APPENDIX 1: Methodology and Research Design

This study developed out of an exploratory qualitative research commissioned by the Group for Environmental Monitoring (GEM) in 1999 as part of the Defence and Development project. The aim of the exploratory study was to investigate the extent to which former uMKhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers had reintegrated into civilian society. An exploratory study refers to a research that is conducted to explore a topic, or to provide a basic familiarity with that topic (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 79). Following the completion of the GEM study, this expanded study was conceived. This study adopted both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches takes three forms; qualitative research may precede statistical enquiry, may accompany statistical investigation or may be used in some form of follow up study (Ritchie, 2003). For the purposes of this study qualitative research preceded statistical investigation. A qualitative approach was used for two purposes, first to define terminology, concepts or subjects for investigation. This was necessary since the study of demobilisation was still an underdeveloped area in 2000. Second, to investigate reasons for demobilisation and evaluate the process of demobilisation in South Africa. The process began in April 2000 and involved three qualitative research techniques, in-depth interviews with 26 key informants, archival and documentary research, and participant observation.

1. Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methods are used to address research questions that require explanation or understanding of social phenomena and their contexts (Snape and Spencer, 2003). This is because qualitative methods provide an opportunity to investigate factors that underpin a decision, attitude, behaviour or other phenomena. Qualitative research is valuable in studies where the "subject matter under investigation is new or underdeveloped and where qualitative methods can help define terminology, concepts or subjects for investigation" (Ritchie, 2003: 40). In 2000, when this study began the study of demobilisation was new and underdeveloped. Through qualitative research techniques informants helped to identify the dimensions to include in this study and define terminology, concepts and subjects for investigation. Informants are persons assumed to be well informed on matters of

interest to a field researcher and are a very valuable research resource. This is because they can quickly and easily clarify issues. Informants may also be able to provide information that an outsider is not permitted to observe (Stark and Roberts, 2002). However, as Stark and Roberts (2002) observe informants can also be a source of misinformation and bias. This is because often, the people most easily recruited as informants may be marginal to the targeted research group. Thus, researchers need to pay serious attention to the process of selecting informants. This means adopting proper sampling techniques.

1.1 Sampling Techniques

Very often the researcher cannot observe or record everything that occurs and thus has to choose a sample of the study population. A sample is "a small collection of units or cases from a much larger population" (Neuman, 2000: 195). All that can be known about the population must be inferred from the sample. There are two broad categories of sampling techniques, namely probability and non-probability samples. "In a probability sample, elements in the population are chosen at random and have a known probability of selection" (Ritchie, Lewis, and Elam, 2003: 78). However, this is only in relation to the proportion of the group in a population. For example, the chances of a male and female ex-combatant to be included in a random sample are not equal. This is because very often the ex-combatant population has more males than females. Non-probability sampling is used when there is no reliable sampling frame (a list of individuals to be studied) or the researcher is unlikely to draw up such a list (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Qualitative researchers rarely determine the sample size in advance and have limited knowledge about the larger group or population from which a sample is taken (Neuman, 2000). Due to the lack of a sampling frame (list of key informants) this study employed two types of non-probability sampling techniques, namely, purposive (or judgmental) and snowball sampling.

Purposive Sampling

Purposive or judgmental sampling is when a researcher selects sample units on the basis of his/her own knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of the research aims (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Knowledge of the population implies that "sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics

which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study" (Ritchie, Lewis, and Elam, 2003: 78). This means that the selection of sample units is based on the researcher's judgement and the purpose of the study. Neuman (2000) notes that purposive sampling is acceptable for three situations, first, when a researcher wants to select a specific case that is especially informative, second when selecting members of a difficult-to-reach, specialised population and third, when a researcher wants to identify cases for in-depth investigation.

The author began by using purposive sampling to select influential individuals in the Department of Defence (DoD), the ex-combatant community and representatives from community organisations and non-governmental organisations. The process was facilitated by two factors, first some of the informants (for example, Rocky Williams) who were originally interviewed for the GEM study agreed to offer follow-up interviews for the purposes of this study. Second, in August 2000, GEM hosted a demobilisation and reintegration round-table in Johannesburg. Through this round-table, the author was able to identify three key informants in DoD and one in the Ministry of Defence (MoD)[1]. Major Lawrence Mbatha from the MK Integration Office, Lieutenant Colonel Lucas Sigela, from the APLA Integration Office and Tsepe Motumi from the Defence Secretariat and Lieutenant Colonel Kefioe Mathibe all participated in the roundtable and agreed to serve as informants for this study. It became clear that since the author did not know all the key informants, it would be difficult to continue the research without combining the purposive sampling technique with another technique. Thus, while the initial key informants were selected through a purposive sampling technique, the snowball sampling technique was adopted through the help of the initial interviewees.

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[1] The term Ministry of Defence refers to the offices of the Minister and Deputy Minister of Defence and their respective staffs, while the term Department of Defence refers to the offices of the Secretary of Defence, the Chief of the South African National Defence Force (CSANDF), the Chief of the Corporate Divisions and their respective staffs (*White Paper on Defence*, 1996)

Snowball or Chain sampling

This is an approach, which involves asking people who have already been interviewed to identify other people they know who fit the selection criteria (Ritchie, Lewis, and Elam, 2003). Snowball sampling is used when a researcher is interested in an interconnected network of people or organizations, for example ex-combatants. In practice this means that the researcher identifies a relevant research subject, who then provides the researcher with information on where other relevant research subjects can be found, and so the process continues. Snowball sampling is appropriate when studying members of a special difficult-to-locate population. Examples include; homeless individuals, migrant workers, undocumented immigrants, etc (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Furthermore, snowball sampling is "particularly useful for dispersed and small populations and where the key selection criteria are characteristics which might not be widely disclosed by individuals or which are too sensitive for a screening interview" (Ritchie, Lewis, and Elam, 2003: 94). At the beginning of this study the author did not possess a thorough knowledge of most of the individuals and institutions involved in the process of demobilisation. Some of the informants who were originally interviewed for the GEM study and those met at the GEM demobilisation and reintegration round-table helped to identify individuals in the Department of Defence and Service Corps as well as the APLA and MK veterans associations. In some cases they also helped to arrange interviews with the relevant individuals. This proved helpful because some of the individuals in the Department of Defence regarded demobilisation as a sensitive topic and only agreed to participate after the intervention of people they knew.

1.2 Negotiating Access

One of the key requirements for research in group or organizational contexts is for the researcher to be "sensitive to the hierarchy or organizational structure: particularly getting clearance from senior people who are gatekeepers" (Lewis, 2003: 62). The nature of this study required access to the Department of Defence officials. Negotiating access proved more difficult than in Non-Government Organisations (NGOs). In NGOs negotiating access involved faxing a request followed by a telephone call. In the Department of Defence the process was more complicated as officials argued that access could only be granted by the Minister of Defence. For

example, a British Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT) representative Roger Stokes refused to be interviewed arguing that he was employed by the Minister of Defence, who was the only person with the power to authorise his participation in an interview. The process of negotiating access involved faxing letters to different offices and going to the Military Intelligence Head Quarters in Pretoria for security screening. All these did not help and it was only through the help of sympathetic officers within the Department of Defence that this study was possible.

It came to the author's attention that some officers in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) were not prepared to assist any researcher working on demobilisation. This was more evident in a response to a request by a University of Cape Town student to do a historical documentary on the integration process which read: "The book written by Phillip Frankel from the University of the Witwatersrand *Marching to the New Millennium* deals with the integration process. With the full co-operation from the SANDF, the research on this work took approximately a year to complete. Unfortunately the SANDF is at the moment not in a position to go through a similar supporting process again" (Letter from Brigadier General M.B van Graan to Mr. Lars Henry Andersen, July 2000). The letter further stated that archival material was classified and to get access to the material would require security clearance from Chief Directorate Intelligence.

1.3 In-depth Interviews

The in-depth interview or "the open-ended, ethnographic (in-depth) interview" (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 652) was adopted because it has a number of strengths. First, the in-depth interview is intended to combine structure with flexibility. The questions are open-ended to allow the informants to discuss issues more freely than they could with closed questions as used in structured questionnaires (Hall and Hall, 1996). "[The] structure is sufficiently flexible enough to permit topics to be covered in the order most suited to the interviewee, to allow responses to be fully probed and explored and to allow the researcher to be responsive to relevant issues raised spontaneously by the interviewee" (Legard, Keegan, and Ward, 2003: 143). The second feature is that an interview is interactive in nature. The interaction is the most valuable tool of data generation. The interviewer starts off a conversation and does so

in a manner that encourages the interviewee to respond freely without restriction. Thus an in-depth interview is like a friendly conversational exchange, but with more interviewer questions (Neuman, 2000). Thirdly, the interviewer uses different probes and other techniques to achieve intellectual depth. If a response yield a 'surface level' response, the interviewer is able to use follow up questions to obtain a fuller and deeper understanding of the interviewee's meaning (Legard, Keegan, and Ward, 2003). To achieve this, an interviewer has to adjust to the interviewee's norms and language usage. Finally, the beginning and end are not clear. The interview can be picked up later (Neuman, 2000). For example, Tsepe Motumi was interviewed at different times during the course of this study in 2000, 2001 and in 2005.

Using in-depth interviews allowed the author to uncover undocumented information about the demobilisation processes. Furthermore, the technique helped uncover information about the internal structures, social relationships and power struggles that shaped the process of demobilisation, all of which were not recorded anywhere. Also important was the ability to discover informal networks of influence. The technique further enabled an exploration of the ways in which different actors in different institutions viewed the demobilisation process. The study benefited from a central advantage of this technique, which is the use of open-ended questions. Open-ended questions allowed an unlimited number of responses. Informants had an opportunity to develop their answers outside a structured format unlike in a structured questionnaire. This helped the respondents to answer in detail and to clarify responses. The benefit of this was that it allowed for adequate answers to complex questions. In cases where informants were authors of particular records, interviews allowed them to expand on or explain their arguments. A total of 26 key informants from various institutions were interviewed:

♦ **Captain Mohau Modise**, then Communication Officer, Centre for Advanced Training, Pretoria, 01.12.2000
♦ **Rocky Williams**, former MK soldier, then based at Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 28.07.2000

♦ **General Andrew Masondo** (Rtd), former Chief of the Service Corps and former Chairperson of the Integration and Verification Committees, Department of Defence, Pretoria, 16.08.2000

♦ **General Bob Reich**, the Chief Director, Personnel Separation, Department of Defence, Pretoria, 14.08.2000

♦ **General Quinton Painter,** the Chief of the Service Corps, Pretoria, 25.07.2000

♦ **General Sipho Binda**, former MK Commander, then Chief of Joint Operations, South African National Defence Force, Pretoria, 26.09.2000

♦ **Lt. Col. Kefioe Mathibe,** then Deputy Director of Veterans Affairs, Military Veterans Affairs Office, Department of Defence, Pretoria, 17.08.2000

♦ **Lt. Col. Lucas Sigela,** then Administrator in the APLA Integration Office, Pretoria, 12.08.2000

♦ **Lt. Col. Mokonoto,** Service Corps Head Office, Pretoria, 26.08.2000

♦ **Lt. Col. Ramasodi,** Service Corps Head Office, Pretoria, 26.08.2000

♦ **Lt. Col. Selwane,** Service Corps, Limpopo Regional Office, Polokwane, 07.12.2000

♦ **Lt Ramolemogi,** then Acting Officer Commanding Practical Business School Mankwe, 28.11.2000

♦ **Major Lawrence Mbatha,** then Administrator in the MK Integration Office, Department of Defence, Pretoria, 05.08.2000

♦ **Dumi Matabane,** then Secretary-General, MKMVA Limpopo Province, Polokwane, 22.01.2002

♦ **Jomo Mashiane,** former MK soldier, now a Businessman, Polokwane, 01.02.2002

♦ **Mandla Hlatshwayo,** Unemployed Former MK soldier, Orange Farm, 15..08.2000

♦ **Parks Mamabolo,** Director of Operations, Trans-Sizwe Security Company, Johannesburg, 26.06.2001

♦ **Steven Corry,** Director of 17 Shaft Conference and Training Centre, 19.06.2001

♦ **Thomas Matlaila,** Former MK soldier, now a Businessman, Polokwane, 01.02.2002

♦ **Tsepe Motumi,** Deputy Chief Director Policy and Planning, Department of Defence, Pretoria, 18.04.2000; 01.07.2001; 11.08.2005

♦ **Bob Mabaso**, the first General Secretary of uMKhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans Association (MKMVA), Johannesburg, 09.07.1999

♦ **Jacob Mokgomase,** former SANDF (new) recruit, Johannesburg, 29.07.2000

♦ **Shirley Gunn**, former trade unionist, former MK soldier, Cape Town, 25.07.2001

♦ **Yazir Henry,** former MK soldier, and Co-ordinator of Western Cape Action Tour, Cape Town, 25.07.2001

♦ **Nozi,** Administrator in the national office of Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans' Association (MKMVA), Johannesburg, 13.11.2001

♦ **Vera**, former MK Medical Officer, Johannesburg, 15.10.2001

1.4 Archival and Documentary Sources

In order to gain a broader understanding of the process of military transformation a number of documentary sources were examined. There are four forms of archival and documentary sources (Neuman, 2000). The first are primary sources which consists of letters, diaries, newspapers, movies, novels, articles of clothing, photos and so forth of those who lived in the past and have survived into the present. Second, secondary sources which, consists of the writings of analysts who have spent some years studying primary sources. The chief advantage of secondary sources (records made or collected by others) are greater speed and lower cost of retrieval compared to primary data gathering (Hall and Hall, 1996). However, their main disadvantage is that with each transfer of information from one source to another, the information may be inadvertently or deliberately distorted (Welman and Kruger, 1999). The third form of documents are running records, which include files or existing statistical documents maintained by organisations. As Hall and Hall (1996) observe, while negotiating access is the first stage in data collection, making use of organisational records often has to be treated as a further stage of negotiating access to the organisation. The last form of documentary sources is recollections, which consists of words or writings of individuals about their past lives or experiences based on memory (Neuman, 2000).

This study was limited to the use of primary sources (letters, newspaper articles, minutes of the Portfolio Committee on Defence and the Joint Standing Committee on Defence and Service Corps information booklets) and secondary sources (research reports on integration and demobilisation, as well as published scholarly works). In analysing these documents the four steps of documentary analysis as laid out by Davidson and Lytle (1992) were followed. The first step is simply to read the document in order to have an overview of the construction of the document and to gain insight into how the different parts of the document are related. The actual analysis of the document begins in the second step with an attempt to understand what the document might have said. This means exploring alternatives and other points on

which the document is silent. Thus, analysis involves as much an examination of what was said as the silences in a document. For example, most documents on demobilisation failed to note that the process was about excluding former APLA and MK soldiers (who were aged, sick and those who lacked educational qualifications) from integration into the SANDF.

The third step in analysing a document relates to the manner in which one understands the text of the document. Davidson and Lytle (1992) argue for the need to be aware of and sensitive to the time-bound meanings of words. Similarly, Gottschalk (1969) cited in Welman and Kruger (1999) argue that researchers require to be historically-minded. This means that they should have an intimate knowledge of the milieu (individuals, conventions, practices, and so on) of the period in which the event being studied took place. "If we are equipped with such knowledge, we may suspect inconsistencies and question the authenticity or the validity of sources" (Welman and Kruger, 1999: 187). The knowledge acquired through in-depth interviews with key informants helped to define concepts as well as describe the individuals and groups involved as well as a historical analysis of the demobilisation process. Thus, when analysing documents, especially those written by people who were not directly involved in the process it was possible to detect some factual inaccuracies. For example, while different key informants stated that demobilisation was introduced late in the process of integration some scholars (see for example, Shelton and Alden, 1998; Winkates, 2000) presented demobilisation as one of the phases of military transformation.

The final way in which a document can be analysed is how it operates within a specific social context. As Davidson and Lytle (1992) argue, every document functions as a tool fashioned to accomplish certain purposes within its own social situation. Some of the documents produced in the DoD were aimed at presenting the demobilisation process as a success since it happened without major problems. In the process, problems experienced during the integration process were suppressed. Through participant observation it was possible to discover tensions between former APLA and MK soldiers on the one hand and former SADF members on the other that

developed during the armed struggles and were exacerbated by the process of integration.

1.5 Participant Observation

Participant Observation is a qualitative research strategy in which the researcher joins the constituent study population or its organizational or community setting in order to record actions, interactions or events that occur (Ritchie, 2003). "It is a qualitative style in which a researcher observes and participates in small-scale social settings…There are no abstract deductive hypotheses. Instead there is direct, face-to-face social interaction with 'real people' in a natural setting" (Neuman, 2000: 345). Through this method a researcher has an advantage of direct experiential and observational access to the insiders' world of meaning. A researcher assumes "the roles of the group members in order to personally: experience what the group members experience; understand their life-world; see things from their perspective; and unravel the meaning and significance which they attach to their life-world, including their own behaviour" (Welman and Kruger, 1999: 193). As the name "participant observation" suggests, the researcher has a double role of experiencing the activities of the group and the other of observing and recording his or her experiences (ibid.). The method is appropriate when the research question involves learning about, understanding, or describing a group of interacting people.

The extent to which a researcher participates in the activities of a group varies from one situation to another. There are three roles that a researcher embarking on participant observation can choose from. The first is peripheral membership of the group or sub-group under investigation. In such a case the researcher maintains distance between self and members (Adler and Adler, 1987; Welman and Kruger, 1999). Membership is limited by the researcher's beliefs, ascriptive characteristics or discomfort with member activities (Adler and Adler, 1987). Second, a researcher has a choice of adopting active membership of the group. This means that a researcher assumes a membership role and goes through the same induction as other members (ibid.). The advantage of this approach is that participation in core activities produces high levels of trust and acceptance while allowing the researcher to retain a researcher identity by periodically withdrawing from the field. Lastly, complete membership

means that a researcher converts and "goes native" but later becomes ex-member researcher (ibid.). The researcher becomes a member of the inner circle of the group and gets fully absorbed in all group activities (Welman and Kruger, 1999). The disadvantage is that by going native and becoming a fully committed member, the researcher experiences the same emotions as others. In order to fully return to the role of researcher, the researcher must first leave the field and undergo reorientation.

For the purposes of this study the author adopted the peripheral membership of ex-combatants' groups. At an informal level this involved spending time with ex-combatants. In Gauteng Province the formal survey (discussed below) was preceded by the establishment of rapport with ex-combatants. This included visiting places where ex-combatants met on a regular basis and all the time the identity of the author as a researcher was known. The fact that the author was introduced as a researcher created a distance between the insiders (ex-combatants) and the outsiders (the researchers). This allowed the researcher to observe the interactions amongst ex-combatants and between ex-combatants and community members. For example, in Orange Farm participant observation revealed that former MK soldiers remained in a coherent group. Although not organized in a formal group they maintained a distinct identity of ex-combatants. This was evidenced by the fact that in order to get help in locating a former MK soldier, instead of using the ex-combatant's surname the author had to identify the person as a "comrade".

At a more formal level participant observation involved attending four local seminars/workshops and three international conferences/workshops around demobilisation and reintegration. The role of the author in the events ranged from that of peripheral membership of the group to that of complete membership. Following the publication of the GEM research report (Mashike, 1999), the author participated in a demobilisation and reintegration round-table in August 2000 hosted by GEM in Johannesburg. The round-table was attended by demobilised APLA and MK soldiers as well as those serving in the SANDF. In November-December 2002 the author was invited as a resource person at a workshop on the Military Veterans Training Programme in Broederstroom. The workshop was attended among others, by demobilised APLA and MK soldiers, former APLA and MK soldiers serving in the

SANDF, retired members of the SADF and those serving in the SANDF. In December 2003, the Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand and the CCR co-hosted a seminar in Johannesburg in which the author presented the findings of the Centre for Conflict Resolution (2003) study. The seminar was attended by demobilised APLA and MK soldiers as well as those serving in the SANDF.

In August 2004, the author was invited to present the findings of the Centre for Conflict Resolution (2003) study at a Military Veterans Symposium in Johannesburg. The symposium was attended among others, by demobilised APLA and MK soldiers, former APLA and MK soldiers serving in the SANDF, retired members of the SADF and those serving in the SANDF. The local seminars/workshops provided two sets of information, first the anger of the demobilised APLA and MK soldiers which were related to the fact that the process of integration was biased against former APLA and MK soldiers. Another source of anger and frustration was the poor socio-economic conditions of the demobilised APLA and MK soldiers as well as those whose names did not appear on the Certified Personnel Registers of their respective armies. Second, the seminars/workshops afforded the author to observe the simmering tensions between former members of APLA and MK on the one hand and former members of the SADF on the other. This was more evident at the November-December 2002 Broederstroom workshop.

At an international level, in March 2000 the author was employed as an internal co-rapporteur of an international conference on demobilisation and reintegration in Pretoria co-hosted by the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) and a German NGO, Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC). In December 2000 the author attended a demobilisation and reintegration workshop in Harare, hosted by the Centre for Defence Studies at the University of Zimbabwe. In April 2001 the author participated in an international workshop on Demobilisation, Disarmament, Reconciliation and Reintegration (DDRR) in Nairobi, Kenya, hosted by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Attendance at these workshops provided the author an opportunity to interact with established scholars in the area of demobilisation and reintegration such as Kees Kingma and Nicole Ball. It further afforded the author an opportunity to learn from international experiences of

demobilisation and reintegration. The participation of demobilised and serving soldiers in all the three conferences/workshops was an added advantage.

1.6 Qualitative Data Analysis

Unlike quantitative analysis which is quick and may be computerized, qualitative analysis is extremely time-consuming and contains many pitfalls. The first challenge that faces the qualitative researcher is the daunting task of having to process and analyse many pages of interview transcripts. The first step taken was to transcribe all the taped interviews (with key informants), a task which was both time-consuming and delicate. It was time-consuming because interviews were very long, with the shortest being one hour and the longest two. It was also time-consuming because the transcription was verbatim. Verbatim transcription was extremely important and necessary because the analysis was not simply about pre-determined answers but was about meanings, silences, areas of emphasis, evasions and sensitivities.

The process of data analysis followed the four stages identified by Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor (2003). The first stage involves identifying initial themes and concepts. This meant gaining an overview of the data coverage to be familiar with the data set. For an overview of the data set, few interview transcripts were selected. The aim was to identify recurring themes and ideas. This was followed by the development of a conceptual framework which was based on the recurring themes and issues that guided the questions posed during the interviews. Themes were sorted and grouped under a smaller number of main themes and these were related to an overall framework that had been developed. The second stage of data analysis is labelling or tagging which involves the indexing of data using the conceptual framework developed in the first stage (Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor, 2003). The word indexing is more appropriate than coding because it accurately portrays the status of the categories and the way in which they 'fit' the data (ibid.). Coding often refers to a process of capturing dimensions or content that has already been more precisely defined and labelled. "When applying an index, it simply shows which theme or concept is being mentioned or referred to within a particular section of the data, in much the same way that a subject index at the back of the book works" (Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor 2003: 224). Indexing textual data involves reading each

phrase, sentence and paragraph in fine detail and deciding its relevance in order to determine which part or parts of the index apply.

Labelling is followed by the third stage, which is sorting or ordering the data in some way so that material with similar content or properties are located together (Ritchie, Spencer, and O'Connor 2003). The purpose is to allow the analyst to focus on each subject in turn so that the detail and distinctions that lie within can be unpacked. Material was brought together into themes. It became clear during this stage that organising the material into different themes had to be approached with care because some material belonged to multiple locations. The last stage involved summarising the essence of the material for the purposes of writing the report. This meant inspecting each word of the original interview transcripts to consider its meaning and relevance to the subject of the study. In brief then, qualitative data analysis encompassed four discrete but continuous processes which generated a set of themes and concepts and produced a single narrative which was larger than the sum total of the individual narratives because it was based on condensation, reconstruction and critical appraisal of these.

2. Quantitative Research

While the first stage yielded qualitative material, which allowed for a description of the process of demobilisation and an explanation of the form it took, qualitative data could not offer an adequate description of the people affected by demobilisation and the impact this had on the individuals and the group as a whole. The shortcoming was addressed in the second stage of the research. The second stage adopted a quantitative method and it was carried out in the period July 2001 to December 2003. This involved the survey of former combatants who were demobilised in the process of the formation of the SANDF. "[Surveys] are strongest when the answers people give to questions measure variables" (Neuman, 2000: 247). Thus, while the impact of demobilisation differed from one individual to the next, it was anticipated that it would be possible to generate aggregates from the different responses through the use of the survey method. The result of adopting a survey method was that by focusing on

the characteristics, expectations and self-classification of the respondents, it was possible to describe the social impact of demobilisation on former combatants.

In 2001, while designing the survey questionnaire to collect data from former APLA and MK soldiers, the author was approached by the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) as part of a network of researchers working on the demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants into society. The author was commissioned as one of the two key researchers to undertake the national survey of demobilised APLA and MK soldiers. The aim of the CCR study was to determine the quality of life and socio-economic needs of demobilised members of MK and APLA. The conceptualisation and design of the survey questionnaire was undertaken by the author in consultation with some members of the team. However, on the actual design, the author worked more closely with Mafole Mokalobe, then employed by the CCR. The author and the CCR reached an agreement (right at the beginning of the research project) whereby, once a report had been presented to the Department of Defence the author had the right to use the data for the second part of this study which is the consequences of demobilisation. However, the analysis and arguments raised in this study are the sole responsibility of the author.

The questionnaire was developed between June and September 2001, a process which involved extensive consultation with influential people who had worked with ex-combatants. The questionnaire consisted of 23 pages and was made up of seven sections namely, personal information, education and training, employment status and income generation, military background, Service Corps, social reintegration, needs and expectations. The questionnaire included both qualitative and quantitative questions, with assistance being provided by psychologists from the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) in Johannesburg, in terms of formulating the questions to determine if ex-combatants were experiencing psychological problems. The questionnaire was tested with a small group of ex-combatants in the latter part of September 2001, the results of which led to some of the questions in the questionnaire being refined. See Appendix 2 for a copy of the questionnaire.

2.1 Sampling Strategies

At the onset of the project, it became clear that determining a representative sample of former MK and APLA members would be a major challenge because no publicly accessible comprehensive database of these ex-combatants existed. In fact, even the exact number of ex-combatants from MK and APLA was unknown. The Certified Personnel Register (CPR) in the Department of Defence was identified as a possible sampling frame. The CPR is a list of soldiers who were identified as eligible for integration to form the new South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The *Interim Constitution,* (No. 200 of 1993), Section 224(2) as amended stipulated that members of armed forces who stood under the authority and control or were associated with, political organisations which participated in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and took part in the election of April 27, 1994 and whose names were on CPR before October 11, 1996, were members of the SANDF. Another possible sampling frame was in the form of membership lists of the MK and APLA veterans' associations.

Certified Personnel Register (CPR)

In order to gain access to the CPR, the author visited the MK and APLA Integration Offices in the Department of Defence and met Major Kaulela and Lieutenant Colonel Matolweni respectively. After waiting for a month it became clear that the APLA Integration Office (Lieutenant Colonel Matolweni's office) was unable to provide a list of demobilised APLA members, while Major Kaulela from the MK Integration Office provided a list of 80 names, mostly with postal addresses without any physical address or telephone number. Major Kaulela further directed the researcher to Rear-Admiral Lucas Bakkes in the Military Veterans Affairs Office, who arranged with Colonel Barnard (Rtd.) to allow the author access to the CPR at Integration Office at Wallmannstahl, which was the main administration centre for integration and demobilisation[2]. Colonel Barnard (Rtd.) provided a list of demobilised APLA and MK soldiers but warned that the information was not helpful. This was because the list did not indicate neither the addresses of former MK and APLA combatants, nor gender and age specifications. The list was also an unreliable sampling frame because an unknown number of ex-combatants had passed away since the CPR was compiled,

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[2] This was in late 2001 at the time when the office was closing down

while others had emigrated to other provinces. The utility of the list was to provide an indication of the number of ex-combatants who had gone through the process of formal demobilisation and the amount of their respective demobilisation gratuities.

MK and APLA Military Veterans Associations

The second strategy, which was to consult the membership lists of the MK Military Veterans Association (MKMVA) and the APLA Military Veterans Association (APLAMVA) was also unsuccessful since both associations do not have complete membership lists. The reason for this was that MKMVA and APLAMVA were under-resourced both in terms of financial and human resources (see chapter 6 for challenges faced by APLA and MK veterans' associations). Given the absence of a reliable sampling frame, snowball sampling (as described above) was adopted. Each respondent was requested to identify another former APLA or MK soldier. While this worked well among former MK soldiers, it was still difficult to access former APLA soldiers. The reason given by former APLA soldiers was that most of them operated in isolation and thus did not know each other.

The Administration of the Questionnaire

Questionnaires were administered in all the nine provinces of South Africa mainly in urban areas, between October 2001 and June 2002. There were two reasons for this first, the liberation struggle in South Africa unlike in other African countries was largely fought by people from urban areas. Second, logistically in terms of time and resources, it was easy to access respondents in urban centres. In a number of circumstances MKMVA branch officers, as well as individuals from community and non-governmental organisations were very helpful in identifying respondents, this was particularly the case in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Gauteng and Mpumalanga. However, in Lethabong (Haartebeesfontein) outside Rustenburg (North West Province) former MK soldiers were suspicious of the research project and thus, uncooperative. They refused to be interviewed without an order from the MKMVA provincial office in Mafikeng. In total 410 former APLA and MK combatants were interviewed. The author administered 160 questionnaires in Gauteng, Limpopo and Mpumalanga Provinces. This was because the author was responsible for most of the qualitative interviews and qualitative data analysis, more especially the section on the

Service Corps. For the purposes of this study, data from only 395 respondents was used. This is because 15 questionnaires from respondents in the Northern Cape got lost during the process of writing the report for the CCR study. Data from quantitative responses was captured using JMP4.

2.2 Quantitative data analysis

Since the aim of this phase of research was to describe the socio-economic conditions of former combatants, the analysis of the research was limited to basic forms of data analysis, namely generating frequency distributions and cross-tabulations. These basic statistics were generated through JMP4. The results generated in this way were used to build a profile of a sample of demobilised APLA and MK soldiers as discussed in Chapter 7. This forms part of a discussion of the consequences of demobilisation in South Africa. Thus, while Chapters 5 and 6 described and explained the demobilisation process through the used of data collected through qualitative research methods, Chapter provided the consequences of the process from data collected through a quantitative research technique.