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: It is definitely different. Definitely.

BH: Tell me in which way is it different.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Well we're not doing the same, exactly now what is happening today. We never did anything like that in the past. I remember my grandfather and my grandmother telling me stories. I grew up in this area. 1977, '76 my grandmother had a newspaper stand. Just around the corner, exactly in this road. We lived here in First Street, Parkhurst. 4 o'clock the morning she used to take a walk up First Avenue and coming up 7th Street. Whenever she saw a black person in the road, they usually stood one side. "Good evening mam" "good morning man" whatever. But she said as time progressed, they started just bumping her out of the way and she eventually gave up her shop.

#### Reference 22 - 0.29% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: That's it yes. So if they wanted to take it out, it is out. Our, these normal people

didn't get to hear about everything.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yeah but that time also everything went well.

Reference 23 - 0.44% Coverage

BH: What would have happened?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think that the system, the systems at that time worked more fairly or more decent than it does now. If I go now as a white person and say that guy called me a boer, what happens to him? They blow you out of the water. But if I call him the "K" word now, I am in prison ten minutes later.

References 24-25 - 0.86% Coverage

BH: They were right, no matter what?

Group 6, Participant ##: They were right. I am eating. I am going to school. I am feeding my children and so whatever they are doing, you know what, I don't want to interfere. If I interfere there is going to be flak on me now I get taken away from my family and put in, either in Robben Island or wherever. So what do I do now? I keep quiet and respect their wishes. Let them do what they do. At least my children eat. I've got a safe house to sleep. I don't have to have barbed wire and bull terriers and anything. Security companies protect my house. Now in that time it wasn't necessary. The house didn't even have a fence in front.

Reference 26 - 1.48% Coverage

BH: Now number six you have to tell me something. You haven't said anything up until now. And you really do need to share your thoughts with me. What do you think? Because I do know that you are thinking. 55.00

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Ja I am thinking but it's so terrible.

BH: So tell me. Tell me what you think. Are you relieved that democracy replaced apartheid? Don't worry about anybody else because I am wanting you just to give me your opinion.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: No I don't think so

BH: You don't think so? You preferred it how it was?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Ja.

BH: Okay and just tell me the reasons why you prefer it?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: It was better. I don't know, ja.

BH: Okay. And what is it about Democracy that you don't like now?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Oh there is a lot of stuff.

BH: Well just tell me some of the stuff.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: I don't know. Work, ja.

BH: That there isn't enough work?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Work

BH: So that's the biggest problem? Under Democracy there is not enough work for white people or for everybody?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: For white people actually.

Reference 27 - 0.10% Coverage

BH: Okay and you number nine?

Group 6, Participant 9, M: Well mostly it's work.

Reference 28 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 9, m: And in apartheid there was plenty work for everybody. And now there is no work for no one.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: For no one ja.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: In apartheid years you could have walked to a factory, they give you a job. White or black, doesn't matter. Nowadays you walk in a place, either there is no vacancies or they take the black man. That's it.

Reference 29 - 1.28% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I just think, take the good of apartheid. There was stuff. Like economically it was good. So go talk, take it over and bring the bad stuff that was from there, rectify that. And work together to build a better place.

Group 6, Participant 10, F: I guess, whatever she is saying now. We never heard of Moodley or downgrading our economic system to trash level. We make enough money. We supplied the world with gold, with whatever resources we've got. 1.00.00 Now all of a sudden the Chinese, everybody is getting on to the bandwagon. Our country doesn't belong to white, black, Indian or whatever. It belongs, a big chunk of it belongs to the outside world. The America, the England, the Chinese, the Japanese, whatever. Where do we go, where do we go to? The Chinese guy, if he buys a mine, how many mines we've got? They bought them. To do what? Not to give us work. We are not going to work.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes they are bringing in their people

References 30-31 - 1.62% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think, I just think we, the respect and and and again, white people were brought up that way. And I'm not, I am saying this with the utmost respect.

BH: Yes yes yes.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Black people's culture is miles apart from white people's culture. So what, to me if he touches that pie he has to take it and eat it. Another guy will sit here and he will take all of it. Alright I want that one. I was brought up, I respect this guy he is going to eat that. And the mutual respect is just not there. We respect them from apartheid. We respected them. We still gave them food. They still had education. They still had all that. Take all that respect that you were taught in twenty five years and reverse it and give it back to us. Because if you are going to respect me I am going to respect you. If you are not going to respect me I'm not going to respect you. 1.10.00 And that's where the problem is now. You want to tell my wife she's got nice shoes on. Or a nice pants or whatever she's got that's nice. And I don't like it because I haven't been brought up. That's my wife. Don't talk to her. Don't talk about her or whatever. Give her a compliment, no problem. But the respect part is just zero, from them to us.

Reference 32 - 1.09% Coverage

BH: Number five

Group 6, Participant 5, F: My true opinion about this whole story, if respect comes from your culture or the way you were brought up it will never happen. Sorry that's how I feel. It will never happen. They they could not forget about apartheid in twenty-five years. How can we think that it will change now? How? Who's gonna change it? Who's gonna to have respect for the next guy? Nobody has respect. Nobody can work together. I mean if you've got a business and the majority is black people, and you want to have equal rights or whatever, the, the rules are, but it's not happening. So now you have to get more other cultured people in this business so that they can be on top together. I mean you've only got one culture now at the top. But now we must work together. But how you going to do that? Because it is only black.

Reference 33 - 1.04% Coverage

Mogoeng Mogoeng is our Chief Justice. And it might be off the point now. He reads a bible. Well I hope he does. He reads the constitution which he knows better than I know myself or my children. My bible tells me, if your child is not being, or not listening or whatever he needs to be taught to be listening. Because you bend a tree when it's young. He takes away - you know what, you are not allowed to hit your children. Now, maybe he's got nannies that he pays them R20 000 per month to not hit his children. My children, I pay their schooling, I buy their clothes, I buy their food. If he's not listening I'm gonna hit his behind. 1.15.00 His ears from here (gestures behind him). He's gotta listen, I guarantee you that. After the first one, the second time he's gonna - you know what, this is not nice.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 14 references coded [ 5.92% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with that, bring back the death penalty – that is the only way you will be able to stop those things.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: There is no deterrent at this stage. They go out on parole and they do the same thing while they are out on parole and then they still kill another one or two people.

Group 7, Participant ##: Bring back corporal punishment.

Reference 2 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: Corporal punishment as well.

(Inaudible three or 4 speak together)

Group 7, Participant ##: Not only corporal punishment but punishment.

Group 7, Participant ##: Punishment is needed.

Group 7, Participant ##: Children are no longer being disciplined in school.

Reference 3 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I've often spoken about it. They all say the preferred the apartheid years, because then they lived, they received rations, they could come and wake you up at 3 o'clock in the morning to say my child is sick or whatever, now we live in prisons, they cannot come within 3 or 400 meters of your house.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: They themselves are frightened of leaving their homes.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Many of them say it was a better time for them, they were looked after better, yes there were people who abused the system, but today just the opposite is happening, so what's the difference.

References 4-5 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I also just want to say, to me it was better [-2:05:47] in the apartheid's years, there was more consistent discipline, and things just fell into place. I agree that the African people should not be mistreated, all should be treated humanely.

Reference 6 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: Our country was in a better state.

Group 7, Participant ##: The roads as well.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: If we see how many places have deteriorated? Recently, after a long time, I went to Bloemfontein, wow, if you see how that place has gone down, if you consider that it use to be the "city of roses", you don't see that anymore, you should see what the islands, what they look like, it looks a jungle growing on the sidewalks and islands, everything has gone down, not just Bloemfontein, you can visit any town and see how things have deteriorated. The municipalities just don't do anything about it. They receive huge salaries.

#### References 7-8 - 0.92% Coverage

DL: But is it not so that during apartheid the NP controlled the recording of history to a large extent? And determined what was taught in the schools?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Yes, that is so.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It could be. But I would say it was the Voortrekkers, they wrote the history as they trekked, and that's how our history originated.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes, and morals also were a lot better because the children were educated, they knew in the evening they pray to Jesus, today also there's nothing like that, no more religion in the schools. If you do not have religion in your home, your children will know nothing about it. You can't raise a child without religion, so it's just a matter of...

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Those days in schools there were Voortrekker camps, there were Voortrekkers...

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Your children were raised much better.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They knew how to survive. Today we no longer have those things.

#### Reference 9 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Was it unavoidable, was it necessary, and was it the best outcome for the country?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It was the best because we weren't raised correctly, for example, a white stays here and a black stays there, really things just changed. We are glad things changed, really, but we don't live with each in the right way. There is still too much hatred.

#### References 10-12 - 0.67% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 4, M Those days they had their place and you had yours, and many have said that they led a better life then, that they would like apartheid to return, because they lived a better life then. That's why there are so many without work, sitting on street corners hoping to get something.

DL: So you say democracy was... (Inaudible)

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I agree. For instance the farm labourers, they received their rations at the end of the month, they had mielie meal, coffee, sugar, they got everything, and if you speak to the elderly, they say apartheid must return, because they lived a better life, they had food, the children, they could survive, today they have to steal, murder, to survive.

#### Reference 13 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: My experience is that in 1994 we embraced democracy with great expectations, but as time passed, especially the last few years, it became watered down to such a degree, that one is no longer comfortable with it. I would like to come back to another point, for example, legislation, when we look at the legislation the NP applied to agriculture, for example, we had to declare how many workers we had on the farm, how many posts there were for workers, those days we still did a good deal of ploughing, for each tractor, a day and night driver. So we came to a figure. We had to sit with a committee at the office of the magistrate to explain why we had so many workers in our employ. There were other laws too regarding agriculture, the herds of sheep and cattle you were allowed to keep, this you had to declare to the information officer. That changed. We are thankful that it changed, but other laws came, which is like a muzzle, labour laws.

#### Reference 14 - 0.99% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The main thing for us whites is we don't see the sun shining for someone else.

Group 7, Participant ##: We sometimes make it difficult for ourselves.

Group 7, Participant ##: Start being more concerned about your neighbors, not just about yourself.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Here, the Whites are more concerned about what car he drives, what house he's got, he doesn't see the sun shining for his neighbor.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: You don't know whether your neighbor has food. But you have a lovely plate of food. You don't know what the situation is at his house,

Group 7, Participant ##: We complain, but we don't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: That's our biggest problem. Whites do not and cannot stand together.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Look, in the olden days, it was families who stood together. Not so today.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Take the beaches of Durban for example, or any beach for that matter, what it looks.

Group 7, Participant ##: Like at Christmas time. There is not a white to be seen.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 18 references coded [ 8.20% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.51% Coverage

DL: Let's move on. Next question – How does the life in South Africa compare under apartheid. I realize that apartheid was before your time but you may have spoken to your grandparents and parents about it, what do you think – is it better today, was it better in those days? Number 8.

Group 8, Participant 8, M: It's difficult to answer but I would say, my personal opinion is that it could have been better

References 2-3 - 0.45% Coverage

DL: Do you mean to say apartheid could have been better?

Group 8, Participant 8, M: Yes, the safety of the country was much better and there was growth in the economy, we had our own weapons and vehicle (in audible) and I feel that since we are no longer under apartheid, there is no longer economic growth that can ensure that in fifty years it will mean something.

Reference 4 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I would agree with number 8, it is difficult, what I hear from my father is that the unemployment figure was much lower and everyone, black or white was employed and it wasn't as if they were just in a location and didn't have any work. Even now, even white people now can find employment and they give more employment to the African people but there are more of them who are now unemployed and are unschooled.

Reference 5 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: There was Law and order and was strictly enforced, whether you were white or black, you obeyed the rules, now there are laws and regulations but no one obeys them.

DL: It is not enforced.

Group 8, Participant ##: Not at all.

Reference 6 - 0.07% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Medical care was also better.

Reference 7 - 0.65% Coverage

DL: Let's move. The second subject says was apartheid a crime against humanity. Some say it was a crime against humanity others say apartheid was a system that had good intentions but was incorrectly applied. Would do you think number 5?

Group 8, Participant 5, F: I think it was a system that was not applied correctly, things were better and there was more law and order but they applied it incorrectly against them.

DL: Who is the them – do you mean the blacks? Let's just get clarity

Group 8, Participant 5, F: Yes.

Reference 8 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I have a lot to say.

DL: Just keep it brief.

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I'll break it up into two sentences. Firstly, I'll say that I agree with number 6. I would say that it was not a crime but it was wrongly implemented as already said. The problem I have is how it was implemented against certain races, it would have been better to have the strict laws instead of completely turning it around as they have done.

Reference 9 - 0.90% Coverage

DL: Let me hear, do you know anything about the homeland policy?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: Is it not about the Zulu or the Khoisan had their tribal lands.

DL: Or Botswana, Transkei, Siskei, Venda.

Group 8, Participant 9, f: It was never said that it is mine, you have no right to it, we came into South Africa and the laws were there, it was never a thing of they killed women and children or took their men as slave to go and work, that was not the idea of apartheid.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: They had freedom.

Group 8, Participant ##, M: It wasn't a concentration camp situation.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: Nobody starved or was hungry. At the moment many more are dying of malnutrition, it is much worse now than it was then.

Reference 10 - 0.16% Coverage

DL: Anyone want to add something.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: It was not 100% right in apartheid but now it is 300 times worst.

References 11-14 - 1.27% Coverage

DL: Let's move on, can you still remember what the outcome was of the TRC and was the outcome fair, I know it was a little before your time, but do you think it was fair report that was done in the long run? What do you say number 5? If you consider all the facts put on the table would you say it was a fair distribution of facts, were all the pros and cons considered or was it just one side of the story that was heard?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: You never heard about all the good, it was all about a lot of bad things that happened, they never spoke about how people were treated fairly, all the blacks received houses on farms where they stayed, they received good remuneration, they were not used as slaves, there was far less crime and all children were schooled, there were a lot of little school farms which ensured that they received education, they received medical attention, it's not that they suffered. If you think that now you write up all that hate and or ask for reconciliation, it is not going to be fair (report).

Reference 15 - 0.99% Coverage

Subject 6 says where common white people part of human atrocities under apartheid? In general was it the top brass that gave the orders that were guilty or racism against black people as they made the laws. The whites that went to church and went about their daily routine may have committed a small crime here or there but who took the brunt in the end, not the people who tabled the policies or gave the orders, it was the ordinary white person. Does it mean that we have to share responsibility for the crimes committed by the government?

No, you lived under the government and the policies/laws. If you were white, the black people at that time had a pass, if you don't have your pass – it was a law



The law was enforced more  
We cannot be held accountable  
You had to live  
You lived under the law

#### References 16-17 - 0.96% Coverage

Remember, apartheid was a white system, were there white people who were against apartheid?  
Why would they have stood up for them if they knew that the system was better?  
If it was in my time, why would I stand up against it?  
People now see it as wrong.  
The point is valid, if you see that things are going well in that system why you would want to change it.  
Some even today still feel that they are not treated fairly by the government.  
Especially the older black workers/people who worked under that system.  
They say it was much better for them at that time.  
Many have come forward and said it was better  
I know 2 or 3 with whom I swot, he is only now doing his degree like us, we actually had the same conversation about this topic and said things were better then than now.

#### Reference 18 - 0.85% Coverage

You are really sitting with the legality or inheritance of apartheid even though you were not part of it but it does have an influence on us. Last one, did you feel relieved when the system was replaced with democracy, if so why, how did you feel? It actually happened before your birth, so this question is not relevant/applicable to you as you only know the democratic system. Would you like to mention anything?  
I would say that I wish apartheid was still here because everything was just so much better  
Then you arrive back to her opinion previously made that it went well during that period -in terms of white people it was a good system.  
Both sides.  
But black people also.

## MEMORIES, EXPERIENCES AND STORIES OF APARTHEID

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 6.42% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.41% Coverage

BH: Okay I just want more collective views about whether Apartheid was a crime against humanity. Who has got a view on that?

Group 1, Participant 3, F: So I think what they were trying to say is it didn't start off like that. Hardly though. We made laws to make it a crime against humanity. Regardless of whether that or not, we made the laws. And we segregated based on the colour of your skin. And it is the same with the crime. The crime is committed because of the colour of your skin and not what you did; it is a crime against humanity. I mean we can say yes. We can take some of the things and bad things and stuff like that but again what number six was saying, it's the media. I was saying it is very difficult for me to compare Apartheid to now because when I was younger we didn't see. 40.00 It wasn't televised on TV on the crimes that they did and things. We didn't see what actually happens. Only now that we come out. When you start seeing people coming forward and saying this is actually what happened. Do you realise the atrocities that actually took place. But when we were younger, I mean if you were a white person in the Apartheid, you didn't see any crime. I could go anywhere where I wanted to. I could go to any school I wanted to. I had no fear of where I lived. I think my story would be a lot different if I was a black child. And a black woman at that time. My story would be completely different. So it is not about the crime it's the fact of the matter that the crime was the colour of your skin. Not what you did.

References 3-4 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: There is also many white people who fought for people of colour. My father and grandfather as well. They were freedom fighters. They also did not believe in Apartheid. So they felt like they would fight for other people. They were thrown in jail. That was also a way of keeping their truth in there. To help others.

Reference 5 - 1.33% Coverage

BH: But now I want you to hold that thought because I am now looking at you for my next intro which was by 1996 when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established South Africa had already become a Democracy and white minority rule had been defeated. Was it really necessary to dig up the past to build a better future?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

BH: Tell me why

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think like they said in the previous one, it was necessary because like I said there were a lot of white South Africans who lived under a rock. We had no idea of what exactly Apartheid meant because we lived in a very sheltered life. So we needed to actually understand why there was this anger coming out of Apartheid. I will use a scenario of saying; "you cannot rape me today and then I am able to tell my story tomorrow. On day three I am okay. I must forget about what you did to me. And I smile and pretend like nothing has happened. That is exactly what happened. We have raped a nation and had this little Truth and Reconciliation Commission and then expected everyone was going to be "kumbaya" and holding hands the next day and forever amen. And that was the problem. We had so many things yes ... in 199, we had made these beautiful laws but nothing was monitored. Nothing was followed up. There was no implementation, so it needed to be done so that it can expose the truth but exposing the truth is not enough to build a relationship.

Reference 6 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: My grandfather always said during the time of apartheid, if you were against all these things happening, just by the mere fact that you benefited, you are complicit. Because the education system for the whites were much better. Money was much better because you always got the top jobs even if you couldn't do the work. And you knew some people who couldn't do the work. The same issues we have today, the same as then. And that is the reason I say yes, we were all at fault because we all benefited.

Reference 7 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 1, M: Because like my family, my grandfather he is vocal about this. He is very ashamed that he didn't do more. He is very ashamed that the people he helped vote into power did these things. He is very ashamed that it happened. I mean he is white, if you want to call him because he was one of those people who made an x next to that person's name and that is why it is very much a fact of don't talk about it. My grandfather they won't speak to my children about what happened.

BH: So it was from a feeling ashamed point of view?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: From my personal experience yes.

Reference 8 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, F: I wanted to say the same. I think I also read somewhere that age does play the grow on how familiar are of apartheid. The concern I have now is that when during apartheid I was very young and even now, because of the colour of my skin I am always associated with white privilege and all of these things. Even though I didn't even experience the white privilege. You know when I went to private schools and stuff like that 1.10.00 so I think sometimes even though we want to say look here this is not actually our fight. Maybe our father and mothers and our grandparents yes, but this is not really our fight. Somewhere along the line you have to stop labelling me as this white, white privilege person when I haven't had very much to do with supremacist. So I don't know if I can answer that question as whether we want to don't associate.

Reference 9 - 0.92% Coverage

H: So do you think there is a level of guilt? Do you feel guilty on behalf of your parents and your grandparents?

Group 1, Participant 2, F: That is why I am saying. It is difficult to say because when you are so young you don't know what is happening. I think they are the ones who have to say, do I feel guilty? But from our generation maybe there are other people like number eight whose family was an activist who maybe saw more than the average person but from this generation and younger it is so difficult to say what actually happened. And you often find that people they want to jump on this bandwagon of freedom fighters and anti-South Africanism, I am not disrespectful but I was just saying, for the sake of not saying you weren't even, maybe you were three. What was your idea of what apartheid was? You were never detained. And even if your mother or father was detained, how much would you have remembered at that time. So that is why I am saying maybe the older generation might.

Reference 10 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: This generation might feel ashamed. Not guilty. I don't feel guilty. I do feel ashamed. I feel like these are the people, the elders we have to look up to and respect and learn from. Then yes I feel ashamed. Not guilty because I physically didn't do anything. I was born in '85. When I was old enough to know what was going on. When I saw the first black kid in my school and then we became friends, I didn't know what was happening. So growing up there was never any sense of guilt. No I never. I didn't know until I was in my teens I never realised what has actually been going on and why things have changed. But I was ashamed.

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 5.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: And do you remember life under apartheid?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Yes

BH: You were little?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: I was not that old but I know. They used to say this people don't come here and you don't go there.

Reference 2 - 1.17% Coverage

BH: Number three? (Pause) Did you see what happened before as a wall that the National party was on one

side of the warring forces and the ANC liberation forces were the other side? And in a war there are always two different sides and if it was a war situation there usually are violations on both sides. Do you see it as that or do you see what the liberation fight was about? Do you see it in a different light?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I was very young, I can remember, I think it was my grandfather that spoke one day about how the police hit a person. A coloured person that was working on the farm. And got away with it 1.00.00 without nothing happening to them. I see the routine now, but just change the colour. Do you understand what I am saying? I see that routine. Why would they have that routine? Yes we do have that routine. If you think about it, those years, go into the church, if you are white, you can go into the church. If you are black or coloured you must go into that church. They never stood together. They never had the mind-set that it is just our skin that is changing our views.

#### References 3-4 - 1.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I don't know if you, even if we go through that, there is a lot of people, I mean I grew up and I never even noticed apartheid. I sometimes think whether stuff went well with me. I didn't see these things like that way. I never saw apartheid. I went to school. We will talk to everyone. Yes there were whites in school but I didn't see it as odd. This is only whites. This is only blacks. I didn't see it that way. So only later on, I was already out of school. I went to the Technical College and there were like all races, all different languages. But still it was just normal for me. Only later on I realised. I went to Namaqualand, I went to a small little café and for the first time I saw my whole life because I am a city girl and here I see why are these people going the other side in and I am going this side in? You know a shock, so that is when I questioned it. Then I was about seventeen, eighteen years old. But the thing is now that I am grown up I am actually hearing more and more about apartheid but I never grew up even though I was in that era. But my daughter is twenty-six so for her she went to university, everything with all races. They all treat each other the same but there is a lot of problems still. They actually were born in an era with a new government. Everything is different. They go to schools. They mix with everyone. But why is it, what I can't understand is, my daughter has a coloured boyfriend, she has black friends at the university and they are all fine but there is a certain group of people that would just hate you. Just because you are white. And I don't think that hatred is going to go away.

#### Reference 5 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Can I tell you something quickly? When we were children my grandpa had a farm in Robertson, ne? We couldn't wait to go there because we swam in the dam with all those kids. They were running up the dirt road to come and fetch us that we can just go and swim with them in the dam. Crabs everywhere but we swam in that dam with them. They couldn't wait for us because we brought them their clothing. My mother used to pack in all these small clothes and things and go give it to the children on the farm by my grandfather. And we had fun.

#### References 6-7 - 1.64% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think for me growing up well we basically grew up in apartheid. I don't even think we knew that. Our parents made that decision. For us who grew up that was life. So that was normal and I think the first election that I could vote was when Nelson Mandela was actually freed. I think it was 1991. Was it the first?

BH: '94

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Yes that was the first election. That was the first year I could vote legally. So we entered into the Democracy. So life before that was normal. That was decisions our parents made to choose. I think the crimes and all that that you are talking about I think it is a minority. The normal average people just lived normally. I think it is the 1.20.00 defence force, looking at the police, we are looking at certain sectors that were committing those crimes. And I think we the normal people we weren't really aware of the extent of the crimes that was taking place on the borders, taking place with the police force. Those are things you kind or hear here and there but it didn't affect us in our communities I think that much growing up. I think you hear the news but that was all covered up. I mean I read a lot of (inaudible) books when I was growing up. I mean a lot of stuff is exposed in those books. You know I was very liberal. Some of us it is in books or things you read about. It is only afterwards when these things came up you really realise to what extent they really mistreated the black people. But I don't think we were kind of aware of that. We grew up normal.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 17 references coded [ 10.24% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.21% Coverage

If I think back I would have to agree with number three that I lived in ignorance. I lived a happy life. It was only later on that you become aware that we are not all equal by any means, and.

Reference 2 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: No that is fine. Your last question under apartheid I think we were blissfully ignorant of what was going on. I think now there is a lot more transparency and I think that is also one of the reasons why there is so much negativity around us. Especially with white folk and people that are not the same as us. You want to call it that.

References 3-4 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I certainly don't. I fought in that pre-war thing. I was in there for four years. Knowing what I know now there is no ways that I would have done that. I would have found some way to get out of it and not to be part of it. But again there was indoctrination and you didn't know any better. I mean I wasn't even eighteen when I was shipped off to go and do that. I didn't know anything about it.

Reference 5 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I was unaware of everything that was going on but I might, frankly my age was such that at school and at university we were fully aware. If we chose to be aware we could be aware. I was not ignorant of the circumstances pre '76. All of those good things that happened on the way to the unbanning of the ANC.

References 6-7 - 0.58% Coverage

The other thing is the great divides between the haves and the have not. I am not sure if it is because of the indoctrination of the past when we didn't know exactly how serious these things were for many people. We had an idea as number eight said. Yes we certainly did. As students we protested and did all those kinds of things. We were aware to some extent. To a large extent but not fully. So don't know if I didn't know about those kinds of things but I think that that situation has been exacerbated.

Reference 8 - 0.38% Coverage

Um I believe it was necessary for the very reason that you said number six around this table alone lots of us were not fully aware or aware of what was going on for whatever reason and our truth is our truth. It's our experience and that is our truth but there were other people's truth and we needed to actually become aware of that.

References 9-11 - 4.72% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Ok, in my day, national service was compulsory. If you didn't do national service you got locked up. You could go out and protest, you could do whatever you want to, whatever. And then again just that indoctrination and what we were being fed and what we believed. Yeah, you went off to the army, air force or navy. That is what you did. You went and fought in a war and let me tell you guys, when you are looking down at a hell of a gun and you have a gun, who pulls the trigger first. Ok, that is what happens. Am I guilty then of of an atrocity? Should I be prosecuted? Should I?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay in military service I was never utilised internally. We went up to, we were in Angola, who remembers that?

Group 3, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 3, Participant ##: Ok. So we share that. So the fact of the matter is, so I'm not looking at domestic, the position of apartheid domestically. I'm so, my my military service was was was outside of this discussion to an extent. Because, well, there we go, there was a threat to the sovereignty of this country as it as it was perceived then and to I sort of, I followed orders. I don't know, I can't say how I would have reacted if they had said to me "go fire guns in Soweto." I really don't know how I would have reacted then. Um. Thank goodness because I never had to make that decision. But we were collectively guilty. It was not just - for me, the military service was a part of my life and I carried it out as I have just said now. But the day-to-day treatment, perception, we were we were also scared. Let's be honest. White people were scared of putting their heads

above the parapet and say I disagree with the government. I was at Wits when we would sit in Jan Smuts Avenue and get sjambokked by the police. Not every day but when we did protest in earnest and and and I knew that we were being filmed. And my parents would say to me you know we didn't send you to varsity simply to study, go out there and protest. I mean that was the thing, they sort of- we didn't wear balaclavas or anything but the fact is there could have been repercussions. There were repercussions. Friends of mine who who went further along the anti- apartheid, they were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The fact of the matter is that they could have had the security forces doing dreadful things and throwing them out of buildings. White people were scared of being pilloried by their neighbours. We were complicit. It is like saying, what were the German people doing 1.00.00 when all these Jews were burning in the concentration camps you know three miles away? What were we doing? We were actually a little bit scared ourselves about what the repercussions might be because it was it was it was part of every part of our society. If you were an anti-apartheid proclaimer you didn't know how it would affect your promotion in your place of work because you didn't know the the the views of of your colleagues and your superiors. It was that kind of environment. So we, it took brave people to actually stand up and be counted. And we didn't do enough. And I am talking about myself as well. I ah was quite happy to the (inaudible) but I don't know if I would have gone over too much further at all. I don't know but I feel guilty that I didn't do enough. I mean if I go to a dinner party now I don't know how the Nationalist Party ever got in. (laughter) Because nobody ever voted for them. We all hated apartheid and yet we went along and voted. I mean, people- I canvased for the Progressive party. I mean it was a minority party. So where did the rest go? There weren't too many abstainers. Not loads of people abstained and said well, because the government would have got a skrik (fright) if they had actually seen people that actually... but we showed our true colours. Our true colours were that we followed like lemmings behind and well it was for the security. We were indoctrinated. We were worried about a perceived communist threat to our way of life. And that to an extent it is the perceived threat to our way of life still that drives our attitude now.

#### Reference 12 - 1.60% Coverage

BH: Anybody has different views?

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Yes. You say are we collectively guilty?

BH: Complicit is the word.

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Now I grew up with a raving nationalist father who played golf with Vorster. My mother voted for the Progressives and wanted to become you know a Black Sash and stand on- and my father said if you do that I will take the children away. So I lived in this house but my maid told me and she stayed with us for forty-five years. She was like my other mother. She told me she loved working for us because the three of us children treated her so beautifully. Now I think that each person should have been, I mean I would have got a thrashing if I had to call her the k word or anything like that although I lived in this, I just think each of us should have been responsible for how we treated our black brethren. I mean, you know, I don't care whether it is black white or green. If someone was being cruel to another person I am going to be outraged. And and because I lived with a father like that didn't mean that I treated black people badly, because I didn't. And and so I felt that I was respectful in every way and that I could be during those years of apartheid. I would never have mistreated them or done anything like that. Because I took it upon myself to behave in the way I thought was right so I don't want to be collectively put together with-

#### References 13-16 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: In response to what number two said I think we were sort of semi-consciously complicit because if you think of your day to day life you could see black people being treated poorly. Non-whites or whites only signs were prolific. It was just about everywhere. You didn't go to places with a black person. You would not socialise with them because it was just not allowed. I remember as a little girl 1.05.00 playing at my grandmother's house playing with a little black girl. And then I was invited to tea at some other people. And my mother said you can't take - I can't remember her name- because the other kids are white. I know it was a social convention and all that sort of thing but that made a difference for a long time the way I responded to black people. I knew that they had to stay there and we stayed here.

#### Reference 17 - 0.53% Coverage

BH: Sorry number eight I just want number four to say something please.

Group 3, Participant 4, M: No, I thought it was a good thing when apartheid ended, yeah. From personal experience, things that happened to me. Like ah being a Canadian citizen I went overseas for quite a long time and on the way back I was pulled off a plane and interrogated. I still don't understand why. So to me when apartheid came to an end it was great. But that's a personal experience

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 4.26% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.20% Coverage

BH: And how does it compare to life under apartheid?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I was born in '91

BH: Oh okay.

Group 4, Participant 7, F: So it was literally null and void from what I remember.

Reference 2 - 0.13% Coverage

But I can't really comment on how things were before apartheid because I didn't actually live in the country until after '95

Reference 3 - 0.32% Coverage

And what it does is, because I was born in '91. '94, I mean I wasn't really a part of the apartheid regime. Um we were in the same class at the same school with Indians, coloured, white, Muslim, with all different religions and us as children we know no better, you know. We don't know about the whole apartheid.

References 4-6 - 1.31% Coverage

But I think that it was done for a good cause and it failed because I saw a lot of the the higher positions was obviously white people in power whereas if you're looking now, things are reversed. And now it's black people in power. So that's maybe where the white people are struggling, um. The older generation as well, um. For one I had a black friend when I was small. She used to come to my house. Her name is Cynthia. We both had (inaudible) She was one of my best friends. And when she came to my house my dad wanted to give her the maid's cup and the maid's plate and I said dad what are you doing? She is my friend, she will drink out of the same plates and the same cups! That is the mentality that my father had that is your plate and your cup. We bathed together and they couldn't understand. But for us it was, I don't know, it was completely normal. So I think it's what has been fed into our minds that we have grown accustomed to and what we were taught about apartheid. So I do think that it was for good intentions but um it did end up failing and back firing and unfortunately as number two said that we are, it's our generation now and it is our children to think about, will be the ones because they trying to make up and make us go through what they went through.

Reference 7 - 0.34% Coverage

BH: Okay so tell me why you say that number eight?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I knew a guy that was in the army and he used to say that they would be driving around in a truck and on the side of the road pull over just see something then they would just climb off and then beat them up. And then just climb back on the van and they're gone.

Reference 8 - 1.18% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Because I am the youngest of four siblings, so I recall my own memories and I know their memories because of them telling me. My parents were not racist in the least. My father ran a very successful construction company and I remember distinctly one day his operators came home um for the week on a Friday and it was too far for them to travel all the way back to "Rondiw" because of the apartheid regime and it wasn't safe for them as well. And there was about fifteen operators and they all came. And we, because we were younger than the operators, we, all the children were moved to the lounge and the operators slept in our beds in our rooms and my mother cooked for everybody. And, I remember the neighbours standing at the wall saying very ugly things to my father and my father just basically told them to f-off. And to mind their own business and if you want to be a bunch of racists a-holes you go right ahead but I own this property so you'll just have to- so no, I don't, I very strongly feel that the average South African, certainly the ones that were in my social circle when I was growing up were not.

Reference 9 - 0.79% Coverage

BH: Okay other comments?

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I can't recall much of the supporting of the National Party back then, because I don't know how many parties were actually, I know the elections were happening at that time. It wasn't open to all South Africans; it was only open to whites. But how many parties, when the National Party was in power were actually a viable option then, because a lot of the 55.00 parties that are now generally viewed as a black party um were excluded from elections that time and were seen as anti-government. So maybe a lot of the church-going fellow South Africans had no one else to vote for at that time. Unfortunately I was too young when those elections were happening to actually know who was, the other parties.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 3.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.30% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think that having said all that. We were, we were taught, and I'm saying that with the utmost respect, we were taught at home. You got up in the morning, you make your bed, you get your clothes for school, you polish your shoes, you do whatever. It's been taught at home. What has been taught at home now is to go burn your schools, burn the universities – universities, the hospitals. The ambulance people can't go to work, the tow-truck drivers, the truck drivers, nobody can go to school 'cause you are taught in your house, you don't get your way, go burn it down then they'll give it to you. In my time, I was a child, two, three years, four years old, I went to boarding school. I was turning five. I could make my own bed, I could put my clothes, pack it into my cupboard, put my dirty washing there. Today the mothers do that for the children. Shame I must help my son or my daughter. You are helping them into whatever we got now. It's a, balls-up. I don't know.

Reference 2 - 1.04% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: It is definitely different. Definitely.

BH: Tell me in which way is it different.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Well we're not doing the same, exactly now what is happening today. We never did anything like that in the past. I remember my grandfather and my grandmother telling me stories. I grew up in this area. 1977, '76 my grandmother had a newspaper stand. Just around the corner, exactly in this road. We lived here in First Street, Parkhurst. 4 o'clock the morning she used to take a walk up First Avenue and coming up 7th Street. Whenever she saw a black person in the road, they usually stood one side. "Good evening mam" "good morning man" whatever. But she said as time progressed, they started just bumping her out of the way and she eventually gave up her shop.

Reference 3 - 0.67% Coverage

BH: And do you see that the anti-apartheid forces were also in war against the National Party government? Do you see that as a war situation as well?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Well I remember when I was a young kid in Amanzimtoti, the ANC used to go and plant bombs in places and hurt innocent people. They used to - I mean I was in Amanzimtoti when a bomb went off. And kids were hurt. Innocent people were hurt. So that is how they got into power. By brutal force. 30.00 So in those years already it was brutal force.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.75% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I came to a stage where I realized that the application of the apartheid policy moved people to the homelands, caused labour problems especially on the farms and he would start worrying about that situation. Something else we discussed at meetings is when the trouble started in the townships, the people who rented a house, they can't own it. A friend of mine at that time said give them property rights then he's got something to lose. If he has something to lose he'll look better after it. Then the answer came, no, it's not our policy.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.



01:10:30

DL: If you have your own house you could get security from a bank. Or owned your farm, but if you didn't have it you couldn't get that money.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I don't know if I'm running ahead.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.53% Coverage

There are a few old people, like my one grandfather, that I would say yes, he could have been, he was one of the evil "uncles", he was a mayor but not a nice one, I know for a fact that he was not a nice one – he did not treat his people like my other grandparents, there will obviously be a hand full but they are no longer alive or so old that it really doesn't matter anymore, no you couldn't compare those of today's generation.

## RETROSPECTIVE FEELINGS ABOUT APARTHEID

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 11.40% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.60% Coverage

BH: Okay. I am going to ask another question. How, I know that you are all young, how does it compare with life under Apartheid? Do you think it is better or worse? And if it is worse, in which way?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I am going to ask a question first and then I am going to substantiate my answer.

BH: Okay

Group 1, Participant 11, M: What is important for you in Democracy? Is it where the toilet that you pee in? Is it where you live next to white folks? Is it the beach that you swim in? Is it the amount of money that you can earn because you are now supposedly on even with black, white, blue, pink, yellow peers? To answer your question, people are in general, people are now starting to say even more than back then that, please bring white government back. The reason for that is that you cannot go to Shoprite with under a R100 to buy groceries. It is not going to happen. I recently told somebody from America that our rand was once a lot stronger than your dollar. And he laughed. And I proved it to him and he said to me how is this possible? So from a monetary point of view I go back to that now. Get up from this chair here now and go back because I will tell you why I will go back to. I will go back to clean streets. I will go back to jobs. I will go back to a good education system. I will go back to good healthcare. And those are all factors that should matter when you are paying a bond. When you are raising a family. When you basically working to climb the ladder in life. Look there are people who are not climbing the ladder. I do not form part of that. I am trying to climb the ladder here. I am looking out for kids, siblings, family, etc. So as far as I am concerned we could go back right here, right now. Anytime.

Reference 2 - 1.02% Coverage

BH: Okay. Alright. Other views please.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I would say I will never go back to Apartheid. I don't believe in any kind of like oppressing a certain race or anything like that. I think it was a despicable system which should never be repeated. There might have been elements of living under Apartheid that might have been better for some people like in very (inaudible) majority but I don't think it would be the general population would agree that everybody had better thing like maybe some hospitals were better. Maybe some roads were better. But I think that many countries have overcome tremendous devastation like Japan, Germany after the wars. They managed to pick themselves up and become incredibly powerful economic powers. I don't think you can ever look back because as cavemen we might have been more successful as well. I mean Capitalist maybe not working either because it is destroying the planet. So you have to keep looking forward. You cannot look back and say it was better in the good old days because everything moves by. You cannot live in the past

Reference 3 - 0.12% Coverage

BH: Okay. Just want to speak to number seven?

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I just want to say that I agree with what she is saying.

Reference 4 - 0.84% Coverage

BH: Remember I don't want to hear the words "I agree or I disagree" because we want freedom of thought here. Sorry I interrupted you now.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Can I just say something just before we go on? I just want to set the record straight. I am not saying that I will be happy if we have to go back to Apartheid, no, I am saying...

BH: That was what was better? No

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Barbara hold on what was better in my opinion is being led by a bunch of leaders with integrity. From a point of view we got a good education. There was equal business opportunities

irrespective of the fact that these people pee in this toilet. These people only live there. To me that is not a big thing. I am about the opportunity. No matter where I am peeing. No matter where I am staying. As long as there is an opportunity to go up.

Group 1, Participant 7, M: So where was the opportunity to go up? (laughing)

Reference 5 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I will not go back to the Apartheid era. What I can say is what we are dealing with today is what was designed back then. Out of the group areas act, this was designed by the Apartheid government. It is so sad to say this because we have a beautiful country. I don't want to live in the past but our government, our present government is not doing anything about the crime in our country. I am so stressed out because you are afraid to drive. You might get hi-jacked or murdered or whatever. I won't go back. There are a few things, I wasn't there but, that happened previously but there was law and order in our country. People can just do what they want to. They commit crime and tomorrow they walk scot free. My brother-in-law is a captain at a police station and he was telling us how... in fact I went there one Saturday. I did some emailing for him and people were just sitting doing nothing. It was upsetting.(inaudible) (laughing) I wish I could go and work there because everybody was just sitting back and reading dockets. There is no law and order in our country anymore.

Reference 6 - 0.41% Coverage

BH: Okay. Have you thought what you are going to say number seven?

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I just wanted to say that 25.00 I don't think we should go back but there is certain stuff that they did that time that worked. You know what I mean? If you kill somebody now they will literally track you down that same night and they will find you. Here they are not finding anybody. He is killing three four people by the time they come out by you.

Reference 7 - 1.70% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Yes. In the past three years I thought no, I would not go back to Apartheid until I have read the stats of how many people are killed each day. How many children are raped. And long before Apartheid, even before Europeans got to Africa, the nine different groups of native people had arguments with each other. So one side of Apartheid came from to divide the country provinces so that Tswana, the Zulus, the Sothos, the Vendas, don't mix into each other's neighbourhoods so that they fight. As well as border control. Now a days with the open South Africa all the nine native tribes, plus the two white tribes are living inter-mixed neighbourhoods which is a good thing. We need to know each other's cultures. Now we are living among foreigners and other ethnic groups. So there is tension building up. People are shooting each other's wives. Murdering children. Lots of fights break out. One ethnic group, let's say one province has a better education system, for instance Northwest Tswana, that is not the correct stats. Now they are getting all the jobs because they had a better education system in their province. Now people, instead of loving the Tswana people, they start hating them for taking all the jobs, killing their wives. And then another thing I want to point out is in Apartheid all the money was divided. There was money was divided to housing for each group, and each people and unfortunately the overseas companies boycotted us but they were plans initially to give each group a set of money to develop the neighbourhoods. And then the problem is now after Apartheid things should normalise by itself. But now they are enforcing a reverse Apartheid on top of us. It is like taking a base to neutralise the asset which does not work. So that is just one of my point of views.

Reference 8 - 1.76% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: Yes is fine. Part (inaudible) it is my fault. (laughing) I think media controls a lot of our thoughts and our decisions and how we view things and our reactions to what is happening in our country. And the same happened in Apartheid you know. I have been on both sides of the fence being a child of a mixed race marriage. What I do know is, and also having family overseas, overseas was getting the information that we don't get. So being brought up in say a predominantly white environment, we were told another portion of the truth. And then you go overseas and the media was telling you a whole other story. And I think that is very much of what is happening today. So the media back then was feeding hate and feeding anger. But it was under the banner of a freedom fight. Now it is freedom fighting for what and for where? I think what is happening now in South Africa is almost mirrors the past in that the truth is not told. So will sit here and go: "there were equal opportunities" or that sort of thing. No there was not equal opportunities. People were treated abominably. Actually, unfortunately, it is no different today. The media

tends to fuel that. So it is very frightening that the farmers had been killed. It is very frightening that we don't have infrastructure in place that we should have in place. 30.00 It is frightening that our country has, you know we will look back and we will say oh there was all these things in place. But they were based on fear. There was structure but it was based on fear. Now we are living in a time where we are living in fear because black people have freedom but it is a direct correlation of what was happening and also our country has doubled in its population. We have millions and millions of people here from up Africa that are starving. So they cannot provide jobs when Cape Town's population has doubled in twenty years.

#### Reference 9 - 1.77% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Whenever I speak to people and they talk about Apartheid and the good things about it, it also reminds me where the generation talks about the good old days. My parents talked about the good old days. My grandparents talked about the good old days. I am talking about the good old days to my children. We tend to glorify our growing up and stuff like that because we like to forget the bad. Because we are not comfortable with today. And it happens in all eras. So when we talk about Apartheid and the good things of Apartheid because we are glorifying one or two or three things that might have been a shining light. Like the hard working country. We were under sanctions. We were strong in our rand. But we forget on whose backs it was. We forget about the people who got hurt. And it is not just in 1994. It is still far reach into the day where communities were marginalised and pushed to the sides. They are the ones who are now saying nobody likes us. Nobody loves us. Why must we do anything? And the other groups are saying we are in charge. You owe us everything. Now it courses more dissention between the different culture groups all around this country. So much so that people want to go back and say bring back the death penalty. Bring back the laws concerning corporal punishment. Bring back all these things. It just takes the awareness from ground base, from the home or being aware of what you want your children to be in the future and then working towards opportunities for them. Because you are not aware that I as a man and I go and have three, four, five different kids by four women, that is going to impact that children then you cannot call yourself an adult. But when you are aware that I am the husband to a wife or a husband to a husband or a wife to a wife and your relationship you have grow in teaching these children to become future leaders. That is how you do things.

#### Reference 10 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 1, M: Because like my family, my grandfather he is vocal about this. He is very ashamed that he didn't do more. He is very ashamed that the people he helped vote into power did these things. He is very ashamed that it happened. I mean he is white, if you want to call him because he was one of those people who made an x next to that person's name and that is why it is very much a fact of don't talk about it. My grandfather they won't speak to my children about what happened.

BH: So it was from a feeling ashamed point of view?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: From my personal experience yes.

#### Reference 11 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: This generation might feel ashamed. Not guilty. I don't feel guilty. I do feel ashamed. I feel like these are the people, the elders we have to look up to and respect and learn from. Then yes I feel ashamed. Not guilty because I physically didn't do anything. I was born in '85. When I was old enough to know what was going on. When I saw the first black kid in my school and then we became friends, I didn't know what was happening. So growing up there was never any sense of guilt. No I never. I didn't know until I was in my teens I never realised what has actually been going on and why things have changed. But I was ashamed.

#### Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.14% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

BH: Alright and do you remember life under the apartheid?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Oh yes. It was nice living. Whites on the one side, blacks on the other side. We could sleep open doors, open windows. Today you can't. We have hedges in the front garden. They climb up. If they want to come in, they come in. It's difficult now, more difficult now to live.

BH: Now is that a colour issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: It is a crime issue. No I am not racist. I get along with anybody, but the crime.

Reference 2 - 0.26% Coverage

I think go back to apartheid age I think people would have reacted better. There would have been more systems in place. Things were much more effective than what they are now. That gave people a sense of security. A sense of things are being done.

Reference 3 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

References 4-5 - 1.06% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: No I have never been in favour of apartheid. In fact when I heard apartheid was for first time I asked my mother what does it mean? Then she did inform me that you as a white person are not allowed to mix with any other race. I said but I don't understand because in the morning I would take the bus to school from the farm and I would be with white people. But now this afternoon when I returned to the farm then it would be only me and my coloured friends. So why can't I mix with them? So that is why I say I have never been I favour of apartheid. But looking back at apartheid, there was work for everyone. You could have walked wherever you wanted to.

Group 2, Participant ##: If you were white.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: We wouldn't have been molested. If I look at the rape crime for instance towards women. I mean there was nothing of a kind. And if do it would be punished severely. But if I look at it today there is nowhere you can walk. You don't feel free to walk anywhere.

Reference 6 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Can I tell you something quickly? When we were children my grandpa had a farm in Robertson, ne? We couldn't wait to go there because we swam in the dam with all those kids. They were running up the dirt road to come and fetch us that we can just go and swim with them in the dam. Crabs everywhere but we swam in that dam with them. They couldn't wait for us because we brought them their clothing. My mother used to pack in all these small clothes and things and go give it to the children on the farm by my grandfather. And we had fun.

Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 7.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I certainly don't. I fought in that pre-war thing. I was in there for four years. Knowing what I know now there is no ways that I would have done that. I would have found some way to get out of it and not to be part of it. But again there was indoctrination and you didn't know any better. I mean I wasn't even eighteen when I was shipped off to go and do that. I didn't know anything about it.

Reference 2 - 0.10% Coverage

Yes I think what we did to the black people in this country is an absolute disgrace.

#### Reference 3 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: Well perhaps it is because we have been sensitised to the fact that because we live in South Africa but I think apartheid was wrong. And I also think that it is the norm. It has happened throughout history. It is still happening today if you look at the Middle East. I think it is man's nature the predatory nature of man to concur and take what others have. I don't think it is out of the norm. I think it will happen again in the future somewhere else. And I don't think there is any nation on earth that hasn't done it sometime in the past.

#### Reference 4 - 0.73% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I think that point that number eight made about that time. We should have progressed now. We have been through all these stages and we were just at an unfortunate, or not at all, we were coming out of colonialism and so on and South Africa was establishing their identity as a nation. Yes that is how it went. But I think if we look worldwide, the part of maybe the East, the Middle East, there is still that kind of discrimination. It is not against a race but it is against a group, particularly women. And I think that everybody has experienced it but we got to move on. It is just not going to work anymore.

#### References 5-6 - 0.40% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, M: I am very saddened when I look back at what happened because of what we have lost. The potential we have lost. Both black and white. A number of people have left the country currently. And over the years I have known of some really good black folk who had left the country because they saw no future here. And we see it today.

#### Reference 7 - 0.33% Coverage

So we, it took brave people to actually stand up and be counted. And we didn't do enough. And I am talking about myself as well. I ah was quite happy to the (inaudible) but I don't know if I would have gone over too much further at all. I don't know but I feel guilty that I didn't do enough.

#### Reference 8 - 0.93% Coverage

I mean if I go to a dinner party now I don't know how the Nationalist Party ever got in. (laughter) Because nobody ever voted for them. We all hated apartheid and yet we went along and voted. I mean, people- I canvassed for the Progressive party. I mean it was a minority party. So where did the rest go? There weren't too many abstainers. Not loads of people abstained and said well, because the government would have got a skrik (fright) if they had actually seen people that actually... but we showed our true colours. Our true colours were that we followed like lemmings behind and well it was for the security. We were indoctrinated. We were worried about a perceived communist threat to our way of life. And that to an extent it is the perceived threat to our way of life still that drives our attitude now.

#### Reference 9 - 0.49% Coverage

BH: Do you think perhaps we make excuses for the past? Is our silencing an excuse for the past?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Beating your breast and being sorry is uncomfortable. I mean it is an uncomfortable process so we can't, we try and put it into a hazy perspective to a degree and then ignore it where we can but it's human nature. That is what people do. They don't like pain. And feeling guilty about it. But I don't know.

#### Reference 10 - 2.91% Coverage

You see the thing is that I hear about exactly what everyone around the table has said, is perfectly true for them. But if we keep looking back to the past we have to look back to the past because that explains where we are now by and large. The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their their their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable. I don't know if I am threatened by, if anything I am

worried about outside South Africa, outside our little bubble here, is a, is a physical damage. That you might be beaten up. You might be mugged because there's people who don't money. But apart from that, um ja, in a sort of an abstract term you don't like the idea of people rioting and burning busses. But if it is not my bus, do I really worry too much? I still just get into my car and drive to St. John's or wherever and have a lekker (nice) time, go out for lunch. My life has not changed apart from the fact that I think well, ja, I might have to watch that red traffic light 1.10.00 because somebody might go through it or I am not going to walk alone down Jo'burg Eloff Street anymore when I'm visiting Jo'burg. But apart from that things are tickety boo. I'm, I'm, okay but there's people, when we said, when you talked about this micro economy here, there are people who are substantially materially worse off in our environment and they have to find, they want to ask the question as we are sitting and saying this and that and the other they are saying why am I still in the position or why have my children still not got a future? Why have I still not got this and that and the other? Service delivery. And they - it's an easy scapegoat.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.69% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.91% Coverage

Just to go, I think for me apartheid was a way of dividing and conquering so that like [Participant 3] mentioned, we could, the elitists could get rich off the cane planters and the black people, and- but for me in an ideal situation I would like to live the way that the country was run in apartheid without the apartheid issue. Without the apartheid being implemented. So if we could go back to the old South Africa where infrastructure worked. Roads worked. Traffic officers actually did their jobs. Um. The municipal buildings are how you saw them in the photos that are up in the municipal buildings. Um. So if things could be run the way that they were then, I have no issue with who is doing it as long as it is being done the way it was in those days. Without me having to send my maid home before six o'clock in case she is going to get beaten up on the street. That's not okay.

Reference 2 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I don't think you can reconcile when you have treated a race as bad as the white people of South Africa did in the apartheid times. I don't think that that is ever going to be reconcilable. I don't think- I think we do all just need to, like you said, we draw a line and say "what is in the past is in the past". Let's move forward.

Reference 3 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Can I just highlight on to what you said? So, my opinion is that of, the rest of the world makes South Africa and the whole of, everything of apartheid out to be, it was bad. Um. There is no denial about that. It was horrible what they went through. Having gone home late from work getting questioned where is your ID book? Why aren't you here? 35.00 Those sorts of things.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.79% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.79% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: More than that, I get, so one, one of the things that I hear about fairly often and what upsets me about apartheid and how it ended, talking about moving into democracy, is the idea of the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation.

BH: I am going to get to that just after this one but carry on with your thought.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: My issue with the TRC is if we look at (inaudible) both sides admitted to things they had done that were bad, essentially it let off a lot of white South Africans off the hook. On things that they have done and gotten away with. And it upsets me because I, I do feel like my grandmother's generation, if I looked at it, was the height of apartheid and they're the generation that had left school, had jobs that was easy to find because of the colour of their skin. They ah had a better standard of living because of the colour of their skin. They're the generation that enforced and upheld apartheid and they sent my father's generation to war over apartheid and to enforce apartheid. And they have a lot to answer for and I feel like the TRC was a great way for them to get out and saying, well we're all sorry, we're all friends now and forget about it. And what they've done there is that they've left their grandchildren to pay the bill. Um. The reason in my mind why we still have a lot of problems when you look at um, like the anger today and the the fact that South Africa is in the place it is today, I think a lot of where we are now and the problems we're trying to solve would have been solved if they'd owned up and said, these were our actions and we need to answer for them. And I think

it's cowardice, um, I think that that generation should've answered for what they've done. (-1:25:42)

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 8.23% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I don't agree with anything that happened, to be honest, but they tried to do something about everything.

Reference 2 - 1.04% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: It is definitely different. Definitely.

BH: Tell me in which way is it different.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Well we're not doing the same, exactly now what is happening today. We never did anything like that in the past. I remember my grandfather and my grandmother telling me stories. I grew up in this area. 1977, '76 my grandmother had a newspaper stand. Just around the corner, exactly in this road. We lived here in First Street, Parkhurst. 4 o'clock the morning she used to take a walk up First Avenue and coming up 7th Street. Whenever she saw a black person in the road, they usually stood one side. "Good evening mam" "good morning man" whatever. But she said as time progressed, they started just bumping her out of the way and she eventually gave up her shop.

Reference 3 - 0.12% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I agree. Faults were made. There were problems. We work from it.

Reference 4 - 1.48% Coverage

BH: Now number six you have to tell me something. You haven't said anything up until now. And you really do need to share your thoughts with me. What do you think? Because I do know that you are thinking. 55.00

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Ja I am thinking but it's so terrible.

BH: So tell me. Tell me what you think. Are you relieved that democracy replaced apartheid? Don't worry about anybody else because I am wanting you just to give me your opinion.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: No I don't think so

BH: You don't think so? You preferred it how it was?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Ja.

BH: Okay and just tell me the reasons why you prefer it?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: It was better. I don't know, ja.

BH: Okay. And what is it about Democracy that you don't like now?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Oh there is a lot of stuff.

BH: Well just tell me some of the stuff.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: I don't know. Work, ja.

BH: That there isn't enough work?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Work

BH: So that's the biggest problem? Under Democracy there is not enough work for white people or for everybody?



Group 6, Participant 6, F: For white people actually.

Reference 5 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 9, m: And in apartheid there was plenty work for everybody. And now there is no work for no one.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: For no one ja.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: In apartheid years you could have walked to a factory, they give you a job. White or black, doesn't matter. Nowadays you walk in a place, either there is no vacancies or they take the black man. That's it.

Reference 6 - 0.93% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##: If everybody's equal and get treated equal because that's. they didn't get treated the same in apartheid. So it didn't work. And if now if they treat everybody equal and everybody's equal opportunity then it will work. I mean the proof is Zimbabwe. That was the most productive country in the world. And what happened? Everybody that was qualified and knew what they were doing got scared and ran. Left the country. And where's the country today? That is exactly what is happening here. So they must start treating people equal. Forget about the past. The past didn't work. It was a mistake. And a lot of mistakes happen. So forget about it. Work now and treat everybody the same.

Reference 7 - 1.28% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I just think, take the good of apartheid. There was stuff. Like economically it was good. So go talk, take it over and bring the bad stuff that was from there, rectify that. And work together to build a better place.

Group 6, Participant 10, F: I guess, whatever she is saying now. We never heard of Moodley or downgrading our economic system to trash level. We make enough money. We supplied the world with gold, with whatever resources we've got. 1.00.00 Now all of a sudden the Chinese, everybody is getting on to the bandwagon. Our country doesn't belong to white, black, Indian or whatever. It belongs, a big chunk of it belongs to the outside world. The America, the England, the Chinese, the Japanese, whatever. Where do we go, where do we go to? The Chinese guy, if he buys a mine, how many mines we've got? They bought them. To do what? Not to give us work. We are not going to work.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes they are bringing in their people

Reference 8 - 1.62% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think, I just think we, the respect and and and again, white people were brought up that way. And I'm not, I am saying this with the utmost respect.

BH: Yes yes yes.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Black people's culture is miles apart from white people's culture. So what, to me if he touches that pie he has to take it and eat it. Another guy will sit here and he will take all of it. Alright I want that one. I was brought up, I respect this guy he is going to eat that. And the mutual respect is just not there. We respect them from apartheid. We respected them. We still gave them food. They still had education. They still had all that. Take all that respect that you were taught in twenty five years and reverse it and give it back to us. Because if you are going to respect me I am going to respect you. If you are not going to respect me I'm not going to respect you. 1.10.00 And that's where the problem is now. You want to tell my wife she's got nice shoes on. Or a nice pants or whatever she's got that's nice. And I don't like it because I haven't been brought up. That's my wife. Don't talk to her. Don't talk about her or whatever. Give her a compliment, no problem. But the respect part is just zero, from them to us.

Reference 9 - 1.09% Coverage

BH: Number five

Group 6, Participant 5, F: My true opinion about this whole story, if respect comes from your culture or the way you were brought up it will never happen. Sorry that's how I feel. It will never happen. They they could

not forget about apartheid in twenty-five years. How can we think that it will change now? How? Who's gonna change it? Who's gonna to have respect for the next guy? Nobody has respect. Nobody can work together. I mean if you've got a business and the majority is black people, and you want to have equal rights or whatever, the, the rules are, but it's not happening. So now you have to get more other cultured people in this business so that they can be on top together. I mean you've only got one culture now at the top. But now we must work together. But how you going to do that? Because it is only black.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.08% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I would say to me, it's the same, because we were 10 children and we stayed next to black people and we basically did everything together with them and there was not anything like you are white and you are black, so for me it is just the same, they are just moaning about the skin colour- you are too white, you can't work.

Reference 2 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##, M: I think that apartheid become a problem when they gave it a label.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Yes absolutely.

Reference 3 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Its number 1 on top. Also the old flag that they display in front of people and they don't like it and the anthem that they want to do away with. Those are not really important things. What difference does it make if they still sing the anthem at rugby matches and so forth, and it has never caused any harm.

Reference 4 - 0.98% Coverage

DL: I really don't want to be speaking alone, you must really join in the conversation and say ...If you say yes or no, please motivate you statement, so we can get a bit more clarity. Good let's continue. The next one says: is there something that ordinary white people could have done against apartheid. Could they have taken some action against apartheid? What do you say, what could they have done?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Not really, but you could have treated the people working in your house properly, treating them fairly, then I feel that you have also done your part. There were some who treated their domestic workers fairly, but others treated them badly. You could, there was a way.

DL: Good, do you think there were other ways white people could have reacted during the time of apartheid?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: (Muffled response.) Giving food to them at the gate. We did that.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: But today's favour is tomorrow's responsibility. Tomorrow they're back.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: That's also true.

Reference 5 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Was it unavoidable, was it necessary, and was it the best outcome for the country?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It was the best because we weren't raised correctly, for example, a white stays here and a black stays there, really things just changed. We are glad things changed, really, but we don't live with each in the right way. There is still too much hatred.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 5.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.51% Coverage

DL: Let's move on. Next question – How does the life in South Africa compare under apartheid. I realize that apartheid was before your time but you may have spoken to your grandparents and parents about it, what do you think – is it better today, was it better in those days? Number 8.

Group 8, Participant 8, M: It's difficult to answer but I would say, my personal opinion is that it could have

been better

#### Reference 2 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 6, F: No I don't think it was a crime against humanity it was just a system which I think worked well.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I also think that it was a system that worked well, I just think that people in power like to abuse it- if you have power, you want to show everyone and it just went straight to their heads, but further than that I think the system worked 100%, it's just the more you have the more you want, you just need to break it and be content.

#### Reference 3 - 0.16% Coverage

DL: Anyone want to add something.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: It was not 100% right in apartheid but now it is 300 times worst.

#### Reference 4 - 1.27% Coverage

DL: Let's move on, can you still remember what the outcome was of the TRC and was the outcome fair, I know it was a little before your time, but do you think it was fair report that was done in the long run? What do you say number 5? If you consider all the facts put on the table would you say it was a fair distribution of facts, were all the pros and cons considered or was it just one side of the story that was heard?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: You never heard about all the good, it was all about a lot of bad things that happened, they never spoke about how people were treated fairly, all the blacks received houses on farms where they stayed, they received good remuneration, they were not used as slaves, there was far less crime and all children were schooled, there were a lot of little school farms which ensured that they received education, they received medical attention, it's not that they suffered. If you think that now you write up all that hate and or ask for reconciliation, it is not going to be fair (report).

#### Reference 5 - 0.96% Coverage

Remember, apartheid was a white system, were there white people who were against apartheid?

Why would they have stood up for them if they knew that the system was better?

If it was in my time, why would I stand up against it?

People now see it as wrong.

The point is valid, if you see that things are going well in that system why you would want to change it.

Some even today still feel that they are not treated fairly by the government.

Especially the older black workers/people who worked under that system.

They say it was much better for them at that time.

Many have come forward and said it was better

I know 2 or 3 with whom I swot, he is only now doing his degree like us, we actually had the same conversation about this topic and said things were better then than now.

#### Reference 6 - 0.85% Coverage

You are really sitting with the legaliality or inheritance of apartheid even though you were not part of it but it does have an influence on us. Last one, did you feel relieved when the system was replaced with democracy, if so why, how did you feel? It actually happened before your birth, so this question is not relevant/applicable to you as you only know the democratic system. Would you like to mention anything?

I would say that I wish apartheid was still here because everything was just so much better

Then you arrive back to her opinion previously made that it went well during that period -in terms of white people it was a good system.

Both sides.

But black people also.

#### Reference 7 - 0.74% Coverage

I want to add to the matter and go back to something I said earlier, I understand your point that we should have moved on but a country such as China has never come out of their system, they stuck to communism, I don't say that apartheid and communism are one and the same thing eventually, they just stuck to it, and eventually the world just accepted it - we see you have a point there, not that what you are doing it right

ethically, but economically you have a point, I understand it.

I you just compare the size of China, 1, 5 billion.

Yes that as well, but I mean, I just thinking of the concept.

#### Reference 8 - 0.26% Coverage

I have don't know if you know/have seen a video of a black pastor somewhere in America, it's on You Tube, who preaches to them about South Africa now and how good it was in the past and he hits the nail on the head.

## WAS APARTHEID A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 4.21% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: Okay so now I want to hear what you feel when I say is it fair to say that Apartheid was a crime against humanity.

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes (everybody saying together) Very much so.

Reference 2 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 5, F: I say no

BH: Okay. Tell me why

Group 1, Participant 5, F: To a certain extent maybe. But Jaco was talking about the death penalty. Everybody wants the death penalty back. In those years if anybody did some murdered, did something wrong they would get the death penalty. Which is not happening anymore that is why there is such a lot of crime.

Reference 3 - 0.94% Coverage

BH: Are we confusing crime with crimes against humanity as in Apartheid? Let me just give you another sentence. If we have to compare Apartheid against other atrocities such as the treatment of Jews and other minorities by the Nazi's or the treatments of indigenous inhabitants by the United States of America, what they did to the indigenous people or what Australia did to the Aborigines or what New Zealand did to the Mau'i's? Or what other colonial rule did in other parts of Africa. So when we talk about that type of comparison, about Apartheid, is it also a crime against humanity?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

Group 1, Participant ##: Okay it is probably yes.

Group 1, Participant ##: I agree with you.

BH: I don't want you to agree with me. I want to hear your views.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Yes people were killed. People were taken out of their homes at 2 o' clock in the morning. Vlak plaas, you know guys like um um Dr. Death, you know, who the ANC gave a job afterwards, you know? Yes definitely yes.

Reference 4 - 0.89% Coverage

BH: Okay let's just concentrate on the crime against humanity because we are confusing it with laws and the interpretation of laws within the country at that time.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I sort of had a similar thing just a little bit different where when it comes to Apartheid, Apartheid didn't start as a crime against humanity. It started as trying to segregate, to kind of make things happier amongst everyone. Because these tribal people, they have their kings and they have their leaders, they don't really wanted Democracy because they have their own way. Apartheid then became an operation thing because the whites have more power, have more money and everyone is split up and then it became a little bit of a thing. You split up. Why is that person living in a poor area? And stuff like that. And that is where I think the crime comes in. but the actual Apartheid start, I won't say with a crime but what happened during it. The way they lived.

Reference 5 - 1.41% Coverage

BH: Okay I just want more collective views about whether Apartheid was a crime against humanity. Who has got a view on that?

Group 1, Participant 3, F: So I think what they were trying to say is it didn't start off like that. Hardly though. We made laws to make it a crime against humanity. Regardless of whether that or not, we made the laws.

And we segregated based on the colour of your skin. And it is the same with the crime. The crime is committed because of the colour of your skin and not what you did; it is a crime against humanity. I mean we can say yes. We can take some of the things and bad things and stuff like that but again what number six was saying, it's the media. I was saying it is very difficult for me to compare Apartheid to now because when I was younger we didn't see. 40.00 It wasn't televised on TV on the crimes that they did and things. We didn't see what actually happens. Only now that we come out. When you start seeing people coming forward and saying this is actually what happened. Do you realise the atrocities that actually took place. But when we were younger, I mean if you were a white person in the Apartheid, you didn't see any crime. I could go anywhere where I wanted to. I could go to any school I wanted to. I had no fear of where I lived. I think my story would be a lot different if I was a black child. And a black woman at that time. My story would be completely different. So it is not about the crime it's the fact of the matter that the crime was the colour of your skin. Not what you did.

#### References 6-7 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: It is definitely a crime against humanity because any law that is passed that make people feel that they are worthless, useless, that the need that they were ever born that that was a mistake and that they need to be almost disappeared from the country and that their very pride is stripped from them so that they should serve and look to somebody and it is done in the name of God, which is unacceptable, is a crime because that is equal to slavery. And that is wrong.

#### Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 2.22% Coverage]

##### Reference 1 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

##### Reference 2 - 0.56% Coverage

BH: And other thoughts about apartheid being a crime against humanity? Do you all think it was? Anybody think differently? Number two?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think it was a crime against humanity but I think humanity is what they make of it. It is what you make of your life. Like all people, I am talking about all races, if you have been brought up in a good home and you turn out bad, who are you going to blame? The mother? So why blame South Africa, what you have made South Africa? You know what I am trying to say?

#### Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 3.95% Coverage]

##### Reference 1 - 1.25% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Yes it was a crime against humanity. How does it compare to the others that you have mentioned? You can't measure apartheid against what happened to the Jews. That was just something that was just, you can't comprehend something like that ever happening. How can you compare that what happened to Brits with the Boers putting them into concentration camps? For me this crime against apartheid is one man's ideal basically. That is how I feel about this whole thing. And that is how I feel about Australia, if you want to talk about Australia, with the aborigines is just again just wanting to wipe people out. We didn't want to wipe, that wasn't at all, we just wanted, again the apartheid, they didn't wanted to educate, they wanted to keep people at a level and again there was also this, like the Nazism we are bigger and better

and we are more pure bred. But to me you can't compare what happened to the Jews with apartheid. Crime against humanity, here in this country? Yes I think what we did to the black people in this country is an absolute disgrace.

#### References 2-4 - 1.43% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I entirely agree. I would say that it is a crime against humanity. It outgrew its time. Yes you mentioned a number of other observations about the Congo, about British rule, about a variety of treatment, but the fact is if one looks at the chronology of those they are aged. Apartheid is a modern phenomenon when people knew better and that is the horrific thing about it. And I think that it was an economic system. It was window dressed to have supposedly positive factors. There were none. It was pure domination of one racial group over another. It in fact grew out of Nazism. That whole philosophy of a dominant race. Yes there was the Aryan aspect to it was primarily economic and if you look at what, if we had to go into the nuts and bolts of it, what we actually let them have as non-whites in this country, was little bits of unwanted land. That was a nominal homeland but we wanted them to work for us. We wanted black people in this country to continue to work for us so they gave them this nominal homeland that they could not fit in to. Not all survive in. But we wanted them to at least feel like there were some sort of equivalency. 25.00 And I just cannot see how we could in any way just. That is my personal view.

#### Reference 5 - 0.70% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: I think it was definitely a crime. All of those points that you have mentioned I think wherever one group of people has to live in fear of another group of people or have to live mistreated by them in any way is a crime because that is not the way people should live. I mean the ideal is for every type or race or ethnic group of people to live in harmony together and wherever that doesn't happen, it's a crime. Whether it's one crime is worse than the other and some of them were, it doesn't matter. The fact that one group is causing fear and unhappiness amongst another group is a crime.

#### Reference 6 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Yes exactly. So it gets coloured by this that it was a national regime but the fact is we got to actually look at the part, I think around the table it pretty much was agreed that it was a crime against humanity. Um um and therefore you suffer the consequence. And one of the fallouts of that-

BH: So should it be jail, fines, public shaming

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I don't think public shaming will cover it. It should be jail. I don't agree with the death penalty.

#### Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 3.82% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.87% Coverage

BH: Alright so now some people say that apartheid was a crime against humanity. Others say apartheid was a system of rule which had good intentions but which went wrong. What are your views on this? And is it fair to say it was a crime against humanity?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I think so yes.

BH: And how does apartheid stand up to the atrocities that happened to the Jews and other minorities by the Nazis? Or how United States of America treated the indigenous inhabitants or Australia with the aborigines, New Zealand with the Maoris, Belgium with D R Congo?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: It is all comparable. They all are crimes against humanity. The thing that bothers me now though is that other countries have sort of learned from their civil acts against each other but we have now, reverse mode, a reverse apartheid thing.

#### Reference 2 - 1.30% Coverage

H: Now I want you to hold this thought because I am going to come much later in the discussion guide about affirmative action, BEE and employment equity. So before we got to the reversal of apartheid we were concentrating on apartheid as a crime against humanity or was it a system of rule which good intentions that went wrong?

20.00

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I don't think either of the two really completely applies. I think that the reason for the implementation of it was in itself a crime against humanity but I think the primary principle that happened was, when they decided to apply the rules, the rules then got applied more harshly than it should have and that is when. So segregation, I didn't agree with. People naturally segregate themselves to people they are comfortable with, that is a fairly natural phenomenon which we still experience throughout the world. People of a certain colour or a certain race will align themselves (inaudible) more of the same personalities. The forced version of it I believe it, I believe that it was a crime and the fact that the black people were then viewed as a sub class then allowed rules to be blown way out of proportion way more so. But I think the original plan of apartheid was there to do-

Reference 3 - 0.56% Coverage

BH: It was more on the other side. The army on the other side.

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Yes and now they are seen as the heroes. Now, they fought for the freedom but if we, if things changed and the ANC hadn't come to power and the apartheid regime hasn't fallen, would they have still been seen as freedom fighters or would they be seen as terrorists? And I think really, the whole principle of was apartheid a crime against humanity or was it a series of rules they had failed? I think it all depends from which side of that fence you sitting on.

References 4-5 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I'm going to go against the group and say-

BH: No, no, no, there's no for and against, remember?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Well I am going to say that I do think it was a crime against humanity. I think like number eight said, a lot of greed came into it. It was, you know, they used the excuse of you know, let's segregate everybody because they all should be in their own little quarters or whatever. But they did that so that they could empower themselves and to make themselves wealthy by using other people from different races as as labour that will employ cheaply because they didn't see them as people necessarily. You know they were just, sort of, I mean a little bit better than animals. So, yeah, I think my view is a little bit different to anyone else's because I, I really think that the segregation that happened was not a good thing. It was not something that was well-intentioned and whatever. It was, it was just to help other people get more money, you know, on the backbones of the poor and uneducated.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: So do you think that apartheid was a crime against humanity?

Group 5, Participant ##: Yes. (many nodding in agreement)

Group 5, Participant ##: Definitely.

Reference 2 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think that although it was a crime against humanity it was almost brought on because of fear of the unknown, and like, not being educated enough to understand other people's cultures. And I think that's also had, like it's made South Africa in general, even in modern times, still seem that way, that um people are afraid of the unknown. If you speak to international people they consider South Africa at the bottom of the ranks when it comes to the economy and things. And people still thinks that we live in mud huts and I think it all just boils down to fear of the unknown and just not being educated enough.

Reference 3 - 0.77% Coverage

Okay any other thoughts about apartheid, crime against humanity?

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think that um an important thing to realise is that um the core principles of apartheid like segregation and racism were happening many years before it was actually just formalised. Like apartheid was just putting a name to the things that had been done already. And by them putting a name to



it allowed people to create legislation that further perpetuated their really messed up ideas. Um, so I think that, like sometimes we forget um that it existed way before the apartheid, before apartheid started and it will continue to exist way after apartheid ended because we haven't dealt with the fundamental issues and crux of the actual problem

Reference 4 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Yeah, it wasn't a crime then but it is a crime now. So how do you deal out justice?

Reference 5 - 0.43% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Just to, before answering that, just to clarify on the previous point about the crime against humanity. My argument being, certain humans were treated as inferior second-rate citizens, less than human, and to be quite blunt um, we'll talk about the severity of it now, but I do not believe on any level you can argue that treating someone as less than human is not a crime against humanity. Um

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.22% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.43% Coverage

BH: Okay I just want to go back to this crime against humanity. So why do you think it is not a crime against humanity?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Because we didn't use to kill them like they are killing our farmers. I mean that's a crime against humanity, to see the way our farmers get killed and it's brutal murders. They brutally murder them.

Group 6, Participant ##: Torture them.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: That didn't happen in the past. That didn't happen in apartheid. They just weren't allowed in our areas and stuff like that. But they, we didn't go around murdering them. We didn't go around killing them. Raping their wives and killing their kids and burning them with irons and stuff like that. So I think apartheid is more now. This is apartheid. That wasn't apartheid (inaudible). So the apartheid, they saw apartheid never worked, but now they got apartheid against whites. And they are killing the whites, they are raping our wives, and they raping our daughters. That's against human that is unhuman. What they are doing is un-human. What we did was never unhuman.

Reference 3 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: So do you think there were crimes that were committed?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Ja there was crimes.

BH: That the National Party did to black people?

(Number four nodding her head)

Reference 4 - 0.09% Coverage

BH: Was it a crime against humanity?

Group 6, Participant ##: No.

Reference 5 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: There were certain cases where it was a crime against humanity. I definitely agree with that. Especially when they, when they shot all those youngsters and that. That is definitely a crime against humanity.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Yes because we are all humans

Group 6, Participant 11, M: They had their places where they lived and they didn't get murdered.

Reference 6 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Things definitely did happen. We can't say there was no crime against humanity. You

can't say there were no murders. Or that that was burned down, whatever. Things happened that wasn't right. But I almost want to say that things didn't get out of hand as the way it is now. No those things were wrong. It shouldn't have happened.

Reference 7 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do agree. Some of it was wrong. But it was not Jews. We didn't take everybody and put 'em together and burn everybody. They sent them away, that's honest, to Soweto. They let them live there. They didn't go in there and burned down houses and kill everybody. So you can't see it exactly the same. It is not for me the same.

Reference 8 - 1.03% Coverage

BH: Alright, okay, so if apartheid was not a crime against humanity, how should we view apartheid today?

Group 6, Participant ##: Inhumane.

BH: So it is inhumane?

Group 6, Participant ##: Today

BH: No I am talking about viewing it today. I am talking about viewing the past of apartheid. Viewing that time. How do we view it today? Should we view it as, we've ascertained that we felt it was a system that had gone wrong. That it did have good intentions. So how do you view it today? Do you see it in the same way or as you have heard more things of what had happened in the past do you view it differently?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Yes we completely view it differently because if you take it what had happened in the past twenty five years ago, the time by now, everything changed completely.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.53% Coverage

Unfortunately that is always the case. Then, is it fair to say that apartheid was a crime against humanity? Is that so, what do you say about that?

Group 7, Participant ##, M: It was not the intention to commit crimes against humanity.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No.

Group 7, Participant ##: That was not the purpose as I see it.

That's is the opinion/view, I am glad.

(Everyone talking together. All agree)

DL: OK, so we say that it was not a crime against humanity although there were abuses due to the fact that it was wrongly applied.

I agree with the statement

Reference 2 - 0.55% Coverage

DL: So the last question under this topic – if apartheid was not a crime against humanity how should we view it today? How do you think we should view it today?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I won't say it was a crime, more of an injustice, I mean, black people could not sit with you in the same restaurant, or use the same toilets, apartheid was all over, even at the Post Office, you could not stand in the same queue. You don't want to. That's not fair but it is not a crime.

DL: Let's think a little about the homeland policy of apartheid, what do you say about that?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes...

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 6, F: No I don't think it was a crime against humanity it was just a system which I think worked well.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I also think that it was a system that worked well, I just think that people in power like to abuse it- if you have power, you want to show everyone and it just went straight to their heads, but further than that I think the system worked 100%, it's just the more you have the more you want, you just need to break it and be content.

Reference 2 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 10, M: No, I don't think you can call it a crime, I just think people viewed it incorrectly. You only hear the bad things never what it really meant (inaudible)

Reference 3 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I have a lot to say.

DL: Just keep it brief.

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I'll break it up into two sentences. Firstly, I'll say that I agree with number 6. I would say that it was not a crime but it was wrongly implemented as already said. The problem I have is how it was implemented against certain races, it would have been better to have the strict laws instead of completely turning it around as they have done.

Reference 4 - 0.62% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I think it is very unfair against people like my grandmother to say that it was a crime. Yes there was apartheid but I also know how well they looked after those that worked for them, they were carried on their hands if they worked hard for them. I feel that it was unfair against those people as there were honestly white people who really meant well and now they look like just everyday criminals that tried to suppress the blacks, that is certainly not what happened.

Reference 5 - 0.33% Coverage

DL: If we say that apartheid was not a crime against humanity, how should we see it today?

Group 8, Participant 11, M: It should be a way to make it better, a learning curve. (inaudible)

Group 8, Participant ##: Should be able to learn from it but not all learn from it.

## HOW APARTHEID COMPARES WITH OTHER CAH'S

Files\\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.88% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.12% Coverage

BH: How should we view it today? How should we view Apartheid today? Should we view it? In which way?

Group 1, Participant 9, M: I want to say something about the previous question. In the previous question we compared Apartheid in how they treated Jews in Germany. In Germany they decided overnight to kill all the Jews. In Apartheid that was not the case. What happened before things went bad the government spoke to the traditional native people and asked them can we make sections of a land independent for you. Almost 70% of South Africa. This is your homeland. You can run your own company. You can become an independent company. Lesotho and Swaziland did that. And they said no, they want to be part of South Africa. And thereafter, once they became part of South Africa, they migrated after the Europeans. They use to live on their grounds but whenever the Europeans migrated, let's say Johannesburg for the gold, they migrated after them. Then in the late, late 1980's people say Apartheid is a crime against humanity because the police started shooting the black people because they were protesting. The reason why they shot them is not like the same reason why Germany shot the Jews.

Reference 3 - 1.11% Coverage

BH: Alright (inaudible) because I need to move along.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: When it comes to the issue of (inaudible) started as a crime I have the opinion that neither the movement of the American Indians started off as a crime. Neither the Spanish influx into South America started off as a crime. Yet the atrocities started. Same with Germany. Same with Japan. The Japanese were never looked at to say they made a crime against humanity but what they did to the Chinese and the Vietnamese. America, what they did to the Chinese, the Japanese in the Second World War. All these things are a crime against humanity because the people in power spoke via media, via propaganda, via fear mongering made one group of people a scape goat. A one group of people the bane of your existence. You had to get rid of them somehow. Put them in a different area. Killing them. Any of those things is a crime against humanity. You know it happened during the earlier 80's in America, the cities, the suburbs against the prostitutes. When the analogies came out. What happened there as well. It was all to do with fear. And that is why the people vilify, even till this day those people there in the ghettos.

Reference 4 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: Okay. Why do you think so few whites applied for amnesty?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think they genuinely believe that they didn't do anything wrong. Especially the top-brass. The guys who implemented and carried out Apartheid obviously believe deep down that they were superior beings and that these other people didn't deserve the same opportunities that they had. And they genuinely did not think that they had done anything wrong. They were indoctrinated. Very similar to how the Nazis, you know when they rose to power. If you are genuinely are indoctrinated from a young age that you are better then you don't necessarily argue that, so I am not surprise by this at all.

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 2.69% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are

struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### References 3-6 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Look if you - I think it is definitely a white perspective. I think perspective differs in every culture. What every culture sees is different. What every culture believes is different. What they see as wealth is different. For some people it is cattle. For other people it is knowledge. For other people it is something else. I think prospering has got a bigger broader perspective. I mean if you look at all that you were mentioning earlier on, the Nazis, the Australians with the aborigines, the American with the American Indians and all those people. It is funny enough if you look at it it always seems like the whites are superior. Always coming in to attack other natives. So it is a different cultural mind-set of how people see and perceive things. And I think that is also a big barrier to try to integrate those things. In a country where you have so many different cultures and I think that is a big barrier also.

#### Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 4.10% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Yes it was a crime against humanity. How does it compare to the others that you have mentioned? You can't measure apartheid against what happened to the Jews. That was just something that was just, you can't comprehend something like that ever happening. How can you compare that what happened to Brits with the Boers putting them into concentration camps?

#### References 3-4 - 0.65% Coverage

For me this crime against apartheid is one man's ideal basically. That is how I feel about this whole thing. And that is how I feel about Australia, if you want to talk about Australia, with the aborigines is just again just wanting to wipe people out. We didn't want to wipe, that wasn't at all, we just wanted, again the apartheid, they didn't wanted to educate, they wanted to keep people at a level and again there was also this, like the Nazism we are bigger and better and we are more pure bred. But to me you can't compare what happened to the Jews with apartheid.

#### References 5-7 - 1.43% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I entirely agree. I would say that it is a crime against humanity. It outgrew its time. Yes you mentioned a number of other observations about the Congo, about British rule, about a variety of treatment, but the fact is if one looks at the chronology of those they are aged. Apartheid is a modern phenomenon when people knew better and that is the horrific thing about it. And I think that it was an economic system. It was window dressed to have supposedly positive factors. There were none. It was pure domination of one racial group over another. It in fact grew out of Nazism. That whole philosophy of a dominant race. Yes there was the Aryan aspect to it was primarily economic and if you look at what, if we had to go into the nuts and bolts of it, what we actually let them have as non-whites in this country, was little bits of unwanted land. That was a nominal homeland but we wanted them to work for us. We wanted black people in this country to continue to work for us so they gave them this nominal homeland that they could not fit in to. Not all survive in. But we wanted them to at least feel like there were some sort of equivalency. 25.00 And I just cannot see how we could in any way just. That is my personal view.

#### References 8-9 - 0.70% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: I think it was definitely a crime. All of those points that you have mentioned I think wherever one group of people has to live in fear of another group of people or have to live mistreated by them in any way is a crime because that is not the way people should live. I mean the ideal is for every type or race or ethnic group of people to live in harmony together and wherever that doesn't happen, it's a crime. Whether it's one crime is worse than the other and some of them were, it doesn't matter. The fact that one group is causing fear and unhappiness amongst another group is a crime.

#### Reference 10 - 0.57% Coverage

I have a German background and the Nazi situation is very close to my family. And I see apartheid as big a crime as the Nazi movement. The troubles in Germany weren't only directed at the Jews there were a whole pile of other people who were affected by it, including the Germans. Including the normal German people on the front.

Group 3, Participant ##: 50% of them were Jews.

Group 3, Participant 3, M: Yes it was a horrific time. And I don't think it can be turned in anything other than a crime.

Reference 11 - 0.29% Coverage

White people were scared of being pilloried by their neighbours. We were complicit. It is like saying, what were the German people doing 1.00.00 when all these Jews were burning in the concentration camps you know three miles away? What were we doing?

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 4.85% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.04% Coverage

BH: Alright so now some people say that apartheid was a crime against humanity. Others say apartheid was a system of rule which had good intentions but which went wrong. What are your views on this? And is it fair to say it was a crime against humanity?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I think so yes.

BH: And how does apartheid stand up to the atrocities that happened to the Jews and other minorities by the Nazis? Or how United States of America treated the indigenous inhabitants or Australia with the aborigines, New Zealand with the Maoris, Belgium with D R Congo?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: It is all comparable. They all are crimes against humanity. The thing that bothers me now though is that other countries have sort of learned from their civil acts against each other but we have now, reverse mode, a reverse apartheid thing. So we are paying for things that our generation had absolutely nothing to do with as white South Africans and our children are going to pay even a more severe price.

Reference 3 - 1.03% Coverage

BH: And how do you think we should we view apartheid today?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Well, I think we should learn from it. I mean obviously it happened. We can't just ignore it and sweep it under the rug and say okay, let's just – like when people say, just move on. 30.00 So I get cross when sort of, when young people sort of my age and younger go, ah, you know, apartheid screwed up my life so much, because they, they didn't experience it like their parents did. Obviously they are still experiencing the effects of it, I mean. It hasn't – just because the law has changed doesn't mean everybody suddenly was empowered, you know, the wealth was dealt out. But I do think that it's, it shouldn't be ignored. It should be taught in schools. It should be spoken about just like the Holocaust is still spoken about even if it happened almost seventy years ago. But it's, it's something that we need to learn from so that we can move forward as a society and to, to help each other get along better.

References 4-5 - 1.15% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Can I just highlight on to what you said? So, my opinion is that of, the rest of the world makes South Africa and the whole of, everything of apartheid out to be, it was bad. Um. There is no denial about that. It was horrible what they went through. Having gone home late from work getting questioned where is your ID book? Why aren't you here? 35.00 Those sorts of things. But I think what the rest of the world also fails to understand is that there was slavery in America. There was things that was a lot worse than that. There were people piled up on ships getting deported from one country to another where people were dying from sickness, were dying from faeces and infections and those sorts of things. And we didn't have that. Um. We weren't cruel like that, but yes I think the rest of the world makes South Africans, or white South Africans, out as terribly racist bad people and for me um to think about reconciliation I believe yes there should be a reconciliation. Um. I just feel that the way it's made out to be is that we are really, it was a terrible thing. It was bad.

Reference 6 - 0.89% Coverage

H: Do you think it is fair to compare the ordinary white under apartheid with the ordinary Germans under the Nazis?

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes

BH: Okay tell me why?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: It became, it became comfortable, I mean, if you throw somebody out of their house and now you get to live in that house and it's a nice big house and you either don't pay for it or little for it because it was you know, you're not paying, people had been chucked out, you don't have to compensate somebody for their home, then you just, you're going to go with the flow because it is making your life easier and your life better. And so, yeah, I think a lot of Germans during the Nazi period, they probably you know, some people did feel bad about it and they even left the country or they fought against it but they were the minority. Same as what happened here.

Reference 7 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Sorry I have a different opinion, sorry. My opinion being different because the number of Nazis, or sorry the number of people that were killed through Hitler, was basically if you were white and you had green eyes or you had brown hair you were killed. In South Africa yes you have to be out of the white area at a certain time but you still got to go to the freedom of your house behind your closed doors and to be with your family whereas that families were split. Children were taken away from their parents. Um, I think it was a lot more severe and the number of deaths compared to apartheid for um, in comparison to Hitler, I think the number can't justify themselves, if you've got the numbers.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 4.99% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.62% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Just to, before answering that, just to clarify on the previous point about the crime against humanity. My argument being, certain humans were treated as inferior second-rate citizens, less than human, and to be quite blunt um, we'll talk about the severity of it now, but I do not believe on any level you can argue that treating someone as less than human is not a crime against humanity. Um. And then we look at like the idea of, take the Hitler example 'cause it's the classic one. Um, and this was a conversation I was actually having at lunch today. If you look at what Hitler did, and I think Hitler got a lot more free reign and a lot more (inaudible) and things spiralled to a crazy extent. But it's really just an extension of what we were doing here. If you look at, I mean, we love to as the allied side of World War Two playing the good guy card and everything but Hitler turned around at one point, well obviously before the war, in a sense he said the Jews are second-rate citizens, the homosexuals are second-rate citizens, the blacks are second-rate citizens, the Asians are second-rate citizens, so on and forth. And as the allies we turned around and went hold on the Jews aren't second-rate citizens um, and ignored everything else that he'd said about any other group. Um, so what I don't believe we claim that we are in any way superior to to to the Nazis because we disagreed on one point of the plan, basically. Um. And I think Hitler just got an awful more free roam to run with his idea than maybe um than apartheid South Africa did

Reference 3 - 0.20% Coverage

I mean you could argue the the native American situation, South Africa was maybe little bit more contained but when the opportunity's presented, I mean they were absolute masochists. Um.

Reference 4 - 0.23% Coverage

And on the aborigine front we saw a lot of free reign again it wasn't dictated about how good a person was or how evil a person was. It was dictated by how much opportunity that they had to to carry out what they wanted to carry out.

References 5-7 - 0.68% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: I would add onto that, that was the time of the discrimination, of the oppression, is also, has has further reaching effects. So to bring it back to the Aborigines and to apartheid is the long-term effects in a societal makeup is, I-I-I would say, is what differs it to Nazi Germany where it was it was a fairly short period, it was still long, but it was a fairly short period of time. It's been rectified to an extent, obviously you are still reaping the effects of it, but we are twenty five years further down the line, if you're looking at it from an apartheid perspective and we are still not that far far kind of advanced from it.

Reference 8 - 0.82% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I personally think the apartheid government idolised the Nazis. And you can see

that in the military for for example. It wasn't called the tank car, it was called the Panzer car. The dogs were named "Ronald", Adolf things like that. The, the "Ossewabrandwag" supported the Nazis wholeheartedly. And the "Boerebond" and stuff like that, they were all Afrikaner nationalist ideals that pointed in the same direction as Hitler's ideals for the Aryan race etcetera. And the the NP definitely represented views that were Nazi-like, absolutely and it shows in their legislation, it shows in their speeches. It, they, it's Nazi rhetoric that they use. They, they're coming in here and taking our jobs. Like, it's, it's inspiring hatred. It's the exact same thing.

#### Reference 9 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: My point is exactly, exactly that, where the apartheid government basically idealised the parts, the Nazi regime and where it was a fight over, basically, land where they divide and conquer, is the same thing in apartheid. The apartheid government basically did that and tried to fight for land as the Germans did in expanding the German Empire.

#### Reference 10 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Well, odds are, because the NP with the apartheid system they were pretty much following Hitler's Nazis. They would use a lot of spies as well, as we know a lot of spies were used during apartheid. So they would have probably destroyed the evidence or made sure it was hidden so that no one could have held them accountable for what had happened. So they were thinking ahead that if this gets out, and the international communities hear about it then we'll have more problems than just fighting the MK, so for them-

#### Reference 11 - 0.48% Coverage

BH: Five.

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I don't think there was the same power transition like in World War Two the Nazis lost unequivocally and so they had no choice but to be prosecuted and face judgement. The fact that the NP handed over power meant that they still had power at the time. You can't hand over power without relinquishing, you keep some. You relinquish some of it. So these people, they were in a position of power and they abused it to get out of justice.

#### Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 3.09% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.14% Coverage

BH: Okay, and how does life today compare to life under apartheid?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It depends.

#### Reference 2 - 1.46% Coverage

BH: Alright anybody else want to say anything? So now I am going to ask you; how does apartheid stand up against other atrocities such as the treatment of Jews and other minorities by the Nazis or the treatment of indigenous people say, United States against the Red Indian or Australia and the aborigines, or New Zealand and the Maori's or what Belgians did with the Belgium Congo? How do you think apartheid stands up against those atrocities?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The only difference, sorry, 20.00 those countries, whatever you named now, our country, the blacks, turned the whole thing upside down. They took the aborigines in Australia, the Maori's or whoever they was, they gave them work. They still work. They got their own camp where they live. But every day, they go from their camp, they go to work in New Zealand. After that they go back to their camp. But they've got food. Their children go to school. They are getting an education. The children are getting an education. What did we do? You can't even start to compare anywhere in the world to what is happening in our country. There is no way.

#### References 3-4 - 1.03% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, F: What I wanted to say is that it definitely compares to what the Australians did to the Aborigines. It's probably was the same. I don't know how to say that it wasn't the same. For me it is the same. I don't exactly know what it was, who they were against, or what but you probably can put it in the same category because it is all the same. It was apartheid. Those guys with the Aborigines, that is also apartheid. I mean all those nonsense with the Jews. I know don't what it was but that is also the same. Because they were murdered because they were Jews. It probably is the same but I would say that the thing with Hitler got out of



hand. I know then was not the same as it is now but this also got out of hand. It is almost the same. if you understand what I am saying?25.00

#### References 5-7 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do agree. Some of it was wrong. But it was not Jews. We didn't take everybody and put 'em together and burn everybody. They sent them away, that's honest, to Soweto. They let them live there. They didn't go in there and burned down houses and kill everybody. So you can't see it exactly the same. It is not for me the same.

#### Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.13% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 0.37% Coverage

Question 3 says, if we compare apartheid with other cruelty/abuses, you know about the Nazi's, the Jews under the Germans, can we compare it, was it like that or not? How do you see it?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: It was not so drastic. Like the time of the slaves, there were times when the people were treated well and then were times when they ill-treated them. Differs from person to person.

#### Reference 3 - 0.30% Coverage

DL: Any system is open for abuse

(All agree)

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It is just like the time of the English when the women and children were put into concentration camps and allowed the children to starve/emaciated. They burned down the farms to get to the "Boers", its exactly the same, we still suffering under this.

#### Reference 4 - 0.77% Coverage

DL: I'm glad you mention that point because the following question deals with the colonial powers, when England was a colony? South Africa was a British colony, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, was it not worse than apartheid then? What do you say?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Well as I said, I saw in Zambia what it was like. They suffered so much because they no longer had money. They were now higher than the white but had no money.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: I was a long distance lorry driver, and transported relief aid, load after load of mielies to them because there was no food. We stood there for weeks to offload the trucks. You had to sleep in the truck as there was no accommodation for that period of time that you were waiting

DL: So under colonial rule, things did not go well.

Group 7, Participant ##: Definitely not.

#### Reference 5 - 0.76% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I'd like to add to that. I've never been in America but people who have been there say that there, apartheid is bigger, just without the use of the word apartheid.

20:06

DL: I'm very glad you mention it, because when we talk about colonial government, black people were also taken to America, I going to mention the name, Niggers...

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Niggers.

DL: Were they not also oppressed? The Indians not oppressed in America?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: What we read about it, then we must say yes, it is so, but they blamed us, they gave it a name. The day they named it the trouble started. As far as I know in America, that apartheid system did not get a name and that is why they do not have the problems that we experience.

Group 7, Participant ##: I think that is very true

Reference 6 - 0.44% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Definitely not. I think it was very one-sided. Very one-sided, excuse me for interrupting, why did they not take the Whites who suffered during that time when the flippen English came and murdered us like that, and apartheid, you can say they brought apartheid, really I feel very bitter towards those flippen English, then they still came to visit their brothers, but they never went to the concentration camps to see who they murdered.

References 7-8 - 1.49% Coverage

DL: Ok. Let me see now, it fair to compare ordinary white people in SA with ordinary White people under the Nazis ?. You know what happened under the Nazis', Hitler and all his concentration camps, gassing of the Jews, and all that. Do you think we must compare ordinary white people with...?

Group 7, Participant ##: No Never! (All talking).

DL: Can we go down the row?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: You can't do it. What did they go through? They were tortured.

DL: If you say them, you mean the Jews that were tortured by the Nazis

Group 7, Participant 10, F: The Jews who were tortured by the Nazis. They had no rights, no religious rights, so no you can't compare it. Killed with gas. You can't compare it.

Number 9, how do feel?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: We weren't cruel like that.

Good. Number 8 how do you feel?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: It's true, the Germans persecuted and killed the people, we did not experience it like that

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I don't think you can compare it. The Germans were cruel, Hitler and his people. They just indiscriminately killed all the Jews, I mean there's no comparison.

DL: If you think back. The policy of apartheid, made provision for homelands

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Yes.

DL: We must talk about that. Think about it. Understand. It was not like the Germans who indiscriminately killed the Jews.

(Inaudible.)

DL: He had his own homeland to which he could return.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: He had his rights. They were never tortured, or that they will be killed for their views.

Group 7, Participant ##: One could say they were somewhat abused.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 3.40% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.30% Coverage

DL: Our next question is can we compare apartheid with the Nazi's in Germany who gassed the Jews in gas

chambers as in a million of them. Laughter (inaudible)

Group 8, Participant 3, M: There was never mass murders committed on that scale

Reference 3 - 0.58% Coverage

DL: Or even during the colonial times when black people were taken to America – how were they treated, were they treated better as opposed to apartheid here - the Indians or the Aborigines in Australia and New Zealand, were they treated any better or can you compare it - what do you say? Number 5?

Group 8, Participant 5, F: I don't think you can compare it with any other countries- the situation was handled worse than the situation with apartheid in South Africa.

Reference 4 - 0.90% Coverage

DL: Let me hear, do you know anything about the homeland policy?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: Is it not about the Zulu or the Khoisan had their tribal lands.

DL: Or Botswana, Transkei, Siskei, Venda.

Group 8, Participant 9, f: It was never said that it is mine, you have no right to it, we came into South Africa and the laws were there, it was never a thing of they killed women and children or took their men as slave to go and work, that was not the idea of apartheid.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: They had freedom.

Group 8, Participant ##, M: It wasn't a concentration camp situation.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: Nobody starved or was hungry. At the moment many more are dying of malnutrition, it is much worse now than it was then.

References 5-6 - 0.51% Coverage

May I be a realist and just say that it is a very nice idea but we are just people and people don't know how to let go of the past otherwise we would not still be getting upset about speaking about concentration camps and Hitler. In America they are also still going on about slavery, if your great great grandfather did something to you brother. I agree it is a good thing to let go and move on but people cannot let go

Reference 7 - 1.10% Coverage

Can we compare the role of ordinary white people with the role of ordinary Germans under the Nazis?

No, I'm sorry you cannot compare it. It's far removed, no you can't.

Just because you a born a German, doesn't automatically make you part of the Nazis, no you can't compare it.

There are a few old people, like my one grandfather, that I would say yes, he could have been, he was one of the evil "uncles", he was a mayor but not a nice one, I know for a fact that he was not a nice one – he did not treat his people like my other grandparents, there will obviously be a hand full but they are no longer alive or so old that it really doesn't matter anymore, no you couldn't compare those of today's generation.

So you say that apartheid was a better system than the Nazi's under Germany

Yes, they were not slave drivers.

Or mass murderers.

We at least tried to accommodate all to live together.

## RESPONSIBILITY FOR APARTHEID

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 5.79% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 1.76% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: Yes is fine. Part (inaudible) it is my fault. (laughing) I think media controls a lot of our thoughts and our decisions and how we view things and our reactions to what is happening in our country. And the same happened in Apartheid you know. I have been on both sides of the fence being a child of a mixed race marriage. What I do know is, and also having family overseas, overseas was getting the information that we don't get. So being brought up in say a predominantly white environment, we were told another portion of the truth. And then you go overseas and the media was telling you a whole other story. And I think that is very much of what is happening today. So the media back then was feeding hate and feeding anger. But it was under the banner of a freedom fight. Now it is freedom fighting for what and for where? I think what is happening now in South Africa is almost mirrors the past in that the truth is not told. So will sit here and go: "there were equal opportunities" or that sort of thing. No there was not equal opportunities. People were treated abominably. Actually, unfortunately, it is no different today. The media tends to fuel that. So it is very frightening that the farmers had been killed. It is very frightening that we don't have infrastructure in place that we should have in place. 30.00 It is frightening that our country has, you know we will look back and we will say oh there was all these things in place. But they were based on fear. There was structure but it was based on fear. Now we are living in a time where we are living in fear because black people have freedom but it is a direct correlation of what was happening and also our country has doubled in its population. We have millions and millions of people here from up Africa that are starving. So they cannot provide jobs when Cape Town's population has doubled in twenty years.

References 4-6 - 1.41% Coverage

BH: Okay I just want more collective views about whether Apartheid was a crime against humanity. Who has got a view on that?

Group 1, Participant 3, F: So I think what they were trying to say is it didn't start off like that. Hardly though. We made laws to make it a crime against humanity. Regardless of whether that or not, we made the laws. And we segregated based on the colour of your skin. And it is the same with the crime. The crime is committed because of the colour of your skin and not what you did; it is a crime against humanity. I mean we can say yes. We can take some of the things and bad things and stuff like that but again what number six was saying, it's the media. I was saying it is very difficult for me to compare Apartheid to now because when I was younger we didn't see. 40.00 It wasn't televised on TV on the crimes that they did and things. We didn't see what actually happens. Only now that we come out. When you start seeing people coming forward and saying this is actually what happened. Do you realise the atrocities that actually took place. But when we were younger, I mean if you were a white person in the Apartheid, you didn't see any crime. I could go anywhere where I wanted to. I could go to any school I wanted to. I had no fear of where I lived. I think my story would be a lot different if I was a black child. And a black woman at that time. My story would be completely different. So it is not about the crime it's the fact of the matter that the crime was the colour of your skin. Not what you did.

References 7-8 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: So you don't think it was a war situation 50.00 and in war people of both sides do bad things?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think maybe but I do think there are some bad things done that were masked. No one has taken accountability. There is no truth about some of the stuff that has been done and no one has really fixed it or accepted it or even wanted to because it has been swept under the rug so well and because of that there will always be problems. Even in future there are still things that has not been sorted out. And forgiven and even just sat down around a table like this and discuss. I think that there is a lot of issues that is not so. Reconciliation is not exactly just that.

Reference 9 - 0.22% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I think that amnesty was the only way to go because otherwise 90% of the white people in this country will be behind bars. Because the old age of great evil is committed when good people do nothing is the issue.

Reference 10 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 1, M: They all blamed it on orders.

BH: Okay and you were going to say the same? Alright so what about the politicians? I am talking about under Apartheid. Those politicians. Did they know what acts was being committed in their country's name?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes of course (all agree).

Reference 11 - 1.47% Coverage

H: Okay. Were ordinary whites complicit in human rights offences committed under apartheid? I am not talking here about the high members of the regime or those who served under them. And yes there were individual whites who were guilty of acts of racism and brutality but the average white citizen, do you think they should be held complicit and the offences that were committed?

Group 1, Participant ##: Please use another word besides complicit. I am not understanding.

BH: Complicit means guilty by association.

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: My grandfather always said during the time of apartheid, if you were against all these things happening, just by the mere fact that you benefited, you are complicit. Because the education system for the whites were much better. Money was much better because you always got the top jobs even if you couldn't do the work. And you knew some people who couldn't do the work. The same issues we have today, the same as then. And that is the reason I say yes, we were all at fault because we all benefited.

BH: Okay so we need to share responsibility in that? Yes number eight.

Group 1, Participant 8, F: If there were a whole white people who stood together to try and change things and make it better and get rid of apartheid then there wouldn't be such a huge issue because with them just sitting there it makes them just as guilty because they haven't done anything to stop anything. The more people stand up together to try and change things the more chance there is of something being down and happening.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 7.78% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Can I just say something?

BH: Okay but remember we are not here to agree or to disagree.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No my theory is just that I don't think that if I think back, we didn't hear of any statistics of rape, break-ins, murders and stuff. In apartheid which I think was pretty much kept back from us, you know but we were much protected. So it could have been exactly the same as what it is today. We weren't informed. And that is where the apartheid government kept us back basically. They tried to keep us back with information. With whatever. You know what I mean. Which I totally disagree with. Now we just have more available. And it is more available than.

References 3-4 - 0.63% Coverage

BH: So you think it was a mind-set. And do you think the Truth and Reconciliation Commission helped to change that mind-set? If we knew what had happened in the past because as a white person, as number nine was saying, information was hidden from us.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: If we knew I think it would have made a big change. If we had to know that happened but they hid it so well.

BH: And you don't think that it came out in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 2, Participant ##: No.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No. I don't think everything. Some of it but not everything.

#### Reference 5 - 1.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I don't know if you, even if we go through that, there is a lot of people, I mean I grew up and I never even noticed apartheid. I sometimes think whether stuff went well with me. I didn't see these things like that way. I never saw apartheid. I went to school. We will talk to everyone. Yes there were whites in school but I didn't see it as odd. This is only whites. This is only blacks. I didn't see it that way. So only later on, I was already out of school. I went to the Technical College and there were like all races, all different languages. But still it was just normal for me. Only later on I realised. I went to Namaqualand, I went to a small little café and for the first time I saw my whole life because I am a city girl and here I see why are these people going the other side in and I am going this side in? You know a shock, so that is when I questioned it. Then I was about seventeen, eighteen years old. But the thing is now that I am grown up I am actually hearing more and more about apartheid but I never grew up even though I was in that era. But my daughter is twenty-six so for her she went to university, everything with all races. They all treat each other the same but there is a lot of problems still. They actually were born in an era with a new government. Everything is different. They go to schools. They mix with everyone. But why is it, what I can't understand is, my daughter has a coloured boyfriend, she has black friends at the university and they are all fine but there is a certain group of people that would just hate you. Just because you are white. And I don't think that hatred is going to go away.

#### References 6-7 - 2.34% Coverage

BH: Now, I said to you we are going to come to the part of the discussion guide where I was going to give you your chance. I asked about offences committed under apartheid. If you knew that people were committing offences, white people were committing offences to black people. And you never reported them for what they were doing when they were randomly killing people because they were black. Are you just as guilty as the person who did the crime? If you voted for politicians to carry on during apartheid are you just as guilty as the politician because you voted for the politician? What do you say number five?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Well I will say yes. If you know about it and you keep quiet then it makes you just as guilty. I would say yes.

BH: Okay. Does anybody feel differently?

Group 2, Participant ##: No

BH: Number eleven?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Can I say it in Afrikaans?

BH: Yes

Group 2, Participant ##: The witness to wrongdoing also bears blame for keeping quiet. You know what I mean. If I have stolen and she sees me and she keeps quiet she is just as guilty as me. That is why we say in Afrikaans, the witness to wrongdoing also bears blame for keeping quiet.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: You commit a crime like you have seen the crime and you don't report it you are just as guilty.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Look those years, if you listen with a fine ear, those years to the white people it was an apartheid thing, 1.15.00 but some of them, if you go into real history you will see some of them was too much attached to the apartheid story because they had Sannie working for me but I like Sannie to pieces and nobody is going to hurt Sannie, so the police comes and they want the blacks or the coloureds out of the house, I put Sannie quickly in my cupboard. Those kind of people is actually the real, I call them the real white people that time. The person that killed that coloured woman because she didn't keep quiet because my husband raped her without anybody else knowing because I am white. Those people is actually the people

that was putting everything under the blankets and that is why we are getting punished for what they were doing under the blankets.

#### References 8-9 - 0.67% Coverage

BH: No but this was then so we talking about under apartheid, when you were growing up. People around you, did they know what crimes were being committed? White people that you knew did they know that there were crimes being committed against black people just because they were black?

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Well there was a bit of crime and a lot of people I saw that knew there were crimes happening but nothing was done about it. But like I said why not help where you can and report it and not keep quiet about it because at the end you don't say you are going to be guilty of everything. Of what you saw and what you did.

#### References 10-11 - 1.64% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think for me growing up well we basically grew up in apartheid. I don't even think we knew that. Our parents made that decision. For us who grew up that was life. So that was normal and I think the first election that I could vote was when Nelson Mandela was actually freed. I think it was 1991. Was it the first?

BH: '94

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Yes that was the first election. That was the first year I could vote legally. So we entered into the Democracy. So life before that was normal. That was decisions our parents made to choose. I think the crimes and all that that you are talking about I think it is a minority. The normal average people just lived normally. I think it is the 1.20.00 defence force, looking at the police, we are looking at certain sectors that were committing those crimes. And I think we the normal people we weren't really aware of the extent of the crimes that was taking place on the borders, taking place with the police force. Those are things you kind or hear here and there but it didn't affect us in our communities I think that much growing up. I think you hear the news but that was all covered up. I mean I read a lot of (inaudible) books when I was growing up. I mean a lot of stuff is exposed in those books. You know I was very liberal. Some of us it is in books or things you read about. It is only afterwards when these things came up you really realise to what extent they really mistreated the black people. But I don't think we were kind of aware of that. We grew up normal.

#### Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 19 references coded [ 10.12% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.52% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Can I say something because that truth and reconciliation was over there. For me, in terms of my life, I found I gotta be truthful to myself about how I treat this black person or that person who has done some harm against me, perceived harm, white, black, whatever. It comes down to me accepting people as they are. Warts and all. I've also got warts and all and being truthful within myself. I don't know if that makes sense?

#### References 2-4 - 0.48% Coverage

We can't say oh dear because we are all collectively guilty in some way for apartheid. Whether we did enough or we actively pursued it is immaterial now. We were all there, I mean, we share an element of collective guilt to whatever degree. And we don't like the idea but the fact is if somebody else murdered somebody twenty five years ago we would certainly want them to be brought to book. There is no expiry on murder.

#### References 5-6 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: There is no statute of limitation on murder. 55.00

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Yes exactly. So it gets coloured by this that it was a national regime but the fact is we got to actually look at the part, I think around the table it pretty much was agreed that it was a crime against humanity. Um um and therefore you suffer the consequence. And one of the fallouts of that-

#### References 7-10 - 0.94% Coverage

BH: It's almost to say you have seen my discussion guide. Were ordinary whites complicit in human rights offences committed under apartheid? On the whole human rights offences were only committed by high

members of the regime, or those who served under them. Some whites may have been guilty of acts of gross racism and brutality towards blacks, but on the whole, ordinary whites, many of them churchgoers, did not commit any such acts. Nonetheless whites continued to support the National Party government or parties to the right of that right up until 1994. Does this mean they share responsibility for the offences committed by those in government?

Group 3, Participant ##: Certainly yes.

Group 3, Participant ##: Not collectively.

Group 3, Participant ##: It is the majority. It is not everybody.

#### Reference 11 - 0.69% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Ok, in my day, national service was compulsory. If you didn't do national service you got locked up. You could go out and protest, you could do whatever you want to, whatever. And then again just that indoctrination and what we were being fed and what we believed. Yeah, you went off to the army, air force or navy. That is what you did. You went and fought in a war and let me tell you guys, when you are looking down at a hell of a gun and you have a gun, who pulls the trigger first. Ok, that is what happens. Am I guilty then of of an atrocity? Should I be prosecuted? Should I?

#### References 12-16 - 3.84% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: Ok. So we share that. So the fact of the matter is, so I'm not looking at domestic, the position of apartheid domestically. I'm so, my my military service was was was outside of this discussion to an extent. Because, well, there we go, there was a threat to the sovereignty of this country as it as it was perceived then and to I sort of, I followed orders. I don't know, I can't say how I would have reacted if they had said to me "go fire guns in Soweto." I really don't know how I would have reacted then. Um. Thank goodness because I never had to make that decision. But we were collectively guilty. It was not just - for me, the military service was a part of my life and I carried it out as I have just said now. But the day-to-day treatment, perception, we were we were also scared. Let's be honest. White people were scared of putting their heads above the parapet and say I disagree with the government. I was at Wits when we would sit in Jan Smuts Avenue and get sjambokked by the police. Not every day but when we did protest in earnest and and and I knew that we were being filmed. And my parents would say to me you know we didn't send you to varsity simply to study, go out there and protest. I mean that was the thing, they sort of- we didn't wear balaclavas or anything but the fact is there could have been repercussions. There were repercussions. Friends of mine who who went further along the anti- apartheid, they were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The fact of the matter is that they could have had the security forces doing dreadful things and throwing them out of buildings. White people were scared of being pilloried by their neighbours. We were complicit. It is like saying, what were the German people doing 1.00.00 when all these Jews were burning in the concentration camps you know three miles away? What were we doing? We were actually a little bit scared ourselves about what the repercussions might be because it was it was it was part of every part of our society. If you were an anti-apartheid proclaimer you didn't know how it would affect your promotion in your place of work because you didn't know the the the views of of your colleagues and your superiors. It was that kind of environment. So we, it took brave people to actually stand up and be counted. And we didn't do enough. And I am talking about myself as well. I ah was quite happy to the (inaudible) but I don't know if I would have gone over too much further at all. I don't know but I feel guilty that I didn't do enough. I mean if I go to a dinner party now I don't know how the Nationalist Party ever got in. (laughter) Because nobody ever voted for them. We all hated apartheid and yet we went along and voted. I mean, people- I canvassed for the Progressive party. I mean it was a minority party. So where did the rest go? There weren't too many abstainers. Not loads of people abstained and said well, because the government would have got a skrik (fright) if they had actually seen people that actually... but we showed our true colours. Our true colours were that we followed like lemmings behind and well it was for the security. We were indoctrinated. We were worried about a perceived communist threat to our way of life. And that to an extent it is the perceived threat to our way of life still that drives our attitude now.

#### Reference 17 - 1.60% Coverage

BH: Anybody has different views?

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Yes. You say are we collectively guilty?



BH: Complicit is the word.

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Now I grew up with a raving nationalist father who played golf with Vorster. My mother voted for the Progressives and wanted to become you know a Black Sash and stand on- and my father said if you do that I will take the children away. So I lived in this house but my maid told me and she stayed with us for forty-five years. She was like my other mother. She told me she loved working for us because the three of us children treated her so beautifully. Now I think that each person should have been, I mean I would have got a thrashing if I had to call her the k word or anything like that although I lived in this, I just think each of us should have been responsible for how we treated our black brethren. I mean, you know, I don't care whether it is black white or green. If someone was being cruel to another person I am going to be outraged. And and because I lived with a father like that didn't mean that I treated black people badly, because I didn't. And and so I felt that I was respectful in every way and that I could be during those years of apartheid. I would never have mistreated them or done anything like that. Because I took it upon myself to behave in the way I thought was right so I don't want to be collectively put together with-

Reference 18 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: In response to what number two said I think we were sort of semi-consciously complicit because if you think of your day to day life you could see black people being treated poorly. Non-whites or whites only signs were prolific. It was just about everywhere. You didn't go to places with a black person. You would not socialise with them because it was just not allowed. I remember as a little girl 1.05.00 playing at my grandmother's house playing with a little black girl. And then I was invited to tea at some other people. And my mother said you can't take - I can't remember her name- because the other kids are white. I know it was a social convention and all that sort of thing but that made a difference for a long time the way I responded to black people. I knew that they had to stay there and we stayed here.

Reference 19 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I just want to say something. I think we are all complicit.

Group 3, Participant ##: I don't think so...

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Even though we might have (inaudible) subconsciously because of the way we were brought up. Maybe we weren't old enough to, you know if you had said like, mommy I want to take that person, we might have got into trouble. But we never did. Because you can't take the black kid with you [inaudible]. That's fine. But as we got older and were able to make decisions for ourselves then we were complicit.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 5.89% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.49% Coverage

BH: Okay so why do you think the top brass kept quiet and didn't ask for amnesty?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: They were the ones in power. They were telling them what to do so they knew they are the ones that is giving the instructions to the people that have to obey- abide by that law, ja, obey.

BH: So do you think the politicians under the authoritarian regime, do you think they knew what acts were being committed in their name?

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes (many agree)

Reference 2 - 1.98% Coverage

BH: Do you think ordinary whites were complicit in these human rights offences committed under apartheid?

Group 4, Participant ##, F: No.

BH: And I will elaborate on that. On the whole human rights offences were only committed by high members of the regime, or those who served under them. Some whites may have been guilty of acts of gross racism and brutality towards blacks, but on the whole, ordinary whites, many of them churchgoers, did not commit

any such acts. Nonetheless whites continued to support the National Party government, or parties to the right of the national party government right up until 1994. Does this mean that they share responsibility for the offences committed by those in government?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: No.

BH: Okay why not?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Because I am the youngest of four siblings, so I recall my own memories and I know their memories because of them telling me. My parents were not racist in the least. My father ran a very successful construction company and I remember distinctly one day his operators came home um for the week on a Friday and it was too far for them to travel all the way back to "Rondiw" because of the apartheid regime and it wasn't safe for them as well. And there was about fifteen operators and they all came. And we, because we were younger than the operators, we, all the children were moved to the lounge and the operators slept in our beds in our rooms and my mother cooked for everybody. And, I remember the neighbours standing at the wall saying very ugly things to my father and my father just basically told them to f-off. And to mind their own business and if you want to be a bunch of racists a-holes you go right ahead but I own this property so you'll just have to- so no, I don't, I very strongly feel that the average South African, certainly the ones that were in my social circle when I was growing up were not.

Reference 3 - 0.79% Coverage

BH: Okay other comments?

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I can't recall much of the supporting of the National Party back then, because I don't know how many parties were actually, I know the elections were happening at that time. It wasn't open to all South Africans; it was only open to whites. But how many parties, when the National Party was in power were actually a viable option then, because a lot of the 55.00 parties that are now generally viewed as a black party um were excluded from elections that time and were seen as anti-government. So maybe a lot of the church-going fellow South Africans had no one else to vote for at that time. Unfortunately I was too young when those elections were happening to actually know who was, the other parties.

References 4-6 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: Okay so now, do you think whites knew about these crimes or suspected and do you think white people ever challenged the government about these crimes?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I think they were, they were aware of it but I think because life was easier under the apartheid government, you know-

BH: For whites?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: For white people. Um that it, it was just easy to think "oh okay well I have my little piece of paradise in suburbia you know where I don't have to look at people of another race. And you know the domestic worker, she will come and she will clean my house for next to nothing kind of thing. So I wouldn't say they were necessarily complicit but they, they definitely, I don't think the majority of South Africans necessarily challenged it but there were white people who were on the side of the anti-apartheid. And you know so, I think it was in the back of people's minds but for the majority of South Africans they just were happy to carry on.

Group 4, Participant 7, F: It became I think the norm, just like you said it. It is the norm when you run over a dog or you see a dead dog in the road and literally I think ja, even though I can't really comment in it.

Reference 7 - 0.92% Coverage

BH: Okay so now the young ones at the table. Do you think you have any responsibility with regards to addressing the legacy of apartheid that you are faced with now? Do you think you have the responsibility to address that legacy?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Yes

BH: Okay and how, how should one address it?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think it being a part of history it needs to be something that we must remember and must know about. But again it is to a certain degree. Like number six was saying in her studies and what she has learnt it's being brought into every subject. Even in my studies at UKZN where I attended, like, I was the only white in the class and it would always, whenever they spoke about it, it would be uncomfortable for me so I'd say to myself okay well, imagine how they must have felt twenty years ago. So I will just sit and take it. Because it fair. It's what we owe them.

References 8-9 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: It became, it became comfortable, I mean, if you throw somebody out of their house and now you get to live in that house and it's a nice big house and you either don't pay for it or little for it because it was you know, you're not paying, people had been chucked out, you don't have to compensate somebody for their home, then you just, you're going to go with the flow because it is making your life easier and your life better.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 16 references coded [ 6.67% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 1.79% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: More than that, I get, so one, one of the things that I hear about fairly often and what upsets me about apartheid and how it ended, talking about moving into democracy, is the idea of the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation.

BH: I am going to get to that just after this one but carry on with your thought.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: My issue with the TRC is if we look at (inaudible) both sides admitted to things they had done that were bad, essentially it let off a lot of white South Africans off the hook. On things that they have done and gotten away with. And it upsets me because I, I do feel like my grandmother's generation, if I looked at it, was the height of apartheid and they're the generation that had left school, had jobs that was easy to find because of the colour of their skin. They ah had a better standard of living because of the colour of their skin. They're the generation that enforced and upheld apartheid and they sent my father's generation to war over apartheid and to enforce apartheid. And they have a lot to answer for and I feel like the TRC was a great way for them to get out and saying, well we're all sorry, we're all friends now and forget about it. And what they've done there is that they've left their grandchildren to pay the bill. Um. The reason in my mind why we still have a lot of problems when you look at um, like the anger today and the the fact that South Africa is in the place it is today, I think a lot of where we are now and the problems we're trying to solve would have been solved if they'd owned up and said, these were our actions and we need to answer for them. And I think it's cowardice, um, I think that that generation should've answered for what they've done. (-1:25:42)

Reference 4 - 0.21% Coverage

What about the politicians? Do you think the politicians at the time knew that these atrocities were being committed in their name?

Group 5, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 5, Participant ##: Definitely.

Reference 5 - 1.16% Coverage

BH: Okay now do you think ordinary whites were complicit in these offences committed by the perpetrators during apartheid? So on the whole the human rights offences were generally committed by high members of the regime or those who served directly Underneath them. In other words they were given a direct order. But some whites may have been guilty of gross racism and brutality towards blacks, but ordinary whites who were church goers did not commit those acts, but however they voted for the National Party. So the very fact that they voted did that make them complicit? Or how do you feel?

Group 5, Participant 10, M: They knew what was happening. They knew the laws were being done and they kept those people in power. Even if their one vote wouldn't have made a difference, still voting for them means they agreed with what they were doing.

BH: So do you think they should share the responsibility for the offences?

Group 5, Participant 10, M: Not, not completely because they still didn't give the orders but they were enablers. And I don't know how you can partition the blame. But they were still enablers, I feel.

References 6-9 - 1.47% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: On that point, with your average white, some of them were kept in the dark. So they actually had no idea what was happening outside of the suburbs and the cities. They were told, no it's the same. It's where the blacks live but it's the same as the white people and they're just coming in to work. So, I'm not saying all of them, but most of them did not know what was actually happening. And when you look at some entries that they did, a lot of white people said, I really had no idea that this was going on. I thought that you know, they were neighbours that they are the same as us just that they were in their homelands. So I think the blame shouldn't, shouldn't be shifted completely to the average whites, like they should hold some accountability and work towards righting the wrongs that were done in the past. But they should not necessarily be blamed for what those in power did and those who knew what was going on. Because if you are oblivious to what's going on should you really be blamed for what's happening, if you were unaware of it?

Group 5, Participant 11, F: How can you be oblivious to what was going on, like the segregation was so blatantly obvious? Like it was staring you in the face. It was right there.

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Well the segregation, but white people didn't go to where black people lived so they, not all of them knew what really going on during those homelands.

References 10-14 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think the vast majority of white people during apartheid, 75% who voted to allow black people to vote in the 1989 referendum, they were victims of propaganda. Because propaganda is an incredibly powerful tool. The human mind is incredibly malleable and if you're fed certain information your entire life, you can only believe that information if you haven't been fed any other information. So, I think, I think white people did realise their mistake towards the end, which is why 75% voted to allow black people to vote. But at the same time there is that 25%. And something needs to happen there.

References 15-16 - 1.40% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think an important thing to think about as well is like, we have a classic example of the bystander effect. Um people get into these sort, like, like obviously, ok, the example of a fight is a much smaller like, look at it, but you get people who will watch a fight because they might be too scared to intervene, because it doesn't serve them. It might put themselves in danger. Or they just sort of, they become so used to, this has just become a reality, that it doesn't seem like, abnormal to them. Or they just don't really know how to react, they don't know what to do. So I think like for a lot of it, I'm not saying that um, there weren't people who were just complacent by choice but I think a big part of it was like some people didn't know what to do. Or they didn't, they were afraid of how their actions would um affect them and that in itself is quite difficult 50.00 because that's also about morality and beliefs and you know, standing up for what you believe in. And the problem with morals is that everybody's are different but I think that that also played a big role like people didn't know how it would affect them. So they they saw it as an atrocity but but not enough to the point where they were willing to sacrifice themselves or put themselves possibly in danger in order to change it. And so that level was a problem.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 18 references coded [ 9.62% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.19% Coverage

BH: Okay so do you agree that the National Party committed violations of human rights in its war against the ANC?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do.

Reference 2 - 1.58% Coverage

BH: So do you think that the National Party politicians at the time, when the offences against human rights were committed, do you think the politicians knew what was happening at the time?

Group 6, Participant ##: Sure.

Group 6, Participant ##: I would think so

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Why would they give an order if it wasn't going somewhere?

BH: Okay so you feel that they knew. So do you think the politicians should have taken responsibility as well?

Group 6, Participant ##: Ja of course.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 6, Participant ##: Definitely.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I must get, I'm sitting here. I'm working for whoever. If my boss tell me tomorrow morning you must be on the road with a can of Stoney and they get this Coke, I didn't do what he told me to do. But remember now in some cases you tell them I don't want to take Coke. And that's what happened.

BH: Okay

Group 6, Participant ##: We want this to happen but don't tell them it was us giving you the instructions or the orders. Because we are politicians, we on the tv, we worldwide – they're not supposed to know that we gave you the instructions. So you take the flak. I will look after you otherwise - I will look after you.

Reference 3 - 0.34% Coverage

BH: And they were? Do you think they were top brass or were they foot soldiers?

Group 6, Participant ##: Foot soldiers.

BH: So why eight? Why was it foot soldiers?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Probably feeling guilty about something. Trying to get a conscience.

References 4-5 - 1.04% Coverage

BH: Why do you think there were so few security forces?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Because they're lower grade, that's why.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Taking the flak.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: They were not high up.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: They were ordered to do their work.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I rest my case.

And your case being? Just spell it out for me number ten.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They can't take the flak and go and apply for amnesty because if they apply for amnesty, Pik Botha come here, PW Botha come here and talk about them. Tell them all the bull that we have to go and do. On their orders. And it's coming from there (gestures high up) right to where they polish your shoes. None of us say anything. That is why six and a half to five hundred should tell a story on its own.

References 6-7 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##: To be honest if you did the crime you you have to pay, to be honest. So you can't get away, get away with your crime. So if you get punished, take your time, do it. But then the guys that ordered you, they need to sit as well. They deserve that.

#### References 8-12 - 2.82% Coverage

BH: Alright any other views? So now, on the whole, human rights offences were committed by the high members of the National Party regime or those who served under them. Some whites may have been guilty of acts of gross racism and brutality towards blacks, but on the whole, ordinary whites, many of them churchgoers, did not commit any such acts. Nonetheless, whites continued to support the National Party government, or parties to the rights of that, right up until 1994. Does this mean they share responsibility for the crimes that the top people did? If you voted for the National Party or the or the New National Party or the Freedom Front, did it make you just as responsible for what was done?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: But the question now is did these people that you are talking about, the average church going, people like us-

BH: Yes who voted for the National party

Group 6, Participant 5, F: We worked for the National Party. We voted for the National Party. Did we know what they did up there?

BH: Yes?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: No. Did these people know what the leaders did? Or what was going on?

BH: I don't know

Group 6, Participant 5, F: I suppose if they knew.

Group 6, Participant ##, M: It might have been different.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: It might have been different. I mean they know. They know, they say, "Okay, I knew what they did but I still voted for them." But I think a lot of the people did not know what was going on. What the politicians, leaders were doing or whatever.

BH: Why do you think they didn't know what was going on?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Freedom of speech. To be honest

BH: There was no freedom of speech?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: That's it ja. In those days you didn't see a lot in the newspapers. There wasn't quite - ok everything is shown now. They describe it-

BH: Yes but there wasn't freedom of the press, yes?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: No there wasn't.

BH: There was censorship? 50.00

Group 6, Participant 7, F: That's it yes. So if they wanted to take it out, it is out. Our, these normal people didn't get to hear about everything.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yeah but that time also everything went well.

#### Reference 13 - 0.18% Coverage

BH: But do you think an ordinary white person could have challenged the government if they did find out about it?

Group 6, Participant ##: No

#### Reference 14 - 0.81% Coverage

BH: Do you think if you had gone to Voster in George, and said to him: "Mr. Voster, I heard the six people killed at Uitenhage, were just murdered. Do you think he would have done anything to you?"

Group 6, Participant ##, M: Ja, you would have disappeared.

BH: You would have disappeared? Do you think it is fair then to expect the ordinary white citizen to have stood up against the National Party?

Group 6, Participant ##: No (most shaking their heads).

Group 6, Participant ##: It boils, it boils down again, and I hear what they say, you can't. Again, you accepted that your leadership, National Party or whoever it was-

#### Reference 15 - 0.86% Coverage

BH: They were right, no matter what?

Group 6, Participant ##: They were right. I am eating. I am going to school. I am feeding my children and so whatever they are doing, you know what, I don't want to interfere. If I interfere there is going to be flak on me now I get taken away from my family and put in, either in Robben Island or wherever. So what do I do now? I keep quiet and respect their wishes. Let them do what they do. At least my children eat. I've got a safe house to sleep. I don't have to have barbed wire and bull terriers and anything. Security companies protect my house. Now in that time it wasn't necessary. The house didn't even have a fence in front.

#### References 16-18 - 1.44% Coverage

BH: Okay so now taking us to 2019. Are we as white people who voted at the time of the National Party, do we take responsibility for what we now know happened. I am talking about the bad things that happened now. I just want you to concentrate on the bad things that we now do know, what happened. So you were saying earlier that most people did not know what was really going on. And if as number five said, if you knew would you have voted? You don't know because you only know now in hind sight. But following on about what has been said around the table, should we as white people who voted at the time of the National Party, should we be held responsible for the offences that we now know did happen? Should we be held responsible for them? Should we be accountable for them?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Definitely not. Definitely not.

BH: So tell me definitely why not?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Because it wasn't us. We didn't know. We we hear about it only afterwards. Why punish us? Why punish our children? We are sorry for what happened but the past is in the past. Let's carry on. Make about the future.

#### Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 4.00% Coverage]

#### References 1-3 - 1.39% Coverage

DL: Seems we're not talking enough, need to talk more. The sixth subject. Ordinary White people, were they involved with human rights under apartheid, do you sitting here think you were involved? You, we speak on behalf of thousands or hundreds of white people, you know, do you think ordinary white people were involved with human rights abuses?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: There were some involved. Other's not. It's like the ANC today. Some are totally racist toward white people, others are not. Yes there were some like that who were completely far right, who pulled, shook the dam (?), but I feel not all, we cannot say they were all like that. No. I agree.

DL: Can you give me a percentage as to how many ordinary whites could have been involved with human rights abuses?

Group 7, Participant ##: I would say 3 to 5 percent. Around 5%

DL: So you feel it was only a few that were involved. So the actual big human rights abuses, tell me if you agree, was really the top brass the ones sitting in high places, who gave the orders,

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

50:05

DL: So was it not really they who were involved, caused it? Back then if I was given an order, I had to carry it out, or I would get into trouble.

Group 7, Participant ##: The generals and those people

DL: So at ground level you didn't have much choice, in some instances, you couldn't say how you felt about it.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Obey the order, or lose your job.

DL: Or end up in jail?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes it is so.

#### Reference 4 - 1.04% Coverage

employment and BEE, Black economic empowerment, but it's very true. Let's get back to this topic of whites who violated human rights under apartheid. The question is now, should the whites take responsibility for human rights violations committed by the government?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No. Not at all, because they merely carried out the orders.

DL: Good. Number 5.

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I agree with the lady. They were orders that had to be executed, you had no choice you had to do it or you were without work. Do it or go.

DL: Good.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I agree. You had to carry out orders as they were given, and you were told, do it, or you are out of a job.

Group 7, Participant ##: You had to do it.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Just like you had to join the army, you couldn't say I won't you had to go.

DL: It was according to the law.

Group 7, Participant ##: Absolutely.

DL: While we're talking about it. Remember that there was something like a campaign against the defence force and there were people ...but they landed in jail.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: I remember.

#### References 5-6 - 0.79% Coverage

DL: They immigrated. It was like that. The next question: to what degree did the white people know or suspect that human rights violations were being committed? Do you think everyone was aware of it, was it general knowledge?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No, not everyone.



Group 7, Participant 11, M: No. I think many people are very naive.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Not in general.

DL: So you think it was not generally known?

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

DL: These things were often kept secret.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Yes things we never knew about.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Many don't want to know. You don't want to know what you neighbors do, otherwise you may be required to make a statement.

Group 7, Participant ##: Then you're involved.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Glad I don't live next door to you.

#### Reference 7 - 0.77% Coverage

DL: Good the next question, to what extent did white people hold the government responsible for what it did? I'm going to explain briefly, how ordinary people can hold the government responsible, just to mention one way: at the ballot box/polling station. Do you think it happened?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: No, it did not happen.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: It was never a fair vote.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The thing is they promised their brothers and sisters everything and when the time came to vote, they all voted but nothing came of it. So say no.

DL: How do you feel number?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I don't know. I agree with her. They promise everything but nothing happens.

DL: So you don't feel that the government was held to account by white South Africans for what it did?

Group 7, Participant ##: Not at all.

#### Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 3.74% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.65% Coverage

DL: What do we say about the politicians, those ruling at that time who were responsible for the policies that were applied, were they aware of the atrocities committed under apartheid?

Group 8, Participant ##: Not all of them.

Group 8, Participant 3, M: No, I don't think everyone was but they may not have known how to handle the situation, made incorrect decisions, there was a lot of pressure to retain your good standing.

Number 2, if you are head of a dept. and there was a crime committed under you, should you not know about it?

Group 8, Participant 2, F: They may not have been told because they were scared of the consequences /repercussions that's why I say that not everyone at top level may have been aware of it, you see it in many companies as well.

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I don't think they know, people will not confess it as it will make them look like a bad leader, even at a school, if you know someone is being bullied, if you go and split then you are not the cool kid, you are not going to let the whole world know about it, you want to retain your rank for as long as you can

Group 8, Participant 6, F: People in top positions give the orders so that the people below do all the dirty work.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: And they will have you murdered if you divulge their names, it's not about being a cool kid.

#### Reference 2 - 0.99% Coverage

Subject 6 says where common white people part of human atrocities under apartheid? In general was it the top brass that gave the orders that were guilty or racism against black people as they made the laws. The whites that went to church and went about their daily routine may have committed a small crime here or there but who took the brunt in the end, not the people who tabled the policies or gave the orders, it was the ordinary white person. Does it mean that we have to share responsibility for the crimes committed by the government?

No, you lived under the government and the policies/laws. If you were white, the black people at that time had a pass, if you don't have your pass – it was a law

The law was enforced more

We cannot be held accountable

You had to live

You lived under the law

#### References 3-4 - 1.11% Coverage

2nd question – to what extent did white people know about atrocities or suspected it?

No I wouldn't say everyone only some depending on how involved they were or their family member was a top leader, don't think many knew really.

It's true many only found out afterwards.

There was no social media at the time, no cell phones, it was by word of mouth.

If you were directly involved or if you knew someone then you may have known about it. In general, we don't think many knew about it. To what extent did whites hold the government accountable for the atrocities? Do you think some whites tried to hold them accountable, what do you say number 11?

They may not have verbally said anything because they were too scared because they had the upper hand, they may have known and voted against it, the white government.

I don't know.

Do you think we held the government accountable?

I think so.

## PERSONAL COMPLICITY IN APARTHEID

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 2.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, F: I wanted to say the same. I think I also read somewhere that age does play the grow on how familiar are of apartheid. The concern I have now is that when during apartheid I was very young and even now, because of the colour of my skin I am always associated with white privilege and all of these things. Even though I didn't even experience the white privilege. You know when I went to private schools and stuff like that 1.10.00 so I think sometimes even though we want to say look here this is not actually our fight. Maybe our father and mothers and our grandparents yes, but this is not really our fight. Somewhere along the line you have to stop labelling me as this white, white privilege person when I haven't had very much to do with supremacist. So I don't know if I can answer that question as whether we want to don't associate.

Reference 2 - 0.92% Coverage

H: So do you think there is a level of guilt? Do you feel guilty on behalf of your parents and your grandparents?

Group 1, Participant 2, F: That is why I am saying. It is difficult to say because when you are so young you don't know what is happening. I think they are the ones who have to say, do I feel guilty? But from our generation maybe there are other people like number eight whose family was an activist who maybe saw more that the average person but from this generation and younger it is so difficult to say what actually happened. And you often find that people they want to jump on this bandwagon of freedom fighters and anti- South Africanism, I am not disrespectful but I was just saying, for the sake of not saying you weren't even, maybe you were three. What was your idea of what apartheid was? You were never detained. And even if your mother or father was detained, how much would you have remembered at that time. So that is why I am saying maybe the older generation might.

Reference 3 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: This generation might feel ashamed. Not guilty. I don't feel guilty. I do feel ashamed. I feel like these are the people, the elders we have to look up to and respect and learn from. Then yes I feel ashamed. Not guilty because I physically didn't do anything. I was born in '85. When I was old enough to know what was going on. When I saw the first black kid in my school and then we became friends, I didn't know what was happening. So growing up there was never any sense of guilt. No I never. I didn't know until I was in my teens I never realised what has actually been going on and why things have changed. But I was ashamed.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 2.34% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.34% Coverage

BH: Now, I said to you we are going to come to the part of the discussion guide where I was going to give you your chance. I asked about offences committed under apartheid. If you knew that people were committing offences, white people were committing offences to black people. And you never reported them for what they were doing when they were randomly killing people because they were black. Are you just as guilty as the person who did the crime? If you voted for politicians to carry on during apartheid are you just as guilty as the politician because you voted for the politician? What do you say number five?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Well I will say yes. If you know about it and you keep quiet then it makes you just as guilty. I would say yes.

BH: Okay. Does anybody feel differently?

Group 2, Participant ##: No

BH: Number eleven?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Can I say it in Afrikaans?

BH: Yes

Group 2, Participant ##: The witness to wrongdoing also bears blame for keeping quiet. You know what I mean. If I have stolen and she sees me and she keeps quiet she is just as guilty as me. That is why we say in Afrikaans, the witness to wrongdoing also bears blame for keeping quiet.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: You commit a crime like you have seen the crime and you don't report it you are just as guilty.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Look those years, if you listen with a fine ear, those years to the white people it was an apartheid thing, 1.15.00 but some of them, if you go into real history you will see some of them was too much attached to the apartheid story because they had Sannie working for me but I like Sannie to pieces and nobody is going to hurt Sannie, so the police comes and they want the blacks or the coloureds out of the house, I put Sannie quickly in my cupboard. Those kind of people is actually the real, I call them the real white people that time. The person that killed that coloured woman because she didn't keep quiet because my husband raped her without anybody else knowing because I am white. Those people is actually the people that was putting everything under the blankets and that is why we are getting punished for what they were doing under the blankets.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 13 references coded [ 10.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.70% Coverage

That is it. We talk about – there's a certain amount of black rhetoric. I quite agree with you, if you want to talk about the EFF as being a political party and it is not even amongst the extreme of, of, of um political views in this country if you actually canvas informally. We are looking at it from our own self-interest point of view once again and saying "isn't it tough" but the fact is it was exceptionally tough and nobody, nobody, we didn't, we didn't protest too much to be quite frank when extreme right wing Afrikaners- and I'm not, were espousing violence against black people in the old days.

Reference 2 - 0.48% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I don't think even the half of it came out, out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I mean we were at war. I was part of it. Whether for the right reason or not, I was part of it. And the atrocities I witnessed myself personally was horrific and some of the commands that came down from those people that gave those commands were never ever brought to book. Never ever brought to book.

Reference 3 - 0.52% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Can I say something because that truth and reconciliation was over there. For me, in terms of my life, I found I gotta be truthful to myself about how I treat this black person or that person who has done some harm against me, perceived harm, white, black, whatever. It comes down to me accepting people as they are. Warts and all. I've also got warts and all and being truthful within myself. I don't know if that makes sense?

References 4-8 - 4.72% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Ok, in my day, national service was compulsory. If you didn't do national service you got locked up. You could go out and protest, you could do whatever you want to, whatever. And then again just that indoctrination and what we were being fed and what we believed. Yeah, you went off to the army, air force or navy. That is what you did. You went and fought in a war and let me tell you guys, when you are looking down at a hell of a gun and you have a gun, who pulls the trigger first. Ok, that is what happens. Am I guilty then of of an atrocity? Should I be prosecuted? Should I?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay in military service I was never utilised internally. We went up to, we were in Angola, who remembers that?

Group 3, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 3, Participant ##: Ok. So we share that. So the fact of the matter is, so I'm not looking at domestic, the position of apartheid domestically. I'm so, my my military service was was outside of this discussion to an extent. Because, well, there we go, there was a threat to the sovereignty of this country as it as it was

perceived then and to I sort of, I followed orders. I don't know, I can't say how I would have reacted if they had said to me "go fire guns in Soweto." I really don't know how I would have reacted then. Um. Thank goodness because I never had to make that decision. But we were collectively guilty. It was not just - for me, the military service was a part of my life and I carried it out as I have just said now. But the day-to-day treatment, perception, we were we were also scared. Let's be honest. White people were scared of putting their heads above the parapet and say I disagree with the government. I was at Wits when we would sit in Jan Smuts Avenue and get sjambokked by the police. Not every day but when we did protest in earnest and and and I knew that we were being filmed. And my parents would say to me you know we didn't send you to varsity simply to study, go out there and protest. I mean that was the thing, they sort of- we didn't wear balaclavas or anything but the fact is there could have been repercussions. There were repercussions. Friends of mine who who went further along the anti- apartheid, they were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The fact of the matter is that they could have had the security forces doing dreadful things and throwing them out of buildings. White people were scared of being pilloried by their neighbours. We were complicit. It is like saying, what were the German people doing 1.00.00 when all these Jews were burning in the concentration camps you know three miles away? What were we doing? We were actually a little bit scared ourselves about what the repercussions might be because it was it was it was part of every part of our society. If you were an anti-apartheid proclaimer you didn't know how it would affect your promotion in your place of work because you didn't know the the the views of of your colleagues and your superiors. It was that kind of environment. So we, it took brave people to actually stand up and be counted. And we didn't do enough. And I am talking about myself as well. I ah was quite happy to the (inaudible) but I don't know if I would have gone over too much further at all. I don't know but I feel guilty that I didn't do enough. I mean if I go to a dinner party now I don't know how the Nationalist Party ever got in. (laughter) Because nobody ever voted for them. We all hated apartheid and yet we went along and voted. I mean, people- I canvased for the Progressive party. I mean it was a minority party. So where did the rest go? There weren't too many abstainers. Not loads of people abstained and said well, because the government would have got a skrik (fright) if they had actually seen people that actually... but we showed our true colours. Our true colours were that we followed like lemmings behind and well it was for the security. We were indoctrinated. We were worried about a perceived communist threat to our way of life. And that to an extent it is the perceived threat to our way of life still that drives our attitude now.

#### Reference 9 - 1.60% Coverage

BH: Anybody has different views?

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Yes. You say are we collectively guilty?

BH: Complicit is the word.

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Now I grew up with a raving nationalist father who played golf with Vorster. My mother voted for the Progressives and wanted to become you know a Black Sash and stand on- and my father said if you do that I will take the children away. So I lived in this house but my maid told me and she stayed with us for forty-five years. She was like my other mother. She told me she loved working for us because the three of us children treated her so beautifully. Now I think that each person should have been, I mean I would have got a thrashing if I had to call her the k word or anything like that although I lived in this, I just think each of us should have been responsible for how we treated our black brethren. I mean, you know, I don't care whether it is black white or green. If someone was being cruel to another person I am going to be outraged. And and because I lived with a father like that didn't mean that I treated black people badly, because I didn't. And and so I felt that I was respectful in every way and that I could be during those years of apartheid. I would never have mistreated them or done anything like that. Because I took it upon myself to behave in the way I thought was right so I don't want to be collectively put together with-

#### Reference 10 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: In response to what number two said I think we were sort of semi-consciously complicit because if you think of your day to day life you could see black people being treated poorly. Non-whites or whites only signs were prolific. It was just about everywhere. You didn't go to places with a black person. You would not socialise with them because it was just not allowed. I remember as a little girl 1.05.00 playing at my grandmother's house playing with a little black girl. And then I was invited to tea at some other people. And my mother said you can't take - I can't remember her name- because the other kids are white. I

know it was a social convention and all that sort of thing but that made a difference for a long time the way I responded to black people. I knew that they had to stay there and we stayed here.

Reference 11 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I just want to say something. I think we are all complicit.

Group 3, Participant ##: I don't think so...

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Even though we might have (inaudible) subconsciously because of the way we were brought up. Maybe we weren't old enough to, you know if you had said like, mommy I want to take that person, we might have got into trouble. But we never did. Because you can't take the black kid with you [inaudible]. That's fine. But as we got older and were able to make decisions for ourselves then we were complicit.

Reference 12 - 0.43% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: It is not just white people but I am sitting here thinking and we are just talking about when I was there, I sound like a [inaudible] now. Just those little things coming up and I am just thinking, what did I do this for? Why did I do this? And now we are sitting here talking about hey not what can we do better? Is what did we do bad? What could we do better?

Reference 13 - 0.49% Coverage

BH: Do you think perhaps we make excuses for the past? Is our silencing an excuse for the past?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Beating your breast and being sorry is uncomfortable. I mean it is an uncomfortable process so we can't, we try and put it into a hazy perspective to a degree and then ignore it where we can but it's human nature. That is what people do. They don't like pain. And feeling guilty about it. But I don't know.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

And what it does is, because I was born in '91. '94, I mean I wasn't really a part of the apartheid regime. Um we were in the same class at the same school with Indians, coloured, white, Muslim, with all different religions and us as children we know no better, you know. We don't know about the whole apartheid.

Reference 2 - 0.82% Coverage

BH: Recalling the past.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes, it's igniting fear. It is igniting hateful speech and us who are also in the universities with black, coloured, Indian people, we are being targeted and we are being ridiculed for things that we had no control over as white people, you know. And I do believe that we haven't moved past it. I always say that I believe that it is apartheid just in the reverse. It is just reversed apartheid. You know apartheid is reversed because myself as an educator it has happened to me where I have gone to, I work at rural schools, and I have gone to the principals of these schools and I said please here is my CV. Here is my job. And they say unfortunately I can't employ you because you are not black. They have told me that to my face. So for me-

Reference 3 - 0.47% Coverage

Like, I believe, for me it's just morally wrong and – you say, the point before was the legacy, do we- I believe yes, we need to have compassion. We need to understand that yes, our, our people our age did not go through apartheid. Their Gogo's and their grannies, yes they did. But we can have empathy for them but we cannot take away that pain. We can't make it right. Unfortunately we can't, we can't be held accountable for what our ancestors did.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.44% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.44% Coverage

BH: Okay so now taking us to 2019. Are we as white people who voted at the time of the National Party, do we take responsibility for what we now know happened. I am talking about the bad things that happened now. I just want you to concentrate on the bad things that we now do know, what happened. So you were saying

earlier that most people did not know what was really going on. And if as number five said, if you knew would you have voted? You don't know because you only know now in hind sight. But following on about what has been said around the table, should we as white people who voted at the time of the National Party, should we be held responsible for the offences that we now know did happen? Should we be held responsible for them? Should we be accountable for them?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Definitely not. Definitely not.

BH: So tell me definitely why not?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Because it wasn't us. We didn't know. We we hear about it only afterwards. Why punish us? Why punish our children? We are sorry for what happened but the past is in the past. Let's carry on. Make about the future.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.98% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.98% Coverage

DL: I really don't want to be speaking alone, you must really join in the conversation and say ...If you say yes or no, please motivate you statement, so we can get a bit more clarity. Good let's continue. The next one says: is there something that ordinary white people could have done against apartheid. Could they have taken some action against apartheid? What do you say, what could they have done?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Not really, but you could have treated the people working in your house properly, treating them fairly, then I feel that you have also done your part. There were some who treated their domestic workers fairly, but others treated them badly. You could, there was a way.

DL: Good, do you think there were other ways white people could have reacted during the time of apartheid?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: (Muffled response.) Giving food to them at the gate. We did that.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: But today's favour is tomorrow's responsibility. Tomorrow they're back.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: That's also true.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 4.44% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.79% Coverage

What do you say about it number 2? What do we mean with reconciliation, how do you see reconciliation, forgive and forget the past or is there something else we need to do about reconciliation? Number 10?

Group 8, Participant 10, M: If we need to forgive and forget then we all must do it. Does not help that the young white people of today must suffer because of apartheid if you had nothing to do with it, most of us were born in the 1990's, how can you be held accountable. If you just look at the EFF and how things are going in court, then they look like monkeys carrying on like that, that is why the country is where it is, it's a zoo.

Reference 2 - 0.99% Coverage

DL: The question is was it really necessary to dig into the past to build a better future?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I think they just fuelled hatred. People were already upset and in pain about it – after apartheid they were looking for something to hit back the whites, this was the perfect opportunity to get every ones hatred together and use it as a driving force that they overcome the whites and they succeeded.

Group 8, Participant 7, F: It is not even the people who lived during the apartheid who raise it, it's people who had nothing to do with apartheid who use it to obtain something.

35:00

Group 8, Participant 8, M: It's the young blacks who make you out to be racist, then they come with their

apartheid nonsense.

Group 8, Participant ##: But you weren't even part of apartheid.

#### Reference 3 - 0.99% Coverage

Subject 6 says where common white people part of human atrocities under apartheid? In general was it the top brass that gave the orders that were guilty or racism against black people as they made the laws. The whites that went to church and went about their daily routine may have committed a small crime here or there but who took the brunt in the end, not the people who tabled the policies or gave the orders, it was the ordinary white person. Does it mean that we have to share responsibility for the crimes committed by the government?

No, you lived under the government and the policies/laws. If you were white, the black people at that time had a pass, if you don't have your pass - it was a law

The law was enforced more

We cannot be held accountable

You had to live

You lived under the law

#### Reference 4 - 1.67% Coverage

The next question, the younger generation of Germans find it difficult to take part in the blame, the same with the born frees, that's you, find it very difficult to accept blame for apartheid, what do you say about this, should you feel guilty about it or not? Should you ask questions about apartheid?

All talk together but the consensus is no.

01:10:03

Just because our grandparents may not have been very nice. I feel that this is not something that needs to be carried over, not as in the past where things were carried down from generation to generation. It may have been like that in previous generations but if I had to carry around all that baggage and not become my own self, I wouldn't have been able to breathe (not sure what the respondent means)/ I wouldn't have been here today.

I don't think we can be blamed as it was not a system that was carried over.

When I was in primary school and high school, I use to feel guilty, that's what they taught you in school, so yes I use to blame my great grandparents but as I found more information I realized that it was not my fault. It is about your upbringing and education

Yes your upbringing plays a major role, if you listen to the stories of your parents and grandparents, then you are likely to be racist, but if you were raised well in a non-racists house hold, then you won't be racist.



## CONSEQUENCES OF APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 4.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I will not go back to the Apartheid era. What I can say is what we are dealing with today is what was designed back then. Out of the group areas act, this was designed by the Apartheid government. It is so sad to say this because we have a beautiful country. I don't want to live in the past but our government, our present government is not doing anything about the crime in our country. I am so stressed out because you are afraid to drive. You might get hi-jacked or murdered or whatever. I won't go back. There are a few things, I wasn't there but, that happened previously but there was law and order in our country. People can just do what they want to. They commit crime and tomorrow they walk scot free. My brother-in-law is a captain at a police station and he was telling us how... in fact I went there one Saturday. I did some emailing for him and people were just sitting doing nothing. It was upsetting.(inaudible) (laughing) I wish I could go and work there because everybody was just sitting back and reading dockets. There is no law and order in our country anymore.

Reference 2 - 1.70% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Yes. In the past three years I thought no, I would not go back to Apartheid until I have read the stats of how many people are killed each day. How many children are raped. And long before Apartheid, even before Europeans got to Africa, the nine different groups of native people had arguments with each other. So one side of Apartheid came from to divide the country provinces so that Tswana, the Zulus, the Sothos, the Vendas, don't mix into each other's neighbourhoods so that they fight. As well as border control. Now a days with the open South Africa all the nine native tribes, plus the two white tribes are living inter-mixed neighbourhoods which is a good thing. We need to know each other's cultures. Now we are living among foreigners and other ethnic groups. So there is tension building up. People are shooting each other's wives. Murdering children. Lots of fights break out. One ethnic group, let's say one province has a better education system, for instance Northwest Tswana, that is not the correct stats. Now they are getting all the jobs because they had a better education system in their province. Now people, instead of loving the Tswana people, they start hating them for taking all the jobs, killing their wives. And then another thing I want to point out is in Apartheid all the money was divided. There was money was divided to housing for each group, and each people and unfortunately the overseas companies boycotted us but they were plans initially to give each group a set of money to develop the neighbourhoods. And then the problem is now after Apartheid things should normalise by itself. But now they are enforcing a reverse Apartheid on top of us. It is like taking a base to neutralise the asset which does not work. So that is just one of my point of views.

Reference 3 - 1.55% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Yes the constitution does. The paper is doing the job. It is the people making decisions behind the paper that is not doing their job. I sat in that equality court case with the Afrikaner, the artist that did that thing that says "fuck Afrikaans".

BH: Yes

Group 1, Participant 2, M: And the "tit for tat" frightened me big time out and what I came to realise is that the magistrate who sits there has to make a decision got a very difficult thing to do because with one point this group is feeling we are now being treated unequally. And the other point is freedom of speech. And now he has to balance all of these things to the end. Until it was pointed out that this artist cannot just say sweep it under the rug. All this pain. All this suffering that me and my family had to go through I can't sweep under the rug. That is why I did this. But he did it in such a way that you could take it or leave it. If you wanted to take it in a negative way you take it in a negative way. And that is a lot of times happening these days is your personal feelings concerning what somebody says to you. That either makes it bad or good. You know if I walk down in the Cape Flats and people call me Kasper or Whitey and stuff like that, I don't get offended. But if I had to go around and be offended about it. (everybody laughing and talking together) But it is like that. The same thing if you walk in Gugulethu and your one friend is calling the other friend there my "darkie friend". And you like saying "you can't say that" but that is how we speak to each other. We don't get offended. But if I had to say it would cause offence because of the quotation from the past. Which is fair.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 4.01% Coverage]

#### References 1-3 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### Reference 4 - 2.34% Coverage

BH: Now, I said to you we are going to come to the part of the discussion guide where I was going to give you your chance. I asked about offences committed under apartheid. If you knew that people were committing offences, white people were committing offences to black people. And you never reported them for what they were doing when they were randomly killing people because they were black. Are you just as guilty as the person who did the crime? If you voted for politicians to carry on during apartheid are you just as guilty as the politician because you voted for the politician? What do you say number five?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Well I will say yes. If you know about it and you keep quiet then it makes you just as guilty. I would say yes.

BH: Okay. Does anybody feel differently?

Group 2, Participant ##: No

BH: Number eleven?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Can I say it in Afrikaans?

BH: Yes

Group 2, Participant ##: The witness to wrongdoing also bears blame for keeping quiet. You know what I mean. If I have stolen and she sees me and she keeps quiet she is just as guilty as me. That is why we say in Afrikaans, the witness to wrongdoing also bears blame for keeping quiet.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: You commit a crime like you have seen the crime and you don't report it you are just as guilty.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Look those years, if you listen with a fine ear, those years to the white people it was an apartheid thing, 1.15.00 but some of them, if you go into real history you will see some of them was too much attached to the apartheid story because they had Sannie working for me but I like Sannie to pieces and nobody is going to hurt Sannie, so the police comes and they want the blacks or the coloureds out of the house, I put Sannie quickly in my cupboard. Those kind of people is actually the real, I call them the real white people that time. The person that killed that coloured woman because she didn't keep quiet because my husband raped her without anybody else knowing because I am white. Those people is actually the people that was putting everything under the blankets and that is why we are getting punished for what they were doing under the blankets.

#### Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 6.57% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.82% Coverage

I don't think we moved on from this war thing. This fighting thing. And as soon as they can get over that, I think it will be a lot better place to live in. I certainly have any ill feelings toward black people do. In actual fact I only have black friends. My wife is also in the education department. And she is the only white lady in the district she that she was at which is Nzinyathi which is huge and I mean she went into areas a lot of you ladies probably wouldn't even think of going into. With a bakkie. I know [NAME OMITTED] goes. I know [NAME OMITTED] will go but [NAME OMITTED] will tell you where [NAME OMITTED] goes. Yes frightening. Absolutely horrific. I think it is the other way around. The fear thing.

#### Reference 2 - 0.40% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, M: I am very saddened when I look back at what happened because of what we have lost. The potential we have lost. Both black and white. A number of people have left the country currently. And over the years I have known of some really good black folk who had left the country because they saw no future here. And we see it today.

#### Reference 3 - 1.48% Coverage

. As regards where we go now I think we don't like being at the wrong end of the stick. That is it. We talk about – there's a certain amount of black rhetoric. I quite agree with you, if you want want to talk about the EFF as being a political party and it is not even amongst the extreme of, of, of um political views in this country if you actually canvas informally. We are looking at it from our own self-interest point of view once again and saying "isn't it tough" but the fact is it was exceptionally tough and nobody, nobody, we didn't, we didn't protest too much to be quite frank when extreme right wing Afrikaners- and I'm not, were espousing violence against black people in the old days. Um and and as I say, I can understand the the the impetus of self-interest but self-interest is where we sit now. We sit in our little ghetto and our little bubble here and we think it is great and things are, you know we worry about what's happening outside. And you know we we feel a bit sensitive now because we're at the sharp end of the stick now. And it will get worse and we're trying our best but the fact is we're just as I say that the pendulum swung. That unfortunately in the bigger world that's, you know in a thousand years it is not going to make a bits difference one way or the other.

#### Reference 4 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: In response to what number two said I think we were sort of semi-consciously complicit because if you think of your day to day life you could see black people being treated poorly. Non-whites or whites only signs were prolific. It was just about everywhere. You didn't go to places with a black person. You would not socialise with them because it was just not allowed. I remember as a little girl 1.05.00 playing at my grandmother's house playing with a little black girl. And then I was invited to tea at some other people. And my mother said you can't take – I can't remember her name- because the other kids are white. I know it was a social convention and all that sort of thing but that made a difference for a long time the way I responded to black people. I knew that they had to stay there and we stayed here.

#### Reference 5 - 2.91% Coverage

You see the thing is that I hear about exactly what everyone around the table has said, is is perfectly true for them. But if we keep looking back to the past we have to look back to the past because that explains where we are now by and large. The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their their their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable. I don't know if I am threatened by, if anything I am worried about outside South Africa, outside our little bubble here, is a, is a physical damage. That you might be beaten up. You might be mugged because there's people who don't money. But apart from that, um ja, in a sort of an abstract term you don't like the idea of people rioting and burning busses. But if it is not my bus, do I really worry too much? I still just get into my car and drive to St. John's or wherever and have a lekker (nice) time, go out for lunch. My life has not changed apart from the fact that I think well, ja, I might have to watch that red traffic light 1.10.00 because somebody might go through it or I am not going to walk alone down Jo'burg Eloff Street anymore when I'm visiting Jo'burg. But apart from that things are tickety boo. I'm,

I'm, okay but there's people, when we said, when you talked about this micro economy here, there are people who are substantially materially worse off in our environment and they have to find, they want to ask the question as we are sitting and saying this and that and the other they are saying why am I still in the position or why have my children still not got a future? Why have I still not got this and that and the other? Service delivery. And they – it's an easy scapegoat.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I feel that the biggest problem even now with democracy and the biggest problem in the apartheid era was, in the apartheid era, you weren't entitled because of your race or because of your previously disadvantaged status, to be where you are. You had to earn it. Even us white people, you go to varsity, you pay for varsity. You wanted to get a job, you earned that job. Now in democracy, whether it was democracy or apartheid, 1.05.00 now we have this entitlement where things are not earned anymore and I think that's the fundamental problem with even our democracy now. We are not living in a democratic country, we are living in a country of entitlement where because you were born black, you are entitled to more than a white person.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 4.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.79% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: More than that, I get, so one, one of the things that I hear about fairly often and what upsets me about apartheid and how it ended, talking about moving into democracy, is the idea of the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation.

BH: I am going to get to that just after this one but carry on with your thought.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: My issue with the TRC is if we look at (inaudible) both sides admitted to things they had done that were bad, essentially it let off a lot of white South Africans off the hook. On things that they have done and gotten away with. And it upsets me because I, I do feel like my grandmother's generation, if I looked at it, was the height of apartheid and they're the generation that had left school, had jobs that was easy to find because of the colour of their skin. They ah had a better standard of living because of the colour of their skin. They're the generation that enforced and upheld apartheid and they sent my father's generation to war over apartheid and to enforce apartheid. And they have a lot to answer for and I feel like the TRC was a great way for them to get out and saying, well we're all sorry, we're all friends now and forget about it. And what they've done there is that they've left their grandchildren to pay the bill. Um. The reason in my mind why we still have a lot of problems when you look at um, like the anger today and the the fact that South Africa is in the place it is today, I think a lot of where we are now and the problems we're trying to solve would have been solved if they'd owned up and said, these were our actions and we need to answer for them. And I think it's cowardice, um, I think that that generation should've answered for what they've done. (-1:25:42)

References 2-4 - 2.37% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: So not necessarily on a crime against humanity, it's more sort of a comment on it and the effect of it in present day. I think it's that what people have kind of failed to understand is that they say, you know, it's, it's been twenty, what, twenty-five years and you know we still, you know, the effects of it. People are saying, oh, but it's been long enough, it's, it's started to fix itself, which is, which is, incorrect to say because the you know, the majority of people who say that tend to be surrounded by people who are also coming from a privilege background. And the the thing that they fail to understand is that um when it comes to um you know, ok, so communities coming from from townships or from rural areas well outside of the the major cities, trying to get on the property ladder, trying to get into university then paying for university, trying to get your matric certificate when there's so much more to do at home. You've gotta look after family. There's more cultural aspects you have to kind of, you know, you have to fulfil. And I, I, ok I won't say I agree but just to jump off that, is that you know you have to change it from grassroots, right. I would say that education should be free at a tertiary level if you are able to qualify for it and you meet a specific criteria, right. Because somebody coming from, I came from a very privileged school. Um, I had you know, fantastic teachers who went through all the systems. I was always going to succeed. I was always going to get into university. And if it was free for everybody if you qualify, I would get in and I can afford it, and that's, that's fine. But when you look at somebody who is coming from an underprivileged background, somebody who can't afford to go to university, they should be allowed to do that because you know just bringing somebody

into the working environment for, to meet your BEE points, it's, it's all well and good but 25.00 if the qualification is not there, the economy is not going to grow, the GDP is not going to grow. We aren't gonna grow as as a country. It's just gonna kind of create this melting pot of of anger and somebody loses their job, because of the colour of their skin and they say no, this is the issue and all just starts to kind of of snowball into a big effect, so.

#### Reference 5 - 0.57% Coverage

I think like 45.00 a huge problem in our country is education and obviously because there were such large gaps in education because of apartheid, people like, believed it. People were like okay, alright, they, maybe they do have our best interests at heart. And they sort of like had that hopeful feeling meanwhile these people are in power because, they they've stayed in power for so long, they have the buy-in into all these little parts of the country that just served them. And so there was definitely, like I was saying, it was self-serving.

## WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 3.78% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.05% Coverage

BH: They did hey. Why in the end were there so few prosecutions for the human right offences?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Coming back to our previous conversation. Slapstick government. Nothing this government does is thorough. They couldn't be thorough from the beginning. They started the TRC two years after the country had already been taken over. That should have been something that was done two years prior to it. Before.

BH: So whose responsibility would that have been? If it was two years before that we all voted for a Democracy.

1.00.00

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I am going to say it would have been the responsibility of both parties in the nature of let us take hands and walk into this together. Because what should have happened from the beginning was that we should have held hands. We should have taken the business owner with his first born or last born son, whoever he is giving the company over to and say my boy this is the business. This is how we do things. This is the operator. That is the chair. This is the pencil. This is how we go about this and not just give the rugby ball to the soccer player.

References 2-5 - 1.51% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: Yes, because there was fights all over. The old government had to say look we need to release this man so that he can, not tame his people but so that he can, can make things right.

BH: Okay, can I have ten and then eleven.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think democracy was the right thing. But I think it was maybe a little bit at the wrong time. I think a person maybe unpopular opinion, but I do think when they decided freedom for all, Nelson Mandela is free. Everything was going to be run this way. I think they should have been, maybe a little bit of a grace period, a learning period. And I think with what he said earlier with this is the chair, hand in hand I think there should have been a grace period where Nelson Mandela come free, they sat down and discussed how political parties were going to be running this country. And at the same time start to educate people. Not just the blacks who were uneducated or with less education, educating the whites on what has been happening. Give everybody the flat out this is how this country is going to be now. This is how we are going to run it. This is how we are going to look at the future. Instead of just handing it over. Which okay it wasn't just handed over. It was such a great feeling for the oppressed people to vote and they all went in thinking there is going to be this massive change. It is going to be beautiful. And then to realise-

BH: So do you think it is because our hopes just going on how you are doing, is it because our hopes about the democratic compromise have been disappointed?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think yes. We were very hopeful.

Reference 6 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: The person that passed it, he kept his promise. It wasn't about the money and about the power because he was just president for one term. Then he gave it off. It is the people that came after him that messed it up. That was greedy and was stealing. He just wanted the dream.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: He is one man. He was the poster boy.

Group 1, Participant, M: There we go. He was the poster boy. He never lied to you.

Reference 7 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think it is very key to have white people in government and business because I

think what we supposed to be doing in the beginning when we did the cross over it was not adequate. The education level was not quick enough. The invitation of BEE was too quick. They didn't give ample enough time for people to do the skills. So one of the largest concerns is that there is a lot of skills that white people hold in business today and there is still some value if they transfer their skill like internships. We had apprentices back in the days those kind of things. So there is still this thing of handing over skills and development. But I think a lot of the time now that gap is very small because people who were probable the key in apartheid who had benefited from the skills are now basically going on retirement. So maybe just for skills transfer.

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 3.35% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 2.09% Coverage

BH: Okay right. So now we are going to move on to Democracy. Democracy might have been necessary and inevitable but was it the best outcome for South Africa? Would you agree that while most whites continue to support the NP which was the National Party, they agree that reaching a compromise with the ANC was necessary to start the country relapsing into outright civil war? Do you remember any of that?

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Yes

BH: And how do you feel about that? Do you think it was a good decision? To go for Democracy?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Now at this time?

BH: No at that time.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think yes

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think that was the right time and I think there would probably have been a war if we didn't. So it was the right thing to do. But also at that time we had Nelson Mandela which is an amazing person. But the government after that is basically that messed it up after him. So it was a good thing and that was the right thing to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant ##: At that time.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Because Nelson Mandela had another reason for this country. But those that came after him, while Mr. Thabo Mbeki also in the same section as Mr. Nelson Mandela. But then came Jacob Zuma. And he was actually the fly in the ointment. Because he was the one that sowed corruption, I mean openly. And until they forced him to step down he was so (inaudible) in corruption, I mean he was actually the one coursing the problems in South Africa. And everybody that followed in his footsteps, like his ministers, (inaudible) was corrupt. and the whole of South Africa saw it. What happens with the South Africans that saw it they committed crime on big scale. Because they teach themselves whatever I do I am just going to get punished say five, ten years in prison. 1.25.00 Then I am going to be a free man. But he is the one that needs to set an example for me and he is actually the biggest criminal.

References 3-4 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think South Africa again that time obviously because of all the sanctions and everything and I know we run a very good country on our own. Very self-sufficient. But I think they would have come to the point where Democracy would have had to take place. I think due to sanctions. I don't think De Klerk had a choice. To be honest. It was something he was forced to do. I think it was a big decision he had to make for the interest of the country. I also think we have opened more doors of opportunity for us in like the World Cup. I mean we have never been part of the World Cup and trading with other countries. So it opened up a door of opportunity for us in many areas and I think at that stage looking at Nelson Mandela, I think his whole attitude is where I think if we had his kind of not personality what he stood for that would have continued with the transition phase would have been much better than what it is at the moment. It

would have been a more positive transition. Based on all his successes we would have been stood for the same ethical rights, values. I think it would have been a smoother transition into us becoming a bit equally helped.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.81% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Man, I was going to say we saw, we saw 45.00 perceived threats being put into action. Um. We had Eugene Terreblanche that tried to get into, put fire that was just a bit of foray, a bit of nostalgia on his part, I think. But um having said that there were elements who were destabilised. Um Who thought that they were destabilised and mischief make. I don't know if they ever thought the elements that and particularly if we're talking about white reactionaries rather than the black.

Reference 2 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: If you're talking about white reactionaries I don't know how they, I don't think they ever envisaged um a permanent a permanent sort of outcome of their any destabilisation tactic. Um, there was Oranje. We're still looking at its vestiges now, its not come to be an independent state. We've got no white homeland. All those things that were toyed with and were talked about, that were hypothesised at the time didn't come to pass. I just think that they're gonna - some of us, to be brutally frank, cannot leave South Africa.

Reference 3 - 0.35% Coverage

If we could leave South Africa, many of us might. But some of us are stuck here and we just do not know how to deal with the situation that we are in at the moment. Um. We are struggling with it as much as anybody else is. And um I worry that that that we look to the past but the destabilisation has come and gone.

Reference 4 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay. Well then I will say personally I wasn't nervous but I thought the euphoria that the people, I was glad for that it was apartheid, to an extent, I enjoyed the mood of the country because it was incredibly positive. That it was naïve, I thought was incredibly- but the fact is you enjoy the moment while you can. But I mean we were incredibly naïve and if one looked at that and heard the rhetoric of what we knew what was coming down the path I mean, that the lead-in, what the various parties were espousing, leading up to the '94 elections we, we would have been extremely short sighted have we not believed. But it unravelled the way it did because of a skills gap. And I think the fact is that we talk about corruption - it was not a phenomenon totally unknown under the nationalist government in this country. So, you know, what happened was that the skills gap allowed widespread, deep corruption to take place 1.15.00 and that was, the checks and balances was not put into force. And that drove it.

Reference 5 - 1.46% Coverage

BH: Do you think that many of our hopes about the democratic compromise is what has been disappointing?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Yes I think what has actually happened was a huge disappointment. For me 1994 I was on cloud nine. I mean you know the whole writing of the constitution and everything that went with it and all the rest of it, and that wonderful man, Nelson Mandela, was now going to be taking centre stage of the country. And for a man to go through what he went through and come out with no chip on his shoulder, for me that was, wow. That was, that was my biggest wow factor. And I remember standing in a queue that was miles and miles and miles long. I hate standing in queues. And you know I enjoyed every minute of it. And with the whole nation, black, white, green, yellow, brown, whatever colour you wanted, rich, poor, whatever, and everybody, I mean it was - to me that was the most, one of the things that I would put as a highlight in my life was was that day, when it actually happened. And my belief was just so strong that it would work. Unfortunately dear old Mr. Mandela was just a little bit too old. I wish he was thirty years younger.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: We could have let him out of jail a little earlier.

Group 3, Participant ##: Exactly.

Reference 6 - 0.57% Coverage

BH: So do you think the National government Party gave way too much away in their negotiations with the



ANC?

Group 3, Participant ##: No .

(Everybody talking together)

Group 3, Participant 8, M: They didn't have a choice. They were lucky to get what they got. You talked about a compromise. I don't know if it was a compromise. What was the compromise? There was no compromise. Nobody expected it to be a compromise. We were just recognising a sort of a Westminster form of democracy. That was it.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.23% Coverage

I can comment a little bit about under apartheid because I was born in 1983. Um, there were some real big adjustments that occurred just at '93 to '94, '95. Huge shifts and huge personality shifts that really came in.

Reference 2 - 0.05% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I didn't see a major-

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.48% Coverage

BH: Five.

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I don't think there was the same power transition like in World War Two the Nazis lost unequivocally and so they had no choice but to be prosecuted and face judgement. The fact that the NP handed over power meant that they still had power at the time. You can't hand over power without relinquishing, you keep some. You relinquish some of it. So these people, they were in a position of power and they abused it to get out of justice.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 7.52% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.13% Coverage

BH: Why don't you think the reconciliation didn't work?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: They didn't judge all the situations the same. If they hadn't done everything the same way maybe it would have worked better.

BH: Okay now I know number ten that there is quite a bit that you would like to say. I don't want to not give you a chance. I want to hear what you have to say. How do you feel? Do you see it as a war? Did you see that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was a way of dealing with the bad things?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I know Ferdi Barnard personally.

BH: Who?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Ferdi Barnard.

BH: Okay Ferdi Barnard, yes

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I know Janusz Walus personally.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant ##: Personally.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And if you sit with people and they tell you their story. And the media and the ANC

tell them their story. As she said now, Winnie Mandela and George Bizos and the big boys of the ANC could do whatever they want. Janusz is now fighting to get his release out on parole. He was given parole. They denied it. They pulled it back again. How fair is that? Twenty, twenty-five years later how would he-

BH: So do you think that-

Group 6, Participant 10, M: - impact on our country or on whatever? He wants to be with his wife and his family or whatever.

BH: So do you think that, that

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Eugene de Kock got released.

BH: Alright but I just want to go back to the current one about, because we are talking about Chris Hani's assassination now with Walus. Now that took part after we had handed over power between the old regime and the new regime.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: But it was coming before the new regime.

BH: Yes but I just want to -

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The whole party started before that.

But I want to ask you do you think that that situation should have become part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They didn't want that one.

BH: Do you think it is still part of the war?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do. I do.

BH: Okay so tell me why.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Because just, they just started, to be honest, the ANC just started taking over. So they decided, you did this in the past, we going to do this now. And then they started - they can do anything they want to.

BH: So do you think that Walus, that what happened to Chris Hani and Walus should have been part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do.

BH: And in which way would that have helped the Truth or Reconciliation?

Group 6, Participant ##: Well if they'd handled everything the same way. If they handled every case the same way I think he would have already started saying now you are against the whites. You are starting to be against the whites. To be honest.

BH: Okay and what do you think because you said you knew them personally.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think if they put Eugene de Kock, Ferdi, Janusz Walus, all of them, at the Truth, and they say -

BH: But Eugene de Kock did testify. And he did get amnesty.

Group 6, Participant ##: Why?

BH: Well I am asking, I am hoping you are going to give me what you think.

Group 6, Participant ##: Because they wanted him to say what they wanted to hear for him to be released. If Janusz's gonna to tell them what they want to hear, that you did this or you did that, they gonna to release him. But now I must say this is a red can, to be released from prison. And my integrity and my respect and whatever I fought for my whole life. Sit to prison for twenty-five years already, I must now say you know what, sorry this is actually a white can. Just to be released. And where does my respect and my integrity as for my country and for my people, my wife and my children suffering all the time I've been in prison. They have been suffering more than I did. I must give that all up just to give the ANC their chance so, alright I did that.

Reference 2 - 1.20% Coverage

BH: Okay, alright. So let's just talk about the people who opted not to go for the amnesty and try and destabilise the new government. Tell me why they did that.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They still believe, and I think they believe until the day they die.

BH: Okay so they currently will still be believing this?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Go to go to anyone of them currently incarcerated now. Ferdi has been released. Eugene de Kock has been released. 40.00 Janusz is fighting to get released. It is costing him and his family millions to get that. He's been rewarded that. Now they say you know what, we want to know why and who gave you the orders to do that. He's not going to tell them. If they can go paint the moon pink, he is not going to tell them. He did his time. He got twenty-five years. If you get twenty-five years you get life. You serve that you then need to be released. They gave him twenty life sentences.

Reference 3 - 0.51% Coverage

BH: Okay but now remember I asked you what made them decide to plan to destabilise the new government? Because obviously assassinating Chris Hani was a way to destabilise the new government.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I must have a country or I want a country safe for my wife and my kids, where they can live, where they can go to school, where they can work and have a life. And they thought-

References 4-6 - 0.68% Coverage

BH: So that is why they wanted to destabilise

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Twenty-five years later they are running the country into the ground. Worse than Zimbabwe. So why did they, they knew something obviously better than all of us knew. And they fought for it twenty-five years ago. They were prepared to go to prison for that and not to tell them this is what we want to do and this. We gonna stick to our guns. Come hell or high water, this is what we believe. And they gave it to the ANC. And this is where we are today.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 5.42% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.52% Coverage

L: Good the next question, to what extend did white people hold the government responsible for what it did? I'm going to explain briefly, how ordinary people can hold the government responsible, just to mention one way: at the ballot box/polling station. Do you think it happened?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: No, it did not happen.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: It was never a fair vote.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The thing is they promised their brothers and sisters everything and when the time came to vote, they all voted but nothing came of it. So say no.

Reference 2 - 0.44% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##, M: The reverse is also true. It couldn't carry on much longer.

DL: In a democracy isn't that the only power you have for ordinary people to ..(inaudible)

Group 7, Participant 11, M: When they released Mandela they lost a lot of support.

DL: The NP?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Yes.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The reverse is also true. It could no longer carry on. SA was on its knees economically speaking. It couldn't continue. Change had to come.

#### Reference 3 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: I think certain prospects were painted, but which did not materialize.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's right.

Group 7, Participant ##: We expected things to turn out better than it did. I think that's the big problem.

Group 7, Participant ##: They also promised the people more.

Group 7, Participant ##: We expected more but it never happened that way.

Group 7, Participant ##: Job creation and all that but it never happened.

Group 7, Participant ##: I remember FW's many words about weights and counterweights that would be built in. What happened to that?

Group 7, Participant ##: Nothing.

#### Reference 4 - 2.03% Coverage

DL: Number 6 do you feel democracy was unavoidable for the new SA?

Group 7, Participant 6, F: It was unavoidable. There was no choice. But what do you do about it now? That's the million dollar question.

We've basically agreed that democracy was unavoidable, now the next question, if there was no agreement with the ANC, would everything in the country have collapsed? Would it have led to civil war? Your comment number 7? Eight?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: I'm still thinking.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Economically the country could not continue any longer, that's why F W de Klerk said in 1990 the ANC must be unbanned and he started making preparations for the transitional period. And started negotiations with Kempton Park, but the problem was that the ANC and others who were part of the conversation brought in their heavy weights, meaning the strongest men they had available, but the NP did not have their strongest people there, because the country still had to be governed. That's why they had Roelf Meyer there, among others, who I think did well, and others.

01:25:00

Group 7, Participant ##: Pik Botha?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: No, Pik Botha wasn't there, Roelf Meyer, and another one can't remember his name, but be that as it may. They had to come back and report back to the government the NP cabinet about their progress, I think it could have been different if the NP also put its heavy weights forward. From the beginning, true, FW did speak about weights and counter weights, but I don't know what happened to that. It does not seem to me that it materialized. But the main thing was that economically the country could not

continue.

DL: Number 9 ?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: If I think of all the sanctions the outside world imposed on us, about this, then we could not go further. And I think our country would have gone up in flames if change did not come.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Change was inevitable. Even in sport we were excluded because we supported apartheid, so those things had to change. We had no choice, we just had to adapt.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: We didn't have a choice.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: There would have been war.

Reference 5 - 0.88% Coverage

DL: So it was...

Group 7, Participant 8, M: There is one point we have not yet raised with one another, and that is that the NP government to my knowledge were religious persons who prayed, they opened Parliament with prayer, people prayed about this matter, which way should we go, what choice is there for us. There was a lot of praying about that. The population prayed a lot about that, and the Lord gave us direction. On voting day 1994, there were people who thought here come big trouble, and everything went peacefully, as you may remember.

Group 7, Participant ##: It went very peacefully. My feeling is that the Lord is still in control of the country.

Group 7, Participant ##: He is still in control of what is happening, even if it is not according to our will, it takes place according to His will which we cannot now see as yet.

Group 7, Participant ##: And his time.

Group 7, Participant ##: We must just stay on our knees and keep praying.

Reference 6 - 0.96% Coverage

DL: Thank you for that view point. Next, we have touched on that earlier, did the NP perhaps not make too many allowances during the negotiations, and that is what number 8 has also just discussed. There were negotiations between the NP and the ANC, now the question is: did the NP give away too much?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: We weren't present at the negotiations. We don't know what was discussed in the inner circles. It would appear so from the outside, but the impression I got was that the NP was under great pressure, to make certain allowances, and I will say it again, weights and counterweights which we thought would work, and in the end did not materialize as we had hoped.

01:30:02

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I've got a feeling a lot/ some of our ministers who were murdered some years ago, would this not have been the lot of FW de Klerk that they said to him, give the country over or get murdered too.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I wouldn't know. I see we are somewhat into the history, yes, politics, and into that.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.67% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.67% Coverage

Do you think the National Party in their negotiations with the ANC gave in too much?

I think so, they were so eager to have everyone equal with democracy that they were more lenient, so they extended the little finger and now they have taken the whole hand and now we are where we are.

They should have made us part of the negotiations (laughter).

Is it not what we said just now, you did not have a choice, you needed them but when you gave them that power, it went straight to their heads, they put uneducated people in positions that they were not trained for, so they disperse power to others just to make them feel powerful.

I don't know whether you lived during the time of sport boycotts, the sanctions imposed, we were cut off from the world, there was just one way to come back and that was democracy

They should have just signed a treaty that stipulated that for the generations to come, irrespective of whether they are black or white, these laws/rules must apply, you cannot come and prosecute our children still to come.

A guarantee for example. So, in other words, the National Party did not negotiate well.

They only thought of their immediate future, not future generations

It's the same today, the ruling party only thinks of today or tomorrow, not the future, so they are really doing an injustice against our children.

## FEELINGS ABOUT THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AT THE TIME

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 5.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.13% Coverage

BH: Ok, right. Did you feel relieved when Democracy replaced apartheid?

[number nine nodding his head]

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I mean nobody needs to tell anybody who they are allowed to mix with or who your friends need to be or where that person can go just because of his colour of his skin. I mean if I cut myself, I am going to bleed. That person cuts himself he is going to bleed exactly the same blood as what I have. He works hard, I work hard. Everybody works hard. I mean. So what makes me better than him? Because I am in a white shell, if I can call it that?

Group 2, Participant ##: It doesn't make any difference.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: It doesn't make me any difference. We might speak a different language.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: They are also people. They are also human beings. They also have a heart.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Feelings, everything. And the thing is that I've learned over the years, I mean I had many friends and tell you what, some of them hurt just as bad as we are. And I mean, you can, you can relate to that.

References 2-3 - 2.09% Coverage

BH: Okay right. So now we are going to move on to Democracy. Democracy might have been necessary and inevitable but was it the best outcome for South Africa? Would you agree that while most whites continue to support the NP which was the National Party, they agree that reaching a compromise with the ANC was necessary to start the country relapsing into outright civil war? Do you remember any of that?

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Yes

BH: And how do you feel about that? Do you think it was a good decision? To go for Democracy?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Now at this time?

BH: No at that time.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think yes

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think that was the right time and I think there would probably have been a war if we didn't. So it was the right thing to do. But also at that time we had Nelson Mandela which is an amazing person. But the government after that is basically that messed it up after him. So it was a good thing and that was the right thing to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant ##: At that time.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Because Nelson Mandela had another reason for this country. But those that came after him, while Mr. Thabo Mbeki also in the same section as Mr. Nelson Mandela. But then came Jacob Zuma. And he was actually the fly in the ointment. Because he was the one that sowed corruption, I mean

openly. And until they forced him to step down he was so (inaudible) in corruption, I mean he was actually the one causing the problems in South Africa. And everybody that followed in his footsteps, like his ministers, (inaudible) was corrupt. and the whole of South Africa saw it. What happens with the South Africans that saw it they committed crime on big scale. Because they teach themselves whatever I do I am just going to get punished say five, ten years in prison. 1.25.00 Then I am going to be a free man. But he is the one that needs to set an example for me and he is actually the biggest criminal.

Reference 4 - 0.53% Coverage

BH: Okay now I am going to go back to 1994 when there was a change from National party government to the ANC government and that process made that we went through Democracy. So do you think Democracy was good for us? Or do you think it was bad for us?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: I would say at that stage when Mr Nelson Mandela (inaudible) so I would say yes.

BH: Okay. So at that time. It was more the leader?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Yes like I say it again, those that came after him well (inaudible)

Reference 5 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think South Africa again that time obviously because of all the sanctions and everything and I know we run a very good country on our own. Very self-sufficient. But I think they would have come to the point where Democracy would have had to take place. I think due to sanctions. I don't think De Klerk had a choice. To be honest. It was something he was forced to do. I think it was a big decision he had to make for the interest of the country. I also think we have opened more doors of opportunity for us in like the World Cup. I mean we have never been part of the World Cup and trading with other countries. So it opened up a door of opportunity for us in many areas and I think at that stage looking at Nelson Mandela, I think his whole attitude is where I think if we had his kind of not personality what he stood for that would have continued with the transition phase would have been much better than what it is at the moment. It would have been a more positive transition. Based on all his successes we would have been stood for the same ethical rights, values. I think it would have been a smoother transition into us becoming a bit equally helped.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 5.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.15% Coverage

I think the change of '94 brought a lot of hope. I think that hope was tarnished a bit by some of the stuff that happened along the way.

Reference 2 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: I want to ask another question. Did you feel relieved when Democracy replaced apartheid? And if so, why?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: Yes I did.

Group 3, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I was.

Reference 3 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: We were making progress. And injustices were not going to hopefully be (inaudible) (coughing) and that there would be an opportunity for everybody. Not just a certain (inaudible)

Group 3, Participant 5, F: I was chuffed it was going to be like, that was over, the D-Day, but now what has happened has happened. Let's go forward. Let's go all together. Everybody is equal. Equal footing to go forward.

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Yes I think, I felt it was a good step. That we were going forward and that things would be fantastic.



#### Reference 4 - 0.53% Coverage

BH: Sorry number eight I just want number four to say something please.

Group 3, Participant 4, M: No, I thought it was a good thing when apartheid ended, yeah. From personal experience, things that happened to me. Like ah being a Canadian citizen I went overseas for quite a long time and on the way back I was pulled off a plane and interrogated. I still don't understand why. So to me when apartheid came to an end it was great. But that's a personal experience

#### Reference 5 - 1.06% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I was uncertain at that time.

BH: And three you were? About Democracy, about the Democratic process or what was it that made you uncertain? Was it democracy?

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I was uncertain about the way forward. I wasn't so sure that it was gonna work out smoothly we all hoped. I was a little bit nervous. I wasn't excited about it.

BH: I just want to unpack that a little bit. Was it you were uncertain about democracy or were you uncertain about the future of us South Africans going forward? Or the future of us whites going forward?

Group 3, Participant 3, M: No I wasn't so worried about us whites. I just wondered whether or not democracy would work as we understood democracy at that time. Because democracy in Africa is a little different to what is seen overseas. So I was, I was a bit uncertain about what was going to happen after '94. I was, I was happy that apartheid ended.

#### Reference 6 - 0.57% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Is '94 the watershed that you were talking about? Is that when you say afterwards the elections in '94, was that?

BH: Yes.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay. Well then I will say personally I wasn't nervous but I thought the euphoria that the people, I was glad for that it was apartheid, to an extent, I enjoyed the mood of the country because it was incredibly positive. That it was naïve, I thought was incredibly- but the fact is you enjoy the moment while you can.

#### Reference 7 - 1.46% Coverage

BH: Do you think that many of our hopes about the democratic compromise is what has been disappointing?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Yes I think what has actually happened was a huge disappointment. For me 1994 I was on cloud nine. I mean you know the whole writing of the constitution and everything that went with it and all the rest of it, and that wonderful man, Nelson Mandela, was now going to be taking centre stage of the country. And for a man to go through what he went through and come out with no chip on his shoulder, for me that was, wow. That was, that was my biggest wow factor. And I remember standing in a queue that was miles and miles and miles long. I hate standing in queues. And you know I enjoyed every minute of it. And with the whole nation, black, white, green, yellow, brown, whatever colour you wanted, rich, poor, whatever, and everybody, I mean it was - to me that was the most, one of the things that I would put as a highlight in my life was was that day, when it actually happened. And my belief was just so strong that it would work. Unfortunately dear old Mr. Mandela was just a little bit too old. I wish he was thirty years younger.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: We could have let him out of jail a little earlier.

Group 3, Participant ##: Exactly.

#### Reference 8 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: There's two aspects. One is there is a balancing of the morality. As we said we were

naïve in '94 but we just thought that we would get these chaps the vote, they'd come into power and in our lives we will just be the same, we carry on getting everything we ever did and didn't work out that way. And when it is personal, it's sore. It is very very sore when you are personally affected. So there's this this, there's this this political aspect to it of of of the promises made by the canvassing parties as to what would happen to their supporters come if there were a change in government. There is also a fact that there is a very real thing that what we are experiencing now.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 5.37% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.57% Coverage

DL: Good let's move on slowly. Did white people towards the end of apartheid around 1994, did they realize what their responsibilities would be under a new democratic government. Do you think they were ready?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I would say they weren't ready. They did not realize what was happening in our country. They did not realize what they were letting themselves in for.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: They thought it would be easy, you merely turn this thing around and it's done. They didn't realize that it was a process.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: That it's still going to become a problem.

Reference 2 - 0.71% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I saw a future in the new SA, to use FW de Klerk's expression, but about 2 or two and a half years after 1994 things started going wrong. The NP walked out of the Government of National Unity, there things started going wrong. I would say during Nelson Mandela's time things still went well because he had goals for which I still have respect today. The men who came after Nelson Mandela brought different goals and values with which we don't agree, and it's very difficult to live with it.

DL: Good. Number 7 what you say about the democracy? How did you feel when we went over to democracy?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: The excitement was there like number 8 said but it did not last long, many other things have happened. The cake fell flat.

Reference 3 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: We never had a choice, things had to happen, and unfortunately, we now see the negativity. It seems as if it was not a success.

Reference 4 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I can also say I was also very glad. All went well for 4 years, thereafter they started with their trouble making, whites like this and blacks like that, and apartheid, always apartheid's fault.

Reference 5 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I was also very excited, as you said, but I think a lot of things were kept secret, and only came out later, things we didn't know about. Today, I don't feel the same.

Reference 6 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Was it unavoidable, was it necessary, and was it the best outcome for the country?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It was the best because we weren't raised correctly, for example, a white stays here and a black stays there, really things just changed. We are glad things changed, really, but we don't live with each in the right way. There is still too much hatred.

References 7-8 - 2.03% Coverage

DL: Number 6 do you feel democracy was unavoidable for the new SA?

Group 7, Participant 6, F: It was unavoidable. There was no choice. But what do you do about it now? That's the million dollar question.

We've basically agreed that democracy was unavoidable, now the next question, if there was no agreement

with the ANC, would everything in the country have collapsed? Would it have led to civil war? Your comment number 7? Eight?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: I'm still thinking.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Economically the country could not continue any longer, that's why F W de Klerk said in 1990 the ANC must be unbanned and he started making preparations for the transitional period. And started negotiations with Kempton Park, but the problem was that the ANC and others who were part of the conversation brought in their heavy weights, meaning the strongest men they had available, but the NP did not have their strongest people there, because the country still had to be governed. That's why they had Roelf Meyer there, among others, who I think did well, and others.

01:25:00

Group 7, Participant ##: Pik Botha?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: No, Pik Botha wasn't there, Roelf Meyer, and another one can't remember his name, but be that as it may. They had to come back and report back to the government the NP cabinet about their progress, I think it could have been different if the NP also put its heavy weights forward. From the beginning, true, FW did speak about weights and counter weights, but I don't know what happened to that. It does not seem to me that it materialized. But the main thing was that economically the country could not continue.

DL: Number 9 ?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: If I think of all the sanctions the outside world imposed on us, about this, then we could not go further. And I think our country would have gone up in flames if change did not come.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Change was inevitable. Even in sport we were excluded because we supported apartheid, so those things had to change. We had no choice, we just had to adapt.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: We didn't have a choice.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: There would have been war.

Reference 9 - 0.29% Coverage

DL: So you won't say then that whites accept democracy because they had no other choice?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes, to a certain extent.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: We accepted it to a certain degree, because we did not have a choice.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: You were apprehensive but had no choice,

Reference 10 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: My experience is that in 1994 we embraced democracy with great expectations, but as time passed, especially the last few years, it became watered down to such a degree, that one is no longer comfortable with it. I would like to come back to another point, for example, legislation, when we look at the legislation the NP applied to agriculture, for example, we had to declare how many workers we had on the farm, how many posts there were for workers, those days we still did a good deal of ploughing, for each tractor, a day and night driver. So we came to a figure. We had to sit with a committee at the office of the magistrate to explain why we had so many workers in our employ. There were other laws too regarding agriculture, the herds of sheep and cattle you were allowed to keep, this you had to declare to the information officer. That changed. We are thankful that it changed, but other laws came, which is like a muzzle, labour laws.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 3.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.88% Coverage

We will still touch on this a little later. Next subject, Democracy, was it necessary and unavoidable for South Africa. Could we carry on living in the old way or did we not have any choice?

I think for our growth (SA) it was necessary, America has also changed, their democracy was also affected, so it affected our trade relations.

Sanctions.

01:15:04

Yes, so our economy needed a change but they just took it to another level. There are thousands of parties that divide us, we are already divided into black and white and now these parties divide us further and we end up fighting more against each other than for our country, so I think it was not necessary.

It was necessary but also not necessary.

#### Reference 2 - 1.46% Coverage

I want to add to the matter and go back to something I said earlier, I understand your point that we should have moved on but a country such as China has never come out of their system, they stuck to communism, I don't say that apartheid and communism are one and the same thing eventually, they just stuck to it, and eventually the world just accepted it - we see you have a point there, not that what you are doing it right ethically, but economically you have a point, I understand it.

I you just compare the size of China, 1, 5 billion.

Yes that as well, but I mean, I just thinking of the concept.

I just think that we are just too few white people to try and stabilize the South African economy and do the work for us, to bargain and come up for us.

We did not have a choice.

Yes we did not have a choice.

There probably was a choice but then the rest of the world would have rejected us, to a certain point and then they would started again, we mine for gold for example and they would all at some point come back to us for our minerals etc. I think this is now really going off the point, but how can ANC take some one out of jail to come and rule the country? This just does not make sense to me.

#### Reference 3 - 0.90% Coverage

Let's just go back to the subject, we spoke about sanctions, we basically had no choice but to go over to democracy, if the ANC stayed under ban and the National Party remained in power, what would have happened to the economy of the country, would it not have resulted in a civil war?

I don't think so, it's difficult to say.

With a drop in the economy, the whole country suffers, the question is how long would it have taken to get the international countries involved in South Africa, would we all have stood together, everyone loves himself unfortunately, your money is your money, that is how things are, you would not have dished out a cent to someone else to survive, when would he have been able to repay the money.

#### Reference 4 - 0.11% Coverage

Survival of the fittest.

So the smaller would have become smaller and the bigger biggest.

## EXPECTATIONS – HOPES FOR DEMOCRACY AFTER THE TRANSITION

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.30% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.06% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think yes. We were very hopeful.

Reference 2 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I think the issue is, its hindsight. Because at the time we didn't know what the future holds. We had this hopes and dreams. Now obviously we can look back and say it didn't happen. At the time, like I said it was the correct thing to do.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.84% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.74% Coverage

BH: And then how does it compare with life under apartheid? Life to living now to life under apartheid.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Life under apartheid on the one side I am going to say was good in the way of safety. And on the other side it wasn't good because why you couldn't actually really communicate with the next person properly like you wanted to. I was more you stay here and I stay there. So we don't talk to each other. But in that way it is better. When apartheid changed, the first change, when Madiba was president, yes all the way, but now, no. It has changed way too much. The crime rate is worse. The trafficking is worse.

Group 2, Participant ##: The abuse of the kids is even worse.

Reference 2 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think the hopes. What we wanted was equal. To be equal. And now it is actually changing you much. That we are not equal. The whites are actually going to go down. There and the rest of the family up there. But still at the end of the day the coloureds still stay in the middle. So why are we-

BH: Why are we not all equal?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Why aren't we all equal like it was supposed to be?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: It's our salaries and everything at the moment, if you are a white person and you are going to work at a big company you are always going to have a lower salary than the black person. That is just how it works. I am a lot involved with a lot of other colours of people and races so I hear their discussions and where they are working they had top jobs and they will tell me. You know they could get me a work here but they can't because they were told only black or colour but mainly black. So they will tell me. We talk straight, open about everything so everything is changed around.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 5.94% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.16% Coverage

The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their their their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable.

Reference 2 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: And I think the government should answer for that.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: But it not always a government problem. I mean we're a third world country. There

is, even before the money was stolen, we must not convince ourselves that this was going to be nirvana. It is well short of where it could have been I quite agree with everything, the corruption has been is endemic and it's been vast. But having said that we are still a third world country struggling. First world countries have problems, they are just slightly different from the ones we have. This, you know, we can't blame everything on corruption.

Reference 3 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: We were making progress. And injustices were not going to hopefully be (inaudible) (coughing) and that there would be an opportunity for everybody. Not just a certain (inaudible)

Group 3, Participant 5, F: I was chuffed it was going to be like, that was over, the D-Day, but now what has happened has happened. Let's go forward. Let's go all together. Everybody is equal. Equal footing to go forward.

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Yes I think, I felt it was a good step. That we were going forward and that things would be fantastic.

Reference 4 - 0.57% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Is '94 the watershed that you were talking about? Is that when you say afterwards the elections in '94, was that?

BH: Yes.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay. Well then I will say personally I wasn't nervous but I thought the euphoria that the people, I was glad for that it was apartheid, to an extent, I enjoyed the mood of the country because it was incredibly positive. That it was naïve, I thought was incredibly- but the fact is you enjoy the moment while you can.

Reference 5 - 1.46% Coverage

BH: Do you think that many of our hopes about the democratic compromise is what has been disappointing?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Yes I think what has actually happened was a huge disappointment. For me 1994 I was on cloud nine. I mean you know the whole writing of the constitution and everything that went with it and all the rest of it, and that wonderful man, Nelson Mandela, was now going to be taking centre stage of the country. And for a man to go through what he went through and come out with no chip on his shoulder, for me that was, wow. That was, that was my biggest wow factor. And I remember standing in a queue that was miles and miles and miles long. I hate standing in queues. And you know I enjoyed every minute of it. And with the whole nation, black, white, green, yellow, brown, whatever colour you wanted, rich, poor, whatever, and everybody, I mean it was - to me that was the most, one of the things that I would put as a highlight in my life was was was that day, when it actually happened. And my belief was just so strong that it would work. Unfortunately dear old Mr. Mandela was just a little bit too old. I wish he was thirty years younger.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: We could have let him out of jail a little earlier.

Group 3, Participant ##: Exactly.

Reference 6 - 0.57% Coverage

BH: So do you think the National government Party gave way too much away in their negotiations with the ANC?

Group 3, Participant ##: No .

(Everybody talking together)

Group 3, Participant 8, M: They didn't have a choice. They were lucky to get what they got. You talked about a compromise. I don't know if it was a compromise. What was the compromise? There was no compromise. Nobody expected it to be a compromise. We were just recognising a sort of a Westminster form of

democracy. That was it.

Reference 7 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: There's two aspects. One is there is a balancing of the morality. As we said we were naïve in '94 but we just thought that we would get these chaps the vote, they'd come into power and in our lives we will just be the same, we carry on getting everything we ever did and didn't work out that way. And when it is personal, it's sore. It is very very sore when you are personally affected. So there's this this, there's this this political aspect to it of of of the promises made by the canvassing parties as to what would happen to their supporters come if there were a change in government. There is also a fact that there is a very real thing that what we are experiencing now.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.59% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think that the idea of apartheid, it was, it was explained as becoming a democracy, and, like post-apartheid, but the idea was almost to become um more like a communism-run country but they portrayed it as democracy and they never reached that communism where everyone was equal. Not necessarily in the workplace but just, they are accepted for who they are. 55.00 And I feel that although democracy was the best option at the time um I think that people have taken it to an extreme and almost tried to reverse the problems that apartheid had.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.89% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.47% Coverage

DL: Good let's move on slowly. Did white people towards the end of apartheid around 1994, did they realize what their responsibilities would be under a new democratic government. Do you think they were ready?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I would say they weren't ready. They did not realize what was happening in our country. They did not realize what they were letting themselves in for.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: They thought it would be easy, you merely turn this thing around and it's done. They didn't realize that it was a process.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: That it's still going to become a problem.

DI: The white people who voted, remember that during that time it was a big thing about Yes or No, there was a referendum, then the election came, do you think the white population of South Africa were ready for what was coming?

01:05:12

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

Group 7, Participant ##: We were not prepared. For what awaited us.

Group 7, Participant ##: I think certain prospects were painted, but which did not materialize.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's right.

Group 7, Participant ##: We expected things to turn out better than it did. I think that's the big problem.

Group 7, Participant ##: They also promised the people more.

Group 7, Participant ##: We expected more but it never happened that way.

Group 7, Participant ##: Job creation and all that but it never happened.

Group 7, Participant ##: I remember FW's many words about weights and counterweights that would be built in. What happened to that?

Group 7, Participant ##: Nothing.

Reference 3 - 0.42% Coverage

DL: Indifference replaced apartheid? How did you feel? What do you say number 11?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I don't know. I think initially everyone was excited to see how things were now coming to a point ...

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Group 7, Participant 11, M: That there's a future for all but it did not materialize, things were basically just turned around. Not that it went better for a while, it was just turned around apartheid in reverse.



## WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE TRC

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Okay anybody else remember? Number six.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I remember everyday coming from school listening to it on the radio. Lots of snot en tranne (mucus and tears), but it brought a lot of healing. People got to give a voice to their pain and their atrocities. They didn't want something to be done about it they just wanted the truth to be told. A lot of people got a chance for their voice to be heard. Got a chance to face that person and to find healing. And for the people that didn't know to know. I think it was very good in opening up their eyes of the people around them and for bringing a lot of healing. And for people who felt, to be able to identify, because, and say yes I was also in that situation. 45.00 I think it brought a little tenderness. We might have looked at say different race in one way and we now can sympathise that actually their pain is different maybe to ours but just as real.

Reference 2 - 0.96% Coverage

BH: How would you describe the word truth?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Something which is real. A lie can also be real. Something which is born out of positivity. Um, and something which will, which will always carry on to be truth. The truth cannot then become a lie.

BH: Anyone want to add to that? We are just going to have number eight first.

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Truth can be described like as pain as well because that is like your truth and your life that you have lived. You are finally able to express that pain so that you can let go to give your truth.

BH: And how would you relate that truth to the word reconciliation?

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Well to be able to tell your story is a way of healing. To draw things out, yes. So that is how I would describe it.

BH: Yes?

Group 1, Participant 2, F: I would say truth is accountability as well because to speak the truth is to say you are taking accountability whether it's for your pain, for your actions or the things that you said. It is an opportunity to take accountability.

Reference 3 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: There is also many white people who fought for people of colour. My father and grandfather as well. They were freedom fighters. They also did not believe in Apartheid. So they felt like they would fight for other people. They were thrown in jail. That was also a way of keeping their truth in there. To help others.

Reference 4 - 0.83% Coverage

BH: Okay. Number three.

Group 1, Participant 3, F: So I think also, if you are specifically talking about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I think the people who constructed it was naïve to think that let's have this real talk show and this was going to be the thing that was going to set us right. You had your chance to say your say and automatically after that everyone just had to forgive and forget and we moved on to the thing. I think that is one of the issues. Mainly the format is what I am thinking about but it should have been an on-going thing. From that time until now to see in benchmarking where are we now. Have we done what we needed to do? In terms of building a relationship, patching up the past in relationship. I mean this has got nothing to do with crime and service delivery and stuff like that. Are we where we need to be? Are we building this rainbow

nation right?

#### References 5-6 - 1.36% Coverage

BH: So do you think Conditional Amnesty was a good thing or a bad thing? You know you came through and you told your story like Wouter Basson and because he co-operated he wasn't put into jail. We go for some different voices now.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think it was a very progressive and humanitarian approach to such a callous crime against humanity because you cannot treat evil with evil because then you are never going to progress as a nation. So by saying or by trying to have this commission and amnesty for people who told the truth so that families who lost loved ones or didn't know how they died or where they were buried, at least those people could get some peace. They could understand what happened at the end of their child, or their brother's or their father's lives. And then they can make peace with that. Maybe there was no peace for the people who felt that they should have been criminally tried and I don't think that giving blanket amnesty 55.00 to everybody was probably the original process behind the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It is kind of how it worked out, but I think that there should have been some accountability for the people who committed atrocities. But it wasn't like well now we are going to take everybody that had done badly in Apartheid and we are going to flog them and we are going to put them in jail and they are going to rot in those terrible conditions because we are not progressing as a country.

#### Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 3.87% Coverage]

##### Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was told that it would seek the truth and to help bring about reconciliation. So with that in mind can you remember it? Do you remember the process? Do you remember what happened? Do you want to share your memories?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: There was no reconciliation.

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 9, M: There was just a whole lot of talking coming out. But I don't see anywhere. They say okay well it is the coming out together rather than go forward. I mean what I can remember there, there was a few families that have got closure and stuff like that. But I don't think everybody got that. And I don't think they will ever get it because I mean the public government really get back a lot of information and some of that stuff went to the grave.

##### Reference 2 - 1.38% Coverage

BH: Why do you think it was important for truth to be established? Because this happened in 1996 and we have already become a Democracy when the Commission started. So why do you feel it was important to establish the truth of what happened?

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I can't remember that much of the Truth and Reconciliation but I think it was good to basically get perspective and also to admit that what they did was wrong. I think the people needed to hear that what we did was wrong. I think it was like he said to bring some form of closure whether it was successful or not I don't know. But I think they needed to get to a point of what we did was wrong and to surface those things that were underlining and I think the people needed to hear it and see that these things that they were fighting for was brought to the surface at the end of the day. I like said I don't know how successful it was. It could have brought some closure to some people and I think there are a lot of things that probably would go to the grave. That I don't think it has come out the way the people wanted it to. And I think that also for some areas brought forgiveness, maybe or a start to a new beginning, but I think there was a lot of things that wasn't dealt with and I think that also still, people will hold on to that.

##### Reference 3 - 1.64% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think for me growing up well we basically grew up in apartheid. I don't even think we knew that. Our parents made that decision. For us who grew up that was life. So that was normal and I think the first election that I could vote was when Nelson Mandela was actually freed. I think it was 1991. Was it the first?

BH: '94

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Yes that was the first election. That was the first year I could vote legally. So we entered into the Democracy. So life before that was normal. That was decisions our parents made to choose. I think the crimes and all that that you are talking about I think it is a minority. The normal average people just lived normally. I think it is the 1.20.00 defence force, looking at the police, we are looking at certain sectors that were committing those crimes. And I think we the normal people we weren't really aware of the extent of the crimes that was taking place on the borders, taking place with the police force. Those are things you kind or hear here and there but it didn't affect us in our communities I think that much growing up. I think you hear the news but that was all covered up. I mean I read a lot of (inaudible) books when I was growing up. I mean a lot of stuff is exposed in those books. You know I was very liberal. Some of us it is in books or things you read about. It is only afterwards when these things came up you really realise to what extent they really mistreated the black people. But I don't think we were kind of aware of that. We grew up normal.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 13 references coded [ 4.56% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: My understanding well I think Desmond Tutu was one of the guys who started it all off. And it was to uncover or to give people an opportunity to admit to certain things and not necessarily to be punished severely. It was bringing things into the open and I think I remember that it was perhaps to clear the air to some extent. To use a horrible cliché but that is what it was. That was how I understood it. Now I have just forgotten what I started out to say.

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I think Alex Borrairie was also part of it?

Group 3, Participant ##: Yes.

Reference 3 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I think it was a necessary thing. And I think it might, I am not sure, because I am not that familiar with...

BH: And your understanding of truth?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: My understanding of truth? Why?

BH: Because it was a Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Group 3, Participant ##: Ja. For, for people to own up I think. In that context truth there to own up and to admit.

Reference 4 - 0.25% Coverage

BH: You wanted to say something seven?

Group 3, Participant 7, F: No I just said I also thought that it was Alex Borrairie who was involved.

BH: And other thoughts around that number seven?

Group 3, Participant 7, F: No

References 5-6 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: Just sort of following on from [Participant 2]. I think for many people it was an opportunity for them have all the horrors that they had endured aired. Because until then people sort of brushed those things under the carpet. As, as we said earlier on many of us were unaware of the horrors and, and I think somehow, maybe I'm hopeful, that people got a bit of dignity from that. Some of the victims or the victim's families got some, some recognition. And I think that was a very important thing.

References 7-8 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: There were some international organisations that actually oversaw the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Yes there were personalities who were local. Men, men who held trust because of their views that they expressed publicly prior to 1990, 1990, and and the unbanning of the ANC.

#### References 9-11 - 1.20% Coverage

Um I believe it was necessary for the very reason that you said number six around this table alone lots of us were not fully aware or aware of what was going on for whatever reason and our truth is our truth. It's our experience and that is our truth but there were other people's truth and we needed to actually become aware of that. And that they, to try and because I worry that you talk about a scab and that is great. That is a very good analogy. But the fact is that wounds can be septic. Um and until they are actually cleaned out they can cause a problem in the future. I think the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in its time did a very good job. But its, look, it's twenty five years on. What has happened in the interim might have soured the legacy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission but at its time, for its time, it was a very good mechanism. In fact it was replicated in Northern Island with the Good Friday agreement. Nelson Mandela was one of the advocates within that process. So as a process its seen as having enormous value.

#### Reference 12 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I don't understand the term fairness. It was truth and reconciliation. By its nature it was not a matter- it wasn't fair. There was not much flow from it. In fact whole the basis of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was that if you came forward and 'fessed up nothing really would happen unless it were a a particular crime um that could have been prosecuted in the normal court. So as far as I am concerned it wasn't a matter of fairness, whether it brought full reconciliation, its, I could feel reconciled, some poor chap couldn't.

#### Reference 13 - 0.35% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: The amnesty part, I think a lot of those people who came forward, there was no, look like what you are saying, but the boys at the top they covered their tracks. There was lots of stuff that happened. There was never anything on paper so there was no evidence. It was little people -

#### Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.38% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes I do. Personally I saw it was a platform for people to vent their personal vendettas and feelings about the apartheid era. And I think that is one of the fundamental problems that we still have in South Africa that everybody is just too entitled to their opinion. We need to all build a bridge and get over it and carry on with a fresh start.

#### Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 13 references coded [ 6.16% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: I thought the TRC, the whole thing was kind of two-fold. There was one ease of transition from apartheid to a democracy and it was, it was, in my opinion in the way of people being able to accept the change without fear of being um, kind of, brought to justice for what they have done. And had it not been in place I feel like there would have been quite a strong backlash. A stronger backlash – obviously there were a few, but a stronger backlash to the um, to the change in the regime. Um. So I feel like that's why it was put in place, it was uh, we don't want a civil war. We don't um everything to kind of explode and there's mass murders and and genocide and so I feel like that's, that's why it was put in place. It doesn't necessarily means that it's, it was correct, it was just; but it was, it was a means of moving forward without having further atrocities.

#### References 2-3 - 1.77% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Um just going off on what eight and two said. I do think ah definitely it had an undertone of self-serving. Um, people were just trying to avoid, like two was saying, avoid, avoid more conflict, and avoid taking accountability ultimately. And I think that that's what the government now still does. Um. And the political systems in general, they try to avoid taking accountability for their actions and and the ways in which it affects people. And I think that, during the time like eight was saying, it served a very important purpose but I really do believe that at the time for a lot of people it probably meant a lot to them because they were coming from a place of being voiceless. Everything they said was discounted. And now they were given an opportunity to to voice their opinions, to voice what had happened to them, to tell their

story. So I think that in that moment it was very important but now we sit all these years 35.00 later and I think that is where the problem comes in, where at that time um, emotions were very high, very angry. Very emotional about the entire situation. And as we know as humans when we're emotional we don't necessarily think of things long term. And I think people now, now that people have been more educated, they start to actually think about what happened um with the TRC and they're like, "woah, wait". We still got the raw end of this deal. Like, nothing actually changed, um. My voice was heard yes, but my voice continues to not be heard as we carry on in the future. So I think at the time it served a very important purpose but I don't think the goals of it were fully actualised. I think they were just kind of, left there and that's, that's it.

#### Reference 4 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think ah that the TRC didn't actually judge the people who perpetuated apartheid. It just got the trigger men. No ministers were prosecuted at all. They just got away scot-free and another thing is, and I think this was the view at the time, is that it was seen as a white witch hunt in that no freedom fighter leaders were prosecuted at all.

#### References 5-6 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Well, odds are, because the NP with the apartheid system they were pretty much following Hitler's Nazis. They would use a lot of spies as well, as we know a lot of spies were used during apartheid. So they would have probably destroyed the evidence or made sure it was hidden so that no one could have held, hold them accountable for what had happened. So they were thinking ahead that if this gets out, and the international communities hear about it then we'll have more problems than just fighting the MK, so for them-

#### References 7-8 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: So you are saying there was no evidence?

Group 5, Participant 2, F: There was evidence but they-

BH: Destroyed?

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Destroyed. Or hidden it.

#### References 9-10 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think there could have been almost a way for them to say "we want to start having peace all around. So the best way to go about this is maybe like beginning with peace and, instead of arresting people and almost making the situation worse. Like I know it was really bad already and people did do things that were wrong. But the prosecutors and that could have looked at the situation as if we erase people it might cause more hatred and violence because that's what they were taught from their grandparents and their parents. So it was almost like that's all they knew.

#### References 11-12 - 0.30% Coverage

BH: So do you think it is fair then to let bygones be bygones?

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I won't say it is necessarily fair but at that time I think that's what the politicians were thinking. If we start off with peace then it will just influence the rest of the period of time to be peaceful.

#### Reference 13 - 1.47% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Umm, I think it's a lot more to do with just the logistics. If you take the '96 example, um, obviously during apartheid, if you look at the from the pro-apartheid side, and I mean there's no, there's no question that I mean, if you were a freedom fighter you were prosecuted for anything the government could get their hands on. I think those were prosecuted. The side that wasn't prosecuted was the pro-apartheid side. And obviously during apartheid years that was not prosecuted. Come to post-apartheid era, um, and you've got a situation where either you were on the the um you were on the freedom fighters side, in which case anything you could have answered you have answered for. If you were on the other side, you're now in a case, in '96, you are talking about a crime that was two years ago that's never been investigated. Um. And I don't think our police force today or then, um, and I am not going to comment on our police force pre- and post-apartheid and all of that. I don't think the police force has the ability to to go back and once, start, open a case in '96 about something that maybe happened in '93 or the 80's and then build up evidence to

make a prosecution. I don't think their ability is there. It's not anyone intended on not prosecuting. 'Cause I think the TRC was quite clear, if you come forward now and you receive amnesty, if it comes out later then you will be prosecuted.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 3.77% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: To be honest there was a few cases going on there. Some of them went to jail. Some of them didn't because they were exempt. So how did they decide that some of the white guys going to prison and the black guys - example Stompie's case? Winnie Mandela, everyone. all of them, they were set free. But we had one guy that was in the police. He was sentenced how long to jail for that. Because of that Truth and, Commission.

Reference 2 - 3.20% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Ferdi Barnard.

BH: Okay Ferdi Barnard, yes

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I know Janusz Walus personally.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant ##: Personally.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And if you sit with people and they tell you their story. And the media and the ANC tell them their story. As she said now, Winnie Mandela and George Bizos and the big boys of the ANC could do whatever they want. Janusz is now fighting to get his release out on parole. He was given parole. They denied it. They pulled it back again. How fair is that? Twenty, twenty-five years later how would he-

BH: So do you think that-

Group 6, Participant 10, M: - impact on our country or on whatever? He wants to be with his wife and his family or whatever.

BH: So do you think that, that

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Eugene de Kock got released.

BH: Alright but I just want to go back to the current one about, because we are talking about Chris Hani's assassination now with Walus. Now that took part after we had handed over power between the old regime and the new regime.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: But it was coming before the new regime.

BH: Yes but I just want to -

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The whole party started before that.

But I want to ask you do you think that that situation should have become part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They didn't want that one.

BH: Do you think it is still part of the war?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do. I do.

BH: Okay so tell me why.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Because just, they just started, to be honest, the ANC just started taking over. So they decided, you did this in the past, we going to do this now. And then they started - they can do anything they want to.

BH: So do you think that Walus, that what happened to Chris Hani and Walus should have been part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do.

BH: And in which way would that have helped the Truth or Reconciliation?

Group 6, Participant ##: Well if they'd handled everything the same way. If they handled every case the same way I think he would have already started saying now you are against the whites. You are starting to be against the whites. To be honest.

BH: Okay and what do you think because you said you knew them personally.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think if they put Eugene de Kock, Ferdi, Janusz Walus, all of them, at the Truth, and they say -

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.96% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.09% Coverage

DL: Fine, the next topic we have is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I think you will remember, it was established in 1996, about two years after the election of 1994 and if I remember correctly, Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu was the chairman. A lot of people worked there and so now the question is: who was behind the establishing of the TRC and what were the intentions of the people with the TRC? Let's talk about that for a while. Do you have any opinion about that? About the establishing of the TRC, what was its purpose and what did we want to achieve by means of the TRC?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They wanted to achieve reconciliation, but to me it was a huge joke, because when the people sat down they really exaggerated things so much, and what came out wasn't even the truth. To me it was a farce, from the beginning.

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I agree with the lady. The truth definitely did not come out. The real truth never came out.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But the real truth is also not coming out these days. I can use Etzebeth as an example. He now has to be sent back for something he might never even have done.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Exactly.

Reference 3 - 0.87% Coverage

DL: Yes. Good the following question says - the disintegration of human rights, did it not really originate due to the Nationalist Party's war with the ANC, and did the disintegration of human rights come from one side only, or from both sides? If you think about it, while it was actually a war between the NP and the ANC, those of you who were in the defence force will know that there were crimes committed on both sides, and human rights wrongly abused as a result. Then the question is: Would it not have been better for both sides to forgive and forget?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes, I think so, but it's not that easy only if you applied it.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes. Would they have done it?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The Bible teaches us to forgive and forget but in practice it does not happen. "I've

got this against you and I will keep it against you as long as I live". That's our big mistake. That's where we are. There we fail.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 2.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.18% Coverage

DL: It's easy to point a finger as if it was only us that did it but have a look at the Niggers in America, the Aborigines in Australia and see how they were treated. Let's have a look at our 3rd subject – The TRC, Truth and Reconciliation Commission – since 1996

25:00

Democracy came in 1994, two years later you were probably born, and not sure how old you were at that stage. The TRC was brought in to investigate injustices of the past and to try to give people closure i.e., my parents were murdered but I never knew who did it, with the idea that the person who did it would approach the TRC and come forward with the truth and through it you could get closure and he could be forgiven for what he had done. In 1996, what was the intention, it was to reconcile – what was the goal of the TRC and what did they achieve?

Group 8, Participant 2, F: The goal was as I understand was to set things right, the injustices of the past amongst certain groups/races.

Reference 2 - 0.63% Coverage

DL: Do you think it worked? Was there reconciliation?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: After apartheid everyone was so cross with each other, they probably tried to make us equal as a nation so that we could live together so that there would not be the feelings of hate but I don't think it worked well. If they don't have work or money, it is blamed on apartheid, the TRC should have stopped it and it failed.

Group 8, Participant ##, M: If there are no dams built then it is apartheid's fault (laughter) inaudible.

Reference 3 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I feel, it's a metaphor, (in audible) I don't know how many of you have ever done babysitting, but I've done it often. It's like a child that starts screaming about something that is not really that bad and you say to him/her you have reason to cry about it, the child will not immediately understand that the person is trying to help him even though he has reason to cry, they basically gave people who wanted to freak out back up by saying it is right, you must be upset, you have a reason to be upset.



## GRANTING OF AMNESTY THROUGH THE TRC

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.36% Coverage

BH: So do you think Conditional Amnesty was a good thing or a bad thing? You know you came through and you told your story like Wouter Basson and because he co-operated he wasn't put into jail. We go for some different voices now.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think it was a very progressive and humanitarian approach to such a callous crime against humanity because you cannot treat evil with evil because then you are never going to progress as a nation. So by saying or by trying to have this commission and amnesty for people who told the truth so that families who lost loved ones or didn't know how they died or where they were buried, at least those people could get some peace. They could understand what happened at the end of their child, or their brother's or their father's lives. And then they can make peace with that. Maybe there was no peace for the people who felt that they should have been criminally tried and I don't think that giving blanket amnesty to everybody was probably the original process behind the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It is kind of how it worked out, but I think that there should have been some accountability for the people who committed atrocities. But it wasn't like well now we are going to take everybody that had done badly in Apartheid and we are going to flog them and we are going to put them in jail and they are going to rot in those terrible conditions because we are not progressing as a country.

Reference 2 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, F: Can I come into that?

BH: Yes

Group 1, Participant 2, F: I think they should have because it would be justice in some sense. Once again by not doing that you set the tone there is no accountability for crime. And that is exactly where we are right now in terms of, if somebody gets raped, somebody gets killed. It's a thousand rand fine. They don't know even serve jail time. So if we wanted to correct it, they needed to pay for their crime and there should have been some kind of justice.

Reference 3 - 0.48% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: At the end of the day those people still as a human know the difference between right and wrong. They should have disagreed from the get go and not gone along with everything. These men not going to jail is not holding them accountable for anything. I still feel like those families who was affected most people needs some kind of accountability. They need to be held for their actions. Those families are forever affected by what was done to them. You can't just like forgive and forget.

Reference 4 - 0.22% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I think that amnesty was the only way to go because otherwise 90% of the white people in this country will be behind bars. Because the old age of great evil is committed when good people do nothing is the issue.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 2.16% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Okay. When you have done something wrong and you trade that information so that you don't go to jail. Is that a fair process?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: It depends how serious the crime was. If we are talking about petty crime, yes, then I would say no. but if we are talking about a serious crime then I would say yes. How can I commit a serious crime and still ask the judge to forgiveness? Because once he does that he is going to fail the community and give me the benefit. And I don't think I deserve that benefit to walk out a free man. No.

BH: Okay. Other ideas. You wanted to express and an idea?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: I just think a crime is a crime. It doesn't matter how small or how big. But to give you amnesty because you are giving information. Say for instance you killed someone

Reference 2 - 1.31% Coverage

BH: Okay so this was about the atrocities that happened? Before we became a Democracy. Okay? So there were quite a few people who came forward or were made to come forward to testify. Wouter Basson was one of them. Dr. Death was caught and he came forward and said the things a lot of people didn't know about and the person from Vlakplaas which was where the other atrocities were committed. So I am saying do you think that was a good thing to get the truth out was to trade your freedom.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: Can I ask you something? If they basically had to say "I have basically killed so many people and this is what we did" and I come forward and now after that they basically forgive me, are you a free person? That is what I say is they knew about me and I did all these things. And if I don't appear before the commission will they not take me afterwards to court and then to be sentenced? You know what I am saying? So if I don't appear for everybody in South Africa, for everybody to see then I won't be forgiven. But if I don't, if I decide, I say no I am not going to do that they can take me to court and I can be sentenced as a criminal afterwards. Is that how it works?

BH: Yes

Group 2, Participant 4, F: That is quite disturbing

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 4.73% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.76% Coverage

BH: Do you think it was a fair process giving conditional amnesty?

Group 3, Participant ##: No.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: The purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was not necessarily to give those people who fessed up amnesty. That was a by-product of it. It was to actually say to people these were the crimes that were committed 50.00 and these were the people that were responsible for the crimes we have heard about in the Truth and Reconciliation. It was not, that, we weren't sort of thinking that, I certainly didn't think it was anything different from that. I don't know. I didn't expect it to be anything other than what it was.

Reference 3 - 1.41% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: I noticed it, yeah! I, ah. Amnesty is one thing. Amnesty from the law, you know I was caught with my finger in the cookie jar so I must get wrapped on the knuckles for that, but these guys had to go to bed at night. And I don't think amnesty would have proved anything. They might have stayed out of jail but I think, I read a little headline of Mugabe died a tormented man, so he should have, but um I think when a person is capable of doing the stuff that you have been talking about here, how do you sleep at night? And then taking the other side of that question, if they were not to give him amnesty and he decided to become vindictive, what are his capabilities? What is his potential? So I don't know that amnesty was such a clever thing. I think a person should pay for their crimes.

BH: Other thoughts? Number five.

Group 3, Participant 5, F: I just, I just find it amazing when people who are like mega guilty want to draw a line in the sand and say let bygones be bygones. Well what about the families who want a little bit more information? They want closure. So, I I just don't think it is fair that you can just say straight line. I think if you have done the atrocity you must pay for your crime. End of story.

Reference 4 - 0.91% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: What happens if it is a war?

Group 3, Participant ##: What about the Nazi war criminals?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Unfortunately, I go in my mind, it is a war. If you look at it, since the second world war and the matter of decisions made in a war environment that we've now moved as an internationally to, you, you shouldn't, it's no excuse that you were following an immoral order from above. That that that's, but that's also also as we've said with all those other different regimes around the world that pre-dated apartheid, we've moved on. We are now looking at it whatever number of years on. Um. That we are following orders against our own personal conscience is no longer an excuse under the Geneva Conventions. So yeah, um. But it's, hindsight's great.

References 5-6 - 1.42% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: So for the upcoming prosecutions, much of these, if we're conflating these with the with the with the the the Timol case which [participant] nine brought up, um and we say what happened to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, if there's a connection there. The fact is one of the parameters of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was if you 'fess up now you will not be prosecuted afterwards. The boytjie (young man) who pushed Timol out of the window could have could have gone to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. If we find that he didn't, because there is no that certainly would have gained some publicity at the time, so I believe it must've, that didn't occur. Well then he must face the consequences. That's it. Somebody was murdered. That's the fact. We can't say oh dear because we are all collectively guilty in some way for apartheid. Whether we did enough or we actively pursued it is immaterial now. We were all there, I mean, we share an element of collective guilt to whatever degree. And we don't like the idea but the fact is if somebody else murdered somebody twenty five years ago we would certainly want them to be brought to book. There is no expiry on murder.

Reference 7 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I just wanted to say yes, I think they should be punished. That they shouldn't get amnesty. Because they can't just say but my boss told me to push him out the window. Or whatever.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.54% Coverage

BH: Okay do any of you see it that the whites that applied for amnesty, what do you think? Were they top brass or were they foot soldiers?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I think they are foot soldiers.

BH: Okay so tell me why you say that number eight?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I knew a guy that was in the army and he used to say that they would be driving around in a truck and on the side of the road pull over just see something then they would just climb off and then beat them up. And then just climb back on the van and they're gone.

Reference 2 - 0.49% Coverage

BH: Okay so why do you think the top brass kept quiet and didn't ask for amnesty?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: They were the ones in power. They were telling them what to do so they knew they are the ones that is giving the instructions to the people that have to obey- abide by that law, ja, obey.

BH: So do you think the politicians under the authoritarian regime, do you think they knew what acts were being committed in their name?

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes (many agree)

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 2.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: It was unfair to a large extent because the victims of families, or the victims, had to open up themselves and open those wounds to the rest of the world while the man or woman who committed the atrocities, and, not all of them were seeking actual redemption, they got away with horrific things such as rape, murder, torture, just by saying I did it and I'm sorry. So it was not a fair trade off because the victims, the victims or the families of the victims, will not get full closure by just saying I forgive you.

Reference 2 - 1.47% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Umm, I think it's a lot more to do with just the logistics. If you take the '96 example, um, obviously during apartheid, if you look at the from the pro-apartheid side, and I mean there's no, there's no question that I mean, if you were a freedom fighter you were prosecuted for anything the government could get their hands on. I think those were prosecuted. The side that wasn't prosecuted was the pro-apartheid side. And obviously during apartheid years that was not prosecuted. Come to post-apartheid era, um, and you've got a situation where either you were on the the um you were on the freedom fighters side, in which case anything you could have answered you have answered for. If you were on the other side, you're now in a case, in '96, you are talking about a crime that was two years ago that's never been investigated. Um. And I don't think our police force today or then, um, and I am not going to comment on our police force pre- and post-apartheid and all of that. I don't think the police force has the ability to to go back and once, start, open a case in '96 about something that maybe happened in '93 or the 80's and then build up evidence to make a prosecution. I don't think their ability is there. It's not anyone intended on not prosecuting. 'Cause I think the TRC was quite clear, if you come forward now and you receive amnesty, if it comes out later then you will be prosecuted.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.23% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And if you sit with people and they tell you their story. And the media and the ANC tell them their story. As she said now, Winnie Mandela and George Bizos and the big boys of the ANC could do whatever they want. Janusz is now fighting to get his release out on parole. He was given parole. They denied it. They pulled it back again. How fair is that? Twenty, twenty-five years later how would he-

Reference 2 - 0.68% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I rest my case.

And your case being? Just spell it out for me number ten.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They can't take the flak and go and apply for amnesty because if they apply for amnesty, Pik Botha come here, PW Botha come here and talk about them. Tell them all the bull that we have to go and do. On their orders. And it's coming from there (gestures high up) right to where they polish your shoes. None of us say anything. That is why six and a half to five hundred should tell a story on its own.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.50% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.92% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No, because they did not know their facts, they called the people in.

DL: Pardon, When you say they called the people in I take it you refer to the ANC?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: The ANC. The ANC did not get or know their facts. They relied on what people came to confess so that they could bring their diary up to date.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes but it's like that with everything they do.

DL: So would you say that both sides of the matter was not really heard?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No. And they just decided that if they don't like you, you don't get amnesty.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes then you're out. Take the man who murdered Chris Hani, Janusz Walus. Look they refuse to give him amnesty. He sits and sits, all talking. And he will never get.

DL: So you feel it was unjust in that sense.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: From newspaper reports regarding this matter one gets the impression of bias and that the lists of the amnesty was not focused on as such.

Reference 3 - 0.58% Coverage

DL: Good then the next question is which Whites applied for amnesty, we spoke about that just now, was it the top brass or the foot soldiers, was it the ones in control the ministers, the generals, those persons or was it mainly the foot soldiers who applied for amnesty?

Group 7, Participant ##, : It was the top brass. It was the big shots who applied for amnesty they were the big shots. They were guilty.

DL: Listen carefully now did they apply for amnesty or not or was it just the ones who got hit, was it just the usual foot soldiers or was it,

Group 7, Participant ##, : No it was the big shots who applied for amnesty.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 2.74% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.74% Coverage

DL: The 4th topic. I touches on unconditional amnesty, when you go from a single party state as was under the National Party to a democracy where a number of parties are involved is not easy. Some of the problems are that people who abused others human rights now needed to come forward and confess at the TRC...But I would not openly confess if I knew that I would go to jail or confess in public, so they then said we would give you unconditional amnesty if your told the full truth you would not be prosecuted, if you only tell half a truth, then that amnesty would not count. Now the question is what is the chance in South Africa that you would receive unconditional amnesty and that you would not be prosecuted if you confessed. Did all those who committed atrocities go and confess?

Group 8, Participant ##: No.

DL: What do you say number 11?

Group 8, Participant 11, M: No I don't think so.

DL: Number 8?

Group 8, Participant 8, M: I would also say that many doubted, many of the biggest trespassers did not go and confess because they doubted whether they would be pardoned for the atrocities they committed.

40:00

Group 8, Participant ##: They protected many, many like families etc.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I don't think that there was any chance of everyone going forward to confess, I use myself as an example, I committed a murder and now I confess the whole story and they say, no fine, you can go, every one now knows who you are.

Group 8, Participant ##: They will take revenge.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: What stops them, if nobody knew it was me, why must I go and confess.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Never mind that, my logic says that with any crime, what type of reward is there if you want me to come forward you need to offer me money, amnesty alone does not mean anything to me and even if you get the amnesty, so what, now everybody knows what you have done.

DL: For some people it is about the conscience.

Group 8, Participant 4, f: I get that but I don't think that a criminal has much of a conscience.

Group 8, Participant ##: No.

Group 8, Participant 9, f: If you go forward, how do they know that you told the full truth, they turn around

and say it is not the full story (all talk together)

## MEMORIES AND FEELINGS – OPINIONS ABOUT THE TRC

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 6.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.79% Coverage

BH: Okay now I am going to ask of you whether any of you remember why the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established. And can you remember what form it took and what processes was followed?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I was there I think so.

BH: You were there?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Yes I was there. At the old Hewitt Training College. There was a lot of crying. A lot of Kleenex. The word on the street in the area was Kleenex should actually come here and make an ad. But nothing really came of it. Like I said earlier on Wouter Basson got employment from the ANC afterwards Dr. Death. Nothing was done. Now you ask yourself, so somebody did something wrong. Is putting them in prison or is bringing them to book going to make it right? The question is is not doing anything about it but you came to right process in the right direction.

Reference 2 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Okay anybody else remember? Number six.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I remember everyday coming from school listening to it on the radio. Lots of snot en tranne (mucus and tears), but it brought a lot of healing. People got to give a voice to their pain and their atrocities. They didn't want something to be done about it they just wanted the truth to be told. A lot of people got a chance for their voice to be heard. Got a chance to face that person and to find healing. And for the people that didn't know to know. I think it was very good in opening up their eyes of the people around them and for bringing a lot of healing. And for people who felt, to be able to identify, because, and say yes I was also in that situation. 45.00 I think it brought a little tenderness. We might have looked at say different race in one way and we now can sympathise that actually their pain is different maybe to ours but just as real.

Reference 3 - 0.16% Coverage

BH: Remember number eight I need to hear your voice.

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Not to this question because I have no idea. I don't know anything about that. (inaudible)

References 4-5 - 0.88% Coverage

BH: And reconciliation? Some more thoughts on reconciliation?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Reconciliation I, overall its bad for me, especially with his topic. Because um I think a lot of people want to say they sorry, want to have peace between two groups but they don't really mean it. And then when you hear these stories, like okay I was way too young for TRC. Um the first real drama story apparently on the radio and what I believe and what I heard, you know these stories and people coming together and fixing the past. With reconciliation, I think there is a lot of people who are actually masking, ah, I don't know how to describe it, masking by saying they are sorry and getting people's acceptance. And uh, being, trying to fix the future but actually just still masking and still living in the past and still doing the bad things that they are not supposed to be doing and asking for forgiveness. I don't think it is really the right way.

Reference 6 - 0.83% Coverage

BH: Okay. Number three.

Group 1, Participant 3, F: So I think also, if you are specifically talking about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I think the people who constructed it was naïve to think that let's have this real talk show and this was going to be the thing that was going to set us right. You had your chance to say your say and automatically after that everyone just had to forgive and forget and we moved on to the thing. I think that is one of the issues. Mainly the format is what I am thinking about but it should have been an on-going thing.

From that time until now to see in benchmarking where are we now. Have we done what we needed to do? In terms of building a relationship, patching up the past in relationship. I mean this has got nothing to do with crime and service delivery and stuff like that. Are we where we need to be? Are we building this rainbow nation right?

#### Reference 7 - 1.33% Coverage

BH: But now I want you to hold that thought because I am now looking at you for my next intro which was by 1996 when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established South Africa had already become a Democracy and white minority rule had been defeated. Was it really necessary to dig up the past to build a better future?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

BH: Tell me why

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think like they said in the previous one, it was necessary because like I said there were a lot of white South Africans who lived under a rock. We had no idea of what exactly Apartheid meant because we lived in a very sheltered life. So we needed to actually understand why there was this anger coming out of Apartheid. I will use a scenario of saying; "you cannot rape me today and then I am able to tell my story tomorrow. On day three I am okay. I must forget about what you did to me. And I smile and pretend like nothing has happened. That is exactly what happened. We have raped a nation and had this little Truth and Reconciliation Commission and then expected everyone was going to be "kumbaya" and holding hands the next day and forever amen. And that was the problem. We had so many things yes ... in 199, we had made these beautiful laws but nothing was monitored. Nothing was followed up. There was no implementation, so it needed to be done so that it can expose the truth but exposing the truth is not enough to build a relationship.

#### Reference 8 - 1.36% Coverage

BH: So do you think Conditional Amnesty was a good thing or a bad thing? You know you came through and you told your story like Wouter Basson and because he co-operated he wasn't put into jail. We go for some different voices now.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think it was a very progressive and humanitarian approach to such a callous crime against humanity because you cannot treat evil with evil because then you are never going to progress as a nation. So by saying or by trying to have this commission and amnesty for people who told the truth so that families who lost loved ones or didn't know how they died or where they were buried, at least those people could get some peace. They could understand what happened at the end of their child, or their brother's or their father's lives. And then they can make peace with that. Maybe there was no peace for the people who felt that they should been criminally tried and I don't think that giving blanket amnesty 55.00 to everybody was probably the original process behind the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It is kind of how it worked out, but I think that there should have been some accountability for the people who committed atrocities. But it wasn't like well now we are going to take everybody that had done badly in Apartheid and we are going to flog them and we are going to put them in jail and they are going to rot in those terrible conditions because we are not progressing as a country.

#### Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 2.23% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 1.38% Coverage

BH: Why do you think it was important for truth to be established? Because this happened in 1996 and we have already become a Democracy when the Commission started. So why do you feel it was important to establish the truth of what happened?

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I can't remember that much of the Truth and Reconciliation but I think it was good to basically get perspective and also to admit that what they did was wrong. I think the people needed to hear that what we did was wrong. I think it was like he said to bring some form of closure whether it was successful or not I don't know. But I think they needed to get to a point of what we did was wrong and to surface those things that were underlining and I think the people needed to hear it and see that these things that they were fighting for was brought to the surface at the end of the day. I like said I don't know how



successful it was. It could have brought some closure to some people and I think there are a lot of things that probably would go to the grave. That I don't think it has come out the way the people wanted it to. And I think that also for some areas brought forgiveness, maybe or a start to a new beginning, but I think there was a lot of things that wasn't dealt with and I think that also still, people will hold on to that.

#### Reference 3 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: It is a difficult, it must have been a difficult decision to make. To decide whether that person that especially has caused atrocious crimes from murder to heaven has decide whether they should go fear not where there is people in prison that has done the same crime and they are still serving a sentence. During the war people were tried that were found guilty and that has served sentences as well. So should they have gone free? I don't think so. I think they should have rather, if the crimes were as severe as that they should have tried in court or find the evidence, surely there was enough evidence around, and tried the person 1.10.00 and let justice prevail. That being said, I was very young when that happened so I can't really remember too much of it.

#### Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 3.73% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I think it was a necessary thing. And I think it might, I am not sure, because I am not that familiar with...

#### References 2-3 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: You know I just think the intention of it was good because I do think confessing for those people who maybe were beginning to feel some remorse. I think that is good. But I don't know. When you have a scab and you open up it is jolly sore and does it really serve a purpose? Or does it make it even more uncomfortable and sore and start people thinking all over again about that? I tend to think drawing a line under it is partly a good thing but confessing, really? So I feel a bit ambivalent about it. I think it was good in some areas but I just think bringing it all out again is is just stirring up the pot somehow. I don't know.

#### Reference 4 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: Just sort of following on from [Participant 2]. I think for many people it was an opportunity for them have all the horrors that they had endured aired. Because until then people sort of brushed those things under the carpet. As, as we said earlier on many of us were unaware of the horrors and, and I think somehow, maybe I'm hopeful, that people got a bit of dignity from that. Some of the victims or the victim's families got some, some recognition. And I think that was a very important thing.

#### References 5-6 - 1.20% Coverage

Um I believe it was necessary for the very reason that you said number six around this table alone lots of us were not fully aware or aware of what was going on for whatever reason and our truth is our truth. It's our experience and that is our truth but there were other people's truth and we needed to actually become aware of that. And that they, to try and because I worry that you talk about a scab and that is great. That is a very good analogy. But the fact is that wounds can be septic. Um and until they are actually cleaned out they can cause a problem in the future. I think the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in its time did a very good job. But its, look, it's twenty five years on. What has happened in the interim might have soured the legacy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission but at its time, for its time, it was a very good mechanism. In fact it was replicated in Northern Island with the Good Friday agreement. Nelson Mandela was one of the advocates within that process. So as a process its seen as having enormous value.

#### Reference 7 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I don't know. Um. Just to go back, I think for the time it was a very good instrument and it needed to be done to bring people together. Um. I don't think lessons were learnt because if you look what is happening today twenty five years later corruption is worse as it's ever been. Um. Lawlessness is becoming the in thing. Um. So when it comes to truth, 40.00 truth is relative.

#### References 8-9 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: But that's exactly what I feel. I do think it was a little bit airy fairy and I think the people who do want reconciliation and truth, for them it was a useful tool. But by nature we are, we are awful beings and you cannot tell me that a 100% of South African people want reconciliation because they don't. So I think what's good for the people who want reconciliation and truth but what about all the people that don't

want it and are stirring up dissent all the time?

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.06% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.68% Coverage

BH: Do any of you remember the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? What do you remember about it?

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I do remember a whole lot of interviews on TV. And a lot of the findings. The other thing I remember was, although it was all mentioned it was just, nothing really occurred after it. There was no real vindication that really came on it was just "yes we did this" and they note it down. But I don't recall ever seeing the final results from it.

BH: Okay other people's views. Number three?

Group 4, Participant 3: No.

BH: Number four do you remember the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 4, Participant 4, M: No I don't

Reference 2 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes I do. Personally I saw it was a platform for people to vent their personal vendettas and feelings about the apartheid era. And I think that is one of the fundamental problems that we still have in South Africa that everybody is just too entitled to their opinion. We need to all build a bridge and get over it and carry on with a fresh start.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 5.28% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.79% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: More than that, I get, so one, one of the things that I hear about fairly often and what upsets me about apartheid and how it ended, talking about moving into democracy, is the idea of the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation.

BH: I am going to get to that just after this one but carry on with your thought.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: My issue with the TRC is if we look at (inaudible) both sides admitted to things they had done that were bad, essentially it let off a lot of white South Africans off the hook. On things that they have done and gotten away with. And it upsets me because I, I do feel like my grandmother's generation, if I looked at it, was the height of apartheid and they're the generation that had left school, had jobs that was easy to find because of the colour of their skin. They ah had a better standard of living because of the colour of their skin. They're the generation that enforced and upheld apartheid and they sent my father's generation to war over apartheid and to enforce apartheid. And they have a lot to answer for and I feel like the TRC was a great way for them to get out and saying, well we're all sorry, we're all friends now and forget about it. And what they've done there is that they've left their grandchildren to pay the bill. Um. The reason in my mind why we still have a lot of problems when you look at um, like the anger today and the the fact that South Africa is in the place it is today, I think a lot of where we are now and the problems we're trying to solve would have been solved if they'd owned up and said, these were our actions and we need to answer for them. And I think it's cowardice, um, I think that that generation should've answered for what they've done. (-1:25:42)

Reference 3 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I think it's easy to say that with hindsight but, but in the climate back then, I think what they did was correct. Um. Because ja, they let people off the hook. They were trying to promote amnesty rather than um bringing up all the issues and it made for a smoother and quicker transition. Which may have been a better choice economically, I can't say, um. Yeah, I'm not openly disagreeing; I'm just saying, it's another consideration that, yeah.

Reference 4 - 1.77% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Um just going off on what eight and two said. I do think ah definitely it had an undertone of self-serving. Um, people were just trying to avoid, like two was saying, avoid, avoid more

conflict, and avoid taking accountability ultimately. And I think that that's what the government now still does. Um. And the political systems in general, they try to avoid taking accountability for their actions and the ways in which it affects people. And I think that, during the time like eight was saying, it served a very important purpose but I really do believe that at the time for a lot of people it probably meant a lot to them because they were coming from a place of being voiceless. Everything they said was discounted. And now they were given an opportunity to voice their opinions, to voice what had happened to them, to tell their story. So I think that in that moment it was very important but now we sit all these years 35.00 later and I think that is where the problem comes in, where at that time um, emotions were very high, very angry. Very emotional about the entire situation. And as we know as humans when we're emotional we don't necessarily think of things long term. And I think people now, now that people have been more educated, they start to actually think about what happened um with the TRC and they're like, "woah, wait". We still got the raw end of this deal. Like, nothing actually changed, um. My voice was heard yes, but my voice continues to not be heard as we carry on in the future. So I think at the time it served a very important purpose but I don't think the goals of it were fully actualised. I think they were just kind of, left there and that's, that's it.

#### Reference 5 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: I also believe that there's a lot of untold stories, um. I'm sure people went to the grave with some secrets um that sort of happened in those prisons and concentration camps and whatever. And then the families didn't get closure. They didn't really get anything from the TRC then. Yeah, and again, they're probably only just realising it now, you know, other, younger generations are going "now what about us?".

#### Reference 6 - 0.78% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think ah that the TRC didn't actually judge the people who perpetuated apartheid. It just got the trigger men. No ministers were prosecuted at all. They just got away scot-free and another thing is, and I think this was the view at the time, is that it was seen as a white witch hunt in that no freedom fighter leaders were prosecuted at all. Even though gang rape was considered a punishment in (inaudible) for example, and for members in the ANC, if you were a woman and you misbehaved, gang rape is a thing that could happen to you. And we're still seeing that today. Gender-based violence is still a problem in our country and because these people hadn't had to take account for it, it's still gonna be seen as a minimal issue.

#### Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.80% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.82% Coverage

BH: Okay, alright, so now we had the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Do you remember why it was established and what form it took?

Group 6, Participant ##: No

BH: Do any of you remember the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? That happened just after the elections. We had the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and it was established to help people who had injustices against them discover and tell the truth and find out what actually happened to the people that had gone missing or the things that had been done because we needed to be reconciled. Do you remember it now?

Group 6, Participant ##, M: Vaguely.

#### Reference 2 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And if you sit with people and they tell you their story. And the media and the ANC tell them their story. As she said now, Winnie Mandela and George Bizos and the big boys of the ANC could do whatever they want. Janusz is now fighting to get his release out on parole. He was given parole. They denied it. They pulled it back again. How fair is that? Twenty, twenty-five years later how would he-

#### Reference 3 - 0.44% Coverage

BH: Okay and the views about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? 35.00 Okay, so do you think it is necessary to dig up the past to build a better future?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The ANC did that. And that is why the country is where it is today. Leave the past in the past. Cut the ties and stop it. Forgive and forget and carry on

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 2.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.87% Coverage

DL: Yes. Good the following question says - the disintegration of human rights, did it not really originate due to the Nationalist Party's war with the ANC, and did the disintegration of human rights come from one side only, or from both sides? If you think about it, while it was actually a war between the NP and the ANC, those of you who were in the defence force will know that there were crimes committed on both sides, and human rights wrongly abused as a result. Then the question is: Would it not have been better for both sides to forgive and forget?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes, I think so, but it's not that easy only if you applied it.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes. Would they have done it?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The Bible teaches us to forgive and forget but in practice it does not happen. "I've got this against you and I will keep it against you as long as I live". That's our big mistake. That's where we are. There we fail.

Reference 2 - 0.29% Coverage

DL: Good if we say it was the NP and the ANC, do you feel both were equally guilty, or was one more guilty or less guilty. What is your view?

(Everyone talking together. They were all guilty)

Group 7, Participant 3, F: But the ANC, look how they killed our young men on the border. Terrorists. They were terrorists then.

References 3-6 - 0.74% Coverage

DL: Good, then another question: Do you think the TRC was really necessary to build a better future?

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I think it was just a farce.

Group 7, Participant ##: It led to nothing.

Group 7, Participant ##:: Just a waste of money.

Group 7, Participant ##:: They were just looking for an excuse to (inaudible).

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Just to show people overseas how they mourn and cry because they were hurt so badly but we whites did not hurt. Our forefathers (never?) experienced hardships.

DL: Good, number nine what would you say?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I agree with her.

DL: So you feel nothing was really achieved.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes, they achieved nothing.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Maybe they meant well initially, but things did not work out.

Reference 7 - 0.44% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Definitely not. I think it was very one-sided. Very one-sided, excuse me for interrupting, why did they not take the Whites who suffered during that time when the flippen English came and murdered us like that, and apartheid, you can say they brought apartheid, really I feel very bitter towards those flippen English, then they still came to visit their brothers, but they never went to the concentration camps to see who they murdered.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.15% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I feel, it's a metaphor, (in audible) I don't know how many of you have ever done babysitting, but I've done it often. It's like a child that starts screaming about something that is not really that bad and you say to him/her you have reason to cry about it, the child will not immediately understand that the person is trying to help him even though he has reason to cry, they basically gave people who wanted to freak out back up by saying it is right, you must be upset, you have a reason to be upset.

Reference 2 - 0.50% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: In what year was the TRC?

DL: 1996.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I know that round about 1994 that time, 96, 98, the country (in audible) scared. I remember my grandmother, I must have been about 4 or 5, and children could not play in the streets anymore because they were scared, why would you expose your family? It sounds like it was a way to provoke the whites, like a trap.

## PARTICIPATION IN THE TRC

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 1.57% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.33% Coverage

BH: Okay number eight then I will come to you, number three.

Group 1, Participant 8, F: For a lot of people it is a way to make themselves feel better for not fighting or doing anything about it. So it's not necessarily all positive. Some people obviously um, they just did it for themselves so that they can feel better for what they have gone along with.

Reference 2 - 0.40% Coverage

BH: Okay I am going to ask you a question here. I be fascinated with you know the answers. How many people do you think applied for amnesty from the Anti-Apartheid forces?

Group 1, Participant ##: Can't imagine many.

BH: Six thousand five hundred (6 500). And how many people from members of the Apartheid Security Forces applied for amnesty?

Group 1, Participant ##: Probably five hundred (500) (all talking and nodding)

Reference 3 - 0.20% Coverage

BH: Five hundred and eighty (580). Okay so now, thinking in terms of that, what was supplied for amnesty? Do any of you know? And where they top-brass or were they foot soldiers?

Group 1, Participant ##: Foot soldiers

References 4-5 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: Okay. Why do you think so few whites applied for amnesty?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think they genuinely believe that they didn't do anything wrong. Especially the top-brass. The guys who implemented and carried out Apartheid obviously believe deep down that they were superior beings and that these other people didn't deserve the same opportunities that they had. And they genuinely did not think that they had done anything wrong. They were indoctrinated. Very similar to how the Nazis, you know when they rose to power. If you are genuinely are indoctrinated from a young age that you are better then you don't necessarily argue that, so I am not surprise by this at all.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 3.60% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.48% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I don't think even the half of it came out, out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I mean we were at war. I was part of it. Whether for the right reason or not, I was part of it. And the atrocities I witnessed myself personally was horrific and some of the commands that came down from those people that gave those commands were never ever brought to book. Never ever brought to book.

References 3-4 - 0.46% Coverage

think it was just a select few names that were at the top of the the tree that came out and these were the guys that were were were hounded and prosecuted, or had to-

BH: So do you think there is more and they were the scapegoats?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I think a lot of it was scapegoats they used yes. And there is a lot of guys that actually, the chain of command that were never ever brought to book.

References 5-6 - 0.35% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: The amnesty part, I think a lot of those people who came forward, there was no, look like what you are saying, but the boys at the top they covered their tracks. There was lots of stuff that happened. There was never anything on paper so there was no evidence. It was little people -

#### References 7-8 - 0.63% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: Absolutely. So we had all kinds of - but I think a lot of people that would be fall guys, they weren't put up as as as scapegoats. They realised that one they couldn't leave. Two they have didn't have money to go anywhere and do anything about trying to change their lives. They weren't going to go to Paraguay like a lot of Nazis did after the war. So I mean, the fact is, they stayed. Well they thought if I am going to stay I don't want to be prosecuted so I better 'fess up and come to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

#### Reference 9 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: But that is my point. Why did they go to the Truth and Reconciliation?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Because they were going to be prosecuted.

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Yes. So they didn't go for the real reason.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Well we don't know. I'm not gonna say that I - I'm not against conscience -

#### References 10-11 - 1.04% Coverage

BH: So now I am going to come in here and say; how many people, I didn't know this so, some of you might be up to date on this, how many people do you think applied for amnesty from the anti-apartheid forces and how many do you think applied for amnesty from the security forces?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I would guess a lot more from the security forces.

BH: Okay.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: Because they had more to lose if they weren't given amnesty

BH: Other thoughts?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I heard what you said. I guess it is going to be the opposite of what we think.

BH: Yes there was 6 500 people applied for amnesty from anti-apartheid forces. And a large majority of that were actually minor offences. And 580 from members of the security forces and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission conditional amnesty.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: And to think that 50% didn't even come forward

#### Reference 12 - 0.25% Coverage

BH: And you answered after the other one. Where was it top-brass or foot soldiers? The majority were foot soldiers.

Group 3, Participant ##: The foot soldiers had to carry out the commands from the top and that was it

#### Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 3.01% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.77% Coverage

BH: How many people from the anti-apartheid forces and how many people from the security forces?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Security I think would have obviously been a lot more because they had the power to make the decisions and to change just like corruption. I would imagine. So I would imagine that the security forces would have been higher.

BH: Okay other thoughts?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I also think that the security forces were probably a little higher than the people applying for amnesty because they knew what they did.

BH: Others

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I also think (inaudible) mainly because the laws had shifted. What was previously not a crime had now become a crime. And could be applied retrospectively.

Reference 2 - 0.36% Coverage

BH: Okay any other thoughts? No? Well I will tell you 6 500 people from the anti-apartheid forces applied for amnesty and the large majority of these were actually for minor offences. And 580 from the security forces applied for that. 45.00 So why do you think that was?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Because you just kept quiet. That is the best.

Reference 3 - 0.54% Coverage

BH: Okay do any of you see it that the whites that applied for amnesty, what do you think? Were they top brass or were they foot soldiers?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I think they are foot soldiers.

BH: Okay so tell me why you say that number eight?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I knew a guy that was in the army and he used to say that they would be driving around in a truck and on the side of the road pull over just see something then they would just climb off and then beat them up. And then just climb back on the van and they're gone.

References 4-5 - 0.49% Coverage

BH: Okay so why do you think the top brass kept quiet and didn't ask for amnesty?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: They were the ones in power. They were telling them what to do so they knew they are the ones that is giving the instructions to the people that have to obey- abide by that law, ja, obey.

BH: So do you think the politicians under the authoritarian regime, do you think they knew what acts were being committed in their name?

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes (many agree)

Reference 6 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Okay and why do think there was so few prosecutions of perpetrators of human rights offences?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: People were probably too scared.

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Or fearful of the repercussions.

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I am also guessing that, I mean you can only prosecute somebody if you've got evidence against them and people would be, would have been silenced or anyone who witnessed the crimes probably would have been killed or, you know, threatened. And I think because of the whole, you know, like I said, people of colour, they'd been oppressed so much that they were scared to come forward and say this is what this person did to me. I mean, it takes quite a brave person to stand up to somebody who has tortured somebody in front of you because you'd be afraid that you might be next.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.04% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Uh, there was a bit of truth that was an established from the TRC such as the atrocities that did happen. Those who did do it or followed orders to do it came forward and said no, this really did happen. So there was no way for the NP to like say no, this is just you know, rumours, but also at the same time when you think of the reason why they went forward with it some were genuinely trying to find redemption, I'm sure there was like the odd one or two people. But a lot of the time with the law and stuff, the people founded the TRC said that if you had taken all the victims and they said who did it, or who they think did it, and they would reach out to the perpetrator, and if the perpetrator did it he would avoid



going to jail, whereas if he avoided, if he didn't avoid it, you know defends his freedom, if he avoids it, he would go to jail based off whatever they believed him to get. So at the same time it wasn't like a free will, I want to admit my sins, it was to save myself from going to jail.

#### Reference 2 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Um just going off on what eight and two said. I do think ah definitely it had an undertone of self-serving. Um, people were just trying to avoid, like two was saying, avoid, avoid more conflict, and avoid taking accountability ultimately. And I think that that's what the government now still does. Um. And the political systems in general, they try to avoid taking accountability for their actions and the ways in which it affects people

#### References 3-4 - 0.78% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think ah that the TRC didn't actually judge the people who perpetuated apartheid. It just got the trigger men. No ministers were prosecuted at all. They just got away scot-free and another thing is, and I think this was the view at the time, is that it was seen as a white witch hunt in that no freedom fighter leaders were prosecuted at all. Even though gang rape was considered a punishment in (inaudible) for example, and for members in the ANC, if you were a woman and you misbehaved, gang rape is a thing that could happen to you. And we're still seeing that today. Gender-based violence is still a problem in our country and because these people hadn't had to take account for it, it, it's still gonna be seen as a minimal issue.

#### References 5-6 - 0.22% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I have no clue about the numbers but I think it was many more of the security forces applied for amnesty, than-

BH: Okay and other viewpoints?

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Probably under 2000.

#### References 7-8 - 1.47% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Umm, I think it's a lot more to do with just the logistics. If you take the '96 example, um, obviously during apartheid, if you look at the from the pro-apartheid side, and I mean there's no, there's no question that I mean, if you were a freedom fighter you were prosecuted for anything the government could get their hands on. I think those were prosecuted. The side that wasn't prosecuted was the pro-apartheid side. And obviously during apartheid years that was not prosecuted. Come to post-apartheid era, um, and you've got a situation where either you were on the the um you were on the freedom fighters side, in which case anything you could have answered you have answered for. If you were on the other side, you're now in a case, in '96, you are talking about a crime that was two years ago that's never been investigated. Um. And I don't think our police force today or then, um, and I am not going to comment on our police force pre and post-apartheid and all of that. I don't think the police force has the ability to to go back and once, start, open a case in '96 about something that maybe happened in '93 or the 80's and then build up evidence to make a prosecution. I don't think their ability is there. It's not anyone intended on not prosecuting. 'Cause I think the TRC was quite clear, if you come forward now and you receive amnesty, if it comes out later then you will be prosecuted.

#### Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 2.99% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And if you sit with people and they tell you their story. And the media and the ANC tell them their story. As she said now, Winnie Mandela and George Bizos and the big boys of the ANC could do whatever they want. Janusz is now fighting to get his release out on parole. He was given parole. They denied it. They pulled it back again. How fair is that? Twenty, twenty-five years later how would he-

#### Reference 2 - 1.05% Coverage

BH: Okay. So how many people from both sides do you think applied for amnesty?

Group 6, Participant 2, M: I think quite a lot ja.

BH: From which side? Security forces or from anti-apartheid forces?

Group 6, Participant 2, M: The anti-apartheid forces.

BH: More of them applied?

Group 6, Participant 2, M: Most of them yes.

Anybody else with some ideas? (pause) Well in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission 6 500 people of the anti-apartheid forces applied for amnesty and the majority of those offences were actually minor offences. How many do you think applied from the security forces?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: A lot.

BH: Number ten. 45.00

Group 6, Participant ##: No I am waiting. (Laughter) In anticipation.

BH: 580

Group 6, Participant ##, F: Yoh!

Group 6, Participant ##, M: That's it?

References 3-4 - 0.34% Coverage

BH: And they were? Do you think they were top brass or were they foot soldiers?

Group 6, Participant ##: Foot soldiers.

BH: So why eight? Why was it foot soldiers?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Probably feeling guilty about something. Trying to get a conscience.

References 5-6 - 1.04% Coverage

BH: Why do you think there were so few security forces?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Because they're lower grade, that's why.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Taking the flak.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: They were not high up.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: They were ordered to do their work.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I rest my case.

And your case being? Just spell it out for me number ten.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They can't take the flak and go and apply for amnesty because if they apply for amnesty, Pik Botha come here, PW Botha come here and talk about them. Tell them all the bull that we have to go and do. On their orders. And it's coming from there (gestures high up) right to where they polish your shoes. None of us say anything. That is why six and a half to five hundred should tell a story on its own.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 14 references coded [ 4.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

DL: Good. The next point we now come to is what we now actually spoke about. The Truth Commission wanted to search for truth and reconciliation, but did they achieve this? This is the question. Did they find the truth and bring about reconciliation?

Group 7, Participant ##: No, they just did it because they had some things on their consciences

Reference 2 - 0.29% Coverage

DL: Good if we say it was the NP and the ANC, do you feel both were equally guilty, or was one more guilty or less guilty. What is your view?

(Everyone talking together. They were all guilty)

Group 7, Participant 3, F: But the ANC, look how they killed our young men on the border. Terrorists. They were terrorists then.

Reference 3 - 0.22% Coverage

DL: We will get to that, but what you say is true. Number two, what do you think?

Group 7, Participant ##: I feel the same.

Group 7, Participant ##: It is the same.

DL: Both sides committed crimes.

Group 7, Participant ##: In their own right.

Reference 4 - 0.66% Coverage

DL: Very true. Anyone else? Good then they say here for example how many persons on both sides applied for amnesty? Now I have here 6500 from the anti-apartheid forces and 580 from the security forces. Now the security forces on that side, we could say was the old government's security forces and the 6500 were basically the ANC and the anti-apartheid forces. What do you think about that?

Group 7, Participant ##, : I didn't know there were actually so many.

DL: That's what they say. Do you think it was realistic?

(Everyone talking at once regarding the ratio.)

DL: How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant ##, M: I feel the ratio is not balanced, was more one-sided, more on the one side than on the other side

Reference 5 - 0.58% Coverage

DL: Good then the next question is which Whites applied for amnesty, we spoke about that just now, was it the top brass or the foot soldiers, was it the ones in control the ministers, the generals, those persons or was it mainly the foot soldiers who applied for amnesty?

Group 7, Participant ##, : It was the top brass. It was the big shots who applied for amnesty they were the big shots. They were guilty.

DL: Listen carefully now did they apply for amnesty or not or was it just the ones who got hit, was it just the usual foot soldiers or was it,

Group 7, Participant ##, : No it was the big shots who applied for amnesty.

Reference 6 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##, : The ones that had to carry out the orders it was them they also had to be brought to book.

DL: So actually the generals gave the order but he was never brought to book with amnesty

(Everyone talking in agreement.)

Group 7, Participant 3, F, : It was the foot soldiers, it was them.

References 7-8 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Good. Why did so few Whites apply for amnesty if you think about what we said just now, why do you think so few of the security forces

Group 7, Participant ##: They didn't trust the system they felt why apply when nothing happens or they reject it and he has to go to jail for 20 or 30 years or whatever.

DL: Yes

Group 7, Participant ##: We were also not a part of that.

References 9-10 - 0.27% Coverage

DL: Yes, was it really wide enough and implemented did enough persons know about it or was it really just a small group that knew what was going on?

Group 7, Participant ##: As long as the generals did not tell them you must apply and then be present for a bit and further just keep quiet.

Reference 11 - 0.08% Coverage

DL: That is a point of view.

Group 7, Participant ##: I also think too few knew about it.

References 12-13 - 0.51% Coverage

DL: Or many could have been ordered not to speak about it.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Just to keep their mouth shut to keep it quiet.

DL: I don't want to talk too much about unless they tell me so

(Everyone talking together.)

Group 7, Participant 8, M: You receive an order not to talk because if you talk the men who gave the orders also gets into trouble, he doesn't want it, and he doesn't want trouble.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's right.

DL: So this is one reason why so few whites applied for amnesty

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I think so, could be

Reference 14 - 0.44% Coverage

DL: Good. Talk about the next one. What about the politicians with the big mouths who often stand on the podiums and talk such a lot what about them, how many of them applied?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: One never heard of them. No you don't hear about them. And they still carry on and on like a record that is flippen stuck, it just goes on and on but let a White say something then, there is big trouble. They open their mouths but nothing gets done. They never get to the point

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 5.34% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 2.74% Coverage

DL: The 4th topic. I touches on unconditional amnesty, when you go from a single party state as was under the National Party to a democracy where a number of parties are involved is not easy. Some of the problems are that people who abused others human rights now needed to come forward and confess at the TRC...But I would not openly confess if I knew that I would go to jail or confess in public, so they then said we would give you unconditional amnesty if your told the full truth you would not be prosecuted, if you only tell half a truth,

then that amnesty would not count. Now the question is what is the chance in South Africa that you would receive unconditional amnesty and that you would not be prosecuted if you confessed. Did all those who committed atrocities go and confess?

Group 8, Participant ##: No.

DL: What do you say number 11?

Group 8, Participant 11, M: No I don't think so.

DL: Number 8?

Group 8, Participant 8, M: I would also say that many doubted, many of the biggest trespassers did not go and confess because they doubted whether they would be pardoned for the atrocities they committed.

40:00

Group 8, Participant ##: They protected many, many like families etc.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I don't think that there was any chance of everyone going forward to confess, I use myself as an example, I committed a murder and now I confess the whole story and they say, no fine, you can go, every one now knows who you are.

Group 8, Participant ##: They will take revenge.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: What stops them, if nobody knew it was me, why must I go and confess.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Never mind that, my logic says that with any crime, what type of reward is there if you want me to come forward you need to offer me money, amnesty alone does not mean anything to me and even if you get the amnesty, so what, now everybody knows what you have done.

DL: For some people it is about the conscience.

Group 8, Participant 4, f: I get that but I don't think that a criminal has much of a conscience.

Group 8, Participant ##: No.

Group 8, Participant 9, f: If you go forward, how do they know that you told the full truth, they turn around and say it is not the full story (all talk together)

#### Reference 3 - 1.46% Coverage

DL: To mention, one example currently trending in the news is Janusz Waluś, he has been jailed for many years because of the murder of Chris Hani and he qualifies for parole but you know what is happening he does not get parole, but I mean, if I committed murder and I am black and get parole, is it fair? That is just one case that I want to mention. Do you think it was a logical compromise in South Africa to establish the TRC if we consider, of the two sides the anti-apartheids side there were 6 500 applications and the apartheids side 580 applications, was the TRC a sensible exercise – somebody mentioned just now about the top level -was it was the top people who went to confess or was it the people at ground level who confessed

Group 8, Participant ##: I would say it was those with a conscience that went, those who carried out the orders that went.

DL: Did the generals, the ministers, dept. heads, did they confess?

Group 8, Participant ##: No they don't have a conscience

Group 8, Participant 7, M: These high profile criminals, they knew that they would do it again and then they

would be the first ones under suspicion if it happened again, so why would they go

Reference 4 - 0.64% Coverage

DL: So in that sense, the TRC was not a success, they did not take the actual offenders to task. The ones at ground level merely followed the orders and if you did not do it you were in trouble, you did not have much of a choice. Why did so few whites apply for amnesty?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: It was after apartheid, your head was already on the chopping board, whether you did something or not you were not safe.

Group 8, Participant ##, M: There are fewer white people in South Africa, you cannot compare figures.

Reference 5 - 0.50% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: In what year was the TRC?

DL: 1996.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I know that round about 1994 that time, 96, 98, the country (in audible) scared. I remember my grandmother, I must have been about 4 or 5, and children could not play in the streets anymore because they were scared, why would you expose your family? It sounds like it was a way to provoke the whites, like a trap.

## PARTICIPATION IN THE TRC

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 1.57% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.33% Coverage

BH: Okay number eight then I will come to you, number three.

Group 1, Participant 8, F: For a lot of people it is a way to make themselves feel better for not fighting or doing anything about it. So it's not necessarily all positive. Some people obviously um, they just did it for themselves so that they can feel better for what they have gone along with.

Reference 2 - 0.40% Coverage

BH: Okay I am going to ask you a question here. I be fascinated with you know the answers. How many people do you think applied for amnesty from the Anti-Apartheid forces?

Group 1, Participant ##: Can't imagine many.

BH: Six thousand five hundred (6 500). And how many people from members of the Apartheid Security Forces applied for amnesty?

Group 1, Participant ##: Probably five hundred (500) (all talking and nodding)

Reference 3 - 0.20% Coverage

BH: Five hundred and eighty (580). Okay so now, thinking in terms of that, what was supplied for amnesty? Do any of you know? And where they top-brass or were they foot soldiers?

Group 1, Participant ##: Foot soldiers

References 4-5 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: Okay. Why do you think so few whites applied for amnesty?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think they genuinely believe that they didn't do anything wrong. Especially the top-brass. The guys who implemented and carried out Apartheid obviously believe deep down that they were superior beings and that these other people didn't deserve the same opportunities that they had. And they genuinely did not think that they had done anything wrong. They were indoctrinated. Very similar to how the Nazis, you know when they rose to power. If you are genuinely are indoctrinated from a young age that you are better then you don't necessarily argue that, so I am not surprise by this at all.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 3.60% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.48% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I don't think even the half of it came out, out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I mean we were at war. I was part of it. Whether for the right reason or not, I was part of it. And the atrocities I witnessed myself personally was horrific and some of the commands that came down from those people that gave those commands were never ever brought to book. Never ever brought to book.

References 3-4 - 0.46% Coverage

think it was just a select few names that were at the top of the the tree that came out and these were the guys that were were were hounded and prosecuted, or had to-

BH: So do you think there is more and they were the scapegoats?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I think a lot of it was scapegoats they used yes. And there is a lot of guys that actually, the chain of command that were never ever brought to book.

References 5-6 - 0.35% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: The amnesty part, I think a lot of those people who came forward, there was no, look like what you are saying, but the boys at the top they covered their tracks. There was lots of stuff that happened. There was never anything on paper so there was no evidence. It was little people -

#### References 7-8 - 0.63% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: Absolutely. So we had all kinds of - but I think a lot of people that would be fall guys, they weren't put up as as as scapegoats. They realised that one they couldn't leave. Two they have didn't have money to go anywhere and do anything about trying to change their lives. They weren't going to go to Paraguay like a lot of Nazis did after the war. So I mean, the fact is, they stayed. Well they thought if I am going to stay I don't want to be prosecuted so I better 'fess up and come to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

#### Reference 9 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: But that is my point. Why did they go to the Truth and Reconciliation?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Because they were going to be prosecuted.

Group 3, Participant 2, F: Yes. So they didn't go for the real reason.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Well we don't know. I'm not gonna say that I - I'm not against conscience -

#### References 10-11 - 1.04% Coverage

BH: So now I am going to come in here and say; how many people, I didn't know this so, some of you might be up to date on this, how many people do you think applied for amnesty from the anti-apartheid forces and how many do you think applied for amnesty from the security forces?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I would guess a lot more from the security forces.

BH: Okay.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: Because they had more to lose if they weren't given amnesty

BH: Other thoughts?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I heard what you said. I guess it is going to be the opposite of what we think.

BH: Yes there was 6 500 people applied for amnesty from anti-apartheid forces. And a large majority of that were actually minor offences. And 580 from members of the security forces and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission conditional amnesty.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: And to think that 50% didn't even come forward

#### Reference 12 - 0.25% Coverage

BH: And you answered after the other one. Where was it top-brass or foot soldiers? The majority were foot soldiers.

Group 3, Participant ##: The foot soldiers had to carry out the commands from the top and that was it

#### Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 3.01% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.77% Coverage

BH: How many people from the anti-apartheid forces and how many people from the security forces?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Security I think would have obviously been a lot more because they had the power to make the decisions and to change just like corruption. I would imagine. So I would imagine that the security forces would have been higher.

BH: Okay other thoughts?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I also think that the security forces were probably a little higher than the people applying for amnesty because they knew what they did.



BH: Others

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I also think (inaudible) mainly because the laws had shifted. What was previously not a crime had now become a crime. And could be applied retrospectively.

Reference 2 - 0.36% Coverage

BH: Okay any other thoughts? No? Well I will tell you 6 500 people from the anti-apartheid forces applied for amnesty and the large majority of these were actually for minor offences. And 580 from the security forces applied for that. 45.00 So why do you think that was?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Because you just kept quiet. That is the best.

Reference 3 - 0.54% Coverage

BH: Okay do any of you see it that the whites that applied for amnesty, what do you think? Were they top brass or were they foot soldiers?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I think they are foot soldiers.

BH: Okay so tell me why you say that number eight?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I knew a guy that was in the army and he used to say that they would be driving around in a truck and on the side of the road pull over just see something then they would just climb off and then beat them up. And then just climb back on the van and they're gone.

References 4-5 - 0.49% Coverage

BH: Okay so why do you think the top brass kept quiet and didn't ask for amnesty?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: They were the ones in power. They were telling them what to do so they knew they are the ones that is giving the instructions to the people that have to obey- abide by that law, ja, obey.

BH: So do you think the politicians under the authoritarian regime, do you think they knew what acts were being committed in their name?

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes (many agree)

Reference 6 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Okay and why do think there was so few prosecutions of perpetrators of human rights offences?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: People were probably too scared.

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Or fearful of the repercussions.

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I am also guessing that, I mean you can only prosecute somebody if you've got evidence against them and people would be, would have been silenced or anyone who witnessed the crimes probably would have been killed or, you know, threatened. And I think because of the whole, you know, like I said, people of colour, they'd been oppressed so much that they were scared to come forward and say this is what this person did to me. I mean, it takes quite a brave person to stand up to somebody who has tortured somebody in front of you because you'd be afraid that you might be next.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.04% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Uh, there was a bit of truth that was an established from the TRC such as the atrocities that did happen. Those who did do it or followed orders to do it came forward and said no, this really did happen. So there was no way for the NP to like say no, this is just you know, rumours, but also at the same time when you think of the reason why they went forward with it some were genuinely trying to find redemption, I'm sure there was like the odd one or two people. But a lot of the time with the law and stuff, the people founded the TRC said that if you had taken all the victims and they said who did it, or who they think did it, and they would reach out to the perpetrator, and if the perpetrator did it he would avoid

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Group 5, Participant 3, M: Umm, I think it's a lot more to do with just the logistics. If you take the '96 example, um, obviously during apartheid, if you look at the from the pro-apartheid side, and I mean there's no, there's no question that I mean, if you were a freedom fighter you were prosecuted for anything the government could get their hands on. I think those were prosecuted. The side that wasn't prosecuted was the pro-apartheid side. And obviously during apartheid years that was not prosecuted. Come to post-apartheid era, um, and you've got a situation where either you were on the the um you were on the freedom fighters side, in which case anything you could have answered you have answered for. If you were on the other side, you're now in a case, in '96, you are talking about a crime that was two years ago that's never been investigated. Um. And I don't think our police force today or then, um, and I am not going to comment on our police force pre- and post-apartheid and all of that. I don't think the police force has the ability to to go back and once, start, open a case in '96 about something that maybe happened in '93 or the 80's and then build up evidence to make a prosecution. I don't think their ability is there. It's not anyone intended on not prosecuting. 'Cause I think the TRC was quite clear, if you come forward now and you receive amnesty, if it comes out later then you will be prosecuted.

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#### Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And if you sit with people and they tell you their story. And the media and the ANC tell them their story. As she said now, Winnie Mandela and George Bizos and the big boys of the ANC could do whatever they want. Janusz is now fighting to get his release out on parole. He was given parole. They denied it. They pulled it back again. How fair is that? Twenty, twenty-five years later how would he-

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BH: Okay. So how many people from both sides do you think applied for amnesty?

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Anybody else with some ideas? (pause) Well in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission 6 500 people of the anti-apartheid forces applied for amnesty and the majority of those offences were actually minor offences. How many do you think applied from the security forces?

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Group 6, Participant ##: No I am waiting. (Laughter) In anticipation.

BH: 580

Group 6, Participant ##, F: Yoh!

Group 6, Participant ##, M: That's it?

References 3-4 - 0.34% Coverage

BH: And they were? Do you think they were top brass or were they foot soldiers?

Group 6, Participant ##: Foot soldiers.

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Group 6, Participant 8, M: Probably feeling guilty about something. Trying to get a conscience.

References 5-6 - 1.04% Coverage

BH: Why do you think there were so few security forces?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Because they're lower grade, that's why.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Taking the flak.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: They were not high up.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: They were ordered to do their work.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I rest my case.

And your case being? Just spell it out for me number ten.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They can't take the flak and go and apply for amnesty because if they apply for amnesty, Pik Botha come here, PW Botha come here and talk about them. Tell them all the bull that we have to go and do. On their orders. And it's coming from there (gestures high up) right to where they polish your shoes. None of us say anything. That is why six and a half to five hundred should tell a story on its own.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 14 references coded [ 4.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

DL: Good. The next point we now come to is what we now actually spoke about. The Truth Commission wanted to search for truth and reconciliation, but did they achieve this? This is the question. Did they find the truth and bring about reconciliation?

Group 7, Participant ##: No, they just did it because they had some things on their consciences

Reference 2 - 0.29% Coverage

DL: Good if we say it was the NP and the ANC, do you feel both were equally guilty, or was one more guilty or less guilty. What is your view?

(Everyone talking together. They were all guilty)

Group 7, Participant 3, F: But the ANC, look how they killed our young men on the border. Terrorists. They were terrorists then.

Reference 3 - 0.22% Coverage

DL: We will get to that, but what you say is true. Number two, what do you think?

Group 7, Participant ##: I feel the same.

Group 7, Participant ##: It is the same.

DL: Both sides committed crimes.

Group 7, Participant ##: In their own right.

Reference 4 - 0.66% Coverage

DL: Very true. Anyone else? Good then they say here for example how many persons on both sides applied for amnesty? Now I have here 6500 from the anti-apartheid forces and 580 from the security forces. Now the security forces on that side, we could say was the old government's security forces and the 6500 were basically the ANC and the anti-apartheid forces. What do you think about that?

Group 7, Participant ##, : I didn't know there were actually so many.

DL: That's what they say. Do you think it was realistic?

(Everyone talking at once regarding the ratio.)

DL: How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant ##, M: I feel the ratio is not balanced, was more one-sided, more on the one side than on the other side

Reference 5 - 0.58% Coverage

DL: Good then the next question is which Whites applied for amnesty, we spoke about that just now, was it the top brass or the foot soldiers, was it the ones in control the ministers, the generals, those persons or was it mainly the foot soldiers who applied for amnesty?

Group 7, Participant ##, : It was the top brass. It was the big shots who applied for amnesty they were the big shots. They were guilty.

DL: Listen carefully now did they apply for amnesty or not or was it just the ones who got hit, was it just the usual foot soldiers or was it,

Group 7, Participant ##, : No it was the big shots who applied for amnesty.

Reference 6 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##, : The ones that had to carry out the orders it was them they also had to be brought to book.

DL: So actually the generals gave the order but he was never brought to book with amnesty

(Everyone talking in agreement.)

Group 7, Participant 3, F, : It was the foot soldiers, it was them.

References 7-8 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Good. Why did so few Whites apply for amnesty if you think about what we said just now, why do you think so few of the security forces

Group 7, Participant ##: They didn't trust the system they felt why apply when nothing happens or they reject it and he has to go to jail for 20 or 30 years or whatever.

DL: Yes

Group 7, Participant ##: We were also not a part of that.

References 9-10 - 0.27% Coverage

DL: Yes, was it really wide enough and implemented did enough persons know about it or was it really just a small group that knew what was going on?

Group 7, Participant ##: As long as the generals did not tell them you must apply and then be present for a bit and further just keep quiet.

Reference 11 - 0.08% Coverage

DL: That is a point of view.

Group 7, Participant ##: I also think too few knew about it.

References 12-13 - 0.51% Coverage

DL: Or many could have been ordered not to speak about it.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Just to keep their mouth shut to keep it quiet.

DL: I don't want to talk too much about unless they tell me so

(Everyone talking together.)

Group 7, Participant 8, M: You receive an order not to talk because if you talk the men who gave the orders also gets into trouble, he doesn't want it, and he doesn't want trouble.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's right.

DL: So this is one reason why so few whites applied for amnesty

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I think so, could be

Reference 14 - 0.44% Coverage

DL: Good. Talk about the next one. What about the politicians with the big mouths who often stand on the podiums and talk such a lot what about them, how many of them applied?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: One never heard of them. No you don't hear about them. And they still carry on and on like a record that is flippen stuck, it just goes on and on but let a White say something then, there is big trouble. They open their mouths but nothing gets done. They never get to the point

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 5.34% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 2.74% Coverage

DL: The 4th topic. I touches on unconditional amnesty, when you go from a single party state as was under the National Party to a democracy where a number of parties are involved is not easy. Some of the problems are that people who abused others human rights now needed to come forward and confess at the TRC...But I would not openly confess if I knew that I would go to jail or confess in public, so they then said we would give you unconditional amnesty if your told the full truth you would not be prosecuted, if you only tell half a truth,

then that amnesty would not count. Now the question is what is the chance in South Africa that you would receive unconditional amnesty and that you would not be prosecuted if you confessed. Did all those who committed atrocities go and confess?

Group 8, Participant ##: No.

DL: What do you say number 11?

Group 8, Participant 11, M: No I don't think so.

DL: Number 8?

Group 8, Participant 8, M: I would also say that many doubted, many of the biggest trespassers did not go and confess because they doubted whether they would be pardoned for the atrocities they committed.

40:00

Group 8, Participant ##: They protected many, many like families etc.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: I don't think that there was any chance of everyone going forward to confess, I use myself as an example, I committed a murder and now I confess the whole story and they say, no fine, you can go, every one now knows who you are.

Group 8, Participant ##: They will take revenge.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: What stops them, if nobody knew it was me, why must I go and confess.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Never mind that, my logic says that with any crime, what type of reward is there if you want me to come forward you need to offer me money, amnesty alone does not mean anything to me and even if you get the amnesty, so what, now everybody knows what you have done.

DL: For some people it is about the conscience.

Group 8, Participant 4, f: I get that but I don't think that a criminal has much of a conscience.

Group 8, Participant ##: No.

Group 8, Participant 9, f: If you go forward, how do they know that you told the full truth, they turn around and say it is not the full story (all talk together)

#### Reference 3 - 1.46% Coverage

DL: To mention, one example currently trending in the news is Janusz Waluś, he has been jailed for many years because of the murder of Chris Hani and he qualifies for parole but you know what is happening he does not get parole, but I mean, if I committed murder and I am black and get parole, is it fair? That is just one case that I want to mention. Do you think it was a logical compromise in South Africa to establish the TRC if we consider, of the two sides the anti-apartheids side there were 6 500 applications and the apartheids side 580 applications, was the TRC a sensible exercise – somebody mentioned just now about the top level -was it was the top people who went to confess or was it the people at ground level who confessed

Group 8, Participant ##: I would say it was those with a conscience that went, those who carried out the orders that went.

DL: Did the generals, the ministers, dept. heads, did they confess?

Group 8, Participant ##: No they don't have a conscience

Group 8, Participant 7, M: These high profile criminals, they knew that they would do it again and then they

would be the first ones under suspicion if it happened again, so why would they go

Reference 4 - 0.64% Coverage

DL: So in that sense, the TRC was not a success, they did not take the actual offenders to task. The ones at ground level merely followed the orders and if you did not do it you were in trouble, you did not have much of a choice. Why did so few whites apply for amnesty?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: It was after apartheid, your head was already on the chopping board, whether you did something or not you were not safe.

Group 8, Participant ##, M: There are fewer white people in South Africa, you cannot compare figures.

Reference 5 - 0.50% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: In what year was the TRC?

DL: 1996.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I know that round about 1994 that time, 96, 98, the country (in audible) scared. I remember my grandmother, I must have been about 4 or 5, and children could not play in the streets anymore because they were scared, why would you expose your family? It sounds like it was a way to provoke the whites, like a trap.

## PROSECUTING PERPETRATORS OF APARTHEID CRIMES

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 2.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 1, M: They all blamed it on orders.

BH: Okay and you were going to say the same? Alright so what about the politicians? I am talking about under Apartheid. Those politicians. Did they know what acts was being committed in their country's name?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes of course (all agree).

Reference 2 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I don't think anybody would have any faith in the NPA to do anything at all. They have never been able. They are not taking down politicians from today. They are definitely not going to take them down from thirty years ago. They are complete lame duck. That is unfortunately the president that was set after, after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is that nobody, nobody was held accountable then and they are definitely not holding anybody accountable now.

Reference 3 - 1.24% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I also think it is going to be a waste of time to try and do this with all those loopholes, the loopholes and grey areas in the legal system. If they are going to try and prosecute people and they don't get it right, if they make a hype out of it, a lot of people yes, got to pay, yes they have to pay for what they have done in the past. Nothing comes out of it.

BH: Do you think they should be public shaming?

Group 1, Participant ##: To achieve what?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Public shaming is also not going to help. I think it is just going to worsen things. They are going to see the shaming and nothing gets done and people are going to get edgy about it. There is going to be more anger because you promising to do something about this person, that person, and what they have done and you are not getting right. You are not doing anything. Whether it is a legal loopholes or the fact that it just don't even get to that point or whatever it is. If it doesn't get done there is, there's a lot of disappointment. And if they do it they might also hurt people-

BH: Do you think it will be a fair process?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Personally I think to do it to someone who, if they are held accountable for their actions, that is fair. But the actual process, in going through this now, I don't think it is going to be a 100% fair.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.61% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: It is a difficult, it must have been a difficult decision to make. To decide whether that person that especially has caused atrocious crimes from murder to heaven has decide whether they should go fear not where there is people in prison that has done the same crime and they are still serving a sentence. During the war people were tried that were found guilty and that has served sentences as well. So should they have gone free? I don't think so. I think they should have rather, if the crimes were as severe as that they should have tried in court or find the evidence, surely there was enough evidence around, and tried the person 1.10.00 and let justice prevail. That being said, I was very young when that happened so I can't really remember too much of it.

References 3-4 - 1.76% Coverage

BH: Okay so I am going to bring it now to 2019. The National Prosecuting Authority is about to undertake a number of prosecutions relating to human rights offences under apartheid. Do you think it is fair to prosecute somebody twenty five years later?



Group 2, Participant ##: If they were promised amnesty

BH: No this is about other prosecutions. They found that it didn't come out in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It was like the scenario you painted number seven. They didn't come forward. They now know that these people existed. And they are now going to prosecute them twenty five years later.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: If they don't prosecute what right do they have to- that means our whole justice system is a bit, is a bit haywire and corrupt. So I think yes they should be tried and if found guilty the justice system must run its course properly. And not cases getting lost.

BH: Should they go to jail or should there be public shaming or should there be fines?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: That I can't say. It is difficult to say. That should be a committee of judges to make the right decision because it is one of them, because any, any, to judge anyone and put them to prison is a very difficult thing to do.

BH: Yes

Group 2, Participant 8, M: So for one person just too quickly, it's easy for one person to say something because what they feel in their heart but you have to be very careful not being biased or not overclouding your own judgement because of hatred or because of your feelings or because of what life has thrown at you. The judgement needs to be very careful. It needs to be done correctly and fairly.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 14 references coded [ 4.98% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.29% Coverage

And there is so much more that's come out since the Truth and Reconciliation Committee I mean the guy now that that apparently pushed that Timol guy over the balcony. There is just so much more that is still coming out today. It's still coming out today.

References 2-4 - 0.91% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: What happens if it is a war?

Group 3, Participant ##: What about the Nazi war criminals?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Unfortunately, I go in my mind, it is a war. If you look at it, since the second world war and the matter of decisions made in a war environment that we've now moved as an internationally to, you, you shouldn't, it's no excuse that you were following an immoral order from above. That that that's, but that's also also as we've said with all those other different regimes around the world that pre-dated apartheid, we've moved on. We are now looking at it whatever number of years on. Um. That we are following orders against our own personal conscience is no longer an excuse under the Geneva Conventions. So yeah, um. But it's, hindsight's great.

References 5-6 - 1.42% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: So for the upcoming prosecutions, much of these, if we're conflating these with the with the with the the the Timol case which [participant] nine brought up, um and we say what happened to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, if there's a connection there. The fact is one of the parameters of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was if you 'fess up now you will not be prosecuted afterwards. The boytjie (young man) who pushed Timol out of the window could have could have gone to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. If we find that he didn't, because there is no that certainly would have gained some publicity at the time, so I believe it must've, that didn't occur. Well then he must face the consequences. That's it. Somebody was murdered. That's the fact. We can't say oh dear because we are all collectively guilty in some way for apartheid. Whether we did enough or we actively pursued it is immaterial now. We were all there, I mean, we share an element of collective guilt to whatever degree. And we don't like the idea but the fact is if somebody else murdered somebody twenty five years ago we would certainly want them to be brought to book. There is no expiry on murder.

References 7-9 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: There is no statute of limitation on murder. 55.00

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Yes exactly. So it gets coloured by this that it was a national regime but the fact is we got to actually look at the part, I think around the table it pretty much was agreed that it was a crime against humanity. Um um and therefore you suffer the consequence. And one of the fallouts of that-

BH: So should it be jail, fines, public shaming

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I don't think public shaming will cover it. It should be jail. I don't agree with the death penalty.

References 10-12 - 0.78% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: But how many years afterwards is it now that this happened? Now you have an old bugger like us. And now he is going to go to jail for twenty five years.

Group 3, Participant ##: Good.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Well who gave the order?

Group 3, Participant ##: Yes but still..

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Sure, that I understand

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Who covered it up?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: But he could have gone to the Truth and Reconciliation, whoever pushed him out there. And the fact is you know he is an old toppy (old man) like us, I quite agree, but he has got the best years then free. I don't care. He must go to jail until he pops his clogs.

Reference 13 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I just wanted to say yes, I think they should be punished. That they shouldn't get amnesty. Because they can't just say but my boss told me to push him out the window. Or whatever.

Reference 14 - 0.69% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Ok, in my day, national service was compulsory. If you didn't do national service you got locked up. You could go out and protest, you could do whatever you want to, whatever. And then again just that indoctrination and what we were being fed and what we believed. Yeah, you went off to the army, air force or navy. That is what you did. You went and fought in a war and let me tell you guys, when you are looking down at a hell of a gun and you have a gun, who pulls the trigger first. Ok, that is what happens. Am I guilty then of of an atrocity? Should I be prosecuted? Should I?

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 3.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Okay and why do think there was so few prosecutions of perpetrators of human rights offences?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: People were probably too scared.

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Or fearful of the repercussions.

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I am also guessing that, I mean you can only prosecute somebody if you've got evidence against them and people would be, would have been silenced or anyone who witnessed the crimes probably would have been killed or, you know, threatened. And I think because of the whole, you know, like I said, people of colour, they'd been oppressed so much that they were scared to come forward and say this is what this person did to me. I mean, it takes quite a brave person to stand up to somebody who has tortured somebody in front of you because you'd be afraid that you might be next.

References 2-6 - 1.22% Coverage

BH: Okay, it seems that the NPA, that is the National Prosecution Authority currently now 2019 is about to

undertake a number of prosecutions related to human rights offences under apartheid. Is this a good thing? That it is happening twenty five years into democracy when those people must now be either old or ill? Do you think it is a good thing to do that?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Isn't there a certain time frame though that you have to report

BH: Is there a limitation on murder?

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I actually think they made it too light. And that is the truth. It wasn't soon after apartheid; it is twenty five years later. The people that they are now going for generally won't have the financial resources to defend themselves if it goes to the court of law. Um. Do I think they should have got away with it? No. I do feel it has you know, it has been way too long. It should have kicked in round about 2000, 2005. Fairly soon after the regime changed. Twenty five years later -

Group 4, Participant ##, F: They are either retired or dead.

Group 4, Participant 5, M: - are retired, dead, and so the number of active prosecutions they can actually do is minimal.

Reference 7 - 0.83% Coverage

BH: Do you think they will get a fair trial?

Group 4, Participant ##: No

BH: Why not number four?

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Well if you look at the way were are running at the moment, I don't know exactly how to put it into words at the moment, but especially the-

BH: Just say what you feel

Group 4, Participant 4, M: The white, the white South Africans at the moment, we getting prosecuted just for about everything.50.00 whereas you can say, how can I say, rest of the nation they can get away. I mean I've seen on the news the last couple of days people have been getting murdered and people getting off scot-free because people don't know how to do their work anymore and all that jazz. Yeah. Um. It's very difficult for me to put it into words without being, how could I say, ah, nasty, should I say.

References 8-10 - 0.72% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think the biggest reason there wouldn't be a fairness in trials today is mainly because people's memories get shifted and warped. As you recall events small little fragments of that event um change and that then gets locked back into your permanent memory. It might not be big factors. It may be small factors but over a long period of time the whole story ultimately shifts. So what was a process of this, is now shifted completely to here. So I think the people being prosecuted might be prosecuted more severely than they should be for the crime. Or less severely. But I don't think that a true recall of events is actually possible without actual hard proof.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 3.06% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.47% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Umm, I think it's a lot more to do with just the logistics. If you take the '96 example, um, obviously during apartheid, if you look at the from the pro-apartheid side, and I mean there's no, there's no question that I mean, if you were a freedom fighter you were prosecuted for anything the government could get their hands on. I think those were prosecuted. The side that wasn't prosecuted was the pro-apartheid side. And obviously during apartheid years that was not prosecuted. Come to post-apartheid era, um, and you've got a situation where either you were on the the um you were on the freedom fighters side, in which case anything you could have answered you have answered for. If you were on the other side, you're now in a case, in '96, you are talking about a crime that was two years ago that's never been investigated. Um. And I don't think our police force today or then, um, and I am not going to comment on our police force pre-

and post-apartheid and all of that. I don't think the police force has the ability to go back and once, start, open a case in '96 about something that maybe happened in '93 or the 80's and then build up evidence to make a prosecution. I don't think their ability is there. It's not anyone intended on not prosecuting. 'Cause I think the TRC was quite clear, if you come forward now and you receive amnesty, if it comes out later then you will be prosecuted.

#### Reference 2 - 0.52% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: Just on the logistics about, you know it is very difficult to prove but if you, if you um kind of re-, re-watch, I guess you can say, the the um the truth part of the Truth and Reconciliation, evidence would come through on that. You would say I did this, at this date and these were the people with me. Now if the people that I've just mentioned haven't come forward, there's the evidence that they were there, you can then prosecute. So I just thought I would kind of throw that.

#### Reference 3 - 1.08% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Just leading on that, I think um obviously the NPA, like they knew that, they knew that would be the case. They knew that logistically it would be too difficult. So they built off of that fact and they sort of just took it on. And I think like 45.00 a huge problem in our country is education and obviously because there were such large gaps in education because of apartheid, people like, believed it. People were like okay, alright, they, maybe they do have our best interests at heart. And they sort of like had that hopeful feeling meanwhile these people are in power because, they they've stayed in power for so long, they have the buy-in into all these little parts of the country that just served them. And so there was definitely, like I was saying, it was self-serving. And the fact that logistically it would be difficult, it would take a lot of time. They just tried to find an easy way out and be like okay, cool, we'll deal with it now and seem like we are dealing with it now, but long term they didn't deal with it.

#### Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 15 references coded [ 11.68% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 4.85% Coverage

BH: Okay now I know number ten that there is quite a bit that you would like to say. I don't want to not give you a chance. I want to hear what you have to say. How do you feel? Do you see it as a war? Did you see that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was a way of dealing with the bad things?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I know Ferdi Barnard personally.

BH: Who?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Ferdi Barnard.

BH: Okay Ferdi Barnard, yes

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I know Janusz Walus personally.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant ##: Personally.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And if you sit with people and they tell you their story. And the media and the ANC tell them their story. As she said now, Winnie Mandela and George Bizos and the big boys of the ANC could do whatever they want. Janusz is now fighting to get his release out on parole. He was given parole. They denied it. They pulled it back again. How fair is that? Twenty, twenty-five years later how would he-

BH: So do you think that-

Group 6, Participant 10, M: - impact on our country or on whatever? He wants to be with his wife and his family or whatever.

BH: So do you think that, that

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Eugene de Kock got released.

BH: Alright but I just want to go back to the current one about, because we are talking about Chris Hani's assassination now with Walus. Now that took part after we had handed over power between the old regime and the new regime.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: But it was coming before the new regime.

BH: Yes but I just want to -

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The whole party started before that.

But I want to ask you do you think that that situation should have become part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They didn't want that one.

BH: Do you think it is still part of the war?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do. I do.

BH: Okay so tell me why.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Because just, they just started, to be honest, the ANC just started taking over. So they decided, you did this in the past, we going to do this now. And then they started - they can do anything they want to.

BH: So do you think that Walus, that what happened to Chris Hani and Walus should have been part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes I do.

BH: And in which way would that have helped the Truth or Reconciliation?

Group 6, Participant ##: Well if they'd handled everything the same way. If they handled every case the same way I think he would have already started saying now you are against the whites. You are starting to be against the whites. To be honest.

BH: Okay and what do you think because you said you knew them personally.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think if they put Eugene de Kock, Ferdi, Janusz Walus, all of them, at the Truth, and they say -

BH: But Eugene de Kock did testify. And he did get amnesty.

Group 6, Participant ##: Why?

BH: Well I am asking, I am hoping you are going to give me what you think.

Group 6, Participant ##: Because they wanted him to say what they wanted to hear for him to be released. If Janusz's gonna to tell them what they want to hear, that you did this or you did that, they gonna to release him. But now I must say this is a red can, to be released from prison. And my integrity and my respect and whatever I fought for my whole life. Sit to prison for twenty-five years already, I must now say you know what, sorry this is actually a white can. Just to be released. And where does my respect and my integrity as for my country and for my people, my wife and my children suffering all the time I've been in prison. They have been

suffering more than I did. I must give that all up just to give the ANC their chance so, alright I did that.

#### Reference 2 - 1.26% Coverage

So I am talking about, how do you feel about letting people off if they tell you what they did in the time of apartheid. (pause) So in other words, you come to me, tell me what you did and I don't prosecute you. I don't send you to jail.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Question. Question. If you were ordered to do something how can you just go, how can I put it?

Group 6, Participant ##: Against the order.

Group 6, Participant ##: Speak Afrikaans.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: If you were ordered to do that, now you must tell the Truth and Commission what you did. You were ordered. You were taught to listen to your superiors. If they told you to do it you must do it. That is how you were brought up.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: You were taught discipline.

Group 6, Participant ##: Discipline. So if they said to you, you have to do it. Now you have to talk to the guy who did it. By all means I did it. It's my response. But I was ordered to do it. So who is the one that needs to be blamed?

#### Reference 3 - 1.20% Coverage

BH: Okay, alright. So let's just talk about the people who opted not to go for the amnesty and try and destabilise the new government. Tell me why they did that.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They still believe, and I think they believe until the day they die.

BH: Okay so they currently will still be believing this?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Go to go to` anyone of them currently incarcerated now. Ferdi has been released. Eugene de Kock has been released. 40.00 Janusz is fighting to get released. It is costing him and his family millions to get that. He's been rewarded that. Now they say you know what, we want to know why and who gave you the orders to do that. He's not going to tell them. If they can go paint the moon pink, he is not going to tell them. He did his time. He got twenty-five years. If you get twenty-five years you get life. You serve that you then need to be released. They gave him twenty life sentences.

#### Reference 4 - 0.51% Coverage

BH: Okay but now remember I asked you what made them decide to plan to destabilise the new government? Because obviously assassinating Chris Hani was a way to destabilise the new government.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I must have a country or I want a country safe for my wife and my kids, where they can live, where they can go to school, where they can work and have a life. And they thought-

#### Reference 5 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Do you think that was why there was so few prosecutions?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Of course, ja, because everything happened behind closed doors. That's the main thing.

Group 6, Participant ##: Vlak Plaas is-

(Participant 6 laughing)

BH: Tell me about VlakPlaas.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I don't know much about it. I just heard about it. But I'm saying.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant ##: Vlakplaas. Nobody knew about Vlakplaas. But thank, whoever was, Eugene de Kock with his boys, the BSB and whoever was there, take those guys and put them in charge of this country's government's army now for three years, you won't know this country.

Reference 6 - 0.42% Coverage

BH: Why do you think there were so few security forces?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Because they're lower grade, that's why.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Taking the flak.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: They were not high up.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: They were ordered to do their work.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I rest my case.

References 7-15 - 2.59% Coverage

BH: Right so now, we now know that the National Prosecuting Authority today is wanting to go after people who didn't apply for amnesty.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: That's stupid. How many years, never mind.

BH: No I want to mind. That is why I asked you here. I want to hear. Please tell me why it is stupid. Please don't keep quiet number seven. I want to know.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It's the past. Keep the past in the past. What is that going to change now? They already took over everything so what else do you want?

BH: Alright and other feelings?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yes it is going to cost the country. It is going to cost the tax payer a fortune to dig up stuff that can't be changed. It's the past.

Group 6, Participant ##: And those who know is not going to say anything.

Group 6, Participant ##: They are not even here.

Group 6, Participant ##, F: They are all dead already. They are all dead already, to be honest.

Group 6, Participant ##: The (inaudible) it has got an influence on our kids. That is what's going to happen now.

BH: And do you think they will get a fair trial if they do go into trial?

Group 6, Participant ##: No. (Everyone shaking their heads)

BH: Why not? Tell me why not. Why won't it be fair?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Because the place is too corrupt.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Everything is corrupt, yes.

Group 6, Participant ##, M: I think it is corruption.

BH: And if they were found guilty what do you think should happen to them?

Group 6, Participant ##, M: It depends on what their crime is.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Well they will sit three months in jail and then they will come out.

Group 6, Participant ##:, M: So I say just bring the death penalty back and everything will stop.

Group 6, Participant ##: To be honest if you did the crime you you have to pay, to be honest. So you can't get away, get away with your crime. So if you get punished, take your time, do it. But then the guys that ordered you, they need to sit as well. They deserve that.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 4.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.92% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No, because they did not know their facts, they called the people in.

DL: Pardon, When you say they called the people in I take it you refer to the ANC?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: The ANC. The ANC did not get or know their facts. They relied on what people came to confess so that they could bring their diary up to date.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes but it's like that with everything they do.

DL: So would you say that both sides of the matter was not really heard?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No. And they just decided that if they don't like you, you don't get amnesty.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes then you're out. Take the man who murdered Chris Hani, Janusz Walus. Look they refuse to give him amnesty. He sits and sits, all talking. And he will never get.

DL: So you feel it was unjust in that sense.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: From newspaper reports regarding this matter one gets the impression of bias and that the lists of the amnesty was not focused on as such.

References 2-3 - 0.95% Coverage

DL: The final question on this subject why were there so few prosecutions for human rights violations? What do you think? There were only a few, I can mention names. I can only think of 3 quickly that are being prosecuted for human rights violations. You will all remember Eugene de Kock, you will remember Dirk Coetzee from Vlakplaas

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

DL: You will remember Jan Rodrigues whose case is currently taking place about (Ahmet Temor?). But I mean that's 3, maybe there's more but it was relatively few. Why do you think there were so few?

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I think it's because they're not getting a fair trial and that deters them, so they rather keep quiet.

Group 7, Participant ##: What does it help if they talk?

DL: You get into trouble.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes big trouble.



Group 7, Participant 8, M: Ok human rights abuses, why now so many? The rugby player now.

Group 7, Participant ##: Eben Etsebeth.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: All of a sudden the thing gets blown up.

References 4-10 - 1.05% Coverage

DL: Yes just changed a bit. No fine. We're now 25 years into democracy away from apartheid, so the question: People now being prosecuted are 80 years of age, I think Jan Rodrigues is 84, these persons are old and sickly, does it make sense?

(All talking)

Group 7, Participant ##: It's ridiculous. Some of them can't even remember it anymore. Bob Hewitt too. Finished.

DL: Yes.

(Talking together)

Group 7, Participant ##, F: And the tax payer just has to continue paying up.

DL: The next question now ties in with this: is it fair, will these persons get a fair trial for something that happened 40 years ago, what is the chance of getting a fair trial?

Group 7, Participant ##: Who will remember what happened then? Who will give evidence? Who's still going to be alive to give evidence? Who will still have the evidence? I (don't) think the evidence is kept all the time.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: They will keep it alive, because you are already marked. It's a question of hate and grudges so they will keep it alive. Because you're already marked. If it were them, then all the files will disappear. Very quickly too.

Reference 11 - 0.21% Coverage

DL: So at ground level you didn't have much choice, in some instances, you couldn't say how you felt about it.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Obey the order, or lose your job.

DL: Or end up in jail?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes it is so.

Reference 12 - 1.04% Coverage

employment and BEE, Black economic empowerment, but it's very true. Let's get back to this topic of whites who violated human rights under apartheid. The question is now, should the whites take responsibility for human rights violations committed by the government?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No. Not at all, because they merely carried out the orders.

DL: Good. Number 5.

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I agree with the lady. They were orders that had to be executed, you had no choice you had to do it or you were without work. Do it or go.

DL: Good.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I agree. You had to carry out orders as they were given, and you were told, do it, or you are out of a job.

Group 7, Participant ##: You had to do it.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Just like you had to join the army, you couldn't say I won't you had to go.

DL: It was according to the law.

Group 7, Participant ##: Absolutely.

DL: While we're talking about it. Remember that there was something like a campaign against the defence force and there were people ...but they landed in jail.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: I remember.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.51% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.83% Coverage

DL: The safety council existed and they did their things. At the end of it, everything said why was there so few prosecutions of offenders? What do you think? In the end, I can mention 3 or 4 names that were prosecuted but they could not be all – why so few?

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Were there only so few or are these the only ones we know about -I'm not too sure about which side we are speaking of now – the white people?

DL: Specifically?

Group 8, Participant 4, F: My conspiracy theory is that the link of farm murders is as a result of what happened in the past prior to 1994 – so is it just what was in the media and we were told about, it is a difficult question to answer

Reference 2 - 1.09% Coverage

DL: Next subject is number 5, must the dept. or authorities concerned, the National Prosecuting authority, must they prosecute more people for crimes against humanity, are they prosecuting more today – how do you feel?

50:00

No, if the prison is over full then they literally choose (in audible). It feels like they don't do what they should. Just want to ask something.

Let's talk about the National Prosecuting authority, there were major changes, the top heads were changed often, but the current head, how do you feel about her, it's a woman, Shamilla Pitout, do you think she is on the right road, is she going to prosecute more.

It has more to do with politics, she does a better job, for instance this whole thing about state capture, I think she is doing a good job.

I think you are confusing this with the OB, the previous one was a man at the "IP"?

Oh, alright.

References 3-5 - 0.56% Coverage

Yes, that is actually the next question – is it fair to go back 30 years – will you still have the facts and give the person a fair trial.

No, I don't think so, it's difficult to answer.

Many things would have changed.

Laws would have changed.

Possibly, not all the facts were picked up (investigated). I feel that the SAPS are not empowered or equipped enough with technology to do their work.

Basically, it boils down to incompetence.

55:00

Exactly.

Reference 6 - 2.03% Coverage

We will expand on this later. Last question on this subject – if found guilty, should there be the penalty,

imprisonment or should he be fined, must he make a public apology for something that happened 30 or 40 or 50 years ago. For example, Janusz Waluś he is now 84 year old, must he still stay in jail for 20 years  
No, it's been so long, he may die. People who now commit murder get 25 years but it's been longer than 25 years, he has probably forgotten he committed the crime.

So I just want clarity as this is a new topic for me. So people must stand trial again or be sentenced for something again.

The laws have even changed.

It's like comparing onions with apples. I don't say he was justified in committing a murder but it was so long ago, the circumstances were different.

The amount of time your jail term was possibly different then.

Exactly.

They need to apply the same justice system if they want to do something like that.

What would his sentence term have been at that time.

I would have actually given him the death penalty, he committed the crime 30 years ago, the death penalty was done away with in 1993, then they brought in "jail time"... so even before they came into power in 1994, there were things happening at that time and he would have received the death penalty and he is now already old enough to qualify for release and there are mitigating factors.

I think it is still a more fair system I would rather die sitting in jail.

It's true what she says, the death penalty has been done away with so he cannot get the sentence today, but to give him 20 or 30 year jail sentence.

He may not be able to live out those years.

## RESULTS AND OUTCOMES OF THE TRC

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 7.18% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Yes I was there. At the old Hewitt Training College. There was a lot of crying. A lot of Kleenex. The word on the street in the area was Kleenex should actually come here and make an ad. But nothing really came of it. Like I said earlier on Wouter Basson got employment from the ANC afterwards Dr. Death. Nothing was done. Now you ask yourself, so somebody did something wrong. Is putting them in prison or is bringing them to book going to make it right? The question is is not doing anything about it but you came to right process in the right direction.

Reference 3 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Okay anybody else remember? Number six.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I remember everyday coming from school listening to it on the radio. Lots of snot en tranne (mucus and tears), but it brought a lot of healing. People got to give a voice to their pain and their atrocities. They didn't want something to be done about it they just wanted the truth to be told. A lot of people got a chance for their voice to be heard. Got a chance to face that person and to find healing. And for the people that didn't know to know. I think it was very good in opening up their eyes of the people around them and for bringing a lot of healing. And for people who felt, to be able to identify, because, and say yes I was also in that situation. 45.00 I think it brought a little tenderness. We might have looked at say different race in one way and we now can sympathise that actually their pain is different maybe to ours but just as real.

Reference 4 - 0.77% Coverage

BH: About the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. You wanted to say something?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Yes. Fortunately you know number six answers a lot of my questions. It is an issue where before the time period people were still distinguishing between Black and White and Coloured and Indian and not realising we are all human. It is like you say you sit in a train and you see a Xhosa baby and you look at the baby and you see this baby is doing the same thing as your child does home you realise. It is the same thing now in this time period, you realise these are actual human beings who love and lost and are looking for answers like you would look for answers. It made a lot of people realise that those people that you use to shove away and say: "you are not the same as us". They are actually human. They do have feelings.

Reference 5 - 0.88% Coverage

BH: And reconciliation? Some more thoughts on reconciliation?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Reconciliation I, overall its bad for me, especially with his topic. Because um I think a lot of people want to say they sorry, want to have peace between two groups but they don't really mean it. And then when you hear these stories, like okay I was way too young for TRC. Um the first real drama story apparently on the radio and what I believe and what I heard, you know these stories and people coming together and fixing the past. With reconciliation, I think there is a lot of people who are actually masking, ah, I don't know how to describe it, masking by saying they are sorry and getting people's acceptance. And uh, being, trying to fix the future but actually just still masking and still living in the past and still doing the bad things that they are not supposed to be doing and asking for forgiveness. I don't think it is really the right way.

References 6-7 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: So you don't think it was a war situation 50.00 and in war people of both sides do bad things?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think maybe but I do think there are some bad things done that were masked. No one has taken accountability. There is no truth about some of the stuff that has been done and no one has really fixed it or accepted it or even wanted to because it has been swept under the rug so well and because of that there will always be problems. Even in future there are still things that has not been sorted out. And forgiven and even just sat down around a table like this and discuss. I think that there is a lot of issues that is not so. Reconciliation is not exactly just that.

Reference 8 - 0.83% Coverage

BH: Okay. Number three.

Group 1, Participant 3, F: So I think also, if you are specifically talking about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I think the people who constructed it was naïve to think that let's have this real talk show and this was going to be the thing that was going to set us right. You had your chance to say your say and automatically after that everyone just had to forgive and forget and we moved on to the thing. I think that is one of the issues. Mainly the format is what I am thinking about but it should have been an on-going thing. From that time until now to see in benchmarking where are we now. Have we done what we needed to do? In terms of building a relationship, patching up the past in relationship. I mean this has got nothing to do with crime and service delivery and stuff like that. Are we where we need to be? Are we building this rainbow nation right?

Reference 9 - 1.33% Coverage

BH: But now I want you to hold that thought because I am now looking at you for my next intro which was by 1996 when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established South Africa had already become a Democracy and white minority rule had been defeated. Was it really necessary to dig up the past to build a better future?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

BH: Tell me why

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think like they said in the previous one, it was necessary because like I said there were a lot of white South Africans who lived under a rock. We had no idea of what exactly Apartheid meant because we lived in a very sheltered life. So we needed to actually understand why there was this anger coming out of Apartheid. I will use a scenario of saying; "you cannot rape me today and then I am able to tell my story tomorrow. On day three I am okay. I must forget about what you did to me. And I smile and pretend like nothing has happened. That is exactly what happened. We have raped a nation and had this little Truth and Reconciliation Commission and then expected everyone was going to be "kumbaya" and holding hands the next day and forever amen. And that was the problem. We had so many things yes ... in 199, we had made these beautiful laws but nothing was monitored. Nothing was followed up. There was no implementation, so it needed to be done so that it can expose the truth but exposing the truth is not enough to build a relationship.

Reference 10 - 0.48% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: At the end of the day those people still as a human know the difference between right and wrong. They should have disagreed from the get go and not gone along with everything. These men not going to jail is not holding them accountable for anything. I still feel like those families who was affected most people needs some kind of accountability. They need to be held for their actions. Those families are forever affected by what was done to them. You can't just like forgive and forget.

Reference 11 - 0.41% Coverage

BH: They did hey. Why in the end were there so few prosecutions for the human right offences?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Coming back to our previous conversation. Slapstick government. Nothing this government does is thorough. They couldn't be thorough from the beginning. They started the TRC two years after the country had already been taken over. That should have been something that was done two years prior to it. Before.

Reference 12 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I don't think anybody would have any faith in the NPA to do anything at all. They have never been able. They are not taking down politicians from today. They are definitely not going to take them down from thirty years ago. They are complete lame duck. That is unfortunately the president that was set after, after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is that nobody, nobody was held accountable then and they are definitely not holding anybody accountable now.

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 2.96% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was told that it would seek the truth and to help bring about reconciliation. So with that in mind can you remember it? Do you remember the process? Do you remember what happened? Do you want to share your memories?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: There was no reconciliation.

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 9, M: There was just a whole lot of talking coming out. But I don't see anywhere. They say okay well it is the coming out together rather than go forward. I mean what I can remember there, there was a few families that have got closure and stuff like that. But I don't think everybody got that. And I don't think they will ever get it because I mean the public government really get back a lot of information and some of that stuff went to the grave.

#### References 3-6 - 1.38% Coverage

BH: Why do you think it was important for truth to be established? Because this happened in 1996 and we have already become a Democracy when the Commission started. So why do you feel it was important to establish the truth of what happened?

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I can't remember that much of the Truth and Reconciliation but I think it was good to basically get perspective and also to admit that what they did was wrong. I think the people needed to hear that what we did was wrong. I think it was like he said to bring some form of closure whether it was successful or not I don't know. But I think they needed to get to a point of what we did was wrong and to surface those things that were underlining and I think the people needed to hear it and see that these things that they were fighting for was brought to the surface at the end of the day. I like said I don't know how successful it was. It could have brought some closure to some people and I think there are a lot of things that probably would go to the grave. That I don't think it has come out the way the people wanted it to. And I think that also for some areas brought forgiveness, maybe or a start to a new beginning, but I think there was a lot of things that wasn't dealt with and I think that also still, people will hold on to that.

#### Reference 7 - 0.63% Coverage

BH: So you think it was a mind-set. And do you think the Truth and Reconciliation Commission helped to change that mind-set? If we knew what had happened in the past because as a white person, as number nine was saying, information was hidden from us.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: If we knew I think it would have made a big change. If we had to know that happened but they hid it so well.

BH: And you don't think that it came out in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Group 2, Participant ##: No.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No. I don't think everything. Some of it but not everything.

#### Reference 8 - 0.11% Coverage

BH: Do you think it was a fair process?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Well that is a difficult question.

#### Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 4.43% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: Just sort of following on from [Participant 2]. I think for many people it was an opportunity for them have all the horrors that they had endured aired. Because until then people sort of brushed those things under the carpet. As, as we said earlier on many of us were unaware of the horrors and, and I think somehow, maybe I'm hopeful, that people got a bit of dignity from that. Some of the victims or the victim's families got some, some recognition. And I think that was a very important thing.

References 3-4 - 0.09% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I don't think it achieved national reconciliation.

References 5-6 - 1.20% Coverage

Um I believe it was necessary for the very reason that you said number six around this table alone lots of us were not fully aware or aware of what was going on for whatever reason and our truth is our truth. It's our experience and that is our truth but there were other people's truth and we needed to actually become aware of that. And that they, to try and because I worry that you talk about a scab and that is great. That is a very good analogy. But the fact is that wounds can be septic. Um and until they are actually cleaned out they can cause a problem in the future. I think the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in its time did a very good job. But its, look, it's twenty five years on. What has happened in the interim might have soured the legacy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission but at its time, for its time, it was a very good mechanism. In fact it was replicated in Northern Island with the Good Friday agreement. Nelson Mandela was one of the advocates within that process. So as a process its seen as having enormous value.

References 7-8 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I don't know. Um. Just to go back, I think for the time it was a very good instrument and it needed to be done to bring people together. Um. I don't think lessons were learnt because if you look what is happening today twenty five years later corruption is worse as it's ever been. Um. Lawlessness is becoming the in thing. Um. So when it comes to truth, 40.00 truth is relative.

Reference 9 - 0.29% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I think that did work. I think it is a lot easier to get on with people. People in the street if you know what I mean. Not, not politicians. Not that kind of level. But the people you interact with has become a whole lot easier.

References 10-11 - 1.22% Coverage

BH: So do you think then that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report was fair when it came out?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: It was?

BH: Fair?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I don't think even the half of it came out, out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I mean we were at war. I was part of it. Whether for the right reason or not, I was part of it. And the atrocities I witnessed myself personally was horrific and some of the commands that came down from those people that gave those commands were never ever brought to book. Never ever brought to book. And there is so much more that's come out since the Truth and Reconciliation Committee I mean the guy now that that apparently pushed that Timol guy over the balcony. There is just so much more that is still coming out today. It's still coming out today. So I, look and I say this quite openly is, I don't even think 50% came out. I think it was just a select few names that were at the top of the the the tree that came out and these were the guys that were were were hounded and prosecuted, or had to-

Reference 12 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: But that's exactly what I feel. I do think it was a little bit airy fairy and I think the people who do want reconciliation and truth, for them it was a useful tool. But by nature we are, we are awful beings and you cannot tell me that a 100% of South African people want reconciliation because they don't. So I think what's good for the people who want reconciliation and truth but what about all the people that don't want it and are stirring up dissent all the time?

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 0.37% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: The whole cliché of let the truth set you free didn't really happen here because the truth made people angry. And and naturally, I mean, it's your people, you know. But I don't think it's fighting for your people anymore. I just think it's fighting for power and just, you know, one can can make a statement without being violent.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.49% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.04% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Uh, there was a bit of truth that was an established from the TRC such as the atrocities that did happen. Those who did do it or followed orders to do it came forward and said no, this really did happen. So there was no way for the NP to like say no, this is just you know, rumours, but also at the same time when you think of the reason why they went forward with it some were genuinely trying to find redemption, I'm sure there was like the odd one or two people. But a lot of the time with the law and stuff, the people founded the TRC said that if you had taken all the victims and they said who did it, or who they think did it, and they would reach out to the perpetrator, and if the perpetrator did it he would avoid going to jail, whereas if he avoided, if he didn't avoid it, you know defends his freedom, if he avoids it, he would go to jail based off whatever they believed him to get. So at the same time it wasn't like a free will, I want to admit my sins, it was to save myself from going to jail.

#### Reference 2 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: I also believe that there's a lot of untold stories, um. I'm sure people went to the grave with some secrets um that sort of happened in those prisons and concentration camps and whatever. And then the families didn't get closure. They didn't really get anything from the TRC then. Yeah, and again, they're probably only just realising it now, you know, other, younger generations are going "now what about us?".

#### Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.32% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: To be honest there was a few cases going on there. Some of them went to jail. Some of them didn't because they were exempt. So how did they decide that some of the white guys going to prison and the black guys - example Stompie's case? Winnie Mandela, everyone. all of them, they were set free. But we had one guy that was in the police. He was sentenced how long to jail for that. Because of that Truth and, Commission.

#### Reference 2 - 0.74% Coverage

BH: Do you think that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission worked? Do you think that it did expose the truth? And do you think that it worked towards reconciling ourselves?

(Number four shaking her head)

BH: Why not? Why not number four? No I don't want anybody to influence number four. I just want number four to tell me what she thinks.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I don't know, but it is not working. It doesn't work.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: I can't give you a reason. Whatever they did or are still doing, it's not working. Whatever's going on is not working.

#### Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.69% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.09% Coverage

DL: Fine, the next topic we have is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I think you will remember, it was established in 1996, about two years after the election of 1994 and if I remember correctly, Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu was the chairman. A lot of people worked there and so now the question is: who was behind the establishing of the TRC and what were the intentions of the people with the TRC? Let's talk about that for a while. Do you have any opinion about that? About the establishing of the TRC, what was its purpose and what did we want to achieve by means of the TRC?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They wanted to achieve reconciliation, but to me it was a huge joke, because when the people sat down they really exaggerated things so much, and what came out wasn't even the truth. To me it was a farce, from the beginning.

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I agree with the lady. The truth definitely did not come out. The real truth never came out.



Group 7, Participant 2, F: But the real truth is also not coming out these days. I can use Etzebeth as an example. He now has to be sent back for something he might never even have done.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Exactly.

Reference 2 - 0.42% Coverage

DL: Good. The next point we now come to is what we now actually spoke about. The Truth Commission wanted to search for truth and reconciliation, but did they achieve this? This is the question. Did they find the truth and bring about reconciliation?

Group 7, Participant ##: No, they just did it because they had some things on their consciences

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Many people thought they would hear the truth, but it didn't really work out.

Reference 3 - 0.74% Coverage

DL: Good, then another question: Do you think the TRC was really necessary to build a better future?

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I think it was just a farce.

Group 7, Participant ##: It lead to nothing.

Group 7, Participant ##:: Just a waste of money.

Group 7, Participant ##:: They were just looking for an excuse to (inaudible).

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Just to show people overseas how they mourn and cry because they were hurt so badly but we whites did not hurt. Our forefathers (never?) experienced hardships.

DL: Good, number nine what would you say?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I agree with her.

DL: So you feel nothing was really achieved.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes, they achieved nothing.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Maybe they meant well initially, but things did not work out.

Reference 4 - 0.44% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Definitely not. I think it was very one-sided. Very one-sided, excuse me for interrupting, why did they not take the Whites who suffered during that time when the flippen English came and murdered us like that, and apartheid, you can say they brought apartheid, really I feel very bitter towards those flippen English, then they still came to visit their brothers, but they never went to the concentration camps to see who they murdered.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 3.92% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.63% Coverage

DL: Do you think it worked? Was there reconciliation?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: After apartheid everyone was so cross with each other, they probably tried to make us equal as a nation so that we could live together so that there would not be the feelings of hate but I don't think it worked well. If they don't have work or money, it is blamed on apartheid, the TRC should have stopped it and it failed.

Group 8, Participant ##, M: If there are no dams built then it is apartheids fault (laughter) inaudible.

References 2-3 - 1.03% Coverage

DL: Let's move on - if we compare the National Party and the ANC, was the one not as guilty as the other one

or should it not have been a good thing to say let's forgive and forget the past, that was actually what the TRC did , they dug up the past and brought it to the fore. How do you feel?

Group 8, Participant 8, M: I don't know how to answer it, it did not really improve things, the black people who have already forgotten about family, those who were killed, now they have brought it up again, this situation just causes things to be prolonged, there is no healing, it just festers all the time.

DL: Anyone else? Number 6 how do you feel about it? Do you think it was a good thing?

Group 8, Participant 6, F: To dig up the past?

DL: Yes the TRC's work basically?

Group 8, Participant 6, F: No, I don't think so, nothing has improved.

Reference 4 - 0.99% Coverage

DL: The question is was it really necessary to dig into the past to build a better future?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I think they just fuelled hatred. People were already upset and in pain about it – after apartheid they were looking for something to hit back the whites, this was the perfect opportunity to get every ones hatred together and use it as a driving force that they overcome the whites and they succeeded.

Group 8, Participant 7, F: It is not even the people who lived during the apartheid who raise it, it's people who had nothing to do with apartheid who use it to obtain something.

35:00

Group 8, Participant 8, M: It's the young blacks who make you out to be racist, then they come with their apartheid nonsense.

Group 8, Participant ##: But you weren't even part of apartheid.

Reference 5 - 1.27% Coverage

DL: Let's move on, can you still remember what the outcome was of the TRC and was the outcome fair, I know it was a little before your time, but do you think it was fair report that was done in the long run? What do you say number 5? If you consider all the facts put on the table would you say it was a fair distribution of facts, were all the pros and cons considered or was it just one side of the story that was heard?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: You never heard about all the good, it was all about a lot of bad things that happened, they never spoke about how people were treated fairly, all the blacks received houses on farms where they stayed, they received good remuneration, they were not used as slaves, there was far less crime and all children were schooled, there were a lot of little school farms which ensured that they received education, they received medical attention, it's not that they suffered. If you think that now you write up all that hate and or ask for reconciliation, it is not going to be fair (report).

## RECONCILIATION

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.89% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.88% Coverage

BH: And reconciliation? Some more thoughts on reconciliation?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Reconciliation I, overall its bad for me, especially with his topic. Because um I think a lot of people want to say they sorry, want to have peace between two groups but they don't really mean it. And then when you hear these stories, like okay I was way too young for TRC. Um the first real drama story apparently on the radio and what I believe and what I heard, you know these stories and people coming together and fixing the past. With reconciliation, I think there is a lot of people who are actually masking, ah, I don't know how to describe it, masking by saying they are sorry and getting people's acceptance. And uh, being, trying to fix the future but actually just still masking and still living in the past and still doing the bad things that they are not supposed to be doing and asking for forgiveness. I don't think it is really the right way.

References 2-3 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: So you don't think it was a war situation 50.00 and in war people of both sides do bad things?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think maybe but I do think there are some bad things done that were masked. No one has taken accountability. There is no truth about some of the stuff that has been done and no one has really fixed it or accepted it or even wanted to because it has been swept under the rug so well and because of that there will always be problems. Even in future there are still things that has not been sorted out. And forgiven and even just sat down around a table like this and discuss. I think that there is a lot of issues that is not so. Reconciliation is not exactly just that.

Reference 4 - 1.38% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I think it would be very interesting to ask them what they feel, because I have had clients who were Apartheid activists and are elderly now. And it is very interesting to hear their opinion on what they dreamt for South Africa and what they are living in and what the country was like at the time. Ahh, because their voices are very valid. I think that we have in a way sensationalised either the hate, not sensationalised but we hate, we're made Apartheid this thing that we had to end and we have forgotten the people that fought for it to end and what they lived through. And actually what they wanted and what they envisioned. And I think that they might not be as angry. And they might not be as vindictive as this current generation is and that actually they might be filled with a lot more grace and love. And I think that their voices need to be heard to remind us of the true fighters and the true people and what they wanted and saw. Maybe it is a good thing. Maybe it will make us believe okay we need to now forgive our past. We need to get healing. We need to move forward. I honestly think that maybe going back to our elders for their guidance and knowledge might be our only way forward again because right now we have this mass of young people with no knowledge of what it was really like trying to fight a fight that they don't understand. And I think they will be all very (inaudible) and we need our elders to come back and to settle us and to remind us.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.85% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was told that it would seek the truth and to help bring about reconciliation. So with that in mind can you remember it? Do you remember the process? Do you remember what happened? Do you want to share your memories?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: There was no reconciliation.

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 9, M: There was just a whole lot of talking coming out. But I don't see anywhere. They say okay well it is the coming out together rather than go forward. I mean what I can remember there, there was a few families that have got closure and stuff like that. But I don't think everybody got that. And I don't think they will ever get it because I mean the public government really get back a lot of information and some of that stuff went to the grave.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I don't think it achieved national reconciliation. My personal feeling is that I don't think that this country has been reconciled at all. And I don't think a lot of the rhetoric you get from certain parties um is helping at all. However if you get on the ground dealing with everyday people I do find relationships with black people on the ground much easier today than it ever was before. So, and I often wonder if the politicians would stop their rhetoric for a minute and pay attention to what is actually happening at grassroots they would notice that actually people are getting along reasonably well.

References 2-3 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: But that's exactly what I feel. I do think it was a little bit airy fairy and I think the people who do want reconciliation and truth, for them it was a useful tool. But by nature we are, we are awful beings and you cannot tell me that a 100% of South African people want reconciliation because they don't. So I think what's good for the people who want reconciliation and truth but what about all the people that don't want it and are stirring up dissent all the time?

References 4-5 - 0.92% Coverage

And I find, and I am probably going to make myself incredibly unpopular, but I think that some of us are defensive. We want to reconcile as much as we does to suit us because we don't like being victims. But how many of us would really be this, and I am not being rude, and I am talking generally and not just within this room, advocates of reconciliation if our position was not threatened in some form? Or we perceive it threatened. So I am somewhat sceptical and cynical about people's motivation. If we could leave South Africa, many of us might. But some of us are stuck here and we just do not know how to deal with the situation that we are in at the moment. Um. We are struggling with it as much as anybody else is. And um I worry that that that we look to the past but the destabilisation has come and gone.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.83% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I don't think you can reconcile when you have treated a race as bad as the white people of South Africa did in the apartheid times. I don't think that that is ever going to be reconcilable. I don't think- I think we do all just need to, like you said, we draw a line and say "what is in the past is in the past". Let's move forward.

Reference 2 - 1.46% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes I just want to say I don't believe that we can reconcile though I wish and I pray that we will. But I don't believe we can because our mind-sets as South Africans, as much as apartheid was a black and white thing, I believe, what about the xenophobia that is happening now? Then it's black on black. Because it's the South Africans that believe that it is their right to, to say that they own the land because they are South African. What is a South African? As much as we are South African, being a South African is in your heart, you know. Because I was born a South African doesn't make me a South African. It's Ubuntu you know. It's a rainbow nation. Do I believe we live up to that rainbow nation? Not at all. I don't believe that because we have so much hate. I look at the Zulus fighting against the Zimbabweans. And the Zimbabweans, you know, being here looking for work because Zimbabwe has gone the way it has, you know. And everyone says South Africa is another Zimbabwe. It's gonna be like that, it's gonna turn like that. It is a very broad statement, and uh, you know, but I do believe that apartheid is now not actually, apartheid in 199-, 1994, before it was abolished in 1994, I do believe that was a colour thing. But I believe now with the xenophobia it is black on black. So you know they are still the same race so what is it? For me, that's, that's where I get confused.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 3.50% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.28% Coverage

BH: Why don't you think the reconciliation didn't work?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: They didn't judge all the situations the same. If they hadn't done everything the same way maybe it would have worked better.

Reference 2 - 0.37% Coverage

BH: So you don't think the reconciliation took place?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: No not at all.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Punishing generation after generation after generation.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 6, Participant ##: And it's getting worse, you know what I mean?

Reference 3 - 0.74% Coverage

BH: Do you think that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission worked? Do you think that it did expose the truth? And do you think that it worked towards reconciling ourselves?

(Number four shaking her head)

BH: Why not? Why not number four? No I don't want anybody to influence number four. I just want number four to tell me what she thinks.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I don't know, but it is not working. It doesn't work.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: I can't give you a reason. Whatever they did or are still doing, it's not working. Whatever's going on is not working.

References 4-5 - 2.11% Coverage

BH: So how do we get to a state of having each other's interests at heart because you were saying that democracy hasn't really work? That it could work if we were all equal. And you were saying that the truth and Reconciliation Commission hasn't actually reconciled us. So your suggestion that we should all be working together with our interests all at heart, how do we do that? How do you see that we can all work together?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: See that is, that is a bit difficult.

BH: Do you have any ideas?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Take it for instance I got workers there by the work. We work all together. You always get that one that's against you. Or against the other people. Then afterwards he come to talk to this guy, talk to that guy. And he can see them pulling away now with him.

BH: So why do you think that person behaves like that?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Ahh, it's just, to tell you the truth, they are part of the EFF.

BH: The EFF, okay, and what are your views number four? How can we work together with our interests at heart?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I got no idea.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I think a good start would be to get rid of all the hate. All the hating that there is.

BH: Is the hate coming from both sides?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: From both sides.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Both sides, ja.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Both sides.

Group 6, Participant 7,F: And not one of them wants to -

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Not one of them wants to give in

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They don't want to reconcile. I'll spite you, you spite me.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Yes that's the thing yeah.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.88% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.88% Coverage

DL: If you think you represent all of Brandfort, are they democrats against their will, or are they pro-democracy? Do you want to talk about the district?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I see it as a challenge to see whether we can live together, we can only benefit to work along with them instead of being against one another, so rather pull together, instead of against each other.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with you, but the hatred will never disappear.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But those things one must put behind if you are a Christian.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But that is why the ANC keeps on inciting them that is why they will never get rid of the hatred because they can't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They believe in their forefathers.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: They're not Christians, they don't believe in God. If you don't have God in you, then you don't have love, and if you don't have love you can't...

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 2.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.03% Coverage

DL: Let's move on – if we compare the National Party and the ANC, was the one not as guilty as the other one or should it not have been a good thing to say let's forgive and forget the past, that was actually what the TRC did , they dug up the past and brought it to the fore. How do you feel?

Group 8, Participant 8, M: I don't know how to answer it, it did not really improve things, the black people who have already forgotten about family, those who were killed, now they have brought it up again, this situation just causes things to be prolonged, there is no healing, it just festers all the time.

DL: Anyone else? Number 6 how do you feel about it? Do you think it was a good thing?

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DL: Yes the TRC's work basically?

Group 8, Participant 6, F: No, I don't think so, nothing has improved.

Reference 2 - 0.99% Coverage

DL: The question is was it really necessary to dig into the past to build a better future?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I think they just fuelled hatred. People were already upset and in pain about it – after apartheid they were looking for something to hit back the whites, this was the perfect opportunity to get every ones hatred together and use it as a driving force that they overcome the whites and they succeeded.

Group 8, Participant 7, F: It is not even the people who lived during the apartheid who raise it, it's people who had nothing to do with apartheid who use it to obtain something.

35:00

Group 8, Participant 8, M: It's the young blacks who make you out to be racist, then they come with their apartheid nonsense.

Group 8, Participant ##: But you weren't even part of apartheid.

## DEALING WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S PAST

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.69% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I say like, when Mandela came into power everybody thought that he was gonna make the white people pay now and it is going to be a reverse. So he said that he just wants a pure country and everybody should be treated like human beings. Forget about the past and move forward. But clearly they are not moving forward.

Reference 2 - 1.38% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I think it would be very interesting to ask them what they feel, because I have had clients who were Apartheid activists and are elderly now. And it is very interesting to hear their opinion on what they dreamt for South Africa and what they are living in and what the country was like at the time. Ahh, because their voices are very valid. I think that we have in a way sensationalised either the hate, not sensationalised but we hate, we're made Apartheid this thing that we had to end and we have forgotten the people that fought for it to end and what they lived through. And actually what they wanted and what they envisioned. And I think that they might not be as angry. And they might not be as vindictive as this current generation is and that actually they might be filled with a lot more grace and love. And I think that their voices need to be heard to remind us of the true fighters and the true people and what they wanted and saw. Maybe it is a good thing. Maybe it will make us believe okay we need to now forgive our past. We need to get healing. We need to move forward. I honestly think that maybe going back to our elders for their guidance and knowledge might be our only way forward again because right now we have this mass of young people with no knowledge of what it was really like trying to fight a fight that they don't understand. And I think they will be all very (inaudible) and we need our elders to come back and to settle us and to remind us.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.38% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.38% Coverage

BH: Why do you think it was important for truth to be established? Because this happened in 1996 and we have already become a Democracy when the Commission started. So why do you feel it was important to establish the truth of what happened?

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I can't remember that much of the Truth and Reconciliation but I think it was good to basically get perspective and also to admit that what they did was wrong. I think the people needed to hear that what we did was wrong. I think it was like he said to bring some form of closure whether it was successful or not I don't know. But I think they needed to get to a point of what we did was wrong and to surface those things that were underlining and I think the people needed to hear it and see that these things that they were fighting for was brought to the surface at the end of the day. I like said I don't know how successful it was. It could have brought some closure to some people and I think there are a lot of things that probably would go to the grave. That I don't think it has come out the way the people wanted it to. And I think that also for some areas brought forgiveness, maybe or a start to a new beginning, but I think there was a lot of things that wasn't dealt with and I think that also still, people will hold on to that.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.82% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.82% Coverage

I don't think we moved on from this war thing. This fighting thing. And as soon as they can get over that, I think it will be a lot better place to live in. I certainly have any ill feelings toward black people do. In actual fact I only have black friends. My wife is also in the education department. And she is the only white lady in the district she that she was at which is Nzinyathi which is huge and I mean she went into areas a lot of you ladies probably wouldn't even think of going into. With a bakkie. I know [NAME OMITTED] goes. I know [NAME OMITTED] will go but [NAME OMITTED] will tell you where [NAME OMITTED] goes. Yes frightening. Absolutely horrific. I think it is the other way around. The fear thing.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 1.93% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.82% Coverage

BH: Recalling the past.



Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes, it's igniting fear. It is igniting hateful speech and us who are also in the universities with black, coloured, Indian people, we are being targeted and we are being ridiculed for things that we had no control over as white people, you know. And I do believe that we haven't moved past it. I always say that I believe that it is apartheid just in the reverse. It is just reversed apartheid. You know apartheid is reversed because myself as an educator it has happened to me where I have gone to, I work at rural schools, and I have gone to the principals of these schools and I said please here is my CV. Here is my job. And they say unfortunately I can't employ you because you are not black. They have told me that to my face. So for me-

Reference 2 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes I do. Personally I saw it was a platform for people to vent their personal vendettas and feelings about the apartheid era. And I think that is one of the fundamental problems that we still have in South Africa that everybody is just too entitled to their opinion. We need to all build a bridge and get over it and carry on with a fresh start. Um.

Reference 3 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I don't think you can reconcile when you have treated a race as bad as the white people of South Africa did in the apartheid times. I don't think that that is ever going to be reconcilable. I don't think- I think we do all just need to, like you said, we draw a line and say "what is in the past is in the past". Let's move forward.

Reference 4 - 0.20% Coverage

We need to look at the past and say what can we do differently? How can we change it? Whether you black, whether you white, a person is a person. That's, we are all people of colour in this country.

Reference 5 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3 F: I don't necessarily think dig up the past I mean don't make a spectacle of it. I sometimes think that is what is done you know.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 4.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.44% Coverage

BH: Okay and the views about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? 35.00 Okay, so do you think it is necessary to dig up the past to build a better future?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The ANC did that. And that is why the country is where it is today. Leave the past in the past. Cut the ties and stop it. Forgive and forget and carry on

Reference 2 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I agree. Faults were made. There were problems. We work from it.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I feels like it's a punishment now. We're being punished more for what happened in the past.

Reference 3 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: What's in the past - you know what the stuff happened. It has happened. Nothing you are going to do today is going to change what happened in the past.

Reference 4 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It's the past. Keep the past in the past. What is that going to change now? They already took over everything so what else do you want?

Reference 5 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yes it is going to cost the country. It is going to cost the tax payer a fortune to dig up stuff that can't be changed. It's the past.

Reference 6 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Because it wasn't us. We didn't know. We we hear about it only afterwards. Why

punish us? Why punish our children? We are sorry for what happened but the past is in the past. Let's carry on. Make about the future.

#### Reference 7 - 0.60% Coverage

BH: Okay, alright. Do you think there is a deliberate silencing of life under apartheid within the white community today? Do you and your friends talk about the apartheid time and the bad things that happened? So do you think that we are sweeping it under the carpet?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It's not sweeping it under the carpet. We are trying to forget about.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: We are trying to move on.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yeah going forward.

#### Reference 8 - 0.93% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##: If everybody's equal and get treated equal because that's. they didn't get treated the same in apartheid. So it didn't work. And if now if they treat everybody equal and everybody's equal opportunity then it will work. I mean the proof is Zimbabwe. That was the most productive country in the world. And what happened? Everybody that was qualified and knew what they were doing got scared and ran. Left the country. And where's the country today? That is exactly what is happening here. So they must start treating people equal. Forget about the past. The past didn't work. It was a mistake. And a lot of mistakes happen. So forget about it. Work now and treat everybody the same.

#### Reference 9 - 0.70% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Stop playing the blame game. And-

Group 6, Participant ##: Get over it.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: How long is, since 1994. It's been-

BH: It's twenty five years

Group 6, Participant 11, M: It's twenty-five years it's been democracy but they still blaming everything on apartheid. So if they can't get it right in twenty five years why still blame it on apartheid? It doesn't make sense. So stop playing the blame game. That's the only way to move forward. Forget about the past and look in front of you.

#### Reference 10 - 0.43% Coverage

BH: So what is it that we want to get into everybody's heads?

Group 6, Participant ##: Yeah. Forget the past. Go on with the future. That is the main thing.

BH: So do you think perhaps we need to have a special goal that we need to work to?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Yeah, that would, that's what I'm saying, yeah. Something like that.

#### Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.71% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes I would also say forgive and forget. Even with movies with all the old apartheid stories, you feel upset all over again. They must leave those things behind. Don't show those movies anymore. It just incites them all over again.

Group 7, Participant ##: It just fans the fires of hatred. And they show those movies more and more these days.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Yes. On TV, how they were treated during those days. It should be stopped.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Songs too. There are songs people sing that people are mad about.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Kill the Boer.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Its number 1 on top. Also the old flag that they display in front of people and they don't like it and the anthem that they want to do away with. Those are not really important things. What difference does it make if they still sing the anthem at rugby matches and so forth, and it has never caused any harm.

Reference 2 - 0.84% Coverage

DL: The next question connects with this: Is there an absolute silence about the life under apartheid? Do we still talk about it? Or do we keep completely quiet about it?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: We still talk about it a lot.

Group 7, Participant ##: Definitely.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: When you do talk about it, it is all negative. Hate and bitterness as a result of the fact that we can't forgive and forget. We should do it, but no one really does it. It's difficult. The discussion will last for a short while and then the ugliness comes to the fore.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: And it comes basically from the ANC., always bringing this up. Yes, especially Malema and those ones.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: He cannot forget it.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But he had nothing to do with apartheid,

Group 7, Participant 9, F: But the history in school, is about the ANC, it doesn't go farther back.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.11% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I also just want to say that many use apartheid as a big excuse.

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 3.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.38% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I think it would be very interesting to ask them what they feel, because I have had clients who were Apartheid activists and are elderly now. And it is very interesting to hear their opinion on what they dreamt for South Africa and what they are living in and what the country was like at the time. Ahh, because their voices are very valid. I think that we have in a way sensationalised either the hate, not sensationalised but we hate, we're made Apartheid this thing that we had to end and we have forgotten the people that fought for it to end and what they lived through. And actually what they wanted and what they envisioned. And I think that they might not be as angry. And they might not be as vindictive as this current generation is and that actually they might be filled with a lot more grace and love. And I think that their voices need to be heard to remind us of the true fighters and the true people and what they wanted and saw. Maybe it is a good thing. Maybe it will make us believe okay we need to now forgive our past. We need to get healing. We need to move forward. I honestly think that maybe going back to our elders for their guidance and knowledge might be our only way forward again because right now we have this mass of young people with no knowledge of what it was really like trying to fight a fight that they don't understand. And I think they will be all very (inaudible) and we need our elders to come back and to settle us and to remind us.

Reference 2 - 0.61% Coverage

BH: Do you think there is a deliberate silencing of life under apartheid within white communities today in your generation?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

BH: Why

Group 1, Participant 1, M: Because like my family, my grandfather he is vocal about this. He is very ashamed that he didn't do more. He is very ashamed that the people he helped vote into power did these things. He is very ashamed that it happened. I mean he is white, if you want to call him because he was one of those people who made an x next to that person's name and that is why it is very much a fact of don't talk about it. My grandfather they won't speak to my children about what happened.

Reference 3 - 1.55% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Yes the constitution does. The paper is doing the job. It is the people making decisions behind the paper that is not doing their job. I sat in that equality court case with the Afrikaner, the artist that did that thing that says "fuck Afrikaans".

BH: Yes

Group 1, Participant 2, M: And the "tit for tat" frightened me big time out and what I came to realise is that the magistrate who sits there has to make a decision got a very difficult thing to do because with one point this group is feeling we are now being treated unequally. And the other point is freedom of speech. And now he has to balance all of these things to the end. Until it was pointed out that this artist cannot just say sweep it under the rug. All this pain. All this suffering that me and my family had to go through I can't sweep under the rug. That is why I did this. But he did it in such a way that you could take it or leave it. If you wanted to take it in a negative way you take it in a negative way. And that is a lot of times happening these days is your personal feelings concerning what somebody says to you. That either makes it bad or good. You know if I walk down in the Cape Flats and people call me Kasper or Whitey and stuff like that, I don't get offended. But if I had to go around and be offended about it. (everybody laughing and talking together) But it is like that. The same thing if you walk in Gugulethu and your one friend is calling the other friend there my "darkie friend". And you like saying "you can't say that" but that is how we speak to each other. We don't get offended. But if I had to say it would cause offence because of the quotation from the past. Which is fair.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 2.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.66% Coverage

BH: Guilty. Yes I am going to go four then I am going to go six. You mustn't lean away from me like that four. I need to bring you in.

Group 3, Participant 4, M: You know this whole thing is dredging up the past. And I think possibly one of the reasons is to not take note of what is going on at present.

BH: Oh okay. So you think it is like an obfuscation thing?

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I mean we got so many problems that need solving. There is so much corruption that needs sorting out. So many people need to pay the price for what they have done. It's easier to dredge up the past hey?

Reference 2 - 0.30% Coverage

BH: Is there a deliberate silencing of life under apartheid within the white community today?

Group 3, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: We are not talking about it. We are suppressing it.

Group 3, Participant ##: I don't think we know any better.

References 3-4 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I think number four, what number four said is we keep on dredging up the past and living in this past, and in this old hurts and pains, you know I've been sitting here and I've been thinking about-

BH: Is it white people doing it or is it only black people doing it?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I think it is white people doing it.

Group 3, Participant ##: No, I think it is both.

Reference 5 - 0.43% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: It is not just white people but I am sitting here thinking and we are just talking about when I was there, I sound like a [inaudible] now. Just those little things coming up and I am just thinking, what did I do this for? Why did I do this? And now we are sitting here talking about hey not what can we do better? Is what did we do bad? What could we do better?

Reference 6 - 0.49% Coverage

BH: Do you think perhaps we make excuses for the past? Is our silencing an excuse for the past?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Beating your breast and being sorry is uncomfortable. I mean it is an uncomfortable process so we can't, we try and put it into a hazy perspective to a degree and then ignore it where we can but it's human nature. That is what people do. They don't like pain. And feeling guilty about it. But I don't know.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 6.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.77% Coverage

BH: You were going to say something number six.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes. When I was studying every single subject happened to be related to apartheid no matter if you were doing an African language because I did Zulu. No matter if you are doing an African language or if you are doing um, a literacy or whatever subjects, you are doing or studying, it's always about apartheid. And what it does is, because I was born in '91. '94, I mean I wasn't really a part of the apartheid regime. Um we were in the same class at the same school with Indians, coloured, white, Muslim, with all different religions and us as children we know no better, you know. We don't know about the whole apartheid. And what I believe – oh sorry, can't say that!

#### Reference 2 - 1.11% Coverage

BH: Of course you can, say anything you like.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: What I believe is that the studies and the curriculum that they have is igniting anger amongst the people. Because you read about me as a black woman, I read about how badly my ancestors and my grannie and my grandpa were treated. Off course you wanna get angry. You are not going to get angry because yes you were involved in it, but then you are living in a home where people in your house did have to live under the apartheid regime. And you know what for them it was dreadful and I don't condone it. I don't condone what happened but I do believe that it created a lot of separation amongst the people and a lot of anger. And it has become very hateful, you know, you know, the text books that you read and -

BH: Recalling the past.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes, it's igniting fear. It is igniting hateful speech and us who are also in the universities with black, coloured, Indian people, we are being targeted and we are being ridiculed for things that we had no control over as white people, you know.

#### References 3-4 - 0.87% Coverage

BH: Okay. Number five.

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Sorry I just remembered a saying that once I think is often aptly applied. It says; how often we rewrite history to favour the victors. Under apartheid rule um the MKV veterans were, were part of a militia going against government-

25.00

BH: It was more on the other side. The army on the other side.

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Yes and now they are seen as the heroes. Now, they fought for the freedom but if we, if things changed and the ANC hadn't come to power and the apartheid regime hasn't fallen, would they have still been seen as freedom fighters or would they be seen as terrorists? And I think really, the whole principle of was apartheid a crime against humanity or was it a series of rules they had failed? I think it all depends from which side of that fence you sitting on.

#### Reference 5 - 1.03% Coverage

BH: And how do you think we should we view apartheid today?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Well, I think we should learn from it. I mean obviously it happened. We can't just ignore it and sweep it under the rug and say okay, let's just – like when people say, just move on. 30.00 So I get cross when sort of, when young people sort of my age and younger go, ah, you know, apartheid screwed up my life so much, because they, they didn't experience it like their parents did. Obviously they are still experiencing the effects of it, I mean. It hasn't – just because the law has changed doesn't mean everybody suddenly was empowered, you know, the wealth was dealt out. But I do think that it's, it shouldn't be ignored. It should be taught in schools. It should be spoken about just like the Holocaust is still spoken about even if it happened almost seventy years ago. But it's, it's something that we need to learn from so that we can move forward as a society and to, to help each other get along better.

#### Reference 6 - 0.20% Coverage

We need to look at the past and say what can we do differently? How can we change it? Whether you black, whether you white, a person is a person. That's, we are all people of colour in this country.

#### Reference 7 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3 F: I don't necessarily think dig up the past I mean don't make a spectacle of it. I sometimes think that is what is done you know.

#### Reference 8 - 0.88% Coverage

BH: Okay anybody wants to say anything else? Number five

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think the biggest thing that must be gathered from the past is, lessons must be learnt. What went right, what went wrong? How, how do you, how do you take the pros of what went right and how do you learn from the failures at the same time. The biggest thing I think that is driving this forward is political gain that is now occurring in parliament. Even at local parliamentary levels and when politicians are fighting for votes everything then goes to, well, apartheid it was this. We fought for your power. We fought for the rights. But there's no learning. There's no real scenario - politicians actually, once they are on power has the to say guys what went wrong as the solutions on how to fix this. They are just fighting for [inaudible] points and votes.

References 9-10 - 0.92% Coverage

BH: Okay so now the young ones at the table. Do you think you have any responsibility with regards to addressing the legacy of apartheid that you are faced with now? Do you think you have the responsibility to address that legacy?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Yes

BH: Okay and how, how should one address it?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think it being a part of history it needs to be something that we must remember and must know about. But again it is to a certain degree. Like number six was saying in her studies and what she has learnt it's being brought into every subject. Even in my studies at UKZN where I attended, like, I was the only white in the class and it would always, whenever they spoke about it, it would be uncomfortable for me so I'd say to myself okay well, imagine how they must have felt twenty years ago. So I will just sit and take it. Because it fair. It's what we owe them.

Reference 11 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I was actually doodling (laughter) and listening at the same time. But I see, opportunities- education. I think knowledge is power. So as we start educating all races in South Africa everyone will start to realise that yes apartheid was wrong, but um education will set you free and maybe give you a better understanding of the way forward.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.24% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: Because you know what happened in the past?

Group 6, Participant ##: Ja you know what happened in the past. And now is the future. You don't know what is going to happen tomorrow.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 5.27% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes I would also say forgive and forget. Even with movies with all the old apartheid stories, you feel upset all over again. They must leave those things behind. Don't show those movies anymore. It just incites them all over again.

Group 7, Participant ##: It just fans the fires of hatred. And they show those movies more and more these days.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Yes. On TV, how they were treated during those days. It should be stopped.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Songs too. There are songs people sing that people are mad about.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Kill the Boer.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Its number 1 on top. Also the old flag that they display in front of people and they don't like it and the anthem that they want to do away with. Those are not really important things. What difference does it make if they still sing the anthem at rugby matches and so forth, and it has never caused any harm.

#### References 2-3 - 1.50% Coverage

DL: The next question is about the younger Germans decades after WW2. They started asking questions about the Nazis and the murders of the Jews and all sorts of things. Is it the same in SA? Think about our young people our children do they ask questions about the old system are they interested in it? Was it a strange system to them, or what is your experience? Number 4?

Group 7, Participant 4, M: They're not learning about it at school anymore, everything about those times have been removed from the schools, the children do not know what happened earlier on in our lives. They are taught nothing about it.

Group 7, Participant ##: No questions are asked.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Nothing.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: There are children, though who have wondered and asked questions. Especially now when where they are in the same schools, they cannot understand why they were treated like that then.

Group 7, Participant ##: My grandchild asked me granny, why could they not swim with you, or ride in the same bus with you, so children wonder about it. They are raised differently.

DL: Good, number 7?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: I think depending on their ages they did ask. My child did ask questions, but my grandchildren won't have the opportunity of asking questions, because they don't know the history.

DL: They do not have knowledge about that system which came after their time. We will get to that shortly

Group 7, Participant 7, F: The 10th October, Paul Kruger's birthday. The children don't know for some time now.

Group 7, Participant ##: They don't even know about Paul Kruger.

#### References 4-6 - 0.84% Coverage

DL: The next question connects with this: Is there an absolute silence about the life under apartheid? Do we still talk about it? Or do we keep completely quiet about it?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: We still talk about it a lot.

Group 7, Participant ##: Definitely.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: When you do talk about it, it is all negative. Hate and bitterness as a result of the fact that we can't forgive and forget. We should do it, but no one really does it. It's difficult. The discussion will last for a short while and then the ugliness comes to the fore.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: And it comes basically from the ANC., always bringing this up. Yes, especially Malema and those ones.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: He cannot forget it.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But he had nothing to do with apartheid,

Group 7, Participant 9, F: But the history in school, is about the ANC, it doesn't go farther back.

#### Reference 7 - 0.28% Coverage

DL: So is it not then a case of the government determines the content of history?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes, they determine it, they just want to put in what's good for them.



01:15:07

DL: Now you must say who they are?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: ANC.

(Laughter)

Group 7, Participant ##: Exactly, yes

Reference 8 - 1.77% Coverage

DL: But is it not so that during apartheid the NP controlled the recording of history to a large extent? And determined what was taught in the schools?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Yes, that is so.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It could be. But I would say it was the Voortrekkers, they wrote the history as they trekked, and that's how our history originated.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes, and morals also were a lot better because the children were educated, they knew in the evening they pray to Jesus, today also there's nothing like that, no more religion in the schools. If you do not have religion in your home, your children will know nothing about it. You can't raise a child without religion, so it's just a matter of...

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Those days in schools there were Voortrekker camps, there were Voortrekkers...

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Your children were raised much better.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They knew how to survive. Today we no longer have those things.

DL: Isn't it a case of our different perspectives; if I talk about white history I see it like this, but from a black perspective I see it differently? How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes, it could also be, because they see their history completely differently, than what we see ours.

Group 7, Participant ##: ...The Zulu's.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Say, the ANC, I say ANC, because it's because of them that we are in the position we are in today.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Take for example the Zulus that were so cruel, that's what our children were taught, about the Voortrekkers and the Zulus and that, so your child knew about things like that and caused children to learn to hate, I mean he knew about all the cruelty and things like that, so maybe it is better on the other hand that those things were also removed.

DL: So you feel it cuts both ways.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes, both sides.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 6.87% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I also just want to say that many use apartheid as a big excuse.

Reference 2 - 0.33% Coverage

DL: If we say that apartheid was not a crime against humanity, how should we see it today?

Group 8, Participant 11, M: It should be a way to make it better, a learning curve. (inaudible)

Group 8, Participant ##: Should be able to learn from it but not all learn from it.

Reference 3 - 0.18% Coverage

DL: As we said previously and system is open to abuse worldwide, not only here in South Africa.

Group 8, Participant ##: It's part of history.

Reference 4 - 1.03% Coverage

DL: Let's move on – if we compare the National Party and the ANC, was the one not as guilty as the other one or should it not have been a good thing to say let's forgive and forget the past, that was actually what the TRC did, they dug up the past and brought it to the fore. How do you feel?

Group 8, Participant 8, M: I don't know how to answer it, it did not really improve things, the black people who have already forgotten about family, those who were killed, now they have brought it up again, this situation just causes things to be prolonged, there is no healing, it just festers all the time.

DL: Anyone else? Number 6 how do you feel about it? Do you think it was a good thing?

Group 8, Participant 6, F: To dig up the past?

DL: Yes the TRC's work basically?

Group 8, Participant 6, F: No, I don't think so, nothing has improved.

Reference 5 - 0.99% Coverage

DL: The question is was it really necessary to dig into the past to build a better future?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I think they just fuelled hatred. People were already upset and in pain about it – after apartheid they were looking for something to hit back the whites, this was the perfect opportunity to get every one's hatred together and use it as a driving force that they overcome the whites and they succeeded.

Group 8, Participant 7, F: It is not even the people who lived during the apartheid who raise it, it's people who had nothing to do with apartheid who use it to obtain something.

35:00

Group 8, Participant 8, M: It's the young blacks who make you out to be racist, then they come with their apartheid nonsense.

Group 8, Participant ##: But you weren't even part of apartheid.

References 6-7 - 1.73% Coverage

If we say that it is now 25 years after democracy, should bygones be bygones? How do you feel?

I feel they keep bringing it up, we will never be able to get over it and move on. We can do so much more and move on.

If you are stuck in the past, you can't make progress.

They need to focus on today, what is important to the country.

They are still trying to solve problems from that time.

As you said "we want work, create employment"

May I be a realist and just say that it is a very nice idea but we are just people and people don't know how to let go of the past otherwise we would not still be getting upset about speaking about concentration camps and Hitler. In America they are also still going on about slavery, if your great great grandfather did something to you brother. I agree it is a good thing to let go and move on but people cannot let go

But they keep bringing it up in the school syllabus.

Indoctrination.

The first heading in LO is Apartheid, they should rather teach us how to grow your business, teach practical skills.

Say someone loaned R3000 from you 200 years ago, and another loaned R3000 just last week, which one will you go to first – you will right off the first R3000.

Or you go back to the one who loaned first.

But he could have died already.

Or have forgotten about it.

So you will go to the person who borrowed from you last week because he promised to pay you back next week.

#### Reference 8 - 1.67% Coverage

The next question, the younger generation of Germans find it difficult to take part in the blame, the same with the born frees, that's you, find it very difficult to accept blame for apartheid, what do you say about this, should you feel guilty about it or not? Should you ask questions about apartheid?

All talk together but the consensus is no.

01:10:03

Just because our grandparents may not have been very nice. I feel that this is not something that needs to be carried over, not as in the past where things were carried down from generation to generation. It may have been like that in previous generations but if I had to carry around all that baggage and not become my own self, I wouldn't have been able to breathe (not sure what the respondent means)/ I wouldn't have been here today.

I don't think we can be blamed as it was not a system that was carried over.

When I was in primary school and high school, I use to feel guilty, that's what they taught you in school, so yes I use to blame my great grandparents but as I found more information I realized that it was not my fault. It is about your upbringing and education

Yes your upbringing plays a major role, if you listen to the stories of your parents and grandparents, then you are likely to be racist, but if you were raised well in a non-racists house hold, then you won't be racist.

#### Reference 9 - 0.84% Coverage

Yes and if you had you a mind of your own, if your dad routed/supported for the Free State and your grandfather also, then I would also rooted for the same team. Is there a deathly silence under white people today? Do we openly talk about it?

It differs from group to group. It's not a daily discussion but from time to time we do talk about it. It's not something we tried to avoid we know it happened, we have to deal with it, it won't go away.

I think the topic is more prevalent amongst the men folk.

Not necessarily, because I study agriculture and the land etc. it is often a topic of conversation. It influences our work, everyone. The agricultural people speak about it

WAS DEMOCRACY THE BEST OUTCOME FOR SA

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 5.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.10% Coverage

BH: Thank you. Now do think Democracy was the best outcome for South Africa?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: No

Reference 2 - 2.66% Coverage

BH: I am going to come back to you number eleven I am just going to give the others a chance.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: At the time around '94 yes it was the best thing there. Currently no.

BH: Why?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Because Democracy right across the world has been proven not to work.

So it is just not a South African thing?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: It is a worldwide problem because the centralised government ruling the different areas don't deal with different areas. The issue at hand. So it is not working for an (inaudible) country. That is what they call it. For that infant country in '94, '95, '96 up to '99 no. Maybe mid 2000's yes perfect. But currently after all the issues and problems we have had it has been proven that, I was almost going to call it a federal government like America is not the same where each province has more autonomy to improve to be more effective.

BH: Isn't Democracy about freedom, human rights because that would happen in a federal government because federal government can be democratic as well?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: But the issue of a democratic government that is the issue when it comes down because it has been proven not to work.

BH: That all people are equal?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: All people are equal. That is fine. That is not my contest, not what I am fighting with.

BH: You mean we go round with the vote of the majority? Is that what you actually?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: If you look at the issue if we now take this province compared to other provinces. In this province we have shown to have better infrastructure. And it has happened that the other people come here and making it a bigger problem for this province. Basically every part of every province has the same autonomist government under an umbrella where they have more powers to do certain things.

BH: Are you saying things should be more like franchised?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: No not franchised.

BH: Because democracy is we go along with the rule of the majority. 1.15.00 and in the Western Cape we are going with the rule of the majority. The same as we are doing in the Eastern Cape. But are you saying that the Western Cape has more worth than the Eastern Cape?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: What I am saying is the Western Cape should have the control over the infrastructure of the area. And the national government should have like an umbrella power over this.

BH: But I think where the question that I asked was more on everybody being treated equally. And when we vote we go along with the majority of people. So minorities in disagreement, their voices are heard but the

decision goes along with the majority.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: That is what I am talking about. The umbrella part of it but you know you also have to look at it, no matter if 99% of the people are shouting the sun is blue that they are right either.

Reference 3 - 0.53% Coverage

BH: Right, okay. Number six.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I am going to ask a question but I then realised I answered the wrong one because I didn't understand the question. So are we asking if democracy was the right thing for South Africa as in a decision made for democracy?

BH: Yes

Group 1, Participant 6, F: And I was separating our current government and the way they are running our country. Are we asking is that two separate things? Or are we combining it as in better democracy better

Group 1, Participant ##: Our government doesn't know what they are doing.

Reference 4 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: Yes, because there was fights all over. The old government had to say look we need to release this man so that he can, not tame his people but so that he can, can make things right.

Reference 5 - 1.29% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think democracy was the right thing. But I think it was maybe a little bit at the wrong time. I think a person maybe unpopular opinion, but I do think when they decided freedom for all, Nelson Mandela is free. Everything was going to be run this way. I think they should have been, maybe a little bit of a grace period, a learning period. And I think with what he said earlier with this is the chair, hand in hand I think there should have been a grace period where Nelson Mandela come free, they sat down and discussed how political parties were going to be running this country. And at the same time start to educate people. Not just the blacks who were uneducated or with less education, educating the whites on what has been happening. Give everybody the flat out this is how this country is going to be now. This is how we are going to run it. This is how we are going to look at the future. Instead of just handing it over. Which okay it wasn't just handed over. It was such a great feeling for the oppressed people to vote and they all went in thinking there is going to be this massive change. It is going to be beautiful. And then to realise-

BH: So do you think it is because our hopes just going on how you are doing, is it because our hopes about the democratic compromise have been disappointed?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: I think yes. We were very hopeful.

Reference 6 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I think the issue is, its hindsight. Because at the time we didn't know what the future holds. We had this hopes and dreams. Now obviously we can look back and say it didn't happen. At the time, like I said it was the correct thing to do.

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 4.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.09% Coverage

BH: Okay right. So now we are going to move on to Democracy. Democracy might have been necessary and inevitable but was it the best outcome for South Africa? Would you agree that while most whites continue to support the NP which was the National Party, they agree that reaching a compromise with the ANC was necessary to start the country relapsing into outright civil war? Do you remember any of that?

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Yes

BH: And how do you feel about that? Do you think it was a good decision? To go for Democracy?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Now at this time?

BH: No at that time.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think yes

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think that was the right time and I think there would probably have been a war if we didn't. So it was the right thing to do. But also at that time we had Nelson Mandela which is an amazing person. But the government after that is basically that messed it up after him. So it was a good thing and that was the right thing to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant ##: At that time.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Because Nelson Mandela had another reason for this country. But those that came after him, while Mr. Thabo Mbeki also in the same section as Mr. Nelson Mandela. But then came Jacob Zuma. And he was actually the fly in the ointment. Because he was the one that sowed corruption, I mean openly. And until they forced him to step down he was so (inaudible) in corruption, I mean he was actually the one cursing the problems in South Africa. And everybody that followed in his footsteps, like his ministers, (inaudible) was corrupt. and the whole of South Africa saw it. What happens with the South Africans that saw it they committed crime on big scale. Because they teach themselves whatever I do I am just going to get punished say five, ten years in prison. 1.25.00 Then I am going to be a free man. But he is the one that needs to set an example for me and he is actually the biggest criminal.

#### Reference 2 - 0.53% Coverage

BH: Okay now I am going to go back to 1994 when there was a change from National party government to the ANC government and that process made that we went through Democracy. So do you think Democracy was good for us? Or do you think it was bad for us?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: I would say at that stage when Mr Nelson Mandela (inaudible) so I would say yes.

BH: Okay. So at that time. It was more the leader?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Yes like I say it again, those that came after him well (inaudible)

#### Reference 3 - 1.65% Coverage

BH: So do you think we as white are a minority? And do you think our minority rights are being recognised?

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I have to be quite honest. If we talk about democracy, okay democracy for me is, if you qualify for the job you get the job. If you are the best person for the job you get it. So within this democracy there isn't actually a democracy 1.30.00 because, it is a democracy yes but are obviously you know the whole equal rights of so many getting, for how long now? It is thirty years. When is it going to stop? When is it actually equal? When is the right man with the right skills going to get it? For how many years still is this going to carry on? It is coming to a point where yes we understand there was a phase of integration. You know how many whites I have realised how many people want to (inaudible) but it is just going on. So eventually when will this come to an end? And is that democracy at the end of the day? And for me that is the big question. And if you are black or white, whoever is best at that job should get that job because that is the reason why everything is not the way it is because the best person does not get the job. It is not because if you could qualify, or you are the best it is not in the best interest of our country. And I am not and that is the way I feel and that is why a lot of the things are taking place. A lot of our resources hasn't been looked after. There is not the right people in the right places and a lot of the companies are not performing because it is not now anymore who can do the job it is about.

#### Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 13 references coded [ 3.86% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.21% Coverage

BH: Okay so do you feel democracy may have been necessary and inevitable and do you think it was the best outcome for South Africa?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: No. no I don't believe it was the best outcome

Reference 2 - 0.31% Coverage

BH: Okay so now do you think democracy has been the best outcome for us?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: No I don't believe it has been the best outcome. Well I say yes and no because it has taught us what was wrong and what we shouldn't do. But then it also like I said earlier brought a lot of hate and division.

Reference 3 - 0.19% Coverage

BH: So how do you think South Africa should be ruled if it is not through a democratic process?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: That is a very hard question and I can't answer it. Sorry (laughs)

References 4-5 - 0.98% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: I think democracy has its place and the right to vote should definitely be applied. But I do feel like that right to vote there should be, there should be certain requirements or restrictions. I do not feel that prisoners should have the right to vote while currently incarcerated. That they have lost their rights. They have committed a crime against the country and its laws. And at that point should not have the right to help to determine the leaders of the country. Um I feel that people from eighteen to twenty five should vote. But from twenty five (25) upwards, unless they are actually retired and they're not contributing to the taxable income of the country, should not have the right to vote at that time because they are voting based on mass opinion versus actually thinking will these politicians that I want to put in power use my tax money that I helped to put into the country to the best way forward?

References 6-7 - 0.83% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I think democracy isn't really, we, we call ourselves a democratic country but I think we are slightly more towards a socialist almost kind of country. Because I mean we have a lot of people live on tax payer money. You know we all contribute to the taxpayer and then it goes out to grants, to SASSA, things like that. And if we were truly democratic I don't think things would necessarily happen because too many people complain about, I know a lot of people do complain about their tax money already but, you know, stuff like that would've been shut down long ago. But I do think democracy has been important for our country moving forward. I think if is another authoritarian government had come into place it would've, our country wouldn't be where it is today.

References 8-9 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I feel that the biggest problem even now with democracy and the biggest problem in the apartheid era was, in the apartheid era, you weren't entitled because of your race or because of your previously disadvantaged status, to be where you are. You had to earn it. Even us white people, you go to varsity, you pay for varsity. You wanted to get a job, you earned that job. Now in democracy, whether it was democracy or apartheid, now we have this entitlement where things are not earned anymore and I think that's the fundamental problem with even our democracy now. We are not living in a democratic country, we are living in a country of entitlement where because you were born black, you are entitled to more than a white person.

References 10-11 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I am thinking. Ah, ja. I suppose democracy is good but I don't think everybody should be allowed to vote. I think you should at least be educated and you contributing. You shouldn't be allowed to vote if you are living off of other people's money.

References 12-13 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Yeah, well I think democracy is good but it needs to apply to everyone. In the sense of saying everyone contributes, everyone needs to help. You help out you get the right to vote. That's, that's my view point on it.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 1.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.22% Coverage

BH: Okay, democracy may have been necessary and inevitable but do you think it was the best outcome for South Africa?

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I think it was the best possible outcome with what we had. Yeah.

Reference 2 - 0.67% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Unfortunately very much along those lines, it comes down to exactly that. I do not believe in the system of democracy. I think it's inherently flawed. I don't have, I don't have a better option for us.

BH: Oh, ok.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Um. And I do think we've, obviously throughout thousands of years we've tried monarchies, we've tried dictatorships, we've tried a lot of different systems and unfortunately I mean, the question isn't really limited to the South African context. I think democracy is invariably the best solution that we have right now um but I do think we hold democracy on too high a pedestal.

References 3-4 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think that the idea of apartheid, it was, it was explained as becoming a democracy, and, like post-apartheid, but the idea was almost to become um more like a communism-run country but they portrayed it as democracy and they never reached that communism where everyone was equal. Not necessarily in the workplace but just, they are accepted for who they are. 55.00 And I feel that although democracy was the best option at the time um I think that people have taken it to an extreme and almost tried to reverse the problems that apartheid had.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.65% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.65% Coverage

BH: So do you think that our move to Democracy was wrong?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: What has Democracy done for South Africa? Just running it into the ground. Other than that it's done nothing.

BH: So do you think there was another system that we could have put in place? Because we know that apartheid was wrong.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yes.

BH: So is there another system that could go into place?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yes. I mean everybody should be equal.

BH: Or do you think that apartheid should have come back and just make some changes?

Group 6, Participant ##: If everybody's equal and get treated equal because that's. they didn't get treated the same in apartheid. So it didn't work. And if now if they treat everybody equal and everybody's equal opportunity then it will work. I mean the proof is Zimbabwe. That was the most productive country in the world. And what happened? Everybody that was qualified and knew what they were doing got scared and ran. Left the country. And where's the country today? That is exactly what is happening here. So they must start treating people equal. Forget about the past. The past didn't work. It was a mistake. And a lot of mistakes happen. So forget about it. Work now and treat everybody the same.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.25% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Was it unavoidable, was it necessary, and was it the best outcome for the country?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It was the best because we weren't raised correctly, for example, a white stays here



and a black stays there, really things just changed. We are glad things changed, really, but we don't live with each in the right way. There is still too much hatred.

#### Reference 2 - 0.91% Coverage

DL: So looking back, as we've said, we were disappointed with many of the outcomes of the democracy, we've agreed that democracy was unavoidable, that many of the outcomes were disappointing in hind sight, the way things are going, so does that mean that democracy is wrong or if it was wrong to become a democracy in spite of the disappointments we've experienced?

Group 7, Participant ##: It was not wrong to do it. It was a good thing but I think it was wrongly implemented.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Yes, for sure. But I think it was not managed correctly.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I definitely agree.

DL: With what do you agree?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Things were just not carried out correctly.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I also say it is not handled properly.

DL: Then next: what other outcome could realistically have been possible? Was any other outcome possible except becoming a democracy that you can think of?

Group 7, Participant ##: No, I don't think so.

#### Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.44% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.48% Coverage

Now it's all about politics and criminal, was it punishable criminal or a political criminal. Was he in jail as a result of his politics or (talking together – inaudible)

I feel that if you can vote, then you must pay your VAT, pay SARS, otherwise you can't vote. There are hundreds who vote but they are not registered

Don't meet the requirements

Yes.

All talking together (in audible)

#### Reference 2 - 0.80% Coverage

in retrospect, are we disappointed in the outcome of democracy, did we think that democracy would be better than it is at the moment? Does this make democracy bad/a failure? Is it worse than autocracy?

I think it is worse, it is worse than what we had, now everyone is fighting. Farmers land is being confiscated because they are trying to set things right, we can say it works, but it does not help.

I don't really think you can blame the system, it is the people, we cannot blame democracy for our problems, it's people, the ANC which is in power, humanity that causes it.

If we view it in those terms, then we cannot say the same about apartheid.

#### Reference 3 - 0.15% Coverage

When I think of democracy, then I think of all the countries where it runs beautifully, we just pretend to be democratic.

## HOW LIFE HAS CHANGED IN DEMOCRATIC SA

Files\\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.94% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I would say I am positive. I wouldn't even move to another province. Never mind another country. And I think the reason I am very positive right now is because I feel we are almost in a state of change. I think about the femicides and all the protests that happened all across Cape Town in terms of the woman that was killed at the post office. With social media yes it can be a negative thing but it can also be a very positive thing in terms of making people aware. And I think a lot of people are now, we are getting out of that apartheid era phase thing and we are getting to this thing of saying we are human beings, we are all South Africans and we are all speaking the same language. Whether we are black or white or coloured or Indian, it doesn't matter. We all feel the crime. We all feel um you know, government is corrupt. We are all feeling the same thing. It is no longer this where actual one race is benefitting over another. We are all feeling the brunt of it. And I think again in terms of the privileged people, there is still a few white people that are privileged. There are very few black people that are privileged but the majority of us live in ordinary houses and ordinary suburbs. You don't really have the money or the things to do the things that we want to do so I am happy to stay. I think we are on the verge of something.

Reference 2 - 0.68% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Well I am staying. There are family and friends. I love the people that are here. I feel like in other countries there are also major issues of race especially in America. There's pros and cons to wherever you live. I know the crime here is really bad but I also think that apartheid wasn't that long ago and I think we have come very far since then. If I'm comparing it to America we have come very far. Their apartheid was like many more years ago and they are still struggling but I think we have come together in many ways like with this Uyinene that was raped and murdered at the post office I mean we stand together in the important times like when we need to be together. And I mean it's beautiful here so.

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.85% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.74% Coverage

BH: And then how does it compare with life under apartheid? Life to living now to life under apartheid.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Life under apartheid on the one side I am going to say was good in the way of safety. And on the other side it wasn't good because why you couldn't actually really communicate with the next person properly like you wanted to. I was more you stay here and I stay there. So we don't talk to each other. But in that way it is better. When apartheid changed, the first change, when Madiba was president, yes all the way, but now, no. It has changed way too much. The crime rate is worse. The trafficking is worse.

Group 2, Participant ##: The abuse of the kids is even worse.

Reference 3 - 0.85% Coverage

And I think also coming back also to where I stay, I stay in Durbanville. Durbanville is still a very nice area. So we are not really that much affected than the outskirts area because I know every area is going (inaudible) I think on the positive side coming to our generation, my children's generation, my school children on high school now integrated with everybody. So for them there is no colour. And that is wonderful. I got people from all different kids coming into my house and you really don't see that. I think it is going to take a while. Their generation might make the difference. But our generation and maybe the generation before us is still struggling with this whole battle of transformation. And hopefully it will be a positive at the end. We can only hope for the best.

Reference 4 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think South Africa again that time obviously because of all the sanctions and everything and I know we run a very good country on our own. Very self-sufficient. But I think they would have come to the point where Democracy would have had to take place. I think due to sanctions. I don't think De Klerk had a choice. To be honest. It was something he was forced to do. I think it was a big decision he had to make for the interest of the country. I also think we have opened more doors of opportunity for us in like the World Cup. I mean we have never been part of the World Cup and trading with other countries. So it

opened up a door of opportunity for us in many areas and I think at that stage looking at Nelson Mandela, I think his whole attitude is where I think if we had his kind of not personality what he stood for that would have continued with the transition phase would have been much better than what it is at the moment. It would have been a more positive transition. Based on all his successes we would have been stood for the same ethical rights, values. I think it would have been a smoother transition into us becoming a bit equally helped.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 5.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.16% Coverage

The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their their their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable.

Reference 2 - 1.48% Coverage

I don't know if I am threatened by, if anything I am worried about outside South Africa, outside our little bubble here, is a, is a physical damage. That you might be beaten up. You might be mugged because there's people who don't money. But apart from that, um ja, in a sort of an abstract term you don't like the idea of people rioting and burning busses. But if it is not my bus, do I really worry too much? I still just get into my car and drive to St. John's or wherever and have a lekker (nice) time, go out for lunch. My life has not changed apart from the fact that I think well, ja, I might have to watch that red traffic light 1.10.00 because somebody might go through it or I am not going to walk alone down Jo'burg Eloff Street anymore when I'm visiting Jo'burg. But apart from that things are tickety boo. I'm, I'm, okay but there's people, when we said, when you talked about this micro economy here, there are people who are substantially materially worse off in our environment and they have to find, they want to ask the question as we are sitting and saying this and that and the other they are saying why am I still in the position or why have my children still not got a future? Why have I still not got this and that and the other? Service delivery. And they – it's an easy scapegoat.

Reference 3 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay. Well then I will say personally I wasn't nervous but I thought the euphoria that the people, I was glad for that it was apartheid, to an extent, I enjoyed the mood of the country because it was incredibly positive. That it was naïve, I thought was incredibly- but the fact is you enjoy the moment while you can. But I mean we were incredibly naïve and if one looked at that and heard the rhetoric of what we knew what was coming down the path I mean, that the lead-in, what the various parties were espousing, leading up to the '94 elections we, we would have been extremely short sighted have we not believed. But it unravelled the way it did because of a skills gap. And I think the fact is that we talk about corruption - it was not a phenomenon totally unknown under the nationalist government in this country. So, you know, what happened was that the skills gap allowed widespread, deep corruption to take place 1.15.00 and that was, the checks and balances was not put into force. And that drove it.

Reference 4 - 1.45% Coverage

BH: You said Westminster form of Democracy. So would you call whites reluctant democrats?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I would certainly say so and I still go back to one of my points I made is what, I think of an academic level, and I think of an observation level, we are saying yes it's disappointing, but I go back to, where have we been, I have to ask this because I am interested, what have we, where have we – I'd like to ask, 'cause I'm interested – where have we been prejudiced by the fact of South Africa has become a democratic nation. Have any of us been kicked out of our jobs? Barred from getting a job? This this age group. I mean, where have we suffered or not met our potential individually under, since '94? Are we, are we, are we considerably poorer? And we know we are considerably poorer than we could have been. Look twenty-five years ago I was still kind of forging what I thought was a bit of a career. The fact is I have not suffered. I don't,

and it was, I don't think I've suffered in any way. And I don't think my life is, apart from the fact there's a general level of security that makes me a bit nervous um on a personal level, and there's not of the observation of rules and regulations and laws outside that but apart from that, my life, I can't say-

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.87% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think it really occurred about mid-2005, 2006 that it is where suddenly things just starting to fall down a little bit. 1980 to '94, '95 I didn't see any major apparent shifts besides that African people could then move into suburban whites' neighbourhoods and um the segregation of lines were diminished but the towns still were clean. Some were well managed, things like that. The municipal employees that carried through that time period still were passionate about their work. And that is how it shifted, you know, shifted recently more than at the shift of apartheid.

Reference 2 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: I am going to ask you about that. Would you be happy for your children to move away from the country?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I think for the difference between, I saw South Africa when it was amazing. Other younger generations have only seen the mass, you know the mass breakdown, and so I'm hoping- they say history always runs in circles. I'm hoping that we will eventually, I just don't know if it will be in my lifetime (laughs) which is a bit depressing. But for my children's sake, I don't know. It seems like the only reason that I would move would be the economics because everything else is so wonderful about this country. And when you said what, you know, am I an optimist or a pessimist? I'm very much an optimist because compared to other countries we have freedom of choice. We have freedom of religion. We have, you know fortunately gay people can be married in this country. There is so many wonderful things that are just overlooked and just stamped on by all the negativity. And I think that negativity breeds negativity. So if we're all nay-sayers, nothing is going to change. So I think we all need to raise our children to be, to embrace the change and make it work.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 1.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.16% Coverage

DL: Number 9, how do you feel about the democracy?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I would say it was a huge adjustment after 94, to get used too many things in the apartheid.

Reference 2 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Was it unavoidable, was it necessary, and was it the best outcome for the country?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It was the best because we weren't raised correctly, for example, a white stays here and a black stays there, really things just changed. We are glad things changed, really, but we don't live with each in the right way. There is still too much hatred.

Reference 3 - 0.21% Coverage

DL: What you're saying now, is exactly my next question: What are the weak and strong points of the democracy?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Sorry I ran ahead.

(Laughter)

Group 7, Participant ##: There were good and bad laws.

Reference 4 - 0.47% Coverage

DL: Good, can we talk about the strong points. We have said we had no choice, democracy had to come. What good, strong points do you see in the democracy?  
...can I begin with you 11?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I think in a sense we did grow, as a result.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: We are now allowed to participate in sport, and so forth.

Group 7, Participant 9, F: Some of our children can now go abroad to work.

DL: A bit more?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Sport is also very important, and look how well we do.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.70% Coverage

Just say that is how you feel about it. Let's talk about the strengths and weaknesses of democracy. What good points are there about democracy?

That we are formed as a country together but then also not because of corruption.

01:30:05

I think that leans to the other side. Number 10 what do you think is a strong point

That we could play in the world cup, there is still a quota system

But at least we could play, if you are a good tennis player then you have an opportunity which you would not have had before democracy.

It saved our country out of an economic low.

The opportunity to trade again with the whole world.

You can go and tour overseas again.

Yes, the world has opened up again you can go and tour -number 7.

No.

You can now take any wife that you want.

No I think I'll take a white wife.

(Laughter)

Before democracy you would have been jailed if you married someone of colour

Many restrictions imposed on the country have been lifted.

You can now skype anyone anywhere where you were not allowed to do so previously.

You can go and live anywhere you want to (in audible) if I want to live in Swanganang then it is permissible.

It's not applicable to me, but I think people of same sex unions are now permissible or promotable.

Yes, they have more rights. Freedom of speech.

All speaking together.

There is more equality/self-worth, people see you as equal.

## SOUTH AFRICA HAS WORSENEED SINCE THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.41% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: The person that passed it, he kept his promise. It wasn't about the money and about the power because he was just president for one term. Then he gave it off. It is the people that came after him that messed it up. That was greedy and was stealing. He just wanted the dream.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: He is one man. He was the poster boy.

Group 1, Participant, M: There we go. He was the poster boy. He never lied to you.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 5.83% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.74% Coverage

BH: And then how does it compare with life under apartheid? Life to living now to life under apartheid.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Life under apartheid on the one side I am going to say was good in the way of safety. And on the other side it wasn't good because why you couldn't actually really communicate with the next person properly like you wanted to. I was more you stay here and I stay there. So we don't talk to each other. But in that way it is better. When apartheid changed, the first change, when Madiba was president, yes all the way, but now, no. It has changed way too much. The crime rate is worse. The trafficking is worse.

Group 2, Participant ##: The abuse of the kids is even worse.

Reference 3 - 2.09% Coverage

BH: Okay right. So now we are going to move on to Democracy. Democracy might have been necessary and inevitable but was it the best outcome for South Africa? Would you agree that while most whites continue to support the NP which was the National Party, they agree that reaching a compromise with the ANC was necessary to start the country relapsing into outright civil war? Do you remember any of that?

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Yes

BH: And how do you feel about that? Do you think it was a good decision? To go for Democracy?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Now at this time?

BH: No at that time.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think yes

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think that was the right time and I think there would probably have been a war if we didn't. So it was the right thing to do. But also at that time we had Nelson Mandela which is an amazing person. But the government after that is basically that messed it up after him. So it was a good thing and that was the right thing to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant ##: At that time.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Because Nelson Mandela had another reason for this country. But those that came after him, while Mr. Thabo Mbeki also in the same section as Mr. Nelson Mandela. But then came Jacob Zuma. And he was actually the fly in the ointment. Because he was the one that sowed corruption, I mean openly. And until they forced him to step down he was so (inaudible) in corruption, I mean he was actually the one coursing the problems in South Africa. And everybody that followed in his footsteps, like his ministers,

(inaudible) was corrupt. and the whole of South Africa saw it. What happens with the South Africans that saw it they committed crime on big scale. Because they teach themselves whatever I do I am just going to get punished say five, ten years in prison. 1.25.00 Then I am going to be a free man. But he is the one that needs to set an example for me and he is actually the biggest criminal.

Reference 4 - 0.53% Coverage

BH: Okay now I am going to go back to 1994 when there was a change from National party government to the ANC government and that process made that we went through Democracy. So do you think Democracy was good for us? Or do you think it was bad for us?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: I would say at that stage when Mr Nelson Mandela (inaudible) so I would say yes.

BH: Okay. So at that time. It was more the leader?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Yes like I say it again, those that came after him well (inaudible)

Reference 5 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think South Africa again that time obviously because of all the sanctions and everything and I know we run a very good country on our own. Very self-sufficient. But I think they would have come to the point where Democracy would have had to take place. I think due to sanctions. I don't think De Klerk had a choice. To be honest. It was something he was forced to do. I think it was a big decision he had to make for the interest of the country. I also think we have opened more doors of opportunity for us in like the World Cup. I mean we have never been part of the World Cup and trading with other countries. So it opened up a door of opportunity for us in many areas and I think at that stage looking at Nelson Mandela, I think his whole attitude is where I think if we had his kind of not personality what he stood for that would have continued with the transition phase would have been much better than what it is at the moment. It would have been a more positive transition. Based on all his successes we would have been stood for the same ethical rights, values. I think it would have been a smoother transition into us becoming a bit equally helped.

Reference 6 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 3, F: No I agree when Nelson Mandela was president it was fine. But after that, no.

Reference 7 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think the hopes. What we wanted was equal. To be equal. And now it is actually changing you much. That we are not equal. The whites are actually going to go down. There and the rest of the family up there. But still at the end of the day the coloureds still stay in the middle. So why are we-

BH: Why are we not all equal?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Why aren't we all equal like it was supposed to be?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: It's our salaries and everything at the moment, if you are a white person and you are going to work at a big company you are always going to have a lower salary than the black person. That is just how it works. I am a lot involved with a lot of other colours of people and races so I hear their discussions and where they are working they had top jobs and they will tell me. You know they could get me a work here but they can't because they were told only black or colour but mainly black. So they will tell me. We talk straight, open about everything so everything is changed around.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.99% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay. Well then I will say personally I wasn't nervous but I thought the euphoria that the people, I was glad for that it was apartheid, to an extent, I enjoyed the mood of the country because it was incredibly positive. That it was naïve, I thought was incredibly- but the fact is you enjoy the moment while you can. But I mean we were incredibly naïve and if one looked at that and heard the rhetoric of what we knew what was coming down the path I mean, that the lead-in, what the various parties were espousing, leading up to the '94 elections we, we would have been extremely short sighted have we not believed. But it unravelled the way it did because of a skills gap. And I think the fact is that we talk about corruption - it was

not a phenomenon totally unknown under the nationalist government in this country. So, you know, what happened was that the skills gap allowed widespread, deep corruption to take place 1.15.00 and that was, the checks and balances was not put into force. And that drove it.

Reference 2 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: There's two aspects. One is there is a balancing of the morality. As we said we were naïve in '94 but we just thought that we would get these chaps the vote, they'd come into power and in our lives we will just be the same, we carry on getting everything we ever did and didn't work out that way. And when it is personal, it's sore. It is very very sore when you are personally affected. So there's this this, there's this this political aspect to it of of of the promises made by the canvassing parties as to what would happen to their supporters come if there were a change in government. There is also a fact that there is a very real thing that what we are experiencing now.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.34% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think it really occurred about mid-2005, 2006 that it is where suddenly things just starting to fall down a little bit. 1980 to '94, '95 I didn't see any major apparent shifts besides that African people could then move into suburban whites' neighbourhoods and um the segregation of lines were diminished but the towns still were clean. Some were well managed, things like that. The municipal employees that carried through that time period still were passionate about their work. And that is how it shifted, you know, shifted recently more than at the shift of apartheid.

Reference 2 - 0.09% Coverage

BH: So recently in the last five, six years?

Group 4, Participant ##: Five to ten years.

Reference 3 - 0.86% Coverage

BH: I am going to come to that later. So number four what do you think about apartheid being a crime against humanity? Or a system of rule with good intentions

Group 4, Participant 4, M: I think it was a system of rules of good intentions but it was brought out in the wrong way. Because if you look back then, ok, what I don't condone about that time is that everyone had their own separate places that they had to fit inside. The, let's say the blacks and coloureds, they had their own filling stations and beaches. But when you look at it again the employment rating. Almost everyone was employed. And at the moment we are sitting at an almost 40, 50% unemployment rate. And yeah, that just doesn't make sense to me. How, how, how could things change so drastically in just twenty, twenty five years? That is my view point on that.

Reference 4 - 0.75% Coverage

The ANC being post twenty five years apartheid plus and and just the way I've seen things go downhill. Being born in Grey's Hospital which was a phenomenal hospital. It was, pride and joy and everything and not so long ago my friend went there and waited in queues. Things don't get done. They don't have medication. They're running out of just normal vaccinations the children require, that they don't have government stock of. Which is, every single child deserves to have their immunization when it's needed but they can't get it because government can't supply it. If you can't provide basic healthcare and things like that then that's just my opinion is that, if the ANC, if that's how they manage money, and, ja.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.89% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.89% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think um another thing that is an influence, apart from wanting to vote with the generations and stuff, I think that there were a lot of people that did actually, a lot of white people, that did actually vote for the ANC just after post-apartheid and that. But recently, ah, I think there were still white people voting for the ANC and that, but they can see the ANC is not running the country, that it was almost expected to be run or the way that they promised to run the country when um democracy began and I think a lot of people have changed their minds about the ANC and have almost gone back to like, their roots, if I can say that, um, because the country was just being run better, money was handled better. It's not necessarily



about white people were more favoured. I think it's more just about how the actual country's being run.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 5.45% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I mentioned it when we introduced ourselves, its respect. You know in apartheid years you were taught if an adult or somebody with authority speaks to you, you listen and you respect what that people is telling you. And if he says to you this is red, although it is brown, you will still stick with whatever an adult tells you. Today a child in grade three or four stabs his friend. We never had that, sorry for the French, shit in apartheid. We have it now. Why? Because our children has been brought up. You can tell an adult, you can say to someone in authority, you can't touch me because the law protects me. That is bull dust.

Reference 2 - 1.34% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Exactly, exactly what she is saying now, we, blame, blame apartheid, it's fine, but we never, you will never found our education, our health, our workforce, anything, our schools, whatever you want to, universities, go to any one of them now, as a white person and walk into it and say I want to bring my five or six-year old. That's why they started having private schools or crèches or whatever and home schooling for white people to also get education because you can't go Sebokeng and take your child there because they're going to stab him with scissors like yesterday. Two friends playing in class, black friends playing in class, stabbing the other one, died at school. We never had, you, in your life, during apartheid, call it the way you want, you would never find that 'cause the people, the children and the teachers and the parents had respect for each other and for themselves. You would never find the bull that is continuing in our country now. In apartheid it will never happen.

Reference 3 - 0.68% Coverage

BH: So that is why they wanted to destabilise

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Twenty-five years later they are running the country into the ground. Worse than Zimbabwe. So why did they, they knew something obviously better than all of us knew. And they fought for it twenty-five years ago. They were prepared to go to prison for that and not to tell them this is what we want to do and this. We gonna stick to our guns. Come hell or high water, this is what we believe. And they gave it to the ANC. And this is where we are today.

Reference 4 - 1.48% Coverage

BH: Now number six you have to tell me something. You haven't said anything up until now. And you really do need to share your thoughts with me. What do you think? Because I do know that you are thinking. 55.00

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Ja I am thinking but it's so terrible.

BH: So tell me. Tell me what you think. Are you relieved that democracy replaced apartheid? Don't worry about anybody else because I am wanting you just to give me your opinion.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: No I don't think so

BH: You don't think so? You preferred it how it was?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Ja.

BH: Okay and just tell me the reasons why you prefer it?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: It was better. I don't know, ja.

BH: Okay. And what is it about Democracy that you don't like now?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Oh there is a lot of stuff.

BH: Well just tell me some of the stuff.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: I don't know. Work, ja.

BH: That there isn't enough work?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Work

BH: So that's the biggest problem? Under Democracy there is not enough work for white people or for everybody?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: For white people actually.

Reference 5 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: Okay, alright. How do the others feel about Democracy replacing apartheid?

Group 6, Participant ##, M: Reverse racism.

References 6-7 - 0.93% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##: If everybody's equal and get treated equal because that's. they didn't get treated the same in apartheid. So it didn't work. And if now if they treat everybody equal and everybody's equal opportunity then it will work. I mean the proof is Zimbabwe. That was the most productive country in the world. And what happened? Everybody that was qualified and knew what they were doing got scared and ran. Left the country. And where's the country today? That is exactly what is happening here. So they must start treating people equal. Forget about the past. The past didn't work. It was a mistake. And a lot of mistakes happen. So forget about it. Work now and treat everybody the same.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 17 references coded [ 5.91% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: Our country was in a better state.

Group 7, Participant ##: The roads as well.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: If we see how many places have deteriorated? Recently, after a long time, I went to Bloemfontein, wow, if you see how that place has gone down, if you consider that it use to be the "city of roses", you don't see that anymore, you should see what the islands, what they look like, it looks a jungle growing on the sidewalks and islands, everything has gone down, not just Bloemfontein, you can visit any town and see how things have deteriorated. The municipalities just don't do anything about it. They receive huge salaries.

Reference 2 - 0.52% Coverage

L: Good the next question, to what extend did white people hold the government responsible for what it did? I'm going to explain briefly, how ordinary people can hold the government responsible, just to mention one way: at the ballot box/polling station. Do you think it happened?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: No, it did not happen.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: It was never a fair vote.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The thing is they promised their brothers and sisters everything and when the time came to vote, they all voted but nothing came of it. So say no.

Reference 3 - 0.12% Coverage

DL: How do you feel number?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I don't know. I agree with her. They promise everything but nothing happens.

References 4-5 - 0.42% Coverage

DL: Indifference replaced apartheid? How did you feel? What do you say number 11?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I don't know. I think initially everyone was excited to see how things were now coming to a point ...

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Group 7, Participant 11, M: That there's a future for all but it did not materialize, things were basically just turned around. Not that it went better for a while, it was just turned around apartheid in reverse.

References 6-8 - 0.71% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I saw a future in the new SA, to use FW de Klerk's expression, but about 2 or two and a half years after 1994 things started going wrong. The NP walked out of the Government of National Unity, there things started going wrong. I would say during Nelson Mandela's time things still went well because he had goals for which I still have respect today. The men who came after Nelson Mandela brought different goals and values with which we don't agree, and it's very difficult to live with it.

DL: Good. Number 7 what you say about the democracy? How did you feel when we went over to democracy?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: The excitement was there like number 8 said but it did not last long, many other things have happened. The cake fell flat.

Reference 9 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: We never had a choice, things had to happen, and unfortunately, we now see the negativity. It seems as if it was not a success.

References 10-11 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: When Nelson Mandela was ruling, he kept them together, but the day he laid down his head, the whole country changed

DL: So there was a policy of reconciliation.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes. Things were turned around just like that.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Yes, they said the day Mandela dies, lots will happen, people must accumulate food? But nothing happened. Many loaded trollies full of food because something was going to happen, this is the end of the world, but nothing happened.

Reference 12 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I can also say I was also very glad. All went well for 4 years, thereafter they started with their trouble making, whites like this and blacks like that, and apartheid, always apartheid's fault.

Reference 13 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I was also very excited, as you said, but I think a lot of things were kept secret, and only came out later, things we didn't know about. Today, I don't feel the same.

Reference 14 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: My experience is that in 1994 we embraced democracy with great expectations, but as time passed, especially the last few years, it became watered down to such a degree, that one is no longer comfortable with it. I would like to come back to another point, for example, legislation, when we look at the legislation the NP applied to agriculture, for example, we had to declare how many workers we had on the farm, how many posts there were for workers, those days we still did a good deal of ploughing, for each tractor, a day and night driver. So we came to a figure. We had to sit with a committee at the office of the magistrate to explain why we had so many workers in our employ. There were other laws too regarding agriculture, the herds of sheep and cattle you were allowed to keep, this you had to declare to the information officer. That changed. We are thankful that it changed, but other laws came, which is like a muzzle, labour laws.

Reference 15 - 0.52% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I would say so, it's just the crime that is getting out of hand. So you feel unsafe. In the past your home was yours, you didn't worry about crime. These days it's as if you live in a prison.

Group 7, Participant ##: Your own prison

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes because you can't...(interrupted)

Group 7, Participant ##: The other day they stole my cell phone through my security gate, so I ask...

DL: The crime

Group 7, Participant ##: It's much worse. You don't feel safe in your own home.

DL: In the new SA

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Reference 16 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: The basic deterioration of the town. Brandfort used to be one of the prettiest towns in the Free State, one of the few with all its streets tarred, now there is just this immense deterioration that saddens one. Nothing gets done about it.

DL: I'm glad you say it's your community that share in what's going on here.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I compare the Western Cape with the rest of the country. All the provinces in the Western Cape where the DA is in control it's a totally different picture. When you go over the mountain at Oudtshoorn, and you get to George, Mossel Bay, in that vicinity, you immediately see the change in the landscape, so to speak, the infrastructure is better, it is well maintained. I do not know about the Cape, I never go there. Compared to the other provinces where I go, all you see is deterioration, in every little town you only see deterioration.

Reference 17 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But they can also be proud of the country. They are not proud of the country. To them it still feels as if it's the white man's land. If they were proud they would also repair the roads, plant flowers on the sidewalks, but nothing.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.94% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.80% Coverage

In retrospect, are we disappointed in the outcome of democracy, did we think that democracy would be better than it is at the moment? Does this make democracy bad/a failure? Is it worse than autocracy? I think it is worse, it is worse than what we had, now everyone is fighting. Farmers land is being confiscated because they are trying to set things right, we can say it works, but I does not help. I don't really think you can blame the system, it is the people, we cannot blame democracy for our problems, it's people, the ANC which is in power, humanity that causes it. If we view it in those terms, then we cannot say the same about apartheid.

References 3-4 - 2.13% Coverage

Let's talk about the disadvantages of democracy.

It's not as strong as that (in audible).

Unfulfilled promises.

Corruption, there are laws but now there are loopholes for every law – freedom of speech, a person is free to do anything.

Unemployment figure.

What is it about...?

Land grabbing is unacceptable and racism is going too far, there is far less control over the country, people get away with bribes, that's just a small example, there is no deterrent not even a jail sentence, there are still bribes.

Democracy looks picture perfect but it just drives South Africa into a dark hole, it doesn't work, nobody sees

each other as equal, every one harbours resentment

We are now further apart, there is more apartheid.

01:35:03

Instead of reconciliation it has brought about estrangement.

I can add to that point, it's opened up doors in terms of restrictions (in audible).

When I think of democracy, then I think of all the countries where it runs beautifully, we just pretend to be democratic.

In terms of safety, the Cape Flats, 1000 soldiers were deployed there to try and sort out the gangs, before the democracy you could walk about their freely, now especially women can't even walk there freely without carrying a gun or pepper spray.

Illiteracy figure is high amongst the blacks especially and because they have this freeness of speech, they get appointed to positions because it is their right, but they are not qualified to do the work.

It's not always their fault.

When it comes to a job application, and you know that you are not qualified but you are black and I have a right to sit here, then they give him the work, but a qualified white man is declined because of his skin colour.

## REVERSE APARTHEID AGAINST WHITE PEOPLE

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.70% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Yes. In the past three years I thought no, I would not go back to Apartheid until I have read the stats of how many people are killed each day. How many children are raped. And long before Apartheid, even before Europeans got to Africa, the nine different groups of native people had arguments with each other. So one side of Apartheid came from to divide the country provinces so that Tswana, the Zulus, the Sothos, the Vendas, don't mix into each other's neighbourhoods so that they fight. As well as border control. Now a days with the open South Africa all the nine native tribes, plus the two white tribes are living inter-mixed neighbourhoods which is a good thing. We need to know each other's cultures. Now we are living among foreigners and other ethnic groups. So there is tension building up. People are shooting each other's wives. Murdering children. Lots of fights break out. One ethnic group, let's say one province has a better education system, for instance Northwest Tswana, that is not the correct stats. Now they are getting all the jobs because they had a better education system in their province. Now people, instead of loving the Tswana people, they start hating them for taking all the jobs, killing their wives. And then another thing I want to point out is in Apartheid all the money was divided. There was money was divided to housing for each group, and each people and unfortunately the overseas companies boycotted us but they were plans initially to give each group a set of money to develop the neighbourhoods. And then the problem is now after Apartheid things should normalise by itself. But now they are enforcing a reverse Apartheid on top of us. It is like taking a base to neutralise the asset which does not work. So that is just one of my point of views.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.75% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.75% Coverage

Also when I was much younger I studied as a fit and turner and I got to my fifth year. I discovered that after I was applying, applying, applying, in my second year the registrar said to me "sorry but you are not going to get an apprenticeship within this country at all". Unless I was a, there was a small percentage were towards coloureds. Those that were given were very fortunate to be given so like maybe a small percentage even less than the coloured were. The rest were towards the blacks. I feel it should be based on merit rather, on how well you did in school, rather than based on colour. So just it is basically apartheid in reverse. So that has a negative effect on the economy and the country.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: It is all comparable. They all are crimes against humanity. The thing that bothers me now though is that other countries have sort of learned from their civil acts against each other but we have now, reverse mode, a reverse apartheid thing. So we are paying for things that our generation had absolutely nothing to do with as white South Africans and our children are going to pay even a more severe price.

Reference 2 - 0.60% Coverage

BH: Your thoughts. I am going to go five, then six. Okay.

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think that reversed apartheid is definitely a very good term that has been used and often [inaudible] adequately applied. In order to rectify past failures. People who are brought in now haven't really been qualified, haven't really been trained to do the work that they are now being hired to do. They are actually brought in under the affirmative action or BEE principle but actually haven't gone through, obtained the relevant knowledge and the relevant practical knowledge.

Reference 3 - 0.82% Coverage

BH: Recalling the past.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes, it's igniting fear. It is igniting hateful speech and us who are also in the universities with black, coloured, Indian people, we are being targeted and we are being ridiculed for things that we had no control over as white people, you know. And I do believe that we haven't moved past it. I always say that I believe that it is apartheid just in the reverse. It is just reversed apartheid. You know apartheid is reversed because myself as an educator it has happened to me where I have gone to, I work at

rural schools, and I have gone to the principals of these schools and I said please here is my CV. Here is my job. And they say unfortunately I can't employ you because you are not black. They have told me that to my face. So for me-

Reference 4 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I don't think so. I think it had good intentions and again, it happened because, some people used to say, like when we were small, it depends on on how you look at it. Personally I for one think that it was done because they believed that the people of different skin colour had to live in different areas. It's basically like; if we have to compare us to animals you wouldn't put lions with giraffes. I think that's probably how they saw it. So although we are all people and we bleed the same colour blood I think that was possibly the thinking behind it. But I think that it was done for a good cause and it failed because I saw a lot of the the higher positions was obviously white people in power whereas if you're looking now, things are reversed. And now it's black people in power. So that's maybe where the white people are struggling, um.

Reference 5 - 0.90% Coverage

Whether you black, whether you white, a person is a person. That's, we are all people of colour in this country. It is unfair the way I believe that apartheid has become reversed and we are now the under-advantaged. Um. My father works for the government and he has a black woman who has just got her degree come in and she is five pay grades above my father but she is asking my dad how to do this job. And that is first-hand how my father sees that why the government is failing. And then his bosses are sleeping, on the desks. Sleeping under the desks. Playing card games at work and that is where the passion is lost for- previously when you had a job you were passionate about it. You put your heart and soul into it, and that's - energy gets passed down. If your boss are playing games what's gonna make you want to do your work at the end of the day. That's just my opinion.

Reference 6 - 0.52% Coverage

BH: Okay any other views?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think there should be no more BEE or BBBEE. I think it should be based on education and yeah, your skill sets that one has. Um. I do understand that's the way how um the reverse apartheid is almost working and that they feel that they are now entitled to having these high positions which are perfectly fair to me except if it is a company with four directors. There should be two women, two men and different people of colour. It should be more of that.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.59% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.59% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think that the idea of apartheid, it was, it was explained as becoming a democracy, and, like post-apartheid, but the idea was almost to become um more like a communism-run country but they portrayed it as democracy and they never reached that communism where everyone was equal. Not necessarily in the workplace but just, they are accepted for who they are. 55.00 And I feel that although democracy was the best option at the time um I think that people have taken it to an extreme and almost tried to reverse the problems that apartheid had.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.97% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, M: They are talking about crime against humanity, how is the white people not suffering today for the past twenty years. It wasn't quite like this in the apartheid years. It is far worse. There are now worse and bigger apartheid now as to when it was apartheid.

Reference 2 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##: Reverse ja, apartheid.

Group 6, Participant 5: Yes it is reverse. We are suffering more now than in during that time. In the apartheid years. It is, if you think about it, it is absolutely ridiculous. They weren't handled and chucked out, and the things that are happening to us now. Getting murdered, killed because you are white. This is just how I feel about it.

Reference 3 - 1.46% Coverage

BH: Alright anybody else want to say anything? So now I am going to ask you; how does apartheid stand up against other atrocities such as the treatment of Jews and other minorities by the Nazis or the treatment of indigenous people say, United States against the Red Indian or Australia and the aborigines, or New Zealand and the Maori's or what Belgians did with the Belgium Congo? How do you think apartheid stands up against those atrocities?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The only difference, sorry, 20.00 those countries, whatever you named now, our country, the blacks, turned the whole thing upside down. They took the aborigines in Australia, the Maori's or whoever they was, they gave them work. They still work. They got their own camp where they live. But every day, they go from their camp, they go to work in New Zealand. After that they go back to their camp. But they've got food. Their children go to school. They are getting an education. The children are getting an education. What did we do? You can't even start to compare anywhere in the world to what is happening in our country. There is no way.

Reference 4 - 0.46% Coverage

BH: If you see it as a war situation, that both sides committed wrong, that we should let bygones be bygones?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yes it never worked. Apartheid never worked. So why repeat what happened in the past? Twenty five years ago apartheid never worked so why repeat it now? Why apartheid against us? It's not us that did that, it's -

Reference 5 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: Okay, alright. How do the others feel about Democracy replacing apartheid?

Group 6, Participant ##, M: Reverse racism.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.71% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.42% Coverage

DL: Indifference replaced apartheid? How did you feel? What do you say number 11?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I don't know. I think initially everyone was excited to see how things were now coming to a point ...

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Group 7, Participant 11, M: That there's a future for all but it did not materialize, things were basically just turned around. Not that it went better for a while, it was just turned around apartheid in reverse.

Reference 2 - 0.29% Coverage

DL: Good, what do you say about it?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: It's like he says if they could think that they could move forward with us, but they still do not allow us a place in the sun they feel they're in charge, whites must now be oppressed, where we supposedly suppressed them, they now want to oppress us.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.16% Coverage

DL: Anyone want to add something.

Group 8, Participant 7, M: It was not 100% right in apartheid but now it is 300 times worst.

Reference 2 - 1.87% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: What about human rights currently, I can personally testify how my human rights were prejudiced.

DL: I'd like to hear it - what situation did you experience?



Group 8, Participant 4, F: We both stop at the road block, just because he drove past and exceeded the speed limit.

DL: Was he black or white?

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Black, I did not have my seatbelt on. I stood there for a half an hour and tried to apologize, they gave me a fine, and just looked at him and said there you go. How is that not also a crime against human rights? If we are to be equal then we must be equal.

DL: I am glad you mention it, this is what we want to hear.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: And that is just a minor incident

Group 8, Participant 9, F: The worst was now recently at the traffic dept., my license had expired, I applied 3 months before it expired so that I would have the renewal on time, I did not get an SMS to collect it, I went to collect, man next to me was black, they immediately gave it to him even though he also did not get an SMS, but they yelled at me in front of everyone saying you did not get an SMS what are you doing here, but on their system showed that my renewal had been sitting there for 2 months. That is discrimination, why can't I get my license, it is there, it's about service but they don't want to help you because you are white and will just say "fill in the paper", the other one will take time to explain to him if he is black. It happens at every place where you need service.

Reference 3 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: It's their driving force, you go straight to your ancestors and use it as your driving force, you can't live like this in a rainbow nation where there are so many cultures, in a way everyone is done in, if you compare apartheid now, it is 10 times worse than it was then.

Reference 4 - 0.80% Coverage

In retrospect, are we disappointed in the outcome of democracy, did we think that democracy would be better than it is at the moment? Does this make democracy bad/a failure? Is it worse than autocracy? I think it is worse, it is worse than what we had, now everyone is fighting. Farmers land is being confiscated because they are trying to set things right, we can say it works, but I does not help. I don't really think you can blame the system, it is the people, we cannot blame democracy for our problems, it's people, the ANC which is in power, humanity that causes it. If we view it in those terms, then we cannot say the same about apartheid.

Reference 5 - 0.71% Coverage

How would you respond to the statement that white people are hesitant democrats? That they are not heart and soul part of the democracy  
What did we all vote for? People in Bloemfontein stood in the rain to vote.  
So, you would say it is not so.  
I think it is the other way around – we wish that democracy can work for us, it's not us against it.  
They basically want to force their own apartheid on us.  
All talking together.  
Autocracy.  
You are a democrat, well then say that  
I am a democrat and I want them to stop using the apartheid that our forefathers used on them against us.

Reference 6 - 0.27% Coverage

Democracy looks picture perfect but it just drives South Africa into a dark hole, it doesn't work, nobody sees each other as equal, every one harbours resentment  
We are now further apart, there is more apartheid.

## PERCEPTIONS AND TREATMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.59% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, F: I wanted to say the same. I think I also read somewhere that age does play the grow on how familiar are of apartheid. The concern I have now is that when during apartheid I was very young and even now, because of the colour of my skin I am always associated with white privilege and all of these things. Even though I didn't even experience the white privilege. You know when I went to private schools and stuff like that 1.10.00 so I think sometimes even though we want to say look here this is not actually our fight. Maybe our father and mothers and our grandparents yes, but this is not really our fight. Somewhere along the line you have to stop labelling me as this white, white privilege person when I haven't had very much to do with supremacist. So I don't know if I can answer that question as whether we want to don't associate.

Reference 3 - 0.80% Coverage

BH: Number five you have been very quiet. Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Yes

BH: Why? Even if you had said no I would still have said why?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Because I have never come across anything that made me not, made me feel insecure for being a white. It is probably because I was in England for quite some time so I haven't been exposed to a lot of things against me being white.

BH: Number four how do you feel about being a white living in South Africa today?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I also lived in the UK for a while so I don't feel anything.

BH: So when you say you don't feel anything is it that you don't feel anything for your country? Or you don't feel whether you are comfortable living as a white in South Africa?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I will be honest with you. I just don't feel anything.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 25 references coded [ 12.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.53% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 11, F: I have a thing. My daughter must go next year to high school. I can't find a school for my child. So she was on the government board, they gave me a school I can send her to. Elsie's River High School. My daughter has blue eyes, blond hair. Ravensmead. That is a zone that you don't want to go into. And then there are names on the list I cannot even pronounce. 20.00 So where must I take my daughter to? You can't keep her out of school, then you are a bad mother. So what must I do?

Reference 2 - 0.43% Coverage

could have lived right next door to the school that was not a guarantee that you were going to get into the school. Which shouldn't be like that because the policy of the school are stated that the first families to be interviewed are those within the (Inaudible) areas. I have seen children and families have been turned away that literally lived on their door step. Like one with boys and one girls.

References 3-4 - 0.75% Coverage

Also when I was much younger I studied as a fit and turner and I got to my fifth year. I discovered that after I was applying, applying, applying, in my second year the registrar said to me "sorry but you are not going to get an apprenticeship within this country at all". Unless I was a, there was a small percentage were towards coloureds. Those that were given were very fortunate to be given so like maybe a small percentage even less than the coloured were. The rest were towards the blacks. I feel it should be based on merit rather, on how well you did in school, rather than based on colour. So just it is basically apartheid in reverse. So that has a negative effect on the economy and the country.

References 5-9 - 1.15% Coverage

And among the African cultures they believe, they teach their children to not go to school. They value working for a measly income rather than getting a decent education. Even though education is given to them. So it has a negative impact on South Africa within itself and now there is a (inaudible) they don't want to fill the places, to take the roles to receive the education and then we can't receive it in any case. So for white South Africans it is very difficult. It leaves us with a bleak future for our children. We might be lucky enough to have some sort of work but for our children, unless you know someone, unless you start your own business and become an entrepreneur and unless you get along with people you are not really going to fit in. 25.00 We are not going to be accepted within South Africa. What happens is you become educated and you leave the country and South Africa loses quality qualified engineers and so on. Highly qualified people going to another country like Europe or wherever. And that is the disaster for the country as it is as a whole.

#### Reference 10 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 3, F: I would like to say something on what she said. My son is sixteen years old but he hasn't been in school for two years because I also don't get a school for him. He needs to go to a school of skills. So they also said to me I must take him to Bishop Lavis. He can go to school there. I can't see him there. How he is going to get there. How is he going to get back. Se he is not in school now. Because I feel -

BH: Is he home schooled?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: No.

BH: Okay so what does he do all day?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: He's at home at the moment. I am trying to get a teacher to come and home school him.

BH: Okay. So on a national level. Are you worried about something? For the country

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Our kids need to be educated to get somewhere in life.

BH: Education.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Yes. The school just say sorry I am full. I mean where we are staying he is supposed to go to the school that's in your area

BH: In what area, oh you live in Parow. Okay.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: But they don't have place for him.

BH: There is no vocational schools?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: No.

#### References 11-12 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to

crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### References 13-14 - 0.30% Coverage

But why is it, what I can't understand is, my daughter has a coloured boyfriend, she has black friends at the university and they are all fine but there is a certain group of people that would just hate you. Just because you are white. And I don't think that hatred is going to go away.

#### Reference 15 - 1.51% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Can I just say something? Um, my child did a thing about apartheid. And I learned with him.

BH: School project?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: School project. The things what I don't understand, is the blacks carry on about the white people. You know who was punished the most under apartheid? Was the coloured people. They were punished the most. They were slaves, they were beaten, they were raped with the white people raping them. But the whites looking away, they didn't see anything. But the black people were never so badly beaten or mistreated like the coloured people. The coloured and the Indians. They were the worst treated ever. But the black people blames the white people for whatever went wrong in their life.

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 8, M: One last thing. My wife, for example, with the coloureds, when my wife's family was living in District Six and they were split apart because some looked white and some looked coloured. So they were forcefully removed from each other overnight and then the whites who were forcefully removed had to flee to the UK. And they left the country and the ones that couldn't leave or who didn't want to leave, that were small classes of white, they chose to stay. And that happened all over South Africa. The coloureds were stuck in the middle. They didn't have a place for themselves. And they are still stuck in the middle.

#### References 16-18 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think the hopes. What we wanted was equal. To be equal. And now it is actually changing you much. That we are not equal. The whites are actually going to go down. There and the rest of the family up there. But still at the end of the day the coloureds still stay in the middle. So why are we-

BH: Why are we not all equal?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Why aren't we all equal like it was supposed to be?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: It's our salaries and everything at the moment, if you are a white person and you are going to work at a big company you are always going to have a lower salary than the black person. That is just how it works. I am a lot involved with a lot of other colours of people and races so I hear their discussions and where they are working they had top jobs and they will tell me. You know they could get me a work here but they can't because they were told only black or colour but mainly black. So they will tell me. We talk straight, open about everything so everything is changed around.

#### Reference 19 - 1.10% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: And you also won't get, if you are white business owner you are still a level 4 BEE company and you won't get government contracts at all. It won't be looked at. You got to be level two or level one um to now be accepted in any tender.

Group 2, Participant 6, F: And is that now democracy? I am just saying.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: That is what is happening at the moment. And there is a lot of corruption within the tender process. Petro SA for example have a tender process and there are certain services that doesn't go through the tender process. Yet they advertise that they are as a fair tender service to the whole of South Africa. To everyone. But those tenders get awarded to three companies who then supply all the services. Not only Petro SA, I mean things has been like that in the country which is totally corrupt which affects the small

business, the white owned businesses. Coloureds now they are considered if they are all owned coloured company then they are considered level one.

Reference 20 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: You know like number nine says, example Julius Malema. Put him one of this, close to the casino, the Ruyterwacht area, put him in one of those little houses and tell him to stay there for a week. Then he will see how white people struggles. Then he will actually change his own mind and say sorry for what I have said.

Reference 21 - 0.08% Coverage

Group 2, Participant ##: Even the drought was blamed on the white people.

Reference 22 - 0.83% Coverage

BH: What about the idea that whites have done well because they were squeezed out of 1.45.00 government jobs into the private sector where they can make more money? (Number two shaking her head) Okay now why don't you think that number two?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I mean if I can only see where that happened. You know what I am saying?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Whites were retrenched. Chucked out of jobs so that they can come in.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: And that people are struggling now.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because I know a policeman that was thirty-six years in the police. He had to get promotion. One of these darkies comes in, whoop he gets the job. Just out of school. With more salary that that man had thirty six years worked for the government.

Reference 23 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I know a nurse. She was a nurse at Groot Schuur for I think it was twenty five years. And a student at the age of twenty nine just finished her course and she came, it was between this lady that had twenty five years and the young student and the student got the job. And she had to be retrenched yes, but not the biggest package ever. And today she is a cleaner.

References 24-25 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa today?

Group 2, Participant ##: No (multiple respondents)

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant ##: Because we fear

Group 2, Participant ##: You fear for your kid's lives. You don't want to walk to the shop. Oh it is 8 o'clock. You can't go to the shop.

BH: Are you fearing because you are white or fearing because of crime?

Group 2, Participant ##: No crime.

Group 2, Participant ##: White and crime.

BH: So tell me about white and crime. How does that integrate? It is interesting.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because you hear it frequently on the TV Malema say kill the boere, kill the whites.

Group 2, Participant ##: And they do.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: They are killing the farmers and when you ask them where do your food come

from? From Shoprite. That's how clever they are.

Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.48% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.48% Coverage

. As regards where we go now I think we don't like being at the wrong end of the stick. That is it. We talk about – there's a certain amount of black rhetoric. I quite agree with you, if you want to talk about the EFF as being a political party and it is not even amongst the extreme of, of, of um political views in this country if you actually canvas informally. We are looking at it from our own self-interest point of view once again and saying "isn't it tough" but the fact is it was exceptionally tough and nobody, nobody, we didn't, we didn't protest too much to be quite frank when extreme right wing Afrikaners- and I'm not, were espousing violence against black people in the old days. Um and and as I say, I can understand the the the impetus of self-interest but self-interest is where we sit now. We sit in our little ghetto and our little bubble here and we think it is great and things are, you know we worry about what's happening outside. And you know we we feel a bit sensitive now because we're at the sharp end of the stick now. And it will get worse and we're trying our best but the fact is we're just as I say that the pendulum swung. That unfortunately in the bigger world that's, you know in a thousand years it is not going to make a bits difference one way or the other.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 3.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.28% Coverage

BH: So do you think it is necessary to dig up the past to build a better future? Number three

Group 4, Participant 3 F: I don't necessarily think dig up the past I mean don't make a spectacle of it. I sometimes think that is what is done you know. Especially like number six was saying you know around the world they view South Africa a certain way. Especially white South Africans. That we are these racist terrible people because that is what the media shows about um, back in the day. But I do think it's necessary for us to remember like I said earlier it is an important lesson that we have learned as a country you know, that when one nation, one part of the nation tries to, you know, put down the other it's not gonna end well and that if we work together that we, that we can, you know, sort our lives out and live together um in some sort of peaceful, peaceful way. But I don't think it is going to happen overnight. It's, you know, we had the Truth and Reconciliation Council 40.00 way back in the day but I think there are other platforms now. I mean it's 2019. We have Facebook and social media and stuff like that as a way to help people connected as a way to see that we aren't all that different in the end. And that we can live together.

References 2-3 - 1.44% Coverage

BH: Just say what you feel

Group 4, Participant 4, M: The white, the white South Africans at the moment, we getting prosecuted just for about everything.50.00 whereas you can say, how can I say, rest of the nation they can get away. I mean I've seen on the news the last couple of days people have been getting murdered and people getting off scot-free because people don't know how to do their work anymore and all that jazz. Yeah. Um. It's very difficult for me to put it into words without being, how could I say, ah, nasty, should I say.

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I'm happy to mention that if you look at the state capture, um, Jacob literally hasn't been held accountable for any of the seven hundred and something counts that he's has against him. Um. Whereas if you look at Penny Sparrow who was a racist, and who had said a racist word, and she got a sentence against her. So for saying something and for physically doing something, or raping someone, um, there's no justification to that being fair, I mean.

BH: Okay so you are saying racist slurs get a quicker response than other crimes?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Absolutely.

BH: Does it work the other way around? Racist slurs of black people or white people?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: No because many times I have seen shirts of "kill white people" and all of that being posted on social media and nothing gets said about it.

#### References 4-5 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Truthfully this is my home. If I have to leave one day because there absolutely is no more chance left I will face that scenario then. I still believe there is a chance. And this is my home. Despite what politicians say about, white people are foreigners in this country. We're not. I'm sorry, I was born in this country, I was raised in this country. I am not a racial person. This is my home, I have as much right to it. As the politicians are screaming I should be out of the country because I am a foreigner.

#### Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 5.34% Coverage]

##### Reference 1 - 0.69% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I don't know, I feel like a lot of white people have to, sometimes feel they have to tip toe around what they say around black people.

Group 5, Participant 6, F: And even when we do there's so much, there's a lot of cultural appropriation that always comes up. And in honesty when it comes to cultural appropriation, um especially with hair, it's almost as if black girls especially, can do certain things with their hair. They can have cornrow, cornrows or um braids or anything. If a white person had to do it, it's a problem. But then black girls are free to get weaves which is a replica of white girl hair and it's not a problem for them to do it.

##### Reference 2 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I feel that um although our rights are safeguarded they aren't necessarily all the time for the reason that, although BEE, BEE has been effective in providing more black people with jobs it's almost taken out the majority of the white people who were in the working place. It's taken out their jobs.

##### Reference 3 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: A lot of them have immigrated for reasons that they can only find jobs overseas. And here they, the white people that still live here have become hopeless if they lost their jobs or they're looking for something else to do and although we are safeguarded in terms of the general human rights 1.00.00 of like the right to live and all those, we aren't necessarily safeguarded in the sense that um we can't just openly, I mean even for example if you look at um TV competitions, you are more likely to win as a black person than a white person because it's just how the country, it's like how the mindset is. And although white people may have the talents and the capabilities to be in the workplace or hold high positions it's almost because of BEE we don't really have that option anymore.

#### References 4-5 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: To add on with abilities and the fact that we are born frees, because of our parents, grandparents or whatever were around in apartheid we were not necessarily born-free. Same with the sports. Um now look, sports, you, um because, because of apartheid and now what we want to achieve is um is equality there must be this many players of colour in a team, where a guy that could hold the job, a high standard job, this kid could play that, this sport better than him, but because of what's happened we need to play them in. On a personal experience I've had a friend be called on the night before he leaves on an overseas tour to say a POC, a player of colour has been injured um and we need to bring in another one and we [inaudible] to kick you off as well, for another POC. So they get cut short of options-

BH: POC means player of colour?

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Yes. Because of what happened in the past these born-frees aren't really free of the, yeah, what we have to fix.

##### Reference 6 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: Um, the only thing that I was going to say is when we started the whole post-apartheid era, um, the, the BEE was supposed to provide more black people with jobs and almost provide a sense of um equality but they didn't necessarily do that because they took white people's jobs away. And, essentially it didn't decrease the unemployment rate which I'm sure it was supposed to do. Um, it was almost supposed to equal it out or just make the situation better. But instead of doing that they just decided okay well instead of the government contributing funds to the businesses to expand them why don't we just decrease the people who are already working there and just meet BEE requirements. And I think that was like a huge problem when it came to the white people's rights to jobs and that.

#### Reference 7 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Um, I think that with regard to the whole safeguarding of the rights of minorities thing, the political machines are in place but I don't think there's any political drive to protect the the rights of minorities. For example, with um, last year there was a youth employment program that was launched by the ANC and it specifically racially uh disregarded white people because they benefited in the past. This was taken to the constitutional court by Afriforum and the constitutional court ruled it as racist and discriminatory. So there are attempts to get rid of the rights of minorities. But I think thankfully political regimes are in place and white people have the the money to be able to go to court and to fight for their rights, so.

#### Reference 8 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: There's a massive economic advantage in being white. I think everyone admits that white privilege is a thing in this country at least. Wherein white people have that access to high level and high-paying jobs for the longest time and only recently has there been any effort made to change that.

BH: Okay, other, yes

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Like you inherit a head start basically.

BH: Yes okay. Any other thoughts, yes?

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think that although it is an advantage to be more economically advanced as a white person it's almost like we are made to feel guilty for that, and it's not our fault so, in a way it does become a disadvantage because it's almost like a burden on us that because of apartheid and because we're white we have money.

#### Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 19 references coded [ 8.42% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.05% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Work, I'm worried about work. What's going to happen to our kids? Are they going to be sweeping the streets? Or what are they going to do? Sit on the corner and beg for money? It's difficult to get into a college or university if you don't have the funds. Yet again they do offer you a scholarship or a partial exemption but how does one obtain that?

BH: As a white or for people who -

Group 6, Participant 8, M: As a white.

BH: As a white, okay.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Our skin colour

BH: So that stops you from getting the grants to go to university?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: I'm not saying they are stopping us but nobody shows us the paths. This is what you are supposed to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: If you don't go toyi-toyi at the door, they're not going to help you.

#### Reference 2 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, M: They are talking about crime against humanity, how is the white people not suffering today for the past twenty years. It wasn't quite like this in the apartheid years. It is far worse. There are now worse and bigger apartheid now as to when it was apartheid.

#### References 3-5 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##: Reverse ja, apartheid.

Group 6, Participant 5: Yes it is reverse. We are suffering more now than in during that time. In the apartheid years. It is, if you think about it, it is absolutely ridiculous. They weren't handled and chucked out, and the things that are happening to us now. Getting murdered, killed because you are white. This is just how I feel about it.

#### Reference 6 - 1.01% Coverage

BH: If you see it as a war situation, that both sides committed wrong, that we should let bygones be bygones?



Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yes it never worked. Apartheid never worked. So why repeat what happened in the past? Twenty five years ago apartheid never worked so why repeat it now? Why apartheid against us? It's not us that did that, it's -

BH: So do you think that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has done anything to bring reconciliation?

Group 6, Participant ##: No. (Most shaking their heads)

Group 6, Participant ##: Definitely not.

BH: Why don't you think the reconciliation didn't work?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: They didn't judge all the situations the same. If they hadn't done everything the same way maybe it would have worked better.

Reference 7 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I feels like it's a punishment now. We're being punished more for what happened in the past.

Reference 8 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Punishing generation after generation after generation.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 6, Participant ##: And it's getting worse, you know what I mean?

References 9-10 - 0.44% Coverage

BH: What would have happened?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think that the system, the systems at that time worked more fairly or more decent than it does now. If I go now as a white person and say that guy called me a boer, what happens to him? They blow you out of the water. But if I call him the "K" word now, I am in prison ten minutes later.

Reference 11 - 0.46% Coverage

BH: Okay. Now I must just ask you not to bash the pencil because of the sound. (laughter) Number ten I am so sorry. I am putting you under huge stress.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: And that is the unfairity. If there is a word like that in the English.

BH: Okay. Is it not unfairness? That is a good word.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: If I had a problem with this guy

Reference 12 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Because it wasn't us. We didn't know. We we hear about it only afterwards. Why punish us? Why punish our children? We are sorry for what happened but the past is in the past. Let's carry on. Make about the future.

Reference 13 - 1.48% Coverage

BH: Now number six you have to tell me something. You haven't said anything up until now. And you really do need to share your thoughts with me. What do you think? Because I do know that you are thinking. 55.00

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Ja I am thinking but it's so terrible.

BH: So tell me. Tell me what you think. Are you relieved that democracy replaced apartheid? Don't worry about anybody else because I am wanting you just to give me your opinion.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: No I don't think so

BH: You don't think so? You preferred it how it was?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Ja.

BH: Okay and just tell me the reasons why you prefer it?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: It was better. I don't know, ja.

BH: Okay. And what is it about Democracy that you don't like now?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Oh there is a lot of stuff.

BH: Well just tell me some of the stuff.

Group 6, Participant 6, F: I don't know. Work, ja.

BH: That there isn't enough work?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Work

BH: So that's the biggest problem? Under Democracy there is not enough work for white people or for everybody?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: For white people actually.

Reference 14 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: Okay, alright. How do the others feel about Democracy replacing apartheid?

Group 6, Participant ##, M: Reverse racism.

Reference 15 - 0.10% Coverage

BH: Okay and you number nine?

Group 6, Participant 9, M: Well mostly it's work.

Reference 16 - 0.30% Coverage

BH: So for all people there doesn't seem to be enough work?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Yes that's everybody.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It doesn't matter which colour, size or whatever.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: There is no work.

Reference 17 - 0.70% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Stop playing the blame game. And-

Group 6, Participant ##: Get over it.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: How long is, since 1994. It's been-

BH: It's twenty five years

Group 6, Participant 11, M: It's twenty-five years it's been democracy but they still blaming everything on apartheid. So if they can't get it right in twenty five years why still blame it on apartheid? It doesn't make sense. So stop playing the blame game. That's the only way to move forward. Forget about the past and look in front of you.

#### References 18-19 - 1.11% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I think the politicians are full of empty promises. I mean how did the ANC get into power? They promised everybody houses. They promised everybody free education. Free this, free that, free, and have they given those people that? No they haven't given the people- now they want to turn around because they can't fulfil their promises and they wanna to blame apartheid. So everything is apartheid's fault. So now who gets, who gets free university? The blacks get free university. Who gets free houses? The blacks get free houses. But they're still not happy. Who's the guys burning down the universities? It is the guys that are failing and they don't get a a bursary again for free. So they'll go and burn the university down. But if you pay for something you won't burn it down because you know you're paying for it.

#### Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 18 references coded [ 7.26% Coverage]

##### Reference 1 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: And laws only for certain groups.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes, and they are not applied fairly.

##### Reference 2 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: If they can build houses for the black people, they can build houses for pensioners, how many whites are there who do not homes.

##### Reference 3 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: You know, there are laws but they are not enforced and only apply to certain groups. If you are not in the right group you are victimized.

##### Reference 4 - 0.44% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: The funny thing to me is that they are always burning down their shops, then they need to be rebuilt...

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Or their schools.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Yes or their schools, they burn it down and who pays for it? Tax payers? Nothing gets done about it.

Group 7, Participant ##: Nothing gets done.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They don't get locked up. They can protest as well. They can damage your car but you can do nothing.

##### References 5-6 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes they still blame us for apartheid but they know nothing about apartheid, they are young and cannot remember anything about that era. It's just what their parents told them about that period. But they still blame us

DL: That is very true, we will still get to that.

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Yes, we will.

##### References 7-10 - 1.39% Coverage

DL: Good. Talk about the next one. What about the politicians with the big mouths who often stand on the podiums and talk such a lot what about them, how many of them applied?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: One never heard of them. No you don't hear about them. And they still carry on and on like a record that is flippen stuck, it just goes on and on but let a White say something then, there is big trouble. They open their mouths but nothing gets done. They never get to the point

DL: Yes politicians make easy promises but nothing happens and he buys votes with that

Group 7, Participant ##: For sure.

Group 7, Participant ##: Promises that are never kept empty promises, free houses everything free. We should like the ANC make promises so everybody votes for them.

DL: You really have to join in the conversation

Group 7, Participant ##, F: I agree but it's too late now. The promises are many but the real application does not happen. Look how the ANC promised houses to be built for Whites, how many houses are being built?

(Everyone talking)

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They get solar geysers, they get everything, and you can drive into any town how many houses are being built? There are no White squatter camps where you will see houses built for Whites or something. The Whites just have to suffer they must have a look in the various towns these days how many Whites are on the street, how many are begging, there's no houses or food and so on for them but it is given to the Blacks these days.

Reference 11 - 0.52% Coverage

DL: I'm very glad you said that. Remember we would really like to know how White people feel about what is happening in South Africa today and what is happening where you live, so do not hesitate to speak. That's good.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: That DSTV, look how many of them already have it.

(Everyone talking)

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Our location too, all the locations have these new TV's. The Whites didn't get anything. New solar geysers too. They get solar geysers. Just see what it looks in Theunessen. That whole location is full of solar geysers.

Reference 12 - 0.72% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I just wanted to say now. But then the police are also not watching out The police vans are used as taxis, there are no more patrols, you can see all over the police vans being used as a taxi , or you phone them at night then that police van is out of town then that police van is on its way to another town. Then he's not in his own town. They are in another town.

40:01

DL: So it comes back to what we said just now about discipline there is no supervision of these people

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes. I have experienced, the police do come out.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes 2 hours later.

Group 7, Participant ##: But then they are under the influence. They sit and drink at the shebeens.

Group 7, Participant ##: They treat you as if you are the guilty one.

References 13-14 - 1.38% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: All of a sudden the thing gets blown up. That woman at...

DL: Penny Sparrow

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Experienced something similar. She got a prison sentence.

DL: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Exactly.

DL: Are certain cases not being taken out of context?

(All talking together agreeing)

Group 7, Participant ##: It's nothing else.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take those two guys who put the Black in the coffin, exactly the same, but now I read in yesterday's paper, the Volksblad, that they will appear in court on the 10th of November. Seems to me the Appeal Court has decided that it is a fake story. They merely wanted to scare him and he was not assaulted as he alleged that he had marks on his body. From his own mother's time he had red marks on his back, there were no marks as a result of being assaulted. Now the Appeal Court has decided that the two guys are innocent and that they may get ? (inaudible)

Group 7, Participant ##, F: But just look how much money was wasted.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But look how they carry on about the K-word.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

(Laughter)

Group 7, Participant ##: I mean they will tell you that you are a bloody white person and you just have to accept it.

DL: However it may be, the thing gets turned around.

Group 7, Participant ##: The funny thing is that Malema may say what he likes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: But he gets away with everything. No action is taken against him.

#### References 15-16 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes I would also say forgive and forget. Even with movies with all the old apartheid stories, you feel upset all over again. They must leave those things behind. Don't show those movies anymore. It just incites them all over again.

Group 7, Participant ##: It just fans the fires of hatred. And they show those movies more and more these days.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Yes. On TV, how they were treated during those days. It should be stopped.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Songs too. There are songs people sing that people are mad about.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Kill the Boer.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Its number 1 on top. Also the old flag that they display in front of people and they don't like it and the anthem that they want to do away with. Those are not really important things. What difference does it make if they still sing the anthem at rugby matches and so forth, and it has never caused any harm.

#### Reference 17 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: It makes sense, but on the other hand, they come to the Cape as you say, because of better job opportunities, they get the work opportunities but what about our children, our young people who have completed university.

Group 7, Participant ##: They now have to go overseas.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: They have degrees. They can do nothing here. For example in the past if you walked into an OK, Shoprite or Checkers, white children packed your goods.

55:00

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Not at all today.

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: I don't begrudge him his work, I'm not racist. I don't have much love for him, but I'm not racist. That's something that doesn't make sense to me. We must give him employment but our people and our children must sit with folded hands. There's no work for us.

Reference 18 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: We whites can't even do window shopping in the evening, or be out on the street, your kids can't even sleep outside on the lawn

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I was pulled off the scooter in our street recently.

Group 7, Participant ##: Oh no!

DL: So it's a personal thing.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: By three children.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Years ago, the police did foot patrols. Not anymore.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 29 references coded [ 15.00% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.70% Coverage

hen also the judicial system that is not fairly applied, we are supposed to be a democracy, but unfortunately there is discrimination, like what I read in the newspapers and see on television, as an example, the woman that was assaulted by the African males, but she is the one sent to jail because she used the "K" word, how is that fair, then you see other things circulated in the media, for instance the Spur incident, then there is also the example, when an African person does something against us, nothing gets done and it is not circulated in the media.

References 3-4 - 1.87% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: What about human rights currently, I can personally testify how my human rights were prejudiced.

DL: I'd like to hear it - what situation did you experience?

Group 8, Participant 4, F: We both stop at the road block, just because he drove past and exceeded the speed limit.

DL: Was he black or white?

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Black, I did not have my seatbelt on. I stood there for a half an hour and tried to apologize, they gave me a fine, and just looked at him and said there you go. How is that not also a crime against human rights? If we are to be equal then we must be equal.

DL: I am glad you mention it, this is what we want to hear.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: And that is just a minor incident

Group 8, Participant 9, F: The worst was now recently at the traffic dept., my license had expired, I applied 3 months before it expired so that I would have the renewal on time, I did not get an SMS to collect it, I went to collect, man next to me was black, they immediately gave it to him even though he also did not get an SMS, but they yelled at me in front of everyone saying you did not get an SMS what are you doing here, but on their system showed that my renewal had been sitting there for 2 months. That is discrimination, why can't I get my license, it is there, it's about service but they don't want to help you because you are white and will just say "fill in the paper", the other one will take time to explain to him if he is black. It happens at every place where you need service.

Reference 5 - 0.27% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: The other thing is when they advertise a position and say if you are not white, then don't even apply, how is that not racist, you cannot just say that it because there is BEE that you are fine.

Reference 6 - 0.70% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 2, F: I can actually testify to what she mentioned about your colour. I am a UNISA student, I had to go to court for my one assignment, I had to physically go and sit at court. The clerk of the court made me come back for a month, he is black. Two other students, both black, a gentleman and a lady, it's the first time they get there, he explains to them what happens in court, I know what happens but I have to first follow the case to the end, he stamps their forms but refuses to stamp mine, they are there for a day, but I have to go back for a month.

References 7-8 - 0.99% Coverage

DL: The question is was it really necessary to dig into the past to build a better future?

Group 8, Participant 9, F: I think they just fuelled hatred. People were already upset and in pain about it – after apartheid they were looking for something to hit back the whites, this was the perfect opportunity to get every ones hatred together and use it as a driving force that they overcome the whites and they succeeded.

Group 8, Participant 7, F: It is not even the people who lived during the apartheid who raise it, it's people who had nothing to do with apartheid who use it to obtain something.

35:00

Group 8, Participant 8, M: It's the young blacks who make you out to be racist, then they come with their apartheid nonsense.

Group 8, Participant ##: But you weren't even part of apartheid.

References 9-10 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: It's their driving force, you go straight to your ancestors and use it as your driving force, you can't live like this in a rainbow nation where there are so many cultures, in a way everyone is done in, if you compare apartheid now, it is 10 times worse than it was then.

Reference 11 - 1.67% Coverage

The next question, the younger generation of Germans find it difficult to take part in the blame, the same with the born frees, that's you, find it very difficult to accept blame for apartheid, what do you say about this, should you feel guilty about it or not? Should you ask questions about apartheid?

All talk together but the consensus is no.

01:10:03

Just because our grandparents may not have been very nice. I feel that this is not something that needs to be carried over, not as in the past where things were carried down from generation to generation. It may have been like that in previous generations but if I had to carry around all that baggage and not become my own self, I wouldn't have been able to breathe (not sure what the respondent means)/ I wouldn't have been here today.

I don't think we can be blamed as it was not a system that was carried over.

When I was in primary school and high school, I use to feel guilty, that's what they taught you in school, so yes I use to blame my great grandparents but as I found more information I realized that it was not my fault. It is about your upbringing and education

Yes your upbringing plays a major role, if you listen to the stories of your parents and grandparents, then you are likely to be racist, but if you were raised well in a non-racists house hold, then you won't be racist.

#### Reference 12 - 0.51% Coverage

I don't know whether you lived during the time of sport boycotts, the sanctions imposed, we were cut off from the world, there was just one way to come back and that was democracy

They should have just signed a treaty that stipulated that for the generations to come, irrespective of whether they are black or white, these laws/rules must apply, you cannot come and prosecute our children still to come.

#### References 13-15 - 0.56% Coverage

Illiteracy figure is high amongst the blacks especially and because they have this freeness of speech, they get appointed to positions because it is their right, but they are not qualified to do the work.

It's not always their fault.

When it comes to a job application, and you know that you are not qualified but you are black and I have a right to sit here, then they give him the work, but a qualified white man is declined because of his skin colour.

#### References 16-18 - 1.51% Coverage

We are still going to chat about that shortly. Has the government built in a balance between the minority rights as opposed to the majority?

I think they give far more to the majority, the black's say they are the minority but actually we are, the government does not dispense the state resources equally, democratically we are all equal, but we aren't and they just further disadvantage us, the whites.

I agree with her, they don't use the resources fairly, they would rather give it to some who is less qualified than use it to further their own interests than help the whites who are qualified for the same position.

Yes a small group the majority group enjoy preferential treatment, to the exclusion of the rest which they don't even care about that is why there is more unemployment. Their people in good positions just get more and more money.

They only look after themselves. The constitution, does it make provision for minority rights

No it doesn't. They make more allowance for majority groups, as an example, the abolishment of the death sentence because of a black man "Mokonyane" that "pushed for it", it feels as if criminal are getting away with more and more because of our constitution.

#### Reference 19 - 0.33% Coverage

The criminal now has more rights than the victim

Yes.

A man attacks you with a bread knife on your property, it is your private property, but you don't have the right to retaliate with a weapon stronger than his, that just does not make sense to me.

Double standards.

#### References 20-21 - 0.81% Coverage

Does that mean that the rights of whites as a racial minority are sufficiently safeguarded? As a minority, are you just part of the system?

I think the white people are viewed outside of the system, the system only works for them, they want to drive us out.

Who is "they"?

The blacks want to drive us, the whites out, they don't want us.

All talk together.

Reference is made to the farm murders (rest in audible).

In essence you are saying the majorities rights overshadow that of the white minority

Yes, if you stand up for your rights, then you are following apartheid or being racist or unequal but all you are doing is standing up for yourself

#### References 22-24 - 0.96% Coverage

Everyone is complaining about the electricity. In a post, these tokens that you buy...(area name in audible) it is



usually the wealthy whites or black who live there and you pay so much more for electricity, her maid bought a token and got double the amount of electricity than she could get for the same value. Water, they get free water because it is a right to have running, why do we pay, they see a more affluent area, more white people. How is it that in the locations they get electricity and running water at a reduced price from the municipality? We pay our accounts, but then municipalities spend and do not pay then our water is cut and we sit with a water outage – we are on the same system but in the location theirs is not cut.

02:00:25

Same with the electricity

#### References 25-26 - 0.74% Coverage

Last question. Is it still important to have people in leadership positions say for instance in parliament or the city council or provincial government?

Yes it's a small hope that there would be better development that everything does not implode.

So that there is more quality on the level where people are in government.

We are in a democratic country, you cannot just see black people and think that that is fair, if you want South Africa to make progress as a democratic country then we must all be equal.

If we are a rainbow nation, why then can only the black people make decisions.

#### References 27-28 - 2.51% Coverage

What is the advantage, if any, of being white in South Africa. Many, even Julius Malema, says whites still do well in South Africa despite black economic empowerment, they still earn more, they go to the best schools, have the best jobs.

We work harder for everything we have, they just get everything for free. If I also just got money each month for nothing, if you know you have to work for something, on your land even though they can take it at any stage, you make the most of what you have, why would you not want to do it. If you can offer your children a better live, then you work for it. They don't work for the children, they parents work and send money home, the grandparents look after the children. We don't have the luxury of leaving our children with the grandparents because at 65 many of our parent are still working, very few people can retire. Very few people can say at 65 that they can retire, many have cancelled their medical aids because they cannot survive on the pension.

Are they speaking about all white people?

No they are speaking about the majority.

I would say that there are still those who prosper, the majority of us no.

In days gone by, our parents married at 22 and had children at 23, they had a job, a house, but look at us almost 24, still studying, battling to find employment, you can't marry because there is no money, where can you still buy a house, you battle to survive. If you don't have parents backing you, how will you get somewhere in life. They did not need their parents then.

As an example, for the university, next year is my practical year and we need to work, many of the students go and work at CUD or the experimental farm , there is accommodation and they live there for free, they don't even need books for the year but they still claim their accommodation money, R2000 or R3000 a month, they still get their money for their books. Even in their theory year they do the same, they claim for books but the down load the books on their phones. They just get and get.

#### Reference 29 - 0.51% Coverage

In the private sector you also need to realize that you need the black people, they are the majority.

They are the ones with tenders.

Need to work with them.

So you basically need a BEE partner?

You need to get a tender partner.

My mother and they have a construction company and they had to specially register a new company name that is BEE so that they could get tenders.

Many give it to their brothers or sisters.

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 3.78% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 0.97% Coverage

BH: Okay so you were talking about employment equity and BEE up until now. What happened to whites who lost their jobs because of EE and when the change-over in public service happened? What do you think happened to all those white people?

Group 1, Participant 9, M: One thing I noticed is, not in the Western Cape but in the old Transvaal, they have bonds on their houses. The banks take their houses. They live in caravans next to the dams and next to the river making, I don't know, some of them sell drugs for life and some of them teach their children to become, the girls to become prostitutes and the boys becomes people who sell drugs. They live in caravan parks. I haven't seen that happen in the Western Cape yet but in the Transvaal especially where all the coal mines were. All the white people use to work at the coal mines. They replaced those former white people with black people to work in the mines. Around 400 000 of those, mostly Afrikaans-speaking white people lives in caravan parks and become drug dealers and prostitutes.

Reference 4 - 0.23% Coverage

BH: So now we go to number six and then to number ten and then number two. You had your hand up.

Group 1, Participant 6:, F Yes. Didn't the people move overseas? We had all these people with great skill and they just left. So, so. I didn't hear about.

Reference 5 - 0.99% Coverage

BH: Remember we are just saying what we (inaudible) here. So you think they went overseas? And number two, what do you think happened to all those whites?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I have yet to find somebody who lost their job out of BEE or being fired. They were not fired they were basically retrenched and they got paid. What they did with the money afterwards that is where, you know they didn't have any financial savvy and that is why they ended up in caravan parks. I know people who live there. And I know people in Ellisras who I pray for every day, because they go out of their minds and they had a big thing and they bought all those lovely things and 1.45.00 they didn't think to do it more.

BH: They didn't invest it.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: The whole thing came down to, you know, the whole education thing, as it was said, that it was not just the education to do with the primary, secondary, tertiary education but also to do about, you know the people never had any financial savvy to teach them how to deal with people to, you know that type of thing as well.

Reference 6 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 5, F: No no, he stayed but he had to get demoted. Demoted in every way. Stocks, everything. So I am not sure if that happened to a lot of white people as well. They just moved down.

Reference 7 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: A similar thing happened with my uncle and a friend of mines' mother, they worked at UCT together and they were offered packages. Like either they could take the package or they stepped down and earn like a smaller salary.

References 8-9 - 0.22% Coverage

BH: Is it because they network or is it because of their own individual efforts?

Group 1, Participant ##: They work better with their money.

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

Group 1, Participant ##: And they get inheritance from Ouma

References 10-12 - 0.96% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Many - many white people have had the extra like, benefit from apartheid. A lot of them come from money. It is easy to make money and to build things up when you come from money. I mean I don't come from money. I am like a teacher. 1.50.00 I don't even work in a government school. I earn much less in a private school. But the thing is when you have that money you can do anything. Especially if you have an education. A lot, a lot of white people, even though they do come from money they do work very hard to like, keep building on to what they have. It is not like they took that money and they lived off it, they worked really hard to maintain it and start their own businesses.

BH: Seven

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I just wanted to say that we as white people we get money from our godfathers, parents, you know so you can buy houses, you can buy whatever and that money keeps on coming in for years and years. And the other races I don't know if they don't know how to work with money but they just not doing stuff right.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 18 references coded [ 7.28% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 1.15% Coverage

And among the African cultures they believe, they teach their children to not go to school. They value working for a measly income rather than getting a decent education. Even though education is given to them. So it has a negative impact on South Africa within itself and now there is a (inaudible) they don't want to fill the places, to take the roles to receive the education and then we can't receive it in any case. So for white South Africans it is very difficult. It leaves us with a bleak future for our children. We might be lucky enough to have some sort of work but for our children, unless you know someone, unless you start your own business and become an entrepreneur and unless you get along with people you are not really going to fit in. 25.00 We are not going to be accepted within South Africa. What happens is you become educated and you leave the country and South Africa loses quality qualified engineers and so on. Highly qualified people going to another country like Europe or wherever. And that is the disaster for the country as it is as a whole.

Reference 4 - 0.39% Coverage

A lot of people that I know that are quite educated that has businesses out here, they are leaving. And a lot of friends of mine they are immigrating and I see it the whole time. A few have been leaving. I have another friend of mine, even a priest is now going to Australia at the end of the year. So a lot of people are leaving due to that that they can't go further.

References 5-7 - 1.58% Coverage

BH: Minority rights and constitution.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I take it on myself. When I moved down to Cape Town I was from contract to contract. And when I was working in Metro Rail basically that I went to the person I fall under and I went to him and I asked him listen what is my chances of getting a job here? So he went to his cupboard and he took a file out and he laid it down and he said to me okay, you see this point, this is who we employed first. Now you are a white male, you are about there. So it is first race then gender then this and that and the white male is right at the end of the day. And when I walked out of his office I said to myself so okay what now? If this contract ends, what now? What am I going to do for my life? Two thoughts popped in my brain. Work for yourself. Go out there and try something. Or do you have a friend's father that have a business or something where you can maybe wiggle your way in. And that is the honest truth. That is where, where some people today stands.

BH: So what did happen to you?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Well you know I persevered and kept on going and I said I am not going to stand still. Nobody owes me anything. I don't care what people say so if you want to say in my face BEE I said fine. Good luck for you. Goodbye. I'll go on my merry way. Keep on going. You say you just keep on going. Even if it is talk in your face. I am not going to go lie down and go sit in a corner and say well okay fine I'm beaten, I'm, I'm not going to do that.

Reference 8 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think the whole BEE is a double world anyways has created a private sector and I think for the white, the white men, they just become business owners because the only way you can survive is to get your own business going. And I think that has created two sections. The, the public sector which is under the business sector. And I think most of the business sector has become the white sector of business owners who have had to build up their own business. So there has become a division I think because we have been forced to actually start our own thing. If you want to survive you need to create your own job opportunity. You need to go out and do that because everywhere else you are not going to get it or make it. And I think that has caused class division also 1.35.00 in our country.

Reference 9 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Well I mean, not all white South Africans are staying in Constantia and Clifton, and you know Bakoven. I would love to go and stay there. Yes hello, bring it on you know. If he can give me a couple of million ja!

Reference 10 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: You know like number nine says, example Julius Malema. Put him one of this, close to the casino, the Ruyterwacht area, put him in one of those little houses and tell him to stay there for a week. Then he will see how white people struggles. Then he will actually change his own mind and say sorry for what I have said.

References 11-12 - 0.83% Coverage

BH: What about the idea that whites have done well because they were squeezed out of 1.45.00 government jobs into the private sector where they can make more money? (Number two shaking her head) Okay now why don't you think that number two?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I mean if I can only see where that happened. You know what I am saying?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Whites were retrenched. Chucked out of jobs so that they can come in.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: And that people are struggling now.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because I know a policeman that was thirty-six years in the police. He had to get promotion. One of these darkies comes in, whoop he gets the job. Just out of school. With more salary that that man had thirty six years worked for the government.

Reference 13 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I know a nurse. She was a nurse at Groot Schuur for I think it was twenty five years. And a student at the age of twenty nine just finished her course and she came, it was between this lady that had twenty five years and the young student and the student got the job. And she had to be retrenched yes, but not the biggest package ever. And today she is a cleaner.

References 14-17 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Yes I think it also depends on the class levels. I think the upper class that were maybe the CEO of a company or in good positions I think a lot of those people have started their own businesses and build up their own then private sector. So I think there is a majority that is in that sector. But I think it depends because we are middle class, lower class. So it affects every class differently. Where they work, what retrenchment package they got. But I think what (inaudible) was referring to is that those people that they have made it big and they are creating their own you know and they are doing well. I mean they have the resources, the experience, and I think ja, anyway.

Reference 18 - 0.68% Coverage

But at the end of the day, my point of view is, my wife and my kids they all have dual citizenship. Spain and here. But my heart is in South Africa. I will stay here as long as I will fight for the country. And that is what all South Africans should do. The problem was most people just ran away to Australia. They are failing. You need to stand up for your country. That is why we have another party that fights for against maybe with another party who is trying to do, disagree. We need to have disagreements. We need to use the democracy and use it wisely. Fight against crime. Do something about it. You can't just sit back and complain.

Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.67% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: If you're talking about white reactionaries I don't know how they, I don't think they ever envisaged um a a permanent a permanent sort of outcome of their any destabilisation tactic. Um, there was Oranje. We're still looking at its vestiges now, its not come to be an independent state. We've got no white homeland. All those things that were toyed with and were talked about, that were hypothesised at the time didn't come to pass. I just think that they're gonna - some of us, to be brutally frank, cannot leave South Africa.

#### Reference 2 - 0.63% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: Absolutely. So we had all kinds of - but I think a lot of people that would be fall guys, they weren't put up as as as scapegoats. They realised that one they couldn't leave. Two they have didn't have money to go anywhere and do anything about trying to change their lives. They weren't going to go to Paraguay like a lot of Nazis did after the war. So I mean, the fact is, they stayed. Well they thought if I am going to stay I don't want to be prosecuted so I better 'fess up and come to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

#### Reference 3 - 0.66% Coverage

BH: All right, so are whites prospering because they are getting on well with all other South Africans?

Group 3, Participant 3, M: Are whites prospering?

Group 3, Participant ##: Prospering?

BH: Yes because they are getting on well.

Group 3, Participant ##: I think, define prospering.

BH: Having an income and managing to have their needs met. I am not talking about wishing needs I am talking about their everyday needs met.

Group 3, Participant 3, M: But are they? I think generally we are. I think socially we are. To a large degree. Financially I don't think so. No.

#### Reference 4 - 0.25% Coverage

BH: Okay so let's talk about those whites who are not doing so well.

Group 3, Participant 4, M: Well are we actually doing so well? Once things were biased in our favour, now they are not. So are we actually doing so well?

#### Reference 5 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 6, F: Well I don't know. I think the poor white population is grown. Certainly I am from Johannesburg so I am not that familiar with what happens in and around poor white communities here but around Pretoria, the poverty actually doesn't know colour, it seems. I have inkling that under the apartheid government regime poor white people were protected or they were helped and that is no longer so.

#### Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 16 references coded [ 7.12% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 1.31% Coverage

But I think that it was done for a good cause and it failed because I saw a lot of the the higher positions was obviously white people in power whereas if you're looking now, things are reversed. And now it's black people in power. So that's maybe where the white people are struggling, um. The older generation as well, um. For one I had a black friend when I was small. She used to come to my house. Her name is Cynthie. We both had (inaudible) She was one of my best friends. And when she came to my house my dad wanted to give her the maid's cup and the maid's plate and I said dad what are you doing? She is my friend, she will drink out of the same plates and the same cups! That is the mentality that my father had that is your plate and your cup. We bathed together and they couldn't understand. But for us it was, I don't know, it was completely normal. So I think it's what has been fed into our minds that we have grown accustomed to and what we were taught about apartheid. So I do think that it was for good intentions but um it did end up failing and back firing and

unfortunately as number two said that we are, it's our generation now and it is our children to think about, will be the ones because they trying to make up and make us go through what they went through.

#### Reference 3 - 0.48% Coverage

So It's not really, just to get back to what [NAME] said, number three said, we, I'm also comfortable to be a South African because I am proud of the fact that my children won't know about apartheid. They know about it but fortunately they're not living it. So I do feel like yes I am comfortable and I feel like if anybody is going to get raped on their way to work, I think we are very much in the minority because a lot of black women are treated a lot worse than we are.

#### References 4-6 - 1.74% Coverage

BH: Already, so, what do you think are the advantages of being white in South Africa today?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Well we have that legacy I think. A lot of people go but oh, I wasn't there during apartheid, so uh, a lot of the stuff doesn't apply to me. But you've also gotta remember, your family, um, like your parents, they had good jobs, they could send you to a model C school and maybe could have helped you with some university tuition. Or if they couldn't they could help, they had sort of contacts that could help you get a good job you know, where you would be comfortable and you would be able to lead a comfortable life. And I know, I'm not, very shameless about this, but I would say that my family helped a lot with my, with my life. Especially financially. You know. Um, so, a per-, a woman my age of a different race might not necessarily have had these opportunities because her family were living on bare minimum, you know? So And her parents might have worked away from home and she was raised by either her grandmother or you know another family member or relative. So their whole family dynamic wasn't as structured as ours was. And they didn't necessary get the support, both financially, emotionally and all of that. You know. And so I think we have that sort of upper advantage, at least the white people I know. I mean I know there are white people who lived horrendous lives as well. But you know the sort of social circle that I've been in, we've had the advantage of of apartheid and families having that old money if you like. And being able to have opportunities that other people just couldn't afford. And so I think the legacy is still there.

#### Reference 7 - 0.29% Coverage

BH: What do you think happened to white people who lost their jobs because of employment equity?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: They became innovative. They moved with the times. Because they still had to feed their families and they made a plan. They didn't all just dissolve.

#### References 8-9 - 0.48% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: They went overseas

BH: So you think some went overseas? Some were innovative. You said some went overseas. What do you think number eight?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: Yes a lot of people I know basically went overseas. My neighbour at the time (inaudible) worked in government and they based, well it was actually the Department of Education. They treated him like he owed them something. So People definitely just went overseas.

#### Reference 10 - 0.16% Coverage

BH: Do you know what country he went to?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: Australia. And they are living a fantastic life. I think that is a wonderful place.

#### References 11-12 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think they obviously either just took pay cuts or found different jobs. Ja and a lot of people have either decided to go overseas. I've a couple of friends and family that had gone over and looking to go over and I for one am also going over.

#### References 13-14 - 1.45% Coverage

BH: So what do you think are happening to the whites who are not doing well? Besides immigrating. What do you think is happening to the whites not doing so well who are staying behind?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: You see them begging on the streets. There are so many white beggars in this town. I think that is just a small drop.

BH: So there are a lot of white beggars?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I think they are in KZN. Because in the Western Cape my brother says that he knows he's in KZN when he sees beggars because they are not there in the Western Cape. Or not where he stays. Because it is Saarsveld. And he says there's, it's just like, is that KZN?

BH: He's at Saarsveld- well that's-

Group 4, Participant 6, F: He's at Saarsveld there in George. And he just says, like he knows he's in KZN when he sees a white beggar. That's when he knows he's here.

BH: What do you think number four?

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Yeah white beggars are getting rife especially in Maritzburg. In KwaZulu-Natal for that fact um it's, it's a hard question to answer because I can't speak for what they've been through and a lot of them go straight on to drugs. They can't cope. They just can't cope so they get addicted to drugs. And once you get hooked on it there is nothing you can do. Then you are finished. Um. But I can't say, you can't say what they have been through, and. Ja, I think it disheartens them a lot.

References 15-16 - 0.95% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Um I also, I would say that it's important to also make sure that you try to make up opportunities for yourself. You don't just wait for someone to come and plonk something on your lap. It's like, a lot of people say oh but its, you go and get all the certifications you know, somebody's just going to get the job who is not actually qualified. But you know the more you improve your skills the greater your opportunities are and like I was saying earlier, as white South Africans we have those sort of opportunities given to us because of the legacy that, that we have. That financially a lot of us, our parents helped us out. Or they supported us in what we were trying to do with our lives. And so we have those those opportunities for us. We just need to take them and to use them to the best of our abilities instead of sort of, sitting on our laurels and waiting for something to happen.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 16 references coded [ 6.90% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: I was gonna say, it's still the same people with maybe disguised mind sets making the decisions after apartheid.

References 2-3 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: A lot of them have immigrated for reasons that they can only find jobs overseas. And here they, the white people that still live here have become hopeless if they lost their jobs or they're looking for something else to do and although we are safeguarded in terms of the general human rights 1.00.00 of like the right to live and all those, we aren't necessarily safeguarded in the sense that um we can't just openly, I mean even for example if you look at um TV competitions, you are more likely to win as a black person than a white person because it's just how the country, it's like how the mindset is. And although white people may have the talents and the capabilities to be in the workplace or hold high positions it's almost because of BEE we don't really have that option anymore.

Reference 4 - 1.29% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: Um, so, to bring you back to the question um, I feel that you can't, you just, based on what everybody's been putting forward, that they feel that um the, the white rights aren't protected in the system that we're in. But I feel like you can't really protect every single part of the rights you have won in a democracy where the minority will always have to fit in with the majority votes. Um, I also feel that it's, you know, um, you've got to, you've got to correct the past, right? You can go get, you can qualify for the job because of the school you went to, because of the university, you know, the degree you got, whereas, and so you are able to get the job; you are able to increase your wealth, put your kids through it so they increase

their wealth. But now you have the, the people who were um who were discriminated in the past who can't afford to get the degree, they can't, they can't qualify for the job. 1.05.00 It's, you've got to then assist them to get up into the same place that you are. Alright, so yes it, it sucks, it really does. You know you lose your job because you're white and then you, BBEEE points. But if you're looking at it from the perspective of the country and the country moving forward, it is needed.

#### Reference 5 - 1.42% Coverage

And just going off of nine's point, um I, last year I lived in the UK and I worked there. And I think um the one thing that really struck me was that um, I worked in the cinema, and there were people there who worked there who were supporting their families on the cinema salary. And there were people who were packing bags at like the local supermarket who were earning more money than me. And, but there was, the the biggest thing was that there was no job stigma about it. Like, there was nothing saying um just because you're packing bags uh and earning a good salary it doesn't mean, it it like-

BH: It didn't define you?

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Yeah, it, whereas here like a lot of my friends have said things like, "oh, I never wanna work in MacDonal'd's or like packing bags is not something I I wanna do." And I think that ah historically those kinds of jobs are given to people who aren't as educated and because we've come from a background where we have had different opportunities for education, um, like eight was saying, the hope is that that guy now in this job can earn money to put his kids through, through schooling and to give them an opportunity to come into the workplace um on an equal level where they're not looked at just because of their race but where they're looked at because they had opportunities that weren't previously there for them because of their race.

#### Reference 6 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: There's a massive economic advantage in being white. I think everyone admits that white privilege is a thing in this country at least. Wherein white people have that access to high level and high-paying jobs for the longest time and only recently has there been any effort made to change that.

BH: Okay, other, yes

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Like you inherit a head start basically.

BH: Yes okay. Any other thoughts, yes?

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think that although it is an advantage to be more economically advanced as a white person it's almost like we are made to feel guilty for that, and it's not our fault so, in a way it does become a disadvantage because it's almost like a burden on us that because of apartheid and because we're white we have money.

#### References 7-11 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 5, Participant M, 5: I think whites are prospering are doing it for a lot of reasons not just because they get on well with with everyone. I think the inheritance helps, education, um, communication skills in the workplace always help. Um, entrepreneurship and that's, that can be just you're your personality and your traits that you're born with.

#### References 12-13 - 0.91% Coverage

BH: Okay any other views?

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I think to an extent getting on well is a fair statement to make. But that doesn't necessarily mean behind closed doors South Africans who are very successful like that aren't inherently racist. Um, I had the privilege or the discomfort of being in the room with um an individual who owns a mining company. Um, and he's a white individual and he's on the phone to essentially a BEE partner of a mine he wanted to open. Um and as polite and as friendly and as understanding as you can possibly imagine over the phone, but obviously I can see him and he's just sitting with his two middle fingers just absolutely flying at this phone. As soon as he hangs up he is the most racist individual that you could possibly imagine. Um, and they'll switch, remember I've showed you, yes, getting along well with, um have respect for, no, um.



#### Reference 14 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: I guess you think it is surface stuff?

Group 5, Participant 3, M: It's very surface level. Um it it only necessarily has be surface level. That's not to say that all successful white South African are racist underneath the surface but what I'm saying is that there's room for those people to still make it.

#### References 15-16 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Can I just say that when I do see a white hobo I feel so much less sorry for them. Um and it is, it is a racial stereotype but my mind always jumps to, what did you do to end up there? Um, whether they did or didn't is an entire different context and I know, I don't know whether it's their fault that they're there or not. But I'm so quick to judge and go, you had everything you needed, how did you end up here? Um.

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think a lot of the um it goes back to the BEE and white people losing their jobs because of the BEE situation that um they aren't doing so well but overall in companies ah agreed with the point made that the whole world is actually going through economic crisis and it's not really likely that any business is doing too well.

#### Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 2.91% Coverage]

#### References 1-3 - 0.82% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: White, white people, do you see, do we have a lot of high position whites in power anywhere? All our doctors and things are going overseas. They're all scared to stay here. Um. We've even got white garage attendants now because there's no more work. They're grabbing anything that they can get hold of. Where we stay we've even got a white guy on the skip ways truck. Every Thursday, he jump off, he runs, he fetches the dustbin. Why? You, surely he went to school as well? Why are they being suppressed? Couldn't he get a better education? Wasn't he allowed to? Could he not afford a better education?

#### Reference 4 - 0.38% Coverage

BH: What do you think happened to all the white people who lost their jobs in the government because of employment equity?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Took their money and run.

BH: And where do you think they ran to?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Anywhere in the world's better than in here.

#### References 5-6 - 1.71% Coverage

BH: Okay any other ideas what happened to

Group 6, Participant 3, M: The lower class people that didn't have the mon- nice education, you could go there to Boksburg, Witfields. They they collecting trash along the roads. They make a living out of that. The other ones who can't make a living like that, who doesn't want to do a living, they stay on the streets.

BH: Okay other views.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: In apartheid we never, well, never say never, but you could go anywhere in our country, from Cape right up to Limpopo, Pietersburg, up there. You will not find a squatter camp, or a white squatter camp for that matter anywhere in our country.

BH: Ok so where, where are they, whereabouts are they?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Krugersdorp.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Krugersdorp, we saw two or three. Pretoria has got. Um Brakpan or Boksburg they got two or three. White -

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Squatter camps.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Black people say they battling. They haven't got water. They haven't got toilets. Get in your car. Go, drive from the East Rand via the south to the West Rand 1.05.00 and go see what is a white squatter camp with no water, with nothing whatsoever. Whatever help they get, people collect and they go then and say here's food for the children or here is water.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.42% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They get solar geysers, they get everything, and you can drive into any town how many houses are being built? There are no White squatter camps where you will see houses built for Whites or something. The Whites just have to suffer they must have a look in the various towns these days how many Whites are on the street, how many are begging, there's no houses or food and so on for them but it is given to the Blacks these days.

Reference 2 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: It makes sense, but on the other hand, they come to the Cape as you say, because of better job opportunities, they get the work opportunities but what about our children, our young people who have completed university.

Group 7, Participant ##: They now have to go overseas.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: They have degrees. They can do nothing here. For example in the past if you walked into an OK, Shoprite or Checkers, white children packed your goods.

55:00

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Not at all today.

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: I don't begrudge him his work, I'm not racist. I don't have much love for him, but I'm not racist. That's something that doesn't make sense to me. We must give him employment but our people and our children must sit with folded hands. There's no work for us.

Reference 3 - 0.16% Coverage

DL: Number 9, how do you feel about the democracy?

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I would say it was a huge adjustment after 94, to get used too many things in the apartheid.

Reference 4 - 0.50% Coverage

DL: Good. The next one: were people pushed out of the public sector and forced to enter the private sector, and that is the reason why white people are doing relatively better? Because in the private sector they make more money.

Group 7, Participant ##: You could not find work in the public sector.

Group 7, Participant ##: You were pushed out.

Group 7, Participant ##: You had to create work for yourself.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Start your own business.

DL: As we've just said; you own efforts

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes.

Reference 5 - 0.82% Coverage

DL: Now the last question on that subject, what about the whites who are not doing so well?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: Live our off pension. What can we do?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: SASSA

Group 7, Participant 7, F: But SASSA does not always work that well. Only for some people

DL: But wasn't it always like that that there were white people who did not do so well?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Always.

Group 7, Participant ##: Even during the apartheid years.

DL: Is it a matter of just being more conscious about it today? Do we experience it more? I don't know. You must say.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: We just see more of it now. Let me go far back to the time of the Anglo-Boer war, and the poverty the Afrikaner experienced then, and one successful, independent farmer had white people helping him with farming. So this was a life time in coming.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 4.59% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.40% Coverage

Looking at the systems, equity employment, the other is BEE, Black Economic Empowerment, how do you feel about it?

Equal work creation? that's why all the people are emigrating elsewhere because they can simply not find employment, if you do find employment, then you also don't receive the proper remuneration.

References 2-3 - 2.21% Coverage

We work harder for everything we have, they just get everything for free. If I also just got money each month for nothing, if you know you have to work for something, on your land even though they can take it at any stage, you make the most of what you have, why would you not want to do it. If you can offer your children a better live, then you work for it. They don't work for the children, they parents work and send money home, the grandparents look after the children. We don't have the luxury of leaving our children with the grandparents because at 65 many of our parent are still working, very few people can retire. Very few people can say at 65 that they can retire, many have cancelled their medical aids because they cannot survive on the pension.

Are they speaking about all white people?

No they are speaking about the majority.

I would say that there are still those who prosper, the majority of us no.

In days gone by, our parents married at 22 and had children at 23, they had a job, a house, but look at us almost 24, still studying, battling to find employment, you can't marry because there is no money, where can you still buy a house, you battle to survive. If you don't have parents backing you, how will you get somewhere in life. They did not need their parents then.

As an example, for the university, next year is my practical year and we need to work, many of the students go and work at CUD or the experimental farm , there is accommodation and they live there for free, they don't even need books for the year but they still claim their accommodation money, R2000 or R3000 a month, they still get their money for their books. Even in their theory year they do the same, they claim for books but the down load the books on their phones. They just get and get.

Reference 4 - 1.98% Coverage

Despite the pro black economic policies that favour the majority, there are still a lot of white people in South Africa who do well, is it because they work hard as individuals or do they help each other.

They work as individuals, they usually have their own businesses.

Family business.

Businesses that they have had for a long time.

Many of the successful people are Europeans.

They all have off shore investments somewhere, not just money in South Africa.

02:10:16

To have wealth you need ownership, you need assets not just money.

So you take responsibility/ownership for the business and you also manage it. Is it that white people do well because they were pushed out of the public sector into the private sector where they now make more money?

I can think of my cousin, she was a state pharmacist, she earned more there than she earned in the private sector.

So it can be in certain instances, but if you are pushed out into the private sector, can you make more money for yourself?

The risk is just so much higher in the private sector because you are working for yourself, someone is not paying your salary, it depends on your motivation, are you willing to put in the hours to make your business successful.

You need money to set up.

It also depends on when you set up the business, if you did so 15 years ago, your business is well established. If you want to start today you need insight and wisdom. You have to start thinking internationally. That's why I'm leaving I realized that I won't make money with South African money, I must get Australians or Americans to pay me.

## WHAT YOU NEED TO DO TO PROSPER IN SOUTH AFRICA

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 2.80% Coverage]

References 1-8 - 2.80% Coverage

BH: Do you think whites are prospering because they get on well with other South Africans? So those whites are prospering because they get on well with our house speaker?

Group 2, Participant ##: No

BH: Why do you think they are prospering?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: There is more thought into prospering. You have to have a well lay-out plan to actually prosper. Yes you need to get along with, well whatever you do you have to get along with because you have to deal with people. If you get along with them it is an added bonus. But if you want to start a company and you don't have any plan or any direction, how is it going to work? You have to have a plan and direction and you have to actually plan five, ten years, fifteen years.

Group 2, Participant##: And the biggest thing is you need money.

Group 2, Participant ##: Not necessarily.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Say for instance you were a CEO of a company ne, so your bank account is smiling with you. Now I work as a police officer. My bank is not smiling with me like yours is smiling with you. So you can say listen guys I am finished. I am starting my own thing. I as a police officer I only get that much. Now I have to go because they are going to put her in my place. So where do I go to? I can't start my own business. You understand what I am saying? Only the people that is up there.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Like I said no. I am going to give you an example. You know when you have a cocktail. You know this little umbrellas that you pop in? Now the guy that made that little umbrella was far from a millionaire. He came up with a clever idea and he hadn't had great money. He had little money but he came up with an idea which each and every bar would want. It's like I say if you have a good plan and if you can plan ahead you will make it.

BH: Okay you are going to say six and then I am going on to seven

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I think to prosper you have to have a different perspective to everybody else because prospering could be financially but it also has to do with mind-set, knowledge, education. It takes in a broader perspective of different things what prospering means to different people. So whatever prospering is I mean I also think prosper is the way you think about life. The way you see life. If you have vision. I agree with number-

BH: No it is fine.

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Just to agree. It is a whole different cultural thing. I think it also has to do with culture. Culture plays a big part of the way people think. Their mindsets, their vision. The way they do things. The way they grew up and I think that is the big thing when it comes to prospering.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.88% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: I was gonna say, it's still the same people with maybe disguised mind sets making the decisions after apartheid.

Reference 2 - 0.73% Coverage

BH: Okay now do any of you agree with the statement I am going to make. Whites that are prospering are prospering because they are getting on well with all other South Africans.

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I don't know if they're as linked as your statement is. It probably helps but I don't know if it's a direct correlation.

BH: Okay so what do you think?

Group 5, Participant M, 5: I think whites are prospering are doing it for a lot of reasons not just because they get on well with with everyone. I think the inheritance helps, education, um, communication skills in the workplace always help. Um, entrepreneurship and that's, that can be just you're your personality and your traits that you're born with.

## SITUATION OF YOUNG WHITE PEOPLE

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 2.31% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 2.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, F: I wanted to say the same. I think I also read somewhere that age does play the grow on how familiar are of apartheid. The concern I have now is that when during apartheid I was very young and even now, because of the colour of my skin I am always associated with white privilege and all of these things. Even though I didn't even experience the white privilege. You know when I went to private schools and stuff like that 1.10.00 so I think sometimes even though we want to say look here this is not actually our fight. Maybe our father and mothers and our grandparents yes, but this is not really our fight. Somewhere along the line you have to stop labelling me as this white, white privilege person when I haven't had very much to do with supremacist. So I don't know if I can answer that question as whether we want to don't associate.

BH: So do you think there is a level of guilt? Do you feel guilty on behalf of your parents and your grandparents?

Group 1, Participant 2, F: That is why I am saying. It is difficult to say because when you are so young you don't know what is happening. I think they are the ones who have to say, do I feel guilty? But from our generation maybe there are other people like number eight whose family was an activist who maybe saw more than the average person but from this generation and younger it is so difficult to say what actually happened. And you often find that people they want to jump on this bandwagon of freedom fighters and anti-South Africanism, I am not disrespectful but I was just saying, for the sake of not saying you weren't even, maybe you were three. What was your idea of what apartheid was? You were never detained. And even if your mother or father was detained, how much would you have remembered at that time. So that is why I am saying maybe the older generation might.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: This generation might feel ashamed. Not guilty. I don't feel guilty. I do feel ashamed. I feel like these are the people, the elders we have to look up to and respect and learn from. Then yes I feel ashamed. Not guilty because I physically didn't do anything. I was born in '85. When I was old enough to know what was going on. When I saw the first black kid in my school and then we became friends, I didn't know what was happening. So growing up there was never any sense of guilt. No I never. I didn't know until I was in my teens I never realised what has actually been going on and why things have changed. But I was ashamed.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.95% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: It is all comparable. They all are crimes against humanity. The thing that bothers me now though is that other countries have sort of learned from their civil acts against each other but we have now, reverse mode, a reverse apartheid thing. So we are paying for things that our generation had absolutely nothing to do with as white South Africans and our children are going to pay even a more severe price.

Reference 2 - 0.77% Coverage

BH: You were going to say something number six.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes. When I was studying every single subject happened to be related to apartheid no matter if you were doing an African language because I did Zulu. No matter if you are doing an African language or if you are doing um, a literacy or whatever subjects, you are doing or studying, it's always about apartheid. And what it does is, because I was born in '91. '94, I mean I wasn't really a part of the apartheid regime. Um we were in the same class at the same school with Indians, coloured, white, Muslim, with all different religions and us as children we know no better, you know. We don't know about the whole apartheid. And what I believe – oh sorry, can't say that!

Reference 3 - 1.31% Coverage

But I think that it was done for a good cause and it failed because I saw a lot of the the higher positions was obviously white people in power whereas if you're looking now, things are reversed. And now it's black people in power. So that's maybe where the white people are struggling, um. The older generation as well, um. For

one I had a black friend when I was small. She used to come to my house. Her name is Cynthia. We both had (inaudible) She was one of my best friends. And when she came to my house my dad wanted to give her the maid's cup and the maid's plate and I said dad what are you doing? She is my friend, she will drink out of the same plates and the same cups! That is the mentality that my father had that is your plate and your cup. We bathed together and they couldn't understand. But for us it was, I don't know, it was completely normal. So I think it's what has been fed into our minds that we have grown accustomed to and what we were taught about apartheid. So I do think that it was for good intentions but um it did end up failing and back firing and unfortunately as number two said that we are, it's our generation now and it is our children to think about, will be the ones because they trying to make up and make us go through what they went through.

#### Reference 4 - 1.03% Coverage

BH: And how do you think we should we view apartheid today?

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Well, I think we should learn from it. I mean obviously it happened. We can't just ignore it and sweep it under the rug and say okay, let's just – like when people say, just move on. 30.00 So I get cross when sort of, when young people sort of my age and younger go, ah, you know, apartheid screwed up my life so much, because they, they didn't experience it like their parents did. Obviously they are still experiencing the effects of it, I mean. It hasn't – just because the law has changed doesn't mean everybody suddenly was empowered, you know, the wealth was dealt out. But I do think that it's, it shouldn't be ignored. It should be taught in schools. It should be spoken about just like the Holocaust is still spoken about even if it happened almost seventy years ago. But it's, it's something that we need to learn from so that we can move forward as a society and to, to help each other get along better.

#### Reference 5 - 0.92% Coverage

BH: Okay so now the young ones at the table. Do you think you have any responsibility with regards to addressing the legacy of apartheid that you are faced with now? Do you think you have the responsibility to address that legacy?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Yes

BH: Okay and how, how should one address it?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think it being a part of history it needs to be something that we must remember and must know about. But again it is to a certain degree. Like number six was saying in her studies and what she has learnt it's being brought into every subject. Even in my studies at UKZN where I attended, like, I was the only white in the class and it would always, whenever they spoke about it, it would be uncomfortable for me so I'd say to myself okay well, imagine how they must have felt twenty years ago. So I will just sit and take it. Because it fair. It's what we owe them.

#### Reference 6 - 0.47% Coverage

Like, I believe, for me it's just morally wrong and – you say, the point before was the legacy, do we- I believe yes, we need to have compassion. We need to understand that yes, our, our people our age did not go through apartheid. Their Gogo's and their grannies, yes they did. But we can have empathy for them but we cannot take away that pain. We can't make it right. Unfortunately we can't, we can't be held accountable for what our ancestors did.

#### Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 9.16% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 1.79% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: More than that, I get, so one, one of the things that I hear about fairly often and what upsets me about apartheid and how it ended, talking about moving into democracy, is the idea of the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation.

BH: I am going to get to that just after this one but carry on with your thought.

Group 5, Participant 3, M: My issue with the TRC is if we look at (inaudible) both sides admitted to things they had done that were bad, essentially it let off a lot of white South Africans off the hook. On things that they have done and gotten away with. And it upsets me because I, I do feel like my grandmother's generation, if I



looked at it, was the height of apartheid and they're the generation that had left school, had jobs that was easy to find because of the colour of their skin. They ah had a better standard of living because of the colour of their skin. They're the generation that enforced and upheld apartheid and they sent my father's generation to war over apartheid and to enforce apartheid. And they have a lot to answer for and I feel like the TRC was a great way for them to get out and saying, well we're all sorry, we're all friends now and forget about it. And what they've done there is that they've left their grandchildren to pay the bill. Um. The reason in my mind why we still have a lot of problems when you look at um, like the anger today and the the fact that South Africa is in the place it is today, I think a lot of where we are now and the problems we're trying to solve would have been solved if they'd owned up and said, these were our actions and we need to answer for them. And I think it's cowardice, um, I think that that generation should've answered for what they've done. (-1:25:42)

#### References 3-5 - 2.66% Coverage

BH: Alright, so now I am going to say to you, when you were born you are basically the born frees, alright, So is there a part of, and the question is written in relation to the younger Germans who were born after the Second World War and who were called the born frees. And it was these younger Germans, the born frees who demanded the answers to the difficult questions of that time. Do you think you as white South Africans of the born frees do you think you are needed to ask difficult questions?

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I feel like we're more, like we're expected more to answer difficult questions.

BH: Answer? Okay.

Group 5, Participant 6, F: Yeah, from our own generation especially, from other like black people that are our age. Um, it's almost like-

BH: It's from your peers? Okay

Group 5, Participant ##: Yeah. It's almost like we are classified to say whether our parents are and our grandparents who are actually in the apartheid, and part of the apartheid, and if we make a comment, not necessarily racist, um, it's always, like the topic of apartheid and no you're just being racist, it's because I am black or whatever, always comes up. And it, it doesn't necessarily have to be a racist comment that you made yourself and we are almost expected to answer questions that um are asked to us as if we were responsible which, we're not.

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I don't know, I feel like a lot of white people have to, sometimes feel they have to tip toe around what they say around black people.

Group 5, Participant 6, F: And even when we do there's so much, there's a lot of cultural appropriation that always comes up. And in honesty when it comes to cultural appropriation, um especially with hair, it's almost as if black girls especially, can do certain things with their hair. They can have cornrow, cornrows or um braids or anything. If a white person had to do it, it's a problem. But then black girls are free to get weaves which is a replica of white girl hair and it's not a problem for them to do it.

BH: Okay, so do you think there is a deliberate silencing of life under apartheid in general with the white community today?

Group 5, Participant 9, F: I think um younger generations are embarrassed by their grandparents and people who still think that way or talk that way. Um. I think there is quite a lot of embarrassment and that comes with, "ok just be quiet." Um ja I've, I've seen Afrikaans families just kinda go, "don't worry about my grandfather, he's just you know, a bit weird". So I think in that way sometimes it gets hushed under the table. Or, yeah.

#### References 6-7 - 1.48% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I know this, okay this may sound a bit, I feel like we are so quick to be offended by people putting all whites in one box meanwhile we like, tend to put every other race in in a box. And I think that it is, we sit in a very interesting space as young people because we've been exposed to different parts of cultures and traditions and I, I would like to think I'm quite a progressive person like everyone in the room

here. And so we're able to sit here and be like, ok, you know, not all white people think like this, which is a, which is a true statement. But I think that it almost like kind of boils down to the gender-based violence thing as well. Um. We are quick to say if you, if your friends are telling rape jokes and you don't stop it you're perpetuating it, right? But like the grandfather example, I have definitely said guys like don't, you know, they're just a bit, you know, and and by doing that I am perpetuating it by calling people out on their things. It's uncomfortable, it's really uncomfortable. But if I don't do it then I am just being complacent in it and I'm just allowing it to continue. And so I think that's why, we're always so quick, and I mean I also do it, I get offended when people put me in boxes. And I think we're really quick to do that but the reality is that we are a lot of talk and no action. And so maybe we need to be in these boxes and feel really uncomfortable in these boxes to get out of them.

#### Reference 8 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: To add on with abilities and the fact that we are born frees, because of our parents, grandparents or whatever were around in apartheid we were not necessarily born-free. Same with the sports. Um now look, sports, you, um because, because of apartheid and now what we want to achieve is um is equality there must be this many players of colour in a team, where a guy that could hold the job, a high standard job, this kid could play that, this sport better than him, but because of what's happened we need to play them in. On a personal experience I've had a friend be called on the night before he leaves on an overseas tour to say a POC, a player of colour has been injured um and we need to bring in another one and we [inaudible] to kick you off as well, for another POC. So they get cut short of options-

BH: POC means player of colour?

Group 5, Participant 7, M: Yes. Because of what happened in the past these born-frees aren't really free of the, yeah, what we have to fix.

#### Reference 9 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Is it me? Ok, um, I just want to say I think we need a better system than the BEE because of all of the issues that um comes out of it. But also at the end of the day it shouldn't be an issue for like, the white working class person. It should be something that is done even like from grassroot level or something. It shouldn't be affecting like citizens of South Africa regardless of their skin colour. 1.10.00 Um, because basically, it's pushing people overseas. I think I'm not the only person sitting here that's had pressure from parents or from relatives to go, "go overseas, better opportunities, whatever, whatever!" But we already know where that stems from, um, and it's just, it creates this climate and it doesn't help tensions, racial tensions and just these ideas, this this racist viewpoint that we, that we have in the workplace.

#### Reference 10 - 1.30% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think that um just because I've had first-hand experience, um, I I, I'm someone who really believes in this country. I love South Africa. I truly do want to stay here for the rest of my life. My parents were begging me to stay there. I have a Greek passport. I can study abroad. I can live there, I can work there. I have the opportunity to do so. But there's just something about South Africa that always brings me back. I think that we are so quick, and and and I find that a lot of people, who haven't left, um, are very quick to say "no the grass is greener on the other side." And in some aspects it is. But there's bad things everywhere in the world. Crime is an issue everywhere in the world. Corruption is an issue everywhere in the world. And we just see it more because it's really in our face. And because our historical context makes it more prevalent but um I think that it's a mind-set change. I think that people overseas are are, they don't, I don't want to say they don't see like differences are such a big thing, but I find the global community, especially Europe, to be more accepting on differences. Whereas here in South Africa we use difference as a reason to perpetuate hate and a reason to further divisions between people.

#### Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.81% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: It makes sense, but on the other hand, they come to the Cape as you say, because of better job opportunities, they get the work opportunities but what about our children, our young people who have completed university.

Group 7, Participant ##: They now have to go overseas.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: They have degrees. They can do nothing here. For example in the past if you walked into an OK, Shoprite or Checkers, white children packed your goods.

55:00

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: Not at all today.

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: I don't begrudge him his work, I'm not racist. I don't have much love for him, but I'm not racist. That's something that doesn't make sense to me. We must give him employment but our people and our children must sit with folded hands. There's no work for us.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.67% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.67% Coverage

The next question, the younger generation of Germans find it difficult to take part in the blame, the same with the born frees, that's you, find it very difficult to accept blame for apartheid, what do you say about this, should you feel guilty about it or not? Should you ask questions about apartheid?

All talk together but the consensus is no.

01:10:03

Just because our grandparents may not have been very nice. I feel that this is not something that needs to be carried over, not as in the past where things were carried down from generation to generation. It may have been like that in previous generations but if I had to carry around all that baggage and not become my own self, I wouldn't have been able to breathe (not sure what the respondent means)/ I wouldn't have been here today.

I don't think we can be blamed as it was not a system that was carried over.

When I was in primary school and high school, I use to feel guilty, that's what they taught you in school, so yes I use to blame my great grandparents but as I found more information I realized that it was not my fault. It is about your upbringing and education

Yes your upbringing plays a major role, if you listen to the stories of your parents and grandparents, then you are likely to be racist, but if you were raised well in a non-racists house hold, then you won't be racist.

## MINORITIES IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 3.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.97% Coverage

BH: Because talking number eight, talking about democracy, I was saying how it was the protection of human rights. 1.25.00 and one of the protection of human rights is the protection of minorities. Now white people are a minority in this country. Would you say that present politics allows for a balancing of minority rights?

Group 1, Participant ##: No.

BH: And do you feel the constitution protects minority rights?

Group 1, Participant ##: No

Group 1, Participant 2, M: Yes the constitution does. The paper is doing the job. It is the people making decisions behind the paper that is not doing their job. I sat in that equality court case with the Afrikaner, the artist that did that thing that says "fuck Afrikaans".

BH: Yes

Group 1, Participant 2, M: And the "tit for tat" frightened me big time out and what I came to realise is that the magistrate who sits there has to make a decision got a very difficult thing to do because with one point this group is feeling we are now being treated unequally. And the other point is freedom of speech. And now he has to balance all of these things to the end. Until it was pointed out that this artist cannot just say sweep it under the rug. All this pain. All this suffering that me and my family had to go through I can't sweep under the rug. That is why I did this. But he did it in such a way that you could take it or leave it. If you wanted to take it in a negative way you take it in a negative way. And that is a lot of times happening these days is your personal feelings concerning what somebody says to you. That either makes it bad or good. You know if I walk down in the Cape Flats and people call me Kasper or Whitey and stuff like that, I don't get offended. But if I had to go around and be offended about it. (everybody laughing and talking together) But it is like that. The same thing if you walk in Gugulethu and your one friend is calling the other friend there my "darkie friend". And you like saying "you can't say that" but that is how we speak to each other. We don't get offended. But if I had to say it would cause offence because of the quotation from the past. Which is fair.

Reference 2 - 1.56% Coverage

BH: Do you think your views and interests are taken into account by those who hold political power? Do you think white people's views and interests are taken into account?

Group 1, Participant ##: Specifically white people?

Group 1, Participant ##: I have never seen it that way.

Group 1, Participant ##: Or are you just saying South Africans?

Group 1, Participant ##: That is a different question.

BH: From a racial grouping point of view.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I find that my views and opinions are very much matching those of my blacks and coloureds and other racial counterparts. That we actually are all feeling the same frustrations and we all really want the same thing. So I can't, as a white person I can't say I am different. I can honestly say that everybody I spoke to before this last election felt exactly the same way and all wanted the same things.

BH: So you think it is not really colour issues. You think it is people issues?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

Group 1, Participant ##: People are silent.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: It's also economic groupings. Like the people that you hang out with, has similar incomes to you and live in similar neighbourhoods to you. Those people will obviously have similar opinions so it is difficult to get a radically different opinion because you are not necessarily go to a shebeen, in a lower income family, in a low income community. So yeah I think-

BH: Regardless of culture.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: Yes. In your community is everybody you know. I think everybody would rather have someone that they feel positive voting for rather than just having someone that they just make sure doesn't get power.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.98% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.99% Coverage

BH: Our present politics, alright, does it allow for a suitable balancing of minority rights and the interests of the majority? (pause) So minority rights balanced with the interests of the majority.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: So 55 million as compared to the 5 million?

Group 3, Participant ##: Women

BH: Just the balancing of the minority. 1.20.00 You said women? Other minorities.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Positive discrimination, is that what we are talking about? That kind of legislation?

BH: Well gays, lesbians, transsexuals, all minorities, disabled people...

Group 3, Participant ##: I don't think so.

Group 3, Participant ##: Is it balanced?

BH: No, I am asking you.

Group 3, Participant ##: Is it balanced?

BH: Is there a balance between the interest of the majority and white minorities?

Group 3, Participant ##: White minorities?

Reference 2 - 0.99% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: I think South Africa has been rather liberal.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I think constitutionally you are quite right. It is very liberal. It's got a, it's got a fantastic constitution but it doesn't translate into practice. And, but, so I think that is where we got to go down to, where we maybe drill down to the - some people will see BEE, positive discrimination, those sort of things.

BH: We are going to come to that.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: But those are all constitutionally allowed. But if you go back to an umbrella, an umbrella constitution, of you know equal rights for LGBT's or whatever they're called now and you know as a group and (inaudible) but those various things. Yes it is a great constitution but it is how it affects us in particularly. Nine was talking about children. I assume that you have children.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 4.70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.73% Coverage

BH: Does our present politics allow for a suitable balancing of minority rights and the interest of the majority?  
Who do you think are the minorities in South Africa?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: White people

Group 4, Participant ##: The minority?

BH: Minorities. Are there any other minorities?

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Coloureds

Group 4, Participant ##, F: They get shafted really badly. They were shafted under apartheid because they were not white enough and now they're not black enough.

BH: And any other minorities?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I think Indian as well.

BH: Do you see the LBGT group as a minority?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes, the gay also. They also treated very badly.

#### Reference 2 - 0.91% Coverage

Group 4, Participant #3, F: I think they like the façade of, you know, everything is always made out to be, it's about everybody, but it really is not. You know, whoever's in power, it is more about who, I would even go as far as to say that, you know, we've got all the different tribes and stuff in South Africa. We've the Zulu and the Xhosas and you know the Sotho's or whatever, I would say there's even sort of animosity between them. I mean, so, our ruling party is the ANC and for a long time Jacob Zuma, it was sort of a Zulu orientated party. Not necessarily catering to the ideals of all the other um black tribes in South Africa. So our, I think, you know, we think of black people as all one big group but you are actually aren't. and I think between them as well they don't necessarily have each other's interest at heart and they are making rules and laws and things like that.

#### Reference 3 - 0.41% Coverage

BH: Do you think the constitution protects minority rights?

Group 4, Participant ##: No.

Group 4, Participant 3, F: In theory I think it does. If you look at it as it stands on paper, it does. But it doesn't get enforced.

BH: Any other views on that?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: It's like we want to do this. This is what we would like to do but whether it is going to happen or not, we can't tell you that.

#### References 4-5 - 1.08% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Just like, sorry, Number three said as well. Um just speaking about the black, and obviously having the Khoi and the San, you know the different types of um tribes and the history where that they came from. In Cape Town there is a king. He is being called a king and I think he is the Khoi and he's a piece of paper that dates back to him being the rightful heir and meant to, they actually wanting to separate South Africa into two separate countries. Um and, he has literally, he is seeking support from overseas because he is just felt, he's been to the high court, he's been to this person, he has been to that person. And he hasn't got the feedback or any assistance from government because they're saying it is not your land. But he's black too. But a different type of black. And I actually found that document, documentary, which is very interesting and um he talks about it. And ja he literally claims part of the 1.10.00 Western Cape and coming up to some of the other provinces that is meant to be his land.

#### References 6-7 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: So do you think then that white interests are being buried by the black majority?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: If we share common ones then no.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes. A good point but also yes because the violence, for me that's a big one, like number two said earlier. Violence. It's the violent crime. It's the violence for me. They don't have our best interest at heart.

BH: Of the majority?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes they don't. Because it's like the songs that they sing, it's antagonising, it's, it's-

BH: You mean the violence instigated by memories?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Sorry, yes.

#### Reference 8 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes because I do believe we share the same interests as well far as education goes. Because everybody wants their children to be educated. So if our interests are similar then yes across the board the minority and the majority's interests are-

#### References 9-10 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes. But it's it's when it is cultural and religious and things like that, then the minority and the elderly, I think the elderly play a big minority part. They get very very badly- it's weird where, where our interests divert. So to the elderly it's important to have security. Young people don't give a crap about security. It doesn't even enter their mind that their car might get stolen because then they will buy another one!

Group 4, Participant ##: No.

#### Reference 11 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: So where we have common things then yes. But where we don't then the minority always just fall by the wayside.

#### Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 4.12% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I mean, okay, bringing my personal believes into it a little bit. The very system of democracy ensures that the minority rights are overlooked. It's is about what the majority want and they get their way, the minority deals with it. So I mean, to make that argument, I don't believe in any other democracy whether you're the white minority in South Africa, whether you're the black minority in the US. Ah, whenever you're a minority you will be marginalised in a democratic society and that's just the way it is.

#### Reference 2 - 0.57% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think with regards to the rights of the minorities they're pretty fairly safeguarded within the frameworks of the constitution. The constitutional supremacy is something that our democracy takes very seriously. You need an overwhelming majority in order to change the Bill of Rights or anything like that. So yes it has been affective.

BH: Alright, and, does this mean that the rights of whites as a racial minority are sufficiently safe guarded in the constitution?

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Yes I believe so.

#### Reference 3 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I feel that um although our rights are safeguarded they aren't necessarily all the time for the reason that, although BEE, BEE has been effective in providing more black people with jobs it's

almost taken out the majority of the white people who were in the working place. It's taken out their jobs.

#### Reference 4 - 1.29% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: Um, so, to bring you back to the question um, I feel that you can't, you just, based on what everybody's been putting forward, that they feel that um the, the white rights aren't protected in the system that we're in. But I feel like you can't really protect every single part of the rights you have won in a democracy where the minority will always have to fit in with the majority votes. Um, I also feel that it's, you know, um, you've got to, you've got to correct the past, right? You can go get, you can qualify for the job because of the school you went to, because of the university, you know, the degree you got, whereas, and so you are able to get the job; you are able to increase your wealth, put your kids through it so they increase their wealth. But now you have the, the people who were um who were discriminated in the past who can't afford to get the degree, they can't, they can't qualify for the job. 1.05.00 It's, you've got to then assist them to get up into the same place that you are. Alright, so yes it, it sucks, it really does. You know you lose your job because you're white and then you, BBEEE points. But if you're looking at it from the perspective of the country and the country moving forward, it is needed.

#### Reference 5 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Um, I think that with regard to the whole safeguarding of the rights of minorities thing, the political machines are in place but I don't think there's any political drive to protect the the rights of minorities. For example, with um, last year there was a youth employment program that was launched by the ANC and it specifically racially uh disregarded white people because they benefited in the past. This was taken to the constitutional court by Afriforum and the constitutional court ruled it as racist and discriminatory. So there are attempts to get rid of the rights of minorities. But I think thankfully political regimes are in place and white people have the the money to be able to go to court and to fight for their rights, so.

#### Reference 6 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I also wanted to say, it also depends on what you are comparing us, on which which criteria. So if you look at us compared to the rest of Africa and our constitution we were pretty far ahead of the game. And even with rights for minorities, like um gay marriage where I think we were the only African country to have that legalised. There are still some European countries that make it illegal um so with stuff like personal freedom and equality I think we're quite high up. Even with the developed countries we're still pretty good.

#### Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.99% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.99% Coverage

BH: So do you think our minority rights are protected enough in the constitution?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: It is not protected. We the small, like you said, we the minority. Everybody else overrules us.

BH: Okay and do you think and that is what is not being protected?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Numbers. We don't have the numbers.

BH: Okay but if the constitution is there to protect your rights, if you don't have the numbers, is it not good enough?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: But that is not what is happening.

BH: So what you say is happening is your rights aren't being protected?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Not being seen to. Not being even listened to.

BH: And is that under employment equity or black economic empowerment?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: In general.



BH: In all areas?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Yes.

BH: Just give me some examples of all the areas so I have a better picture.

Group 6, Participant 8, M: White, white people, do you see, do we have a lot of high position whites in power anywhere? All our doctors and things are going overseas. They're all scared to stay here. Um. We've even got white garage attendants now because there's no more work. They're grabbing anything that they can get hold of. Where we stay we've even got a white guy on the skip ways truck. Every Thursday, he jump off, he runs, he fetches the dustbin. Why? You, surely he went to school as well? Why are they being suppressed? Couldn't he get a better education? Wasn't he allowed to? Could he not afford a better education?

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 1.94% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: With reference to voting, something to me that's very unfair is how many whites are there, and how many are they? There is no way from today to a 1000 years that we will win a vote. Yes. There's probably 30 or 40 to 1 of us. How do you vote against that majority? It's so unfair. The other parties have no chance against the ANC.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: There's no way.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No one must tell me it will work.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No it won't.

Reference 2 - 0.48% Coverage

DL: Anything else? The next one: do you think there is good balance to protect minority rights compared to majority rights in our democracy? It's again the weights and counter weights mentioned earlier.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: It is not applied. If it was applied at all level, all aspects of life, if legislation is applied, there would be fewer problems. Then it will work.

DL: So you say that the legislation is in place, but it has to be applied in practice.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes it must be applied.

Reference 3 - 0.23% Coverage

DL: Good, now we come to the next one, the constitution, do you think it specifically protects minority rights? I don't know, who has a good knowledge of the constitution...

Group 7, Participant ##: Not at all.

Group 7, Participant ##: I can't answer.

Reference 4 - 0.32% Coverage

DL: I'm not going to answer you on that. So you are unsure about the constitution?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes

DL: Chapter 2 of the constitution, Bill of rights, deals with human rights, it's a huge, thick package that guarantees everything. But is not yet again a matter of the law being there but not applied?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Reference 5 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: Unfortunately, that is so. Okay, the next question, are the rights of whites as a racial minority effectively protected in SA?

Group 7, Participant ##: No. (All agreeing)

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Not at all

Group 7, Participant ##: Not at present

DL: Is it not so according to law, but not in practice?

Group 7, Participant ##: No at present...(inaudible)

Reference 6 - 0.11% Coverage

DL: So, would you say that the interests are dominated by the black majority?

Group 7, Participant ##: Absolutely

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 2.24% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.43% Coverage

You can go and live anywhere you want to (in audible) if I want to live in Swanganang then it is permissible.

It's not applicable to me, but I think people of same sex unions are now permissible or promotable.

Yes, they have more rights. Freedom of speech.

All speaking together.

There is more equality/self-worth, people see you as equal.

Reference 2 - 1.51% Coverage

We are still going to chat about that shortly. Has the government built in a balance between the minority rights as opposed to the majority?

I think they give far more to the majority, the black's say they are the minority but actually we are, the government does not dispense the state resources equally, democratically we are all equal, but we aren't and they just further disadvantage us, the whites.

I agree with her, they don't use the resources fairly, they would rather give it to some who is less qualified than use it to further their own interests than help the whites who are qualified for the same position.

Yes a small group the majority group enjoy preferential treatment, to the exclusion of the rest which they don't even care about that is why there is more unemployment. Their people in good positions just get more and more money.

They only look after themselves. The constitution, does it make provision for minority rights

No it doesn't. They make more allowance for majority groups, as an example, the abolishment of the death sentence because of a black man "Mokonyane" that "pushed for it", it feels as if criminal are getting away with more and more because of our constitution.

Reference 3 - 0.30% Coverage

I would vote if they counted how many black people there are and how many white people there are and take the big total black and total white count together then it would be much fairer but then they would again say it is apartheid or racist.

## SOCIAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.76% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.76% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: Yes is fine. Part (inaudible) it is my fault. (laughing) I think media controls a lot of our thoughts and our decisions and how we view things and our reactions to what is happening in our country. And the same happened in Apartheid you know. I have been on both sides of the fence being a child of a mixed race marriage. What I do know is, and also having family overseas, overseas was getting the information that we don't get. So being brought up in say a predominantly white environment, we were told another portion of the truth. And then you go overseas and the media was telling you a whole other story. And I think that is very much of what is happening today. So the media back then was feeding hate and feeding anger. But it was under the banner of a freedom fight. Now it is freedom fighting for what and for where? I think what is happening now in South Africa is almost mirrors the past in that the truth is not told. So will sit here and go: "there were equal opportunities" or that sort of thing. No there was not equal opportunities. People were treated abominably. Actually, unfortunately, it is no different today. The media tends to fuel that. So it is very frightening that the farmers had been killed. It is very frightening that we don't have infrastructure in place that we should have in place. 30.00 It is frightening that our country has, you know we will look back and we will say oh there was all these things in place. But they were based on fear. There was structure but it was based on fear. Now we are living in a time where we are living in fear because black people have freedom but it is a direct correlation of what was happening and also our country has doubled in its population. We have millions and millions of people here from up Africa that are starving. So they cannot provide jobs when Cape Town's population has doubled in twenty years.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 2.13% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Coming in and out of the country like you want to. It is nothing coming into South Africa now. Anybody can come to South Africa. But nobody can go to England. You have to have a passport, an English test and this and that. You understand?

Group 2, Participant ##: (inaudible) is costing money.

Reference 2 - 0.89% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: But I am thinking the ANC is also sending a lot of people from Jo'burg here to make it more corrupted. We have more problems these days in the Western Cape.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Yes bus loads.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I definitely think they are strategizing.

Group 2, Participant ##: Maybe in the rural areas.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: What they do is, why they are getting a lot of voters because they take the majority, it's the uneducated people that are not used to living in our areas and they don't know what they're doing, they're basically putting everything in their head all what we are doing to them and so on in their heads. They get basically the majority votes. That is where they get a lot of the whites (inaudible) that is people who are burning tyres, burning places, um, so ja.

Reference 3 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa today?

Group 2, Participant ##: No (multiple respondents)

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant ##: Because we fear

Group 2, Participant ##: You fear for your kid's lives. You don't want to walk to the shop. Oh it is 8 o'clock. You can't go to the shop.

BH: Are you fearing because you are white or fearing because of crime?

Group 2, Participant ##: No crime.

Group 2, Participant ##: White and crime.

BH: So tell me about white and crime. How does that integrate? It is interesting.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because you hear it frequently on the TV Malema say kill the boere, kill the whites.

Group 2, Participant ##: And they do.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: They are killing the farmers and when you ask them where do your food come from? From Shoprite. That's how clever they are.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 3.11% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.22% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 3, M: Yes it was a horrific time. And I don't think it can be turned in anything other than a crime. And anyway you mentioned the word progress I don't know that we have progress today. I think we have the potential to do it all over again.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I understand that. But we can't resent the laws that are put in place to limit our behaviours that will lead back to it. And that is something that I find amongst social, when I mix socially, people may comment about the way protest groups and advocacy groups, about how they react but the fact is nobody like political correctness for its own sake, but it is a, it is an effective tool. And taking on all these points we've actually got to to say yes, our venal nature is such that we will, we will do these things but we got to overcome that by educating them and actually keeping, putting laws in place until it becomes innate behaviour rather than, you know learned behaviour rather than just letting ourselves actively return naturally in fact I hate that but there we go.

References 3-4 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I don't think it achieved national reconciliation. My personal feeling is that I don't think that this country has been reconciled at all. And I don't think a lot of the rhetoric you get from certain parties um is helping at all. However if you get on the ground dealing with everyday people I do find relationships with black people on the ground much easier today than it ever was before. So, and I often wonder if the politicians would stop their rhetoric for a minute and pay attention to what is actually happening at grassroots they would notice that actually people are getting along reasonably well.

Reference 5 - 1.16% Coverage

The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their their their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 4.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes I do. Personally I saw it was a platform for people to vent their personal vendettas and feelings about the apartheid era. And I think that is one of the fundamental problems that we

still have in South Africa that everybody is just too entitled to their opinion. We need to all build a bridge and get over it and carry on with a fresh start.

#### Reference 2 - 1.46% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes I just want to say I don't believe that we can reconcile though I wish and I pray that we will. But I don't believe we can because our mind-sets as South Africans, as much as apartheid was a black and white thing, I believe, what about the xenophobia that is happening now? Then it's black on black. Because it's the South Africans that believe that it is their right to, to say that they own the land because they are South African. What is a South African? As much as we are South African, being a South African is in your heart, you know. Because I was born a South African doesn't make me a South African. It's Ubuntu you know. It's a rainbow nation. Do I believe we live up to that rainbow nation? Not at all. I don't believe that because we have so much hate. I look at the Zulus fighting against the Zimbabweans. And the Zimbabweans, you know, being here looking for work because Zimbabwe has gone the way it has, you know. And everyone says South Africa is another Zimbabwe. It's gonna be like that, it's gonna turn like that. It is a very broad statement, and uh, you know, but I do believe that apartheid is now not actually, apartheid in 199-, 1994, before it was abolished in 1994, I do believe that was a colour thing. But I believe now with the xenophobia it is black on black. So you know they are still the same race so what is it? For me, that's, that's where I get confused.

#### Reference 3 - 0.39% Coverage

BH: Okay. Number eight.

Group 4, Participant 8, M: Yes I also think the same. When you abolish things like slavery and all that which is similar but to apartheid is they will all still treat each other badly in the end. So it's, it's not necessary just because of your skin colour, or the whites might have started or beat it down the path but it will carry on and on (inaudible).

#### Reference 4 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: The whole cliché of let the truth set you free didn't really happen here because the truth made people angry. And and naturally, I mean, it's your people, you know. But I don't think it's fighting for your people anymore. I just think it's fighting for power and just, you know, one can can make a statement without being violent.

#### Reference 5 - 1.28% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: No. no I don't believe it was the best outcome. I believe that everyone has a conscience. Everyone. You're born with it. You know what's right and wrong. You know. But like you were saying earlier, that if you see a dead dog, we know because of our morals and principles and how we have been educated that seeing a dog or an animal that can't, that is voiceless, that doesn't have a voice to speak, you need to do the right thing. And the right thing that we've been taught from either our family or our schools is to help the ones in need. Whether it be a human being or an animal. So for me just going up to someone and killing them, no matter the colour or no matter - 'cause I have a degree, they don't have a degree, just kill them, it's just for me morally wrong. Like, I believe, for me it's just morally wrong and - you say, the point before was the legacy, do we- I believe yes, we need to have compassion. We need to understand that yes, our, our people our age did not go through apartheid. Their Gogo's and their grannies, yes they did. But we can have empathy for them but we cannot take away that pain. We can't make it right. Unfortunately we can't, we can't be held accountable for what our ancestors did.

#### References 6-7 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes. A good point but also yes because the violence, for me that's a big one, like number two said earlier. Violence. It's the violent crime. It's the violence for me. They don't have our best interest at heart.

BH: Of the majority?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes they don't. Because it's like the songs that they sing, it's antagonising, it's, it's-

#### Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.62% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.62% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think, I just think we, the respect and and and again, white people were

brought up that way. And I'm not, I am saying this with the utmost respect.

BH: Yes yes yes.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Black people's culture is miles apart from white people's culture. So what, to me if he touches that pie he has to take it and eat it. Another guy will sit here and he will take all of it. Alright I want that one. I was brought up, I respect this guy he is going to eat that. And the mutual respect is just not there. We respect them from apartheid. We respected them. We still gave them food. They still had education. They still had all that. Take all that respect that you were taught in twenty five years and reverse it and give it back to us. Because if you are going to respect me I am going to respect you. If you are not going to respect me I'm not going to respect you. 1.10.00 And that's where the problem is now. You want to tell my wife she's got nice shoes on. Or a nice pants or whatever she's got that's nice. And I don't like it because I haven't been brought up. That's my wife. Don't talk to her. Don't talk about her or whatever. Give her a compliment, no problem. But the respect part is just zero, from them to us.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 3.26% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: Also if you look at the way they build, they build the location at the entrances of the towns, they're spreading now, take "Excelsior" as an example, so when there is protest action they cut the town off completely from the outside world. They close the road you can't get through you can't move in or out of town, there's strategic planning behind all these things.

Reference 2 - 1.42% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I want to ask another question quickly. How many of these blacks are imported into South Africa? From outside? Years ago, there weren't that many blacks in this country.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: They breed.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They breed because the State looks after them, they get money so the more children they have the more money they get.

Group 7, Participant ##: They must stop child allowances.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: With reference to number 5's question. It has a much longer run up than just saying they are imported. SA has a strong economy. Africa's economy is very weak. People hear listen to the radio. They hear things are better in SA, and just as our forefathers came from Europe to SA, to seek refuge, those people come to SA in pursuit of a better life. That's the crux of the matter. I'll go further. The influx of black people from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape, Cape Town and surrounds, they hear in CPT their chance of getting employment is better, so they go to where there are opportunities for employment. I'm thinking think how people rushed to the diamond fields in Kimberley. It's something similar. They look for a place where living standards will be better than what they had in the Eastern Cape.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: It makes sense, but on the other hand, they come to the Cape as you say, because of better job opportunities, they get the work opportunities but what about our children, our young people who have completed university.

Reference 3 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take pensioners, who get just R1780.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Why do those in government posts, such as our ministers, who get R100 000-R200 000 a month, why must they earn those salaries, but poor people, those having hard times, how can a pensioner?...a house if you think of the cost of accommodation and food today, you can't live off that. You can't live off R1780 today.

Reference 4 - 0.88% Coverage

DL: If you think you represent all of Brandfort, are they democrats against their will, or are they pro-democracy? Do you want to talk about the district?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I see it as a challenge to see whether we can live together, we can only benefit to work along with them instead of being against one another, so rather pull together, instead of against each other.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with you, but the hatred will never disappear.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But those things one must put behind if you are a Christian.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But that is why the ANC keeps on inciting them that is why they will never get rid of the hatred because they can't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They believe in their forefathers.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: They're not Christians, they don't believe in God. If you don't have God in you, then you don't have love, and if you don't have love you can't...

Reference 5 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Take the beaches of Durban for example, or any beach for that matter, what it looks.

Group 7, Participant ##: Like at Christmas time. There is not a white to be seen.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.35% Coverage

I would also say that they bail them out by giving money to woman for children but all that causes is that they keep making children.

01:45:00

This is just what also happened in the UK, 16 year old having twins because she is going to get a subsidy from the state, the same happens here

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 3.91% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 1.02% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I will not go back to the Apartheid era. What I can say is what we are dealing with today is what was designed back then. Out of the group areas act, this was designed by the Apartheid government. It is so sad to say this because we have a beautiful country. I don't want to live in the past but our government, our present government is not doing anything about the crime in our country. I am so stressed out because you are afraid to drive. You might get hi-jacked or murdered or whatever. I won't go back. There are a few things, I wasn't there but, that happened previously but there was law and order in our country. People can just do what they want to. They commit crime and tomorrow they walk scot free. My brother-in-law is a captain at a police station and he was telling us how... in fact I went there one Saturday. I did some emailing for him and people were just sitting doing nothing. It was upsetting.(inaudible) (laughing) I wish I could go and work there because everybody was just sitting back and reading dockets. There is no law and order in our country anymore.

Reference 4 - 0.41% Coverage

BH: Okay. Have you thought what you are going to say number seven?

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I just wanted to say that 25.00 I don't think we should go back but there is certain stuff that they did that time that worked. You know what I mean? If you kill somebody now they will literally track you down that same night and they will find you. Here they are not finding anybody. He is killing three four people by the time they come out by you.

Reference 5 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, F: Can I come into that?

BH: Yes

Group 1, Participant 2, F: I think they should have because it would be justice in some sense. Once again by not doing that you set the tone there is no accountability for crime. And that is exactly where we are right now in terms of, if somebody gets raped, somebody gets killed. It's a thousand rand fine. They don't know even serve jail time. So if we wanted to correct it, they needed to pay for their crime and there should have been some kind of justice.

Reference 6 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I don't think anybody would have any faith in the NPA to do anything at all. They have never been able. They are not taking down politicians from today. They are definitely not going to take them down from thirty years ago. They are complete lame duck. That is unfortunately the president that was set after, after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is that nobody, nobody was held accountable then and they are definitely not holding anybody accountable now.

Reference 7 - 0.70% Coverage

BH: We were talking about are whites reluctant democrats?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think everyone is a reluctant democrat in this country because it doesn't matter what you vote for nobody is satisfied. Nobody is like getting what they want. Tax payers feel like they are getting completely drained. The unemployed don't have any work. The people who are affected by crime don't see criminals getting locked up. Everybody participates but nobody is satisfied. And I think that also comes down to that the ANC being a party of liberation and not a party. Party of governance. I mean you give freedom fighters very high powered jobs in government they don't succeed and they have been incredibly unsuccessful. And a lot of freedom fighters-

Reference 8 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10: I, I identify as South African. Yes I don't care white, black, it doesn't matter. And also the living in fear thing I do not live fear because I am white. I do live in fear in this country. But I grew up in that sweet spot. That sweet spot being after freedom and before social media that causes all this terrible



panic. I am in that sweet spot where I have realised that if you don't look at the news, if you don't look at your face book and the hundreds of fake news articles and you just speak to your neighbours, things aren't as bad. Things are bad. They are bad but they are not nearly as bad as what we think and we fear. There is a lot of bad stuff happening but because of that I don't fear as a white person. I fear for my life as a person in South Africa because things are bad in South Africa regardless if you are white, black, whatever. There are black people killing more blacks than so?

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 29 references coded [ 16.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.73% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think the crime rate is like hectic.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: In the Goodwood area. Very hectic. And then what I am worried about is the drugs in the country. I am really worried about that. And then the third one is our children. Our children's safety and where are they going to be because if you take it, um, many years ago me as a child could play outside and not get kidnapped. And now the children's getting kidnapped like nothing. Like they can just take your kid and go. I think the punishment for that, for kidnapping kids, in my opinion is bring back the death sentence for that because at the end of the day they are killing people.

Reference 2 - 0.74% Coverage

BH: And then how does it compare with life under apartheid? Life to living now to life under apartheid.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Life under apartheid on the one side I am going to say was good in the way of safety. And on the other side it wasn't good because why you couldn't actually really communicate with the next person properly like you wanted to. I was more you stay here and I stay there. So we don't talk to each other. But in that way it is better. When apartheid changed, the first change, when Madiba was president, yes all the way, but now, no. It has changed way too much. The crime rate is worse. The trafficking is worse.

Group 2, Participant ##: The abuse of the kids is even worse.

References 3-4 - 0.55% Coverage

BH: Alright and do you remember life under the apartheid?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Oh yes. It was nice living. Whites on the one side, blacks on the other side. We could sleep open doors, open windows. Today you can't. We have hedges in the front garden. They climb up. If they want to come in, they come in. It's difficult now, more difficult now to live.

BH: Now is that a colour issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 11, F: It is a crime issue. No I am not racist. I get along with anybody, but the crime.

References 5-6 - 0.52% Coverage

But in my community where I live in the Parow area, when I was young we used to walk the streets at night and now you can't do it at all. There is a lot of people sleeping around anywhere. And that is another thing that I think that we never used to have. People homeless, sleeping anywhere, breaking in, watching your house. You can't trust anyone. That is the problem that we have. The thing is you can't move because where are you going to get money to move again. That cost too much.

Reference 7 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: You just need to just stay there and live with the situation. And in our area you can't even take public transport because people get robbed. Every month we have races there so in our area we are mostly 30.00 people from Zimbabwe, other countries, Somalia and they are selling drugs and prostitution nearby us so you see these things and it is just getting worse and worse. That is my main concern and the BEE and the vagrants as well.

References 8-9 - 0.69% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: I just wanted to say for me the biggest concern on national level is our resources.

Our country's resources are not being taken care of. That for me is a big concern. I am talking about dams. I am now looking at it from another perspective. And we don't have any justice system. And I think you cannot trust anybody. You cannot even trust the police. The people that are supposed to protect you are not the people that you can trust. Some of the times even in our own country you cannot trust anyone. You can't even stop down the road for a policeman or a traffic officer. You don't even know whether they are legit or not.

#### Reference 10 - 0.71% Coverage

I think there is a lot of things in parliament, I think the whole parliament system is, from what we have seen, and what we have experienced, is corrupt. And everything that flows from out of there is corrupt. So I think you are on your own and I think that is why I think it was on Carte Blanche where this one time where this one community took the crime in their own hands because you don't do it, I mean I don't agree or disagree 35.00 with it, but that is one way of dealing with it. We are almost in a position where you have to protect yourself. You are standing on your own if you need to protect you. You know most people; even if you go to the police nothing gets done.

#### Reference 11 - 0.22% Coverage

How many women have been abused? Nothing is being done about it. There isn't enough stuff or structure put in place and the right people to follow up and the right people to follow through on these things.

#### References 12-13 - 1.21% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: What the crime rate concerns, like I say twenty years you still felt free to go wherever you wanted to. Now a days you need to lock yourself in. whenever you go out at night time you need to be a couple of people together so you can protect yourself from the bad hands that is going to come your way. Because you can be sure of it you will face it. Now for me as a South African if I protect myself and my family then I am in the wrong because the courts are going to prove me wrong. 40.00 That is what happens. I have seen it. I have heard of it. I mean why has the criminal got more rights than me that is on my property? I mean he doesn't belong there. But now what happened to you (inaudible) he wait for you to sleep so that he can trespass there. Whenever he gets caught he is going to pull a fire arm at you and truly he will shoot you.

BH: So now I just want to ask you is this a colour issue or is it a general crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Come again please

BH: Colour issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Is it a coloured issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Yes it is a crime issue.

#### References 14-15 - 1.10% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Okay so everybody has been complaining about the crime that is so high but if you look back at it, the crime is high because the kids are uneducated. They don't go to school. So what do they do? They start using drugs. He has a lot of money. He tells me come sell this for me. I will pay you and I will look after your family. Twelve years old and people don't believe this but it is true. From nine years old they start using drugs and they start coming into your house, stealing your stuff. But now we do exactly the same. They steal from us. The people come and tell us. We get in the car we go there. We beat them up because the police are not going to do anything. Then we go back home. They don't come to your house again because they know. Next time you are going to break into that house again people is going to beat you up so stay away. You don't go one or two you go a lot because they are coming a lot. So crime will stay high until our people are educated. And for the community. Our community stands together.

#### Reference 16 - 1.07% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I think that we are heading the same way Zimbabwe is heading.

BH: And paint the picture that you think we are heading into.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Well they are killing all the people.

BH: White people?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: They are killing all the white farmers. All the boere. They are killing all the white farmers. And they are the people that has been worrying us for food. It's the same, they burn out the bus but the next day they will go stand there and wait for a bus to come and pick them up. You understand what I am trying to say. They are burning down everything that we have. Trains, busses, I mean the next day they go there and they buy the ticket and they are expecting the train to come. But they are burning our trains which is billions of Rands. They are burning down the Technikons where the people has to go to learn. You understand what I am saying? So where are we going?

BH: So that's the similarity to Zimbabwe?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Exactly

#### References 17-19 - 1.03% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Ok, completely. As number two explained it, safety of kids. I am very concerned about kids were always safe. They could go here and they could go there. They never had transport and things. But there was always taxis. I mean the busses were there to help the community and things like that. Then the taxis has taken over. But children's safety to me is no more because they get picked up and taken to school or whatever. Then they go home and things like that. But then they go missing. And I mean you report the crime or something, this child is gone or that child is gone and then you look again. Then you go to the police station to go make a case. They are supposed to be there to help you, to help you to find the child. I mean a day or two afterwards they don't even come out. They take their time to come out.

Group 2, Participant ##: You are lucky if they come out.

Group 2, Participant 10, M: If they come out yes. It is not always that they do.

#### References 20-22 - 1.24% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Apartheid is- my area is not that so safe. Where I stay in Bothasig we have outers. Outsiders that are sleeping there. Like number six said they are sleeping there and things like that. They watch your house and things like that. I mean you are not safe anymore. And I mean we do good. We go and help them and they just wait until all your lights are off, as number nine says, sorry number five said. They wait till you sleep then they climb over. They take it what's your property. So they take whatever they take. Now you get the police involved. They take their time to come out and I mean they can't help you and you can't do anything then because if we chase or do anything they jump on you or they pull a knife on you. I mean what can you do?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: Can I quickly say. We have in our area, if we have a crime, we started a neighbourhood watch that is amazing. And because we phone the police and they don't come. We have a group of people now so if anything happens by me I just contact them. And we have a security company that are so fast. The police will never get to them. We just get them. They just do anything for us.

#### Reference 23 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to

crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### References 24-25 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: We wouldn't have been molested. If I look at the rape crime for instance towards women. I mean there was nothing of a kind. And if do it would be punished severely. But if I look at it today there is nowhere you can walk. You don't feel free to walk anywhere.

#### Reference 26 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Can I just say something?

BH: Okay but remember we are not here to agree or to disagree.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No my theory is just that I don't think that if I think back, we didn't hear of any statistics of rape, break-ins, murders and stuff. In apartheid which I think was pretty much kept back from us, you know but we were much protected. So it could have been exactly the same as what it is today. We weren't informed. And that is where the apartheid government kept us back basically. They tried to keep us back with information. With whatever. You know what I mean. Which I totally disagree with. Now we just have more available. And it is more available than.

#### Reference 27 - 1.76% Coverage

BH: Okay so I am going to bring it now to 2019. The National Prosecuting Authority is about to undertake a number of prosecutions relating to human rights offences under apartheid. Do you think it is fair to prosecute somebody twenty five years later?

Group 2, Participant ##: If they were promised amnesty

BH: No this is about other prosecutions. They found that it didn't come out in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It was like the scenario you painted number seven. They didn't come forward. They now know that these people existed. And they are now going to prosecute them twenty five years later.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: If they don't prosecute what right do they have to- that means our whole justice system is a bit, is a bit haywire and corrupt. So I think yes they should be tried and if found guilty the justice system must run its course properly. And not cases getting lost.

BH: Should they go to jail or should there be public shaming or should there be fines?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: That I can't say. It is difficult to say. That should be a committee of judges to make the right decision because it is one of them, because any, any, to judge anyone and put them to prison is a very difficult thing to do.

BH: Yes

Group 2, Participant 8, M: So for one person just too quickly, it's easy for one person to say something because what they feel in their heart but you have to be very careful not being biased or not overclouding your own judgement because of hatred or because of your feelings or because of what life has thrown at you. The judgement needs to be very careful. It needs to be done correctly and fairly.

#### Reference 28 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa today?

Group 2, Participant ##: No (multiple respondents)

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant ##: Because we fear

Group 2, Participant ##: You fear for your kid's lives. You don't want to walk to the shop. Oh it is 8 o'clock. You

can't go to the shop.

BH: Are you fearing because you are white or fearing because of crime?

Group 2, Participant ##: No crime.

Group 2, Participant ##: White and crime.

BH: So tell me about white and crime. How does that integrate? It is interesting.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because you hear it frequently on the TV Malema say kill the boere, kill the whites.

Group 2, Participant ##: And they do.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: They are killing the farmers and when you ask them where do your food come from? From Shoprite. That's how clever they are.

Reference 29 - 0.63% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: My wife's other family is from Spain. And I have family and friends in Italy and other people in France. Every country has their own problems. For example living in South Africa we don't really see the crime as much. Or we don't realise it is so bad until you spend six weeks, I was six weeks in Spain, never while I was in South Africa prior to that never ever have I been grabbed by someone and want to actually have to fight for my life. I was literally back in the country for not even three days and a guy grab me by the chest and then I realised the type of crime we have.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 2.86% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.17% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I just add to what number eight just said about putting laws? We have so many laws anyway. We are not policing the laws. We are not even getting near it and lawlessness is just, is now creeping in. 30.00 And it is not just becoming a simple protest against whatever you are protesting against. There, there's is a criminal element that is now just, just jumped on the bandwagon basically under the guise of a protest. And, and that what it has become in actual fact. We can have as many laws as we want to-

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Yes but we have recourse to them. If you choose to implement the law or bring the law into being, then, well not into being, but actually use the laws as an effective tool. There are laws available if you take exception to the way you are treated. I understand, I don't know if we're talking about municipal workers vandalising centres of towns. I am not talking about that kind of protest I am talking about the way we interact with other citizenry in this country.

Reference 2 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I don't know. Um. Just to go back, I think for the time it was a very good instrument and it needed to be done to bring people together. Um. I don't think lessons were learnt because if you look what is happening today twenty five years later corruption is worse as it's ever been. Um. Lawlessness is becoming the in thing. Um. So when it comes to truth, 40.00 truth is relative.

Reference 3 - 1.23% Coverage

There is also a fact that there is a very real thing that what we are experiencing now. We are experiencing a fear of unrest. Because unless we satisfy the aspirations of a country where probably 50% of the population is, certainly under the age of thirty, we going, we going to be in serious trouble here. The economy is not going to grow but the population will certainly continue to grow. There is going to be more people without things. We actually have to create a black middle class in this country as quickly as possible. And there had to be some kind of social engineering to do it. And one of the ways was to put money into creating a black middle class and also promoting black people who showed some vestige of of of ability into jobs so that we would accelerate that process. Um I was in two banking groups in this country - 30% of my annual bonus was on meeting my positive discrimination targets. Yeah, that was it. But we saw underneath it. It is a mechanism of trying to create a buffer against the unsatisfied poor. And that's a fact that we (inaudible)

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.62% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.44% Coverage

BH: Just say what you feel

Group 4, Participant 4, M: The white, the white South Africans at the moment, we getting prosecuted just for about everything.50.00 whereas you can say, how can I say, rest of the nation they can get away. I mean I've seen on the news the last couple of days people have been getting murdered and people getting off scot-free because people don't know how to do their work anymore and all that jazz. Yeah. Um. It's very difficult for me to put it into words without being, how could I say, ah, nasty, should I say.

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I'm happy to mention that if you look at the state capture, um, Jacob literally hasn't been held accountable for any of the seven hundred and something counts that he's has against him. Um. Whereas if you look at Penny Sparrow who was a racist, and who had said a racist word, and she got a sentence against her. So for saying something and for physically doing something, or raping someone, um, there's no justification to that being fair, I mean.

BH: Okay so you are saying racist slurs get a quicker response than other crimes?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Absolutely.

BH: Does it work the other way around? Racist slurs of black people or white people?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: No because many times I have seen shirts of "kill white people" and all of that being posted on social media and nothing gets said about it.

#### Reference 2 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes. A good point but also yes because the violence, for me that's a big one, like number two said earlier. Violence. It's the violent crime. It's the violence for me. They don't have our best interest at heart.

BH: Of the majority?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes they don't. Because it's like the songs that they sing, it's antagonising, it's, it's-

#### References 3-5 - 1.86% Coverage

BH: Come on, please say it. You can say it here.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I just, I just feel I, I am not safe walking in town, where I used to go to in Church Street with my mom to the Ashmal's, just to talk about one shop. We used to park at the Ashmal's in town there and we could park and my mom would say; "come, just come stand next to me". It wasn't like, now we wouldn't even dare to go as two white females into town because we are the minority and if something had to happen, which has happened before-

BH: You don't think anybody would help you?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: No one would help us because they also scared. The black women that I know, my friends, are scared. They don't even want to walk to work because they leave at four a.m. in the morning, it's still dark. They leave from the township, they come, they have now had to fork out more money to have a transport that would now fetch them right outside their homes because they scared. So I don't even think only as a white woman, I say white women, it's now gender-based, but as woman we are inferior and we are not, I don't feel safe. I don't feel safe because if I go to the police officer the police officer is a lot of the time involved and the people that are supposed to protect us are the ones that are making us feel unsafe. I mean I used to walk around with my dog and there would be traffic officers and police officers and would say "hey sexy psst, psst, psst." Those are the people that are supposed to be looking after us. Are you, am I going to go to you and say, I mean, I have been raped? And that's why I say I don't want to stand on toes. I mean I'm really generalising here but it yeah, it's has happened to a few of my friends where the person that was supposed to be you're your your safety actually was the one that committed the crime

#### References 6-8 - 0.93% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think they obviously either just took pay cuts or found different jobs. Ja and a lot of people have either decided to go overseas. I've a couple of friends and family that had gone over and looking to go over and I for one am also going over. I'm going to China to teach. And it just for me being out of fear of having a daughter and um living in South Africa which is a country that I love but just being the violent crime for me that's been an eye opener. What we've seen, it's become the norm. It's become the norm to read the news and see that this person had been murdered, this person has been killed and raped. And. Especially women abuse as well. The amount of women violent crime, it is not something that I want my daughter to ever grow up and be the norm for her. 1.25.00 Norm must be when you see something like that, that it is not normal. So That's been my reason.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.86% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I know this, okay this may sound a bit, I feel like we are so quick to be offended by people putting all whites in one box meanwhile we like, tend to put every other race in in a box. And I think that it is, we sit in a very interesting space as young people because we've been exposed to different parts of cultures and traditions and I, I would like to think I'm quite a progressive person like everyone in the room here. And so we're able to sit here and be like, ok, you know, not all white people think like this, which is a, which is a true statement. But I think that it it almost like kind of boils down to the gender-based violence thing as well. Um. We are quick to say if you, if your friends are telling rape jokes and you don't stop it you're perpetuating it, right?

Reference 2 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I also wanted to say, it also depends on what you are comparing us, on which which criteria. So if you look at us compared to the rest of Africa and our constitution we were pretty far ahead of the game. And even with rights for minorities, like um gay marriage where I think we were the only African country to have that legalised. There are still some European countries that make it illegal um so with stuff like personal freedom and equality I think we're quite high up. Even with the developed countries we're still pretty good.

Reference 3 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: On number ten's point, because we had someone come to our school who's from America, and she said that she absolutely loves our constitution's bill of rights because America's constitution has not been updated in over three hundred years. So in that sense, in a sense of written laws of equality we are much further ahead of some first world countries. Although implementation may not reflect what we had decided is the laws.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 5.09% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.27% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Because we didn't use to kill them like they are killing our farmers. I mean that's a crime against humanity, to see the way our farmers get killed and it's brutal murders. They brutally murder them.

Group 6, Participant ##: Torture them.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: That didn't happen in the past. That didn't happen in apartheid. They just weren't allowed in our areas and stuff like that. But they, we didn't go around murdering them. We didn't go around killing them. Raping their wives and killing their kids and burning them with irons and stuff like that. So I think apartheid is more now. This is apartheid. That wasn't apartheid (inaudible). So the apartheid, they saw apartheid never worked, but now they got apartheid against whites. And they are killing the whites, they are raping our wives, and they raping our daughters. That's against human that is unhuman. What they are doing is un-human. What we did was never unhuman.

Reference 3 - 0.35% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 9, M: It's like this new youth thing that they got for the youth, they start with, the top people start with the small kids. They start at the shops. They start with meeting at shops. That's where they are starting and then all over, then its chaos.

References 4-5 - 0.46% Coverage

BH: And do you think they will get a fair trial if they do go into trial?

Group 6, Participant ##: No. (Everyone shaking their heads)

BH: Why not? Tell me why not. Why won't it be fair?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Because the place is too corrupt.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Everything is corrupt, yes.

Group 6, Participant ##, M: I think it is corruption.

Reference 6 - 0.30% Coverage

BH: And if they were found guilty what do you think should happen to them?

Group 6, Participant ##, M: It depends on what their crime is.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Well they will sit three months in jail and then they will come out.

Reference 7 - 1.62% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think, I just think we, the respect and and and again, white people were brought up that way. And I'm not, I am saying this with the utmost respect.

BH: Yes yes yes.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Black people's culture is miles apart from white people's culture. So what, to me if he touches that pie he has to take it and eat it. Another guy will sit here and he will take all of it. Alright I want that one. I was brought up, I respect this guy he is going to eat that. And the mutual respect is just not there. We respect them from apartheid. We respected them. We still gave them food. They still had education. They still had all that. Take all that respect that you were taught in twenty five years and reverse it and give it back to us. Because if you are going to respect me I am going to respect you. If you are not going to respect me I'm not going to respect you. 1.10.00 And that's where the problem is now. You want to tell my wife she's got nice shoes on. Or a nice pants or whatever she's got that's nice. And I don't like it because I haven't been brought up. That's my wife. Don't talk to her. Don't talk about her or whatever. Give her a compliment, no problem. But the respect part is just zero, from them to us.

Reference 8 - 1.09% Coverage

BH: Number five

Group 6, Participant 5, F: My true opinion about this whole story, if respect comes from your culture or the way you were brought up it will never happen. Sorry that's how I feel. It will never happen. They they could not forget about apartheid in twenty-five years. How can we think that it will change now? How? Who's gonna change it? Who's gonna to have respect for the next guy? Nobody has respect. Nobody can work together. I mean if if you've got a business and the majority is black people, and you want to have equal rights or whatever, the, the rules are, but it's not happening. So now you have to get more other cultured people in this business so that they can be on top together. I mean you've only got one culture now at the top. But now we must work together. But how you going to do that? Because it is only black.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 16 references coded [ 6.11% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.09% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Even the police, our big shots in the police are involved in corruption.

Reference 2 - 0.72% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I just wanted to say now. But then the police are also not watching out The police vans are used as taxis, there are no more patrols, you can see all over the police vans being used as a taxi , or you phone them at night then that police van is out of town then that police van is on its way to another town. Then he's not in his own town. They are in another town.



40:01

DL: So it comes back to what we said just now about discipline there is no supervision of these people

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes. I have experienced, the police do come out.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes 2 hours later.

Group 7, Participant ##: But then they are under the influence. They sit and drink at the shebeens.

Group 7, Participant ##: They treat you as if you are the guilty one.

Reference 3 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: We must give the new head of the NPA the opportunity to get her matters in place, and give her time, she needs time to show what she wants to do, and is capable of.

DL: That is why I say we must talk about how you feel about today. As you said, It is a new head of the NPA that's been appointed, do you think they will do better than in the past or ...

Group 7, Participant 3, F: No. But who is the Prosecuting Authority Head?

DL: Shamila Batotyi

Group 7, Participant 8, M: A new broom sweeps clean, but its brushes also eventually get blunt/erode. To answer the question regarding today I would say it did not go well, but things could change with the new head.

DL: Yes. Keep in mind though if you committed abuses over 10 years you won't be able to solve it in a year's time.

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

45:00

DL: Because you have many problems in the department or authority so think about it: won't it take another ten years to solve it?

Group 7, Participant ##: First get rid of the rotten apples. It will raise many other problems.

Reference 4 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: They will keep it alive, because you are already marked. It's a question of hate and grudges so they will keep it alive. Because you're already marked. If it were them, then all the files will disappear. Very quickly too.

Reference 5 - 0.34% Coverage

DL: So you say that the legislation is in place, but it has to be applied in practice.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes it must be applied.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It is so. Because there is no law and order anymore in the country, that's the big factor. There are no laws, there is no order.

Group 7, Participant ##: To a certain extend there are, but it's not applied.

Reference 6 - 0.32% Coverage

DL: I'm not going to answer you on that. So you are unsure about the constitution?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes

DL: Chapter 2 of the constitution, Bill of rights, deals with human rights, it's a huge, thick package that guarantees everything. But is not yet again a matter of the law being there but not applied?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Reference 7 - 0.52% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I would say so, it's just the crime that is getting out of hand. So you feel unsafe. In the past your home was yours, you didn't worry about crime. These days it's as if you live in a prison.

Group 7, Participant ##: Your own prison

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes because you can't...(interrupted)

Group 7, Participant ##: The other day they stole my cell phone through my security gate, so I ask...

DL: The crime

Group 7, Participant ##: It's much worse. You don't feel safe in your own home.

DL: In the new SA

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Reference 8 - 0.95% Coverage

DL: I'm glad you say it's your community that share in what's going on here.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I compare the Western Cape with the rest of the country. All the provinces in the Western Cape where the DA is in control it's a totally different picture. When you go over the mountain at Oudtshoorn, and you get to George, Mossel Bay, in that vicinity, you immediately see the change in the landscape, so to speak, the infrastructure is better, it is well maintained. I do not know about the Cape, I never go there. Compared to the other provinces where I go, all you see is deterioration, in every little town you only see deterioration.

DL: But is it not so that the law is applied there?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: From the news, it tells you that the law is being applied in the Western Cape, you see it, it makes a difference. There is discipline. As we said in the beginning, discipline is applied there but not in the rest of the country, and I want to refer to ourselves, and how we apply discipline in our own homes.

References 9-10 - 0.54% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: We whites can't even do window shopping in the evening, or be out on the street, your kids can't even sleep outside on the lawn

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I was pulled off the scooter in our street recently.

Group 7, Participant ##: Oh no!

DL: So it's a personal thing.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: By three children.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Years ago, the police did foot patrols. Not anymore.

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They rather sit in the police station and sleep in front of a heater

Group 7, Participant ##: Or drunk.

Reference 11 - 0.71% Coverage

Good. Number 6, are you comfortable in the new SA?

Group 7, Participant 6, F: No. unfortunately. I observe all these things so I'm very sorry, but I can't feel comfortable. Also sit behind closed gates.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Like in a prison

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Group 7, Participant 6, F: It affects the quality of your life, you feel like a bird in a cage and it has a huge impact on your inner self, how you feel as person.

Number 7, how do you feel about it?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: Not happy about it. Like number 6 says, it affects your existence as a human, your thinking is affected, yes, it's bad the way things are, but as I say, I believe it's we ourselves that allowed things to happen, we don't stand together, the way the ANC stands together.

Reference 12 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: These days it's dangerous to stop a traffic light. You are scared when it turns red, because they will pull you from your car or shoot you

References 13-16 - 0.56% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take the elderly who came along with you/us over the years, mostly the white people who know what it is all about. If you take the elderly today also, how their children treat them, the blacks, how they rob their parents, but nothing gets done about it. So those elderly ones who are now living, would rather side with the white people's apartheid years,

01:55:19

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes that legislation.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Because the police do nothing about it. You can't spank your child any longer. So they-

Group 7, Participant ##: ...get murdered.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 5.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.70% Coverage

hen also the judicial system that is not fairly applied, we are supposed to be a democracy, but unfortunately there is discrimination, like what I read in the newspapers and see on television, as an example, the woman that was assaulted by the African males, but she is the one sent to jail because she used the "K" word, how is that fair, then you see other things circulated in the media, for instance the Spur incident, then there is also the example, when an African person does something against us, nothing gets done and it is not circulated in the media.

Reference 2 - 0.62% Coverage

Let's talk about the National Prosecuting authority, there were major changes, the top heads were changed often, but the current head, how do you feel about her, it's a woman, Shamilla Pitout, do you think she is on the right road, is she going to prosecute more.

It has more to do with politics, she does a better job, for instance this whole thing about state capture, I think she is doing a good job.

I think you are confusing this with the OB, the previous one was a man at the "IP"?

Oh, alright.

Reference 3 - 0.64% Coverage

Let's talk about the disadvantages of democracy.

It's not as strong as that (in audible).

Unfulfilled promises.

Corruption, there are laws but now there are loopholes for every law – freedom of speech, a person is free to do anything.

Unemployment figure.

What is it about...?

Land grabbing is unacceptable and racism is going too far, there is far less control over the country, people get away with bribes, that's just a small example, there is no deterrent not even a jail sentence, there are still bribes.

#### Reference 4 - 0.31% Coverage

In terms of safety, the Cape Flats, 1000 soldiers were deployed there to try and sort out the gangs, before the democracy you could walk about their freely, now especially women can't even walk there freely without carrying a gun or pepper spray.

#### References 5-7 - 0.33% Coverage

The criminal now has more rights than the victim

Yes.

A man attacks you with a bread knife on your property, it is your private property, but you don't have the right to retaliate with a weapon stronger than his, that just does not make sense to me.

Double standards.

#### Reference 8 - 0.62% Coverage

I would say no, safety, unemployment rate is so high, there is a lot of love for the country that makes you want to stay but you have to sleep with cameras and alarms. I have been overseas and I stayed in a hotel, slept with my door open, woke up and all my personal belongings were still there, you didn't have to worry about it.

Definitely uneasy, 5-10 years ago on the farm, you didn't have to lock the bakkies, you could leave the keys in, now you can't do it anymore, you have to get security to patrol.

#### Reference 9 - 0.93% Coverage

That's what we said just now, democracy was good when it is practiced in the right way, 15 years ago you were still safe, and things have changed because of the rulers.

How is it normal to lock yourself up in a prison, criminals should be in jail but now we the innocent people have to lock ourselves up in their homes and it is lawful for someone to enter your home and if you assault the person – you go to jail. It is not safe for a white person. In my mom's time they could go into the city and do their shopping, they would go by train and it was safe. Today if you go by car and you don't lock your doors you get pulled out of your car or they steal it.

The last time I was in the central business district, I was there for 5 minutes and my cell phone was stolen.

#### References 10-11 - 1.21% Coverage

01:50:08

You pay your taxes but you know you can go and study what you want to because it is for free, you have amazing medical care, you can go anywhere, and you don't even need a car. Never mind the fact that we don't have all of this, you can't enjoy the country unless you go to the rural areas or go into nature itself. You are not safe. About 5 years ago I lived in the Westdene area, you cannot live there anymore, and everything has gone down.

My mother said when she was studying in Bloem, she lived in Willows. I you now live there ... talking (inaudible).

I have friends who used to live there, now you can't even drive through the area

South Africa had the facilities, railway tracks, trains, but now they are stolen, look at the state of the hospitals. The quality has gone down.

The military, they can't get anything right and then they laugh at each other. On face book today I saw an excerpt, uncles who did their military training 40 years ago and they can still do it.

## ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.70% Coverage

BH: We were talking about are whites reluctant democrats?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think everyone is a reluctant democrat in this country because it doesn't matter what you vote for nobody is satisfied. Nobody is like getting what they want. Tax payers feel like they are getting completely drained. The unemployed don't have any work. The people who are affected by crime don't see criminals getting locked up. Everybody participates but nobody is satisfied. And I think that also comes down to that the ANC being a party of liberation and not a party. Party of governance. I mean you give freedom fighters very high powered jobs in government they don't succeed and they have been incredibly unsuccessful. And a lot of freedom fighters-

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 4.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.16% Coverage

The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their their their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable.

Reference 2 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: And I think the government should answer for that.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: But it not always a government problem. I mean we're a third world country. There is, even before the money was stolen, we must not convince ourselves that this was going to be nirvana. It is well short of where it could have been I quite agree with everything, the corruption has been is endemic and it's been vast. But having said that we are still a third world country struggling. First world countries have problems, they are just slightly different from the ones we have. This, you know, we can't blame everything on corruption.

Reference 3 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay. Well then I will say personally I wasn't nervous but I thought the euphoria that the people, I was glad for that it was apartheid, to an extent, I enjoyed the mood of the country because it was incredibly positive. That it was naïve, I thought was incredibly- but the fact is you enjoy the moment while you can. But I mean we were incredibly naïve and if one looked at that and heard the rhetoric of what we knew what was coming down the path I mean, that the lead-in, what the various parties were espousing, leading up to the '94 elections we, we would have been extremely short sighted have we not believed. But it unravelled the way it did because of a skills gap. And I think the fact is that we talk about corruption - it was not a phenomenon totally unknown under the nationalist government in this country. So, you know, what happened was that the skills gap allowed widespread, deep corruption to take place 1.15.00 and that was, the checks and balances was not put into force. And that drove it.

Reference 4 - 1.23% Coverage

There is also a fact that there is a very real thing that what we are experiencing now. We are experiencing a fear of unrest. Because unless we satisfy the aspirations of a country where probably 50% of the population is, certainly under the age of thirty, we going, we going to be in serious trouble here. The economy is not going to grow but the population will certainly continue to grow. There is going to be more people without things. We actually have to create a black middle class in this country as quickly as possible. And there had to be some kind of social engineering to do it. And one of the ways was to put money into creating a black

middle class and also promoting black people who showed some vestige of of of ability into jobs so that we would accelerate that process. Um I was in two banking groups in this country - 30% of my annual bonus was on meeting my positive discrimination targets. Yeah, that was it. But we saw underneath it. It is a mechanism of trying to create a buffer against the unsatisfied poor. And that's a fact that we (inaudible)

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.56% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.81% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Well we are close to junk status. So if Moody's downgrades us then we are basically seen as a junk status country. Which to me and how it was put on Carte Blanche is the equivalent of trash. So

1.35.00

BH: But what actually is junk status?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Junk status is don't invest in that country. Don't have businesses abroad, if other countries are looking to expand and potentially have a branch, don't look at South Africa. Look at another country, which is lack of job creation or the potential of having more employment. So the repercussions of us being junk status is-

BH: What do you think has given us junk status?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think high levels of unemployment which leads to increased crime which in turn has led to, ja, poverty and just lack of managing funds and money

Group 4, Participant 8, M: And nationalism.

BH: Nationalism?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: Yes

BH: Okay so explain nationalism to me.

Group 4, Participant 8, M: Like how they want to nationalise the mines. So it's not private anymore.

BH: So you move away from private industry to government taking over?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: No it must stay private.

BH: No but you saying nationalism is

Group 4, Participant ##, F: The anti-Christ

BH: The government needs to take over mines and parastatals need to take over mines and not private industries?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: Yes I mean if you look at all the countries there is no real country that ever thrived under communism or socialism. Let's say, if you know that you are going to earn the same as a doctor as a bartender, there's, why would you study and work to become a doctor? [Inaudible] I mean there is no competition, there's no drive.

References 3-6 - 0.91% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: From basically a lot research that has been driven and a lot of discussions that have occurred. A lot of the reason that companies are pulling out of the country, investment, is mainly in terms of the workforce being as militaristic as they have been. The unions are thriving, they're very military based. Um. Workforce is doing their own thing. They want the power to own the mine but they still want the investors to invest money but not return on the investments. So they're wanting the money to come into the country but for people to put money in the country they expect a return on said investment. But they are not wanting the

funds to be returned unto the investors. And that is why a lot of the investments are pulling out. Also unfortunately the parastatals have also really added to it by (inaudible) to the detriment of the country.

#### Reference 7 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: And um, to an extent I am fairly optimistic. I think you know even though the country is possibly going into junk status and you know there seems to be so much doom and gloom going around. You know, there are rays of hope in the country. I mean there's, you know, if you look, if you drive down West Street and you see like all the people with their little stalls of fruit, I mean, everyone is trying to get by in there. Everyone has got their little hustle going on. And I think you know as South Africans we will make it work. I feel optimistic about this country.

#### Reference 8 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: I am going to ask you about that. Would you be happy for your children to move away from the country?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I think for the difference between, I saw South Africa when it was amazing. Other younger generations have only seen the mass, you know the mass breakdown, and so I'm hoping- they say history always runs in circles. I'm hoping that we will eventually, I just don't know if it will be in my lifetime (laughs) which is a bit depressing. But for my children's sake, I don't know. It seems like the only reason that I would move would be the economics because everything else is so wonderful about this country. And when you said what, you know, am I an optimist or a pessimist? I'm very much an optimist because compared to other countries we have freedom of choice. We have freedom of religion. We have, you know fortunately gay people can be married in this country. There is so many wonderful things that are just overlooked and just stamped on by all the negativity. And I think that negativity breeds negativity. So if we're all nay-sayers, nothing is going to change. So I think we all need to raise our children to be, to embrace the change and make it work.

#### Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.61% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Um I think that the world currently is in an economic rut. 1.25.00 So even though there is opportunity it's few and far between. So regardless of whether you're black or white it's, it's a bad time to be in economically.

#### Reference 2 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think a lot of the um it goes back to the BEE and white people losing their jobs because of the BEE situation that um they aren't doing so well but overall in companies ah agreed with the point made that the whole world is actually going through economic crisis and it's not really likely that any business is doing too well.

#### Reference 3 - 1.60% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I mean, but when you compare us to the first world there's a reason we're a third world um but if you compare us to the rest of the third world I think we're fairly high up in the rankings. Um.

BH: So what actually is third world? What is third world?

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Do you want the textbook answer? (laughter) This is such a cool fact though. (more laughter) So third world originally referred to any nation that hadn't taken official sides in the the cold war. 1.30.00 So you had the first world countries being, you were either communist, capitalist, or you fell into the states that hasn't really been set in one direction and that, and that was considered third world. It just happened to be that all those countries were really poor countries and the the Russia's, China's, became, oh the Russia and USA became the allies with the UK, the first world. The third world then came to mean impoverished country.

BH: And who is second world then? If it the first world and third world, who is second world?

Group 5, Participant 5, M: China. (laughter)

Group 5, Participant 8, M: I think we've moved away from first and the third. We now discuss developed and developing and I think that is exactly where that fits in. It's, it's as he said, if you are still um suffering

economically you are developing, you're growing. You're a developing country. And if you are pretty much stable um with, looking at employment rates, um, just general GDP, and you're set and you're structured you're considered developed.

Reference 4 - 0.40% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I I think we have long-term phenomenal prospects here. Um, the one hope I do have for South Africa is that when our economic prosperity comes um we use at least some of that to look after the environment. We we really have a fantastic environment. We have so much that's so native to South Africa. And I think we have an important role and I hope we stand up to that.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: Okay and you number nine?

Group 6, Participant 9, M: Well mostly it's work. Because every second robot you go to is hijacking. That is how they get their income. They want to hijack that car then sell that car then there is nothing, for work.

Reference 2 - 0.30% Coverage

BH: So for all people there doesn't seem to be enough work?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Yes that's everybody.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It doesn't matter which colour, size or whatever.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: There is no work.

References 3-4 - 1.28% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I just think, take the good of apartheid. There was stuff. Like economically it was good. So go talk, take it over and bring the bad stuff that was from there, rectify that. And work together to build a better place.

Group 6, Participant 10, F: I guess, whatever she is saying now. We never heard of Moodley or downgrading our economic system to trash level. We make enough money. We supplied the world with gold, with whatever resources we've got. Now all of a sudden the Chinese, everybody is getting on to the bandwagon. Our country doesn't belong to white, black, Indian or whatever. It belongs, a big chunk of it belongs to the outside world. The America, the England, the Chinese, the Japanese, whatever. Where do we go, where do we go to? The Chinese guy, if he buys a mine, how many mines we've got? They bought them. To do what? Not to give us work. We are not going to work.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes they are bringing in their people

Reference 5 - 0.42% Coverage

BH: No, no, I want your thoughts on how you compare South Africa's problems with the problems of other countries. Where are we? Are we the worst or the same?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Well we've got trash status so I think we're worse off than other countries. We haven't got work. We've crime. We've got, we worse off.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The people who are now earmarked to get farms they get the farm but most of those farms fail because he does not have property rights, He cannot get a loan, he can get no security to operate that farm. Another thing.

(All talking, agreeing.)

Group 7, Participant ##: Even if he gets the money he can't do it. He does not have the expertise.



#### Reference 2 - 0.90% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: My experience is that in 1994 we embraced democracy with great expectations, but as time passed, especially the last few years, it became watered down to such a degree, that one is no longer comfortable with it. I would like to come back to another point, for example, legislation, when we look at the legislation the NP applied to agriculture, for example, we had to declare how many workers we had on the farm, how many posts there were for workers, those days we still did a good deal of ploughing, for each tractor, a day and night driver. So we came to a figure. We had to sit with a committee at the office of the magistrate to explain why we had so many workers in our employ. There were other laws too regarding agriculture, the herds of sheep and cattle you were allowed to keep, this you had to declare to the information officer. That changed. We are thankful that it changed, but other laws came, which is like a muzzle, labour laws.

#### Reference 3 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take our petrol prices. Look at what we pay here. But abroad, look at what they pay there. But we supply them with the petrol. Why must we pay more, but they get it cheaper?

(-42:02)

DL: Tax, the tax element. The tax is heavy.

#### Reference 4 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I would like to join in regarding land reform. The people want land to convert into money. They want money.

DL: The reality is, if you get land and the farm is yours and ... (inaudible) you have to make a success of it.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's right but you cannot be successful if you have land, but you have nothing...

Group 7, Participant ##: Expertise...

DL: You can't get money to buy a tractor.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: You don't have a tractor

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

DL: You are unable to loan money, because...all talking

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Or mealies to plant because you do not have the money, but you've got a farm. It does not benefit you at all.

## PUBLIC SECTOR SITUATION IN SA TODAY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.67% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.76% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: Yes is fine. Part (inaudible) it is my fault. (laughing) I think media controls a lot of our thoughts and our decisions and how we view things and our reactions to what is happening in our country. And the same happened in Apartheid you know. I have been on both sides of the fence being a child of a mixed race marriage. What I do know is, and also having family overseas, overseas was getting the information that we don't get. So being brought up in say a predominantly white environment, we were told another portion of the truth. And then you go overseas and the media was telling you a whole other story. And I think that is very much of what is happening today. So the media back then was feeding hate and feeding anger. But it was under the banner of a freedom fight. Now it is freedom fighting for what and for where? I think what is happening now in South Africa is almost mirrors the past in that the truth is not told. So will sit here and go: "there were equal opportunities" or that sort of thing. No there was not equal opportunities. People were treated abominably. Actually, unfortunately, it is no different today. The media tends to fuel that. So it is very frightening that the farmers had been killed. It is very frightening that we don't have infrastructure in place that we should have in place. 30.00 It is frightening that our country has, you know we will look back and we will say oh there was all these things in place. But they were based on fear. There was structure but it was based on fear. Now we are living in a time where we are living in fear because black people have freedom but it is a direct correlation of what was happening and also our country has doubled in its population. We have millions and millions of people here from up Africa that are starving. So they cannot provide jobs when Cape Town's population has doubled in twenty years.

Reference 2 - 0.07% Coverage

Group 1, Participant ##: Our government doesn't know what they are doing.

Reference 3 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: For the four years in Germany the train driver came late once. They fired the driver. We don't do that here. We keep the driver on and we give him a pension and a golden handshake etc. So I am pessimistic. I am expecting things to go very pear shaped in the near future. Look there is a boat waiting for me.

References 4-5 - 0.53% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I believe that not all men is created equal. I believe that the people that run this country are the stupidest (Inaudible) that I ever come across and I-

BH: We are talking here about your greatest hope here hey.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: My greatest hope is that something happens that brings to book the people that are stealing in this country. I don't think it is going to happen. Don't think it's going to happen. I'm a numbers person.

BH: That's your greatest hope?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Yes, I am factual. I am not positive at all.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 6.55% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.71% Coverage

I think there is a lot of things in parliament, I think the whole parliament system is, from what we have seen, and what we have experienced, is corrupt. And everything that flows from out of there is corrupt. So I think you are on your own and I think that is why I think it was on Carte Blanche where this one time where this one community took the crime in their own hands because you don't do it, I mean I don't agree or disagree 35.00 with it, but that is one way of dealing with it. We are almost in a position where you have to protect yourself. You are standing on your own if you need to protect you. You know most people; even if you go to the police nothing gets done.

Reference 2 - 0.43% Coverage

So you can get into any municipality and you can phone, I mean we have had, even in our community, I mean pipes bursts every day, two days later in the time when we have drought, and this happen on a regular basis, then they only come out. You can phone and phone and phone. There is no service. There is no back up. No one cares. So I think for our resources, for our safety, at this stage there is nothing.

#### Reference 3 - 2.09% Coverage

BH: Okay right. So now we are going to move on to Democracy. Democracy might have been necessary and inevitable but was it the best outcome for South Africa? Would you agree that while most whites continue to support the NP which was the National Party, they agree that reaching a compromise with the ANC was necessary to start the country relapsing into outright civil war? Do you remember any of that?

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Yes

BH: And how do you feel about that? Do you think it was a good decision? To go for Democracy?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Now at this time?

BH: No at that time.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think yes

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think that was the right time and I think there would probably have been a war if we didn't. So it was the right thing to do. But also at that time we had Nelson Mandela which is an amazing person. But the government after that is basically that messed it up after him. So it was a good thing and that was the right thing to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant ##: At that time.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Because Nelson Mandela had another reason for this country. But those that came after him, while Mr. Thabo Mbeki also in the same section as Mr. Nelson Mandela. But then came Jacob Zuma. And he was actually the fly in the ointment. Because he was the one that sowed corruption, I mean openly. And until they forced him to step down he was so (inaudible) in corruption, I mean he was actually the one coursing the problems in South Africa. And everybody that followed in his footsteps, like his ministers, (inaudible) was corrupt. and the whole of South Africa saw it. What happens with the South Africans that saw it they committed crime on big scale. Because they teach themselves whatever I do I am just going to get punished say five, ten years in prison. 1.25.00 Then I am going to be a free man. But he is the one that needs to set an example for me and he is actually the biggest criminal.

#### Reference 4 - 1.10% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: And you also won't get, if you are white business owner you are still a level 4 BEE company and you won't get government contracts at all. It won't be looked at. You got to be level two or level one um to now be accepted in any tender.

Group 2, Participant 6, F: And is that now democracy? I am just saying.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: That is what is happening at the moment. And there is a lot of corruption within the tender process. Petro SA for example have a tender process and there are certain services that doesn't go through the tender process. Yet they advertise that they are as a fair tender service to the whole of South Africa. To everyone. But those tenders get awarded to three companies who then supply all the services. Not only Petro SA, I mean things has been like that in the country which is totally corrupt which affects the small business, the white owned businesses. Coloureds now they are considered if they are all owned coloured company then they are considered level one.

#### Reference 5 - 1.36% Coverage

BH: Those that you vote for, do you think that they know about you?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: Well if we don't vote for a particular party then we don't have no right to complain about what happens to the country. My point of view, if the ANC was not corrupt I will probably be voting for the ANC. I will be on the ANC's side. Because they are corrupt they have no good track record. But there aren't any party that has a good track record. But you want a party that can fight the battles against another party. You don't want one party to have all the power. And another point of view is I do travel a lot and I see the infrastructure that is run under various parties like the ANC and the DA. The DA's infrastructure is fairly good. I mean it is really good. Yes there are shortfalls, a lot of shortfalls, we have shortfalls everywhere but go to for example, go to East London and have a look at them. Go to Johannesburg. It is a disaster. They are trying to catch up. Things are not happening there. The roads are falling apart. They should have been budgets for roads to repair the roads where it was never done. Um here, here things are happening. Maybe not hundred percent. So there is no right party. So you have to be very careful when you do choose a party who you vote for.

Reference 6 - 0.86% Coverage

BH: Do you think it is important that whites continue to play leadership roles in parliament and public lives?

Group 2, Participant ##: For sure.

Group 2, Participant ##: Yes

BH: And do you think their views are taken into account when then they do?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: No. I would say no.

BH: The people who are at the top. The white people at the top.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I say no. I think what they say do get taken into consideration because they can be eight black people and two white people. At the end of the day it is going to go to one person. And he is going to decide whose opinion is the best. That is the way I see it. So I don't think they can do that. I also don't know. They are also so corrupt up there so...I also can't say if they get treated equally because I mean we are not there to see.

Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 4.72% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I don't know. Um. Just to go back, I think for the time it was a very good instrument and it needed to be done to bring people together. Um. I don't think lessons were learnt because if you look what is happening today twenty five years later corruption is worse as it's ever been. Um. Lawlessness is becoming the in thing. Um. So when it comes to truth, 40.00 truth is relative.

Reference 3 - 0.66% Coverage

BH: Guilty. Yes I am going to go four then I am going to go six. You mustn't lean away from me like that four. I need to bring you in.

Group 3, Participant 4, M: You know this whole thing is dredging up the past. And I think possibly one of the reasons is to not take note of what is going on at present.

BH: Oh okay. So you think it is like an obfuscation thing?

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I mean we got so many problems that need solving. There is so much corruption that needs sorting out. So many people need to pay the price for what they have done. It's easier to dredge up the past hey?

Reference 4 - 1.16% Coverage

The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a

relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their their their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable.

#### Reference 5 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: And I think the government should answer for that.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: But it not always a government problem. I mean we're a third world country. There is, even before the money was stolen, we must not convince ourselves that this was going to be nirvana. It is well short of where it could have been I quite agree with everything, the corruption has been is endemic and it's been vast. But having said that we are still a third world country struggling. First world countries have problems, they are just slightly different from the ones we have. This, you know, we can't blame everything on corruption.

#### References 6-7 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Okay. Well then I will say personally I wasn't nervous but I thought the euphoria that the people, I was glad for that it was apartheid, to an extent, I enjoyed the mood of the country because it was incredibly positive. That it was naïve, I thought was incredibly- but the fact is you enjoy the moment while you can. But I mean we were incredibly naïve and if one looked at that and heard the rhetoric of what we knew what was coming down the path I mean, that the lead-in, what the various parties were espousing, leading up to the '94 elections we, we would have been extremely short sighted have we not believed. But it unravelled the way it did because of a skills gap. And I think the fact is that we talk about corruption - it was not a phenomenon totally unknown under the nationalist government in this country. So, you know, what happened was that the skills gap allowed widespread, deep corruption to take place 1.15.00 and that was, the checks and balances was not put into force. And that drove it.

#### Reference 8 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Just to add to number eight's comments, there is such a wealth of knowledge in this country. Black, white, whatever, whatever it is, that could be used in those situations, in the parliament, and in local government. And that is what we are falling down. I mean the brains trust in this country is phenomenal.

Group 3, Participant ##: We've lost a lot of folk.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: It's still phenomenal.

#### Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 2.02% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 0.75% Coverage

The ANC being post twenty five years apartheid plus and and just the way I've seen things go downhill. Being born in Grey's Hospital which was a phenomenal hospital. It was, pride and joy and everything and not so long ago my friend went there and waited in queues. Things don't get done. They don't have medication. They're running out of just normal vaccinations the children require, that they don't have government stock of. Which is, every single child deserves to have their immunization when it's needed but they can't get it because government can't supply it. If you can't provide basic healthcare and things like that then that's just my opinion is that, if the ANC, if that's how they manage money, and, ja.

#### References 3-4 - 1.26% Coverage

And I wanna say that, have you seen the hospitals here? They're getting worse and worse. I am just very grateful that at the beginning of the year I got back onto medical aid because it's a death wish now going into the health facilities, the public hospitals facilities. And I don't feel optimistic about our facilities here. So our free public facilities, public transport and if I can say something that could bring change, a, a friend of mine told me this which actually made a lot of sense to me, is that If government officials and all government or political parties used government services and weren't given the finances and funds to send them to, 1.40.00

I'm gonna talk about Maritzburg, I mean if you took like St (inaudible) (audible) Hilton College, we have here Michael House, most of them are, their parents work for the government. They can afford to pay those lump sums and I believe that if those people in government and parliament use the public transport like taxis and they didn't have these fancy Lamborghinis and Jags there would be a huge change happening, because then they wouldn't want to send their children to the public hospitals and I think that there would be a big change.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.46% Coverage

BH: And do you think they will get a fair trial if they do go into trial?

Group 6, Participant ##: No. (Everyone shaking their heads)

BH: Why not? Tell me why not. Why won't it be fair?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Because the place is too corrupt.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Everything is corrupt, yes.

Group 6, Participant ##, M: I think it is corruption.

Reference 2 - 0.88% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 2, F: Health Our hospitals and clinics. It is overcrowded and if you walk in there you don't see any of our country's people. It is foreigners that are there. So why are they taking our place where black and white are supposed to go together? And it is dirty. You can't just go to a hospital. You must start at the clinic. They decide if you must go to the hospital. When you get to the hospital you must then wait for hours. Just like you have to sit and wait whole day at the clinic. So with what is happening there, if you do get sick then you don't want to go to the hospital or clinic. Your health deteriorates. I am looking for better health facilities.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 4.68% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: Our country was in a better state.

Group 7, Participant ##: The roads as well.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: If we see how many places have deteriorated? Recently, after a long time, I went to Bloemfontein, wow, if you see how that place has gone down, if you consider that it use to be the "city of roses", you don't see that anymore, you should see what the islands, what they look like, it looks a jungle growing on the sidewalks and islands, everything has gone down, not just Bloemfontein, you can visit any town and see how things have deteriorated. The municipalities just don't do anything about it. They receive huge salaries.

Reference 2 - 0.09% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Even the police, our big shots in the police are involved in corruption.

References 3-4 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: In in our town at the location there is the most beautiful stadium. Not one match was played there. It's not even fully completed, all those toilets and wash basins have been stolen. They built a high wall around it. There are places where the bricks are being broken down. Now it just sits there. Is it now someone who got a contract.

DL: Yes, received a tender.

Group 7, Participant ##: But it was not necessary.

Group 7, Participant ##: It's millions of Rands

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Houses too.

References 5-8 - 1.04% Coverage

DL: Are there other weak or strong points of the democracy that you can think about, that you are experiencing? Business...?

01:35:12

Group 7, Participant 9, F: Corruption, money being wasted. Too many persons appointed to positions. We all know how full of pot holes our streets are, and if something needs to be repaired, there will be 6 people for the job; two do the work while four watch. I think everyone will agree with me. Why are there so many people? If you have a problem with sanitation, the same, a bakkie load arrives, two or three do the work, while the others watch. That's if they come.

DL: Good. Other weak points?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: Water.

(All talking)

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They should make sure there is.

DL: You must think now. Why do these things happen? What is the reason?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Management. It comes from the top, because they steal the money that is one thing they steal the flippen money, there's never money for anything.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: If there is a little money in a business, you can be sure some will be stolen, if there is too much...(inaudible)

Reference 9 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Because I farm, I know a lot of the black people's way of life. He will tell me in the morning them mielie meal is finished. I struggled for a long time to educate him to ask me to bring mielie meal back with me, when I go into town. Initially it did not happen, but late. To elaborate. The people did not learn to plan for tomorrow.

Group 7, Participant ##: Planning

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Planning fails, we have the situation of no planning being done to make provision for chemicals, for example, or equipment failure.

Reference 10 - 0.43% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I have only one question, I would like to ask Ramaphosa, where did they get the ground/land? They say land belongs to the blacks, now I want to ask him, from whom did they get the land?

01:40:04

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Yes. I would also like to ask, I tell you for example, his forefathers lived on the land for years he now lays claim too? What about your forefathers who also had land at the time, why may you as a European not lay to land?

Reference 11 - 0.65% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I would like to join in regarding land reform. The people want land to convert into money. They want money.

DL: The reality is, if you get land and the farm is yours and ... (inaudible) you have to make a success of it.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's right but you cannot be successful if you have land, but you have nothing...

Group 7, Participant ##: Expertise...

DL: You can't get money to buy a tractor.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: You don't have a tractor

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

DL: You are unable to loan money, because...all talking

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Or mealies to plant because you do not have the money, but you've got a farm. It does not benefit you at all.

#### Reference 12 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: The basic deterioration of the town. Brandfort used to be one of the prettiest towns in the Free State, one of the few with all its streets tarred, now there is just this immense deterioration that saddens one. Nothing gets done about it.

DL: I'm glad you say it's your community that share in what's going on here.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I compare the Western Cape with the rest of the country. All the provinces in the Western Cape where the DA is in control it's a totally different picture. When you go over the mountain at Oudtshoorn, and you get to George, Mossel Bay, in that vicinity, you immediately see the change in the landscape, so to speak, the infrastructure is better, it is well maintained. I do not know about the Cape, I never go there. Compared to the other provinces where I go, all you see is deterioration, in every little town you only see deterioration.

#### Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 5.73% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.42% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Today I watch the video EFF that said we are going to take your country, you think it is a joke, we are going to warn you and give you notices and then there are already rumours that it has already started happening, that scares me, today you are still living here and tomorrow they say move out, this is now our place.

#### Reference 2 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 9, F: The worst was now recently at the traffic dept., my license had expired, I applied 3 months before it expired so that I would have the renewal on time, I did not get an SMS to collect it, I went to collect, man next to me was black, they immediately gave it to him even though he also did not get an SMS, but they yelled at me in front of everyone saying you did not get an SMS what are you doing here, but on their system showed that my renewal had been sitting there for 2 months. That is discrimination, why can't I get my license, it is there, it's about service but they don't want to help you because you are white and will just say "fill in the paper", the other one will take time to explain to him if he is black. It happens at every place where you need service.

#### Reference 3 - 1.61% Coverage

If you were slightly older, as the group in Brandfort said to me, the initial part of democracy worked very well, there was positive reconciliation, the economy flourished, and there was none of this corruption and then it gradually deteriorated but again, your standpoint of the people implementing it. It can improve going forward, or what do you think?

Yes under better leaders, more educated leaders.

Remember, it is so that corruption took place over 8,9,10 years, it is not going to change in a day, even should a new leader be appointed, it will take that leader 10 years to eradicate that corruption, it is unfortunately a process.

We must remember, we see all the parliamentarians and leaders but it's not necessarily them in charge, it is also the people behind the scenes.

The money people.



The Oppenheimers.

They just want to pull strings so will it really help or is the corruption too deep, I'm not saying it is, it's just my question.

01:25:03

The question is, if there are educated leaders in government, will they not then cut out the "shadow" people. I think it really is about money as well and education.

As they say, any attorney who is paid well will not take a bribe, but then the more you have the more you want.

Power creates corruption.

It is unfortunately so.

#### Reference 4 - 0.64% Coverage

Let's talk about the disadvantages of democracy.

It's not as strong as that (in audible).

Unfulfilled promises.

Corruption, there are laws but now there are loopholes for every law – freedom of speech, a person is free to do anything.

Unemployment figure.

What is it about...?

Land grabbing is unacceptable and racism is going too far, there is far less control over the country, people get away with bribes, that's just a small example, there is no deterrent not even a jail sentence, there are still bribes.

#### Reference 5 - 0.18% Coverage

South Africa had the facilities, railway tracks, trains, but now they are stolen, look at the state of the hospitals. The quality has gone down.

#### Reference 6 - 0.96% Coverage

Everyone is complaining about the electricity. In a post, these tokens that you buy...(area name in audible) it is usually the wealthy whites or black who live there and you pay so much more for electricity, her maid bought a token and got double the amount of electricity than she could get for the same value. Water, they get free water because it is a right to have running, why do we pay, they see a more affluent area, more white people. How is it that in the locations they get electricity and running water at a reduced price from the municipality? We pay our accounts, but then municipalities spend and do not pay then our water is cut and we sit with a water outage – we are on the same system but in the location theirs is not cut.

02:00:25

Same with the electricity

#### Reference 7 - 0.94% Coverage

What about white people who lose their work as a result of BEE, is it unfair against white people who are pushed out of the public sector to make it more inclusive.

I say yes, they worked for it but now they are kicked out.

I have a friend who worked for PnP, she was retrenched and her job was given to a black person. They are not allowed to say we are firing you to give your job to another person, they say you are being retrenched.

They are so quick to say it was my farm I'm taking back our ground, but it was my work, it doesn't make sense.

Not one farm did we get for free, it was our work, since whites came into South Africa, and they negotiated the land for cattle.

Look at how many countries, Australia want the white farmers because they can work the land.

## POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 5.17% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.70% Coverage

BH: We were talking about are whites reluctant democrats?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think everyone is a reluctant democrat in this country because it doesn't matter what you vote for nobody is satisfied. Nobody is like getting what they want. Tax payers feel like they are getting completely drained. The unemployed don't have any work. The people who are affected by crime don't see criminals getting locked up. Everybody participates but nobody is satisfied. And I think that also comes down to that the ANC being a party of liberation and not a party. Party of governance. I mean you give freedom fighters very high powered jobs in government they don't succeed and they have been incredibly unsuccessful. And a lot of freedom fighters-

Reference 3 - 0.57% Coverage

BH: Because they are freedom fighters.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: Because they are freedom fighters. They are not politicians for life. But then again you are not going to have lifelong politicians out there that could apply for the jobs because they are all being persecuted and prevented from being educated. So it's a transition period that I think everybody has to grin and bear through. It just depends on how destroyed the country will be by the end of it. I think that the middle classes that are coming up and that are hopefully better educated can lead the country out of this faulty democracy.

References 4-5 - 1.03% Coverage

BH: Okay now I am actually going to talk about politics. If you do vote, do you tend to vote for the DA, FF or other small political parties such as the ADCP and is it because you see these parties promoting policies which favour the interests of whites in particular? Or are they seen as promoting the interests of everyone as well as whites?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: Sometimes I just vote because I believe in having a healthy opposition. But I don't necessarily believe in the people I vote for and that is why I don't necessarily believe that Democracy is working now because even though a lot of the stuff the ANC believes in I believe in as well but I won't ever vote for them because they have proven themselves to be too corrupt in my opinion. And it makes me think who is the best to challenge this party? Is it the DA? You know it is different all over the country. Depending on where you live but I sometimes do just vote because I believe that there needs to be somebody powerful in opposition. And in the Western Cape it appears to be the DA. But I think in the last few years they lost the plot in that as well.

References 6-7 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: I just kind of vote for anyone that is not the ANC because I don't want them to lead the Western Cape as well so then they can change the constitution and all that stuff. So I just kind of go for whatever. DA same issue. They got downhill these last few years but I would rather have them than the ANC or anyone else for that matter. But not a party that is more for like white people. I will rather be against that. I will rather then vote for like the dagga party.

References 8-9 - 0.33% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: My personal opinion for the country, I vote ANC out of what they did for this country first. But for my city I vote DA because ANC steals too much though. I like to still keep the roads stuff here. (laughter) Yes so basically I vote for two parties.

Group 1, Participant ##: Then streetlamps are gone again.(lots of laughter)

Reference 10 - 1.56% Coverage

BH: Do you think your views and interests are taken into account by those who hold political power? Do you think white people's views and interests are taken into account?

Group 1, Participant ##: Specifically white people?

Group 1, Participant ##: I have never seen it that way.

Group 1, Participant ##: Or are you just saying South Africans?

Group 1, Participant ##: That is a different question.

BH: From a racial grouping point of view.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I find that my views and opinions are very much matching those of my blacks and coloureds and other racial counterparts. That we actually are all feeling the same frustrations and we all really want the same thing. So I can't, as a white person I can't say I am different. I can honestly say that everybody I spoke to before this last election felt exactly the same way and all wanted the same things.

BH: So you think it is not really colour issues. You think it is people issues?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

Group 1, Participant ##: People are silent.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: It's also economic groupings. Like the people that you hang out with, has similar incomes to you and live in similar neighbourhoods to you. Those people will obviously have similar opinions so it is difficult to get a radically different opinion because you are not necessarily go to a shebeen, in a lower income family, in a low income community. So yeah I think-

BH: Regardless of culture.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: Yes. In your community is everybody you know. I think everybody would rather have someone that they feel positive voting for rather than just having someone that they just make sure doesn't get power.

Reference 11 - 0.53% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I believe that not all men is created equal. I believe that the people that run this country are the stupidest (Inaudible) that I ever come across and I-

BH: We are talking here about your greatest hope here hey.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: My greatest hope is that something happens that brings to book the people that are stealing in this country. I don't think it is going to happen. Don't think it's going to happen. I'm a numbers person.

BH: That's your greatest hope?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Yes, I am factual. I am not positive at all.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 6.98% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.09% Coverage

BH: Okay right. So now we are going to move on to Democracy. Democracy might have been necessary and inevitable but was it the best outcome for South Africa? Would you agree that while most whites continue to support the NP which was the National Party, they agree that reaching a compromise with the ANC was necessary to start the country relapsing into outright civil war? Do you remember any of that?

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Yes

BH: And how do you feel about that? Do you think it was a good decision? To go for Democracy?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Now at this time?

BH: No at that time.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think yes

BH: Okay

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I think that was the right time and I think there would probably have been a war if we didn't. So it was the right thing to do. But also at that time we had Nelson Mandela which is an amazing person. But the government after that is basically that messed it up after him. So it was a good thing and that was the right thing to do.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant ##: At that time.

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Because Nelson Mandela had another reason for this country. But those that came after him, while Mr. Thabo Mbeki also in the same section as Mr. Nelson Mandela. But then came Jacob Zuma. And he was actually the fly in the ointment. Because he was the one that sowed corruption, I mean openly. And until they forced him to step down he was so (inaudible) in corruption, I mean he was actually the one coursing the problems in South Africa. And everybody that followed in his footsteps, like his ministers, (inaudible) was corrupt. and the whole of South Africa saw it. What happens with the South Africans that saw it they committed crime on big scale. Because they teach themselves whatever I do I am just going to get punished say five, ten years in prison. 1.25.00 Then I am going to be a free man. But he is the one that needs to set an example for me and he is actually the biggest criminal.

#### Reference 2 - 0.42% Coverage

BH: So when Julius Malema argues that whites has done pretty well in the new South Africa despite employment equity and BEE because they are better off, earn more money, go to better schools, have better jobs than black people. What do you have to say about this?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Come live one day in my life. Because he is a fat cat himself sitting there it is easy to say those words.

#### References 3-4 - 1.33% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: You know like number nine says, example Julius Malema. Put him one of this, close to the casino, the Ruyterwacht area, put him in one of those little houses and tell him to stay there for a week. Then he will see how white people struggles. Then he will actually change his own mind and say sorry for what I have said.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: He will never.

Group 2, Participant ##: Everybody can wish.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Just a question. He [Julius Malema] talks about apartheid. Has he grown up in apartheid?

Group 2, Participant ##: No

Group 2, Participant 9, M: How old is Julius Malema? But he, it is easy to say apartheid this, white does this, that. But he didn't live in that era. If we have people like that in South Africa that is going to keep racism alive then there is a very bleak future for South Africa. Because all the older generation is in parliament and they keep on the hurt, on the feelings of South Africans and they keep on playing each the one on to the other one. Until they themselves can sort out their own things hopefully. South Africans are trying to make a better living together what they say a rainbow nation. But then you get the politicians that wants to pull that apart.

#### Reference 5 - 0.89% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: But I am thinking the ANC is also sending a lot of people from Jo'burg here to make it more corrupted. We have more problems these days in the Western Cape.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Yes bus loads.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I definitely think they are strategizing.

Group 2, Participant ##: Maybe in the rural areas.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: What they do is, why they are getting a lot of voters because they take the majority, it's the uneducated people that are not used to living in our areas and they don't know what they're doing, they're basically putting everything in their head all what we are doing to them and so on in their heads. They get basically the majority votes. That is where they get a lot of the whites (inaudible) that is people who are burning tyres, burning places, um, so ja.

#### References 6-9 - 1.36% Coverage

BH: Those that you vote for, do you think that they know about you?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: Well if we don't vote for a particular party then we don't have no right to complain about what happens to the country. My point of view, if the ANC was not corrupt I will probably be voting for the ANC. I will be on the ANC's side. Because they are corrupt they have no good track record. But there aren't any party that has a good track record. But you want a party that can fight the battles against another party. You don't want one party to have all the power. And another point of view is I do travel a lot and I see the infrastructure that is run under various parties like the ANC and the DA. The DA's infrastructure is fairly good. I mean it is really good. Yes there are shortfalls, a lot of shortfalls, we have shortfalls everywhere but go to for example, go to East London and have a look at them. Go to Johannesburg. It is a disaster. They are trying to catch up. Things are not happening there. The roads are falling apart. They should have been budgets for roads to repair the roads where it was never done. Um here, here things are happening. Maybe not hundred percent. So there is no right party. So you have to be very careful when you do choose a party who you vote for.

#### Reference 10 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa today?

Group 2, Participant ##: No (multiple respondents)

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant ##: Because we fear

Group 2, Participant ##: You fear for your kid's lives. You don't want to walk to the shop. Oh it is 8 o'clock. You can't go to the shop.

BH: Are you fearing because you are white or fearing because of crime?

Group 2, Participant ##: No crime.

Group 2, Participant ##: White and crime.

BH: So tell me about white and crime. How does that integrate? It is interesting.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because you hear it frequently on the TV Malema say kill the boere, kill the whites.

Group 2, Participant ##: And they do.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: They are killing the farmers and when you ask them where do your food come from? From Shoprite. That's how clever they are.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 4.75% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 0.43% Coverage

As regards the ANC, I wish it to begin a party of government rather than a party of protest which it is traditionally. But that is where its roots lie. It is in a very difficult position in terms of trying to move things forward because of its past performance and its corrupt ministers it is desperately trying to hang on to power. The path that leads is very very narrow.

Reference 4 - 0.16% Coverage

And anyway you mentioned the word progress I don't know that we have progress today. I think we have the potential to do it all over again.

Reference 5 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I don't think it achieved national reconciliation. My personal feeling is that I don't think that this country has been reconciled at all. And I don't think a lot of the rhetoric you get from certain parties um is helping at all. However if you get on the ground dealing with everyday people I do find relationships with black people on the ground much easier today than it ever was before. So, and I often wonder if the politicians would stop their rhetoric for a minute and pay attention to what is actually happening at grassroots they would notice that actually people are getting along reasonably well.

Reference 6 - 1.48% Coverage

. As regards where we go now I think we don't like being at the wrong end of the stick. That is it. We talk about – there's a certain amount of black rhetoric. I quite agree with you, if you want want to talk about the EFF as being a political party and it is not even amongst the extreme of, of, of um political views in this country if you actually canvas informally. We are looking at it from our own self-interest point of view once again and saying "isn't it tough" but the fact is it was exceptionally tough and nobody, nobody, we didn't, we didn't protest too much to be quite frank when extreme right wing Afrikaners- and I'm not, were espousing violence against black people in the old days. Um and and as I say, I can understand the the the impetus of self-interest but self-interest is where we sit now. We sit in our little ghetto and our little bubble here and we think it is great and things are, you know we worry about what's happening outside. And you know we we feel a bit sensitive now because we're at the sharp end of the stick now. And it will get worse and we're trying our best but the fact is we're just as I say that the pendulum swung. That unfortunately in the bigger world that's, you know in a thousand years it is not going to make a bits difference one way or the other.

Reference 7 - 1.16% Coverage

The fact is I go back to your opening question which was, what is the biggest problem that the country has at the moment? And it is the economy. It is an acknowledged fact that if people are prosperous and that's a relative thing, but if they are experiencing prosperity for them, they don't give a toot about it. Their their their perception and their need for political recognition diminishes the package of of of what makes them content. And at the moment, twenty five years on and for whatever reason we are looking at people who are probably in many places worse off. Worse off in empirical terms, in actual terms, but also way worse off than they expected to be because one, some of the money is being stolen through corruption so they have not been delivering. And also their expectations were not managed. And where they perceived they might be they certainly considerably short of that and and that once again I don't think that we would, I don't know, my life is exceptionally comfortable.

References 8-9 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: There's two aspects. One is there is a balancing of the morality. As we said we were naïve in '94 but we just thought that we would get these chaps the vote, they'd come into power and in our lives we will just be the same, we carry on getting everything we ever did and didn't work out that way. And when it is personal, it's sore. It is very very sore when you are personally affected. So there's this this, there's this this political aspect to it of of of the promises made by the canvassing parties as to what would happen to their supporters come if there were a change in government. There is also a fact that there is a very real thing that what we are experiencing now.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 3.62% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.88% Coverage

BH: Okay anybody wants to say anything else? Number five

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think the biggest thing that must be gathered from the past is, lessons must be learnt. What went right, what went wrong? How, how do you, how do you take the pros of what went right and how do you learn from the failures at the same time. The biggest thing I think that is driving this forward is political gain that is now occurring in parliament. Even at local parliamentary levels and when politicians are fighting for votes everything then goes to, well, apartheid it was this. We fought for your power. We fought for the rights. But there's no learning. There's no real scenario - politicians actually, once they are on power has the to say guys what went wrong as the solutions on how to fix this. They are just fighting for [inaudible] points and votes.

#### Reference 2 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: The whole cliché of let the truth set you free didn't really happen here because the truth made people angry. And and naturally, I mean, it's your people, you know. But I don't think it's fighting for your people anymore. I just think it's fighting for power and just, you know, one can can make a statement without being violent.

#### References 3-6 - 1.10% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: So like, I, I would say that my opinion of why I vote for the party that I vote for is because um I would look at the top three. So obviously the ANC, the EFF and the DA and for me um the EFF would be a no-go because Julius from what I've seen, his hatred towards white people and obviously his statements and remarks. The ANC being post twenty five years apartheid plus and and just the way I've seen things go downhill. Being born in Grey's Hospital which was a phenomenal hospital. It was, pride and joy and everything and not so long ago my friend went there and waited in queues. Things don't get done. They don't have medication. They're running out of just normal vaccinations the children require, that they don't have government stock of. Which is, every single child deserves to have their immunization when it's needed but they can't get it because government can't supply it. If you can't provide basic healthcare and things like that then that's just my opinion is that, if the ANC, if that's how they manage money, and, ja.

#### Reference 7 - 1.26% Coverage

And I wanna say that, have you seen the hospitals here? They're getting worse and worse. I am just very grateful that at the beginning of the year I got back onto medical aid because it's a death wish now going into the health facilities, the public hospitals facilities. And I don't feel optimistic about our facilities here. So our free public facilities, public transport and if I can say something that could bring change, a, a friend of mine told me this which actually made a lot of sense to me, is that If government officials and all government or political parties used government services and weren't given the finances and funds to send them to, 1.40.00 I'm gonna talk about Maritzburg, I mean if you took like St (inaudible) (audible) Hilton College, we have here Michael House, most of them are, their parents work for the government. They can afford to pay those lump sums and I believe that if those people in government and parliament use the public transport like taxis and they didn't have these fancy Lamborghinis and Jags there would be a huge change happening, because then they wouldn't want to send their children to the public hospitals and I think that there would be a big change.

#### Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.61% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.78% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think ah that the TRC didn't actually judge the people who perpetuated apartheid. It just got the trigger men. No ministers were prosecuted at all. They just got away scot-free and another thing is, and I think this was the view at the time, is that it was seen as a white witch hunt in that no freedom fighter leaders were prosecuted at all. Even though gang rape was considered a punishment in (inaudible) for example, and for members in the ANC, if you were a woman and you misbehaved, gang rape is a thing that could happen to you. And we're still seeing that today. Gender-based violence is still a problem in our country and because these people hadn't had to take account for it, it, it's still gonna be seen as a minimal issue.

#### Reference 2 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: I was gonna say, it's still the same people with maybe disguised mind sets making the decisions after apartheid.

#### Reference 3 - 0.80% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Um, I think that with regard to the whole safeguarding of the rights of minorities thing, the political machines are in place but I don't think there's any political drive to protect the the rights of

minorities. For example, with um, last year there was a youth employment program that was launched by the ANC and it specifically racially uh disregarded white people because they benefited in the past. This was taken to the constitutional court by Afriforum and the constitutional court ruled it as racist and discriminatory. So there are attempts to get rid of the rights of minorities. But I think thankfully political regimes are in place and white people have the the money to be able to go to court and to fight for their rights, so.

#### References 4-5 - 0.89% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think um another thing that is an influence, apart from wanting to vote with the generations and stuff, I think that there were a lot of people that did actually, a lot of white people, that did actually vote for the ANC just after post-apartheid and that. But recently, ah, I think there were still white people voting for the ANC and that, but they can see the ANC is not running the country, that it was almost expected to be run or the way that they promised to run the country when um democracy began and I think a lot of people have changed their minds about the ANC and have almost gone back to like, their roots, if I can say that, um, because the country was just being run better, money was handled better. It's not necessarily about white people were more favoured. I think it's more just about how the actual country's being run.

#### Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 3.40% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.42% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 2, F: I think if they had to start a new group Julius Malema, I don't know where he is coming from because I didn't follow the news. When I looked again he was there and he is at the top. What is he doing up there if a few people knew about him? He came and he is corrupt and he is blaming all the whites also.

#### Reference 2 - 1.22% Coverage

BH: So how do we get to a state of having each other's interests at heart because you were saying that democracy hasn't really work? That it could work if we were all equal. And you were saying that the truth and Reconciliation Commission hasn't actually reconciled us. So your suggestion that we should all be working together with our interests all at heart, how do we do that? How do you see that we can all work together?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: See that is, that is a bit difficult.

BH: Do you have any ideas?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Take it for instance I got workers there by the work. We work all together. You always get that one that's against you. Or against the other people. Then afterwards he come to talk to this guy, talk to that guy. And he can see them pulling away now with him.

BH: So why do you think that person behaves like that?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Ahh, it's just, to tell you the truth, they are part of the EFF.

#### Reference 3 - 0.65% Coverage

BH: So how do we stop this fighting each other?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Maybe the government should decide. This people that's talking ba ba ba ba, stop them first. So they on top at this stage.

BH: By example?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: By example. So stop these people first and tell them, listen, we had enough. Enough of your da da da, let's work together to get a solution for our land to work. I know EFF and all that stuff, talk, fin- enough is enough, out, go. Don't sit and sleep in parliament.

#### References 4-5 - 1.11% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I think the politicians are full of empty promises. I mean how did the ANC get into power? They promised everybody houses. They promised everybody free education. Free this, free that, free, and have they given those people that? No they haven't given the people- now they want to turn around because they can't fulfil their promises and they wanna to blame apartheid. So everything is apartheid's fault.



So now who gets, who gets free university? The blacks get free university. Who gets free houses? The blacks get free houses. But they're still not happy. Who's the guys burning down the universities? It is the guys that are failing and they don't get a bursary again for free. So they'll go and burn the university down. But if you pay for something you won't burn it down because you know you're paying for it.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 28 references coded [ 11.29% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.29% Coverage

DL: Good if we say it was the NP and the ANC, do you feel both were equally guilty, or was one more guilty or less guilty. What is your view?

(Everyone talking together. They were all guilty)

Group 7, Participant 3, F: But the ANC, look how they killed our young men on the border. Terrorists. They were terrorists then.

Reference 2 - 0.92% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No, because they did not know their facts, they called the people in.

DL: Pardon, When you say they called the people in I take it you refer to the ANC?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: The ANC. The ANC did not get or know their facts. They relied on what people came to confess so that they could bring their diary up to date.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes but it's like that with everything they do.

DL: So would you say that both sides of the matter was not really heard?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: No. And they just decided that if they don't like you, you don't get amnesty.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes then you're out. Take the man who murdered Chris Hani, Janusz Walus. Look they refuse to give him amnesty. He sits and sits, all talking. And he will never get.

DL: So you feel it was unjust in that sense.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: From newspaper reports regarding this matter one gets the impression of bias and that the lists of the amnesty was not focused on as such.

References 3-5 - 1.39% Coverage

DL: Good. Talk about the next one. What about the politicians with the big mouths who often stand on the podiums and talk such a lot what about them, how many of them applied?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: One never heard of them. No you don't hear about them. And they still carry on and on like a record that is flippen stuck, it just goes on and on but let a White say something then, there is big trouble. They open their mouths but nothing gets done. They never get to the point

DL: Yes politicians make easy promises but nothing happens and he buys votes with that

Group 7, Participant ##: For sure.

Group 7, Participant ##: Promises that are never kept empty promises, free houses everything free. We should like the ANC make promises so everybody votes for them.

DL: You really have to join in the conversation

Group 7, Participant ##, F: I agree but it's too late now. The promises are many but the real application does not happen. Look how the ANC promised houses to be built for Whites, how many houses are being built?

(Everyone talking)

Group 7, Participant 5, M: They get solar geysers, they get everything, and you can drive into any town how many houses are being built? There are no White squatter camps where you will see houses built for Whites or something. The Whites just have to suffer they must have a look in the various towns these days how many Whites are on the street, how many are begging, there's no houses or food and so on for them but it is given to the Blacks these days.

Reference 6 - 0.20% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: The ANC knew they had to stand together, because their future was at stake. We didn't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: But whites can't stand together, that's the problem.

Reference 7 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: With reference to voting, something to me that's very unfair is how many whites are there, and how many are they? There is no way from today to a 1000 years that we will win a vote. Yes. There's probably 30 or 40 to 1 of us. How do you vote against that majority? It's so unfair. The other parties have no chance against the ANC.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: There's no way.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No one must tell me it will work.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No it won't.

Reference 8 - 0.52% Coverage

L: Good the next question, to what extend did white people hold the government responsible for what it did? I'm going to explain briefly, how ordinary people can hold the government responsible, just to mention one way: at the ballot box/polling station. Do you think it happened?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: No, it did not happen.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: It was never a fair vote.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The thing is they promised their brothers and sisters everything and when the time came to vote, they all voted but nothing came of it. So say no.

Reference 9 - 0.12% Coverage

DL: How do you feel number?

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I don't know. I agree with her. They promise everything but nothing happens.

References 10-12 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: The DA also accomplishes more compared to other parties.

01:00:05

DL: Yes. I would say that is the only way to make the government accountable for what it does

Group 7, Participant ##: Even DA municipalities fare better.

Reference 13 - 0.89% Coverage

DL: We will talk about that shortly. I'm glad to see you were looking ahead. What problems could you have, should you hold the government accountable?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I will say I hold them responsible for all the rapes, farm murders, number one, and for all the hate they fanned in this country.

Group 7, Participant ##: And the poverty.

Group 7, Participant ##: Poverty.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Places they burn down.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Group 7, Participant ##: And all of those things.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Take pensioners, who get just R1780.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Why do those in government posts , such as our ministers, who get R100 000-R200 000 a month, why must they earn those salaries, but poor people, those having hard times, how can a pensioner ?....a house if you think of the cost of accommodation and food today, you can't live off that. You can't live off R1780 today.

#### Reference 14 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: I think certain prospects were painted, but which did not materialize.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's right.

Group 7, Participant ##: We expected things to turn out better than it did. I think that's the big problem.

Group 7, Participant ##: They also promised the people more.

Group 7, Participant ##: We expected more but it never happened that way.

Group 7, Participant ##: Job creation and all that but it never happened.

Group 7, Participant ##: I remember FW's many words about weights and counterweights that would be built in. What happened to that?

Group 7, Participant ##: Nothing.

#### Reference 15 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: And when those people took over, you had to apply for you current post and there things went wrong, because people were not qualified for the position but were appointed to that position. He couldn't do the work. There everything went wrong.

DL: Yes. Please do not hesitate to say it was this or that individual. I didn't want to give names, but you are welcome to say, if we talk about them, it's always better to say it was the ANC

(Inaudible and laughter)

Group 7, Participant ##: Tomorrow we (Inaudible) might also appear before the TRC

(Laughter)

DL: No that won't happen. It just makes it easier when we call it by the name for the benefit of the persons who will subsequently be working with program? So please

Group 7, Participant ##: Our faces won't be shown.

#### References 16-17 - 0.84% Coverage

DL: The next question connects with this: Is there an absolute silence about the life under apartheid? Do we still talk about it? Or do we keep completely quiet about it?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: We still talk about it a lot.

Group 7, Participant ##: Definitely.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: When you do talk about it, it is all negative. Hate and bitterness as a result of the fact that we can't forgive and forget. We should do it, but no one really does it. It's difficult. The discussion will last for a short while and then the ugliness comes to the fore.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: And it comes basically from the ANC., always bringing this up. Yes, especially Malema and those ones.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: He cannot forget it.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But he had nothing to do with apartheid,

Group 7, Participant 9, F: But the history in school, is about the ANC, it doesn't go farther back.

Reference 18 - 0.33% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Malema is actually more for the young ones.

Group 7, Participant ##: For the youth.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: He incites them.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Yes. The older people want to kill him, but the young ones stand up for him.

Group 7, Participant ##: That's the problem. Everybody believes him.

Reference 19 - 0.28% Coverage

DL: So is it not then a case of the government determines the content of history?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes, they determine it, they just want to put in what's good for them.

01:15:07

DL: Now you must say who they are?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: ANC.

(Laughter)

Group 7, Participant ##: Exactly, yes

Reference 20 - 0.43% Coverage

DL: Isn't it a case of our different perspectives; if I talk about white history I see it like this, but from a black perspective I see it differently? How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Yes, it could also be, because they see their history completely differently, than what we see ours.

Group 7, Participant ##: ...The Zulu's.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Say, the ANC, I say ANC, because it's because of them that we are in the position we are in today.

Reference 21 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I can also say I was also very glad. All went well for 4 years, thereafter they started with their trouble making, whites like this and blacks like that, and apartheid, always apartheid's fault.

Reference 22 - 0.88% Coverage

DL: If you think you represent all of Brandfort, are they democrats against their will, or are they pro-democracy? Do you want to talk about the district?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I see it as a challenge to see whether we can live together, we can only benefit to work along with them instead of being against one another, so rather pull together, instead of against each other.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with you, but the hatred will never disappear.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But those things one must put behind if you are a Christian.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But that is why the ANC keeps on inciting them that is why they will never get rid of the hatred because they can't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They believe in their forefathers.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: They're not Christians, they don't believe in God. If you don't have God in you, then you don't have love, and if you don't have love you can't...

References 23-24 - 0.95% Coverage

DL: I'm glad you say it's your community that share in what's going on here.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I compare the Western Cape with the rest of the country. All the provinces in the Western Cape where the DA is in control it's a totally different picture. When you go over the mountain at Oudtshoorn, and you get to George, Mossel Bay, in that vicinity, you immediately see the change in the landscape, so to speak, the infrastructure is better, it is well maintained. I do not know about the Cape, I never go there. Compared to the other provinces where I go, all you see is deterioration, in every little town you only see deterioration.

DL: But is it not so that the law is applied there?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: From the news, it tells you that the law is being applied in the Western Cape, you see it, it makes a difference. There is discipline. As we said in the beginning, discipline is applied there but not in the rest of the country, and I want to refer to ourselves, and how we apply discipline in our own homes.

Reference 25 - 0.31% Coverage

Number 7, how do you feel about it?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: Not happy about it. Like number 6 says, it affects your existence as a human, your thinking is affected, yes, it's bad the way things are, but as I say, I believe it's we ourselves that allowed things to happen, we don't stand together, the way the ANC stands together.

Reference 26 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I think even some blacks, who were very pro ANC have started voting for the DA.

Group 7, Participant ##: They see where things are heading.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes there is a movement away from them too.

Group 7, Participant 9, F: They see where things are heading.

Reference 27 - 0.17% Coverage

DL: That is so...

They even fight amongst each other

Group 7, Participant ##: We think the ANC stands together but you constantly hear of in fighting

Group 7, Participant ##: It is so.

Reference 28 - 0.27% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: The infighting currently within the DA is of concern. It eventually influences the bigger parties who help to govern the country. It shows their way of thinking

Group 7, Participant ##: Definitely.

Group 7, Participant ##: To get peace among themselves.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 13 references coded [ 8.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.42% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: Today I watch the video EFF that said we are going to take your country, you think it is a joke, we are going to warn you and give you notices and then there are already rumours that it has already started happening, that scares me, today you are still living here and tomorrow they say move out, this is now our place.

Reference 2 - 0.20% Coverage

If you just look at the EFF and how things are going in court, then they look like monkeys carrying on like that, that is why the country is where it is, it's a zoo.

Reference 3 - 1.36% Coverage

We are now in a democracy, I can now vote for a party of my choice, I can hold the party of my choice accountable,

But then the government comes and hands out yellow bicycles that everyone is riding around with.

Yes it's easy to win your vote with a food ration then it is a problem.

I think it was easier that time to hold the government accountable the rules and regulations were so strict, but now the government has all the money all the power, they laugh at you. Then the government needed people under them, now they don't need them. All they do now is make empty promises before an election, all vote but not once have they fulfilled their promises. In that time there were only two parties, now who promises most gets the most votes.

It's about the level of education, you can see for yourself which will be an empty promise and vote against it Nobody is educated.

The majority, let's say the majority.

Black people are so in dire need of money, that is what they think they are going to get.

But they do it all the time.

Just shows the level of education.

He doesn't think further than his nose.

Reference 4 - 1.03% Coverage

I think this is now really going off the point, but how can ANC take some one out of jail to come and rule the country? This just does not make sense to me.

There we go back to democracy, the Ukraine's president was a clown in his previous life but the majority voted for him, it doesn't matter, and if you have the majority vote then you become the president of the country that is what happens with democracy

Well the country should table a law that if you are a criminal/have a criminal record that you don't...

Now it's all about politics and criminal, was it punishable criminal or a political criminal. Was he in jail as a result of his politics or (talking together – inaudible)

I feel that if you can vote, then you must pay your VAT, pay SARS, otherwise you can't vote. There are hundreds who vote but they are not registered

Reference 5 - 0.24% Coverage

I saw a video of the EFF at Kovies, this is the best way to illustrate what I want to say, they can stand together

as much as they want, but when the rugby boys come running, what happens then?

#### Reference 6 - 0.80% Coverage

In retrospect, are we disappointed in the outcome of democracy, did we think that democracy would be better than it is at the moment? Does this make democracy bad/a failure? Is it worse than autocracy?

I think it is worse, it is worse than what we had, now everyone is fighting. Farmers land is being confiscated because they are trying to set things right, we can say it works, but I does not help.

I don't really think you can blame the system, it is the people, we cannot blame democracy for our problems, it's people, the ANC which is in power, humanity that causes it.

If we view it in those terms, then we cannot say the same about apartheid.

#### Reference 7 - 1.61% Coverage

If you were slightly older, as the group in Brandfort said to me, the initial part of democracy worked very well, there was positive reconciliation, the economy flourished, and there was none of this corruption and then it gradually deteriorated but again, your standpoint of the people implementing it. It can improve going forward, or what do you think?

Yes under better leaders, more educated leaders.

Remember, it is so that corruption took place over 8,9,10 years, it is not going to change in a day, even should a new leader be appointed, it will take that leader 10 years to eradicate that corruption, it is unfortunately a process.

We must remember, we see all the parliamentarians and leaders but it's not necessarily them in charge, it is also the people behind the scenes.

The money people.

The Oppenheimers.

They just want to pull strings so will it really help or is the corruption too deep, I'm not saying it is, it's just my question.

01:25:03

The question is, if there are educated leaders in government, will they not then cut out the "shadow" people.

I think it really is about money as well and education.

As they say, any attorney who is paid well will not take a bribe, but then the more you have the more you want.

Power creates corruption.

It is unfortunately so.

#### Reference 8 - 0.64% Coverage

Let's talk about the disadvantages of democracy.

It's not as strong as that (in audible).

Unfulfilled promises.

Corruption, there are laws but now there are loopholes for every law - freedom of speech, a person is free to do anything.

Unemployment figure.

What is it about...?

Land grabbing is unacceptable and racism is going too far, there is far less control over the country, people get away with bribes, that's just a small example, there is no deterrent not even a jail sentence, there are still bribes.

#### References 9-10 - 0.93% Coverage

If we say that it looks like white people are voting more and more for the smaller parties, like the DA, Freedom Front, ACDP, is it because they see these parties to be furthering their interests specifically or do they see it as the parties that further everyone's interests?

01:55:01

They further everyone's interests

They are not just full of empty promises. If you look at the DA, the neatness, cleanliness, then you would want to vote for such a small party.

I was in the Cape a year or two ago, it was amazing. Everyone is given work there, if you don't work then it is because you are a druggie.

In Robertson where I stayed, the DA get people who are unemployed to do security, to sweep the streets, the streets were cleaned every second day.

#### Reference 11 - 0.65% Coverage

You can't compare when you look at what the ANC promises, it sounds as if they are giving everyone jobs, it's like having KFC in one hand and a dry piece of bread in the other hand, which one will you choose, you will be full but you are going to go for the KFC. You are not going to go for some who says I am small but I can make a difference for you or go for the one who says I am big, everyone is standing behind me and I am going to transform this land. You are not going for the smaller one because you know that it is not going to happen.

#### References 12-13 - 0.39% Coverage

ANC offers a once of street wise meal but the DA says I am first going to give you a slice of bread for the 4 years that you are with me but they only hear Kentucky.

I would say you can eat this marshmallow now or if you wait you will get another one. Most children are so impulsive that they will eat the one immediately.



## WHITE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 17 references coded [ 6.72% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.09% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I don't do promises. Man is going to forsake me. That's why I don't vote.

Reference 3 - 0.27% Coverage

BH: Okay. Alright. So now how would you react to the statement that I am going to read to you. Whites are reluctant democrats. That means they are participating in democracy only because they can't have things all their own way as in the past.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I agree with that fully.

Reference 4 - 0.70% Coverage

BH: We were talking about are whites reluctant democrats?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I think everyone is a reluctant democrat in this country because it doesn't matter what you vote for nobody is satisfied. Nobody is like getting what they want. Tax payers feel like they are getting completely drained. The unemployed don't have any work. The people who are affected by crime don't see criminals getting locked up. Everybody participates but nobody is satisfied. And I think that also comes down to that the ANC being a party of liberation and not a party. Party of governance. I mean you give freedom fighters very high powered jobs in government they don't succeed and they have been incredibly unsuccessful. And a lot of freedom fighters-

References 5-7 - 1.03% Coverage

BH: Okay now I am actually going to talk about politics. If you do vote, do you tend to vote for the DA, FF or other small political parties such as the ADCP and is it because you see these parties promoting policies which favour the interests of whites in particular? Or are they seen as promoting the interests of everyone as well as whites?

Group 1, Participant 12, F: Sometimes I just vote because I believe in having a healthy opposition. But I don't necessarily believe in the people I vote for and that is why I don't necessarily believe that Democracy is working now because even though a lot of the stuff the ANC believes in I believe in as well but I won't ever vote for them because they have proven themselves to be too corrupt in my opinion. And it makes me think who is the best to challenge this party? Is it the DA? You know it is different all over the country. Depending on where you live but I sometimes do just vote because I believe that there needs to be somebody powerful in opposition. And in the Western Cape it appears to be the DA. But I think in the last few years they lost the plot in that as well.

References 8-10 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: I just kind of vote for anyone that is not the ANC because I don't want them to lead the Western Cape as well so then they can change the constitution and all that stuff. So I just kind of go for whatever. DA same issue. They got downhill these last few years but I would rather have them than the ANC or anyone else for that matter. But not a party that is more for like white people. I will rather be against that. I will rather then vote for like the dagga party.

Reference 11 - 0.30% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: My wife calls me a gutless (inaudible) when it comes to voting because this term I vote for this party, then for another party because I like to study the policies and study what they say and how they behave and past and present behaviour. I base my decision on that. Not on the colour of their flag.

References 12-14 - 0.33% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: My personal opinion for the country, I vote ANC out of what they did for this country first. But for my city I vote DA because ANC steals too much though. I like to still keep the roads stuff here. (laughter) Yes so basically I vote for two parties.

Group 1, Participant ##: Then streetlamps are gone again.(lots of laughter)

#### Reference 15 - 1.56% Coverage

BH: Do you think your views and interests are taken into account by those who hold political power? Do you think white people's views and interests are taken into account?

Group 1, Participant ##: Specifically white people?

Group 1, Participant ##: I have never seen it that way.

Group 1, Participant ##: Or are you just saying South Africans?

Group 1, Participant ##: That is a different question.

BH: From a racial grouping point of view.

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I find that my views and opinions are very much matching those of my blacks and coloureds and other racial counterparts. That we actually are all feeling the same frustrations and we all really want the same thing. So I can't, as a white person I can't say I am different. I can honestly say that everybody I spoke to before this last election felt exactly the same way and all wanted the same things.

BH: So you think it is not really colour issues. You think it is people issues?

Group 1, Participant ##: Yes

Group 1, Participant ##: People are silent.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: It's also economic groupings. Like the people that you hang out with, has similar incomes to you and live in similar neighbourhoods to you. Those people will obviously have similar opinions so it is difficult to get a radically different opinion because you are not necessarily go to a shebeen, in a lower income family, in a low income community. So yeah I think-

BH: Regardless of culture.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: Yes. In your community is everybody you know. I think everybody would rather have someone that they feel positive voting for rather than just having someone that they just make sure doesn't get power.

#### References 16-17 - 1.98% Coverage

BH: Number five? No, nothing? 1.40.00 Do you think it is important that whites should continue to play leadership roles in parliament and public life?

Group 1, Participant ##: That is an interesting one.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: My problem with that statement is the whites. It should be, because I always had this fight with paperwork when I asked what race because there is only one race in my opinion. It is the human race. You know it comes to the thing of should South Africans play a role regardless of their culture, their background, what language they speak, how fair their skin is, or anything like that, there should be a melting pot in a government because each sector of the country, whether you come from the Northwest or you come from Constantia or you come from Mitchell's Plain, you come from Gugulethu or from Kuils River, all those people can bring different issues to the table that can be dealt with. But if you are going to say that you are going to be marginalised here because you are getting the white voters, you are getting the black voters, the coloured voters, the Indian voters, the Chinese voters, then you are never going to be able to work together as a collective for the country you are only going to work for your own good.

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think it is very key to have white people in government and business because I think what we supposed to be doing in the beginning when we did the cross over it was not adequate. The education level was not quick enough. The invitation of BEE was too quick. They didn't give ample enough time for people to do the skills. So one of the largest concerns is that there is a lot of skills that white people

hold in business today and there is still some value if they transfer their skill like internships. We had apprentices back in the days those kind of things. So there is still this thing of handing over skills and development. But I think a lot of the time now that gap is very small because people who were probable the key in apartheid who had benefited from the skills are now basically going on retirement. So maybe just for skills transfer.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 3.87% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 0.50% Coverage

BH: And at a local level, how do you feel about your city councillor? Do you know who your city councillor is?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: No I don't quite frankly I don't care where he is either because why, I mean, nothing happens. If parliament can't even do anything, what is he going to do? So that is how I feel. I think a lot of people feel that way. It is frustration upon frustration to the point of you know rather look into myself. What do I just need to do to get by?

References 4-5 - 0.69% Coverage

BH: Okay so now since we are talking about politicians, do you think all whites actually votes?

Group 2, Participant ##: No (multiple respondents)

BH: Do they participate in political parties?

Group 2, Participant ##: No

Group 2, Participant 9, M: It's just not whites. It is whites, coloured and blacks. Not all of them vote.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Not all of them are interested because the way your life changes. The way the life change from 1994 until now, um, I wouldn't want to vote. Because what are we voting for? Crime, corruption. What are we voting for?

Group 2, Participant ##: Even the drought was blamed on the white people.

References 6-7 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: So when you vote do you think most whites vote 1.40.00 DA or Freedom front?

Group 2, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 2, Participant ##: Only in the Western Cape.

Group 2, Participant ##: DA.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: Most whites will vote DA. And there is older whites that will go Freedom Front.

Reference 8 - 0.14% Coverage

BH: So as a white person do you feel that your views are taken into account by politicians?

Group 2, Participant ##: No (most agree)

References 9-11 - 1.36% Coverage

BH: Those that you vote for, do you think that they know about you?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: Well if we don't vote for a particular party then we don't have no right to complain about what happens to the country. My point of view, if the ANC was not corrupt I will probably be voting for the ANC. I will be on the ANC's side. Because they are corrupt they have no good track record. But there aren't any party that has a good track record. But you want a party that can fight the battles against another party. You don't want one party to have all the power. And another point of view is I do travel a lot and I see the infrastructure that is run under various parties like the ANC and the DA. The DA's infrastructure is fairly good. I mean it is really good. Yes there are shortfalls, a lot of shortfalls, we have shortfalls everywhere but go

to for example, go to East London and have a look at them. Go to Johannesburg. It is a disaster. They are trying to catch up. Things are not happening there. The roads are falling apart. They should have been budgets for roads to repair the roads where it was never done. Um here, here things are happening. Maybe not hundred percent. So there is no right party. So you have to be very careful when you do choose a party who you vote for.

Reference 12 - 0.86% Coverage

BH: Do you think it is important that whites continue to play leadership roles in parliament and public lives?

Group 2, Participant ##: For sure.

Group 2, Participant ##: Yes

BH: And do you think their views are taken into account when then they do?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: No. I would say no.

BH: The people who are at the top. The white people at the top.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I say no. I think what they say do get taken into consideration because they can be eight black people and two white people. At the end of the day it is going to go to one person. And he is going to decide whose opinion is the best. That is the way I see it. So I don't think they can do that. I also don't know. They are also so corrupt up there so...I also can't say if they get treated equally because I mean we are not there to see.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 4.76% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.45% Coverage

BH: You said Westminster form of Democracy. So would you call whites reluctant democrats?

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I would certainly say so and I still go back to one of my points I made is what, I think of an academic level, and I think of an observation level, we are saying yes it's disappointing, but I go back to, where have we been, I have to ask this because I am interested, what have we, where have we – I'd like to ask, 'cause I'm interested – where have we been prejudiced by the fact of South Africa has become a democratic nation. Have any of us been kicked out of our jobs? Barred from getting a job? This this age group. I mean, where have we suffered or not met our potential individually under, since '94? Are we, are we, are we considerably poorer? And we know we are considerably poorer than we could have been. Look twenty-five years ago I was still kind of forging what I thought was a bit of a career. The fact is I have not suffered. I don't, and it was, I don't think I've suffered in any way. And I don't think my life is, apart from the fact there's a general level of security that makes me a bit nervous um on a personal level, and there's not of the observation of rules and regulations and laws outside that but apart from that, my life, I can't say-

Reference 2 - 0.10% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: For me there is no party that fulfil my needs, quite honestly.

Reference 3 - 0.48% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I think a number of people vote for the alternatives to the ANC. Is to also, in the hope of having an adversary, an advocacy group that will challenge the ANC. Because if you just show your voting with them you are just going to get swallowed up and whereas if you vote for DA you you can at least get some representation that challenges the ANC however effectively or not effectively.

Reference 4 - 1.59% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I think - look there's gotta be a balance. A minority group which is us can't be totally out of it. We got to have a voice. Um, so, there has to be a balance. But the answer to your question I don't know. And that is my opinion.

BH: Okay. Number five? Is it important that whites should play leadership roles in parliament and public life? Are their views taken into account?

Group 3, Participant 5, F: I do think they need to be represented. Um. I suppose if you shout loud enough. I think also sometimes, unfortunately I have only been here since [inaudible]. So I didn't live through what you guys did. I was in Zimbabwe so I didn't hear anything while I was up there. But what I have seen on TV and I see the DA in parliament and stuff you know, and there are a couple of token whites in there, you know, with a face but no voice. I sometimes think you know if everybody spoke their truth no matter what colour you are, if it is for the benefit of everybody in South Africa then you should be represented.

BH: Okay. Seven do you have anything to add?

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I think there should be, about should be but then equally 1.30.00 so that the blacks and the coloureds and whoever has got something good to say to should be there. So I don't think we should exclude the whites. They've got something to say and they have a role to play and they should be there.

Reference 5 - 1.13% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: And I don't want to sound like Bill Clinton but I go back to it's the economy stupid. You know I hear what we talk about, you know whites in parliament. That is a very valid question but the fact is I would rather, I don't care who stands up now, Maimane can stand up now, I don't particularly care for the fella but the fact is he could stand up and if he, if he, if he represents my views in parliament I don't care what colour he is. Um. What I want is somebody who represents my interest group in parliament. Rather than say oh we are back in the old quota system of you know, should there be some whites there, should there be some Indians there, should there be some, sorry you know the fact is if our aspiration is to be colour blind, and I know that is a big ask, then we don't care who our representative is. If he is our representative, it's when they're not, that's the thing. So I would like to shift away from, simply, I wouldn't know how to answer that question.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 4.40% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.53% Coverage

BH: How do white people participate in politics?

1.15.00

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Um, well, through voting. Just the general population thing. But also a lot of, I mean there are still white politicians who are putting our voice out there. It looks like, when you look at parliament you go oh there is only a couple of white people. When you think of the way that you the sort of demographics of our country, I think it is a pretty good representation. I won't say that we are completely undermined in politics.

Reference 3 - 0.51% Coverage

BH: Okay number five you wanted to say something?

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Um, representation in politics, things like that, I think the biggest thing is um when I look at even the white politicians, they are trying to garner as many votes as possible and that includes targeting black votes which makes sense you know you wanting to get as much power, but are they always carrying the voice of the white people today into the parliamentary processes? I'm not so sure if they really are.

References 4-5 - 0.94% Coverage

BH: Okay why do you think whites tend to vote for the DA, freedom fight+ (FF+) or the small political parties such as the ACDP?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: We have an apartheid mentality.

BH: Okay

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think because...

BH: Sorry can I just ask you what an apartheid mentality is?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Because we still feel like if we all stick together really tightly-

BH: We will be safe.

Group 4, Participant 2, F: We'll be safe! (laughs) And it's silly. We should just embrace it. If you feel, if you happy- if there's aspects of the ANC that you, or another party that you are comfortable with, we are, we are also to blame because we are complacent and we tend to just go with the flow because it's easier and we tend to sit around our little suburbia mostly white areas and just think it will all be alright because, because, to get back to what you said, do whites participate in-

Reference 6 - 0.22% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes you have to be active to participate. So that question is not a matter of, it's a choice. So the politicians are either choosing not to be active or they're choosing to be passive.

Reference 7 - 1.78% Coverage

BH: Okay you were going to say something number seven and I just want you to unpack that, sorry.

Group 4, Participant 7, F: So like, I, I would say that my opinion of why I vote for the party that I vote for is because um I would look at the top three. So obviously the ANC, the EFF and the DA and for me um the EFF would be a no-go because Julius from what I've seen, his hatred towards white people and obviously his statements and remarks. The ANC being post twenty five years apartheid plus and and just the way I've seen things go downhill. Being born in Grey's Hospital which was a phenomenal hospital. It was, pride and joy and everything and not so long ago my friend went there and waited in queues. Things don't get done. They don't have medication. They're running out of just normal vaccinations the children require, that they don't have government stock of. Which is, every single child deserves to have their immunization when it's needed but they can't get it because government can't supply it. If you can't provide basic healthcare and things like that then that's just my opinion is that, if the ANC, if that's how they manage money, and, ja.

Group 4, Participant 5, M: My basic decision on the party I vote for is actually fairly simple. Before the national elections they usually have a questionnaire on the IEC webpage where they ask what is your view based on this item, that item, the next item. I make my actual opinion based on, and then I sit there and I get an actual comparison. You'd be surprised how much your view can shift between the parties. But I actually look at the one that, where my views and opinion align with that party the most and that would be the party I go for.

[Inaudible]

Reference 8 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Do I hope they will do a better job once they won the elections? Definitely. Do I know they're politicians? Yes. (laughter)

Reference 9 - 0.26% Coverage

BH: Do you think it is important for whites to play a leadership role in parliament and public life? And do you think their views are heard and taken into account? What do you think number four?

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Dunno. Get back to me on that one.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 14 references coded [ 7.58% Coverage]

References 1-5 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: So would you say it is fair to use a statement that whites are reluctant democrats? That is their participating in democracy because they can't have things all their own way as in the past. How accurate do you think that statement is?

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I think it really depends on who you look at. Like you can't just generalise whites. There's so many different, like, white people who believe in different things. Like the people who believe like, we're more like Republican, I don't want to use the word, but they're way more conservative and they still like, in a sense, pro-apartheid, especially the old generation. Then there's is the younger generation and they're way more liberal and they're are at the forefront of like, fighting for like, liberation and freedom. You know. So it's difficult to just generalise and put whites into one box.

#### References 6-7 - 0.73% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I think it's like influence, at least on my part, it's like the influence from your family. 1.15.00 Like, you know who you're family's voting for from like when you're little, at least, I did, and then when I turned eighteen they were like, you're gonna go vote for this party right? I didn't really have a choice in it to be honest with you, like it was, and to be honest I wasn't as like well-educated about which party; I didn't really do the research. And it sounds really bad, I actually wasn't really that interested in doing the research. I was going to you know, tick a, tick a box and be done with it, you know?

BH: To get your family off your back?

Group 5, Participant 11, F: Yeah.

#### Reference 8 - 0.71% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I think it's it's both depending on on who you ask. Um, I know the way I vote is that basically our politics is a two-horse race. I don't agree with the current majority and the only other person that's gonna make my vote count is the second party. So I barely look at the other parties because I know that they're not even going to get even like 25%. Um, and I think some people look at it and they say, "that's a white person", or used to be. Um. Or that's a predominantly white party, they've got my best interest at heart. I'm gonna vote for them. And then there are other white people who look and say "I think that's the best idea for the country", um, and vote there.

#### References 9-11 - 2.57% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think um also it does work quite generationally. I do think that my parents and um my grandparents would probably vote for ah parties which okay not so much my parents now, but they would vote for parties which ah want to help white people and their rights and everything. Whereas I find that like just from the conversations that I've with my peers around voting um that we are more progressive in the sense that we would maybe try and read the the actual-

BH: Manifestoes.

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Yeah and and what these people are actually standing for. And maybe it it works out that your morals and values still align very much with the same one as your parents but um if it doesn't I feel like we're moving more towards that place where we're like um, I can vote for, because my morals and values are lying with helping everybody and having people's, people's best interest at heart so, I will vote for the party that has the people's best interest at heart. But a a very interesting thing I found with this voting period um 'cause it was, for a lot of people it was their first opportunity to vote. A lot of my friends didn't vote and it it really, really, really, bugged me.

BH: Why didn't they vote?

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Because people feel like ah their vote is insignificant. They feel like nothing is gonna change but these people are the exact same people who will come to me tomorrow and explain about the current-

BH: Of all colours?

Group 5, Participant 4, F: Of all colours! I I actually think more people of colour didn't vote. Um, and, and and when, I think it also stemmed from a misunderstanding of how the voting system worked and also a misunderstanding of um how their vote is actually valid. Because, and I know this sounds a bit harsh, but I literally said to them, if you're not gonna take an active stand in trying to change it, you can't come and complain about it, because you've done nothing. You just sat there. And so I I explained to them like, yes maybe your one vote is not gonna be the tipping factor. It's not gonna be the one that takes things over, but by giving smaller parties seat in parliament and by giving them an opportunity to um you know, sort of try and and do the change that they want to. There was definitely a party that someone could agree with. Um, so just taking that extra bit of time, I think we also, we become a bit complacent in the sense of ah, no, someone else will change it. It is going to be changed by someone else.

#### Reference 12 - 0.89% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think um another thing that is an influence, apart from wanting to vote with the generations and stuff, I think that there were a lot of people that did actually, a lot of white people, that did actually vote for the ANC just after post-apartheid and that. But recently, ah, I think there were still white people voting for the ANC and that, but they can see the ANC is not running the country, that it was almost expected to be run or the way that they promised to run the country when um democracy began and I think a lot of people have changed their minds about the ANC and have almost gone back to like, their roots, if I can say that, um, because the country was just being run better, money was handled better. It's not necessarily about white people were more favoured. I think it's more just about how the actual country's being run.

Reference 13 - 1.43% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I think, and I won't speak for all white people, but I think personally I think we're getting to a kind of a cool place where we're starting, well I'm starting to realise that as much as we were told "don't vote for the small parties, you're throwing your vote away", a lot of the small parties are looking to get one seat. And if they get one seat they have a voice at the table. 1.20.00 Um, and I think we don't value that enough. We go okay, yeah, but they not going to pass any amendment. But for example I was trying to vote Green Party in the last national, in the last national election and um eventually they didn't even get to make it onto the ballot. (Laughter) But the point is, if all the Green Party needed was one vote and then in every, every time parliament meets, you've got one person saying, "guys, but this decision we're trying to make now, what are the environmental consequences?" And I think if you found small parties that are really focused on one message, um I really do believe they can make quite a big difference. I mean if you look at the generic smaller parties that are kind of standing on a multiple of different things, doing the general, essentially copying exactly, the DA or the ANC do it, multiple issues, they they have no power as a small party. But a small party with a concise message I think have very strong power in parliament.

Reference 14 - 0.35% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Well we're talking about voting at now sort of a national level but I also wish that people more cared about sort of the election of ward councillors.

BH: Which is next year?

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Yeah. I mean, even that can just make a difference locally and then maybe that could make a difference nationally.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 4.12% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 0.97% Coverage

BH: So now would you say that whites are reluctant democrats?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yeah I would say that.

BH: What is it that makes us so reluctant?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Uncertainty. You uncertain of the future. We don't know what's going to happen. So that's why people don't go vote. If you look at the poles. I mean if you take how many people there are and how many people vote. It's a minority.

BH: And you, how do you feel about whites being reluctant democrats? (pause) Do they only participate in voting because they can't have things their own way? Or, what do you think?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Trying to make a difference.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Hope we can make a difference. We're hoping we can make a difference.

References 4-5 - 1.65% Coverage

BH: So tell me number six, I have to get some words out of you. Do you think that whites should take a more prominent role in parliament? Do you think we should have more whites in parliament number six?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Yes. We don't have them in parliament.



BH: Do you think they should just be members of parliament or do you think they should be cabinet ministers?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Members will be fine.

BH: And at the local government level? Do you know who your ward councillor is?

(shaking her head)

BH: Do any of you have white ward councillors?

Group 6, Participant ##: No.

BH: You don't?

Group 6, Participant ##: No we don't.

Group 6, Participant ##: No idea.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: We used to have but not anymore.

BH: So do you think it is important for whites to continue to play a leadership role?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It is not about a leadership role. It is working together. What about teamwork? So they have a say, this guy have a say. Everybody works together. We don't want whites only and all that shit. We want everybody working together.

BH: So we are talking here about teamwork?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes that is correct yes.

BH: And having each other's interest at heart?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Definitely.

Reference 6 - 0.52% Coverage

BH: Ok. Alright. So why do you think white people tend to vote for white parties? Whether it is the Democratic Alliance, Freedom Fight + or political parties such as the ADCP. Why do you think they vote for those parties?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I think number four and number five said that. We understand a white guy will hear if I tell him about my respect, my religion, my culture, my way of life.

Reference 7 - 0.55% Coverage

BH: So tell me number five, is it easier not to vote or to vote?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Well if you vote, if you decide to vote, I would think that we would think - I think it's the truth, that the the white party. They will give you a job easier.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: And you trust them in them.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Yes you trust them, you depend on them and you trust that you will get your future from your leaders.

References 8-9 - 0.42% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 2, F: That is why most of the whites do not vote. They don't vote. Because they can't trust anybody. Because as you already said we didn't know what the people on top was doing but now we are paying for it. If we are going to vote now and we do not know what the party is standing for, then we cannot

go and vote

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 5.89% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.67% Coverage

DL: Good having said all this, whites still voted for the Nationalist Party until 1994, do you think that was right? How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant ##: Until when?

DL: 1994. That was when the first democratic election took place and the NP lost. And it was mainly white people who voted for the NP.

Group 7, Participant ##: Well I didn't vote.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I think it was a case of doing what you parents did. You think that it's the best thing to do, what else will you do? Monkey see, monkey do.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: You were a Nationalist what else could you do? It was the best party at the time.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: Yes there was no other party. You had to vote the way you parents voted.

Reference 2 - 0.18% Coverage

DL: There were the old (SAPS) and later the SAP and National Party...

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But that was more for the English so the Nationalists stood for Afrikaans, so voted for Afrikaans.

Reference 3 - 0.46% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: With reference to voting, something to me that's very unfair is how many whites are there, and how many are they? There is no way from today to a 1000 years that we will win a vote. Yes. There's probably 30 or 40 to 1 of us. How do you vote against that majority? It's so unfair. The other parties have no chance against the ANC.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: There's no way.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No one must tell me it will work.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No it won't.

Reference 4 - 0.84% Coverage

DL: Don't you think there was a move away towards the Freedom Front or the DA, away from the NP?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes, because one said no, I definitely won't vote National again, I would rather vote for the Freedom Front or so. Yes it did happen.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I can't remember years? But there was a movement away

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes there was.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I think it was at the beginning of the 80's or later during the 80's, there was a move away from the NP, and other parties started getting support from the voters.

Group 7, Participant ##: The DA also accomplishes more compared to other parties.

01:00:05

DL: Yes. I would say that is the only way to make the government accountable for what it does

Group 7, Participant ##: Even DA municipalities fare better.

Group 7, Participant ##, M: The reverse is also true. It couldn't carry on much longer.

#### Reference 5 - 1.72% Coverage

DL: But people, those are things we experienced which we are discussing now. This is where you need to speak from the heart, you experienced it, to say how you experienced it. We lived through that. The next question let me see, how you would respond to the statement that white people are reluctant democrats that we did not really wish to accept the democratic system. How do you feel? Number 6.

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I think we want to, I think we must accept it although unfortunately there are negative things about it, but overall I think we must just accept it and make the best of it.

DL: If you think you represent all of Brandfort, are they democrats against their will, or are they pro-democracy? Do you want to talk about the district?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I see it as a challenge to see whether we can live together, we can only benefit to work along with them instead of being against one another, so rather pull together, instead of against each other.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with you, but the hatred will never disappear.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But those things one must put behind if you are a Christian.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But that is why the ANC keeps on inciting them that is why they will never get rid of the hatred because they can't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They believe in their forefathers.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: They're not Christians, they don't believe in God. If you don't have God in you, then you don't have love, and if you don't have love you can't...

DL: So you won't say then that whites accept democracy because they had no other choice?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes, to a certain extent.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: We accepted it to a certain degree, because we did not have a choice.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: You were apprehensive but had no choice,

#### References 6-7 - 0.44% Coverage

Do you think whites in SA participate fully in what goes on in the country? How do they participate? Do they still participate in politics? Are they being side lined, are they still involved in the management of the town? How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: I would say not. Here in Brandfordt there's is no longer a white, it's only the ANC which is involved.

Group 7, Participant ##: We've pulled back.

Group 7, Participant ##: Because we don't achieve anything.

#### References 8-9 - 0.95% Coverage

DL: Fine, let's move on: When white people vote, keeping in mind the previous election, do they vote for the smaller parties, like the DA, Freedom Front, even the ACDP, because they feel these parties do more in terms of white people's interests, instead of voting for bigger parties, like the ANC, where they feel they are ignored?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Very few will vote for the ANC. White people usually vote for the DA.

DL: How do you feel?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: You will vote for a party which looks like it can offer you a future.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Group 7, Participant ##: For sure.

Group 7, Participant ##, M: Talk is cheap.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: On the other hand, the other parties let people know who they are, what they want to do, and what they stand for, and what they can do.

DL: So do you will vote for the party that promotes itself the best?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

DL: And the interests of the white...

Group 7, Participant ##: Would take care of the interests of whites.

Reference 10 - 0.28% Coverage

DL: To what extent would you say whites don't vote ANC because they are politically marginalized? Or is there another reason why they do not vote ANC.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: That's the main reason. You also know that the ANC is mainly black. That is the reason.

Group 7, Participant ##: It is.

Reference 11 - 0.36% Coverage

DL: Is important that white people should still be part of parliament, form part of the leadership, that their views are still heard? Do you think that is important?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Yes, definitely.

Group 7, Participant ##: You must.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Very important.

(All talking in agreement.)

Group 7, Participant ##, M: The white just gets turned away.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 5.80% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.71% Coverage

How would you respond to the statement that white people are hesitant democrats? That they are not heart and soul part of the democracy

What did we all vote for? People in Bloemfontein stood in the rain to vote.

So, you would say it is not so.

I think it is the other way around – we wish that democracy can work for us, it's not us against it.

They basically want to force their own apartheid on us.

All talking together.

Autocracy.

You are a democrat, well then say that

I am a democrat and I want them to stop using the apartheid that our forefathers used on them against us.

Reference 3 - 0.44% Coverage

Do white people still participate in South Africa, do they still participate in politics, do you at Campus on Campus, and are you interested in it?

No.

No I don't really see the sense of doing it if nobody else is supporting you.

I feel that you have no right to complain if you don't vote, but I personally don't vote because it will not change anything.

#### Reference 4 - 0.46% Coverage

As a South African citizen, don't you have a duty to participate?

Yes.

If only it was fair. If there was a fair intake of students by all means. On campus, it doesn't even help to vote. There are so many blacks and they just out vote you.

If the numbers were equal, 50% white and 50% black then it could work, some whites can also vote for the blacks, it would then be fair.

#### Reference 5 - 0.28% Coverage

Exactly my point. If you had a fair system then you would participate. You say that you don't participate.

On campus it would not help to participate- if it was 50/50 then I would participate

All talking together and laughter.

#### Reference 6 - 0.93% Coverage

If we say that it looks like white people are voting more and more for the smaller parties, like the DA, Freedom Front, ACDP, is it because they see these parties to be furthering their interests specifically or do they see it as the parties that further everyone's interests?

01:55:01

They further everyone's interests

They are not just full of empty promises. If you look at the DA, the neatness, cleanliness, then you would want to vote for such a small party.

I was in the Cape a year or two ago, it was amazing. Everyone is given work there, if you don't work then it is because you are a druggie.

In Robertson where I stayed, the DA get people who are unemployed to do security, to sweep the streets, the streets were cleaned every second day.

#### References 7-8 - 2.02% Coverage

If it was a 50/50 vote then, if it was realistic. If the whites did not participate the DA would not have been in the Western Cape. Firstly you need to participate to be part of the process. To what degree do white South Africans vote against the ANC or do not vote at all because they feel that they are politically marginalized. We all feel that it won't help.

You can't compare when you look at what the ANC promises, it sounds as if they are giving everyone jobs, it's like having KFC in one hand and a dry piece of bread in the other hand, which one will you choose, you will be full but you are going to go for the KFC. You are not going to go for some who says I am small but I can make a difference for you or go for the one who says I am big, everyone is standing behind me and I am going to transform this land. You are not going for the smaller one because you know that it is not going to happen. I would vote if they counted how many black people there are and how many white people there are and take the big total black and total white count together then it would be much fairer but then they would again say it is apartheid or racist.

I'm not worried about black and white, just do the right thing for the country. If you don't pay your tax, what right have you to vote - if there are hundreds, then it is going to be unfair.

ANC offers a once of street wise meal but the DA says I am first going to give you a slice of bread for the 4 years that you are with me but they only hear Kentucky.

I would say you can eat this marshmallow now or if you wait you will get another one. Most children are so impulsive that they will eat the one immediately

#### Reference 9 - 0.23% Coverage

Do the whites feel that their interests still mean something at municipal level, provincial level or national level, how do you feel? Does it still count?

Never heard of that one.

#### Reference 10 - 0.74% Coverage

Last question. Is it still important to have people in leadership positions say for instance in parliament or the city council or provincial government?

Yes it's a small hope that there would be better development that everything does not implode.

So that there is more quality on the level where people are in government.

We are in a democratic country, you cannot just see black people and think that that is fair, if you want South Africa to make progress as a democratic country then we must all be equal.

If we are a rainbow nation, why then can only the black people make decisions.

## COMFORTABLE AS A WHITE PERSON IN SOUTH AFRICA

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 1.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.12% Coverage

BH: Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa?

Group 1, Participant ##: Nope (many participants shake their heads)

Reference 2 - 0.80% Coverage

BH: Number five you have been very quiet. Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Yes

BH: Why? Even if you had said no I would still have said why?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Because I have never come across anything that made me not, made me feel insecure for being a white. It is probably because I was in England for quite some time so I haven't been exposed to a lot of things against me being white.

BH: Number four how do you feel about being a white living in South Africa today?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I also lived in the UK for a while so I don't feel anything.

BH: So when you say you don't feel anything is it that you don't feel anything for your country? Or you don't feel whether you are comfortable living as a white in South Africa?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I will be honest with you. I just don't feel anything.

References 3-4 - 0.88% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: I wanted to answer the previous question. The question you were asking her when she said she was related to the UK.

BH: Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa?

Group 1, Participant 9, M: No. I am totally terrified. Each time I have to use public transport-

Group 1, Participant ##: Imagine being a woman.

Group 1, Participant 9, M: -trains, taxis. I have a driver's license. I used to have a car. Even if I am driving in my car there is people who's going to break down the window or hi-jack me because of my skin colour. I have a coloured niece. If I want to visit her in the Mitchell's Plain and take the nine - five train...

Group 1, Participant ##: I like the fact that you say "the" Mitchell's Plain. (laughter)

Group 1, Participant 9, M: On the nine five train they want to shout at me. They want to threaten me. Each day I live in my own prison fearing that- I cannot... I live in a prison. I don't live in South Africa.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.90% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.90% Coverage

BH: Are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa today?

Group 2, Participant ##: No (multiple respondents)

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant ##: Because we fear

Group 2, Participant ##: You fear for your kid's lives. You don't want to walk to the shop. Oh it is 8 o'clock. You can't go to the shop.

BH: Are you fearing because you are white or fearing because of crime?

Group 2, Participant ##: No crime.

Group 2, Participant ##: White and crime.

BH: So tell me about white and crime. How does that integrate? It is interesting.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Because you hear it frequently on the TV Malema say kill the boere, kill the whites.

Group 2, Participant ##: And they do.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: They are killing the farmers and when you ask them where do your food come from? From Shoprite. That's how clever they are.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.48% Coverage

. As regards where we go now I think we don't like being at the wrong end of the stick. That is it. We talk about – there's a certain amount of black rhetoric. I quite agree with you, if you want want to talk about the EFF as being a political party and it is not even amongst the extreme of, of, of um political views in this country if you actually canvas informally. We are looking at it from our own self-interest point of view once again and saying "isn't it tough" but the fact is it was exceptionally tough and nobody, nobody, we didn't, we didn't protest too much to be quite frank when extreme right wing Afrikaners- and I'm not, were espousing violence against black people in the old days. Um and and as I say, I can understand the the the impetus of self-interest but self-interest is where we sit now. We sit in our little ghetto and our little bubble here and we think it is great and things are, you know we worry about what's happening outside. And you know we we feel a bit sensitive now because we're at the sharp end of the stick now. And it will get worse and we're trying our best but the fact is we're just as I say that the pendulum swung. That unfortunately in the bigger world that's, you know in a thousand years it is not going to make a bits difference one way or the other.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 2.83% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.11% Coverage

BH: Okay, are you comfortable living as a white in South Africa today?

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes.

References 2-3 - 2.11% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I am so scared.

BH: What are you scared of?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Because our lives as women, especially white women in here is like it's like it's their right, I don't know, I don't want to step on toes and say.

BH: Come on, please say it. You can say it here.

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I just, I just feel I, I am not safe walking in town, where I used to go to in Church Street with my mom to the Ashmal's, just to talk about one shop. We used to park at the Ashmal's in town there and we could park and my mom would say; "come, just come stand next to me". It wasn't like, now we wouldn't even dare to go as two white females into town because we are the minority and if something had to happen, which has happened before-

BH: You don't think anybody would help you?



Group 4, Participant 6, F: No one would help us because they also scared. The black women that I know, my friends, are scared. They don't even want to walk to work because they leave at four a.m. in the morning, it's still dark. They leave from the township, they come, they have now had to fork out more money to have a transport that would now fetch them right outside their homes because they scared. So I don't even think only as a white woman, I say white women, it's now gender-based, but as woman we are inferior and we are not, I don't feel safe. I don't feel safe because if I go to the police officer the police officer is a lot of the time involved and the people that are supposed to protect us are the ones that are making us feel unsafe. I mean I used to walk around with my dog and there would be traffic officers and police officers and would say "hey sexy psst, psst, psst." Those are the people that are supposed to be looking after us. Are you, am I going to go to you and say, I mean, I have been raped? And that's why I say I don't want to stand on toes. I mean I'm really generalising here but it yeah, it's has happened to a few of my friends where the person that was supposed to be you're your your safety actually was the one that committed the crime.

Reference 4 - 0.21% Coverage

BH: I asked you do you feel comfortable living as a white in South Africa today.

Group 4, Participant 3, F: So my answer is yes. I actually don't have a problem at all with living in South Africa at the moment.

Reference 5 - 0.40% Coverage

m also comfortable to be a South African because I am proud of the fact that my children won't know about apartheid. They know about it but fortunately they're not living it. So I do feel like yes I am comfortable and I feel like if anybody is going to get raped on their way to work, I think we are very much in the minority because a lot of black women are treated a lot worse than we are.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 1.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.41% Coverage

DL: The eighth topic (we only have 10) so we still have things to do. How do whites fit in with SA today? Are you comfortable with life in white SA? Why do you feel comfortable or uncomfortable?

01:45:15

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I would say so, it's just the crime that is getting out of hand. So you feel unsafe. In the past your home was yours, you didn't worry about crime. These days it's as if you live in a prison.

Reference 2 - 0.40% Coverage

Good. Number 6, are you comfortable in the new SA?

Group 7, Participant 6, F: No. unfortunately. I observe all these things so I'm very sorry, but I can't feel comfortable. Also sit behind closed gates.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Like in a prison

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes

Group 7, Participant 6, F: It affects the quality of your life, you feel like a bird in a cage and it has a huge impact on your inner self, how you feel as person.

Reference 3 - 0.31% Coverage

Number 7, how do you feel about it?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: Not happy about it. Like number 6 says, it affects your existence as a human, your thinking is affected, yes, it's bad the way things are, but as I say, I believe it's we ourselves that allowed things to happen, we don't stand together, the way the ANC stands together.

Reference 4 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: These days it's dangerous to stop a traffic light. You are scared when it turns red, because they will pull you from your car or shoot you

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.55% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.55% Coverage

Let's have a look at the 8th subject. How do whites fit into South Africa? Do you feel at ease today in South Africa as a white man or woman, if you say yes, why, if you say no, why?

No. Safety, especially at night you have to lock your doors you make sure that all is closed and alarmed as well, 2ndly you just cannot find employment, even white women, just think of how many people are emigrating, where is the future of a white person in this country

## HOW WHITE PEOPLE HAVE RESPONDED TO THE SITUATION IN SA

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.96% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Many - many white people have had the extra like, benefit from apartheid. A lot of them come from money. It is easy to make money and to build things up when you come from money. I mean I don't come from money. I am like a teacher. 1.50.00 I don't even work in a government school. I earn much less in a private school. But the thing is when you have that money you can do anything. Especially if you have an education. A lot, a lot of white people, even though they do come from money they do work very hard to like, keep building on to what they have. It is not like they took that money and they lived off it, they worked really hard to maintain it and start their own businesses.

BH: Seven

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I just wanted to say that we as white people we get money from our godfathers, parents, you know so you can buy houses, you can buy whatever and that money keeps on coming in for years and years. And the other races I don't know if they don't know how to work with money but they just not doing stuff right.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 5.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.39% Coverage

A lot of people that I know that are quite educated that has businesses out here, they are leaving. And a lot of friends of mine they are immigrating and I see it the whole time. A few have been leaving. I have another friend of mine, even a priest is now going to Australia at the end of the year. So a lot of people are leaving due to that that they can't go further.

Reference 2 - 0.71% Coverage

I think there is a lot of things in parliament, I think the whole parliament system is, from what we have seen, and what we have experienced, is corrupt. And everything that flows from out of there is corrupt. So I think you are on your own and I think that is why I think it was on Carte Blanche where this one time where this one community took the crime in their own hands because you don't do it, I mean I don't agree or disagree 35.00 with it, but that is one way of dealing with it. We are almost in a position where you have to protect yourself. You are standing on your own if you need to protect you. You know most people; even if you go to the police nothing gets done.

References 3-4 - 2.39% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 5, M: What the crime rate concerns, like I say twenty years you still felt free to go wherever you wanted to. Now a days you need to lock yourself in. whenever you go out at night time you need to be a couple of people together so you can protect yourself from the bad hands that is going to come your way. Because you can be sure of it you will face it. Now for me as a South African if I protect myself and my family then I am in the wrong because the courts are going to prove me wrong. 40.00 That is what happens. I have seen it. I have heard of it. I mean why has the criminal got more rights than me that is on my property? I mean he doesn't belong there. But now what happened to you (inaudible) he wait for you to sleep so that he can trespass there. Whenever he gets caught he is going to pull a fire arm at you and truly he will shoot you.

BH: So now I just want to ask you is this a colour issue or is it a general crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Come again please

BH: Colour issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Is it a coloured issue or is it a crime issue?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: Yes it is a crime issue.

BH: Thanks number five. Number four you haven't said anything here.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Okay so everybody has been complaining about the crime that is so high but if you look back at it, the crime is high because the kids are uneducated. They don't go to school. So what do they do? They start using drugs. He has a lot of money. He tells me come sell this for me. I will pay you and I will look after your family. Twelve years old and people don't believe this but it is true. From nine years old they start using drugs and they start coming into your house, stealing your stuff. But now we do exactly the same. They steal from us. The people come and tell us. We get in the car we go there. We beat them up because the police are not going to do anything. Then we go back home. They don't come to your house again because they know. Next time you are going to break into that house again people is going to beat you up so stay away. You don't go one or two you go a lot because they are coming a lot. So crime will stay high until our people are educated. And for the community. Our community stands together.

Reference 5 - 1.24% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Apartheid is- my area is not that so safe. Where I stay in Bothasig we have outsiders. Outsiders that are sleeping there. Like number six said they are sleeping there and things like that. They watch your house and things like that. I mean you are not safe anymore. And I mean we do good. We go and help them and they just wait until all your lights are off, as number nine says, sorry number five said. They wait till you sleep then they climb over. They take it what's your property. So they take whatever they take. Now you get the police involved. They take their time to come out and I mean they can't help you and you can't do anything then because if we chase or do anything they jump on you or they pull a knife on you. I mean what can you do?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: Can I quickly say. We have in our area, if we have a crime, we started a neighbourhood watch that is amazing. And because we phone the police and they don't come. We have a group of people now so if anything happens by me I just contact them. And we have a security company that are so fast. The police will never get to them. We just get them. They just do anything for us

Reference 6 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Yes I think it also depends on the class levels. I think the upper class that were maybe the CEO of a company or in good positions I think a lot of those people have started their own businesses and build up their own then private sector. So I think there is a majority that is in that sector. But I think it depends because we are middle class, lower class. So it affects every class differently. Where they work, what retrenchment package they got. But I think what (inaudible) was referring to is that those people that they have made it big and they are creating their own you know and they are doing well. I mean they have the resources, the experience, and I think ja, anyway.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 2.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

Let's have a look at the 8th subject. How do whites fit into South Africa? Do you feel at ease today in South Africa as a white man or woman, if you say yes, why, if you say no, why?

No. Safety, especially at night you have to lock your doors you make sure that all is closed and alarmed as well, 2ndly you just cannot find employment, even white women, just think of how many people are emigrating, where is the future of a white person in this country

Reference 2 - 1.98% Coverage

Despite the pro black economic policies that favour the majority, there are still a lot of white people in South Africa who do well, is it because they work hard as individuals or do they help each other.

They work as individuals, they usually have their own businesses.

Family business.

Businesses that they have had for a long time.

Many of the successful people are Europeans.

They all have off shore investments somewhere, not just money in South Africa.

02:10:16

To have wealth you need ownership, you need assets not just money.

So you take responsibility/ownership for the business and you also manage it. Is it that white people do well because they were pushed out of the public sector into the private sector where they now make more money?

I can think of my cousin, she was a state pharmacist, she earned more there than she earned in the private sector.

So it can be in certain instances, but if you are pushed out into the private sector, can you make more money for yourself?

The risk is just so much higher in the private sector because you are working for yourself, someone is not paying your salary, it depends on your motivation, are you willing to put in the hours to make your business successful.

You need money to set up.

It also depends on when you set up the business, if you did so 15 years ago, your business is well established. If you want to start today you need insight and wisdom. You have to start thinking internationally. That's why I'm leaving I realized that I won't make money with South African money, I must get Australians or Americans to pay me.

## HOW THE REST OF THE WORLD SEE SA

Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.25% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I think we less disturbed. On a recent overseas trip I was the only South African on the trip and everybody said South Africa's got to be the worst country ever. They would never come here.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 2.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.35% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: Can I just highlight on to what you said? So, my opinion is that of, the rest of the world makes South Africa and the whole of, everything of apartheid out to be, it was bad. Um. There is no denial about that. It was horrible what they went through. Having gone home late from work getting questioned where is your ID book? Why aren't you here? 35.00 Those sorts of things. But I think what the rest of the world also fails to understand is that there was slavery in America. There was things that was a lot worse than that. There were people piled up on ships getting deported from one country to another where people were dying from sickness, were dying from faeces and infections and those sorts of things. And we didn't have that. Um. We weren't cruel like that, but yes I think the rest of the world makes South Africans, or white South Africans, out as terribly racist bad people and for me um to think about reconciliation I believe yes there should be a reconciliation. Um. I just feel that the way it's made out to be is that we are really, it was a terrible thing. It was bad. We need to look at the past and say what can we do differently? How can we change it? Whether you black, whether you white, a person is a person. That's, we are all people of colour in this country.

Reference 2 - 1.28% Coverage

BH: So do you think it is necessary to dig up the past to build a better future? Number three

Group 4, Participant 3 F: I don't necessarily think dig up the past I mean don't make a spectacle of it. I sometimes think that is what is done you know. Especially like number six was saying you know around the world they view South Africa a certain way. Especially white South Africans. That we are these racist terrible people because that is what the media shows about um, back in the day. But I do think it's necessary for us to remember like I said earlier it is an important lesson that we have learned as a country you know, that when one nation, one part of the nation tries to, you know, put down the other it's not gonna end well and that if we work together that we, that we can, you know, sort our lives out and live together um in some sort of peaceful, peaceful way. But I don't think it is going to happen overnight. It's, you know, we had the Truth and Reconciliation Council 40.00 way back in the day but I think there are other platforms now. I mean it's 2019. We have Facebook and social media and stuff like that as a way to help people connected as a way to see that we aren't all that different in the end. And that we can live together.

Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.66% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I think that although it was a crime against humanity it was almost brought on because of fear of the unknown, and like, not being educated enough to understand other people's cultures. And I think that's also had, like it's made South Africa in general, even in modern times, still seem that way, that um people are afraid of the unknown. If you speak to international people they consider South Africa at the bottom of the ranks when it comes to the economy and things. And people still thinks that we live in mud huts and I think it all just boils down to fear of the unknown and just not being educated enough.

## WHAT NEEDS TO HAPPEN IN SA GOING FORWARD

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 1.44% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I say like, when Mandela came into power everybody thought that he was gonna make the white people pay now and it is going to be a reverse. So he said that he just wants a pure country and everybody should be treated like human beings. Forget about the past and move forward. But clearly they are not moving forward.

Reference 2 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think it is very key to have white people in government and business because I think what we supposed to be doing in the beginning when we did the cross over it was not adequate. The education level was not quick enough. The invitation of BEE was too quick. They didn't give ample enough time for people to do the skills. So one of the largest concerns is that there is a lot of skills that white people hold in business today and there is still some value if they transfer their skill like internships. We had apprentices back in the days those kind of things. So there is still this thing of handing over skills and development. But I think a lot of the time now that gap is very small because people who were probable the key in apartheid who had benefited from the skills are now basically going on retirement. So maybe just for skills transfer.

Reference 3 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: My greatest hope is you know just forget about the apartheid years 1.05.00 that was and just focus on the future and take responsibility for you. if you are messing up as a president take responsibility and say look I can't lead this country into victory. Give it to somebody else. That is my greatest hope.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 5.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.81% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: First question was in your community.

BH: Yes?

Group 2, Participant 2, F: I think the crime rate is like hectic.

BH: Okay.

Group 2, Participant 2, F: In the Goodwood area. Very hectic. And then what I am worried about is the drugs in the country. I am really worried about that. And then the third one is our children. Our children's safety and where are they going to be because if you take it, um, many years ago me as a child could play outside and not get kidnapped. And now the children's getting kidnapped like nothing. Like they can just take your kid and go. I think the punishment for that, for kidnapping kids, in my opinion is bring back the death sentence for that because at the end of the day they are killing people.

Reference 2 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now.

Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

#### References 3-4 - 0.68% Coverage

But at the end of the day, my point of view is, my wife and my kids they all have dual citizenship. Spain and here. But my heart is in South Africa. I will stay here as long and I will fight for the country. And that is what all South Africans should do. The problem was most people just ran away to Australia. They are failing. You need to stand up for your country. That is why we have another party that fights for against maybe with another party who is trying to do, disagree. We need to have disagreements. We need to use the democracy and use it wisely. Fight against crime. Do something about it. You can't just sit back and complain.

#### References 5-8 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: So if your children, cause your children are little?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: They are eleven and ten.

BH: Okay. So imagine in ten years' time.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: They then know better than I. All their friends are-

BH: Do you think they will leave the country?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I can't say. Um, their closest friends are all here. Their home is here. Their family is here. Our home is here.

BH: Would you leave the country?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: No. I, I've been to, I work out in Africa often so, I have been to Nigeria, uhhh, I've been to uhh Cameroon, I've been to uhh DRC just before the elections. One of my friends were there just before the elections as well. Yes all over it is terrible but people live in like DRC. My friend for example and they live well. They look after themselves. They mingle with the community. They know the community. They befriend them and they treat them with respect and they get along. They all work together as a community. If we can work together as a community and get to, and push aside the differences then the country would move forward but you can't just 2.00.00 pack your bags and run away.

#### Reference 9 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Ugh. You know I will give you an example 2.05.00 what will be nice. You know they took one of the biggest stadiums and they had a tribute for Mandela's funeral. They take the same stadium with all races there and they all pray together maybe we will get somewhere.

#### Reference 10 - 0.17% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I hope that everybody can be treated equal. So if everybody can see, um, get along and see each other as a person and not as a race.

#### Reference 11 - 0.27% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Yeah, I think a great leader will have a big impact on its country and I think that is what we need a great leader to lead South Africa into a real democracy. Well a country where it is fair and you know in which one and a good system.

#### Files\\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 3 references coded [ 0.54% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.36% Coverage

I see a future for the country, I agree but it is going to take time. And we need to manage the expectations. I think that is one of the major failings of the government. They actually did not manage the expectations. And people are not receiving what they thought they would. That is just my observations now.

#### References 2-3 - 0.19% Coverage

Yes I am hoping we are going to go in the right direction. We just need the right people. We are going to get



rid of the tribalism. There is just too much tribalism.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 13 references coded [ 7.60% Coverage]

References 1-3 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: Yes I do. Personally I saw it was a platform for people to vent their personal vendettas and feelings about the apartheid era. And I think that is one of the fundamental problems that we still have in South Africa that everybody is just too entitled to their opinion. We need to all build a bridge and get over it and carry on with a fresh start.

Reference 4 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I don't think you can reconcile when you have treated a race as bad as the white people of South Africa did in the apartheid times. I don't think that that is ever going to be reconcilable. I don't think- I think we do all just need to, like you said, we draw a line and say "what is in the past is in the past". Let's move forward.

References 5-6 - 1.19% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3 F: I don't necessarily think dig up the past I mean don't make a spectacle of it. I sometimes think that is what is done you know. Especially like number six was saying you know around the world they view South Africa a certain way. Especially white South Africans. That we are these racist terrible people because that is what the media shows about um, back in the day. But I do think it's necessary for us to remember like I said earlier it is an important lesson that we have learned as a country you know, that when one nation, one part of the nation tries to, you know, put down the other it's not gonna end well and that if we work together that we, that we can, you know, sort our lives out and live together um in some sort of peaceful, peaceful way. But I don't think it is going to happen overnight. It's, you know, we had the Truth and Reconciliation Council 40.00 way back in the day but I think there are other platforms now. I mean it's 2019. We have Facebook and social media and stuff like that as a way to help people connected as a way to see that we aren't all that different in the end. And that we can live together.

Reference 7 - 0.47% Coverage

Like, I believe, for me it's just morally wrong and – you say, the point before was the legacy, do we- I believe yes, we need to have compassion. We need to understand that yes, our, our people our age did not go through apartheid. Their Gogo's and their grannies, yes they did. But we can have empathy for them but we cannot take away that pain. We can't make it right. Unfortunately we can't, we can't be held accountable for what our ancestors did.

Reference 8 - 0.59% Coverage

BH: Okay tell me the aspects that need to change.

Group 4, Participant 4, M: We need to have fairness in the country. Everyone needs to have equal rights. They always tell everyone has equal rights but we all know that's not right. That's not the truth.

BH: Okay.

Group 4, Participant 4, M: But if we all have equal rights you go to this place you get the job okay. If you want to do that you got to have a diploma. If you don't get out. So make equal rights equal opportunities. Um ja, then, like I said I love this country. And then it will flourish again. Like what it used to be.

Reference 9 - 1.49% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Opportunities yes, but opportunities you also need to grab for yourself. That's, that's the way I see it. Being a business owner, okay it hasn't been very successful of late, but yes you need to go out there and you actually need to seek out opportunities. Which I lately actually realise. I have been trying to do that and I've been getting some nice comebacks on that. Um. So I am very optimistic for the future. It's what you make of it as well.

BH: So number three your opportunities in the future.

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Um I also, I would say that it's important to also make sure that you try to make up opportunities for yourself. You don't just wait for someone to come and plonk something on your lap. It's like,

a lot of people say oh but its, you go and get all the certifications you know, somebody's just going to get the job who is not actually qualified. But you know the more you improve your skills the greater your opportunities are and like I was saying earlier, as white South Africans we have those sort of opportunities given to us because of the legacy that, that we have. That financially a lot of us, our parents helped us out. Or they supported us in what we were trying to do with our lives. And so we have those those opportunities for us. We just need to take them and to use them to the best of our abilities instead of sort of, sitting on our laurels and waiting for something to happen.

#### Reference 10 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I was actually doodling (laughter) and listening at the same time. But I see, opportunities- education. I think knowledge is power. So as we start educating all races in South Africa everyone will start to realise that yes apartheid was wrong, but um education will set you free and maybe give you a better understanding of the way forward.

#### Reference 11 - 1.32% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Can I just add on to what she said? She saying, you know, it is important for education to help improve knowledge and I think one of the opportunities that we also need to take on is to help nurture sort of education and you know, if you see a shoot, like obviously me doing my PHD I'm surrounded in academia. I deal with students as it is already and it's important to nurture the students who are enthusiastic. 'Cause I find a lot of students are pushed into doing a science degree because their family see it as, I don't know, they think oh one day you can become a doctor, a medical doctor. A lot of families feel like that that is one of the ways to become economically stable. And, so a lot of them who are coming in and doing biology are not interested in biology at all. They're there because their mom and dad told them to. But some of them are really enthusiastic. But their families aren't necessarily supportive of their enthusiasm in that field because it's not really seen as a gateway to, to making lots of money. So yeah I feel we need to also help and support students and kids and to help them to realise their potential because then ultimately they are going to want to do the jobs and not just do it apathetically because it's a salary.

#### References 12-13 - 1.40% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: I think the biggest principles are one, accepting one. Times are changing and trends are changing. There are options that existed ten years ago that are not at all relevant today. I think the biggest opportunities are that of that we continue to study and continue to learn in our own rights as well. And that way you can also create additional opportunities for yourself and maybe in time um start up a 1.50.00 company that has capacity to allow for other people to work under you, so you can also give them the right opportunities as well. It's one of the reasons why I chose to start studying again, I was feeling that my job was becoming very borderline, very complacent. I actually lost the passion for it so I actually said, it's time for a change and the best way to arrive for change is to go back and study something that you have now becoming passionate about. And that has got to be your direction going forward. And sometimes accept that, accepting a change happens. So I think a lot of times (inaudible), I have stay, I have to stay here. I have to keep earning a salary. And we can often become as negative about a job and the work environment as um we're complaining that the government does. Sometimes it is good to step out let somebody else come and be passionate about that job and find another career.

#### Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 3.01% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 0.51% Coverage

There is still a lot of hate harboured. Um. And I guess it is because, if you think about it, it wasn't that long ago. 15.00 It is a lot of our parents that were living in that era and there's hatred harboured with our parents and then that's sort of given to the children. And the children grow up with these ideas that this is evil, this is wrong, these people did this wrong to us, we need to hate them, and we need to like, um. So people's minds need to be changed. People need to be more tolerant.

#### Reference 3 - 0.66% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Yeah, um, I think we should start with the education to be honest. Yeah, the standard of education. I'm not necessarily saying you know, tertiary education should be free or anything like that. I think we should honestly start it at base level. And work it up till we get to a point whether that's in decade's time or not that all education is sort of free and of a really good standard but yeah it should, it should come from, from the bottom. Our little kids should be uh, should be very well educated and should be able to get into any ah tertiary institution throughout the world by the time they get to that age. Yeah.

#### Reference 4 - 1.48% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I know this, okay this may sound a bit, I feel like we are so quick to be offended by people putting all whites in one box meanwhile we like, tend to put every other race in in a box. And I think that it is, we sit in a very interesting space as young people because we've been exposed to different parts of cultures and traditions and I, I would like to think I'm quite a progressive person like everyone in the room here. And so we're able to sit here and be like, ok, you know, not all white people think like this, which is a, which is a true statement. But I think that it almost like kind of boils down to the gender-based violence thing as well. Um. We are quick to say if you, if your friends are telling rape jokes and you don't stop it you're perpetuating it, right? But like the grandfather example, I have definitely said guys like don't, you know, they're just a bit, you know, and and by doing that I am perpetuating it by calling people out on their things. It's uncomfortable, it's really uncomfortable. But if I don't do it then I am just being complacent in it and I'm just allowing it to continue. And so I think that's why, we're always so quick, and I mean I also do it, I get offended when people put me in boxes. And I think we're really quick to do that but the reality is that we are a lot of talk and no action. And so maybe we need to be in these boxes and feel really uncomfortable in these boxes to get out of them.

#### References 5-6 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: Um I'm quite hopeful of the future of South Africa. I feel like, it seems a little like bit of an uphill battle but I think one of our biggest strengths is the fact that our people are so diverse and we should use that and play to our advantage instead of seeing it as something that sets us apart. And we should just like, fight.

#### Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 23 references coded [ 11.87% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 6, Participant ##: Vlakplaas. Nobody knew about Vlakplaas. But thank, whoever was, Eugene de Kock with his boys, the BSB and whoever was there, take those guys and put them in charge of this country's government's army now for three years, you won't know this country.

#### Reference 2 - 0.43% Coverage

BH: And if they were found guilty what do you think should happen to them?

Group 6, Participant ##, M: It depends on what their crime is.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Well they will sit three months in jail and then they will come out.

Group 6, Participant ##:, M: So I say just bring the death penalty back and everything will stop.

#### Reference 3 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Because it wasn't us. We didn't know. We we hear about it only afterwards. Why punish us? Why punish our children? We are sorry for what happened but the past is in the past. Let's carry on. Make about the future.

#### Reference 4 - 0.60% Coverage

BH: Okay, alright. Do you think there is a deliberate silencing of life under apartheid within the white community today? Do you and your friends talk about the apartheid time and the bad things that happened? So do you think that we are sweeping it under the carpet?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: It's not sweeping it under the carpet. We are trying to forget about.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: We are trying to move on.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yeah going forward.

#### References 5-6 - 1.20% Coverage

BH: So is there another system that could go into place?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yes. I mean everybody should be equal.

BH: Or do you think that apartheid should have come back and just make some changes?

Group 6, Participant ##: If everybody's equal and get treated equal because that's. they didn't get treated the same in apartheid. So it didn't work. And if now if they treat everybody equal and everybody's equal opportunity then it will work. I mean the proof is Zimbabwe. That was the most productive country in the world. And what happened? Everybody that was qualified and knew what they were doing got scared and ran. Left the country. And where's the country today? That is exactly what is happening here. So they must start treating people equal. Forget about the past. The past didn't work. It was a mistake. And a lot of mistakes happen. So forget about it. Work now and treat everybody the same.

Reference 7 - 1.28% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I just think, take the good of apartheid. There was stuff. Like economically it was good. So go talk, take it over and bring the bad stuff that was from there, rectify that. And work together to build a better place.

Group 6, Participant 10, F: I guess, whatever she is saying now. We never heard of Moodley or downgrading our economic system to trash level. We make enough money. We supplied the world with gold, with whatever resources we've got. Now all of a sudden the Chinese, everybody is getting on to the bandwagon. Our country doesn't belong to white, black, Indian or whatever. It belongs, a big chunk of it belongs to the outside world. The America, the England, the Chinese, the Japanese, whatever. Where do we go, where do we go to? The Chinese guy, if he buys a mine, how many mines we've got? They bought them. To do what? Not to give us work. We are not going to work.

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes they are bringing in their people

References 8-9 - 0.89% Coverage

BH: The EFF, okay, and what are your views number four? How can we work together with our interests at heart?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I got no idea.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I think a good start would be to get rid of all the hate. All the hating that there is.

BH: Is the hate coming from both sides?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: From both sides.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Both sides, ja.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Both sides.

Group 6, Participant 7, F: And not one of them wants to -

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Not one of them wants to give in

Group 6, Participant 10, M: They don't want to reconcile. I'll spite you, you spite me.

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Yes that's the thing yeah.

Reference 10 - 0.65% Coverage

BH: So how do we stop this fighting each other?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Maybe the government should decide. This people that's talking ba ba ba ba, stop them first. So they on top at this stage.

BH: By example?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: By example. So stop these people first and tell them, listen, we had enough. Enough of your da da da, let's work together to get a solution for our land to work. I know EFF and all that stuff, talk, fin- enough is enough, out, go. Don't sit and sleep in parliament.

Reference 11 - 1.62% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I just think, I just think we, the respect and and and again, white people were brought up that way. And I'm not, I am saying this with the utmost respect.

BH: Yes yes yes.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Black people's culture is miles apart from white people's culture. So what, to me if he touches that pie he has to take it and eat it. Another guy will sit here and he will take all of it. Alright I want that one. I was brought up, I respect this guy he is going to eat that. And the mutual respect is just not there. We respect them from apartheid. We respected them. We still gave them food. They still had education. They still had all that. Take all that respect that you were taught in twenty five years and reverse it and give it back to us. Because if you are going to respect me I am going to respect you. If you are not going to respect me I'm not going to respect you. 1.10.00 And that's where the problem is now. You want to tell my wife she's got nice shoes on. Or a nice pants or whatever she's got that's nice. And I don't like it because I haven't been brought up. That's my wife. Don't talk to her. Don't talk about her or whatever. Give her a compliment, no problem. But the respect part is just zero, from them to us.

Reference 12 - 0.36% Coverage

BH: How can we get that respect back? If you're saying that respect will help us get rid of, well first of all we got to get rid of the anger. Ok. Then we have to work together as a team and respect each other. So how can we do these things?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Get educated

Reference 13 - 0.07% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Get the corruption out.

Reference 14 - 0.70% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Stop playing the blame game. And-

Group 6, Participant ##: Get over it.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: How long is, since 1994. It's been-

BH: It's twenty five years

Group 6, Participant 11, M: It's twenty-five years it's been democracy but they still blaming everything on apartheid. So if they can't get it right in twenty five years why still blame it on apartheid? It doesn't make sense. So stop playing the blame game. That's the only way to move forward. Forget about the past and look in front of you.

Reference 15 - 0.27% Coverage

BH: And now number three you said education. Tell me some more about education.

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Well if you educate the people more you will at least get something in their heads. I'll tell you that.

Reference 16 - 0.43% Coverage

BH: So what is it that we want to get into everybody's heads?

Group 6, Participant ##: Yeah. Forget the past. Go on with the future. That is the main thing.

BH: So do you think perhaps we need to have a special goal that we need to work to?

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Yeah, that would, that's what I'm saying, yeah. Something like that.

References 17-18 - 1.09% Coverage

BH: Number five

Group 6, Participant 5, F: My true opinion about this whole story, if respect comes from your culture or the way you were brought up it will never happen. Sorry that's how I feel. It will never happen. They they could not forget about apartheid in twenty-five years. How can we think that it will change now? How? Who's gonna change it? Who's gonna to have respect for the next guy? Nobody has respect. Nobody can work together. I mean if if you've got a business and the majority is black people, and you want to have equal rights or whatever, the, the rules are, but it's not happening. So now you have to get more other cultured people in this business so that they can be on top together. I mean you've only got one culture now at the top. But now we must work together. But how you going to do that? Because it is only black.

Reference 19 - 1.04% Coverage

Mogoeng Mogoeng is our Chief Justice. And it might be off the point now. He reads a bible. Well I hope he does. He reads the constitution which he knows better than I know myself or my children. My bible tells me, if your child is not being, or not listening or whatever he needs to be taught to be listening. Because you bend a tree when it's young. He takes away - you know what, you are not allowed to hit your children. Now, maybe he's got nannies that he pays them R20 000 per month to not hit his children. My children, I pay their schooling, I buy their clothes, I buy their food. If he's not listening I'm gonna hit his behind. 1.15.00 His ears from here (gestures behind him). He's gotta listen, I guarantee you that. After the first one, the second time he's gonna - you know what, this is not nice.

References 20-22 - 0.36% Coverage

BH: Okay and what is the greatest hope that you have for the future of South Africa?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: If if all all concerned in our country can sit down without hidden agendas and discuss what's worrying him or her, and sort it out amicably I think it could work.

Reference 23 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: I don't see a future at the moment. I hope that our leaders do wake up and hopefully read this book. I hope everything will get better.

Files\\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 29 references coded [ 5.52% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with that, bring back the death penalty - that is the only way you will be able to stop those things.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: There is no deterrent at this stage. They go out on parole and they do the same thing while they are out on parole and then they still kill another one or two people.

Group 7, Participant ##: Bring back corporal punishment.

Reference 3 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: Corporal punishment as well.

(Inaudible three or 4 speak together)

Group 7, Participant ##: Not only corporal punishment but punishment.

Group 7, Participant ##: Punishment is needed.

Group 7, Participant ##: Children are no longer being disciplined in school.

Reference 4 - 0.23% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I agree with what has been said, discipline is needed but fair punishment. I think that is why it is being abolished because parents punish their children in an inappropriate way, even teachers,

but it is still important.

#### Reference 5 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: It went very peacefully. My feeling is that the Lord is still in control of the country.

Group 7, Participant ##: He is still in control of what is happening, even if it is not according to our will, it takes place according to His will which we cannot now see as yet.

Group 7, Participant ##: And his time.

Group 7, Participant ##: We must just stay on our knees and keep praying.

#### Reference 6 - 0.55% Coverage

DL: But people, those are things we experienced which we are discussing now. This is where you need to speak from the heart, you experienced it, to say how you experienced it. We lived through that. The next question let me see, how you would respond to the statement that white people are reluctant democrats that we did not really wish to accept the democratic system. How do you feel? Number 6.

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I think we want to, I think we must accept it although unfortunately there are negative things about it, but overall I think we must just accept it and make the best of it.

#### References 7-8 - 0.88% Coverage

DL: If you think you represent all of Brandfort, are they democrats against their will, or are they pro-democracy? Do you want to talk about the district?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I see it as a challenge to see whether we can live together, we can only benefit to work along with them instead of being against one another, so rather pull together, instead of against each other.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: I agree with you, but the hatred will never disappear.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: But those things one must put behind if you are a Christian.

Group 7, Participant 2, F: But that is why the ANC keeps on inciting them that is why they will never get rid of the hatred because they can't stand together.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They believe in their forefathers.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: They're not Christians, they don't believe in God. If you don't have God in you, then you don't have love, and if you don't have love you can't...

#### Reference 9 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The truth is SA is my place. We must just learn to respect each other, and take the feelings of others into account

#### References 10-11 - 0.62% Coverage

DL: Second last question: do you see a future for SA, opportunities in SA, or will things just get worse?

Group 7, Participant ##: I see a future

Group 7, Participant 9, F: We must be positive and maintain our trust.

Group 7, Participant ##: There are opportunities. We identify them.

DL: How do you feel about it?

Group 7, Participant ##: Positive, there are opportunities, and the wheel is starting to turn slowly. You do notice that. We want things to go faster, but the Lord has his own time a way, eventually things will change.

DL: Number 7?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: Positive. Trust. Stay on your knees. I think there is still much for us going forward.

References 12-13 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I am also positive

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Believe in our Father, believe in our Bible, and go on your knees. Still lots that can happen in the country.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: I also believe that are many opportunities for people who would use them.

DL: Yes

Group 7, Participant 3, F: We must just keep on being positive, and believe, believe and pray. The big thing is to pray.

References 14-15 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: That human relations among the different population groups will improve, that Afrikaners will stand together,

DL: Please just read loud enough, so the "microphone" can pick it up

Group 7, Participant 3, F: We must respect each other.

DL: Could you just speak loud enough for the microphone to pick it up, thank you very much. That was very good.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I say pray for our country and leaders, tolerance and mutual respect.

DL: Number 4?

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Hope that things will change, and that we will have a better life and future.

References 16-18 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Bring back the death penalty, make fuel cheaper, give houses to white people too, and increase pensions.

References 19-20 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: Co-operation between black and white, and also between other nationalities. Respect for each other, training for unskilled persons, trust in our Heavenly Father, be supportive especially with regard to the future of young children.

References 21-23 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: That people should trust each other, look out for the interests of others, believe and trust, stay on your knees, pray for those looking after our interests, the parliament

Reference 24 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Hope that justice and righteousness will take place, love and tolerance will take place, and respect for each other.

References 25-26 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: That the country may be governed in wisdom, and dependence, justly, trusting in a higher hand, combat crime, and good human relations.

References 27-28 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: My hope is that we can take hands and stand together, allow each other a place in the sun, and remain on our knees.



#### Reference 29 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: That there may be reconciliation in the country, and everyone be treated the same irrespective of skin colour, and that everyone gets the opportunity to get out on top.

#### Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 4.13% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.79% Coverage

What do you say about it number 2? What do we mean with reconciliation, how do you see reconciliation, forgive and forget the past or is there something else we need to do about reconciliation? Number 10?

Group 8, Participant 10, M: If we need to forgive and forget then we all must do it. Does not help that the young white people of today must suffer because of apartheid if you had nothing to do with it, most of us were born in the 1990's, how can you be held accountable. If you just look at the EFF and how things are going in court, then they look like monkeys carrying on like that, that is why the country is where it is, it's a zoo.

#### References 2-3 - 1.73% Coverage

If we say that it is now 25 years after democracy, should bygones be bygones? How do you feel?

I feel they keep bringing it up, we will never be able to get over it and move on. We can do so much more and move on.

If you are stuck in the past, you can't make progress.

They need to focus on today, what is important to the country.

They are still trying to solve problems from that time.

As you said "we want work, create employment"

May I be a realist and just say that it is a very nice idea but we are just people and people don't know how to let go of the past otherwise we would not still be getting upset about speaking about concentration camps and Hitler. In America they are also still going on about slavery, if your great great grandfather did something to you brother. I agree it is a good thing to let go and move on but people cannot let go

But they keep bringing it up in the school syllabus.

Indoctrination.

The first heading in LO is Apartheid, they should rather teach us how to grow your business, teach practical skills.

Say someone loaned R3000 from you 200 years ago, and another loaned R3000 just last week, which one will you go to first – you will right off the first R3000.

Or you go back to the one who loaned first.

But he could have died already.

Or have forgotten about it.

So you will go to the person who borrowed from you last week because he promised to pay you back next week.

#### Reference 4 - 1.61% Coverage

If you were slightly older, as the group in Brandfort said to me, the initial part of democracy worked very well, there was positive reconciliation, the economy flourished, and there was none of this corruption and then it gradually deteriorated but again, your standpoint of the people implementing it. It can improve going forward, or what do you think?

Yes under better leaders, more educated leaders.

Remember, it is so that corruption took place over 8,9,10 years, it is not going to change in a day, even should a new leader be appointed, it will take that leader 10 years to eradicate that corruption, it is unfortunately a process.

We must remember, we see all the parliamentarians and leaders but it's not necessarily them in charge, it is also the people behind the scenes.

The money people.

The Oppenheimers.

They just want to pull strings so will it really help or is the corruption too deep, I'm not saying it is, it's just my question.

01:25:03

The question is, if there are educated leaders in government, will they not then cut out the "shadow" people. I think it really is about money as well and education.

As they say, any attorney who is paid well will not take a bribe, but then the more you have the more you want.

Power creates corruption.

It is unfortunately so.

## OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE OF SA

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 9 references coded [ 5.79% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: For the four years in Germany the train driver came late once. They fired the driver. We don't do that here. We keep the driver on and we give him a pension and a golden handshake etc. So I am pessimistic. I am expecting things to go very pear shaped in the near future. Look there is a boat waiting for me.

Reference 2 - 0.52% Coverage

BH: You are not going to stay? So okay. Number twelve.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I feel particularly pessimistic. I think the world (inaudible) got a lot of problems. My sister lives in Northern Ireland. She is a policeman. She is on the border. She is waiting for Brexit to kick off. So they are in a big state of flux. I think a lot of people are right to be pessimistic. Um. But it doesn't really benefit you. So you've either gotta choose to be positive but also be like, have a plan, have a back-up plan because I think it is also very pertinent to be pessimistic.

Reference 3 - 0.63% Coverage

BH: And would your back-up plan be to live in another country or a back-up plan to do other things in this country?

Group 1, Participant ##: A back-up plan would be to go somewhere else. I mean, I don't think anybody wants to live in a situation that you feel is untenable because it is a bit liable. I have the luxury of a passport as well. So that would be my back-up plan because I have that luxury. I know it's not the same for everybody else. I don't have kids, I don't have a lot of those kind of trappings. I have, you know, finances to do whatever I want to do. So it's a, it's a, it's a a difficult time right now to know what the right thing to do is and you know how long to stick it out.

Reference 4 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I would say I am positive. I wouldn't even move to another province. Never mind another country. And I think the reason I am very positive right now is because I feel we are almost in a state of change. I think about the femicides and all the protests that happened all across Cape Town in terms of the woman that was killed at the post office. With social media yes it can be a negative thing but it can also be a very positive thing in terms of making people aware. And I think a lot of people are now, we are getting out of that apartheid era phase thing and we are getting to this thing of saying we are human beings, we are all South Africans and we are all speaking the same language. Whether we are black or white or coloured or Indian, it doesn't matter. We all feel the crime. We all feel um you know, government is corrupt. We are all feeling the same thing. It is no longer this where actual one race is benefitting over another. We are all feeling the brunt of it. And I think again in terms of the privileged people, there is still a few white people that are privileged. There are very few black people that are privileged but the majority of us live in ordinary houses and ordinary suburbs. You don't really have the money or the things to do the things that we want to do so I am happy to stay. I think we are on the verge of something.

Reference 5 - 0.67% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I am, I have a lot of family in the UK. My dad's family. And I am actually very disappointed in myself because I could have gone to live over there. I have a daughter here now. I'm married so it is different for me. I just feel very despondent sometimes because when I speak to my family in England they will tell me about their crime and I compare it to our crime and it's just like, things are not getting better here. Sorry I know I sound very negative but-

BH: I asked you what you thought. So are you staying or are you going?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: It's really, I don't know, I just, I wish I could go

BH: You wish you could go but you are going to stay?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: Yes I am going to stay.

Reference 6 - 0.68% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Well I am staying. There are family and friends. I love the people that are here. I feel like in other countries there are also major issues of race especially in America. There's pros and cons to wherever you live. I know the crime here is really bad but I also think that apartheid wasn't that long ago and I think we have come very far since then. If I'm comparing it to America we have come very far. Their apartheid was like many more years ago and they are still struggling but I think we have come together in many ways like with this Uyine that was raped and murdered at the post office I mean we stand together in the important times like when we need to be together. And I mean it's beautiful here so.

Reference 7 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: For the sake of the conversation, I am staying. But I am actually leaving but not because of what we are talking about here. I am leaving because of the job opportunity and it's not because I want to go. But for the sake of this conversation, I am optimistic about the future of South Africa. I do think-

Reference 8 - 0.53% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I believe that not all men is created equal. I believe that the people that run this country are the stupidest (Inaudible) that I ever come across and I-

BH: We are talking here about your greatest hope here hey.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: My greatest hope is that something happens that brings to book the people that are stealing in this country. I don't think it is going to happen. Don't think it's going to happen. I'm a numbers person.

BH: That's your greatest hope?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Yes, I am factual. I am not positive at all.

Reference 9 - 0.88% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 12, F: My greatest hope would be that there would be more equality. That everybody could feel secure. Everybody- like I feel secure in my home. I feel secure in my job. I have a good business. There, there's is very little that I genuinely feel pessimistic about. I feel pessimistic because the whole country is like, there is so much distance between the very rich and the rest of the country and I think my greatest hope is that it could be normalised, equalised, that there weren't so many poor people and everybody could feel financially stable. Everybody could feel like the schools are good, the public transport is good, that they can feel like there could be secure jobs, when they get out of school there would be jobs available for them to work in. It's like there's a few people who get to feel that in this country but I feel it is not nearly enough. And that is what my greatest hope is that it could become more equal.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 1.92% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

And I think also coming back also to where I stay, I stay in Durbanville. Durbanville is still a very nice area. So we are not really that much affected than the outskirts area because I know every area is going (inaudible) I think on the positive side coming to our generation, my children's generation, my school children on high school now integrated with everybody. So for them there is no colour. And that is wonderful. I got people from all different kids coming into my house and you really don't see that. I think it is going to take a while. Their generation might make the difference. But our generation and maybe the generation before us is still struggling with this whole battle of transformation. And hopefully it will be a positive at the end. We can only hope for the best.

Reference 2 - 1.07% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I think that we are heading the same way Zimbabwe is heading.

BH: And paint the picture that you think we are heading into.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Well they are killing all the people.

BH: White people?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: They are killing all the white farmers. All the boere. They are killing all the white farmers. And they are the people that has been worrying us for food. It's the same, they burn out the bus but the next day they will go stand there and wait for a bus to come and pick them up. You understand what I am trying to say. They are burning down everything that we have. Trains, busses, I mean the next day they go there and they buy the ticket and they are expecting the train to come. But they are burning our trains which is billions of Rands. They are burning down the Technikon where the people has to go to learn. You understand what I am saying? So where are we going?

BH: So that's the similarity to Zimbabwe?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Exactly

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - \$ 12 references coded [ 4.26% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.59% Coverage

I think the change of '94 brought a lot of hope. I think that hope was tarnished a bit by some of the stuff that happened along the way. Um I, I feel, I feel optimistic about the country. I really wish that the functioning government now would find their feet rather than their tribe or their um, um- I think they have been driven by ideology instead of the actual welfare of the country. So comparing it to pre-1994 there was so much we didn't know at the time, and which we found out about later on, which was horrific.

Reference 2 - 0.20% Coverage

I do however feel positive. And I would never want to live anywhere else in another country. I am certainly very happy here but I am aware that there are a lot of problems.

Reference 3 - 0.06% Coverage

I don't feel entirely pessimistic about the future.

References 4-5 - 0.36% Coverage

I see a future for the country, I agree but it is going to take time. And we need to manage the expectations. I think that is one of the major failings of the government. They actually did not manage the expectations. And people are not receiving what they thought they would. That is just my observations now.

Reference 6 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 5, F: No, I am just sad that the last ten years has been such a waste. You know to try and get all that back. Trying to get all these schemes back, and like you said, the opulence and the poverty and the pain of some of these people. I find that distressing as a nurse. Yes I am hoping we are going to go in the right direction. We just need the right people. We are going to get rid of the tribalism. There is just too much tribalism.

Reference 7 - 0.16% Coverage

And anyway you mentioned the word progress I don't know that we have progress today. I think we have the potential to do it all over again.

Reference 8 - 0.30% Coverage

BH: No. Right. Okay and finally, how do you see your long term future in South Africa? Do you see it as opportunities for a happy life? Or are things just going to get worse?

Group 3, Participant ##, M: I am happy and I am going to look on the positive side of things.

Reference 9 - 1.06% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I certainly have concerns and I must caveat that by saying I'm very mobile in terms of up and off, if I need to. I have decided to buck the trend and I've come back here to live here permanently because I am positive about it, so. But I do worry that with with with the skill drain as I become progressively more vulnerable the older I get, will I get the medical attention that I might need. I am not hugely worried about personal security, those kind of things. Financially I am okay, personally. So I don't see that as being a

diminishing return but I just think that legal representation should one ever need it but particularly the medical situation because I know a number of people, probably the children of friends of mine now who are in the medical profession are just leaving in droves at the present time. The spectre of NHI is a, is a major issue. And that is, from that perspective-

Reference 10 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: But otherwise from a social perspective from a point of view from the quality of life we are way ahead of anywhere else in the world. I mean the people are stunning. Black and white. If you want to put colour into it. It is a great place to live and I am happy.

BH: Thank you seven.

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Yeah, I love South Africa. I love being here in The Ambers, I'm safe, I'm secure. Yes there are certain issues with regards to the future particularly as you were saying, in the medical profession.

Reference 11 - 0.20% Coverage

BH: Okay number six.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I am just hopeful. I am hoping that everything will sort of explode a little bit and then calm down and then work out in the end.

Reference 12 - 0.22% Coverage

BH: And number three

Group 3, Participant 3, M: I could have immigrated to Germany.

BH: And you want to?

Group 3, Participant 3, M: But my nose was too flat. I have a lot of hope for the future here.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 5 references coded [ 6.37% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.46% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Yes I just want to say I don't believe that we can reconcile though I wish and I pray that we will. But I don't believe we can because our mind-sets as South Africans, as much as apartheid was a black and white thing, I believe, what about the xenophobia that is happening now? Then it's black on black. Because it's the South Africans that believe that it is their right to, to say that they own the land because they are South African. What is a South African? As much as we are South African, being a South African is in your heart, you know. Because I was born a South African doesn't make me a South African. It's Ubuntu you know. It's a rainbow nation. Do I believe we live up to that rainbow nation? Not at all. I don't believe that because we have so much hate. I look at the Zulus fighting against the Zimbabweans. And the Zimbabweans, you know, being here looking for work because Zimbabwe has gone the way it has, you know. And everyone says South Africa is another Zimbabwe. It's gonna be like that, it's gonna turn like that. It is a very broad statement, and uh, you know, but I do believe that apartheid is now not actually, apartheid in 199-, 1994, before it was abolished in 1994, I do believe that was a colour thing. But I believe now with the xenophobia it is black on black. So you know they are still the same race so what is it? For me, that's, that's where I get confused.

Reference 2 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 3, F: And um, to an extent I am fairly optimistic. I think you know even though the country is possibly going into junk status and you know there seems to be so much doom and gloom going around. You know, there are rays of hope in the country. I mean there's, you know, if you look, if you drive down West Street and you see like all the people with their little stalls of fruit, I mean, everyone is trying to get by in there. Everyone has got their little hustle going on. And I think you know as South Africans we will make it work. I feel optimistic about this country.

Reference 3 - 1.56% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I feel optimistic because I so pray for a change because we live in such a beautiful country and not all black people are bad. And not all white people are bad. And and, and I just feel, but then I also have the flipside of the coin where I want to be a bit of a pessimist. And I wanna say that, have you seen

the hospitals here? They're getting worse and worse. I am just very grateful that at the beginning of the year I got back onto medical aid because it's a death wish now going into the health facilities, the public hospitals facilities. And I don't feel optimistic about our facilities here. So our free public facilities, public transport and if I can say something that could bring change, a, a friend of mine told me this which actually made a lot of sense to me, is that If government officials and all government or political parties used government services and weren't given the finances and funds to send them to, 1.40.00 I'm gonna talk about Maritzburg, I mean if you took like St (inaudible) (audible) Hilton College, we have here Michael House, most of them are, their parents work for the government. They can afford to pay those lump sums and I believe that if those people in government and parliament use the public transport like taxis and they didn't have these fancy Lamborghinis and Jags there would be a huge change happening, because then they wouldn't want to send their children to the public hospitals and I think that there would be a big change.

#### Reference 4 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: I am going to ask you about that. Would you be happy for your children to move away from the country?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I think for the difference between, I saw South Africa when it was amazing. Other younger generations have only seen the mass, you know the mass breakdown, and so I'm hoping- they say history always runs in circles. I'm hoping that we will eventually, I just don't know if it will be in my lifetime (laughs) which is a bit depressing. But for my children's sake, I don't know. It seems like the only reason that I would move would be the economics because everything else is so wonderful about this country. And when you said what, you know, am I an optimist or a pessimist? I'm very much an optimist because compared to other countries we have freedom of choice. We have freedom of religion. We have, you know fortunately gay people can be married in this country. There is so many wonderful things that are just overlooked and just stamped on by all the negativity. And I think that negativity breeds negativity. So if we're all nay-sayers, nothing is going to change. So I think we all need to raise our children to be, to embrace the change and make it work.

#### Reference 5 - 1.49% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Opportunities yes, but opportunities you also need to grab for yourself. That's, that's the way I see it. Being a business owner, okay it hasn't been very successful of late, but yes you need to go out there and you actually need to seek out opportunities. Which I lately actually realise. I have been trying to do that and I've been getting some nice comebacks on that. Um. So I am very optimistic for the future. It's what you make of it as well.

BH: So number three your opportunities in the future.

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Um I also, I would say that it's important to also make sure that you try to make up opportunities for yourself. You don't just wait for someone to come and plonk something on your lap. It's like, a lot of people say oh but its, you go and get all the certifications you know, somebody's just going to get the job who is not actually qualified. But you know the more you improve your skills the greater your opportunities are and like I was saying earlier, as white South Africans we have those sort of opportunities given to us because of the legacy that, that we have. That financially a lot of us, our parents helped us out. Or they supported us in what we were trying to do with our lives. And so we have those those opportunities for us. We just need to take them and to use them to the best of our abilities instead of sort of, sitting on our laurels and waiting for something to happen.

#### Files\\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 5.43% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.65% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Um, my feelings on the political thing. I do believe a lot of our problems stem from a political perspective but I'm actually quite hopeful on it. Because my belief is where a whole lot of our problems have stemmed from is we've had a system right now, we've got politicians running the country who've come from a a freedom fighter background and inherently most of them are very good people. Um. They have no real experience, they didn't cut their teeth in the game of um, how to run a country and the administration of a country. Um. And I think we're getting a lot of young politicians coming through the ranks now who don't have the strong credentials and to an extent even feel inadequate because of it. But what they do have going for them is they've come through the ranks as, worked at a municipal level, and worked at a provincial level and understood the system. And I think the more and more we get politicians like that coming

in the more a lot of our political problems corrected themselves. I mean, we've got a massive problem with corruption and fraud. I think a lot of it comes down to the politicians don't understand the administration well enough to keep each other in check. And as we get guys like that coming through I think that is where the problem corrects itself. When you look at problems like how do you manage the parastatals, whether it's Eskom, whether it is SAA, these are guys, that's something they have worked on and that's their backup. And I think as we see the next generation coming through I am fairly hopeful that it will turn the scales.

#### Reference 2 - 0.40% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I think we have long-term phenomenal prospects here. Um, the one hope I do have for South Africa is that when our economic prosperity comes um we use at least some of that to look after the environment. We really have a fantastic environment. We have so much that's so native to South Africa. And I think we have an important role and I hope we stand up to that.

#### Reference 3 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I'm quite hopeful for the future of South Africa. Um, I think we're on our way to being on the right track. Um my biggest hope is through education ah to help people become more aware of their abilities and what they can do in this world, how they can do it. But more importantly to just become um more like human beings who are tolerant of each other. And understanding of the fact that in um in the, we live in such a culturally diverse place and we should really um start to appreciate that and see it as a good thing. Rather than- and a binding thing rather than a bad thing.

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Um I think it's getting better all the time. Life expectancy is improving. Health care's improving. Humans in general are getting better at surviving. So it can't get much worse. (Laughter) As well.

#### Reference 4 - 0.52% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I am going to sound like a pessimist in the room, but-

BH: Don't worry!

Group 5, Participant 6, F: I'm not sure if South Africa's gonna change at all in the future because if you look at the past twenty-five years things have gotten better. But in a way it also depends on which side you were sitting on, to start off with. And um, I'm not sure if it will just change in general. Obviously if it will, it will take a lot of time. And, but I'm not sure if it's for the better or for the worse.

#### Reference 5 - 0.43% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: Um I'm very hopeful for the future. I think um we've got a, it's all going towards the right direction. Even if it's a bit stray at the moment. My biggest hope I think would be um economic economic stability after substantial growth and this kind of, I don't use the term a lot, but melting pot of diverse cultures and people and backgrounds, and just everything working as a kind of a unit.

#### Reference 6 - 0.67% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Um I've always thought thought that it will get worse before it gets better. I don't know whether we've, we're going through the worst bit or we've just been through the worst bit because there's been a few crazy years. Um, but yeah I do think eventually it will get better. What I hope happens is either somebody, there's a president that comes forward and fixes everything uh with a magic wand. I don't know but yeah um, if there's a party that could come into power that could do that. Or something radical happens. Democracy is scrapped and some kind of dictator comes through but yeah, I just hope there is a massive change.

#### Reference 7 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I think it will improve. Um, I think it might take a while but I still think we will improve. And the one thing that I hope is that our education- 'cause our education is really good. We do have internationally recognised universities. I hope it just improves, gets better. Because then, I feel like it affects all the other issues. Um, ja. Even with, with cultures, with our political problems, social problems, I feel like if our country is better educated, everything else will eventually improve.

#### Reference 8 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: Um I'm quite hopeful of the future of South Africa. I feel like, it seems a little like bit



of an uphill battle but I think one of our biggest strengths is the fact that our people are so diverse and we should use that and play to our advantage instead of seeing it as something that sets us apart. And we should just like, fight.

Files\\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 2.51% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

H: Right so now, finally, how do you see your long term future in South Africa? Your long term future.

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I don't see a future for myself or my kids.

BH: Okay do you have hope for the future of South Africa?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: A little bit. Not a lot.

BH: Okay number ten. How do you see your long term future in South Africa?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Zimbabwe with our flag over it. (laughter)

Reference 2 - 0.59% Coverage

BH: Okay number nine. Your long term future in South Africa

Group 6, Participant 9, M: I don't see a long term future here.

BH: And your hope for the country?

Group 6, Participant 9, M: I hope for it to come around but I don't think it's gonna to happen.

BH: Okay number eight your long term future?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: I don't see a future at the moment. I hope that our leaders do wake up and hopefully read this book. I hope everything will get better.

Reference 3 - 0.31% Coverage

BH: Number seven?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I will make myself a hopeful future. And yes eventually it will. It will. I don't know if in our generation, maybe the next one and the next one after that. But eventually it will come right.

Reference 4 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Well if everyone stands together we can make a long term future in South Africa actually.

Reference 5 - 0.27% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, F: I don't, I don't know. I don't really see a future but I hope there can be a future for us. And I hope it will it will be a better future for my boys. And my grandchild. But I don't know.

Reference 6 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I hope for a better government. Then it will be a better future because I don't see any future. I will stay in an old age home there in wherever with nothing.

Reference 7 - 0.16% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 3, M: I see a hopeful future. By the way some of the places is improving, like I saw so in the past and so on.

Reference 8 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: Number two?

Group 6, Participant 2, F: I will try and make a better future for myself and with my children. And my hope for the future is that my children will have a better future.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 1.52% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: And there is still lots of potential. A lot still can happen.

DL: So you are positive...?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Very much so

DL: How do the rest of you feel?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I'm also optimistic about the future. Definitely.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: You hear of many who want to emigrate, but you also hear of many who want to return. So it can't be all that rosy on the other side.

Reference 2 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I'm positive about our country. We must make the best of what we are able to do with the light and guidance from the Lord

Reference 3 - 0.62% Coverage

DL: Second last question: do you see a future for SA, opportunities in SA, or will things just get worse?

Group 7, Participant ##: I see a future

Group 7, Participant 9, F: We must be positive and maintain our trust.

Group 7, Participant ##: There are opportunities. We identify them.

DL: How do you feel about it?

Group 7, Participant ##: Positive, there are opportunities, and the wheel is starting to turn slowly. You do notice that. We want things to go faster, but the Lord has his own time a way, eventually things will change.

DL: Number 7?

Group 7, Participant 7, F: Positive. Trust. Stay on your knees. I think there is still much for us going forward.

Reference 4 - 0.38% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: I am also positive

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Believe in our Father, believe in our Bible, and go on your knees. Still lots that can happen in the country.

Group 7, Participant 4, M: I also believe that are many opportunities for people who would use them.

DL: Yes

Group 7, Participant 3, F: We must just keep on being positive, and believe, believe and pray. The big thing is to pray.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.30% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.30% Coverage

Do you see a long term future in South Africa, do you see opportunities' to make life better or will things just get worse. What do you say, you said you were staying?

I'll make it.

I would go for it.

It's about your mind set.

You need to keep hoping and believe that things will improve.

I don't think it can get worse than it is now.

I think my prayer has far more power.

They say our faith is important.

I will stay here until we no longer can and they chase me out of the country

You will then fight.

I think it is about what you do, personally, I've tried to earn a living here but people are not willing to pay what I can get overseas, even if I charge half price, the form of digital art that I do I've only seen in Johannesburg and in the Cape. Since I started 5 years ago, I really tried to keep it going in South Africa but SA is not ready for it, if I do graphic designing I will still not earn the same, the crux is it depends on what you do, you have to make it work, if you can't, I even thought that converting dollars here would help but it makes no difference.

## PERSONAL PERSPECTIVES AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.88% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.88% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 12, F: My greatest hope would be that there would be more equality. That everybody could feel secure. Everybody- like I feel secure in my home. I feel secure in my job. I have a good business. There, there's is very little that I genuinely feel pessimistic about. I feel pessimistic because the whole country is like, there is so much distance between the very rich and the rest of the country and I think my greatest hope is that it could be normalised, equalised, that there weren't so many poor people and everybody could feel financially stable. Everybody could feel like the schools are good, the public transport is good, that they can feel like there could be secure jobs, when they get out of school there would be jobs available for them to work in. It's like there's a few people who get to feel that in this country but I feel it is not nearly enough. And that is what my greatest hope is that it could become more equal.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.47% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.26% Coverage

BH: Number five.

Group 3, Participant 5, F: My biggest concern is medical.

BH: Okay. Number four.

Group 3, Participant 4, M: Ja, no, I'll die here. (laughter)

Group 3, Participant ##: We got a little bit of medical help here.

Reference 2 - 0.21% Coverage

But I also worry about medical things. And I mean, maybe I'd feel different if I was thirty but I'm not thirty, I'm at the end of my life. Who cares what happens now. I'm finished my life.

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.32% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: I don't, no, I am asking you. (laughter) you can make it your answer.

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Ok, I mean for travel, ja. I mean I like like to travel but I would love to stay and work in this country. Ja.

BH: And just travel for holidays and business or stuff like that?

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Ja. Yes. Ja.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 1.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.59% Coverage

BH: Okay number nine. Your long term future in South Africa

Group 6, Participant 9, M: I don't see a long term future here.

BH: And your hope for the country?

Group 6, Participant 9, M: I hope for it to come around but I don't think it's gonna to happen.

BH: Okay number eight your long term future?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: I don't see a future at the moment. I hope that our leaders do wake up and hopefully read this book. I hope everything will get better.

Reference 2 - 0.31% Coverage

BH: Number seven?

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I will make myself a hopeful future. And yes eventually it will. It will. I don't know if in our generation, maybe the next one and the next one after that. But eventually it will come right.

Reference 3 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: And your greatest hope for the future of South Africa

Group 6, Participant 3, M: I'll just try look forward, that's all I can do.

Reference 4 - 0.24% Coverage

BH: Number two?

Group 6, Participant 2, F: I will try and make a better future for myself and with my children. And my hope for the future is that my children will have a better future.

Files\\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.69% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.69% Coverage

I think it is about what you do, personally, I've tried to earn a living here but people are not willing to pay what I can get overseas, even if I charge half price, the form of digital art that I do I've only seen in Johannesburg and in the Cape. Since I started 5 years ago, I really tried to keep it going in South Africa but SA is not ready for it, if I do graphic designing I will still not earn the same, the crux is it depends on what you do, you have to make it work, if you can't, I even thought that converting dollars here would help but it makes no difference.

## HOW SA COMPARES WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 3.85% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.52% Coverage

BH: Okay, so how does South Africa compare internationally? Keep it short. Just tell me how it compares.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: If this is your attempt to try to get me to join the group on Facebook that #Iamstaying is not working (laughter)

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I hate it when we start off our conversations with what is happening internationally. Yes there has got to be a yardstick but you have to remember, African problems comes from African problems. Let's use ourselves as a yardstick. Let's set our own goals because this is not Europe.

Reference 2 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: For the four years in Germany the train driver came late once. They fired the driver. We don't do that here. We keep the driver on and we give him a pension and a golden handshake etc. So I am pessimistic. I am expecting things to go very pear shaped in the near future. Look there is a boat waiting for me.

Reference 3 - 0.52% Coverage

BH: You are not going to stay? So okay. Number twelve.

Group 1, Participant 12, F: I feel particularly pessimistic. I think the world (inaudible) got a lot of problems. My sister lives in Northern Ireland. She is a policeman. She is on the border. She is waiting for Brexit to kick off. So they are in a big state of flux. I think a lot of people are right to be pessimistic. Um. But it doesn't really benefit you. So you've either gotta choose to be positive but also be like, have a plan, have a back-up plan because I think it is also very pertinent to be pessimistic.

Reference 4 - 0.76% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Ok I was overseas. I worked there. And it was actually, I loved it, I loved it, it was very good. Because I worked till 1 o'clock in the morning. I worked for a clothing company called "Next". I worked till 1 o'clock in the morning, I could travel with the bus and I could walk down the streets alone at night. It was perfect. But I came back. I was a bit, um, you know the travelling for me, I don't want to drive. I am not a driver so I don't drive, so I'm scared and nervous on the road. And taking the public transport is totally different from overseas and I am a bit nervous when I do travel. (inaudible) the trains and the busses and the taxis and you must worry are they going to rob you, stab you, kill you whatever. But um I've gotten used to being back in South Africa and I am making the most of it.

Reference 5 - 0.68% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Well I am staying. There are family and friends. I love the people that are here. I feel like in other countries there are also major issues of race especially in America. There's pros and cons to wherever you live. I know the crime here is really bad but I also think that apartheid wasn't that long ago and I think we have come very far since then. If I'm comparing it to America we have come very far. Their apartheid was like many more years ago and they are still struggling but I think we have come together in many ways like with this Uyinene that was raped and murdered at the post office I mean we stand together in the important times like when we need to be together. And I mean it's beautiful here so.

Reference 6 - 1.06% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Right. In my early twenties I also had the luxury of a foreign passport. In my early twenties I tried to live overseas. It's very expensive. I have seen white people beg for cents there. I was working at the, not the McDonalds, at the Burger King. I couldn't afford 300 euros to rent my own room. I lived on an enclosed balcony. I was struggling and freezing. But the safety, the safety 2.00.00 was better. That must I say. But the public transport was very expensive. Taking the train will cost you R800 a month. Everything was so expensive and so many white people, I was shocked when I went to the Netherlands, how many white people are living in poverty. Living on balconies. Living underneath the train station. And I came back. And now I decided because I am a South African as well, I decided to stay because in South Africa I have all these problems of the hatred, of apartheid, and not enough jobs and safety but at least here with a job as

a software developer, a junior software developer you can rent a house and you can put food on the table and you don't have to live on somebody else's balcony. So I am staying.

Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 5.71% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.67% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I feel apartheid is a crime against humanity. Because of apartheid we have all these issues like hatred towards whites and so on. Before everybody lived amongst each other in close communities until they were forcefully separated. People lost lands they actually owned. 50.00 I know one particular family member that finely won the case of, couldn't get their land back but at least get 99 year lease paid to them for the land itself. Hitler on the other hand, he was a dictator. He was a totally different story because he wanted to rule the world and change people's DNA and he had evil intend. Australia similar to apartheid and other hand, they tried to wipe out the aborigines which are totally wrong. So a crime against humanity, we should be treating everyone with respect. And if we did that the world would be a totally different place. There would probably be more work because everybody would have helped each other in some sort of a way. But because of that now we have a situation where the whites can't find work because now the blacks demand that they should have the work. The coloureds are stuck in the middle and they are struggling to find their place or their footing somewhere. So apartheid caused the situation we are in now. Caused poverty. Poverty causes crime. People are desperate for money, food, so they are going to resort to crime. So if we didn't have that, yes there would have been issues in the country, every country has issues, but in this level and degree they wouldn't have had it.

References 2-6 - 2.80% Coverage

BH: The world at the moment, we look at the whole big world, East, West, us, Africa, Central. It is pretty disturbed at the moment. There are problems everywhere. 1.55.00 How does South Africa compare as to those other countries that are having problems?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: Disaster

BH: Are we better?

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I don't think we are worse or better. I just we are kind of like

Group 2, Participant ##: At the bottom

Group 2, Participant 9, M: We have our problems but not as big as what America has. Or Russia you know. You know, it's we have our own problems. We see our own problems basically.

Group 2, Participant ##: And we are trying to do something about those problems.

BH: Okay. Other views?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: My wife's other family is from Spain. And I have family and friends in Italy and other people in France. Every country has their own problems. For example living in South Africa we don't really see the crime as much. Or we don't realise it is so bad until you spend six weeks, I was six weeks in Spain, never while I was in South Africa prior to that never ever have I been grabbed by someone and want to actually have to fight for my life. I was literally back in the country for not even three days and a guy grab me by the chest and then I realised the type of crime we have. But that was a couple of years ago but now Europe is having major transformations. The family, my wife's side of the family are really struggling. Spain for example they are struggling financially. There is a lack of work. There is too many people highly educated. Not willing to work. So yes every country, America have their problems. We have a problem with how our country is run. We had a president who is, enough has been said about him already, crazy. France has got really terrible problems as well. There are a few countries that are doing well. Like Luxemburg. That cuts themselves off from everyone else. In fact it is very difficult to get in there. But at the end of the day, my point of view is, my wife and my kids they all have dual citizenship. Spain and here. But my heart is in South Africa. I will stay here as long and I will fight for the country. And that is what all South Africans should do. The problem was most people just ran away to Australia. They are failing. You need to stand up for your country. That is why we have another party that fights for against maybe with another party who is trying to do, disagree. We need to have

disagreements. We need to use the democracy and use it wisely. Fight against crime. Do something about it. You can't just sit back and complain.

Reference 7 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: So if your children, cause your children are little?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: They are eleven and ten.

BH: Okay. So imagine in ten years' time.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: They then know better than I. All their friends are-

BH: Do you think they will leave the country?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I can't say. Um, their closest friends are all here. Their home is here. Their family is here. Our home is here.

BH: Would you leave the country?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: No. I, I've been to, I work out in Africa often so, I have been to Nigeria, uhhh, I've been to uhh Cameroon, I've been to uhh DRC just before the elections. One of my friends were there just before the elections as well. Yes all over it is terrible but people live in like DRC. My friend for example and they live well. They look after themselves. They mingle with the community. They know the community. They befriend them and they treat them with respect and they get along. They all work together as a community. If we can work together as a community and get to, and push aside the differences then the country would move forward but you can't just 2.00.00 pack your bags and run away.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 4.55% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.74% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: And I think the government should answer for that.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: But it not always a government problem. I mean we're a third world country. There is, even before the money was stolen, we must not convince ourselves that this was going to be nirvana. It is well short of where it could have been I quite agree with everything, the corruption has been is endemic and it's been vast. But having said that we are still a third world country struggling. First world countries have problems, they are just slightly different from the ones we have. This, you know, we can't blame everything on corruption.

Reference 2 - 0.38% Coverage

BH: So now I am going to say to you the world at the moment is a pretty disturbed place.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Absolutely.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: Actually it's gone mad.

BH: How does South Africa compare internationally?

Group 3, Participant ##, M: It is a very big wide question.

BH: Yes you can take any stance you like.

Reference 3 - 0.33% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: I think our children over here are a lot better than the children overseas. I think they're more disciplined. And I don't think that they are are into such strange things. And I just generally think that our children here are better than the rest of the world.

Reference 4 - 0.70% Coverage

BH: No, just your perception.



Group 3, Participant 7, F: I think we do, we compare.

BH: Do you think less disturbed, more disturbed?

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I think we less disturbed. On a recent overseas trip I was the only South African on the trip and everybody said South Africa's got to be the worst country ever. They would never come here.

BH: But you are living here so I only want your perception.

Group 3, Participant 7, F: I think we are doing reasonably well.

BH: Okay number six how do you feel?

Group 3, Participant 6, F: I think we are only marginally less disturbed than the rest of the world.

Reference 5 - 0.25% Coverage

BH: Okay. Five?

Group 3, Participant 5, F: I think we are doing okay from what I have seen with my own parents and my sisters and my nieces and my nephews, what is going on there compared to here, I think it is not so bad here.

References 6-7 - 0.64% Coverage

BH: Four?

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I think I will tell you a little story. I come from Italian stock and there were a lot of our Italian family in South Africa here. Come '94 they all left. My cousin tells me the other night she is afraid to go out at night.

BH: In Italy?

Group 3, Participant 4, M: She lives in Italy. In one of the most beautiful parts in Italy. She said she won't go out at night. So does that answer your question?

BH: Okay. No it does. Thank you. Number three?

Group 3, Participant 3, M: If you compare our parliament to Brexit I don't know.

Reference 8 - 0.17% Coverage

BH: You think it could be half and half?

Group 3, Participant 3, M: No look I think we are about as disturbed as what, if you start living like the rest.

References 9-10 - 1.34% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: If you go back to, we're sitting in The Ambers we are finally understood. If you are living in Khayelitsha it a different kettle. If you are living on the flats in Cape Town then your reality is totally different. I think we just got our problems like any other country.

Group 3, Participant ##: Kind of like in the Middle East.

BH: Number nine.

Group 3, Participant 5, F: One thing I always mention to anyone who wants to criticize South Africa is that every single country in the world has got jails. We are all overcrowded and they got the most evil of evil in every single country in the world. So we're no different. You have your problems we have our problems but it is what we choose to perceive is best for you.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I use to have this aspiration of going to live in Hawaii. And you know the television

program Hawaii Five-O. and I looked at the amount of crime that goes on in that country. (laughter)

Group 3, Participant ##: And the volcano...

Group 3, Participant 9, M: I thought I am not going to live there. I am happy to stay here.

Group 3, Participant ##: They have people to solve crimes. We don't. (laughter)

Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 16 references coded [ 6.13% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.30% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think that um just because I've had first-hand experience, um, I I, I'm someone who really believes in this country. I love South Africa. I truly do want to stay here for the rest of my life. My parents were begging me to stay there. I have a Greek passport. I can study abroad. I can live there, I can work there. I have the opportunity to do so. But there's just something about South Africa that always brings me back. I think that we are so quick, and and and I find that a lot of people, who haven't left, um, are very quick to say "no the grass is greener on the other side." And in some aspects it is. But there's bad things everywhere in the world. Crime is an issue everywhere in the world. Corruption is an issue everywhere in the world. And we just see it more because it's really in our face. And because our historical context makes it more prevalent but um I think that it's a mind-set change. I think that people overseas are are, they don't, I don't want to say they don't see like differences are such a big thing, but I find the global community, especially Europe, to be more accepting on differences. Whereas here in South Africa we use difference as a reason to perpetuate hate and a reason to further divisions between people.

References 2-4 - 0.85% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: I think you've gotta take a look at who you are going to compare us to, if you're going to compare us, and what you're going to compare us to. If you gonna to discuss equality um in a social setting, I think we're far behind the the, I, I'm pretty sure I can agree with everybody when she spoke about the global situation, we all went to America, UK and Europe, right? I don't know if anybody else, do anything else, but that was, straight where I went to, bang. And so, looking at the major contributors to kind of the global setting, we are far behind its specific aspects. And I feel like there is another sector, other parts of comparison where you would say it's not because, ahead of the ball on this, or so it's, it's, it's kind of dependent on who you kind of comparing us to and what you're comparing

References 5-9 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: So if you thought outside of that particular boundaries that you laid for me and I said compared to Russia, China, Australia and New Zealand.

Group 5, Participant 8, M: I would say, looking at them I would say if you're gonna look at the whole global setup you've gonna look, us to Venezuela, and the bolivar is one to a million I think it is, to the US dollar. Um, so So climate sit-, economic situation, we're much better in that regard. Ah, um, if you're gonna look at, um, mining and um worker's rights um you can compare that to China, to bring that in, you can compare that to a lot of the South American countries like El Salvador. It's, it's, it's, those are the kind of factors, you want to look at everything, then it's, it's, we're, we are pretty much middle ground. But nobody looks at who's running everything.

Reference 10 - 1.60% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I mean, but when you compare us to the first world there's a reason we're a third world um but if you compare us to the rest of the third world I think we're fairly high up in the rankings. Um.

BH: So what actually is third world? What is third world?

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Do you want the textbook answer? (laughter) This is such a cool fact though. (more laughter) So third world originally referred to any nation that hadn't taken official sides in the the cold war. 1.30.00 So you had the first world countries being, you were either communist, capitalist, or you fell into the states that hasn't really been set in one direction and that, and that was considered third world. It just happened to be that all those countries were really poor countries and the the Russia's, China's, became, oh the Russia and USA became the allies with the UK, the first world. The third world then came to mean

impoverished country.

BH: And who is second world then? If it the first world and third world, who is second world?

Group 5, Participant 5, M: China. (laughter)

Group 5, Participant 8, M: I think we've moved away from first and the third. We now discuss developed and developing and I think that is exactly where that fits in. It's, it's as he said, if if you are still um suffering economically you are developing, you're growing. You're a developing country. And if you are pretty much stable um with, looking at employment rates, um, just general GDP, and you're set and you're structured you're considered developed.

References 11-12 - 0.58% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I also wanted to say, it also depends on what you are comparing us, on which which criteria. So if you look at us compared to the rest of Africa and our constitution we were pretty far ahead of the game. And even with rights for minorities, like um gay marriage where I think we were the only African country to have that legalised. There are still some European countries that make it illegal um so with stuff like personal freedom and equality I think we're quite high up. Even with the developed countries we're still pretty good.

References 13-14 - 0.47% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: On number ten's point, because we had someone come to our school who's from America, and she said that she absolutely loves our constitution's bill of rights because America's constitution has not been updated in over three hundred years. So in that sense, in a sense of written laws of equality we are much further ahead of some first world countries. Although implementation may not reflect what we had decided is the laws.

Reference 15 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: (Laughter) Well I was gonna say with your last question as well like, the country that came to mind, the countries that came to mind, weren't European or American countries, it was South America. Um. That's where my family's from and that's like, you know, I have the most opportunities to go there. I don't know if it would be better than South Africa. I like living here.

Reference 16 - 0.08% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I would actually rather live here than Peru.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 11 references coded [ 5.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.38% Coverage

BH: What do you think happened to all the white people who lost their jobs in the government because of employment equity?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Took their money and run.

BH: And where do you think they ran to?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: Anywhere in the world's better than in here.

Reference 2 - 0.53% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 2, F: Our problems are more than the others. Definitely. We are first on the rank list for violence. No, let me think. I saw it on the news the other day. Yes it was violence. We are first. So our land is gone. It doesn't exist anymore. As I always say, the weather and the land has gone up because today it is hot and tomorrow it is cold. Like today you feel safe. Tomorrow you feel unsafe.

References 3-4 - 1.15% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 3, M: Okay I just want to make an example. We are not the only country that is so bad. One friend told me overseas in America, some or other suburb was a rich suburb. So the blacks said, right, the people, they want to force him out, they want him out of the rich neighbourhood because that neighbourhood belongs to them. As they tried, they gonna give him the neighbourhood back. So the whi-, the

rich people moved out of the neighbourhood. 120.00 The blacks moved in. After six months what was left of the nice neighbourhood? Nothing. All the places had been burned down. The houses. The doorframes, everything has been sold as scrap. So take it for example. Take these blacks. Give them a piece of land. With a farm. House and everything on it. After three or four months you go there. What happened to the place? The place is burnt down. They stay in a shack.

Reference 5 - 0.68% Coverage

BH: So you are saying South Africa's worse than any other country in the world?

Group 6, Participant ##: Yeah. We're becoming that way now.

BH: Okay. Number four.

Group 6, Participant ##: I also feel –

BH: No, no, I want your thoughts on how you compare South Africa's problems with the problems of other countries. Where are we? Are we the worst or the same?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: Well we've got trash status so I think we're worse off than other countries. We haven't got work. We've crime. We've got, we worse off.

References 6-7 - 1.15% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 5, F: Um, I don't know about all the problems in other countries. I don't care. Ah. My brother lives in England. He moved there, I don't know, between ten and fifteen years ago. And if I listen to him that his son, they've got free education. He's in a private school but the kids go to school free. They've got good education. Their medical system is free. But, their country is clean. They haven't I almost wanted to say scrap people around there.

BH: So you think we are quite bad then?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: I think we're quite bad yes. If I just, what she said earlier about the the service that we get in places like the hospitals and the schools and whatever, it's trash.

BH: Okay six, how do we compare internationally?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: Very bad

BH: So you can't think of another country that is worse than us?

Group 6, Participant 6, F: No

References 8-9 - 0.53% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 7, F: Yes there is countries that is worse than us. I've been in Vietnam, economically they're screwed, they've been for a while now. And then the other places, so America, they've got racism as well. So ja if you've got it here, you've got it that side. Some of the places, the, some things we are better. With our stuff in the (inaudible), whatever. And in other places we are worse off.

Reference 10 - 0.46% Coverage

BH: Okay number eight. How do you feel?

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Worse off. Definitely worse off I think. I understand that there is countries that is worse than us but we don't live there. We are talking about our land. This is where we live.

BH: Okay number nine

Group 6, Participant 9, M: I will say also our land is also worse for this crime and that.

Reference 11 - 0.85% Coverage

BH: Number ten? Don't be despondent number ten please tell me.

Group 6, Participant 10, M: The only country, we're only not worse off than Zimbabwe because we have more commodities still to spend and to give away to the rest of the world. That's why we are not worse off than them. I don't think we very far ahead of them where Zimbabwe is currently.

BH: Okay number eleven how do you feel?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I think the country is in a bad state at the moment. There are countries like Israel, at war, that's much worse than what we are. Um. But if it carries on going like it is going then we are going to be one of the worst countries in the world.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 1.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.78% Coverage

DL: Yes, It is so. We now come to the last subject: are you optimistic or pessimistic about South Africa's future? We've spoken about many things. We say that South Africa today is an upside down place, but is the whole world not just as upside down? Look at America, the Middle East, even in the East. Is it only South Africa that is upside down? How does South Africa compare internationally?

02:05:15

Group 7, Participant 2, F: We only hear what happens here. We only see what is happening in other countries through the news, but it's the same there. We're just not aware of it.

Group 7, Participant ##: It's like that all over.

DL: So, it's not just South Africa that's messed up.

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

DL: The world is also messed up.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: And there is still lots of potential. A lot still can happen.

References 2-4 - 0.62% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 4, M: You hear of many who want to emigrate, but you also hear of many who want to return. So it can't be all that rosy on the other side.

DL: What do you say number 5?

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I agree with that. All who leave the country come back to their own country.

Group 7, Participant ##: They always think...

(All agreeing)

DL: So things aren't all that bad

Group 7, Participant 2, F: they don't know what is happening there. They say it's greener on the other side. Earn good money in Australia.

Group 7, Participant ##, M: They hear that it's better there

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They think its greener there, but in the end they return.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 6 references coded [ 1.41% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 4, F: I just want to say, if we look at one of the strongest economies in the world, ie.

China, they have very strong law enforcement. Super duper duper strict.

DL: But they apply it.

Group 8, Participant 4, F: But they make it work so people can reason that we have freedom of speech and democracy but what has it really done for us essentially.

Reference 3 - 0.56% Coverage

Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of South Africa? The world is in chaos, there are wars in Iran and the Middle East, Africa, the DRC, Sudan, and it is a chaotic place. In comparison internationally, how do we compare?

Better than in other countries. We think the grass is greener on the other side, we only see the problems we have but we don't really know what is going on elsewhere.

I just think that we have become accustomed to it.

Reference 4 - 0.13% Coverage

I think if you want to compare, also have a look at the size of the country, you can't compete with say the UK.

References 5-6 - 0.26% Coverage

South Africa - growing up on the farm, the wild life, we love it, having been overseas there are many things that South Africa does not have, the thing is, we love what we have that's why we don't want to leave it.

## LEAVING OR STAYING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 22 references coded [ 8.98% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.07% Coverage

BH: But you will stay?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: No I am not going to stay.

References 2-3 - 0.63% Coverage

BH: And would your back-up plan be to live in another country or a back-up plan to do other things in this country?

Group 1, Participant ##: A back-up plan would be to go somewhere else. I mean, I don't think anybody wants to live in a situation that you feel is untenable because it is a bit liable. I have the luxury of a passport as well. So that would be my back-up plan because I have that luxury. I know it's not the same for everybody else. I don't have kids, I don't have a lot of those kind of trappings. I have, you know, finances to do whatever I want to do. So it's a, it's a, it's a a difficult time right now to know what the right thing to do is and you know how long to stick it out.

Reference 4 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, M: I am staying. I feel that I can help. Even if it is a small thing. Even if it is just raising my children to love and respect each other and from there they can grow. We can, maybe not in my time but in the future because this country can be great. Um, that is why I think I am going to stay and see what I can do to help.

Reference 5 - 1.26% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I would say I am positive. I wouldn't even move to another province. Never mind another country. And I think the reason I am very positive right now is because I feel we are almost in a state of change. I think about the femicides and all the protests that happened all across Cape Town in terms of the woman that was killed at the post office. With social media yes it can be a negative thing but it can also be a very positive thing in terms of making people aware. And I think a lot of people are now, we are getting out of that apartheid era phase thing and we are getting to this thing of saying we are human beings, we are all South Africans and we are all speaking the same language. Whether we are black or white or coloured or Indian, it doesn't matter. We all feel the crime. We all feel um you know, government is corrupt. We are all feeling the same thing. It is no longer this where actual one race is benefitting over another. We are all feeling the brunt of it. And I think again in terms of the privileged people, there is still a few white people that are privileged. There are very few black people that are privileged but the majority of us live in ordinary houses and ordinary suburbs. You don't really have the money or the things to do the things that we want to do so I am happy to stay. I think we are on the verge of something.

Reference 6 - 0.67% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I am, I have a lot of family in the UK. My dad's family. And I am actually very disappointed in myself because I could have gone to live over there. I have a daughter here now. I'm married so it is different for me. I just feel very despondent sometimes because when I speak to my family in England they will tell me about their crime and I compare it to our crime and it's just like, things are not getting better here. Sorry I know I sound very negative but-

BH: I asked you what you thought. So are you staying or are you going?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: It's really, I don't know, I just, I wish I could go

BH: You wish you could go but you are going to stay?

Group 1, Participant 4, F: Yes I am going to stay.

References 7-9 - 0.76% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Ok I was overseas. I worked there. And it was actually, I loved it, I loved it, it was very

good. Because I worked till 1 o'clock in the morning. I worked for a clothing company called "Next". I worked till 1 o'clock in the morning, I could travel with the bus and I could walk down the streets alone at night. It was perfect. But I came back. I was a bit, um, you know the travelling for me, I don't want to drive. I am not a driver so I don't drive, so I'm scared and nervous on the road. And taking the public transport is totally different from overseas and I am a bit nervous when I do travel. (inaudible) the trains and the busses and the taxis and you must worry are they going to rob you, stab you, kill you whatever. But um I've gotten used to being back in South Africa and I am making the most of it.

#### Reference 10 - 0.97% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I am staying. I have every opportunity to go um with family, whatever, but I am staying.

BH: Okay. And seven?

Group 1, Participant 7, M: I am staying. I am making the best of it. As long as the monies keep on coming in. I am staying because if you got this you can give that away.

BH: Okay. Eight

Group 1, Participant 8, F: Well I am staying. There are family and friends. I love the people that are here. I feel like in other countries there are also major issues of race especially in America. There's pros and cons to wherever you live. I know the crime here is really bad but I also think that apartheid wasn't that long ago and I think we have come very far since then. If I'm comparing it to America we have come very far. Their apartheid was like many more years ago and they are still struggling but I think we have come together in many ways like with this Uyinene that was raped and murdered at the post office I mean we stand together in the important times like when we need to be together. And I mean it's beautiful here so.

#### References 11-12 - 1.06% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: Right. In my early twenties I also had the luxury of a foreign passport. In my early twenties I tried to live overseas. It's very expensive. I have seen white people beg for cents there. I was working at the, not the McDonalds, at the Burger King. I couldn't afford 300 euros to rent my own room. I lived on an enclosed balcony. I was struggling and freezing. But the safety, the safety 2.00.00 was better. That must I say. But the public transport was very expensive. Taking the train will cost you R800 a month. Everything was so expensive and so many white people, I was shocked when I went to the Netherlands, how many white people are living in poverty. Living on balconies. Living underneath the train station. And I came back. And now I decided because I am a South African as well, I decided to stay because in South Africa I have all these problems of the hatred, of apartheid, and not enough jobs and safety but at least here with a job as a software developer, a junior software developer you can rent a house and you can put food on the table and you don't have to live on somebody else's balcony. So I am staying.

#### References 13-14 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 10, M: For the sake of the conversation, I am staying. But I am actually leaving but not because of what we are talking about here. I am leaving because of the job opportunity and it's not because I want to go. But for the sake of this conversation, I am optimistic about the future of South Africa. I do think-

#### Reference 15 - 0.37% Coverage

BH: So now I am just going to pop next to door and find out if there is any other questions. Right, there is just a question, that last section about children. If for one reason or another you have opted to stay in South Africa would you be happy for your children to move away from the country?

Group 1, Participant 2, M: No I am going to miss them too much. (laughter) That is the only reason. I am sorry.

#### Reference 16 - 0.56% Coverage

BH: And you because you have a child?

Group 1, Participant ##: Sorry you were asking?

BH: Would you be happy for your child to move away from this country?



Group 1, Participant 4, F: Yes (nodding her head)

BH: You would be happy? You have children number five?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Yes

BH: What would you want for your children?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: Their plans are actually to immigrate overseas.

BH: And you are happy with that?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: I am happy with that.

BH: And which country?

Group 1, Participant 5, F: London

BH: And which country for yours?

Group 1, Participant #: UK

Reference 17 - 0.87% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: No I wouldn't. I have spoken to my children. Well they are very small still but my thinking is that my children are very privileged. They can read. They can write. They can get education, have a roof over their heads, they have a mother and father and they have food to eat. And because of that they are already 70% better off than each child in South Africa. And for that reason, because of the privilege that I received, they need to be the change. They need to make a difference. They need to see where what we have been blessed with, or with what we have worked for or inherited, they can use to change that statistic.

BH: Here in South Africa?

Group 1, Participant 6, F: Here in South Africa.

BH: Okay. Number seven

Group 1, Participant 7, M: Like I said, I'm staying so my kids are staying and they are going to make the best of it, go to this multi-racial schools and just do what they need do to make it in life.

References 18-19 - 0.37% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: I would love for, when I have children then, for them to stay here but if things really go downhill like, they don't improve in any way then I would rather let them be safe and happy somewhere else.

BH: In which country would you 2.10.00 dream them to be in?

Group 1, Participant 8, F: I have no idea. Everyone seems to be going to New Zealand or Australia. So maybe there.

Reference 20 - 0.26% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 2, F: I would obviously want my kids to stay in South Africa because I would love them to love South Africa. I mean this is our country and I think there is a reason that we were born in the country that we were born in and I want them to love their country, so -

Reference 21 - 0.22% Coverage

BH: Thank you. I will just check. You don't have any children?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I do

BH: Oh you do have children? I am terribly sorry number eleven or is it number ten?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I am not leaving my kids here at all.

Reference 22 - 0.30% Coverage

BH: But you just had an international job offer and you go?

Group 1, Participant ##: (pointing at number ten)

BH: Okay you did. Sorry I got you confused. Are you staying?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: No. Havoc, mayhem on the cards.

BH: And what country are you going to?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Duitsland (Germany)

Files\\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 15 references coded [ 6.57% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Coming in and out of the country like you want to. It is nothing coming into South Africa now. Anybody can come to South Africa. But nobody can go to England. You have to have a passport, an English test and this and that. You understand?

Group 2, Participant ##: (inaudible) is costing money.

Reference 2 - 1.15% Coverage

And among the African cultures they believe, they teach their children to not go to school. They value working for a measly income rather than getting a decent education. Even though education is given to them. So it has a negative impact on South Africa within itself and now there is a (inaudible) they don't want to fill the places, to take the roles to receive the education and then we can't receive it in any case. So for white South Africans it is very difficult. It leaves us with a bleak future for our children. We might be lucky enough to have some sort of work but for our children, unless you know someone, unless you start your own business and become an entrepreneur and unless you get along with people you are not really going to fit in. 25.00 We are not going to be accepted within South Africa. What happens is you become educated and you leave the country and South Africa loses quality qualified engineers and so on. Highly qualified people going to another country like Europe or wherever. And that is the disaster for the country as it is as a whole.

Reference 3 - 0.39% Coverage

A lot of people that I know that are quite educated that has businesses out here, they are leaving. And a lot of friends of mine they are immigrating and I see it the whole time. A few have been leaving. I have another friend of mine, even a priest is now going to Australia at the end of the year. So a lot of people are leaving due to that that they can't go further.

Reference 4 - 0.68% Coverage

But at the end of the day, my point of view is, my wife and my kids they all have dual citizenship. Spain and here. But my heart is in South Africa. I will stay here as long as I will fight for the country. And that is what all South Africans should do. The problem was most people just ran away to Australia. They are failing. You need to stand up for your country. That is why we have another party that fights for against maybe with another party who is trying to do, disagree. We need to have disagreements. We need to use the democracy and use it wisely. Fight against crime. Do something about it. You can't just sit back and complain.

References 5-6 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: So if your children, cause your children are little?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: They are eleven and ten.

BH: Okay. So imagine in ten years' time.

Group 2, Participant 8, M: They then know better than I. All their friends are-

BH: Do you think they will leave the country?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: I can't say. Um, their closest friends are all here. Their home is here. Their family is here. Our home is here.

BH: Would you leave the country?

Group 2, Participant 8, M: No. I, I've been to, I work out in Africa often so, I have been to Nigeria, uhhh, I've been to uhh Cameroon, I've been to uhh DRC just before the elections. One of my friends were there just before the elections as well. Yes all over it is terrible but people live in like DRC. My friend for example and they live well. They look after themselves. They mingle with the community. They know the community. They befriend them and they treat them with respect and they get along. They all work together as a community. If we can work together as a community and get to, and push aside the differences then the country would move forward but you can't just 2.00.00 pack your bags and run away.

#### References 7-11 - 1.77% Coverage

BH: Ok. And so other views from others? How many of you if your children left or leave or will encourage your children to leave?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I would.

Group 2, Participant 7, F: My two boys wants to leave one day.

BH: Okay. Where will they go to?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: Somewhere they want to basically go and play professional soccer in another country. Definitely somewhere. Probably UK

BH: So would they go because of the soccer or would they go because they are white?

Group 2, Participant 7, F: They actually want to leave. Yes. My children are actually both races. My husband is a coloured guy. And so they, in the beginning they used to say they are peach because I never talk about colour. But they still want to leave. Yeah. So that is their vision. I would probably leave if I can but my daughter says no. She wants to stay here. So

BH: Alright. Now you said you would leave, number four. Tell me why? And would you encourage your children to leave?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I would encourage my daughter. I won't leave but I will encourage them to go.

BH: And which country would you choose?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Australia.

BH: Why?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I have family there. So I would encourage them to leave because it is a much better lifestyle. And yeah. There can be crime but it is like this much.

BH: Why would you stay?

Group 2, Participant 4, F: Me?

BH: Yes because you said you won't leave.

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I've got family there but my whole family is here. And I have friends there. My ma and my grandmother and everybody is here so I won't leave them. Except if all of them pass away then I will go.

References 12-14 - 0.40% Coverage

BH: Okay and other views please.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: My daughter has a British passport. Because her daddy is British. If I can go tonight I will pack and go. But I can't because I need like a spousal visa that is costing R30 000, airplane ticket, its expensive. I just don't have those funds.

BH: And will your daughter go to

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Yes she will go.

Reference 15 - 0.60% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: I will only leave if Bill Gates employs me. (laughter) No serious. If any person can employ me for more than what I can get. If I can, if he can guarantee me a salary to actually live better than what I am today, I will go. I will go where the money is.

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Money is not everything.

Group 2, Participant ##: Money is not everything

BH: No we are not going to discuss this.

Group 2, Participant 9, M: But my thing is that if he employs me and I can take my whole family and my standard of living is going to go up, I will go.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 10 references coded [ 4.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.20% Coverage

I do however feel positive. And I would never want to live anywhere else in another country. I am certainly very happy here but I am aware that there are a lot of problems.

Reference 2 - 0.64% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 8, M: If you're talking about white reactionaries I don't know how they, I don't think they ever envisaged um a a permanent a permanent sort of outcome of their any destabilisation tactic. Um, there was Oranje. We're still looking at its vestiges now, its not come to be an independent state. We've got no white homeland. All those things that were toyed with and were talked about, that were hypothesised at the time didn't come to pass. I just think that they're gonna - some of us, to be brutally frank, cannot leave South Africa.

Reference 3 - 0.25% Coverage

If we could leave South Africa, many of us might. But some of us are stuck here and we just do not know how to deal with the situation that we are in at the moment. Um. We are struggling with it as much as anybody else is.

Reference 4 - 0.63% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: Absolutely. So we had all kinds of - but I think a lot of people that would be fall guys, they weren't put up as as as scapegoats. They realised that one they couldn't leave. Two they have didn't have money to go anywhere and do anything about trying to change their lives. They weren't going to go to Paraguay like a lot of Nazis did after the war. So I mean, the fact is, they stayed. Well they thought if I am going to stay I don't want to be prosecuted so I better fess up and come to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

References 5-6 - 1.09% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: If I can just answer the question on children because I asked if you have children. That is what had affected me most. Like number eight was saying, like he was saying earlier, I think around the table here our roots are pretty deep here. For us to move out it's pretty difficult. Whether we want to stay or we want to go it's it's it's hard. But for my kids and for many other kids, and this is my personal view, if they wanted to go overseas, I would say go with pleasure. None of my kids could find jobs in this country. None of them. They all had to travel overseas. And they are all flourishing overseas. And they're in the legal profession and accounting profession and they couldn't get jobs here. So that was hard for me. From from that point of view and and they were top of the class but they were they were they were pretty run of the mill but they couldn't find jobs. Went overseas, then walked into jobs over there.

Reference 7 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 2, F: I've got one who lives in Maritzburg and she would like to go. Her fiancé wouldn't like to go. I would like, 50% of me would like her to go and 50% would like her to stay.

Group 3, Participant ##: Because you are a mother.

Reference 8 - 0.17% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 4, M: My one is gone. My other one is going at the end of the year.

BH: And you are happy about that?

Group 3, Participant 4, M: Yes.

Reference 9 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 3, Participant ##: But otherwise from a social perspective from a point of view from the quality of life we are way ahead of anywhere else in the world. I mean the people are stunning. Black and white. If you want to put colour into it. It is a great place to live and I am happy.

BH: Thank you seven.

Group 3, Participant 7, F: Yeah, I love South Africa. I love being here in The Ambers, I'm safe, I'm secure. Yes there are certain issues with regards to the future particularly as you were saying, in the medical profession.

Reference 10 - 0.50% Coverage

BH: Okay number two.

Group 3, Participant 2, F: I couldn't live without our black people. I think they are (inaudible) people.

Group 3, Participant ##: Who would clean up the mess (laughter)

Group 3, Participant 2, F: They are the warmest people. But I also worry about medical things. And I mean, maybe I'd feel different if I was thirty but I'm not thirty, I'm at the end of my life. Who cares what happens now. I'm finished my life.

Files\\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 15 references coded [ 6.11% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.93% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I think they obviously either just took pay cuts or found different jobs. Ja and a lot of people have either decided to go overseas. I've a couple of friends and family that had gone over and looking to go over and I for one am also going over. I'm going to China to teach. And it just for me being out of fear of having a daughter and um living in South Africa which is a country that I love but just being the violent crime for me that's been an eye opener. What we've seen, it's become the norm. It's become the norm to read the news and see that this person had been murdered, this person has been killed and raped. And. Especially women abuse as well. The amount of women violent crime, it is not something that I want my daughter to ever grow up and be the norm for her. 1.25.00 Norm must be when you see something like that, that it is not normal. So That's been my reason.

Reference 3 - 0.33% Coverage

BH: Okay you might as a white have your grumbles but do you think that realistically speaking you would be

better off elsewhere? And would you like to leave South Africa? I am going to start with you number four.

Group 4, Participant 4, M: No definitely not. I love my country. But just some, some aspects need to change.

Reference 4 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: But if we all have equal rights you go to this place you get the job okay. If you want to do that you got to have a diploma. If you don't get out. So make equal rights equal opportunities. Um ja, then, like I said I love this country. And then it will flourish again. Like what it used to be.

References 5-8 - 0.77% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 8, M: I would leave the country.

BH: Okay where would you go?

Group 4, Participant 8: Ah, well I've only been to Australia but for example I would like to move to New Zealand. I like the idea. I don't like paying tax but as long as you get something back from it. So I know you do get some services but not very good. Um. When I was in Australia you could drive a bus into town for 50 cents and things run like, like clockwork. You don't get that here. You can't use the services when you want to.

BH: Okay and what would be the main reason why you would leave?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: There are more opportunities there for young people.

BH: Okay. Have you done more than just thinking about it?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: No.

References 9-10 - 0.91% Coverage

BH: Okay and what about everybody else? Who would like to leave and who would like to stay?

Group 4, Participant 6, F: I ain't leaving. I am not leaving. I'm not about to. Because of my family, not because of anyone else.

BH: Okay number five?

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Truthfully this is my home. If I have to leave one day because there absolutely is no more chance left I will face that scenario then. I still believe there is a chance. And this is my home. Despite what politicians say about, white people are foreigners in this country. We're not. I'm sorry, I was born in this country, I was raised in this country. I am not a racial person. This is my home, I have as much right to it. As the politicians are screaming I should be out of the country because I am a foreigner.

BH: Okay number three

Group 4, Participant 3, F: I am not going anywhere. I'm staying here. This is my-

Reference 11 - 1.24% Coverage

BH: I am going to ask you about that. Would you be happy for your children to move away from the country?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I think for the difference between, I saw South Africa when it was amazing. Other younger generations have only seen the mass, you know the mass breakdown, and so I'm hoping- they say history always runs in circles. I'm hoping that we will eventually, I just don't know if it will be in my lifetime (laughs) which is a bit depressing. But for my children's sake, I don't know. It seems like the only reason that I would move would be the economics because everything else is so wonderful about this country. And when you said what, you know, am I an optimist or a pessimist? I'm very much an optimist because compared to other countries we have freedom of choice. We have freedom of religion. We have, you know fortunately gay people can be married in this country. There is so many wonderful things that are just overlooked and just stamped on by all the negativity. And I think that negativity breeds negativity. So if we're all nay-sayers, nothing is going to change. So I think we all need to raise our children to be, to embrace the change and

make it work.

#### References 12-15 - 1.61% Coverage

BH: So number seven I want to ask you, do you think you will come back to the country? You said you are going to China in April?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: No in three weeks. I am just waiting for my visa.

BH: So do you think you will come back to South Africa?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: We going with the intention of not coming back. So, my in-laws are going to the UK on an ancestral visa. It's terribly sad for me because I believe that it splits up families. For me how I feel the current state of affairs but I'm personally for one I don't feel safe raising my daughter here so we said to my parents, please come with, we would love them to, and they said that South Africa's their home and this is the place they were born and the place they want to die. So ja, we are going over. We are going to work in China for a year and if my in-laws are settled down in the UK we then want to go and join them and if not then I'll consider potentially renewing. Um, we would, we do love this country. We've got no natural disasters here. We've got the best weather. And I think one of the best beaches in the world and nature. Lovely long stretches where you can ride your bikes and can go for walks and things like that but for me um personal safety is my number one priority.

BH: So number eight if you go do you think you will ever come back?

Group 4, Participant 8, M: No. I'm also gonna go to China, probably next year sometime, I will also use it a platform to go elsewhere where there is more money. It makes it easier to move on. If I had the money I would have moved a long time ago.

#### Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 21 references coded [ 6.37% Coverage]

##### Reference 1 - 1.30% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I think that um just because I've had first-hand experience, um, I I, I'm someone who really believes in this country. I love South Africa. I truly do want to stay here for the rest of my life. My parents were begging me to stay there. I have a Greek passport. I can study abroad. I can live there, I can work there. I have the opportunity to do so. But there's just something about South Africa that always brings me back. I think that we are so quick, and and and I find that a lot of people, who haven't left, um, are very quick to say "no the grass is greener on the other side." And in some aspects it is. But there's bad things everywhere in the world. Crime is an issue everywhere in the world. Corruption is an issue everywhere in the world. And we just see it more because it's really in our face. And because our historical context makes it more prevalent but um I think that it's a mind-set change. I think that people overseas are are, they don't, I don't want to say they don't see like differences are such a big thing, but I find the global community, especially Europe, to be more accepting on differences. Whereas here in South Africa we use difference as a reason to perpetuate hate and a reason to further divisions between people.

##### Reference 2 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: (Laughter) Well I was gonna say with your last question as well like, the country that came to mind, the countries that came to mind, weren't European or American countries, it was South America. Um. That's where my family's from and that's like, you know, I have the most opportunities to go there. I don't know if it would be better than South Africa. I like living here.

##### References 3-4 - 0.08% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 11, F: I would actually rather live here than Peru.

##### Reference 5 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I would go overseas um just for the opportunities in my specific field that I am pursuing.

BH: Okay, and would you come back ever or do you think or do you think you will go for good?

Group 5, Participant 10, M: If the opportunity's to come back here then I would probably come back because

this country's great, but as it stands, no.

BH: Okay, number nine

Group 5, Participant 9, F: So it wasn't sort of go for good.

Reference 6 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: I don't, no, I am asking you. (laughter) you can make it your answer.

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Ok, I mean for travel, ja. I mean I like like to travel but I would love to stay and work in this country. Ja.

BH: And just travel for holidays and business or stuff like that?

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Ja. Yes. Ja.

Reference 7 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: It's actually quite interesting because we've been offered the same thing. I was offered a job in London and I turned it down and I said I want to stay um for my own, own personal reasons but like, I love South Africa and um I know I know that if I was to move and I would get settled, more than likely not I would not come back despite how much I love South Africa. I would be too much to move back. It's just difficult when you're set in your ways. And so at this point where I want to be is South Africa. And so I'm staying.

Reference 8 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 7, M: I would like to travel overseas and have holidays and such but um the degree I want to pursue, the degree I want to pursue's options and opportunities are much better over here. So I'd rather stay and work here.

Reference 9 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 6, F: In my life I've already been to, I think it's close to eighteen countries. Um. And I love traveling. It's just, I'm very passionate about it and I find that the culture there, they live in so much freedom and they, they aren't scared. And I can't necessarily pinpoint a certain country that I would move to because I have to explore them more and really get a feel for their countries. 1.35.00 but I'd much rather live in a place where I feel safe to walk around the streets and go out at night and just, as a white female drive in my car through town for example and still feel safe. And I think that freedom is just, we don't have enough freedom and it's so restricting living in this country because of that.

References 10-12 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: I think South Africa's kind of like the Wild West right now. With great risk comes great reward. If if you stay you have the potential to make so much money and a place for yourself in the country. But at the same time it's risky. So if things do get more risky the prospectus changes and I may leave because of that. But right now it looks like things are going relatively well.

Reference 13 - 0.39% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I love this country. Um, I intend to stay here for the rest of my life. I've done it, I've lived away, I've experienced different problems – ok it was only one country that I lived in but um I think where I want to go in my life, South Africa is a good place for me and it's, I'm I'm quite hopeful for the future and that the youth will make the changes happen.

References 14-16 - 0.29% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: Um, so like number eight was saying we got an offer to go work overseas and um I've taken the offer to work in London so I start next year. Um my intention is to go for four to five years and then either return to South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia or Mauritius.

References 17-18 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: It would, yeah, yeah, currently those are the four countries that sort of, are reasonably – I've always want to move back to a developing country with a, sort of, available nature and everything. Um. But is doesn't necessarily have to be South Africa. But very likely Southern Africa.



References 19-21 - 0.84% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: Well I will probably move but just to gain experience or to pursue or progress my career. Like for the degree that I want to go into, South Africa doesn't offer it here so I have to go overseas to study. But I would like to come back because I love the weather, first of all. (laughter) And I've, I have travelled. I've gone to different places and I do love the culture of other countries but, there's this thing about home you know, brings you back. But I have to look at the situation in five years' time, you know, see then. For me, as long it is, you do have to think about yourselves as well. Like, if I stay here will I end up being on the streets with nothing? Or will I have a chance, you know, to have a house or an apartment or just a place to sleep? So I've seen the future, come close to the future.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 8 references coded [ 2.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.28% Coverage

BH: Okay so now I am going to go this way around the table. Would you like to leave South Africa?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: Yes.

BH: And where would you go?

Group 6, Participant 11, M: I'd go to Texas or New Zealand

Reference 2 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: Number ten would you like to leave South Africa?

Group 6, Participant 10, M: I don't, I don't I don't think so.

BH: Okay, alright, number nine.

Group 6, Participant 9, M: I won't leave the country. This is actually my birth land. I was born here.

Reference 3 - 0.20% Coverage

BH: Okay number eight

Group 6, Participant 8, M: Yes he's right, my birth land but enough is enough. I don't want my kids growing up here. Sydney Australia.

Reference 4 - 0.15% Coverage

BH: Okay, number seven

Group 6, Participant 7, F: I'll stay.

BH: Number six

Group 6, Participant 6, F: I'll stay.

Reference 5 - 0.18% Coverage

BH: Five

Group 6, Participant 5, F: I will leave.

BH: Where would you like to go to?

Group 6, Participant 5, F: I would love to go to England.

Reference 6 - 0.32% Coverage

BH: Number four?

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I will stay. This is my place. I will fight for it.

BH: Number three? 1.25.00

Group 6, Participant 3, F: I will also stay here.

BH: Number two?

Group 6, Participant 2, F: I will also stay. This is my land.

Reference 7 - 0.46% Coverage

BH: So how many of you would be happy for you children to move away from the country? Would you be happy for your children to go?

Group 6, Participant ##: Yes. Definitely. (most agreeing)

Group 6, Participant ##: There is more (inaudible) than what they have here.

Group 6, Participant 4, F: If they've got the opportunity, go. There isn't any here.

Reference 8 - 0.16% Coverage

BH: Okay number nine. Your long term future in South Africa

Group 6, Participant 9, M: I don't see a long term future here.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 14 references coded [ 4.77% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.62% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 4, M: You hear of many who want to emigrate, but you also hear of many who want to return. So it can't be all that rosy on the other side.

DL: What do you say number 5?

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I agree with that. All who leave the country come back to their own country.

Group 7, Participant ##: They always think...

(All agreeing)

DL: So things aren't all that bad

Group 7, Participant 2, F: they don't know what is happening there. They say it's greener on the other side. Earn good money in Australia.

Group 7, Participant ##, M: They hear that it's better there

Group 7, Participant 3, F: They think its greener there, but in the end they return.

Reference 2 - 0.33% Coverage

DL: Our next question states: as white people we have many objections, but realistically, would it be better elsewhere , and would you like to leave SA?

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

Group 7, Participant 11, M: My brother has been in London for 8 years now. He says he will never return to SA. I'll never leave SA. Where must I go? What am I going to do in London?

Reference 3 - 0.03% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Reference 4 - 0.49% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: I like South Africa. We don't have all those storms and things that hit them. Earthquakes and so on.

Group 7, Participant ##, F: It's a lovely place, lots of sunshine. Always rainy in England. I like SA.

Number 9?

Group 7, Participant 9, f: I'll stay here. Number 8 said just now that the Lord is still in control. It does not mean sitting back and not doing anything, but we must maintain our faith and trust that somewhere along the line, things will go better with us.

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

Reference 5 - 0.19% Coverage

DL: Good, now the next one. Should you leave SA, where would you like to go? Let's start with number 7.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: To the graveyard... (Laughter) At our age that's the nicest place to go.

References 6-7 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: To that distant family in Australia maybe, because I don't have a choice.

DL: Number 5.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I'll choose an island where I can be on my own, or Switzerland.

Reference 8 - 0.28% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 4, M: I won't do well on the other side, because I don't speak English too well. I understand a little, but I won't manage there. Like my late wife, when we were in Durban, and she wanted a dishcloth, so she said I'm looking for a "washing lap".

People won't understand me either.

Reference 9 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 3, F: The truth is SA is my place. We must just learn to respect each other, and take the feelings of others into account

DL: And make a success of it.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: Absolutely.

Group 7, Participant ##: I agree with you whole heartedly.

Reference 10 - 1.13% Coverage

DL: Fine, let's see now, what if you children wanted to leave. How would you feel? Many of them are overseas today or work there. How would you feel about that number 1?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: I think it's a good thing to gain knowledge of other countries.

DL: You won't cry over the grand children?

Group 7, Participant 11, M: They can go if they wish. Let them go and explore the world, see what it's like there. Maybe the grass is greener there.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: If they can have a better future there. I won't stand in their way.

02:10:09

Group 7, Participant 3, F: It's also an eye opener for our children to go outside of SA.

Group 7, Participant 7, F: We are already old and finished, it's the youth that count today.

Group 7, Participant 9, F: I won't stop my children from going. The grandchildren will miss me.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: I have a son in law who works in America, he returns for a while every 8 months, it's good for him to do it like that, we accept it like that. We have a grand daughter who is planning to go and work in America after finishing Matric. I'm satisfied. It's their choice, their lives that lie ahead. We've lived our life, so if that is their choice, I accept it like that.

Reference 11 - 0.36% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: Many countries, among others, for example, I think Scotland, have much more to offer young people and their children than our country. A friend of mine is there. During her pregnancy, they arranged for a mid-wife to assist. The children pay no school fees. So they are in fact rewarded to stay there.

Group 7, Participant 10, F: And they have no doctor's fees.

References 12-13 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: If they want to go they must do that. I'll stay right here.

Group 7, Participant 5, M: I agree. If they enjoy greater peace than in our country, I'm happy for them.

Reference 14 - 0.73% Coverage

DL: Pardon. Don't you feel it's a brain drain for us here in SA?

Group 7, Participant ##, F: No.

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Yes. With reference to many types of work, specialized professions, I can't find the right word now, capable people.

DL: Is it not those qualified and trained persons who get the jobs overseas?

Group 7, Participant ##: Yes.

DL: I mean, an unqualified person will get nowhere.

Group 7, Participant ##: Must be trained.

DL: Is that not a bad thing then?

Group 7, Participant 8, M: It is. For example technicians, Eskom, doctors who go overseas, those are the people we need to keep the country going, that expertise to keep to keep Eskom going

Group 7, Participant ##: That's right

DL: That's exactly what it (inaudible)

Group 7, Participant ##: We lose that

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 27 references coded [ 7.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.33% Coverage

Group 8, Participant 6, F: I'm worried about safety, no one is safe, of us that would like children one day, I would not like to leave South Africa, I'd like to farm here as it is better than other countries for me but my safety and that of my children is what worries me.

References 2-3 - 0.31% Coverage

I understand that not many white people want to leave South Africa, this is where we were born, it's our country and you want to stay with your people, but there are many like me, I'm on my way to Canada as it will be much better for me there than here.

#### Reference 4 - 0.55% Coverage

Let's have a look at the 8th subject. How do whites fit into South Africa? Do you feel at ease today in South Africa as a white man or woman, if you say yes, why, if you say no, why?

No. Safety, especially at night you have to lock your doors you make sure that all is closed and alarmed as well, 2ndly you just cannot find employment, even white women, just think of how many people are emigrating, where is the future of a white person in this country

#### References 5-6 - 0.62% Coverage

I would say no, safety, unemployment rate is so high, there is a lot of love for the country that makes you want to stay but you have to sleep with cameras and alarms. I have been overseas and I stayed in a hotel, slept with my door open, woke up and all my personal belongings were still there, you didn't have to worry about it.

Definitely uneasy, 5-10 years ago on the farm, you didn't have to lock the bakkies, you could leave the keys in, now you can't do it anymore, you have to get security to patrol.

#### References 7-9 - 1.33% Coverage

One of the reasons why I am leaving is quality of life, safety, quality of medical attention.

01:50:08

You pay your taxes but you know you can go and study what you want to because it is for free, you have amazing medical care, you can go anywhere, and you don't even need a car. Never mind the fact that we don't have all of this, you can't enjoy the country unless you go to the rural areas or go into nature itself. You are not safe. About 5 years ago I lived in the Westdene area, you cannot live there anymore, and everything has gone down.

My mother said when she was studying in Bloem, she lived in Willows. I you now live there ... talking (inaudible).

I have friends who used to live there, now you can't even drive through the area

South Africa had the facilities, railway tracks, trains, but now they are stolen, look at the state of the hospitals. The quality has gone down.

The military, they can't get anything right and then they laugh at each other. On face book today I saw an excerpt, uncles who did their military training 40 years ago and they can still do it.

#### Reference 10 - 0.26% Coverage

South Africa - growing up on the farm, the wild life, we love it, having been overseas there are many things that South Africa does not have, the thing is, we love what we have that's why we don't want to leave it.

#### Reference 11 - 0.44% Coverage

Is it not so that many people who have emigrated come back at some stage because of what you have just said. I know of many who say they are happy that side.

The majority are happy on that side.

Many say they miss the traditions and the culture.

All talking together.

I just think it is because they apply stringent laws and are crime free but not in South Africa.

#### References 12-13 - 0.63% Coverage

Realistically speaking, will you be better off elsewhere, would you like to leave South Africa if you could As long as you have enough money to go over with, then it would benefit you and you need to study. Many countries do not accept you if you are not learned. Farming is also not such a big business there, you would have to do something else in terms of employment. So you are also limited.

It depends on the opportunities available and differs from person to person. Not all get the same opportunities.

#### References 14-15 - 1.07% Coverage

Have any of you done more than just think of emigrating?

Yes, I'm in the process of leaving for Canada. The reason why I'm studying in this certain direction to get my diploma is that it is valid there as well. You pay R18 000, they obtain your Visa for you, they find employment for you, they arrange your medical aid fund, they arrange for your animals to travel there and also your move, everything you need. You go over and you know that your situation that side is sorted, you have already had your interviews with the people, know who is employing you and how much you will earn, that you have

housing and that you will not suffer. You shouldn't just speculate about it, I went and investigated which country to me is greener on the other side, looked up reviews even about the governmental system. If you want to moan, then you must do something about it.

Reference 16 - 0.06% Coverage

I think if we all could we would rather stay here.

Reference 17 - 0.12% Coverage

Yes, I would love to live in the Cape but I won't have all the opportunities that I will get in Canada.

Reference 18 - 0.09% Coverage

Say we could all leave and go elsewhere, where would you stay?  
New Zealand.

Reference 19 - 0.04% Coverage

I want to stay in South Africa.

References 20-21 - 0.35% Coverage

If you have a choice, you have money, everything?

Depends on the situation in South Africa, if it improves, I'll stay, but if it gets worse, Australia or America.

02:20:08

50/50 South Africa, the culture is nice, the farm life is in your blood that is how you grew up. Maybe Spain.

Reference 22 - 0.07% Coverage

If I had the money I would not move far, maybe Botswana.

Reference 23 - 0.17% Coverage

My roots are here, they won't get me out of my country.

It also does not help everyone comes back.

If there is a chop and a beer then I'm fine.

References 24-27 - 0.90% Coverage

Should you have children, would you be happier if they left the country?

No I'm a family person.

I grant my children the freedom to do what they want one day and I would only want the best for them but you want to see you grandchildren and bond with them, not just see them once a year. Skype is not the same as face to face.

My dad said if you can, go elsewhere and be successful because there is no future for you in this country.

My personal experience. I wanted to au pair and my mother said no because she is very attached to her family. But I also did not get enough opportunities now I sit in a situation where I have to work to pay for my studies, I don't have a rich family. I would have gone farther if I had the opportunities.

## GREATEST HOPE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Files\Group 1 - v2\_clean - § 19 references coded [ 4.62% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 1.12% Coverage

BH: What is your greatest hope for South Africa?

Group 1, Participant 10, M: My greatest hope

BH: You can all think about it now because this will be the last round. We close. I want to know what your greatest hope for South Africa is.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: My greatest hope is that, you remember that feeling we got with the 1995 world cup and nations stood together? And everyone was cheering and it didn't matter who you were.

BH: Or whether you liked rugby or not.

Group 1, Participant 10, M: Yes whether you liked rugby, that feeling that we had then should what we have in the morning when we wake up regardless of the day. Regardless of whether there was a world cup match, regardless of a big criminal being caught, regardless of a dollar being saved, whatever. That every day we can go out in the streets and we have that joy. That thing you see when you watch an American Christmas movie where they walk around and the bells are going and they are "merry Christmas, merry Christmas" to everybody two weeks before the freakin' day. That feeling, that excitement about people where you walk and I do think it is something that can happen. And it is starting to happen in a lot of places, I can see.

References 3-5 - 0.53% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 11, M: I believe that not all men is created equal. I believe that the people that run this country are the stupidest (Inaudible) that I ever come across and I-

BH: We are talking here about your greatest hope here hey.

Group 1, Participant 11, M: My greatest hope is that something happens that brings to book the people that are stealing in this country. I don't think it is going to happen. Don't think it's going to happen. I'm a numbers person.

BH: That's your greatest hope?

Group 1, Participant 11, M: Yes, I am factual. I am not positive at all.

References 6-10 - 0.88% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 12, F: My greatest hope would be that there would be more equality. That everybody could feel secure. Everybody- like I feel secure in my home. I feel secure in my job. I have a good business. There, there's is very little that I genuinely feel pessimistic about. I feel pessimistic because the whole country is like, there is so much distance between the very rich and the rest of the country and I think my greatest hope is that it could be normalised, equalised, that there weren't so many poor people and everybody could feel financially stable. Everybody could feel like the schools are good, the public transport is good, that they can feel like there could be secure jobs, when they get out of school there would be jobs available for them to work in. It's like there's a few people who get to feel that in this country but I feel it is not nearly enough. And that is what my greatest hope is that it could become more equal.

References 11-12 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 9, M: My greatest hope is that people are as open and that they can change the law and implement the law so that all South Africans can benefit to do what this country is capable of.

Reference 13 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 8, F: My greatest hope is that everyone can just accept each other for their differences and just be happy with all the different cultures and not judge because of this and that we all come together when we need to and fight for the right things.

#### References 14-15 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 7, M: My greatest hope is you know just forget about the apartheid years 1.05.00 that was and just focus on the future and take responsibility for you. if you are messing up as a president take responsibility and say look I can't lead this country into victory. Give it to somebody else. That is my greatest hope.

#### References 16-17 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 6, F: I think my greatest hope would be that the leadership would have a serious wake-up call. And that things would change so that South Africans, so that South Africans' hopes and dreams can become a reality. They can be fulfilled. The money can be distributed correctly so that structures and infrastructures and education can be fulfilled. I just, yeah, I just, my hope is that we can actually start functioning.

#### Reference 18 - 0.32% Coverage

Group 1, Participant 5, F: I just hope that the crime will go down. That there will be less crime.

BH: Okay number four. Your hope.

Group 1, Participant 4, F: I was going to say what she said. I just hope that we will be safe from crime and that we can feel free and yeah, walk where we want to. I just hope that the crime will be controlled in this country.

#### Reference 19 - 0.60% Coverage

BH: Number three.

Group 1, Participant 3, F: I think my hope is just for that we are rooting for one another. I am not just saying in terms of physical I am saying you know when there is somebody who has less than you give where you can. If somebody knows less than you teach what you can. And you know what I mean, It takes a village to raise a child, take responsibility in raising each other's children. So just transfer and protect each other.

Group 1, Participant 2, M: My greatest hope is that we stop bullying each other and being bullied by one another because that's basically what it all comes down to. I am better than you so I am going to bully you.

#### Files\Group 2 - v2\_clean - § 12 references coded [ 2.34% Coverage]

#### References 1-2 - 0.11% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 10, M: Well with all this crime and kidnapping I hope South Africa will come right.

#### References 3-4 - 0.82% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 4, F: I would say that all South Africans can just sit in the same place, go to the same place without fearing that someone is going to - what do you call it - "rasisties", make a racist remark.

BH: Okay and your greatest hope number five?

Group 2, Participant 5, M: That us South Africans, and I mean (inaudible) coloured, Indian no matter could blind and be, almost live as a family in peace. and getting along with one another. Actually I think that could make a better South Africa. And of course corruption have to go away.

BH: Of course. Three, your greatest hope.

Group 2, Participant 3, F: I would also say that everybody can just get along. Stay together or treat each other with respect and

BH: Get on with it?

Group 2, Participant 3, F: Yes

#### References 5-6 - 0.31% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 2, F: Ugh. You know I will give you an example 2.05.00 what will be nice. You know they



took one of the biggest stadiums and they had a tribute for Mandela's funeral. They take the same stadium with all races there and they all pray together maybe we will get somewhere.

Reference 7 - 0.04% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 11, F: Peace

Reference 8 - 0.12% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 9, M: For a president that actually truly cares about the country and all of its people.

References 9-10 - 0.50% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 8, M: For everyone to actually work together for the benefit of the country rather than for their own agenda and pockets. And for employment to be given fairly. Done away with the BEE but everybody given employment based on their merits or education or whatever. They chopped and changed the BEE's laws over and over and it doesn't work and it is causing major problems on the economy and this country. Investors as well in this country.

Reference 11 - 0.17% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 7, F: I hope that everybody can be treated equal. So if everybody can see, um, get along and see each other as a person and not as a race.

Reference 12 - 0.27% Coverage

Group 2, Participant 6, F: Yeah, I think a great leader will have a big impact on its country and I think that is what we need a great leader to lead South Africa into a real democracy. Well a country where it is fair and you know in which one and a good system.

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 2 references coded [ 0.90% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.23% Coverage

I really wish that the functioning government now would find their feet rather than their tribe or their um, um- I think they have been driven by ideology instead of the actual welfare of the country.

Reference 2 - 0.67% Coverage

BH: Alright. What is your, keep it short and I am going to go around the table starting with you. what is your greatest hope for the future of South Africa?

Group 3, Participant 3, M: No crime.

Group 3, Participant 4, M: I am hoping that the politics will settle down. No crime, no corruption and services that work.

Group 3, Participant 5, F: Peace and tranquillity.

Group 3, Participant 6, F: No crime. Good economy

Group 3, Participant 7, F: No crime. No poverty.

Group 3, Participant 8, M: I hope the economy improves.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Peace amongst men and women.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 14 references coded [ 3.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.07% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 2, F: That the change that happens is positive.

Reference 2 - 0.33% Coverage

BH: Number three

Group 4, Participant 3, F: Hope that the apathy that is currently you know going through a lot of people, that that dissolves, that people become enthusiastic about what they're doing and why they are doing the jobs

that they are doing. It's not just for a pay cheque, that they see the bigger picture.

#### Reference 3 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Um, become one nation. That's, that's, at the moment we're split but we need to become one nation again.

#### Reference 4 - 0.18% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 4, M: Winning the Rugby World Cup for one. (laughter) You might think it is funny but it is actually a true story, in '95, it brought everyone together.

#### References 5-6 - 1.35% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 5, M: Recently my feelings are driven two ways. Firstly um actually becoming a rainbow nation that colour actually goes out of the equation completely. Politicians are no longer pressing colour as a political balance anymore. 1.55.00 And if pol-, politicians actually stopped trying to fight for power of their own political party actually sit there and say, here's a the problem. Each of them come up with proposals and solutions and they all come together and say, this is the one that will actually be the best way forward. That would be the first thing. And secondly that they would actually at a local level, provincial level is a different matter, but at local level politicians used to stay out of administration, they used to be a totally independent factor. The politicians determined the admin and (inaudible) certain employees but the rest of the administration was independent of politics. It didn't matter which. And now they have merged into administration that basically they might go sit at councillor's chambers as ward councillors. And if that actually happens, when the administration worries about administrating the cities, administrating the towns. And politicians oversee the administrators, they don't try and meddle.

#### Reference 7 - 0.51% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Ok, ok. Um I would like for the rights basic, just basic humanity, that's where humanity, I wish that they could be changed. So that we could all benefit from the health, the health and, they held that we need - sorry, I'm, we could all benefit from what we need in order to survive. So health, education, this and that you know, money in order to live, an um and like number five said, people start seeing people for who they are and not what their skin colours is.

#### References 8-10 - 0.22% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 7, F: I would say I hope that we could really become a democratic country. So fairness, not based on skin colour, things like that. And if there was a huge reduction in unemployment and crime.

#### References 11-12 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 4, Participant 8, M: My hope is that government will stop protecting state owned enterprises and preventing competition in those skills.

#### References 13-14 - 0.41% Coverage

Group 4, Participant ##: What I mean is that say Eskom for example, they are the only provider of electricity. Now there's, they got monopoly, ja. So the things government do prevents they are not in competition now they used this and they're getting bailed out. They are just squandering money for no reason. When you can have other people come in and make a profit and be their competition.

#### Files\Group 5 - v2\_clean - § 18 references coded [ 3.99% Coverage]

#### References 1-3 - 0.34% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 2, F: I can't say but I am hopeful that it will get better. Ah my greatest hope is that it will end up being a true democracy where we are neighbours and that we appreciate and we learn each other's cultures and we don't place one culture above the other and we're willing to learn and experience new cultures.

#### References 4-5 - 0.40% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 3, M: I I think we have long-term phenomenal prospects here. Um, the one hope I do have for South Africa is that when our economic prosperity comes um we use at least some of that to look after the environment. We we really have a fantastic environment. We have so much that's so native to South Africa. And I think we have an important role and I hope we stand up to that.

#### References 6-7 - 0.61% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 4, F: I'm quite hopeful for the future of South Africa. Um, I think we're on our way to being on the right track. Um my biggest hope is through education ah to help people become more aware of their abilities and what they can do in this world, how they can do it. But more importantly to just become um more like human beings who are tolerant of each other. And understanding of the fact that in um in the, we live in such a culturally diverse place and we should really um start to appreciate that and see it as a good thing. Rather than- and a binding thing rather than a bad thing.

References 8-9 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 5, M: Um, that South Africa makes use of its resources and become the economic power house it should be.

References 10-14 - 0.86% Coverage

Obviously if it will, it will take a lot of time. And, but I'm not sure if it's for the better or for the worse. And my biggest hope for South Africa is to eventually reach equality and to do so through education. And that's regarding health and economics and the general public and crime.

Group 5, Participant 7, M: I want to be positive and say things will get better and my hope would be equality in education. I'm not sure if anyone has seen the cartoon, and I'm not sure who it's by, but there's basically three people trying to look over a fence. And there's a label saying, equality where these three people of different heights get the same height, um, same height box. And um the shorter person still can't see over the fence. But then in equity people get the box that they need to see over the fence. So I hope that's the situation.

References 15-16 - 0.43% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 8, M: Um I'm very hopeful for the future. I think um we've got a, it's all going towards the right direction. Even if it's a bit stray at the moment. My biggest hope I think would be um economic economic stability after substantial growth and this kind of, I don't use the term a lot, but melting pot of diverse cultures and people and backgrounds, and just everything working as a kind of a unit.

Reference 17 - 0.67% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 9, F: Um I've always thought thought that it will get worse before it gets better. I don't know whether we've, we're going through the worst bit or we've just been through the worst bit because there's been a few crazy years. Um, but yeah I do think eventually it will get better. What I hope happens is either somebody, there's a president that comes forward and fixes everything uh with a magic wand. I don't know but yeah um, if there's a party that could come into power that could do that. Or something radical happens. Democracy is scrapped and some kind of dictator comes through but yeah, I just hope there is a massive change.

Reference 18 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 5, Participant 10, M: I think it will improve. Um, I think it might take a while but I still think we will improve. And the one thing that I hope is that our education- 'cause our education is really good. We do have internationally recognised universities. I hope it just improves, gets better. Because then, I feel like it affects all the other issues. Um, ja. Even with, with cultures, with our political problems, social problems, I feel like if our country is better educated, everything else will eventually improve.

Files\Group 6 - v2\_clean - § 4 references coded [ 0.91% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 10, M: If if all all concerned in our country can sit down without hidden agendas and discuss what's worrying him or her, and sort it out amicably I think it could work.

Reference 2 - 0.21% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 8, M: I don't see a future at the moment. I hope that our leaders do wake up and hopefully read this book. I hope everything will get better.

Reference 3 - 0.24% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 4, F: I hope for a better government. Then it will be a better future because I don't see any future. I will stay in an old age home there in wherever with nothing.

Reference 4 - 0.22% Coverage

Group 6, Participant 2, F: I will try and make a better future for myself and with my children. And my hope for the future is that my children will have a better future.

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 15 references coded [ 1.72% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.55% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 2, F: That human relations among the different population groups will improve, that Afrikaners will stand together,

DL: Please just read loud enough, so the "microphone" can pick it up

Group 7, Participant 3, F: We must respect each other.

DL: Could you just speak loud enough for the microphone to pick it up, thank you very much. That was very good.

Group 7, Participant 3, F: I say pray for our country and leaders, tolerance and mutual respect.

DL: Number 4?

Group 7, Participant 4, M: Hope that things will change, and that we will have a better life and future.

References 3-5 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 5, M: Bring back the death penalty, make fuel cheaper, give houses to white people too, and increase pensions.

References 6-8 - 0.25% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 6, F: Co-operation between black and white, and also between other nationalities. Respect for each other, training for unskilled persons, trust in our Heavenly Father, be supportive especially with regard to the future of young children.

Reference 9 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 7, F: That people should trust each other, look out for the interests of others, believe and trust, stay on your knees, pray for those looking after our interests, the parliament

Reference 10 - 0.14% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 8, M: Hope that justice and righteousness will take place, love and tolerance will take place, and respect for each other.

References 11-12 - 0.15% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 9, F: That the country may be governed in wisdom, and dependence, justly, trusting in a higher hand, combat crime, and good human relations.

Reference 13 - 0.13% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 10, F: My hope is that we can take hands and stand together, allow each other a place in the sun, and remain on our knees.

References 14-15 - 0.19% Coverage

Group 7, Participant 11, M: That there may be reconciliation in the country, and everyone be treated the same irrespective of skin colour, and that everyone gets the opportunity to get out on top.

Files\Group 8 - v2\_clean - § 7 references coded [ 1.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.30% Coverage

You have a piece of paper in front of you, what is your greatest hope for SA for the future, please write it down.

Hope.

Hope for the country, land is reformed into 2 countries.

Prayer.

Opportunities' for all and a future for our children.

References 2-3 - 0.15% Coverage

That white people are seen more in the country and receive more opportunities' in the country and are not driven out

Reference 4 - 0.09% Coverage

That there are more schooled people and that our economy will grow.

Reference 5 - 0.09% Coverage

I hope that SA will turn to God for help and I hope for a future without fear.

Reference 6 - 0.10% Coverage

I hope for a better government that will look after our people and our country.

Reference 7 - 0.28% Coverage

Stand together in our traditions, faith, culture and sport and that more opportunities will be made available, equality.

A better constitution set up by the right people, hope and opportunities must be available to all.

## QUESTIONS – COMMENTS ABOUT THE FOCUS GROUP

Files\Group 3 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.75% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.75% Coverage

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Do you know what would be nice?

BH: Yes?

Group 3, Participant 9, M: Is, we're are a bunch of white fellas and white ladies sitting around this table. It would be lovely to have some black fellas sitting around this table here and hear what they have to say on the same age group.

BH: And the same income level.

Group 3, Participant 9, M: What are their expectations? What they have been through. I mean that that to me is what I would like to hear. And just to see if they feel the same way

BH: The professor has actually written a book. But we will talk about that afterwards.

Group 3, Participant ##: Yes I want a copy of his book.

Files\Group 4 - v1\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 1.16% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.16% Coverage

BH: Okay. Right we are going to start off by talking about what is going on in South Africa today and in your community. I am going to give you the four points and then I would like to hear what you have to say. What do you feel are the major concerns facing South Africa today on a national level? What are you worried about at your Pietermaritzburg community level? And how does it compare with life under apartheid, better or worse? Who would like to kick off?

Group 4, Participant 2, F: I would really, I would really like to ask for a piece of paper.

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes because I am also battling.

Group 4, Participant ##: Yes I was also

BH: (Inaudible) horrible teenagers. (Laughter)

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Would it be possible to get a piece of paper? Are we allowed to get a piece of paper?

BH: There's an extra page here. Okay we have some paper. We are going to use the registration forms and then just

Group 4, Participant 6, F: Sorry I am such a note person. I write notes all the time.

BH: Alright and in the meantime would somebody like to tell me?

Group 4, Participant 7, F: But I am happy to talk

BH: Yes?

Files\Group 7 - v2\_clean - § 1 reference coded [ 0.45% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.45% Coverage

Group 7, Participant ##: You are never too old to learn.

(Laughter)

DL: The last question says: what is your greatest hope for SA's future? Please write it down in a few sentences, or as long as you like to. What is your greatest hope for the future of SA? It was so nice... (inaudible)

Group 7, Participant ##: Must one write your name?

Group 7, Participant ##: No.

DL: Number 8, number 7?

(Laughter)

DL: Number 10?

Group 7, Participant 10, F: Must you add your number to what you write?

## FOCUS GROUPS: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

Focus group discussions have become one of the key methods of qualitative exploration in the social sciences. They are used for different purposes in a variety of disciplinary and inter-disciplinary research settings and are generally defined as discussions held for research purposes which bring together participants to discuss topics of mutual interest to themselves and to those undertaking the research. In that they involve a collective activity, focus groups are designed to generate interaction and discussion, thereby providing the opportunity for the researcher(s) not only to ascertain shared or individual views on the topics discussed, but also to interpret their social meaning – that is, the meanings that lie behind the views that are explicitly stated.

Key features of focus groups concern, first, appropriate selection of the participants. Quantitative research requires standardization of procedures and random selection of participants to remove the potential influence of external variables and ensure generalizability of results. In contrast, subject selection in qualitative research is purposeful; participants are selected who can best inform the research questions and enhance understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Consequently, one of the most important tasks in the study design phase is to identify appropriate participants, their appropriateness being determined by the subject under investigation. Decisions regarding selection are based on the research questions, theoretical perspectives and evidence informing the study. In many studies, this will require selection of participants according to demographic characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, income and so on in order to ensure that participants are 'representative' of the category of people (for instance, members of professions, migrants or people of voting age) being investigated. Furthermore, whereas quantitative research requires statistical calculation of sample size, the sample size in qualitative research is not generally predetermined, the number of participants depending upon the number required to inform all important elements of the phenomenon being studied. Generally, the size of focus groups varies between five and twelve participants, the need for opportunity for all participants to be able to have their say being balanced against the requirement of the group or groups to reflect the representivity of the population involved.

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## FOCUS GROUPS: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

The second key feature of focus groups concerns the role of the moderator, who is supposed to steer and facilitate the discussion. Rather than taking a leading role in the discussion, the moderator is expected to steer its communicative dynamics (while simultaneously remaining outside them) and to listen to participants, while ensuring that no individuals or small groups dominate. Furthermore, the moderator is expected to ensure that the discussion remains focused upon the subject of investigation, while at the same time being prepared to challenge people's perceptions of reality and discuss inconsistencies in their thinking. Necessarily, much depends on the researcher ensuring that the moderator is required to ask the right questions, these being informed by the overall theoretical and practical design of the research.<sup>2</sup>

The focus groups for this study were conducted on behalf of the researcher by Citizen Surveys, a marketing and social research company based in Cape Town that conducts both quantitative and qualitative research. It operates nationally and internationally, and works with a wide array of clients, including government departments, private companies, universities, academics, non-governmental organizations and development agencies. It prides itself on bringing together staff who offer diverse skills from different fields to offer a multi-disciplinary approach to subjects under investigation and is supported by experts in sampling and statistics; political, social and economic research; monitoring and evaluation; and marketing.

Citizen Surveys conducted a series of 8 in-depth qualitative focus groups in 4 provinces of South Africa, and 2 areas within each: Western Cape (northern and southern suburbs), KwaZulu-Natal (Pietermaritzburg and the country town of Howick), Gauteng (Johannesburg northern and southern suburbs) and the Free State (Bloemfontein and the country town of Brandfort) in October 2019. All of the focus group discussions were recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim. Two focus groups, both in the Free State, were conducted in Afrikaans and the transcripts were translated into English.

All of the transcripts were read, reviewed and checked against video recordings. Minor edits and corrections were made where necessary. As far as possible, all comments were assigned to individual participants according to identifying numbers provided at the outset of the discussion, in order to allow for later analysis according to demographic characteristics such as gender, age, etc., if required. Subsequently, all of the transcripts were analysed thematically before being coded thematically using the NVivo qualitative data analysis software. All coded data was then exported into Word documents, which covered major themes and sub-themes across the eight transcripts.

## *FOCUS GROUPS: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS*

Citations from the focus group discussions used by the author in the text of this book are reproduced faithfully with minimal editorial intervention. However, where it has made the text more comprehensible, I have on occasion: omitted occasional words, corrected verb tenses and inserted prepositions where I have deemed this appropriate and helpful. All citations are followed by indication of which group they are drawn from, the location of the group, whether respondents chose to identify as English-speaking (E), Afrikaans (A) or Afrikaans / English-speaking (A/E), household income level and age category. Household income levels are quite simply characterized as upper (more than R20,000 per month), middle (R10,000–R20,000 per month) and lower (less than R10,000 per month). Note, however, that although these income levels broadly place the large majority of respondents in South Africa's middle class, they are all modest.