

UNMAKING THE TORTURER: RE-ESTABLISHING MEANING AND
IDENTITY AFTER COMMITTING ATROCITIES

by

ELAINE BING

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SUPERVISOR: PROF F J A SNYDERS

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Student number: 3592-105-6

I declare that **UNMAKING THE TORTURER: RE-ESTABLISHING MEANING AND IDENTITY AFTER COMMITTING ATROCITIES** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....

SIGNATURE
(ELAINE BING)

.....

DATE

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SUMMARY

During apartheid numerous atrocities, including torture were committed by the security forces in South Africa. Most atrocities were directed at black people, during the political violence. The question which the researcher investigated was how people who worked in the police and had tortured and committed other atrocities re-established meaning and identity after South Africa became a democracy.

South Africa's history was discussed, focussing on factors which created an environment which was conducive to the committing of atrocities.

The basic tenets of social constructionism were considered and how they relate to concepts such as agency, power, essentialism, identity, morality, meaning-making, torture, illness and posttraumatic stress disorder.

Dialogic analyses were conducted on each participant's narrative. The researcher is seen as an integral part of the storytelling event. The ways in which the participants positioned themselves in telling their stories are discussed as attempts to reconstitute themselves.

The impact on the researcher of working with perpetrators is discussed.

Themes were distilled from participants' narratives. These are discussed with attention given to the problems they identified as having led to perpetration, such as racism, enacting of masculinity and militarisation. Problems they identified which arose as a result of perpetration include aggression, alienation, illness and addiction to

violence. They demonstrated extreme shame and remorse in telling their stories.

Key terms

Torture; atrocities; perpetration; police brutality; social constructionism; countertransference; racism; masculinities; addiction to violence; shame; posttraumatic stress disorder; meaning; identity.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this study is to examine how the participants re-establish meaning and identity after torturing people and committing other atrocities. The participants joined the South African Police Force (SAP) during apartheid. They were all involved in public order policing (known as riot control at the time), during the worst of the political violence. They tortured and committed other atrocities against black people during that period. South Africa has changed and the people they vilified and harmed are now equal in status to them and on occasion superior to them.

Numerous writers and researchers (e.g. Arendt, 1964; Bandura, 2004; Bauman, 1989; Baumeister, 1997; De Zulueta, 1996; Dovidio, Gaertner, Nier, Kawakami & Hodson, 2004; Ghiglieri, 1999; Goldhagen, 1997; Keen, 1986; Kren & Rappoport, 1980; Lifton, 1986; Miller, 1987; Nell, 2006; Rosenberg, 1991; Scully & Marolla, 2005; Staub, 1989, 2003; Toch, 1992) have explored why atrocities are committed. I discuss this in Chapter 3. There are only a few studies (e.g. Foster, Haupt & De Beer, 2005; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003; Huggins, Haritos-Fatouros & Zimbardo, 2002; Lifton, 1996) in which the perpetrators of atrocities have been interviewed and have explained their behaviour. Perpetrators are very hesitant to tell their stories. This is understandable, as they are guilty of criminal behaviour. Often, attempts to research perpetration have been made after a political regime has broken down. Truth commissions and court cases directed at perpetration threaten perpetrators with possible retribution and they often know it is in their interest to remain silent.

The main purpose of this study is not to understand why people perpetrate evil, although the participants do explain why they committed atrocities. They also explain how they developed into torturers. In this study I am primarily interested in how the participants come to terms with what they

have done, and how they now constitute themselves. Analyses based on data from the Vietnam Veterans' Readjustment Study, suggest perpetrators may have a different symptom profile to other combat veterans including those with PTSD (Fontana, Rosenheck & Brett, 1992; MacNair, 2002b). This suggests it may be worthwhile to attempt to begin to understand the impact of committing atrocities on perpetrators. **I am not aware of any previous narrative studies which have explored the adjustment of perpetrators of torture and other atrocities after they have committed offences.** Huggins et al. (2002) devote a chapter to the effects of doing violence work on the perpetrator, but their comments are very limited. I will discuss this aspect of their work in Chapter 3.

Torture and the committing of atrocities is an uncomfortable area to study. Academically there often appears to be a fear that atrocities are legitimised by being studied. There is some evidence that when people are exposed to explanations for perpetration they condemn the behaviour less (Miller, Gordon, & Buddie, 1999). Writers and researchers in the field appear to recognise the danger and often explain that their study of the field does not mean that they condone evil (e.g. Bar-On, 1989; Baumeister, 1997; Haley, 1974; Huggins et al., 2002; Kren & Rappoport, 1980; Levinson, 2004; Lifton, 1986; Shatan, 1978; Staub, 1989). Victim accounts also make it difficult to study perpetration. Améry's (1984) account of his suffering in the Holocaust is suffused with anger and bitterness. He challenges and condemns attempts to restore the perpetrators to respectability. For him, this includes attempts to understand perpetrators.

I argue that it is imperative to speak directly to the people who commit atrocities. Torture remains endemic in the world (Kooijmans, 1995; Suedfeld, 1990a). Numerous countries have signed the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (United Nations High Commission for Human Rights, 1984), but recent reports of the involvement of the United States in

torture (Greenberg, 2006; Luban, 2006; Mayer, 2008) make it clear that torture is far from extinct.

I developed strong countertransference reactions in working with the participants. Very little has been written on the impact on the therapist or the researcher when working with perpetrators. I have devoted a chapter to my experiences in working with the participants.

Why the Personal Interest?

The promoter has on occasion asked me why I became interested in perpetration. It is not an easy question to answer. I have at times, flippantly decided that "Because it is there!" is the best reason I can give. On a more serious level, as I began to complete this study, I again thought about the question. I initially thought that I had seen very few men who had admitted to torture or murder in the line of duty prior to starting this study. I have realised this is not true. Over a period of a number of days I have remembered many men who have indicated that they were guilty of atrocities over the years. I realised that I chose not to remember the stories or who told them. I have also often not enquired further when clients have made some oblique comment which I now realise probably was an attempt to test whether I am open to hearing about atrocities. I realise that I have probably failed many people who needed to confront perpetration they had engaged in.

I initially thought I would focus on the adjustment of policemen who had developed posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) while working in the townships. I thought there may be an incidental focus on perpetration. The first participant (Adriaan) I interviewed indicated that perpetration was a central issue for him. I then, coincidentally, had a number of men present for treatment who indicated that they had been involved in perpetration. I had perhaps become more sensitive to the possibility of perpetration than I had been previously. Charl (another participant) was one of these men who presented for treatment. He was insistent that his perpetration be

acknowledged and faced. It was impossible to avoid or ignore his descriptions of torture. As I began to read on the subject, it appeared that very little work had been done in the area, and the focus of my study started to change.

Brief Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 sets the historical scene. In Chapter 3 I discuss the theoretical background and provide a brief literature study. This covers concepts associated with postmodernism and social constructionism such as agency, relativism, anti-essentialism, power and the role of language, as well as the social construction of torture and posttraumatic stress disorder. In Chapter 4 I discuss the research design and briefly introduce the participants. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are devoted to the narrative of each participant. They have all worked in the police and have all been involved in perpetration of atrocities. I examine the changes in their and my interaction in these chapters and how that contributes to their re-establishing meaning and identity. Chapter 8 contains elements of my own story and I consider issues commonly known as countertransference. Chapter 9 is devoted to the theme of change; topics I discuss include racism and challenges to racism, the change from a militarised police force to a service orientated organisation and the participants' response to democracy in South Africa. In Chapter 10 I take on gendered lives and the participants explain changes in how they experience and express their masculinity. In this chapter I discuss the impact of developing posttraumatic stress disorder and depression on the participants. Chapter 11 is devoted to their experience of torture and committing other atrocities. I spend time on their justification for torture and their defence of the morality of torture and when they regard it to be immoral. I also discuss the changes they describe in themselves as a result of torture and perpetration of atrocities. I focus on their experience of shame and how they attempt to reinvent themselves. In Chapter 12 I summarise what I found in this study, I evaluate the research and I give recommendations for future research.

Note on race:

I have used lower case letters for racial classifications. This is contrary to the American Psychological Association guide for authors which capitalises the initial letter. In my opinion the capitalisation appears to reify the concept (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and I decided to instead use lower case letters for race.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Scientists have reached general agreement in recognising that mankind is one: that all men belong to the same species, *Homo Sapiens* (in the Statement on Race issued by UNESCO in 1950 and cited by Dubow, 1995a, p. 127).

It is common knowledge that South Africa is today the target of the most serious revolutionary threat or onslaught in our entire history. It is only malicious or apathetic people who do not want to realize or accept this fact (cited from the White Paper on the Organisation and Functions of the South African Police in 1988 by Seegers, 1996, p. 187).

I am interested in how the participants in this study explain and possibly come to terms with torture and other forms of perpetration when discourses have changed, when their narrative has been disrupted. Foucault (1969/1989, p. 49) refers to discourses as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” and the environments in which the participants grew up, worked and now live have influenced them and were influenced by them. In discussing some of South Africa’s history I will attempt to identify discourses into which the participants were born and which infused white South African history. I invoke world history when it has a bearing on South African history. This is obviously not a complete history and I often leave out important events, focussing on those that I view as interesting or important. I will also briefly examine some aspects of the South African Police Force/Service (SAP/S) history. Parker (2005) refers to Foucault (1975/1995) who argued that historical accounts are always produced from the standpoint of present-day practices. I comment from my current perspective in South Africa, which includes my background and particular influences. These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

I start this discussion with the arrival of white settlers and end with a description of some of the changes that have taken place in South Africa

and the SAP/S. I do not in any way regard the arrival of white settlers as the beginning of history in South Africa; but the racism which was present from the beginning of white settlement and has pervaded South Africa's history, appears to make it a logical place to start.

I have structured the chapter into various themes which I regard as important:

- o ideology, racism and the legal underpinnings of apartheid;
- o economics;
- o black resistance;
- o the history of the SAP/S, the total onslaught and the militarisation of white South Africa;
- o torture and other forms of perpetration, hit squads;
- o changes in South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa; and
- o changes in the South African Police Force/Service.

These themes run along parallel chronological lines, often overlap and are intertwined. I will therefore not keep them strictly separate.

Ideology, Racism and the Legal Underpinnings of Apartheid

The history of South Africa can be interpreted as a history of racial tensions which were present from the beginning of white settlement. These tensions eventually resulted in the policy of apartheid. It is important to recognise that apartheid was not a simplistic racist policy. Various explanations have been proposed for its development including: sanitation and disease prevention (Swanson, 1995), British imperialism (Giliomee, 2003; Legassick, 1995), cheap labour (Wolpe, 1995), ideology, (Marks, 1995) and segregationist ideology (Dubow, 1995b). Although the ideological concerns were of particular importance in its early history, this was less important later in the twentieth century, where apartheid played a role in protecting entrenched

white interests. In this section my focus will be on ideology, including Afrikaner nationalism, and the laws which underpinned apartheid.

The first conflict between whites and indigenous peoples about land was with the Khoikhoi not long after Johan Anthonisz (Jan) van Riebeeck had established a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652. In 1657 van Riebeeck released nine Dutch East India Company servants to become full-time farmers on small plots of land. They formed the start of the free burghers. By the time Van Riebeeck left in 1662 there were 150 Europeans at the Cape. Approximately 100 000 Khoikhoi were living in the present Western Cape at the time. A difference between South Africa and other European colonies was the tendency not to exterminate or expel the indigenous people but to employ them as labourers. By 1660 a complex plural society was already developing between people from Europe, people of mixed race (due to a fair number of unions between the settlers and the indigenous people), Khoikhoi and slaves (the first of whom had arrived in 1658) (Giliomee, 2003).

During this period in the world importance was given to finding the lowest limits of humanity in terms of race. Hottentots and later Australian Aborigines were commonly seen as the lowest of the “savage” races. Linnaeus (1707-1778) who established the principles of taxonomy in the biological sciences distinguished between European Man, Asiatic Man, African Man and American Man. To each of these he added character descriptions. For example, Europeans were ingenious, inventive and governed by law, whereas Africans were crafty, lazy, careless and governed by the arbitrary will of their masters (Dubow, 1995a). In South Africa, many of the themes that appear repeatedly in our history first appeared in this period, adding a depth of history to attitudes such as paternalism, dehumanisation, suppression, fear and denial. In the early Cape those who were free kept slaves, did not have to perform manual labour and had high status in society. They were coincidentally generally white. Slaves and Khoikhoi servants had the lowest rank in society. They were generally black

or brown. The perception of the racial superiority of whites was established. Although slaves made life easier for the burghers there was a constant fear that they would rise up against them. This fear permeates the history of South Africa. During the eighteenth century the fear of *gelykstelling* (being made socially equal) was also common, at times extending to not wanting the Khoikhoi to become literate or to receive the Christian sacraments. Underlying much of this was a fear of losing control over labourers, the fear of large numbers of blacks getting the vote and miscegenation. Paternalism was used to attempt to keep slaves in their place. The master class acted as if they were fathers, rewarding faithful slaves and disciplining those who had erred, as they did in the case of their children. Slaves that transgressed were punished brutally. The extreme penalty was death preceded by torture. Even in the case of horrific punishments and forms of torture, masters somehow believed that slaves acquiesced in the basic scheme of things (Giliomee, 2003).

There appear to be parallel discourses operating in South Africa, with regard to racism. Blatant racism has been practised throughout our history, with a concurrent discourse which denies that it is racism. Politeness and paternalism appear to be called on to play witness to a claimed lack of racism (Du Preez, 2003; Goodwin & Schiff, 1995). Racism will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

On the eastern frontier in the early nineteenth century the burghers largely lived by their own rules. Various factors played a role in their deciding to migrate northwards, one of which was the fear of *gelykstelling*. Eventually about 15 000 burghers (including family members) and 5 000 servants left the Cape on what became known as the Great Trek. The first parties left in 1835. Occasionally violent clashes with the indigenous population developed because of different cultural beliefs regarding land ownership (Giliomee, 2003; Pienaar, 1991). Getting black labour was a priority and at times the easiest way to do this was to seize women and children. For example, a commando was led by Hendrik Potgieter into present Zimbabwe,

against the Mzilkazi. Failing to find the enemy, or booty, on their way back they launched an unprovoked attack on the Transvaal Ndebele. They killed the emissaries, then massacred many of the inhabitants, captured a large number of sheep and cattle and seized many women and children. Each member of the commando received booty of cattle and three or four of the kidnapped children. Some kept the children; others sold or exchanged them. This practise continued to be used later on in the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, in the system of *inboekelinge* (indentured labour) (Giliomee, 2003; Pienaar, 1991). Inhumane stories such as these are important as they give an indication of the trekkers' attitude towards the indigenous population. These stories were not incorporated into the mythology which was created around the Great Trek and which will be discussed later in this section.

In 1852 the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) was established, followed by the Republic of the Orange Free State (OFS) in 1854. The ZAR's constitution specifically stated non-whites were not equal to whites. Although not specifically stated by the OFS that was the result in practice. The two republics both had constitutional clauses that outlawed arms trading with or possession of arms and ammunition by anyone other than white. One of the constant fears was that there would be a "Native Uprising" (Seegers, 1996, p. 6).

The churches played an important role in the moral justification of apartheid. A poorly worded 1957 compromise decision by the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was later used by prejudiced whites to exclude coloureds (people of mixed race). In 1881 the Dutch Reformed Mission Church was established to try and solve an organisational problem but eventually it resulted in segregation of white and coloured members (Giliomee, 2003). One of the founders of the Gereformeerde Church of South Africa ("Dopper" church) in 1859 was Paul Kruger. He was President of the ZAR, and believed that only committed republicanism could act as a counter to British imperialism. Paul Kruger is closely associated with the concept of the Afrikaners as a "Chosen People" (Giliomee, 2003, p.177), who had a covenant with God to fulfil a

divine plan. He turned the Great Trek into a heroic myth emphasising the trekkers' passion for freedom. The 1838 Battle of Blood River and the vow made before the battle was a symbol of the Transvaal burghers' will to survive as an independent people against overwhelming odds. Festivals were held, with Kruger playing a major role. After the two wars against Britain (in 1881 and 1899-1902) his and others' speeches were a litany of the wrongs, injustices and oppression that the Boers had suffered at the hands of the British (Giliomee, 2003; Moodie, 1975).

Attitudes of racial superiority were not uncommon in the rest of the world at this time. The origins of eugenics can be traced back to the 1860s when Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin began to explore the inheritance of natural ability. It was defined as the science of the well-born and was intended as a social programme dedicated to the improvement of the racial genetic base. Eugenics, nineteenth century insecurities about industrialisation and urbanisation, strong imperialist views and nationalism combined to provide a convenient rationale for the colonial subjugation of non-Europeans (Dubow, 1995a). The first theorists who described a systematic ideology of segregation and the establishment of black reserves in South Africa did so in the British colony of Natal (Beinart & Dubow, 1995; Dubow, 1995b).

In the Boer republics, decisions were made for blacks. The importance of ensuring sufficient labour and keeping blacks subjugated were often the subjects of debates. Coloureds, blacks and Indians were not allowed to own immovable property, or to trade in their own name. Any non-white man who had sexual intercourse with a white woman could face punishment of sixty lashes and six years of hard labour (Giliomee, 2003).

Reasons for the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) are fairly complicated (Giliomee, 2003; Seegers, 1996). Although the discovery of gold played a role, other factors such as Britain fearing the loss of its hegemony in South Africa were also important. By mid-1900 the Boer forces were close to

disintegration. However, a group from the ZAR known as the *Bittereinders* (die-hards) adopted guerrilla tactics and refused to surrender. In the war, a total of 4 177 Boer women and 22 074 Boer children died in the atrocious conditions of the concentration camps. The war ended on 31 May 1902. One of the terms that was eventually negotiated was that the question of the black franchise would be decided after the introduction of self-government (Giliomee, 2003).

The Anglo-Boer War had a long-lasting impact. In the immediate post-war years the Boer leadership was in disarray, through ill-health, and disillusionment. The reaction to the concentration camps dominated Afrikaner consciousness for two decades following the war. Issues that came to the fore included: the rift that had arisen between the *Bittereinders* and the 25 per cent of Boers fighting on the British side; British attempts to anglicise the Boers and the need for the recognition of Afrikaans; the poor whites; the possibility of a revolt by black people and the desire for an independent republic (Giliomee, 2003; Seegers, 1996). Belonging to a group which stressed their ethnic identity helped ameliorate the humiliation of the defeat by the English (Giliomee, 1995). A group of poets (e.g. Eugene Marais, Jan Celliers, Totius and C. Louis Leipoldt) wrote of the hard-bought triumphs and crushing tragedies of the Anglo-Boer war (Giliomee, 1995; Moodie, 1975). Afrikaans played an important role in shaping the identity of Afrikaners, and leaders such as J. B. M. Hertzog and D. F. Malan called for it to be raised to a written language which would become a vehicle for Afrikaans culture, history and ideals (Giliomee, 1995).

After the Anglo-Boer War, Alfred Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa between 1897 and 1905 became the Governor of the Transvaal Colony and the Orange River Colony. He embraced the idea of British racial superiority. Milner wanted to construct the new union on the pillars of a capitalist system and an efficient professional bureaucracy. The blacks had to be governed well and justly, but ruled by the white man, since he believed whites were

elevated many steps above the black man (Giliomee, 2003; Legassick, 1995).

In 1903 Milner approached the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) to provide a more systematic and co-ordinated native policy for a future federal South Africa. Sir Godfrey Lagden, the chairman tied his thoughts about labour recruitment to the need for a consistent system of white supremacy. Acting on the SANAC report, much of which rested on previous legislation, particularly the Glen Grey Act (which will be discussed in a following section), the British post-war administration defined the black locations in the Transvaal Colony. In the end, only about 3 per cent of the Transvaal was set aside for blacks. As a greater number of blacks started migrating towards the cities and living in shacks on the periphery of towns and cities officials seized on an outbreak of bubonic plague in the largest cities at the beginning of the twentieth century to insist that the slums be destroyed. Blacks had to be housed some distance away in compounds or locations outside of towns. Between 1902 and 1904 cities across South Africa passed legislation compelling blacks to live in segregated locations. The idea of sealing off the white city from the black locations was born (Giliomee, 2003; Swanson, 1995). A result was that it became easier for whites to claim a lack of knowledge of the conditions in which blacks lived and subjugation of others easier to defend.

By 1910, after two and a half centuries of immigration and expansion, a little over 20 per cent of the population was classified as white or European. This percentage was probably greater than in any other African country and remained relatively stable until the 1960s (Beinart & Dubow, 1995). The Union of South Africa was established in 1910 without consulting blacks. The Union of South Africa confirmed black fears that whites did not want to share the land but would fight to keep it in their hands (Giliomee, 2003; Seegers, 1996). The 1913 Natives Land Act confirmed the same areas as the SANAC report (Giliomee, 2003). The fears that black people would rise against this legislation were present, but they did not require a political

solution; whites had realised that weapons with the greatest destructive capacity were sufficient (Seegers, 1996).

The Afrikaner Broederbond was established in 1918. This secret organisation with extensive influence in Afrikaner educational institutions believed that only by imbuing the Afrikaners with the sense that they were members of an exclusive *volk* (people) could they be mobilised to pursue the National Party goals aimed at safeguarding the future of Afrikanerdom. The Broederbond spread the doctrine of Christian-Nationalism, which held that nations were products of a Divine Will, each with a diversity of allotted tasks and distinguished from each other by their separate cultures (Giliomee, 1995). At this stage segregationist ideology was firmly entrenched in South Africa, with the white minority assuming that it was entitled to rule blacks (Seegers, 1996). There were differences, however, as to what supremacy entailed, as well as the means by which it was to be upheld (Dubow, 1995b).

Before the 1924 election Hertzog's National Party entered into an alliance called the Pact with the Labour Party not to oppose each other in the elections. Soon after coming to power the Pact government started to talk of harsh segregation. Contradictory statements were made, such as Hertzog saying that blacks were two thousand years behind whites, but their progress in education represented a threat to white society. The rapid urbanisation of the Afrikaner poor had given rise to widespread fears of sexual mixing across racial lines. In 1928 the government passed a law prohibiting marriages between blacks and whites (Giliomee, 2003). In the 1929 election, the National Party (NP) won an outright majority after exploiting a badly worded plea by Smuts for a "British confederation of African states . . . a great African Dominion stretching unbroken throughout Africa" (quoted by Giliomee, 2003, p. 394). The NP charged him with propagating a "black Kaffir state" (Giliomee, 2003, p. 394) that would swallow South Africa. The NP had for the first time made race an issue between parties at an election. A tough stand on segregation had become imperative for any party wishing to succeed at the polls. Hertzog, after

coming to power in 1924, announced plans to remove black voters from the voters' role in the Cape Province. He described whites as the bearers of civilization; blacks were only starting the process of civilization. Hertzog eventually got the motion through by extending the vote to white women in 1930. This lowered the proportion of black voters in the Cape considerably. Hertzog promoted segregation as a white supremacist, not primarily as an Afrikaner (Dubow, 1995b; Giliomee, 1995, 2003). The National Party and Smuts's South African Party merged to form the United Party in 1933. Hertzog insisted the new South African state should develop a separate and independent political identity within the British Empire (Giliomee, 2003).

Giliomee (1995) explains that the 1930s and 1940s were very disruptive periods for the Afrikaners. They experienced rapid urbanisation, which produced a deep sense of insecurity. They were the poorest white group and perceived as culturally backward and lacking in sophistication. Giliomee (1995) notes that middle-class Afrikaners (mainly educators and clergy) disseminated the belief that self-realisation and human worth could only come through group identification and assertion. It was because the 1930s was such a traumatic period for these Afrikaners that they would be so attracted to the radical solution of apartheid.

The Afrikaners' source of strength was by now their identification with South Africa as their only fatherland. Their name and the language they spoke derived from the name of the continent. Various organisations were established to promote Afrikaner nationalism, for example the Voortrekkers (a youth movement) and the Federasie van Afrikaner Kultuurverenigings (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations). The cultural celebrations in 1938 (celebrating the centenary of the Great Trek) attracted mass enthusiasm from Afrikaners. The culminating event on 16 December 1938 in Pretoria, attracted a crowd of 100 000 (Giliomee, 2003). Moodie (1975) points out how central events in the Afrikaners' history such as Blood River, the Wars of Independence and the concentration camps were woven together in a sacred history in which God had repeatedly revealed Himself to

the Afrikaners as a chosen people. Moodie argues that the sacred history constituted a civil religion and that after the emotion-charged commemoration of the Great Trek in 1938 ordinary Afrikaners had made the main themes of the civil religion part of their own emotional identity.

In 1933 Willemse (a lecturer in psychology at the University of Pretoria) published *Kriminologie* (Criminology) in collaboration with a detective C.I. Rademeyer. It was published by the police and used by them for almost forty years. Willemse argued that racial inferiority was the cause of black criminality and the nature of black criminality was proof of their inferiority. Black deviance was uncontrolled, diffuse and childlike. Blacks were particularly prone to crimes such as robbery, murder and violence – acts characteristic of mental defectiveness. Blacks were given to impulse, spontaneity and emotion. Their objectives were uncalculated and their actions were childlike, dictated by feeling rather than thought. He claimed that the essential institutions of Western civilisation were alien to blacks who were incapable of comprehending its ethical and judicial precepts (Dubow, 1995a).

The first printed use of the term “apartheid” in its modern sense dates back to 1929, used by a Rev du Plessis in addressing a conference in the Free State. The word became commonly used after Dr Malan, the National Party leader, started using it in his speeches. In 1933 the Afrikaner Broederbond formulated a document which recommended the introduction of total mass-segregation, not as an ideal, but as a matter of immediate practical policy (Giliomee, 2003).

Afrikaner nationalism was intimately tied to the devaluation of blacks. However, the ideology of apartheid had to be defensible within Christianity. The tendency to call racism by euphemisms, for example “apartheid”, “separate development”, “plural relations” may have been attempts to make it more palatable. By the mid-1930s crude racist thinking had lost respectability. But it was replaced by the new ideology that each culture was

worthy in its own right and capable of its own progressive development (Dubow, 1995a). In 1944 a people's congress was held on racial policy. In essence it was decided that whites would have full control over the common area with black "nations" being provided with the opportunity to develop in their own areas. Christianity was invoked, with the message that those whom God had joined together (racially) had to remain joined and those whom he had separated had to remain separate (Dubow, 1995a, Giliomee, 2003). The churches offered little resistance to the policy. Alan Paton told the New York Times in 1949: "We in South Africa also have a conscience. But our fears are so great that our conscience is not so clearly apparent" (quoted by Giliomee, 2003, p. 464).

In 1945 the NP accepted apartheid as its official policy and came to power in 1948. After its election the NP stated that it had been given a mandate to implement apartheid. The victory of the NP in 1948 dismayed Britain. However, the priority for the Western governments at the time was to prevent South Africa's minerals and strategic location from falling under communist influence. The Cold War had started and the West did not insist on a non-racial democracy in South Africa (Giliomee, 2003). At this stage racism was still rife in Europe and the USA. Only towards the end of the 1950s did the views in Europe and the USA start to differ markedly from those in South Africa when European colonialism had collapsed and the revelations around the Holocaust discredited racist ideologies and emphasised the need for integration (Dubow, 1995a; Van Jaarsveld, 1978). The granting of independence to India in 1947 was a major turning point in world history that intensified the pressure to allow black and brown people to rule themselves (Giliomee, 2003).

Giliomee (1995) notes that during the period 1948 to 1959 the central theme in the Afrikaners' self-concept was that of an insecure white people in need of legislation to ensure their survival. Their thinking was racist to the extent that miscegenation was considered an evil that would lead to the degeneration of their race. The Afrikaner politicians of 1948 to 1958 were a

rising middle class who feared their English and black adversaries as much as they distrusted their own lower class to maintain separateness and purity of race. They had to be educated along the paths of apartheid to ensure that the white man would remain master. To allow social intercourse would be to encourage familiarity. Patterson (1957, p. 275-276) put it as follows:

Afrikaner nationalism was borne out of the bitterness of defeat, and the fear of engulfment. It grew and flourished in a climate of economic insecurity and social and cultural frustration. It was deliberately cultivated by a rising intelligentsia who rewrote the peoples' myths and refurbished their symbols to suit the needs of a changing world.

Laws had to enforce whites and blacks place in society. Numerous pieces of legislation were passed once the NP came into power. The Population Registration Act (1950) established mechanisms for determining and registering the race of all South Africans. Other acts included the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Immorality Act (1950) and the Group Areas Act (1950). The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) banned the South African Communist Party and allowed for banning orders on individuals. The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act (1952) confirmed the pass laws. The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953) was aimed at crushing mass disobedience. The Public Safety Act (1953) enabled the declaration of a state of emergency and the detention without trial of individuals (Clark & Worger, 2004; Foster, 1987; Foster et al., 2005). In 1951 Parliament passed the Separate Representation of Voters Act which relegated coloured voters to a separate role (Giliomee, 2003). Every aspect of South African life was determined under law by race. A pattern developed in which any resistance was met with increasingly suppressive legislation. Mandela (1994, p.104) described apartheid as:

The codification in one oppressive system of all the laws and regulations that had kept Africans in an inferior position to whites for centuries. What had been more or less *de facto* was relentlessly to become *de jure*. The often haphazard segregation of the past three hundred years was to be consolidated into a monolithic system that

was diabolical in its detail, inescapable in its reach and overwhelming in its power. . . . the function of it was to entrench white supremacy forever.

The post-war withdrawal from racial ideology in the Western world occurred just as apartheid was being implemented. A full racist explanation of human difference was seldom articulated in South Africa. Instead an idealist conception of nation, *volk* and culture was used to justify segregation. Many were convinced that full apartheid was a genuinely just way of solving South Africa's racial conflicts (Seegers, 1996). Partial segregation was held to be intrinsically exploitative, whereas total segregation would provide blacks with full opportunities to develop according to their own cultural norms. Seegers (1996, p. 88) refers to this concept as a "Racial Utopia". It was believed that people naturally want to be in their own communities and therefore decisions could be made for them towards this end. Even violence could be justified in support of this goal, as it served the goal of commonly desired segregation.

F. W. de Klerk (later president of South Africa), in an interview with Waldmeir explained: "The people who structured apartheid and put it on the law books were not evil people. . . . Apartheid was, in its idealistic form, a plan to make all the people of South Africa free" (Waldmeir, 1997, p. 12).

The Population Registration Act (1950) meant that everyone had to be classified in a particular racial group. Classification had momentous implications, affecting people in social, economic and political ways. Assigned membership in a particular community would determine where you lived, your possible partner, schools, and so on. This caused numerous tragedies including lovers who were differently classified committing suicide. Every year Parliament would publish lists of who had been reclassified. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) prevented all marriages between whites and those that were not white. The Immorality Amendment Act (1950) outlawed sexual relations between a white and a non-white. The Group Areas Act (1950) restricted different urban living spaces for whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians. Ownership of land was restricted to a

particular group. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) mandated the segregation of public facilities: This included the use of separate entrances, separate busses, separate train coaches, separate parks and beaches, and separate public toilets. Non-whites could not be served at a table in a white restaurant and were excluded from white hotels, cinemas, and so on. Difficulty was encountered with the racial classification of the coloureds. They were mainly classified as to where one belonged in terms of social standing and white public opinion. Whites hired as classifiers passed judgement on a person's race, using common sense conventions. People were asked about their descent, and in uncertain cases, fingernails and hair were examined. A third party could object to a person's classification (Giliomee, 2003).

Education became a hugely contentious problem. Only 3 per cent of blacks had received post-primary education by 1952. J. G. Strydom warned D. F. Malan in 1946 that it would be impossible to maintain racial discrimination if the quality of education of the subordinate people was steadily improved. However to deny a proper education would show their intentions not to be truthful, in terms of separate but equal education (Giliomee, 2003).

Christian-National Education forced schools to teach and practise apartheid and to indoctrinate children into the system from a young age. The Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953 which transferred control of black education to the Native Affairs Department. It was seen as a way of institutionalising inferiority. H. F. Verwoerd the Minister of Bantu Education explained that people had to be educated and trained in accordance with their opportunities; and blacks had no opportunities beyond a certain level (Mandela, 1994).

Verwoerd took over from Strydom in 1958. In 1959 the state promulgated the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act. This implied that the existing legal contract between the state and black inhabitants of South African was suspended. Although independence was not mentioned, the possibility was there. For the disenfranchised this meant they would now lose their

citizenship, and become citizens of separate nations carved out of South Africa. South Africa became an independent republic on 31 May 1961 (Giliomee, 2003; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Seegers, 1996).

By the 1970s Afrikaner capitalists were propelled into the upper reaches of the economy (Marais, 2001). They no longer believed the rhetoric of the 1960s that apartheid would result in people being separate, but equal. It had become clear that apartheid maintained white power, wealth and privileges. Racial discrimination was now justified in terms of economic and political realities. Advocate B. J. Vorster became Prime Minister after Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966 (Giliomee, 1995). His government will be discussed in a later section.

Van Jaarsveld (1978) noted at the time that apart from a military solution, there appeared to be no clear plan in dealing with the racial issues in South Africa. The impression was given that matters would be dealt with as they arose.

Apartheid did not have many detractors from the white community in South Africa. Giliomee (2003) reports on a survey that was undertaken in the late 1960s. Between 83 per cent and 96 per cent of Afrikaners regarded blacks as inferior to whites and did not regard a multi-racial democracy as a practical possibility. More than 80 per cent disagreed with the statement that there were no differences in abilities between whites and blacks, but only a difference in opportunities. Between two thirds and three quarters of the English elite agreed with these propositions. In polls in 1979, 1984 and 1987 more than four fifths of Afrikaners believed that under black majority rule, their culture and language would be threatened. More than 80 per cent believed that the physical safety of whites would be threatened, that white possessions would not be safe, and that white women would be molested.

The policy of apartheid resulted in the pervasive stigmatisation of all people who were not white. Giliomee (2003, p.470) states it as: "The message that

apartheid as a system conveyed, offensively and obscenely, was that black and colored people were socially inferior, morally inadequate, intellectually underdeveloped and sexually unfit for intimate relationships.” In the process of devaluing black people, whites experienced themselves as superior.

Economics

The Glen Grey Act of 1894 was important in the development of segregation policies in South Africa. Rhodes, a self-described jingo, was Prime Minister of the Cape at this time. He was a mining magnate and aware of the importance of black labour. The problem was to create sufficient labour on the farms and mines without giving blacks the vote. By allowing whites to buy land in black reserves, the inhabitants were forced to seek employment outside the reserves. Rhodes and Hofmeyr (leader of the Afrikaner Bond, the first Afrikaner political organisation) experimented in an area north of Queenstown, called Glen Grey (Giliomee, 2003).

With regard to blacks, the British administration followed a much harsher policy after the Anglo-Boer War. The pass laws were policed more strictly and the police stopped any strike action by blacks. The mine magnates could ignore any complaints about conditions in the black compounds. In 1900 the Chamber of Mines reduced black mineworkers' wages by nearly a quarter, and with Milner's backing introduced the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association as a central recruiting agency with employers co-operating to impose uniformly low wages for blacks (Giliomee, 2003).

After the Anglo-Boer War, Milner said that South Africa could not turn itself into a white man's country if it was full of poor whites. There were growing numbers of very poor white people on the land and in the towns and cities. The poor white problem had developed for various reasons, including the Roman-Dutch inheritance laws (which resulted in ever-increasing subdivisions of farms), the British scorched earth policy during the Anglo-Boer War, an inability to adapt to commercial farming, competition from black farmers, the Depression, the severe droughts and rinderpest. Poor whites

were barely literate, had few skills and were unemployed and at times unemployable. In 1932 the Carnegie Commission published five comprehensive reports on the problem. The Carnegie report placed the number of poor whites at 17 per cent of whites. Although the Carnegie report recognised that black poverty was as much a problem as white poverty, they presumed that relieving white poverty would benefit other communities (Giliomee, 2003; Patterson, 1957).

By 1912 a third of South Africa's urban population (in the common or white areas) was black. The Union Constitution (1909), the Native Land Act (1913) and the Native Urban Areas Act (1923) formed the basis of policy towards blacks for the rest of the century. Other legislation aimed at the disenfranchised included Native Labour Regulation Act (1911) and the Native Administration Act (1927). The Native Land Act (1913) was of paramount importance, because it made little new land available; the reserves quickly became congested and the limited opportunities for individual tenure were further restricted by the strong support for communal tenure in the traditional system. Hertzog, the first Minister of Native Affairs in the first Union parliament, began to consider dividing South Africa into black man's and white man's land (Giliomee, 2003).

Economically, for most of the twentieth century, the gold mining industry was of critical importance to South Africa. The first job reservation was put in place by the ZAR in 1893. In 1911 the Union government passed the Mines and Works Act that protected whites in some categories of work (Giliomee, 2003). The rise of an urban black working class raised the possibility of multi-racial industrial action. There had been large strikes in 1913, 1914, 1918, 1920 and 1922 (Marais, 2001). Smuts used the Mines and Works Act to write regulations that limited a range of jobs to whites only. After the 1922 miners strike the Smuts government legalised an industrial bargaining system (Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924) that privileged whites. Various incentives were put in place for employers who employed whites instead of blacks in order to remedy the poor white problem. Trades were closed to

blacks as a result of the Apprenticeship Act (1922). The Riotous Assemblies Act (1930) made it possible to crush protests by banning meetings and banishing the recalcitrant. In an emergency assembly in 1932 the ANC denounced the government for increasing burdens with retrograde and medieval laws (Giliomee, 2003). Hertzog believed that those employed as uncivilised (in other words, blacks) required wages to afford only the bare necessities of barbarous and underdeveloped people (Giliomee, 1995, 2003; Patterson, 1957). By the 1920s and 1930s the policy of segregation had come to mean not only political and territorial segregation, but also large state subsidisation of white commercial farming, the protection of white urban workers, and the rehabilitation of the poor whites (Giliomee, 2003).

In 1953 blacks were barred from belonging to registered unions, and representatives of black workers were forbidden to attend meetings of industrial councils. Those who tried to organise black unions were branded as communists and banned or detained. The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) gave the government the right to ban publications that promoted the objectives of communism and the power to name people who could be banned from holding office, practising as lawyers or attending meetings. This act very broadly defined communism as any doctrine that aimed at bringing about “any political, industrial, social or economic change in the Union by the promotion of disturbances or disorder, by unlawful acts or omissions or by the threat of such acts and omissions” (cited by Giliomee, 2003, p. 499). The most severe curb on black labour was influx control, which underpinned the migrant labour system. Blacks who did not have a claim to be in the urban areas were given only 72 hours in the towns and cities to find work and were compelled to register at a government labour bureau for this purpose. From 1957 women also had to carry passes which would confirm their right to be in an area (Giliomee, 2003).

Although the NP, after its victory, in 1948 set out to entrench its political control and make the country safe for Afrikanerdom through repressive legislation, it could not prevent the growing dependence on the

disenfranchised labour force (Giliomee, 2003). Patterson (1957) would note that by the late 1950s approximately 70 per cent of industrial workers were black. In the higher levels of the civil service, the bilingual ruling and accelerated superannuation ensured that the public service, police force and armed forces became almost exclusively Afrikaans-speaking (Patterson, 1957).

Underlying the homelands policy was the fiction that the common area was the white homeland. By the 1970s it was clear that development was not taking place in the homelands. The developmental aspect of the homelands policy had largely been replaced by a policy to use the reserves as dumping grounds where the government resettled blacks from white South Africa. When group areas removals in the towns and cities and evictions of farm labourers are added up, 3.5 million people were resettled as a result of apartheid. The conditions in the resettlement camps were bleak, with little hope of employment or food production. The homelands became dependent on migrant labour. To curb the flow of people to the cities, the government froze housing in the urban areas in the 1960s and began building dormitory towns in the homelands from where commuters could travel to work. Migrant labourers could not travel to the cities to look for work, but had to stay in their homeland until recruited. Large numbers of the black population had become permanently detribalised and urbanised (Giliomee, 2003; Marais, 2001; Patterson, 1957).

One of the attempts to consolidate the fragmented resistance movements was the creation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, which was in essence the trade union wing of the ANC. It played a significant role in the rise in industrial militancy between 1955 and 1958. Various reasons appear to have led to it losing momentum, including a three-day stayaway which was called off after one day. In the early 1970s, despite the prohibitions of organised black industrial action, the first strike wave in decades took place. A number of new black unions were formed despite strikes being crushed by the police and management (Marais, 2001).

In the middle 1980s the country experienced serious economic decline; the rand devalued sharply (partially in response to P. W. Botha's refusal to start reforms), international disinvestment was strong, money was rapidly leaving the country, there was a serious drought, oil prices had risen and the gold price had fallen (Pottinger, 1988). The rigid racial laws had resulted in whites (and to a limited extent Indians and coloureds) being the core market for the manufacturing sector. That market became too small to sustain growth by the 1980s. The lack of infrastructure in the black areas also impeded growth – for example, not having electricity, meant that people had no use for electrical appliances. Black unemployment was extremely high during the 1980s (Marais, 2001).

The only area where the government started instituting real reforms was in labour. Some of the 1979 Wiehahn Commission (into labour legislation) report's recommendations were instituted. Free association in trade unions was accepted and trade unions were recognised irrespective of race, gender or colour (Gardner, 1997; Pottinger, 1988; Waldmeir, 1997). The end to influx control in 1986 was one of the major changes, as blacks could freely enter and work in urban areas.

By 1987 the NP government was facing numerous problems. Formal sector unemployment was around 30 per cent, services in many townships had collapsed, violent crime levels were very high, there were problems with the balance of payments, the far-right was becoming a political threat, and the anti-apartheid movement was regrouping around the Mass Democratic Movement (Marais, 2001).

Black Resistance

The history of South Africa would be incomplete without discussing black resistance. However, it has to be taken into account that most of the black political organisations were banned from the early 1960s until 02 February 1990 when President De Klerk unbanned them. This meant that the

participants in this study, as is the case with most whites in South Africa had no contact with the views of the black resistance movement. Their sole exposure was to the propaganda of the South African government.

Prior to 1910 various black political bodies were established many of which would later play an important role in South Africa. They included the South African Native Congress (1898), the Native Vigilance Association (1901), the African Political Organisation (1902), the Transvaal Native Vigilance association (1902), the Natal Native Congress (1900) and the Natal Indian Congress (1894). The South African Native National Congress was established in 1912 in response to racial discrimination and renamed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923 (Clark & Worger, 2004).

Black political awareness and labour issues were inextricably interwoven throughout the twentieth century. Various strikes and riots took place during the early part of the twentieth century. Examples included: agitation in Bloemfontein in 1919 for higher wages; the sanitary workers' strike in Johannesburg; strikes during 1919 at the Natal Collieries, the Messina Mine and the Cape Town Docks; the 1920 mine-workers' strike on the Rand; a riot in 1920 at the Lovedale institution; agitation for increased wages and an ensuing riot in 1920 at Port Elizabeth (Dubow, 1995b).

By 1935 the ANC had not managed to win any relief for its constituency. It was into this vacuum that a new generation of more militant urban blacks stepped in during the mid-1940s. They were organised within the newly formed ANC Youth League (ANCYL). The ANCYL grew from a fierce brand of African nationalism which idealised an imagined past of unity and harmony among blacks and posited a liberation struggle which would overthrow white supremacy and establish a democratic government (Mandela, 1994; Marais, 2001).

The ANC and the South African Indian Congress launched the Defiance Campaign, which lasted for six months, against the pass laws on 26 June

1952. It commenced as a campaign of non-cooperation and non-violence (Mandela, 1994). 7 544 people were eventually convicted (Seegers, 1996). Mandela claims that the defiance campaign led to a willingness to resort to action in the ANC (Mandela, 1994). Although the defiance campaign initially led to an increase in membership in the ANC, it quickly reversed as by the end of 1953 the ANC only had 28 000 members (Marais, 2001).

The women's march in 1956 took place to protest against the pass laws. On this day some 20 000 women assembled in Pretoria, all heading for the Union Buildings to present their protest to the Prime Minister himself, Johannes Strydom. The women sang, "Strydom you have struck a rock, you have touched the women" (Luckhardt & Wall, 1980, p. 302) as the four leaders (Lilian Ngoyi, Rahima Moosa, Sophie Williams and Helen Joseph) representing each racial group, marched up to the office of the Prime Minister where they left thousands of petition forms at the door. After 30 minutes of complete silence, the women sang freedom songs and then dispersed (Geisler, 2004; Luckhardt & Wall, 1980).

The Congress of the People held at Kliptown, on 26 June 1955 led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter (Luckhardt & Wall, 1980). The Charter was politically useful for the ANC which was attempting to establish its hegemony among the anti-apartheid movements. The state, however, used the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 as a reason for the treason trial which lasted from 1956 to 1961. Although everyone was acquitted, 156 ANC leaders were removed from political activity for that period (Marais, 2001).

The freedom movements were not without conflict. Tensions between the ANC and an Africanist element in the party led to a split in 1959 which led to the establishment of the Pan African Congress (PAC) under Robert Sobukwe. The PAC organised the anti-pass law campaign (which eventually became known as the Sharpeville massacre) as well as the march in Langa outside Cape Town (Marais, 2001).

The events at Sharpeville took place in a context of other riots that had taken place, for example, in Natal. The law prevented blacks from brewing their own liquor at home but instead encouraged men to go to municipal beer halls to drink, as the beer halls were a source of tax revenue to assist in the administration of apartheid. Because of the already meagre wages their men brought home, the women deeply resented the money they drank away in the beer halls. They argued that the beer-halls should be closed and that they should be allowed to brew beer at home. On 18 June 1959, some 2 000 Cato Manor women gathered to tell their grievances to a local official. After a violent response from the police, the township erupted and violence spread. The militant women of Natal called for a total boycott of the beer halls (Luckhardt & Wall, 1980). In 1960 further violence occurred at Cato Manor due to rumoured forced removals. Police had fled from a crowd and, despite attempts to barricade themselves, nine policemen were stoned to death (Dippenaar, 1988; Seegers, 1996).

The Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960 took place when police fired on a PAC organised protest against the pass laws and 69 protesters were killed. The policemen at Sharpeville were aware of the events at Cato Manor and this probably influenced their judgement. The Sharpeville massacre was followed by work stayaways. The stock exchange fell and whites were terrified (Dippenaar, 1988; Frankel, 2001; Giliomee, 2003; Marais, 2001). The state then invoked emergency laws to outlaw the ANC and the PAC on 8 April 1960. Thousands of people were detained (Foster, 1987; Giliomee, 2003, Marais, 2001). Frankel (2001, p. 192) in examining the conclusions of the Wessels Commission of Inquiry into the Sharpeville massacre, comments that the Commission's findings were "densely unintelligible, so ridden with double-talk, qualifications, and refutable logic as to defy both legal reasoning and ordinary comprehension". The dangers the police faced were described, but little was said about the police starting to shoot although no order to fire had been given (Frankel, 2001).

The massacre at Sharpeville is often seen as the start of the violent clamp down of the apartheid authorities. It can also be interpreted as the start of the fall of apartheid (Bell & Ntsebeza, 2001; Frankel, 2001). Possibly even more important in its message to the government was the Mpondo rebellion in the Transkei. The Transkei was the first area to receive independence; it was the flagship of the homelands policy. The rebellion was against the traditional authorities with which the apartheid government had hoped to build their segregationist dream. More than 4 000 people were arrested with over 2000 brought to trial (Bell & Ntsebeza, 2001; Mbeki, 1964).

The restrictive legislation continued, with anyone convicted under the Sabotage Act (1962) liable to the penalties for treason, including the death penalty. The General Laws Amendment Act (1963) enabled the government to institute the 90-day, later extended to 180-day detention of individuals without charge, trial or legal representation. In 1962 the state issued a list of 105 people whose speeches and writings could not be published. All protest meetings against the arrest, trial or conviction of any person, for any offence were banned. In 1963 the first deaths in detention took place. Those responsible were not revealed (Foster, 1987; Foster et al., 2005; Seegers, 1996). The banning of the ANC forced it underground and resulted in a shift away from its strategy of non-violent resistance (Marais, 2001). Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was established as the armed wing of the ANC. In its manifesto MK declared:

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom. (quoted by Marais, 2001, p. 25).

At the Rivonia trial Mandela said that the ANC “could not escape the conclusion that fifty years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation” and that they would have to resort to sabotage (Mandela, 1994, p.350). After the Rivonia trial in 1964 when the leadership of the ANC and MK – including Mandela, Govan Mbeki,

Sisulu and Kathrada – was sentenced to life imprisonment, black resistance was largely crushed until the Soweto revolt in June 1976 (Foster et al., 2005; Marais, 2001).

Giliomee (2003, p. 578) comments that a “combination of Afrikaner political arrogance and cultural insecurity triggered the events that became a watershed moment in the history of apartheid”. Andries Treurnicht, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration maintained that the government had the right to decide the medium of instruction in black schools because white taxpayers subsidised the schools. Eventually around twenty thousand Sowetan school children marched on 16 June 1976 in protest against a decree by the Department of Bantu Education that Afrikaans had to be used as one of the languages of instruction in secondary schools. This was the trigger, but grievances also included unemployment, poverty, the state of black schools, the pass laws, and the insecurities engendered by the homeland policy. In 1977 about 2 500 people were detained under the security laws. 176 people died in the first six months, mainly killed by the police. By October 1977 almost 700 people had died. Ten people died in detention in 1977. All the Black Consciousness organisations were banned and black newspapers were closed down. Black journalists were detained. 160 people were under banning orders. All outdoor meetings, except for sports events were banned in 1977. News reporting was segregated, with bigger newspapers producing different editions for black and white readers (Foster et al., 2005; Giliomee, 2003; Pollak, 1981). The Soweto uprising, the death of Biko (the Black Consciousness leader) on 12 September 1977 due to injuries inflicted by the Security Branch and the banning of black organisations accelerated the isolation of South Africa. The UN Security Council adopted a mandatory arms embargo of South Africa (Foster et al., 2005).

Almost 6 000 people were arrested in the seven months after 16 June 1976. Many young black people fled the country and joined the ranks of the liberation movements. Attacks by the armed wings of the ANC and PAC

increased. ANC guerrillas struck at high-profile targets, including a SASOL (*Suid Afrikaanse Steenkool en Olie*; South African Coal and Oil) plant in 1980, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base in Pretoria in 1981, and the Koeberg nuclear reactor near Cape Town in 1982. An ANC car bomb exploded in 1983 at the Air Force headquarters in Church Street in Pretoria, killing nineteen people (Seegers, 1996). The state responded with the Internal Security Act (1982) which defined the offences of terrorism and subversion very broadly (Foster, 1987; Foster et al., 2005). But the idea had been planted that resistance could achieve results (Waldmeir, 1997).

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed and the first campaign they set themselves was to oppose the tricameral system of parliament which I will discuss in a later section. The outbreak of violence in the Vaal Triangle in 1984 quickly spread to other parts of Transvaal, Natal and the Eastern Cape. There were numerous symbolic stayaways and strikes by workers, rent and service charge boycotts, consumer boycotts and marches. Crowds attacked the houses of black town councillors, forcing their resignation and eventually the collapse of the system of local government. They also burned government buildings, shops and liquor outlets. The houses of black policemen were bombed, to drive them out of the townships. Informants were killed, often by necklacing (a practice in which the victim had a car tyre put around his or her neck, the tendons in their ankles were often cut and they were then doused with fuel and set alight). After the police opened fire on a peaceful crowd in March 1985 in Uitenhage, the protests spread to Cape Town and other parts of the Western Cape. Bombs exploded in Durban and Johannesburg. The government declared a state of emergency in some magisterial districts on 20 July 1985, which was soon extended to the entire country. This was renewed until the government and the ANC started formal negotiations in 1990. Oliver Tambo called for South Africa to be made ungovernable (Giliomee, 2003; Jeffery, 1991). State repression of the UDF led to most of the UDF leadership being imprisoned, in hiding or dead by 1987. The UDF was seen as the front for the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (Marais, 2001).

The History of the SAP/S, the Total Onslaught and the Militarisation of White South Africa

In 1913 the South African Police force was formed by consolidating numerous local police forces (Dippenaar, 1988; Seegers, 1996). Almost immediately the police were used in suppressing various strikes. In the suppression of the miner's strike in 1914, Smuts declared martial law and used the United Defence Force to arrest the leaders. They were arrested and deported illegally and without Cabinet authorisation (Dippenaar, 1988). Seegers (1996) comments that this established a tradition in South Africa where the state did not live under its own law and retroactively passed laws that would make their actions legal in future. The Riotous Assemblies Act (1914) was devised against sedition in the Union. It covered two broad areas of control: gathering and publications. Officials acting on the powers made possible by the act did not have to give prior notice or later make public the reasons for their actions. The Riotous Assemblies Act was linked to the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1914). It criminalised political dissent and provided for severe sanctions, especially for those found guilty of public violence. A pattern was being established of passing undemocratic laws and using the police to enforce them (Seegers, 1996).

The Landsdown Commission in 1937 noted that policemen enforced the law by excessive readiness to arrest, and unnecessary harshness, lack of sympathy and violence. It also noted that there was hostility between the police and blacks. This was ascribed to having to enforce unpopular legislation (Dippenaar, 1988).

In the 1930s senior British trained ranks were approaching retirement, but due to poor pay and working conditions, the SAP struggled to attract recruits. The members whom the police had recruited were poorly educated and from a rural background. The public service had a deliberate policy of attempting to resolve the poor white problem by recruiting Afrikaners. In order to attract more members they reduced the academic entry requirement to a standard 6 (grade 8) (Seegers, 1996).

The outbreak of the Second World War led to extreme tensions in South Africa as well as in the SAP, with the loyalists willing to support the Allied war effort and the Ossewabrandwag (OB) strongly opposed to it. The OB was a nationalist organisation strongly influenced by National Socialism (Schönteich & Boshoff, 2003). The OB had numerous members within the police and detonated 25 bombs in the Witwatersrand during 1940 and 1941. Eventually a large number of policemen who were also members of the OB were discharged and tried for high treason (Seegers, 1996). After the War, the internees were reabsorbed into the SAP without loss of rank. Hendrik van den Berg (later head of the Bureau of State Security and the Security Branch) was interned at Koffiefontein for his OB activities (Dippenaar, 1988).

The SAP has a long tradition of dealing with riots by using violence (Brogden & Shearing, 1993). Examples include: the industrial campaign in 1913 during which numerous people died; the 1922 miner's strike led to the loss of 182 lives, violence was used to suppress the 1942 miners' uprisings, a major clash between Zulus and Indians that left 147 people dead. In 1946, in referring to strikes among black mine workers, the Police Commissioner again had to reprimand the police for using unnecessarily severe action (Dippenaar, 1988). Seegers (1996) points out that during most of the 1950s the state's problem was its lack of laws under which it could prosecute. Two new acts were promulgated: The Public Safety Act (1953) made the declaration of a state of emergency easier and the scope of criminal public violence was extended by the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953). In 1956 the Riotous Assemblies Act was revised, narrowing the legal scope of public activities.

The Security Branch was established in this period to counter the threat of communism. Dippenaar (1988, p. 209) comments as follows:

Meanwhile, since the end of the war the Communists and all manner of other leftists and extremists had worked ceaselessly to destroy South Africa's traditional way of life and particularly the white

Government, and replace it with their own foreign structures. This was evidenced by the many and increasing number of strikes, generally associated with violence and clearly indicative of Communist influence.

He adds (Dippenaar, 1988, p. 211):

This branch (Security Branch) would be exclusively responsible for the internal security of the country and its inhabitants and quite aptly, the definition of its responsibility within the framework of police activities was quite vague.

Dippenaar wrote the official 75th anniversary album of the police, which was published in 1988. He makes these statements with apparently no recognition of the irony contained in them, or the exploitation that resulted from the “vague” definition of their responsibilities.

The Police Act (1958) identified four activities that required policing: (a) the preservation of internal safety; (b) the maintenance of law and order; (c) the investigation of any crime or alleged crime; and (d) the prevention of crime. The priority was internal safety, which was understood as the state’s political heads and their interests. Functionally, this meant that the Security Branch was the elite of the SAP (Seegers, 1996).

For the SAP Sharpeville was a crisis. Unrest also flared up at Langa and in various other parts of the country. A state of emergency was declared. The day after the state of emergency was declared, 20 000 black people gathered at Caledon Square, near the Houses of Parliament. Due to the intervention by Colonel Terblanche, the crowd dispersed peacefully. Unfortunately the disaster at Sharpeville overshadowed the competent management of a very tense situation, and the incident at Caledon Square received very limited media attention (Dippenaar, 1988).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC) commented that the police were placed above public scrutiny by the Indemnity Act of 1961 which granted indemnity to police officers for acts committed in good

faith. It was made retrospective to 21 March 1960, the date of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres (Boraine, 2000).

Advocate B. J. Vorster became Minister of Justice in 1961. He had also been interned for pro-Nazi activities, during the Second World War, while being a member of the OB. Dippenaar (1988) claims that Vorster and the Security Branch believed that South Africa was on the verge of revolution and that state security was threatened. Vorster substantially expanded the Security Branch. He gave permission for people other than whites to be eligible for permanent appointment to the SAP. Hendrik van den Bergh became SAP Commissioner in 1963. He supported Vorster's reading of events and proposed more active methods for the Security Branch, including infiltration. Vorster started a national intelligence agency, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) in 1969. BOSS drew most of its members from the Security Branch and Van den Bergh was its first head (Seegers, 1996).

B. J. Vorster replaced Verwoerd as Prime Minister in 1966, after Verwoerd was assassinated. He was extremely tough on security issues, often stating his belief that the security of the state was priority number one. During his term repression was legalised (Clark & Worger, 2004). Large sections of the white South African population were militarised. More than a fifth of the adult male white population of approximately two and a half million were conscripted at any time into active or reserve forces. A conscious effort was made through the state-controlled and privately owned media to stress the need for military preparedness (Cawthra, 1997).

During the 1970s things were starting to change in South Africa. The income of urban blacks had risen proportionally more than that of whites. The subsistence crises in the homelands had sent desperate people streaming to the squatter camps, breaking down influx control with numbers (Giliomee, 2003). In April 1974 a coup in Lisbon ended Portuguese rule over Angola and Mozambique. Cawthra (1997) points out that the coup irrevocably changed the balance of power in Southern Africa. It became

evident that with the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship black majority governments would be installed in Mozambique and Angola, thus directly threatening Rhodesia and South West Africa. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) accepted majority rule in 1980. South Africa was involved in conflicts in Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. In 1981 South Africa embarked on what became known as a campaign of destabilisation of the region to achieve its security objectives. Southern Africa's principle development organisation, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) estimated in 1989 that more than 1.5 million people had lost their lives as a direct or indirect result of war and civil conflict in Southern Africa (Cawthra, 1997; Stiff, 2001).

General Magnus Malan, who was Minister of Defence for much of this period, was convinced that the Soviets and the states north of South Africa (which turned to Marxism) hoped to attain dominance over South Africa in order to get South Africa's mineral wealth and the Cape sea route. The military and political decision-makers regarded themselves under siege and a garrison-state mentality took hold. Various authors (e.g. Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999; Stiff, 2001) note that the fear of communism underlay many of the government's reactions. Vlok, who was Minister of Law and Order from 1986 to 1991, recently spoke about the fear of communism which informed the decision making in the SAP ("Communists made me do it", 2007). Dippenaar (1988) in his history of the police repeatedly refers to the fear of communism that pervaded the organisation. The nationalist leadership was paranoid about security. The assembling of nuclear bombs and the information scandal (*The Citizen* newspaper was set up as a front, paid for with state funds, to manipulate public opinion) were indications of the mindset. Secret projects were launched, with the accompanying sleaze, corruption, lies and murder (Giliomee, 2003; Potgieter, 2007; Pottinger, 1988). In 1977 the Department of Defence published a white Paper spelling out that South Africa faced a total onslaught on virtually every area of society. Threats could only be countered by a total strategy against subversive elements (Giliomee, 2003). Vorster warned the world in 1977

(probably referring to the nuclear capabilities South Africa had): “So far and no further; do you damnedest if you wish” (quoted by Dubow, 2006, p. 262).

After the Soweto riots (discussed earlier) the Cillié Commission of Inquiry was established. The findings were released in 1980. The Commission exonerated the police. It found that the police had acquitted themselves well in executing their duties. In 1980 a total of 424 policemen were awarded medals for combating terrorism. The blame was put on the young black rioters and the Commission concluded that the problem lay with their state of mind (Seegers, 1996; Waldmeir, 1997).

The message given was that the police were not only above the law, but that they would be protected and rewarded by the state for harsh action towards unarmed children (if they were black). Seegers (1996) points out that habits of lawfulness were eroded when those who made the law did not live under it, when laws reflected minority more than public interest, and when definitions of criminal activity became too broad. Over one million blacks were prosecuted every year, for offences under racially discriminatory legislation such as the pass laws (Cawthra, 1997). The SAP was seen as enforcing the white man’s law. Maduna (1993, p. 43) comments that “our beloved country has never had an impartial, representative, and nonpartisan police force”.

The media was controlled to an extreme degree. Approximately two dozen major pieces of legislation directly impacted on journalists and newspapers. Any mistake could result in the banning of the publication, detention without trial, banning of the journalist and general harassment (Hachten & Giffard, 1984; Pollak, 1981). The ludicrous lengths to which these policies were taken and the effect on civil society are revealed by the following anecdote: When sports fan Donald Woods, the banned, self-exiled *Daily Dispatch* editor, submitted his cricket team selection to the *Rand Daily Mail*, the editors got nervous and checked with their lawyer. As it was illegal to quote a banned person he advised them not to publish Wood’s selection. They

followed his recommendation (Pollak, 1981). The state banned white spaces and obliterations which were used by the *Weekly Mail* to signal censorship. Teams of lawyers were employed by the newspapers to find ways around the laws (Harber, 1994).

Amnesty International published a report entitled Political Imprisonment in South Africa in 1978. The government banned it because it was considered undesirable. It depicted photographs of beaten and murdered blacks (Pollak, 1981) and being considered undesirable, most South Africans would never see the report. The blackout on news in the 1980s meant that especially the white population did not know what was happening down the road. When there was television footage of crowds it was portrayed as explosive images where it would appear that the crowd was innately violent (Foster et al., 2005; Pienaar & Willemse, 1986). Propaganda identified the *swartgevaar* (black peril) as part of the total onslaught against South Africa with representations of blacks as “irrational and violent, stone-throwing and disorganised mobs” (Durrheim, 2005, p. 450).

The Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963 had to determine the acceptability of publications, films, objects and public entertainments according to standards of decency and obscenity. Some of the best of Western contemporary literature was banned. Films were released with considerable cuts or at times banned. The Publications Act of 1974 removed the right of appeal to the courts, and made insulting or belittling references to the Publications Appeal Board an offence. By 1980 more than 13 000 items had been banned (Hachten & Giffard, 1984).

Television was deemed dangerous to the country's morals and the state prevented any attempts to introduce it. Eventually the state realised that it could be useful and it was introduced in 1976. It was fully state controlled, and used for propaganda, as were the state controlled radio stations (Hachten & Giffard, 1984). It started changing in the late 1980s when Multichoice started MNet (for subscribers) in 1986 (Multichoice company

history, 2008), followed by e.tv, a free-to-air channel in 1998 (e.tv, about us, 2008). Much of radio was also state controlled. Talk Radio 702 was established in 1988 (National Association of Broadcasters of South Africa, 2009) and was independent of government.

Vorster resigned, partially over the information scandal (Giliomee, 2003; Pottinger, 1988). P. W. Botha took office in 1978. He had also been a member of the OB, until he apparently realised it was not politically expedient (Pottinger, 1988). Botha was a career politician and was largely influenced by the military. Under him the State Security Council (SSC) was created, which eventually appeared to be running the country (Stiff, 2001).

In 1979 the National Security Management System (NSMS) was established (Seegers, 1996). It had developed out of the need for a defence against the perceived total onslaught against South Africa. In 1986 General Magnus Malan, in answer to a parliamentary question, said that the SSC had set up 12 main Joint Management Centres (JMCs) chaired by senior SADF or SAP officers. The JMCs' task was to identify and neutralise activists in the townships and win the hearts and minds of the black populace. The effect of allowing the NSMS to govern the country weakened the cabinet. The cabinet's ability to pressure the state president over matters of policy was drastically curtailed. To a large degree the military and police were running the country (Seegers, 1996; Stiff, 2001).

Through legislation and regulations the state had allowed the Security Branch to become a law unto themselves. Files on tens of thousands of activists or perceived activists were kept up to date on a daily basis both in its Pretoria HQ and at 110 branches around the country. Millions of rands were budgeted to pay informers. Captured ANC and PAC guerrillas were turned to the South African cause, to become what they called "askaris". If captured guerrillas refused to work for South Africa, they were charged with terrorism. A conviction would receive the death sentence (Stiff, 2001).

Various bodies were further established to monitor the security situation. These included the Coordinating Intelligence Committee of the SSC, which was under the chairmanship of the Director National Intelligence Service. Below it, also under the Director National Intelligence Service was the *Teen-Rewolusionêre Inligtingsteikensentrum* (Counter-Revolutionary Intelligence Target Centre) known by the acronym TREWITS, which was formed to evaluate intelligence reports and provide target intelligence to the security forces. At first it concentrated on targets within neighbouring countries, but as the security situation within South Africa deteriorated and showed signs of fulfilling the ANC's ambition of a people's war, ANC and UDF activists operating internally were also identified and noted on priority lists for targeting (Seegers, 1996; Stiff, 2001). Seegers (1996) makes the point that total/revolutionary onslaught was trumpeted so regularly that it could not fail to be acted out by individuals in security agencies.

A state of emergency was invoked in 20 July 1985. During this period the state activated the NSMS and the SSC became the main decision-making body on security issues. Mass shootings took place in Langa, Mamelodi, Alexandra and Athlone. Tens of thousands were arrested on "unrest" related charges, some 10 000 were detained and there were numerous public reports on the standard use of torture in detention. In 1985, 56 people faced treason charges. Meetings and gatherings by individuals and organisations were banned. Funerals, often the site of mass political resistance, were severely restricted. Fatalities rose from 879 in 1985 to 1 298 in 1986, 661 in 1987, 1 149 in 1989 and 1 403 in 1989 (Giliomee, 2003).

Although the SADF became increasingly involved in suppressing resistance in the townships, the police remained the principal instruments of suppression, even during the states of emergency. Although more troops than police were eventually in the townships, the SAP commanders often remained in charge. By 1990, by its own calculation the Security Branch had investigated 314 000 individuals and 9 500 organisations. The Human Rights Commission estimated that 80 000 people had been detained. The

SAP patrolled the borders of the country until the late 1980s. Military forces remained deployed in the townships, reaching a peak at the time of the election in 1994. As time passed, it became less and less easy to distinguish between combating crime and dealing with political threats, as the two overlapped more and more. Resistance in the townships often descended into crime, as a result of the anarchic climate. The term *comtsotsis* expressed this, as a contraction of comrades and *tsotsis* (gangsters). Many of the ANC supported Self-Defence Units and the Inkatha linked Self-Protection Units began to prey on the communities they once protected (Cawthra, 1997; Hamber, 1998).

The government, over many years had spent a lot on the military and the war in Angola. This meant that little was left for policing. In 1986 General John Coetzee, the Police Commissioner, complained that the police was suffering from its ratio of only 1.7 police men and women per thousand of the population. The UK had roughly 2.4 per thousand. Police methods to control the uprising were unsophisticated (Giliomee, 2003; Seegers, 1996). The SAP was often viewed by other members of the security establishment as a closed institution with poor habits of internal discipline. Standards of recruitment were too low. In 1991 fewer than half of police staff had matriculated. The riot police were also very young; many were only 18 years old. Numbers were increased during the various states of emergency in the 1980s by the establishment of the special constables. They were given abbreviated training and were only deployed in townships. Municipal police were created and given six weeks of training, armed and deployed (Rauch, 1991; Seegers, 1996).

The police's role was defined more and more as controlling riots and unrest and defending the rights of the white minority (Hamber, 1999; Rauch & Storey, 1998; Sparks, 2003). Crowd control was seen to be based on principles of warfare, and requiring counter-insurgency techniques (Rauch & Storey, 1998).

The protests in South Africa tended to be very violent, threatening the lives of policemen. Difficulties in riot and crowd control were caused by the terrain (sometimes open areas, other times narrow passages between shacks at squatter settlements), climate (high temperatures accelerates the spread of tearsmoke, makes the wearing of full riot gear impractical and water cannons are enjoyed and not avoided in summer) and the degree of violence (the threat of being stoned, hacked to death or necklaced). The police were often severely outnumbered by the crowd. Often the commanders had to make decisions in situations that changed from second to second. Crowd dynamics such as high group cohesion, physiological excitement, personal and public deindividuation, conformity with emergent norms, such as accepting deviant behaviour made it extremely difficult for the riot squads (Jeffery, 1991). In the period 1984 to 1986 the majority of killings in political violence was carried out when the security forces – usually the SAP – clashed with demonstrators and protesters. From 1988 onwards violence in black communities increasingly took on an internecine nature. By October 1988, security forces were being held responsible for less than one out of ten deaths in political violence (Cawthra, 1997).

The SAP complained that the Internal Security Act of 1982 made no provision for negotiation with the leaders of an illegal gathering. They could only order the crowd to disperse and then use the minimum force necessary to get the crowd to disperse. The training of riot police was criticised as being too short and too heavily orientated towards the use of force. It was only after the Sebokeng shootings of March 1990 that the period of training at Maleoskop was increased from three to six weeks and a system of on-going in-service training and liaison was established. All weapons used in dispersing riots were potentially lethal. Minimum force was not necessarily employed in dispersing riots. The Kannemeyer Commission (of 1985) into the Uitenhage shootings noted the instruction by the Deputy Commissioner of police in Pretoria that protesters who threw petrol or acid bombs should be eliminated (Jeffery, 1991).

Jeffery (1991) described that a major problem in riot control was the difficulty of bringing the riot police to book. This resulted from a conspiracy of silence in the police, the cost of litigation, lawyers were often not prepared to take on the cases, there was difficulty in proving the facts, magistrates were often biased in favour of the police, police charge officers were often not willing to accept complaints against a fellow member of the force, the Attorney-General was not willing to prosecute and colleagues were reluctant to testify. Specialised public order policing units that focused on riot control and paramilitary operations were established within the police force in the 1970s (Rauch & Storey, 1998). They were originally known as Riot Squads and eventually became the SAP's Internal Stability Division (ISD). With an eventual strength of 7500 at the end of 1992 and equipped with armoured vehicles, the Internal Stability Units (ISUs) were spread around the country. Complaints against the ISUs far outnumbered those against other specialised units, or the uniformed branch of the SAP. The arrival of an ISU often provoked confrontation, or upset negotiations or understandings between local police commanders and community leaders (Cawthra, 1997; Seegers, 1996). There are some documented instances in which the SAP incited the violence. One of those incidents was the Trojan Horse incident. On 15 October 1985 a South African Railways truck drove slowly down a street in Athlone. A few stones were thrown. A group of policemen burst out of the crates on the truck and started shooting indiscriminately. Three children were killed and eight were injured (Pienaar & Willemse, 1986). In another incident in Sebokeng in 1990 a crowd of approximately 50 000 people was fired on by the police after the marchers had agreed to disperse. No order to fire had been given (Rauch & Storey, 1998).

Dippenaar (1988) in his official history of the SAP inadvertently gives some light on the attitude of the SAP (as it was in 1988). Referring to the events at Caledon Square in 1960 he states (p. 287): "The events also effectively ended the PAC's campaign of resistance against imaginary grievances." His reaction to the banning of the ANC and PAC is (Dippenaar, 1988, p. 288): "In the Union, English clergymen . . . again reacted with pious hysteria." He

goes on to say: "The country, after all, had an established judicial system by which any irregular or illegal police action could be exposed." Comments such as these have to be accepted as part of the official view, and show an amazing lack of comprehension of the issues that were involved in the resistance.

Torture and Other Forms of Perpetration; Hit Squads.

In 1965 the *Rand Daily Mail* published a three-part series (June 30-July 2) based on the revelations of Harold Strachan, a recently released political prisoner. He made various claims, about unhygienic and overcrowded cells, solitary confinement and systematic brutality. The newspaper called on the authorities to begin an immediate investigation. The government responded and raided the newspaper's offices in an attempt to prevent publication of the final article. In the final article the newspaper published sworn statements of torture, the use of electric shocks in particular. The head warden who made the statements (J. A. Theron) was fired; Strachan was convicted of making a false statement, sentenced to two and a half years in prison, and banned (nothing he said could be published) for a total of ten years (Pollak, 1981).

In 1976, as discussed previously, it was reported that Steve Biko had died of injuries that he suffered at the hands of the Security Branch (Foster et al., 2005). In the 18 months of unrest after the Soweto uprising, 27 people died in detention (Lobban, 1996). These deaths were not explained adequately; a pattern which continued to repeat with the police giving obviously bizarre reasons, such as slipping on bars of soap for deaths in detention. It was suspected that the Security Branch were responsible for numerous cases of torture and deaths in detention (Baker, 1994; McBride, 1994; South African Press Association, 1996). In general the courts refused to acknowledge brutality (Lobban, 1996). This indicted that the state and the legal system would ignore and not censor the use of violence and torture.

By November 1985 South Africa had experienced fifteen months of widespread mass violence. There were numerous reports of brutalities by the security forces (Giliomee, 2003). Detention without trial implied that there were inadequate safeguards to prevent physical and or psychological torture of detainees. Limitations were placed upon the ability of detainees to effect civil actions for alleged abuse while held under security legislation (Foster, 1987). Boraine (2000, p. 141), vice chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC), stated the following about torture:

Torture was not something that took place in a handful of prisons, performed by perverted warders. Torture was endemic. There was no place we visited, no hearing we conducted, which did not contain stories of torture. Thousands were killed, not merely at roadblocks, in ambushes and raids, but also by abduction and design. Those who were seen as a threat to the apartheid regime were in many instances summarily executed.

Foster (1987) released a study which clearly reported the routine use of torture by the police. During this period in South Africa's history, news about perpetrators was largely suppressed as Foster et al. (2005, p. 33) put it:

silence from inquests into deaths, silence from commissions of inquiry, denial from government sources and politicians, silence on police shooters in large crowd gathering, silence on those responsible for torture or the deaths of those in detention, restrictions and banning of organisations and persons representing dissident voices, and censorship on a rampant scale.

Severe conflict took place from the mid-1980s to the election in 1994 (Hamber, 1998, 1999; Minnaar, Pretorius & Wentzel, 1998). Between September 1984 and December 1993 18 997 people died. Over a period of eight years the police recorded more than 80 000 violent incidents (Giliomee, 2003). Political violence rose sharply in the period between the unbanning of the liberation movements in early 1990 and the elections in April 1994. An estimated 13 000 South Africans died in political violence between February 1990 and the end of 1993 (Cawthra, 1997). Massacres such as those at Boipatong and Bisho in 1992 and the assassination of

Chris Hani (the SACP leader) in 1993 threatened to destabilise the country (Giliomee, 2003). In KwaZulu and Natal, the conflict between Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and the pro-ANC UDF had left more than 3 000 dead by 1990. Between July 1990 and June 1991 36 major massacres occurred perpetrated by one side or the other (Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999; Minnaar et al., 1998; Waldmeir, 1997). The hilly terrain and scattered population made it virtually impossible for policing to take place. On the eve of the April 1994 elections, the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) authorised a state of emergency in Natal and thousands of troops were deployed (Cawthra, 1997).

De Klerk was forced to establish a judicial commission, headed by Judge Richard Goldstone to investigate public violence and intimidation. The Goldstone Commission, in investigating the 1990 Sebokeng shootings, found a lack of discipline in the police line who had loaded their guns and stoppers (including with SSGs) and some had opened fire without orders to do so. The organisers were not able to control the crowd. In Uitenhage in 1985, the police had not been issued with teargas, rubber bullets or birdshot. They had only been given SSGs and sharp ammunition. This played a crucial role in the high death toll (Seegers, 1996). A description of types of ammunition is included in Appendix A of this study.

Numerous units and other organisations were shown to have records of serious human rights abuses, including torture and murder. In 1989, Almond Nofemela confessed to the existence of the death squads. The story was carried in the *Weekly Mail* and resulted in the exposé in the *Vrye Weekblad* of Vlakplaas and the deaths squads which operated under Dirk Coetzee and Eugene de Kock. Many of these abuses were investigated during the Goldstone Commission and later in the TRC. Examples of units and organisations involved in committing human rights violations included: Koevoet (a police counter-insurgency unit); the special police unit C10 operating at Vlakplaas under Dirk Coetzee and later Eugene de Kock (from where the hit squads operated); Project Barnacle which transformed into the

Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) (responsible for infiltrations of enemy ranks, but later involved in “eliminations”); the SADF’s Directorate Covert Collection and Directorate Special Tasks (supplying support to RENAMO in Mozambique, UNITA in Angola and clandestine military training to Inkatha) (Cawthra, 1997; De Kock, 1998; Du Preez, 2003; Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999; Pauw, 1997; Potgieter, 2007).

Goldstone in his report listed the following causes of violence: the economic, social and political imbalances; a police force which was the instrument of oppression; the unexpected and sudden legalising of large and predominantly black supported political organisations; a climate of political intolerance; an inadequately manned and motivated police force; years of state complicity in undercover activities, which included criminal conduct (Cawthra, 1997).

Changes in South Africa; the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa

President P. W. Botha started moving toward changing the constitution in 1982. The 1983 constitution was accepted after a referendum among white voters. Three houses of parliament (the tricameral parliament) with coloured and Indian voters represented in their own houses were established. It was not accepted by large sections of the population and blacks saw it as a rejection of their demands. Andries Treurnicht started the Conservative Party (CP) in 1982 and ended Afrikaner nationalist unity (Giliomee, 2003; Heunis, 2007). The government kept those pillars of apartheid it considered essential (population registration, segregated education and the exclusion of blacks from Parliament) while it removed those parts of apartheid it deemed unnecessary. It granted urban blacks across the country full residential rights and repealed the racial sex laws. In 1986 it scrapped the pass laws and in 1987 allotted blacks full freehold right to property. It turned a blind eye to inner city areas that were becoming integrated. All formal job discrimination was ended (Gardner, 1997; Giliomee, 2003).

By 1987 the votes of all the right-wing parties amounted to 30 per cent of all the votes (Giliomee, 2003; Pottinger, 1988). Botha was under extreme pressure from the international community and from business leaders to institute changes. He also had to keep his support base while persuading them to accept changes. In the “independent” homelands there were numerous serious problems by the mid-80s, including severe poverty, corruption and attempted coups. At the opening of the Natal congress of the NP (15 August 1985), Botha failed to meet intense speculation that he would initiate reforms and possibly release Mandela. He stated that Mandela and his friends were in jail because they refused to renounce violence. In all the negative reaction, the major step he had taken of acknowledging that black people who did not want to accept independence were South African citizens, went largely unnoticed (Giliomee, 2003).

The support that the Afrikaans churches gave to apartheid was always indispensable for the NP’s ideological cohesion. The DRC broke with apartheid at the 1986 and 1990 synods (Giliomee, 2003). The Afrikaner Broederbond sent a memorandum to its divisions in 1986 in which it stated that if blacks were excluded from the highest levels of decision making that the survival of whites was threatened. Giliomee (2003) reports that about a third of the members resigned when the document reached the branches.

Various factors probably played a role in the dismantling of apartheid. In 1989 Botha was forced to resign following a stroke. He was succeeded by F. W. de Klerk (Potgieter, 2007). The government had to face the slowing of the economy, exacerbated by international sanctions. Fiscal strains, partially caused by the duplication of state institutions and military costs were adding to the financial woes. The importance of primary industries like agriculture and mining had declined and the manufacturing industry had grown which demanded more skills and capital. Although the government knew they would not be overthrown by military means the internal resistance movements had regrouped around the Mass Democratic Movement and their campaigns could escalate. The SADF had suffered a defeat at Cuito

Cuanavale in Angola, Namibia had independence, and Angola appeared to be progressing towards a peaceful settlement. The demographics of the country also led to changes. The Nationalist government had underestimated black population growth by 50 per cent. The Berlin Wall fell in 1989, signalling the end of communism and the NP could say that communism was no longer a threat to stability as the ANC and the SACP would also no longer have Soviet support. It also meant that the Western governments no longer had a reason to support white rule in South Africa and were placing a lot of pressure on Pretoria to institute changes (Cawthra, 1997; Gardner, 1997; Giliomee, 2003; Marais, 2001; Waldmeir, 1997). Negotiations with the ANC started informally around 1985 (Seegers, 1996).

The resistance movements realised that they would not be able to overthrow the state by revolution. The destabilisation of Angola and Mozambique by the South African state had increased South African hegemony. After the Namibian settlement, the ANC lost its military bases in Angola and it could not re-establish them in the area. The collapse of the USSR meant that there was less support for revolutionary projects and the balance of power in the ANC tilted towards the faction that wanted to negotiate (Marais, 2001).

In April 1987 De Klerk told his constituency that it was necessary to take the risk of power sharing, in order to get enough blacks to support them against the ANC. In 1989 he realised it was necessary to get the ANC to work with the government on power-sharing. In December 1989 he persuaded the cabinet that the ANC, PAC and other liberation movements should be unbanned. He made the announcement on 02 February 1990 at the opening of Parliament. This was the first time the NP caucus and the security agencies heard about this (Giliomee, 2003).

Boraine (2000) writes that one really thought apartheid would end in their lifetimes, and certainly not willingly. Although meetings took place in Dakar in 1987 between the ANC and the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (IDASA), they took place during a general state of emergency. The SADF

was stunned by the announcement of F. W. de Klerk and it took four months before comprehensive instructions on how to handle the unbanned organisations came through. A group of generals were making contingency plans for a military takeover of the country (Stiff, 2001). Eugene de Kock evokes the following image in the security forces (De Kock, 1998, pp. 285-286):

There was confusion (when Mandela was released), especially in the security establishment, and a sense of total sell-out by the government. Some of the police generals were fast off the mark ingratiating themselves, obviously already thinking of themselves, but those of us on the ground knew that we were sold out totally. We had just to look at what had happened in SWA/Namibia to see a mirror image of what was about to happen to us. There were generals who were in favour of Mandela's release, some who were against it, but the majority sat around lamely muttering to themselves the whole day, hitting at their calculators to check their pensions, and dumping the past as fast as possible. As for those who had carried them up till then, especially those of us at Vlakplaas, well, they constantly told us everything was okay. But we knew it was not. Previously we had been the dependables; now we were the expendables.

De Klerk called a referendum in March 1992. The question was asked of the white electorate whether they endorsed the continuation of the reform process, aimed at a new constitution through negotiation. A turnout of 87 per cent gave 69 per cent to the yes vote. Negotiations through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) started to establish a multi-racial government (Giliomee, 2003).

The ANC did not suspend the armed struggle during negotiations, nor did the state stop talking about onslaughts. Under the code name Operation Vula, the ANC had infiltrated men and weapons into the country and had established underground structures (Giliomee, 2003; Seegers, 1996). The SSC could not just be abolished, as it had statutory status, but De Klerk curtailed its powers. He abolished the NSMS later on (Seegers, 1996).

During the negotiations at CODESA the government was out-manoeuvred by the ANC. Waldmeir (1997) describes the decade that follows 1985, as

the decade of the great seduction in which the ANC deliberately set out to win over the Afrikaner. They got to know them, reassured them; and eventually out-negotiated them. At one stage when there was deadlock in the negotiations, the ANC withdrew and the resultant rolling mass action making the unravelling of public order and a meltdown in the economy a possibility. It was agreed that a government of national unity would exist for five years following the elections. The ANC essentially got what it wanted: a closed list of proportional representation, a unitary form of government and no white self-determination. The government failed to negotiate amnesty for the members of all parties. The ANC managed to get amnesty for a large number of its fighters half-way through the negotiation process, but insisted that amnesty for the rest and the security forces would have to be dealt with after the election. In the final round of the negotiations a clause was inserted compelling violators of human rights to ask for amnesty to avoid prosecution. The ANC as the future majority party would have the most say on the composition of the commission that would deal with amnesty and on the way in which it would operate. The NP's withdrawal in 1996 after the ANC refused to accept a power-sharing cabinet as a principle in the final constitution underscored the political displacement of the ruling Afrikaner group (Giliomee, 2003; Potgieter, 2007).

The CP under Andries Treurnicht and other right-wing organisations called De Klerk's speech of 02 February 1990 the start of the Afrikaners' third war of liberation. Afrikaner resistance consolidated under the *Afrikaner Volksfront* (Afrikaner People's Front) (AVF), a political organisation initiated by a committee of generals (Stiff, 2001). Just before the 1994 elections problems erupted in Bophuthatswana. President Lucas Mangope was opposed to the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa. The civil service was, however, concerned that if they were not reincorporated that their salaries would not be paid as they were largely subsidised by South Africa. Matthews Phosa (ANC) indicated that the former homelands would be reincorporated by force if necessary. The AVF offered to support Mangope, and he accepted the offer. Eventually the *Afrikaner*

Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) was also involved and chaos developed. Approximately 50 people died and many were wounded (Seegers, 1996; Stiff, 2001).

Prior to the elections in April 1994, war hysteria swept through a large part of the white population. People were stocking up on basic necessities such as tinned food and candles. There was much uncertainty days before the poll and right-wing car bombs exploded. The election was, however, peaceful. The logistics and planning were a nightmare. There were scores of disputed returns and all the major parties were threatening to challenge the election results. De Klerk eventually decided the best way to resolve the problem was to concede to the ANC. In 1994 Mandela was sworn in as South Africa's first democratically elected president. In 1996 the South African Constitution was enacted, giving equal rights to all people irrespective of race, gender and sexual orientation (Clark & Worger, 2004).

The SAP opposed the establishment of a truth commission. They thought that there should be collective responsibility for acts of violence committed during the political conflict rather than a focus on individuals. Their opinion was that the power struggle had resulted in a state of war and that the National Party had created and actively implemented the doctrine of total onslaught. The SAP's submission to the Portfolio Committee on Justice stated: "Although direct instructions were sometimes given, the normal practice was that subordinates would act upon the implied authority which stemmed from such ambivalent commands" (cited in Boraine, 2000, p. 60). The point made was that "individuals entrusted with carrying out the orders of the national government were left to their own initiative and devices in order to carry them out" (quoted in Boraine, 2000, p. 60).

By now with the revelations of the hit squads, the police must have known that numerous allegations of torture would be made. In July 1994 the nature of the proposed Truth and Reconciliation Commission was explored and Colonel Inus Sonnekus made the following statement:

I wish to put on record that it is not the policy of the South African Police Service (SAPS) to reward officials who have committed wrongful acts in the past by promoting such officials. It is not SAPS policy to tolerate or condone the torturing of any person in any way whatsoever. Furthermore, promotions are considered after criteria such as qualifications and merit have been evaluated in terms of the Police Act and the Public Service Act (Sonnekus, 1995, p. 150).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC) was set up by the Government of National Unity under the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (1995) to deal with atrocities that took place during apartheid. Only gross human rights violations committed in the period 1960 to 1994 were considered for amnesty. Applicants had to make a full disclosure of their human rights violations when applying for amnesty. They had to submit their application in the period December 1995 to May 1997. Only acts that were demonstrably political qualified; acts done for personal gain or out of personal malice did not qualify (Boraine, 2000). The TRC made the following distinction between the government and the liberation movements:

The measures used to assess the actions of a legally constituted and elected government cannot be the same as those used in the case of a voluntary grouping of individuals who come together in pursuit of certain commonly agreed goals. A state has power, resources, obligations, responsibilities, and privileges that are much greater than those of any group within that state. It must therefore be held to a higher standard of moral and political conduct than are voluntary associations operating within its political terrain – particularly where they operate underground with limited communication and less-developed structures of accountability” (quoted by Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, pp. 293-294).

The TRC found with regard to the principal protagonists (Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999) that Botha’s government in the late 1970s was guilty of criminal misconduct. Governments before had been guilty of repression, but Botha’s government had adopted a policy of killing its opponents. It was also responsible for the widespread use of torture, abduction, arson and sabotage. At a meeting of the SSC leading members – including Botha,

Malan, Vlok and the heads of the security forces – had used terminology like “eliminate”, “take out” , knowing that this would lead to the deaths of political opponents.

This rhetoric made no distinction between persons engaged in military operations or acts of terrorism and those who opposed apartheid by lawful or peaceful means. The word “terrorist” was used constantly but never defined. Nor was a distinction drawn between activists and those who only supported or associated with them. All were lumped together as one target – a single category of persons to be killed. . . . In the opinion of the commission, the kind of rhetoric employed by politicians and SSC functionaries was reckless, inflammatory and an incitement to unlawful acts (quoted by Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, pp. 294-295).

The TRC found that criminal misconduct extended into De Klerk’s period in office. He was found guilty as an accessory to the commission of gross human rights violations (Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999). The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was guilty of “receiving direct financial and logistical assistance from the highest levels of the apartheid state’s security apparatus” (cited by Meredith and Rosenberg, 1999, p. 297). Nationally Inkatha was the major perpetrator of killings: It was responsible for 4 500 deaths, 2 700 were attributed to the police and 1 300 to the ANC. The ANC was also found guilty of gross human rights abuses, especially with regard to its attitude that askaris, state witnesses and informers were legitimate targets for assassinations. It was held morally and politically accountable for creating a climate during the armed struggle that allowed its supporters inside the country to regard violence against opponents as a legitimate part of a people’s war. The PAC was also guilty of gross human rights violations. All the parties were horrified and protested, with urgent court applications being made for suppression of the findings. F. W. de Klerk managed to get the report published with a blank page which had contained the Commission’s conclusions on his knowledge of the Khotso House bombing that had been authorised by P. W. Botha (Bell & Ntsebeza, 2001). Eventually Mandela distanced himself from the ANC stance and accepted the TRC report as it was presented (Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999).

Boraine (2000) confirms that during the hearings on the SSC, it became clear that the police had been militarised. There was also an acceptance among security force leaders on the SSC and senior NP politicians that unlawful actions would be necessary to prevent a revolution. Former Commissioner of Police and member of the SSC, Johan van der Merwe testified (as cited by Boraine, 2000, p. 134):

it was the point of departure for the government of the day that for all practical purposes we were in a war situation and that the enemy had to be defeated at all costs. . . . to avoid the ANC / SACP achieving their revolutionary aims and often with the approval of the previous government we had to move outside the boundaries of our law. That inevitably led to the fact that the capabilities of the South African Police, especially the security forces, included illegal acts. People were involved in a life and death struggle in an attempt to counter this onslaught by the ANC / SACP and they consequently had a virtually impossible task to judge between legal and illegal actions.

Boraine (2000, p. 141) summarises:

A fundamental note that was sounded though the hearings was that the draconian laws on the statute book, law which legislated on the grounds of race and colour, were found not to be sufficient to maintain the state's control of the country. The security forces broke the laws; death squads, assassination, and torture were not legal even in the apartheid state. These were criminal acts, condoned by the silence of the political masters of the time, or even possibly orchestrated by some of the political leaders, and certainly by the generals. These were not the acts of a few "bad apples" who took the law into their own hands. There was a distinct pattern.

Brigadier Jack Cronjé, one of the people who applied for amnesty described the situation in South Africa in the mid-1980s as tantamount to war. There were car bombs, sabotage incidents, land mine explosions, necklace murders, petrol bombings, riots, and group murders, all carried out in the name of liberation. The Security Branch was in the front line. "It was war. . . . Full-scale guerrilla tactics were used against the liberation movements. It didn't matter what was done or how we did it, as long as the floodtide of destabilisation, unrest, and violence was stopped" (as quoted by Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, p. 63).

The TRC was widely criticised (e.g. Bell & Ntsebeza, 2001) for not going far enough and leaving things unexamined that should have been explored. Part of the difficulty appears to have been the religious model of confession and absolution on which it was based. It was criticised for not placing more focus on the systematic nature of apartheid and for giving in too much to the previous government.

Many of the politicians and senior security force members refused to take any responsibility for atrocities that were committed. General Johan Coetzee, head of the Security Branch from 1980 to 1983, Police Commissioner from 1983 to 1987, and former SSC member, claimed that “eliminate” only meant to remove, but acknowledged that it could have been misconstrued. F. W. de Klerk and other politicians insisted that they did not know what was happening. Numerous people testified that they had told them what was happening. Adriaan Volk, the previous Minister of Law and Order, has recently confessed to some of his involvement in apartheid crimes (Groenewald & Makgetla, 2006).

Eugene de Kock was convicted of 89 charges, including murder, conspiracy to commit murder, fraud, gun running, sabotage, intimidation. He was sentenced to two life sentences plus 212 years' imprisonment. The TRC granted amnesty for all his convictions, barring one for murder (Stiff, 2001).

Only two applications for amnesty were obtained for public-order policing or riot-control at the TRC. However, most of the killings recorded in the human rights violations fell into this category. Only 90 applications were obtained for torture and assault. In addition 17 applications referred to the use of torture or assault against an unspecified number of victims. A small number referred to torture in formal custody. 4 792 claims of torture were made in human rights violations statements. These figures refer to claims inside South Africa. The report explains these discrepancies by the failure of perpetrators to take torture seriously; they were not regarded as human

rights violations. At times torture would be revealed, as part of an amnesty application for a killing or abduction. Numerous applicants admitted that psychological and physiological coercion was a routine aspect of detentions and unlawful custody (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, Vol. 6, 2003, section 3, chap. 1, para. 43-44).

Captain Zeelie in his amnesty application testified at the Bloemfontein hearing of methods of torture used. He not only described torture as widespread, but stated that no one was ashamed to say that they had tortured for information (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, Vol. 6, 2003, section 3, chap. 1, para. 116). General Erasmus (a former divisional commander of the Witwatersrand and Eastern Cape branches of the Security Police) admitted that the police used torture with the tacit approval of their seniors (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, Vol. 6, 2003, section 3, chap. 1, para. 117). However, two former commanding officers of the Security Branch and the SAP, Generals Johan van der Merwe and Johan Coetzee, denied that torture was condoned at a senior level (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, Vol. 6, 2003, section 3, chap. 1, para. 118).

Changes in the South African Police Force/Service

The De Witt Commission of 1988 resulted in enormous organisational changes in the SAP (Rauch, 1991; Seegers, 1996). In negotiations about the future police force, the paramilitary riot squads were unified in an Internal Stability Division. A Police Board was appointed, incorporating experts and other outsiders to assist with investigations of police misconduct and development of plans for the future. Devolution of powers to regional and local levels was done in an effort to advance accountability. The police was seen as inefficient, badly trained, ill-equipped and poorly managed. For many years it had been the dumping ground for whites who were unable to get jobs elsewhere.

The SAP never questioned their primary role. Seegers (1996, p.127) quotes the following from a white Paper on the Organisation and Functions of the South African Police, which was published in 1990:

The Republic has, in many ways, been threatened in the past and still has to deal with terrorist onslaughts, violence and attempts by radicals to undermine law and order. Radicals, organisations and their supporters concentrate on promoting resistance to all forms of authority and realise their objectives by means of violence and intimidation. . . . Violence is generally and freely used by blacks in order to settle points of difference and conflict, resulting in countrywide unrest and riots.

For the SAP, once the resistance movements were unbanned, enemies became allies overnight. However, old attitudes were entrenched over many years and unlikely to change. The changes were experienced as very stressful in the organisation (Gulle, Tredoux & Foster, 1998; Jeffery, 1991). At the time of Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990 there were 11 police forces in South Africa, each constituted under its own legislation, and operating in its own jurisdiction. The largest was the SAP; the others were the "homeland" police forces (Rauch, 2000). The forces from the homelands and the SAP were amalgamated. All the different police forces had a reputation for brutality (Bruce, 2002a).

After his appointment as Minister of Safety and Security in the Mandela government, Mofamadi had a series of nationwide meetings with SAPS members to reassure them that the ANC would reform the police gradually (Rauch, 2000). He also informed members that although human rights abuses would not be tolerated, they would not victimise former perpetrators of these abuses.

The ANC adopted an ambitious policy at its national conference in May 1992 to transform the SAP into a service that would respect the ideals of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, national unity, and reconciliation and act in a non-discriminatory fashion. The service should be based on community support and participation and it should be accountable to the

society and the community it serves. It should be open to public scrutiny and subject to a code of conduct and be structured as a non-militarised service (Cawthra, 1997).

The 1990s saw a considerable shift in resources to the police from defence. The SAP increased to 120 000 employees in the 1990s from 42 000 a decade earlier. The police also subscribed to employment equity, which meant that the organisation would undergo enormous changes. After 1994 the ISUs were reintegrated with the regular SAPS and retrained and a new National Public Order Policing Services division was instituted. In 1995 the Internal Stability Division and the Riot Control Units of the homeland police were merged. The name changed again later, becoming Area Crime Combating Units (Cawthra, 1997; Omar, 2006a, 2006b).

The South African Police Service Act 68 of 1995 changed the face of policing in South Africa. The police had to be demilitarised and was converted into a service organisation. The police had to develop a partnership with the communities which they serve. It states in the preamble that the duties of the police are to:

- o ensure the safety and security of all persons and property in the national territory;
- o uphold and safeguard the fundamental rights of every person as guaranteed by Chapter 3 of the Constitution;
- o ensure co-operation between the Service and the communities it serves in the combating of crime;
- o reflect respect for victims of crime and an understanding of their needs; and
- o ensure effective civilian supervision over the Service (The South African Police Service Act 68 of 1995).

It also established the Independent Complaints Directorate which was established to investigate any alleged misconduct or offence of a member.

Death in custody or as a result of police action also has to be investigated (The South African Police Service Act 68 of 1995).

The SAPS introduced a code of conduct (South African Police Service Code of Conduct, n.d.) and a code of ethics (South African Police Service Code of Ethics, n.d.) which every member has to uphold.

An area which demonstrates the changes to policing is that of public order policing. Whereas public demonstrations were previously forbidden, they were now seen as an essential part of democratic expression (Heymann, 1992). A multinational advisory panel to the Goldstone Commission described the new role of the police as: "The police should never be required to prevent efforts to bring about change by such democratic means. Their function is to facilitate operation of the crucial mechanisms of democracy, including non-violent demonstrations" (Heymann, 1992, p. 2).

The SAPS introduced a policy document on the prevention of torture and the treatment of people who are in police custody (Policy on the Prevention of Torture, n.d). It reads:

The right not to be tortured is entrenched as a fundamental right in Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) which is the highest law of the land. The fundamental right of an individual to be protected against torture is widely accepted as a rule of international law. With the signing of the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984) on 29 January 1993, South Africa explicitly acknowledged the prevention of and protection against torture as part of international law. By signing the Convention government also undertook to work towards ratification and thereby binding the State to adhere to the Convention. This requires government to work actively towards the prevention of torture and to protect people against any act of torture.

In terms of the Convention, every state that has signed it, shall take effective legislative, administrative, judicial or other measures to prevent acts of torture in any territory under its jurisdiction.

This necessitated a re-evaluation of the treatment of persons in custody of the South African Police Service, and the approach of the

South African Police Service towards interrogation methods, detention, etc. By order of the National Commissioner policy has been developed to ensure that torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment of persons in custody of the South African Police Service, are prevented.

The Policy, adopted by the Service in this regard, is aimed at - preventing the torture (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) of persons in the custody of the Service; and protecting our members against false allegations of torture.

This purpose is achieved by creating a system of checks and balances throughout a person's custody in the Service. The policy places certain obligations on members while they are working with persons in the custody of the Service. These obligations serve as controlling mechanisms to ensure that the human rights of these persons are respected while they are in the custody of the Service. At the same time, the system ensures that the member and the Service will be protected against false allegations of torture and ill-treatment of persons in custody.

In order to ensure that a person in custody is duly informed of his or her rights in terms of the Constitution, the Policy provides that a person must be given a written notice setting out his or her rights upon his or her arrival at the police station. The written notice is contained in a Book called the Notice of Constitutional Rights.

The instructions contained in the Policy necessitated that the current Cell Register be amended to include the recording of all actions taken by a member regarding the person in custody. A Custody Register was developed for this purpose.

The Policy makes it clear that no member may torture any person, permit anyone else to do so, or tolerate the torture of another by anyone. No exception will serve as justification for torture - there can simply be no justification, ever, for torture. Any order by a superior or any other authority that a person be tortured, is therefore unlawful and may not be obeyed. The fact that a member acted upon an order by a superior will not be a ground of justification for torture.

When the effects of an act of torture on the person subjected thereto, the legal and other consequences thereof in relation to the Service and the community and the importance attached to protection against torture in the international community, are considered, it becomes clear that any conduct by a member which constitutes torture will be regarded in a very serious light.

It should be noted that the Policy Document does not deal with pain or suffering arising from, inherent in or incidental to, lawful use of force and is therefore not dealt with in this Policy.

The Policy contains instructions, which will eventually be incorporated into National Orders. Until this is done, it is the responsibility of every station commissioner and other commander to ensure that members under their command at all times adhere to the instructions.

The Service calls upon all its members to once again commit themselves to uphold our Constitution and to protect and respect the fundamental rights of all persons. In so doing they will contribute to building an effective police service which does not rely on fear and physical force, but rather on honour, professionalism and compliance with the law.

Olivier (1993, p. 31) notes the major problem with the policy:

But how to secure respect and observance of the rules of the game down to the lowest ranking bobby on the beat, the interrogator in a lonely cell, the arresting officer in a dark alley? How to instil a culture of respect for the rights of the accused at all times, in all places – this is the challenge facing the present and the new South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE STUDY

JFL: Innovation within fashion. I believe that these kinds of distinctions must be made one at a time, and without criteria.

JLT: Yes, but how do we do it, if there is no *sensus communis*?

JFL: There cannot be a *sensus communis*.

JLT: Yet we do make judgments; there must be a *sensus communis*.

JFL: No, we judge without criteria. We are in the position of Aristotle's prudent individual, who makes judgments about the just and the unjust without the least criteria (Lyotard & Thébaud, 1984, p.14).

Postmodernism

In discussing postmodernism I will also refer to its influences in South Africa. Postmodernism is not a systematic theory or comprehensive philosophy, but more a movement that developed after the period of enlightenment (from the late eighteenth to within the twentieth century). During the period of enlightenment it was thought that the world could be controlled and ordered if we could represent it correctly. It was the role of scientific endeavour to uncover that correct representation (Anderson, 1995; Chiari & Nuzzo, 2003; Kvale, 1995). Lyotard (1984, p. xxiii) uses the term modern to refer to "any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse". Apartheid, although not a science, had its own metadiscourse which partially developed from eugenics and scientific racism (Dubow, 1995a). Lyotard (1984, p. xxiv) defines postmodernism as "incredulity toward metanarratives". In postmodernism, ultimate truth no longer exists and structuralism is rejected – there is no hidden structure which determines the world and which must be found (Anderson, 1995; Burr, 2003; Chiari & Nuzzo, 2003; Kvale, 1995; Lyotard, 1984; Rorty, 1980, 1989). Lyotard (1984) celebrates the cause of the "little narrative" (p. 60) which is put together on a tactical basis by small groups of individuals to achieve a particular objective. They do not pretend

to have the answers to all society's problems; ideally, they last only as long as is necessary to achieve their objectives. Lyotard considers that little narratives are the most inventive way of disseminating and creating knowledge, and that they help to break down the monopoly traditionally exercised by grand narratives. In postmodern science, Lyotard informs us, the search for paradoxes, instabilities and the unknown is important, rather than an attempt to construct yet another grand narrative that would apply over the entire scientific community. Postmodernism is described as scepticism about authority, received wisdom, cultural and political norms, and so on. That puts it into a long-running tradition in Western thought that stretches back to classical Greek philosophy. Scepticism is an essentially negative form of philosophy which sets out to undermine other philosophical theories which claim to be in possession of ultimate truth, or of criteria for determining what counts as ultimate truth. This is in agreement with anti-foundationalists (such as Nietzsche) who dispute the validity of the foundations of discourse, and ask what guarantees the truth of the foundation or starting point of those who claim to have found the ultimate truth (Sim, 2001).

Lyotard (1984) argued that knowledge was the world's most significant commodity. Whoever controls knowledge, Lyotard claimed, has political control. In South Africa information was politicised and at times criminalised. Television was state controlled, and only became available in 1976. The numerous restrictions on the media were discussed in Chapter 2.

Lyotard (1993) refers to what he calls the "event" (p. 64). For him the event is an occurrence that dramatically alters the way we view the world, and calls all our ideological assumptions into question in the process. Auschwitz is one such event which cannot be explained away by the application of grand narrative theory. In fact, it represents the point at which grand narrative theorizing breaks down. To acknowledge that there are events which cannot be predicted or encompassed within any neat universal theory, is to acknowledge not just the limitations of grand narrative but also the essential

openness of the future. A predictable future can imply that all human effort is meaningless; that it will not lead to any changes (Sim, 2001). As discussed in the previous chapter, various factors probably played a role in South Africa in terms of events that changed the way apartheid was viewed. In postmodern terms white South Africans lost faith in the ideology of apartheid and the ability of the state to enforce its authority. The grand narrative of apartheid had broken down. It was no longer possible to proclaim that apartheid was “separate but equal”.

Anderson (1995) describes postmodernism as influencing self-concept; moral and ethical discourse and so on. Social role or tradition no longer fixes our ideas of who and what we are, instead we construct our identity. Morality is not dictated by an inherited culture or religion, but develops out of dialogue and choices. Art and culture have no dominant style, and movements influence one another rapidly because of globalisation. One of the problems we are left with when we dispense with grand narratives, or central authorities of any kind, is how to construct value judgements that others will accept as just and reasonable. Lyotard and Thébaud (1984) argue that it is still possible to make value judgements, even if we have no grand narrative to back us up. The lack of absolute criteria does not imply a collapse into social disorder, as critics from the grand narrative side suggest. What Lyotard and Thébaud (1984) are espousing is anti-foundationalism; a rejection of the idea that there are foundations to our system of thought, or belief, that lie beyond question, and that are necessary to the business of making value judgements. One of the groups of theories which have developed in postmodernism is social constructionism. The questions of morality and anti-foundationalism are also important in social constructionism and I will discuss them in more detail in the next section.

Social Constructionism

A: terwyl die persoon daar lê, geskiet, gewond, lewe nog dan staan jy maar op sy keel, dan spaar dit my die blackjack officers te kry.

A: While the person lay there, shot, wounded, still alive you'd stand on his throat. It would save me getting the blackjack officers.

C: met 'n tjoeb is dit onmiddelik is sy suurstof is afgesny. met 'n platieksak kry hy nog, hy kan asemhaal, hy kan asemhaal tot op 'n punt, dan kan hy nie. dit is stadiger, maar dit werk beter.

C: You cut off his oxygen supply immediately with a tube, with a plastic bag he can still breathe; he can still breathe, up to a point. Then he can't. It is slower, but it works better.

Did these events take place? Do they exist? Historically, they exist. They and similar incidents also exist in the extensive discourses of victims (e.g. Améry, 1984; Arcel, 2000; Blackwell, 1993; Jempson, 1996; Langer, 2003; Levi, 1989). It is extremely difficult to find perpetrator accounts in the scholarly literature. In social constructionist terms, the perpetrators and what they have done almost do not exist; virtually no vocabulary or discourse exists. A number of researchers (Bar-On, 1989a; Baumeister, 1997; Crelinsten & Schmid, 1995; Foster et al., 2005; Haritos-Fatouros, 1995; Huggins et al., 2002) confirm how difficult it is to get stories from the perpetrators of atrocities.

Definitions

When I tried to define the words and terms I needed, I found that there is no collective noun to describe people who kill in the line of duty when the killings are socially sanctioned. Are they heroes? That does not take into account that someone has died. Murderers? The term is reserved for the wrongful premeditated taking of life. Killers? This has strong negative connotations. We appear to have immense difficulties in society to acknowledge the people who kill, often for society. We do not want to give someone the label of someone who has killed. Even the term "manslaughter" distances the act from the person – he or she committed manslaughter, they are not a "manslaughterer". The problem is recognised by some of the very few writers in the field. MacNair (2002b) refers to all

forms of killing (and very briefly to torture) as perpetration, even when it is done in the line of duty and is sanctioned by a society, for example an executioner. When referring to the psychological effects of killing, she refers to “perpetration-induced traumatic stress disorder” (MacNair, 2002b, p. 7). The South African Concise Oxford Dictionary (2002) defines “perpetrate” as to “carry out or commit (a harmful illegal or immoral action)”. It is from the Latin *perpetrare* which means to perform. The negative connotation in English arose because it was first used in the statutes to refer to crime. Grossman (1995, p. xxi), recognising the lack of discourse uses “killology” in referring to the psychological effects on soldiers who kill in combat. Huggins et al. (2002, p. 1) refer to “violence workers”.

In this study I have decided to follow MacNair’s (2002b) usage and use the terms “to perpetrate” and “perpetrator” in the very broad sense of “to perform”. I am including killing (whether legitimate or not) and both physical and psychological torture. I am therefore including anything where something was done to deliberately harm another human being, and was given at least tacit approval by the political authorities. This is in accordance with international conventions where torture is considered to be an ordinary crime if it is carried out by officials on their own initiative. It has special status when it takes place either in obedience to the authorities, or with their tacit approval (Kelman, 1995). Torture was defined by the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment on 10 December 1984 as:

any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions (United Nations High Commission for Human Rights, 1984).

Basic Tenets of Social Constructionism

Social constructionism refers to various theories that share common elements. Burr (2003) refers to a family resemblance between theories. There is no single approach and often theories are contradictory. This is in the very nature of social constructionism as we construct and engage with discourses. Inevitably, I will construct my version of social constructionism, as will any reader of this text. Also, as it will be discussed later, the participants and I will jointly be constructing meaning as we interact. The act of interpretation in writing will also involve meaning-making (Richardson, 2003).

In the following sections I discuss the following basic tenets of social constructionism and in particular how they relate to perpetration. I will also attempt to place the discussion in a South African context. I also discuss some of the limitations of social constructionism. The topics I discuss are:

- o the disruption of the conventional;
- o language and meaning; discourses and power; agency
- o the questioning of realism; the questions of anti-essentialism and morality; and
- o fragmented identities, shattered language and the limitations of language: thoughts towards a sense of self.

The Disruption of the Conventional

Social constructionists argue that when one examines obvious truths which appear to be universally true that they then appear local and particular. Unnoticed features of our relations with each other and to our circumstances can become prominent (Gergen, 1994; Shotter, 1997). Social constructionism insists that we take a critical stance toward our taken-for-granted ways of understanding ourselves and our world. Numerous studies in very diverse subjects have now taken a social constructionist approach, for example: spanking (Davis, 1994); reality television (Cavender, 1998), the “diagnosis” of homosexuality (Kirk & Kutchins, 1992), childhood sexual

abuse (Fox, 1996/2003) incest (Sheinberg, & Fraenkel, 2001). HIV/AIDS (Lather & Smithies, 1997); factory farming (Kunkel, 1995), criminality (Lindgren, 2005); infertility (Scritchfield, 1995); urine testing (Staudenmeier, 1989), wife abuse (Loseke, 1992), intelligence (Anderson, 1994) and genetic diseases (Yoxen, 1982).

Social constructionism also challenges the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observations of the world (Billig et al., 1988; Shotter, 1997). Social constructionism therefore is in opposition to what is referred to as positivism and empiricism in traditional science – the assumptions that the nature of the world can be revealed by observation and that what exists is what we perceive to exist (Burr, 2003). The goal of social constructionist research is not to define the truth about the nature of science or reality. The emphasis is on disrupting conventional views, rather than on truth (Gergen, 1994, 1999, 2001). The questioning of realism will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Constructionist inquiry emphasises destabilisation as a research aim. Simply documenting people's constructions is not seen as valuable. The range of participating voices in scientific dialogue is expanded and reconstructed, resulting in new realities and practices that can result in cultural changes (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1994). Gergen (1994) contends that the human sciences should move through periods of stabilisation, decay, challenge, growth and subsequent stabilisation. He argues that when transformation has priority, the theorist may approach the borders of absurdity, unsettling the settled presumptions and arguing critically. Eventually what was seen as audacious becomes commonplace, what was metaphoric, becomes literal and what was highlighted is accepted.

The constructionist would rather locate unquestioned beliefs or conventions that are in some way problematic or injurious to society. This concern with values and ideology is very different from empirical, positivist approaches that attempt value neutrality. In social constructionism the researcher is

invited to speak out on issues that have bordered on the unprofessional for the sciences (Gergen, 1994). The investigator is not objective or separate from the inquiry, but is seen as influencing it (McGrath & Johnson, 2003).

One of the problems we are confronted with in social constructionism is the place of empirical research. This relates to the stance against positivism and empiricism, and indirectly to the questioning of reality which will be discussed in a later section. In this study I will be integrating empirical research. Cromby and Standen (1999) refer to the work done on the Human Genome Project and state that constructionism will undergo intellectual impoverishment and marginalisation if it ignores the practical implications of projects such as this. Butt (1999) refers to the work of Shotter (1992) who argues that we must accept that we both make and find our worlds. He notes that the emphasis on construction overemphasises the making at the expense of the finding. Gergen (1994, 2001), referring to the work of Foucault (1969/1989) concludes that realism and constructionism should be regarded as different forms of debate that should be utilised when appropriate. Empirical truth has its place within a community of scientists. In terms of realism and the research that emanates from it the important caveat is to realise that it is also informed by cultural discourses. It has no meaning until it is discussed or interpreted; as soon as that happens, construction starts. It is important to view empirical research critically, knowing that it is a truth for now, in a particular place and with current wisdom. It will be reinterpreted as knowledge changes, and as circumstances and communities change.

Language and Meaning; Discourses and Power; Micro and Macro Social Constructionism; Agency

I will describe the immediate difficulties the participants faced following the political changes in South Africa. This sets the stage for considering the role of language in meaning-making, followed by considerations involving discourses and power; micro and macro social constructionism and agency.

I will then consider the limitations of placing so much emphasis on language in social constructionism.

The majority of the white community supported apartheid. A 1984 survey found that more than 80 per cent of Afrikaners and around 40 per cent of English speaking whites supported the key pillars of apartheid: the ban on interracial sex, segregated residential areas, schools and public amenities, separate voters' roles for coloureds and Indians, and homelands for blacks. There was strong identification among Afrikaners with the state as custodian of the entire economy and society. A 1989 study found that Afrikaner university students held the security establishment in high regard and valued the state's ability to provide white security. The state was seen as good, honest, free and just. Nearly half of Afrikaner students indicated that they would physically resist an ANC-controlled government and a third indicated that they would emigrate (Giliomee, 2003).

The participants were working within the SAP which was used to implement government policies. The men, who followed government orders, discovered at the TRC that apartheid leaders would not take responsibility for anything that had happened. P. W. Botha's statement to the TRC was belligerent and defensive:

In many circles the Afrikaner is being isolated to be punished for all the unfavourable events in the history of South Africa. . . . As a Christian and an Afrikaner I cannot and have never associated myself with blatant murder. It would, however, now appear that there might have been instances during the conflict of the past where individuals have exceeded the limits of their authority. . . . I cannot be expected to take responsibility for the actions of any such individuals (cited by Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, pp. 182-183).

He refused to testify, despite pleas from Mandela and Archbishop Tutu (the chairman of the TRC) and despite an eventual court case in which he was found guilty of ignoring the TRC's subpoena. The verdict was later set aside on a technicality. De Klerk apologised for apartheid, but would not take responsibility for security force abuses:

In dealing with the unconventional strategies from the side of the government, I want to make it clear from the outset that within my knowledge and experience they never included the authorization of assassination, murder, torture, rape, assault, or the like. I have never been part of any decision taken by the cabinet, the State Security Council, or any committee authorizing or instructing the commission of such gross violations of human rights, nor did I individually directly or indirectly ever suggest, order, or authorize any such action (cited by Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, p.189).

Only one minister, Leon Wessels, a deputy police minister, openly acknowledged culpability without obscuration. He stated:

The framework was that the highest law of the land was the security of the land. It was foreseen that, under those circumstances, people would be detained, people would be tortured. . . . I don't believe I can stand up and say "Sorry, I didn't know" (cited by Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, p. 177).

After the changes in South Africa, the actions of the participants are no longer easy to justify. Their communities appear to have accepted a government, despite private grumblings, that they until recently saw as the enemy. Their status has changed; they are often subordinates of the people they regarded as inferior. The participants' communities have often reacted in horror at the stories told at the TRC (Krog, 1998). They know that they are guilty of similar actions to those that created disgust at the TRC. They are no longer heroes, but have become villains and with that change, the meaning that their actions had has been lost. With regard to the development of psychiatric symptoms, the way in which someone interprets the meaning of a stressor is critical (Silver, Boon & Stones, 1983).

Language and meaning-making

Social constructionism takes the position that we are born into a world where the conceptual frameworks and categories used by the people in our culture already exist. We achieve understanding of ourselves and represent ourselves using historically and culturally established meanings which are embedded in our language. The way in which someone thinks, the

categories and concepts that provide meaning for them and which they reproduce through their use, are provided by the language that they use. These meanings are validated from within cultures, communities and families. Language is seen as the prime site of the construction of the person. The person you are, your experience, identity, personality, are all the effects of language (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1985, 1994, 1999; M. Gergen, 1994; Shotter, 1997; Wiener & Marcus, 1994). The degree to which a given account of the world or self is sustained across time is not dependent on the objective validity of the account but on the vicissitudes of social process. Words, sentences, books, and so on change their meanings over time from context to context and from person to person (Bakhtin, 1981a; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1985, 1994). Language is not seen as simply a way of expressing ourselves, but by using language, we create knowledge, and our world. We are actively a part of this process; we participate in the creation of meanings in our cultures. When we examine existing forms of discourse, we are evaluating patterns of cultural life (Gergen, 1994).

The concepts discussed in the previous paragraph imply that the participants (as well as I and some of the readers of this thesis), were born and are part of a world in which the conceptual frameworks, the cultural interchanges existed for the suppression, torture and unjustifiable killing of people, as well as the dismantling of apartheid later on. We may not have forced a plastic bag over someone's head, or applied electric shocks to their genitals; however, as part creators of the cultural discourses that resulted in behaviours such as these we cannot stand apart from these events. This brings one of the major questions of social constructionism to the fore: How much personal agency is involved in becoming a killer or a torturer? Not everyone who was exposed to the same cultural discourses (even in the police) resorted to this behaviour. These questions will be taken up in more detail later.

Discourses and power; micro and macro social constructionism; agency

Language is seen as a form of action; not just a passive vehicle for thoughts and emotions, but as having social functions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1989; Potter, 1996; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Shotter, 1989). An example is that of race in South Africa – where racial classification had momentous implications under apartheid, affecting people in social, economic and political ways. Racial identification still has enormous implications in South Africa today, for example in Black Economic Empowerment.

For Foucault (Burr, 2003) discourses are not routes of access to a person's private world, descriptions of beliefs or opinions, or manifestations of an inner, essential condition such as temperament, personality or attitude. Discourses are intimately connected to the way in which society is organised (Burkitt, 1999; Burr, 2003; Foucault, 1975/1995).

Knowledge in society is manifested in various disciplines and everyday discourses (Parker, 1989). Knowledge is characterised by contradictions, different interpretations and conflicts of interest, with meaning always being contestable. As this implies possible conflict, power relations are invoked. All social encounters are seen as sites of struggle and conflict where power relations are acted out and contested. Power is seen as an interlocking series of relations which produce a configuration that appears to have a logic and strategy but is not designed by a single group or person (Burkitt, 1999; Foucault, 1976/1990). These social structures are maintained by the law and other state controls (Burr, 1995; Foucault, 1969/1989, 1975/1995).

What one person can do to another is determined by the version of events currently regarded as knowledge. Therefore the power to act in particular ways, to claim resources, to control or be controlled depends upon the knowledges currently prevailing in a society. We can exercise power by drawing upon discourses, which allow our actions to be represented in an

acceptable light. Foucault (1969/1989, 1975/1995) therefore does not see power as some form of possession, which some people have and others do not have, but as an effect of discourse. When we define or represent something in a particular way we are producing a particular form of knowledge, which brings along power. To construe the world in terms of race can bring with it a power inequality between those groups (Burr, 2003; Foucault, 1969/1989, 1976/1990; Parker, 1989). For the participants, being diagnosed with an emotional illness implies a particular role and a particular lack of power. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Burr (2003) labels this approach macro social constructionism. She explains that in macro social constructionism there are no processes that operate at the level of the person, everything happens in discourses at a societal level. Macro social constructionism is eventually socially deterministic with the person a puppet of his or her environment. Foucault (1976/1990) portrays people as regulated by discursive practises, but he ignores that people are involved in the creation of those discourses (Burkitt, 1999). If everything happens at the societal level, difficulty exists with concepts such as agency, self-awareness, thoughts, intentions and a sense of life-history.

In micro social constructionism people construct themselves and their worlds through interaction (Burr, 2003). People are described as actively constructing accounts to build defensible identities or to have their versions of events legitimated or endorsed by others in the interaction (Wetherell & Potter, 1989, 1992). People use an interpretative repertoire which is available for making evaluations, constructing factual versions and performing particular actions. It is a culturally shared "tool kit" (Burr, 2003, p. 60) of resources for people to use for their own purposes. Different repertoires can construct different versions of events. People may use different and apparently contradictory repertoires in their talk, depending on their moment to moment accounting needs. The same repertoire may be used by different people to achieve different ends (Burr, 2003). Multiple versions of the world are potentially available through this discursive constructive work, and there is no sense in which one can be said to be

more real or true than others (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). When a particular version appears to have superior status, it is the effect of discourse, an effect of being able to “warrant voice” (Gergen, 1989, p. 70). In this approach, human beings are seen as agents, not passive organisms (Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1985, 1994; Sarbin & Kitsuse, 1994). One of the difficulties with micro social constructionism is that the concept of power is largely ignored (Burkitt, 1999; Burr, 2003; Harré, 1993).

For the purposes of this study I am combining micro and macro social constructionism. Burkitt (1999) makes the point that macro and micro social constructions are interconnected. The accounts we use to construct identities and versions of events are connected to power relations and the hegemony of social groups. Burkitt regards power as important as a conceptualisation of power relations helps to create links between the macro levels of society (like the economy, industry, political institutions) and the everyday world. An analysis of power can help us understand the connections between structure and agency, or the degree to which human actions are enabled and constructed by the social structures within which we act.

One of the questions that arises in social constructionism is that of agency. If people are discourse users (as in micro social constructionism) some agency is implied. If they are puppets of their environment (as in macro social constructionism), what responsibility do people have for their actions? Five white security policemen from the Northern Transvaal Branch applied for amnesty in October 1996. I will discuss agency with reference to their statement.

Their joint statement before testimony stated (cited by Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, p. 57-58):

We are not criminals. We have never committed any criminal deed outside the spheres of conflicts of the past. . . . We believed that we acted bona fide in the interests of our country and our people. We

will show that we, at all times, believed that we were acting in the course and scope of our duties and within the scope of our authority. We will endeavor to enlighten the world to the environment and background against which we acted, the beliefs we held which were impressed upon us from our birth, the indoctrination to which we were subjected, and the political motives with which we acted.

We were brought up to believe in apartheid. We were made to believe that apartheid was sanctioned by God through the church. We were made to believe that our participation in the security forces was justified to uphold apartheid. We were made to believe that black people were inferior and that the needs, emotions and aspirations of black people differ from ours. We were made to believe that we were superior and that these differences justified apartheid. We have come to realise that these beliefs were wrong.

We, as proud Afrikaners, are part of this country and shall be part of this country in the future. We are prepared to forgive those who have sinned against us in the past. We have forgiven the concentration camps of the Boer War, where innocent women and children had died. We are prepared to forgive those who have waged war during the struggle, also on innocent women and children. We similarly ask forgiveness for those who lost their lives and those who were injured, and we share the grief of those family members of victims who have suffered during the era of conflict. We have sincere regret that people have suffered on both sides, and we wish to express the sincere hope that the time for truth and reconciliation in South Africa has now arrived. . .

We call upon our superiors and the previous government not to deny responsibility but to stand by the people and to admit responsibility for what was done by us in our endeavors to keep them in power. We all supported the National Party until 1994. What we had done was always in the interests of the National Party and its objectives. We believed in the policies of the National Party and believed that we had to carry out our duties in support of our party. .

We state emphatically that we have been deserted by the National Party and that we have, so to speak, been thrown away in the gutter. . . . We call upon the previous government and our superiors to explain certain orders given to us . . . and to admit to authorising actions outside the normal processes of the law. . . . We ask you: Do not desert us further; do not turn your backs on us; help us.

In discussing this fascinating statement, I will only focus on the questions of agency that they raise. They, in explaining their actions, take no personal responsibility for their behaviour, but blame the society they were born into and their superiors for their actions. They position themselves as puppets of

their environments, claiming a loss of personal agency. They state: “We call upon our superiors and the previous government not to deny responsibility but to stand by the people and to *admit responsibility for what was done by us* [italics added] in our endeavors to keep them in power (Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, p. 58).” In terms of macro social constructionism this is a description of the controls and power in society. In terms of micro social constructionism they position themselves as puppets of their environment.

Shotter (1997) referring to Bakhtin (1981a) states that nothing we say is ever wholly up to us, all our utterances are to an extent jointly produced outcomes between ourselves and others. For Harré (1989) the question of agency becomes pointless, and the question should not be whether or not we have agency, but how we use the language of agency and to what purpose we use it. In the quotation above the security police position themselves as being used by power structures; they accept no personal agency. In a later volume Harré (1993, p. 3) states that:

People, as we construct them, are built to be capable of autonomous action, to engage, usually with others, in reflective discourse on possible courses of action, and to be competent in the discursive presentation of and taking up of personal responsibility.

Gergen (1989) suggests the idea of warranting voice in order to deal with difficulties regarding agency. Constructions arise not from people attempting to communicate supposed internal states, but from their attempts to bring off a representation of themselves or the world that has a liberating, legitimating or otherwise positive effect for them. Some versions of events warrant voice more than others. They are heard more often and are more likely to receive the label of “truth” or “common sense”. Those in relatively powerful positions can warrant voice more easily than others. Gergen suggests that in our society there are a number of compelling means of achieving warrant, for example people can claim superiority of voice because they represent themselves as having particular characteristics. He suggests that the agency of human beings lies in their ability to manipulate discourses and use them for their own ends. This gives the person agency and implies that we

have the chance to construct or claim alternative identities for ourselves. This view of the person as a discourse user is enabling. This view does not take away the role of society, but does not make the individual fully driven by society. Willig (1999) gives a useful perspective, contending that individual actions are not caused by societal conditions, but grounded and mediated in them.

The Questioning of Realism; the Questions of Anti-Essentialism and Morality

I am first going to consider arguments about the realism/relativism debate, then move to anti-essentialism and morality. I will relate all of these discussions to the current study.

The questioning of realism

The reasoning in social constructionism around the age-old philosophical question of realism versus relativity is often confusing (Burr, 1998). Various forms of realism are discussed in philosophy (Searle, 1995), but in social constructionism relativism is generally contrasted to material reality (Searle's external reality). Therefore, social constructionism often interprets relativism as implying that the world is a figment of our imagination with no materiality (Burr, 1998). Realism is also at times contrasted with moral relativism or nihilism (Burr, 1998). I will follow Potter (1996, 1998) in saying that solving the age-old problems of realism versus anti-realism is not the aim of this study. However, some indication should possibly be given of what options have been created within social constructionism to accommodate the problems that come with relativism, as in this study I do not want to be too removed from the physical reality of torture.

“Realism is the view that there is a way that things are that is logically independent of all human representations. Realism does not say how things are but only that there is a way that they are” (Searle, 1995, p. 155). In principle we can gain knowledge of reality. Relativism argues that even if such a reality exists, it is inaccessible to us. We only have our various

representations of the world, and these cannot be judged against “reality” for their truthfulness, or accuracy. Relativists cannot prefer one account to another on the basis of its veridicality (Burr, 2003). Numerous positions within social constructionism are taken in this debate (e.g. Edley, 2001; Gergen, 1999; Liebrucks, 2001; Parker, 1992).

Critical realists (a grouping within social constructionism) such as Parker (1992) and Pujol and Montenegro (1999) conceive of a reality outside the text that still allows a tenable constructionist position. The ontological realm contains objects which form the material basis for thought. The physical environment is taken to exist independently of human thought processes and language, although we cannot ever have direct knowledge of it because thought necessarily involves a constructive process. This is essentially the position also taken by Searle (1995), who uses the term “brute reality” (p. 190) when referring to material reality. Rorty (1989) argues that it is necessary to make a distinction between the world that is out there and the truth. Truth does not exist independently of the human mind. Only descriptions of the world can be true or false. The world on its own, unaided by the describing activities of human beings cannot be true or false. This appears to be similar to the position of Gergen (1994, p.72). He speaks of construction being “ontologically mute”. When we talk about things, we give them epistemic status. At this point construction enters into the discussion.

There is another category of things, such as intelligence, race, marriage and government and attitudes which are called into being through discourse (Parker, 1992; Searle, 1995). These are realities created by cultures through their discourses and interactions. Parker (1992) explains that discourses do not only describe the social world, but bring phenomena into sight; they allow us to see things that are not really there, but once an object has been elaborated into discourse it is difficult not to refer to it as real. Searle (1995, p. 161) refers to conceptual relativism as the system of concepts that we have “more or less arbitrarily selected for describing the world”. This does not imply that ontological reality is relative, but our

systems for describing what we perceive are relative. Critical realism distinguishes between ontology and epistemology, arguing that how things are may differ from how they appear according to the methods and techniques used. For naïve relativism there is a clear link between language and reality, but for critical realism this relationship is approached with suspicion. Positivism is realist on both ontological and epistemological dimensions, and some forms of social constructionism are relativist on both. Critical realism recognises that methods do not uncover reality (relativist epistemology), but rational analysis of phenomena can uncover it (realist ontology) (Pujol & Montenegro, 1999).

In terms of the current study, I take in the position that a material reality exists in torture. It is really blood and faeces on the walls and floor. However, I believe we construct meanings around this reality. These meanings may often reflect little of the blood of the reality. Throughout I recognise that I can never fully understand the experiences of the participants, and that I will create my own understanding of their experiences. The reader will do the same with my constructions.

Anti-essentialism

Since the social world, including ourselves are seen as the product of social processes, it follows that there is also no essential nature in people (Burr, 2003; Chiari & Nuzzo, 2003; Crossley, 2000; Freedman & Combs, 1996; Gergen, 1985, 1994; Harré, 1989; Neimeyer, 2001; Neimeyer & Baldwin, 2003; Sarbin & Kitsuse, 1994). If human beings do not have an internal essence, this calls into question all notions of personality, agency, character and so on. Terms such as attitudes and opinions suggest structures that reside within people and influence or determine what people say or do. In social constructionism attitudes, opinions, beliefs and so on are reflective of cultural discourses. They have their origin not in the person's private experience but in the discursive culture that those people inhabit (Burr, 1995; Wetherell & Potter, 1989). It also means that consciousness and a coherent sense of identity has to be explained in different ways.

In terms of social constructionism it means that we cannot say that people torture or kill because of personality or character. In a framework of social constructionism people commit atrocities because the cultural discourses make it possible. Given similar circumstances, anyone of us could be perpetrators. I cannot call on personality or character to say that I or someone that I love will not torture or murder but have to recognise that people perpetrate because evil deeds are part of the discursive culture in a community. I will discuss various explanations for perpetration, and then discuss the position of social constructionism in more detail later in this chapter.

In trying to understand how people in relatively recent times have explained atrocities, I examined some explanations, especially around the Holocaust, as it is the most easily accessible. I will spend some time on these stories as they clearly illustrate the difficulties with essentialism.

Browning's (1998) *Ordinary men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the final solution in Poland* is shocking reading and frightening in its implications for society and the committing of atrocities. Browning (a historian), on reviewing archival material, states (p. xv): "In mid March 1942 some 75 to 80 percent of all victims of the Holocaust were still alive, while 20 to 25 percent had perished. A mere eleven months later, in mid-February 1943, the percentages were exactly the reverse." Mass murders (direct killing and deportations to the camps) had taken place. The group that was largely responsible for the killing in Polish villages was Police Battalion 101. They were middle-aged family men of working and lower-middle class background from Hamburg, considered too old to be of use to the military and who were drafted instead into the Order Police. Hamburg was considered to be one of the least Nazified cities in Germany. By virtue of their age they had gone through their formative age in the pre-Nazi era.

Their visibly upset commander Major Trapp gave them their orders in March 1942. They were to kill all Jewish inhabitants in the Polish villages. He also told them that if any of the older men did not feel up to the task, that they could step out. Those who refused to participate in the killings experienced no official reprisal. 1 800 Jews were killed the first day at Józefów. This was done face-to-face, with a policeman paired off with a villager. They took their victims (including children) one-by-one into the forest and shot them. That evening the men of Police Battalion 101 were given alcohol and Trapp tried to console his men. Browning comments that between ten and twenty percent of the Battalion did not participate. At the end of the killing, the Battalion had participated in the direct shooting deaths of at least 38 000 Jews. Once deportations were taken into account the 500 men of the Battalion were responsible for the deaths of at least 83 000 Jews (Browning, 1998).

Browning (1998, pp. 188-189) concludes:

The collective behaviour of Reserve Police Battalion 101 has deeply disturbing implications. There are many societies afflicted by traditions of racism and caught in the siege mentality of war or threat of war. Everywhere society conditions people to respect and defer to authority, and indeed could scarcely function otherwise. Everywhere people seek career advancement. In every modern society, the complexity of life and the resulting bureaucratization and specialization attenuate the sense of personal responsibility of those implementing official policy. Within virtually every social collective, the peer group exerts tremendous pressures on behavior and sets moral norms. If the men of Reserve Police Battalion 101 could become killers under such circumstances, what group of men cannot?

In this statement, he mentions many of the factors that are generally identified in the committing of atrocities. I will return to some of them later in this study.

Reasons mooted for the Holocaust and atrocities like it have included: obedience to authority (Colman, 1991; Milgram, 1974), bureaucracy and career advancement (Arendt, 1964), ideology (Goldhagen, 1996), too high a

self-regard in the perpetrators (Baumeister, 1997), the lack of fulfilment of basic needs (Staub, 1989, 2003) a general sense of inadequacy caused by upbringing, resulting in a belief that violence was necessary for survival (Toch, 1992), dehumanisation of the other (Keen, 1986), idealism and material gain (Baumeister, 1997), dramatic changes in society which are projected onto the victims (Bauman, 1989), a culture's inability to absorb changes (Kren & Rappoport, 1980), habituation (Lifton, 1986), abusive child-rearing practices (Miller, 1987), a history of violence (Rosenberg, 1991), disengagement of moral self-sanctions (Bandura, 2004), personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950; Scully & Marolla, 2005), attachment difficulties (De Zulueta, 1996), modelling and imitation (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1961), racism (Dovidio et al., 2004) and evolutionary biology (Ghiglieri, 1999; Nell, 2006).

Very little has been done specifically from a social constructionist perspective in terms of evil. The social psychologist Roy Baumeister (1997, p. 60) refers to the need to identify an evil personality as reflecting a "myth of pure evil" in which "wholly innocent, well-meaning victims are attacked for no valid reason by arrogant, sadistic, out-of-control evildoers who hate peace and beauty and get pleasure from making people suffer" (Baumeister, 1997, p. 376). This provides society with some safety – we do not do these things.

The fate of the Nuremberg Rorschach protocols indicates how difficult it is to let go of the belief in essentialism. Dr Douglas Kelley (a psychiatrist) and Dr Gustave Gilbert (a psychologist) administered the test to the twenty-one high profile prisoners awaiting trial. Due to animosity between Kelley and Gilbert, the profiles were not published. Eventually the records were made available to a group of ten Rorschach experts in 1947. Not one of them commented on the profiles they had been given. Molly Harrower, vice chair of the committee that initiated the project eventually said in retrospect that she believed that they did not comment on the test results because they did not show what they expected to see, and what public opinion expected them to see. They did not want to state that there was no psychopathology and that

the Nazis may have even have been well-adjusted (Zillmer, Harrower, Ritzler & Archer, 1995).

Baumeister (1997, p. 375) weighs the evidence for evil and comes to a number of conclusions: “Evil does not exist in terms of solitary actions by solitary individuals. . . . Evil is socially enacted and constructed. It does not reside in our genes or in our soul, but in the way we relate to other people”. Waller (2002, p. 18) confirms the position and summarises “*it is ordinary individuals, like your and me, who commit extraordinary evil*” [italics in original]. A purely evil person is an artificial construct, as is a purely good person. I will discuss social constructionism’s approach to personality and identity in a later section in this chapter.

Morality

Universalists, Kantian moral theorists and the human rights movement are examples of philosophical positions which claim that there are moral principles that are universal and objective (Smith, 2008). This is reflected in modernist psychological theories of moral development (e.g. Kohlberg, 1981, 1984; Perry, 1970). Social constructionism takes a stand against the idea of absolute principles, which are supposed to be universally valid. The position against universal principles is supported by postmodern philosophers such as Rorty (1989) and Lyotard and Thébaud (1984).

The condemnation of torture has developed out of the doctrine of human rights. The doctrine of human rights has its roots in the period of enlightenment in the work of Locke and Kant. Locke argued that people possess natural rights, independent of the rights granted by the state. Kant believed that the principles of morality are found in pure reason. For Kant, moral laws are universal for all rational beings. He expressed moral duties as imperatives and not dependant on one’s desires (Smith, 2008). Kant gave various formulations of categorical imperatives, the well-known dictum known as the Formula of Universal Law reads: “Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a

universal law” (Smith, 2008, p. 170). In the twentieth century, after the Holocaust, human rights were formulated and accepted as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN General Assembly in 1948 (Nickel, 2007).

Many of the arguments for abolishing of apartheid were based on the doctrine of human rights. Nickel (2007, p. 62) subsumes the moral claims by people in the area of human rights in the following four areas:

- o a secure claim to have a life;
- o a secure claim to lead one’s life;
- o a secure claim against severely cruel or degrading treatments; and
- o a secure claim against severely unfair treatment.

Torture (and killing) violates all these claims. Absolutists believe that an unconditional ban on torture ought to apply without exception regardless of circumstances. They assess the intrinsic moral value of things independent of their consequences. For them, torture is inherently wrong; it can never be justified or excused. It violates the physical and mental integrity of the person subjected to it, negates his or her autonomy and humanity, and deprives the person of human dignity. He or she is reduced to an object, a body, from which information is to be extracted, while coercing him or her to act in a manner that may be contrary to their most fundamental beliefs, values and interests (Gross, 2004).

Social constructionism removes the possibility of an absolute truth; instead it advocates a local truth that is jointly constructed or negotiated in a particular time and place. In other words, social constructionism does not take a stance against torture based on universal principles. In reply to the charge that he is promoting a relativist stance, Gergen (1994, p. 108) says:

when preferred ways of life are labelled as universally good and deviations as immoral, evil, and inferior, the stage is set for brutalizing conflict. The major problem of arrogating local preferences to the

status of universal principles is that the latter brook no compromise, and the deviants take on an inhuman demeanor. The number of deaths resulting from claims to superior values is, I suspect, beyond calculation.

Gergen (1994) describes social constructionism as replacing absolutist claims with a collaborative search for meaning and discussions of abstract philosophies with considerations of consequence. The collaborative search for meaning or morality increases the number of voices involved in the process. Gergen (1994) refers to Gilligan's (1982) reply to Kohlberg (1981) as an example of alternative explanations. Gilligan examined the factors that influenced women's decisions around abortion. Their decisions were based less on abstract principles, but instead invoked intense responsibility for others and a sense of caring for the well-being of others. Their sense of morality could not be divorced from the relationships in which they were.

Often the impulse exists that we should not entertain those whom we believe hold immoral positions. South Africa is an interesting example of where the decision to talk to people with very different views, who were considered immoral by the opposing side, led to negotiations and change.

Moral relativism does not imply that no stance is taken in terms of various discourses, but it does imply that one cannot call on ultimate reality to support a position. This is crucial and appears to often be misunderstood in the writing in the area. Edwards, Ashmore and Potter (1995, pp. 35-36) state it as:

There is no contradiction between being a relativist and being somebody, a member of a particular culture, having commitments, beliefs and a common-sense notion of reality. These are the very things to be argued for, questioned, defended, decided, without the comfort of just being, already and before thought, real and true. The idea that letting go of realism entails that all these commitments must fall is no more convincing than the idea that life without God is devoid of meaning and value. . . . the death of God has not made the rest of the world disappear, but has left it for us to make. What we are left with is not a world devoid of meaning and value . . . but precisely the

reverse. It is a foregrounding of meanings and values, to be argued, altered, defended, and invented.

Gergen (1994) also describes individual moral sentiment, moral reasoning, personal values and intentions as a form of cultural story telling. Accounts such as “doing that would violate my principles” are used by people who are carrying out various social rituals or patterns of interchange. They operate within relationships to prevent, admonish, praise and invite various forms of action. They also establish one’s identity and furnish others with guides to one’s future conduct and achieve unity within a group. Davis and Harré (1990) suggest that the term positioning be used to describe the process of negotiated account production. For Davis and Harré when we take up a position within a discourse we inevitably come to experience the world and ourselves from that vantage point or perspective. Once we take up a subject position in discourse we have available to us a particular, limited set of concepts, images, metaphors, ways of speaking, self-narratives and so on that we take on as our own. This entails an emotional commitment on our part to the categories of person to which we are allocated and see ourselves as belonging and the development of an appropriate system of morals. Our sense of who we are and what is therefore possible and not possible for us to do, and what is wrong and inappropriate for us to do thus all derive from our occupation of subject positions within discourse. Some subject positions are more temporary or fleeting and therefore who we are is always in flux, always dependent upon the changing flow of positions we negotiate within social interaction. Shotter (1997, p. 15) takes in a similar position, he uses the useful term “grammar”, which refers to a structured way of responding to each other, it invites only a limited realm of next possible actions. This makes joint action possible. We call on each other to recognise and respect what exists between us. The situation between us constitutes something which belongs to both of us, it is ours. This implies that whatever we say can never be wholly up to us - all our utterances are to an extent jointly produced outcomes between ourselves and others. In this process we are testing and checking, whether our actions are acceptable in the social group. Harré (1993) refers to the expressive order in which people live. For him,

expressive performance aims to maintain the conventional. Individuals present themselves as the kind of people worthy of respect within that local moral order. For Harré norms and conventions are central to the management of social action, but this is not seen as a form of government and power, rather moral norms play a positive role in turning people into responsible and autonomous agents, who can be held to account for their actions. This is made possible through available discourses.

Seegers (1996) brings this debate into the South African situation. She points out that it would be faulty to assume that because officials enforced racial inequality that they themselves were immoral. Officials enacted what they thought was right for the ruled and rulers. Their actions were consistent with what they believed to be correct. She discusses the use of force by security forces in enforcing what she terms "Racial Utopia" (Seegers, 1996, p. 85). Before 1948 many people believed in God-given white supremacy, and the use of whatever tools were necessary to implement policies was not seen as unjust. It was not considered possible that there would be general resistance to the vision of racial utopia. People, it was believed, actually wanted this and when they dissented it was because they were misled. It was believed that the closer one got to racial utopia, the less violence would be necessary, and people would be politically content. She claims that the Nationalist supporters were genuinely perplexed by the world's rejection of their ideal. They could not grasp the need for equality to acquire legitimacy.

In essence I am concluding that perpetrators are largely influenced by the group to which they belong. It would imply that their behaviour is not only permitted, but to some extent prescribed by the group. It would mean that someone has been trained, even informally to torture, and that the organisation that he or she is part of, ensures that he or she is competent to act in the prescribed way. This links in some ways with macro social constructionism, and the thought that behaviour is influenced at the macro social level (Foucault, 1975/1995, 1976/1990). From this perspective, it is quite possible to defend the position of the perpetrator as complying with a

given moral order. For Gergen (1994) it is not individuals who are ultimately blameworthy, but extended patterns of relationships in which the person is involved. It is not about properly allocating blame, but about attempting to understand how an event could occur, what should be done about it now and what its implications for the future are.

We are part of the community and we shape the discourses as much as we are shaped by them. Sampson (1989) argues that the unit of survival is not the individual, nor society, but the system which includes the organism and its environment. The social practices in which individuals engage, their social structures and the discourses become aspects of a single phenomenon. These cultural structures create our identity and personal experiences, but by being part of it, we create the cultural structures. This approach places some emphasis on the joint creation in which perpetrators are involved. It also emphasises that by damaging others we may be damaging not only our communities, but ourselves. Shotter (1997) claims that all clear and unambiguous claims to knowledge make sense only from within a shared form of life, a tradition, or disciplinary matrix. He states that being unable to root our claims in any foundational principles does not absolve us from taking responsibility for our claims; indeed, the opposite is the case: lacking any foundational principles, we must be prepared to give good ethical reasons for why we have conducted ourselves as we have.

Rorty (1989) agrees that reality is socially constructed and is not absolute. However, in order to create that reality, people need to be free to engage in persuasion. Institutions such as media freedom and freedom of the judiciary ensure that people can engage in persuasion. Lyotard and Thébaud (1984) argue that the absolute injustice is excluding someone from playing the game of the just. "Thus, obviously, all terror, annihilation, massacre, etc., or their threat, are, by definition, unjust" (Lyotard & Thébaud, 1984, p. 67). In the statement by the security policemen quoted earlier, they believed that they were acting morally. They were entitled to their beliefs, but they silenced all other voices. I argue that it is possible from within social

constructionism to take in an absolutist position that killing or torturing someone and thereby silencing his or her voice is immoral.

Although I think I can justify an absolutist position from within social constructionism, a pragmatic, relativist approach appears appropriate for this study. Gergen (1994, p. 58) puts it: "To the extent that any reality becomes objectified or taken for granted, relationships are frozen, options sealed off, and voices unheard." To not acknowledge that events, including perpetration, can be and are viewed from different perspectives, that different discourses are available that refer to the same events, is to close all possible knowledge on them.

Fragmented Identities, Shattered Language and the Limitations of Language: Thoughts towards a Sense of Self

As discussed earlier, social constructionism rejects the concept of an internal essence to people which determines who they are. In this section I will briefly mention traditional concepts of identity and identity development, the role and limitations of language and then explore the concept of a sense of self in terms of social constructionism and narrative psychology. I will add some perspectives from interpersonal neurobiology.

Fragmented identities, shattered language; the limitations of language

Numerous models and theories have been developed around the concept of identity and identity development. Most of them would, on examination, fall within a modernist school of thought, rooted within Western cultures.

Examples include: Egan and Cowan (1980), Erikson (1963, 1968, 1974), Loevinger (1976), Perry (1970), Piaget (1968a, 1968b) and Cattell (1946).

This does not invalidate them in terms of social constructionism but it does mean that they must be viewed critically, with the recognition that they are discourses that are valid for a certain period, in a particular tradition, and are

not truth for all time. Traditionally identity formation is seen as a function of adolescence (Fox & Leavitt, 1993; Maier, 1978). The impact of the social environment on adolescent development, as well as the adolescent's active involvement with that environment has been emphasised by various authors (e.g. Baumeister, 2000; Fox & Leavitt, 1993; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995; Viney & Henry, 2002; Vygotsky, 1978). Many of the men who "served" in the townships were in late adolescence or early adulthood. Fry (1998) found during in-depth interviews with adolescents that their pursuit of meaning is developed through valuations of the past, present and future, and based on aspects of their interactions with people and events. Fox and Leavitt (1993), comment that ideology plays a role in identity development in adolescents. The normal issues of adolescence, particularly as they are played out in identity formation get bound up in the ideological events in the society in which young people are growing to maturity. Various authors (Haley, 1985; Horowitz, 1986; Maercker, Zahava & Schützwohl, 1999) make the point that as wars are fought by people in late adolescence or very early adulthood that the traumatic experiences of the war become incorporated into self schemata and concepts of how the individual relates to the world. Harmless (1990) and Maercker (1999) confirm the poor adjustment of people who were traumatised as adolescents.

Meaning-making has a long history in psychology and is seen to be important in maintaining or regaining mental health. It is also very important in recovery from trauma (Antonovsky, 1979; Bourne, 1978; Crossley, 2000; Davis, 2001; Erikson, 1963; Frankl, 1946/1964, 1967; McFarlane & Yehuda, 1996; Neimeyer, 2001; Park, 1999; Sommer & Baumeister, 1998).

Narrative psychology concurs with social constructionism in believing objects or events do not have meaning in themselves separate from the meaning that people attach to them (Botella, Herrero, Pacheco & Corbella, 2004; Freedman & Combs, 1996; Polkinghorne, 2004). People appear to need to create coherent, unified life stories (McAdams & Janis, 2004; Murray, 2003a). People convey their constructions of the social world to each other

and themselves through narrative. We choose what we will tell, what themes we will use and what we will leave out (Crossley, 2000; Murray, 2000; Sarbin, 1986; Sarbin & Kitsuse, 1994). Narrative forms shape the sense of what it means “to live, to know and to feel” (M. Gergen, 1994, p. 22). In this study, it is not only the traumatic events that the participants were exposed to which have disrupted their narratives but they have committed atrocities which will have probably disrupted their self-narratives.

Trauma has an enormous impact on language and narrative construction. I will discuss the value of integrating neurobiology with social constructionism in greater detail in the next section. For now, I will focus on the impact of trauma on the physiology of both language and meaning-making. Generally, when people receive non-traumatic sensory input they synthesise this incoming information into symbolic form, without conscious awareness of the processes that translate sensory impressions into a personal story (Van der Kolk & Fisler, 1995). Van der Kolk (2006) reports that when traumatised people are reminded of a personal trauma they activate brain regions that support intense emotions (cerebral blood flow increases in the right medial orbitofrontal cortex, insula, amygdala and anterior temporal pole) while decreasing activity of brain structures involved in the inhibition of emotions and the translation of experience into communicable language (a relative deactivation in the left anterior prefrontal cortex, specifically in Broca’s area). Broca’s area is the expressive speech centre in the brain. Very often traumatised people struggle to express their experiences in words. Our everyday speech acknowledges the problem: We are “speechless with terror” and “dumbstruck”. For many traumatised people narrative breaks down once they are reminded of the trauma. They avoid these memories and any possible reminder of them, because of the possibility of triggering a flashback. The nature of traumatic memories means that they are often not processed symbolically (Van der Kolk & Fisler, 1995; Van der Kolk, Hopper & Osterman, 2001). The traumatic event is not verbally represented, but remains encoded as emotional and sensory states; the traumatic memories are not condensed into narrative. This has enormous implications,

especially when the insights of social constructionism are brought to bear on it. If traumatised people lose their voices and their ability to express what has happened to them, their ability to enter into discourses is seriously impaired. Their ability to construct narratives is also shattered. Explicit memory is semantic, symbolic and social. It is adapted to the needs of the narrator and listener and can be adjusted (constructed) to meet social demands (Van der Kolk & Fisler, 1995). Although the participants have all perpetrated, they have also all been severely traumatised. This implies that they should have immense difficulty in verbalising traumatic experiences, constructing narratives and therefore making meaning out of their experiences (Phelps, 2004; Scarry, 1985; Van der Kolk, 2006).

Various writers have commented that social constructionism is allowing language a misplaced tyranny (Burr, 1999; Cromby & Nightingale, 1999; Pujol & Montenegro, 1999). When working with people such as the participants in this study, and accepting that “there is nothing outside of the text” (Derrida, 1976, p. 158) we are doing them a disservice. Cromby and Standen (1999) in referring to various forms of abuse, accuse social constructionism of making these experiences invisible or ironic in its exclusive focus on discourse and language. Discounting the experiences of victims further dehumanises and disables them. People are not just “incarnate vocabularies” (Rorty, 1989, p. 88).

Butt (1999, p. 133) comments:

Instead of overcoming the Cartesian dualism that it sets out to confront, social constructionism appears to give up the body to the dictates of mechanism, so that it can concentrate on the rule-governed world of texts and ideas. The text shapes, even constitutes, the person, fashioning it out of the material of the body.

Collier (1998) who describes himself as a critical realist, comments that modern philosophy sets up some privileged means, for example consciousness, experience, language or practice and then claims that reality can only be known through whatever is given in the means it has set up. It

is then concluded that reality cannot be known outside this privileged means or that although things exist we can never know them.

Ways of correcting the tyranny of language have included accepting that discursive practices can include artefacts such as created objects such as symbols (Burkitt, 1999). Parker (1992) agrees and describes “speech, writing, non-verbal behaviour, Braille . . . stained glass, architecture, tarot cards and bus tickets” (p. 7) as forms of text. He also describes discursive practices as including behaviours such as “feeling an abdomen, giving an injection or cutting a body” (p. 17). Burr (1999) gives importance to non-verbal communications such as those included in visual arts and dance. In this view, acts of torture become discursive events.

When a torturer demands information using physical beatings, electric shocks, cutting off of oxygen and so on it has immense social meaning. These are powerful discourses which extend far beyond the actual words used. These words are often meaningless at face value. It is not information or confessions that are required in torture, although they are demanded (Scarry, 1985). The purpose of torture, beyond the demanded confessions or information will be discussed later in this study.

For the social constructionist, individuals are born into a world of language which predates them; they acquired discursive skills which seem to come naturally to them. They absorb rules about emotional display and experience, and their emotional talk speaks not of their experience but of the discourses that surround them (Butt, 1999). The screams, pleading, aggression, shouting and intense emotions and possible lack of emotion in torture are in this view not descriptive of an experience, but of a surrounding discourse.

Butt (1999, p. 138) describes the purpose of emotions as a form of communication. He does not see emotions as within us, but as a component of perception that occurs between us and the object, a feeling

that tells us something of our connection with the world. He comments that emotional engagement is not “just made in language; it is a reality that is constructed between the person and his or her world”.

Shotter (1997) speaks of a relational paradigm, which puts the primary emphasis on our spontaneous, responsive knowing of people. This happens through the use of language. However, when we have no language, when it cannot be accessed, at least not around the most important events of our lives which have shattered our worlds (Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983), we are extremely hampered in our contact with others.

Thoughts towards a sense of self

Some support for the impact of society on development is coming from the world of interpersonal neurobiology. They are in essence saying that an immature brain needs a mature brain in order to develop (Schore, 1994, 2003a; Siegel, 1999). Siegel (1999, p. 77) puts it: “we can propose that the interpersonal relationship directly shapes the neurobiological state of the infant’s brain within interactions with each caregiver.” This appears to also lend support to the work of Vygotsky (1978) who claims “Every function in the child’s cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). . . . All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57). The exposure of a child in relationship with adults appears to lead to specific hard-wiring of his or her brain. In essence this means that the culture into which we are born becomes a physical part of ourselves.

The adolescent’s brain undergoes disorganisation and reorganisation from the onset of puberty until the early twenties (Cozolino, 2006; Nelson, Leibenluft, McClure, & Pine, 2005). Nelson et al. (2005) in a review of studies found there to be a relationship between the development of brain physiology and developmental changes in social behaviour. The surge of gonadal steroids at puberty induces changes within the limbic system that

alters the emotional attributions applied to social stimuli. The gradual maturation of the prefrontal cortex enables increasingly complex and controlled responses to social information. Cozolino (2006) connects the following social transitions of adolescence to the neurological changes: moving away from the family of origin, establishing an identity, connecting with a peer group and the creating a new family. He concludes that the adolescent's brain needs to be plastic in order to develop new relationships, a new self-image and to learn new roles in society. Poor judgement, vulnerability to risky behaviours and inadequate impulse control are linked to the plasticity in networks of the social brain (Chambers, Taylor, & Potenza, 2003; Cozolino, 2006; Spear, 2000). Taking into account the plasticity as described above, it becomes clear that when adolescents or young adults are sent to war or as in this study into riot control, we should see some of the ongoing effects of that exposure in their adjustment in particular to social relationships.

Interpersonal neurobiology assumes that the brain is a social organ built through experience. The brain is seen as socially constructed; with the focus on the neural systems that shape attachment (Cozolino, 2006; Schore, 1994, 2003a; Siegel, 1999). Interpersonal neurobiologists believe that any meaningful relationship can reactivate neuroplastic processes and change the structure of the brain. Cozolino (2006, p. 9) puts it: "*It is the power of being with others that shapes our brains* [italics in original]." The embeddedness of humans in relationships is central to interpersonal neurobiology. Cozolino (2006, p. 11) states: "The individual neuron or a single human brain does not exist in nature"; instead brains are embedded within communities of other brains. Cozolino uses a helpful metaphor, which in many ways appears to duplicate what is said in social constructionism. Individual neurons are separated by small gaps called synapses. These gaps are not empty spaces but are filled by a variety of chemical substances engaged in complex interactions that result in synaptic transmissions. This synaptic transmission stimulates each neuron to grow and survive and be changed by experiences. Cozolino refers to the social synapse as the space

between two humans. This is also what links us into larger organisms such as families and communities. Our lives are lived at the border of the synapse, much of it outside conscious awareness. Neuroscientists appear to be beginning to consider the possibility that plasticity continues longer than was initially thought (Cozolino, 2006). This has the implication that in interaction we can change our brains (Schore, 2003b). Both in social constructionist and neurobiological terms, if someone engages in torture he will be creating himself as a torturer.

For social constructionists the process of development consists not in the transformation of internal structures, but in the gradual acquisition of accounting skills. Harré (1993) sees the ability as developing through the social interaction between infants and their caretakers. Caretakers speak to their charges as though they have desires, intentions, and so on. People develop these ways of speaking because of the social and linguistic practices embedded in a culture. People construct their identities by making a coherent story of their past experiences, present situation and future goals (Burr, 1995; Davis & Harré, 1990; DeNora & Mehan, 1994; Harré, 1993; Krippner & Winkler, 1995; McAdams & Janis, 2004; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Shotter, 1997; Wetherell & Potter, 1989). Discourses prescribe behaviour. Being ill or a policeman, for example, prescribes a course of action (Burr, 2003; Crossley, 2000; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Gergen, 1985; Smail, 1993).

In social constructionism a unified, coherent and rational self is rejected. All the features which we had taken for granted as the things that make us unique individuals such as personality traits, motivations, drives, attitudes and thoughts have been reframed as social constructions. They are described as the effects of discourse which give us the illusion of selfhood as we live them out in our daily lives. As the self is a product of language and social interactions, the self will be in constant flux, constantly changing depending on who the person is with, the circumstances and what the purpose of the interaction is (Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1995). We, however, have

a sense of self, a sense of consciousness, which social constructionism does not explain adequately (Burr, 2003). There is a loss of ecological validity without more adequate explanations for these experiences (Cromby & Standen, 1999).

Gergen (1995) explains that some of the discourses that we ascribe to are used repeatedly, for example, the discourse of gender, the dull accountant, and so on. He says that we use them so often that we may become trapped in a definition, even when it is no longer appropriate. Burr (1995) refers to people as described by the sum total of the subject positions in discourse that they occupy. The fact that some of these positions are fleeting or changing means that our identities are not constant, they are always open to change. Harré (1989) ascribes the strong tendency in Western culture to refer to essential aspects of personality to our use of language. Words such as “I” and “me” are used as though they refer to real objects. When we narrate why we did something our linguistic practices mislead us into thinking that we have uncovered the causes of our behaviour. Instead, we have utilised the local accounting and warranting conventions of our culture to explain our behaviour.

In its general approach narrative psychology shares various concepts with social constructionism, including having been influenced by postmodernism. Narrative psychology gives useful explanations of how people construct identities and have an experience of continuity of self. In narrative psychology people are seen as constructing their identity through their representation of themselves in narrative. We understand ourselves and others through the medium of language, through talking and writing; in the stories we tell. There is a relationship between the narrator who tells the story, the audience and the broader social and cultural context in which the telling takes place. An individual utilises discourses from a cultural repertoire in order to create a personal story. Our selective memories of the past and our hopes and fears for the future provide us with a sense of continuity. We construct and reconstruct ourselves to meet the need of new situations. We

bring together different episodes and actions in time and place and include explanations for our behaviour (Bruner, 1990, 2003, 2004; Combs & Freedman, 2004; Crossley, 2000; M. Gergen, 1994; Fireman, McVay, & Flanagan, 2003; Harré, 1989; Morawski, 1997; Murray, 2003a, 2003b; Polkinghorne, 2004; Romanoff, 2001; Sarbin, 1986).

People cannot select their life stories from any template they might wish. Personal stories are parts of larger interactional frameworks, embedded within a variety of relationships, and open to sanction by those within the dialogic frame of the author. Rules, roles and performance expectations help determine how the narrative is constructed and how it is received by members of a given society. The teller and the listener are both participants and the listener can alter the outcome of the narrative performance (M. Gergen, 1994; Harré, 1989; Montalbano-Phelps, 2004).

Wortham (2001b) notes that most theories explain the narrative construction of the self through self-representation. Wortham accepts the power of the representational nature of narrative, but insists that more is necessary to explain the power of self-construction. He refers to the work of Gergen (1994) who argues that a more adequate explanation for the autobiographical power of narrative will “cite the interactional positioning that autobiographical narrators and audiences accomplish while telling and discussing stories. The act of telling an autobiographical narrative is a performance that can position the narrator and audience in various ways” (Gergen, 1994, p. 9). This implies that autobiographical narrations have power, not only because the discourse represents characteristics of the narrator, but because narrators are positioned and position themselves in particular ways.

Wortham (2001) calls on the view of Bakhtin where every discourse is orientated towards the “already uttered” (Bakhtin, 1981a, p. 279). By using the words of previous people, we position ourselves with regard to those previous speakers and their positions. Not only do we position ourselves

with regard to past speakers, but also with regard to anticipated utterances. There are indefinite numbers of prior and future speakers to whom the current speaker might be responding or whom he or she may be anticipating – it remains indeterminate (Bakhtin, 1981a, 1981b; Wortham, 2001b). I will use Wortham's (2001b) insights in the analysis of the narratives. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

Part of the difficulty with social constructionism's construct of self, is the tendency of not allowing bodies into the discussion. The self is "turned into a text, a complex narrative accomplishment suffuse with discourses" (Burr, 1999, p. 115). Approaches that involve the physical body are viewed with distrust and labelled essentialist, biologist or cognitivist (Cromby & Nightingale, 1999). Social constructionism, by not admitting brains and bodies and considering alternative explanations for a sense of self, could become guilty of the reductionism that it challenges.

Descartes thought the mind must exist independently of the body (Harré, 1999). He depicted the body as unreliable and incapable of offering any valuable knowledge (Pujol & Montenegro, 1999). Harré (1995, 1999) calls for recognition that the body and the mind cannot be separated from each other. He describes the absurdity of the biologists who would explain symbolic exchanges as molecular interactions and the social constructionists who would describe materiality of people as social constructions. Cromby and Standen (1999) comment that constructionism's failure to integrate a theory about the self has not rid psychology of Cartesian dualism. By ignoring the embodied origins of people and reducing them to performative discourse does not remove dualism, but merely conceals it. Cromby and Standen (1999) take the position that constructionists who ignore the extent of biological influences on human action (embodiment), and the intertwined constitution of self and society (personal-social history), impoverish their approach. They give the example of people who have physical disabilities which are defining factors in their experiences and relationships. The impairments influence the range of social practices and interactions they can

engage in, making discursive analysis inadequate. They state that social constructionism's focus on discourse makes their experiences invisible. It is disrespectful. It can be seen as one more element that treats them as less than human.

The work of Damasio (1999) is possibly useful in this debate. He hypothesises different forms of consciousness. Damasio distinguishes between three kinds of self: an autobiographical and core self (both are conscious) and a proto-self (which is unconscious). Terms such as conscious and unconscious are not commonly found in social constructionism, but may be useful in this context. Is studying consciousness important? Damasio (1999, p.5) connects consciousness to empathy and states:

At its simplest and most basic level, consciousness lets us recognise an irresistible urge to stay alive and develop a concern for the self. At its most complex and elaborate level, consciousness helps us develop a concern for other selves and improve the art of life.

Damasio (1999) divides the problem into two broad areas. The first is how the brain engenders images, or how do we get "a movie in the brain" (Damasio, 1999, p. 9). In other words, how does the brain make neural patterns in its circuits and turn those neural patterns into the explicit mental patterns or images. This links to the philosophical problem of qualia (the sensory qualities of experiences). The second question is how the brain engenders a sense of self in the act of knowing. Damasio (1999, p. 11) states:

solving the second problem of consciousness consists in discovering the biological underpinnings for the curious abilities we humans have of constructing, not just the mental patterns of an object – the images of persons, places, melodies, and of their relationships, in short, the temporally and spatially integrated mental images of something-to-be-known – but also the mental patterns which convey, automatically and naturally, the sense of a self in the act of knowing. Consciousness, as we commonly think of it, from its basic levels to its most complex, is the unified mental pattern that brings together the object and the self.

Damasio (1994, 1999) developed his theories by referring to normal subjects, and by examining the experiences of consciousness in people with brain damage. The proto-self according to Damasio (1999, p.174) is an “interconnected and temporarily coherent collection of neural patterns which represent the state of the organism, moment by moment, at multiple levels of the brain.” The proto-self is a non-conscious forerunner for the levels of self that develop as the core and autobiographical selves. He is not referring to a concept of a homunculus, but to a “collection of brain devices whose main job is the automated management of the organism’s life” (Damasio, 1999, p. 23). It does not occur in a single place in the brain, but it “emerges dynamically and continuously out of multifarious interacting signals that span varied orders of the nervous system” (Damasio, 1999, p. 154). It does no interpreting of incoming stimuli; it has no powers of perception and has no knowledge. It does act as a reference point. The core self, Damasio describes as emerging in what he calls core consciousness, and is a “transient entity, ceaselessly re-created for each and every object with which the brain interacts” (Damasio, 1999, p. 17). Core consciousness is a biological phenomenon; it has a single level of organisation, is stable across the lifetime of the organism, is not exclusively human, and is not dependent on conventional memory, working memory, reasoning or language. Core consciousness provides the organism with a sense of self for now and is about one place, here. There is no before or after.

Extended consciousness is a complex biological phenomenon with several levels of organisation. It evolves across the lifetime of the organism and is enhanced by language and corresponds to the autobiographical self. Extended consciousness provides an elaborate sense of self, an identity, and places that person in a point in an individual history, it is aware of the past and the anticipated future and is aware of the world around it (Damasio, 1999). Damasio divides up consciousness because of what is manifested in brain damaged patients. In some patients there is intact core consciousness with no extended consciousness or autobiographical memory indicating that

different areas of the brain are involved in creating consciousness (Damasio, 1994, 1999). The important thing to note is that consciousness involves far more than memory as suggested by Burr (2003). Complex neurological structures are involved.

The Social Construction of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

The diagnosis of PTSD has a chequered history, probably reflecting the social conveniences of the time. Psychiatric classifications are not atheoretical and value-free; they contain ontological notions of what constitutes a real disorder, epistemological notions of what counts as scientific evidence and methodological notions about how research should be conducted (Littlewood, 1990; Summerfield, 2004). The effects of trauma and symptoms of PTSD have repeatedly been described and denied; lost and rediscovered (McFarlane & De Girolamo, 1996; Philips & Frederick, 1995; Van der Kolk, Weisaeth & Van der Hart, 1996). Traumatized people are also often blamed or held responsible for their trauma (Foa & Rothbaum, 1998; Kleber, Figley & Gersons, 1995; Lerner, 1980; Leydesdorff, Dawson, Burchart & Ashplant, 1999). In war situations the effect of trauma has often not been recognised, to the point of shooting those who lost courage (Bar-On, 2000; Brom & Witztum, 1995; McFarlane, 1995, 2000; McFarlane & De Girolamo, 1996; Shatan, 1978, 1985; Van der Kolk et al., 1996; Witztum & Kotler, 2000). It has been described as an inappropriate diagnosis which is abused in order to find excuses for immoral behaviour in South Africa and elsewhere (Becker, 1995; Nicholas, 2000; Nicholas & Coleridge, 2000). It is also often implicated in malingering, mainly because compensation is often linked to the diagnosis (McNally, 2006).

The concept of and criteria for PTSD have led to considerable debate. PTSD was included in the American Psychiatric Association's (1980) Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (*DSM-III*) because of advocacy by the Vietnam veterans working with anti-war psychiatrists (McNally, 2004; Young, 2004). There are two major groupings: those who

see PTSD as describing an innate, discovered condition and those who regard PTSD as a political, socially constructed diagnosis. Both groupings share an essentialist philosophy. The debunkers who describe PTSD as socially constructed imply that because that is the case, that it is not “real”.

I will briefly discuss the position of those who see PTSD as an innate, discovered condition in this chapter and then discuss the social construction of illnesses. I will briefly consider the social constructed nature of PTSD in this chapter and continue the discussion in Chapter 10.

People with PTSD experience that their entire life has changed. Constant, but unpredictable intrusive memories and dissociative flashbacks disorientate and result in intense emotional reactions. Their own minds are no longer safe, and they often have to avoid self-referent thoughts (McFarlane & Yehuda, 1996). Nightmares often make sleep a threat and they could wake up to a panic attack (Mellman, 2000). They experience a loss of safety within themselves and in their environments. They are constantly vigilant. Their irritability and aggressive outbursts, combined with emotional numbing affect relationships. They fear losing control in normal social or familial interaction. Their fear is justified, and they often report assaulting loved ones (Figley, 1983, 1986; Orcutt, King & King, 2003). This makes normal social interaction virtually impossible as they never know when something may act as a trigger to an immediate violent outburst. They cannot modulate arousal, and respond to innocuous stimuli as though they are threatening (Chemtob, Novaco, Hamada, Gross & Smith, 1997; Van der Kolk, 1996a). Concentration is disturbed, making it extremely difficult and at times impossible to focus on any activity, which means study and work performance is affected (Kulka et al., 1990; McCarren et al., 1995). They may compulsively re-expose themselves to situations reminiscent of the trauma (Van der Kolk, 1996b, 1996c). Their personal identity is affected. They are at greater risk for other psychiatric disorders, including panic disorders, major depressive disorder and substance abuse, as well as unemployment (Blake, Cook, & Keane, 1992; Kessler, Sonnega, Bromet,

Hughes & Nelson, 1995; Koenen et al., 2003; Kulka et al., 1990; McCarren et al., 1995; Orr et al., 1990; Steindl, Young, Creamer & Crompton, 2003; Stretch, 1991; Van der Kolk & McFarlane, 1996). Previous experiences, such as early childhood physical or sexual abuse can contribute to a diagnosis of PTSD (Bremner, Southwick, Johnson, Yehuda & Charney, 1993; Green, Grace, Lindy, Gleser & Leonard, 1990; Southwick, Yehuda & Giller, 1993).

People with PTSD exhibit abnormalities in many psychobiological systems (Friedman, 2001). Yehuda (2000, 2006) collates some of the research in neuroendocrine changes in emotional disorders, and finds that PTSD has very specific and qualitatively different changes in the neuroendocrine system to other disorders such as major depression and other anxiety disorders. The most prominent differences appear to be in the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis. In PTSD there is enhanced negative feedback inhibition characterised by an exaggerated cortisol response to dexamethasone, an increased number of glucocorticoid receptors, and lower basal cortisol levels. In contrast, in major depression there is a blunted cortisol response to dexamethasone, a decreased number of glucocorticoid receptors and increased basal cortisol levels. There is also some suggestion that there is increased activation of the catecholamine system. Other systems that may be affected are the serotonergic system (Friedman, 2001) and the opioid system (Friedman, 2001; Pitman, Van der Kolk, Orr & Greenberg, 1990; Van der Kolk, 1994a, 1996a; Van der Kolk, Greenberg, Boyd & Krystal, 1985). Liberzon and Taylor (2000) in an overview of brain imaging studies describe the emergence of possible links between environmental stress and structural changes underlying PTSD. Shin, Rauch and Pitman (2006) report heightened amygdala responsivity during symptomatic states and when processing trauma-unrelated affective information. Amygdala responsivity is positively associated with symptom severity in PTSD. The medial prefrontal cortex appears to be volumetrically smaller and is hyporesponsive during symptomatic states and the performance of emotional cognitive states in PTSD. Diminished volumes,

neuronal integrity and functional integrity of the hippocampus in PTSD are suggested (Bremner, 2006; Lindauer, Olf, van Meijel, Carlier & Gersons, 2006; Lindauer, Vlieger, et al., 2006; Pavić et al., 2007; Shin et al., 2006), but not all studies find a concomitant affect for memory, learning and attention impairment (Neylan et al., 2004). Bowman and Yehuda (2004) conclude that there appears to be some genetic predisposition to the development of PTSD. Bowman and Yehuda (2004) note that there are mixed results with regard to a characteristic pattern of psychophysiological response (e.g. exaggerated heart rate, startle responses) to trauma cues.

Zucker, Spinazzola, Blaustein and Van der Kolk (2006) found that people diagnosed with both Disorders of Extreme Stress Not Otherwise Specified (DESNOS) (also known as complex PTSD) and PTSD had higher dissociation scores on the Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES) than people diagnosed with only PTSD. DESNOS is not recognised as a distinct disorder, but its symptomatology is presented as the associated features of PTSD in the American Psychiatric Association's (1994) Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (*DSM-IV*). DESNOS develops in addition to and not separate from PTSD. Six areas of impairment were identified by the *DSM-IV* PTSD taskforce as necessary for the diagnosis of DESNOS (Van der Kolk, 2007; Van der Kolk, Roth, Pelcovitz, Sunday & Spinazzola, 2005): regulation of affect and impulses; attention or consciousness; self-perception; interpersonal relationships; somatisation and systems of meaning. It can be described as a disorder of self-regulation which manifests across multiple systems (Zucker et al., 2006). Complicated adaptations to severe and prolonged trauma have been reported in rape victims, battered women and concentration camp survivors (Van der Kolk et al., 2005). The factors that have been identified as contributing to the development of DESNOS are: early trauma, the younger the age of onset the more likely DESNOS is to develop; the trauma is interpersonal in nature; and the longer individuals were exposed to traumatic events the stronger the chance for the development of DESNOS (Herman, 1992; Van der Kolk et al., 2005). DESNOS has been found to be relevant to veterans (Newman,

Orsillo, Herman, Niles & Litz, 1995). Ford (1999) found DESNOS was associated with early childhood trauma and participation in war-zone atrocities in military veterans seeking inpatient PTSD treatment.

On the opposing side are the theorists and researchers who see PTSD as a redundant diagnosis, which was established due to political pressure and is socially constructed (McNally, 2004). The debunkers often refer to research which appears to indicate that symptoms of being traumatised present differently at different times of history (e.g. Jones et al., 2003; Jones et al., 2000; Jones, Palmer, & Wessely, 2002; Young, 2004).

Billig et al. (1988, p. 95) in discussing physical illness comment on the need of the healthy to ignore illness. Sick people must also

present themselves in the terms dictated by a world which exacts penalties for the privileges which they are actually obliged to ask for. They must appear as well as possible in order to gain the acceptance by others of their limitations; to do otherwise is to risk sanction or exclusion.

Billig et al. (1988) also note that illness is embedded in the particular values, beliefs and institutions of a particular community. Burr (2003, p. 37), referring to illnesses generally seen as physical, puts it strongly: “illness is not a physiological matter – it is a social one”.

Parker, Georgaca, Harper, Mclaughlin & Stowell-Smith, (1995, p1) start a deconstruction of psychopathology with: “The notions of madness and abnormal psychology as we understand them are particular and peculiar to our culture and our time”. This summarises the position of social constructionism in terms of psychopathology. The underlying concepts of “deviance” and of “psychopathologies” have differed in different historical periods and defining criteria are often changed to obtain consensus between judges rather than to identify additional or more precise criteria (Bowers, 2000; Gaines, 1992; Kirk & Kutchins, 1992; Parker et al., 1995; Van der Kolk, 2007; Wiener & Marcus, 1994).

Parker et al. (1995) comment that being labelled with a mental illness has far-reaching consequences. Common to psychological problems is the subjective sense of unintelligibility and loss of personal agency (Farina, 2000). Those diagnosed not only experience the symptoms repeatedly, but also the stigma and shame (Farina, 2000; Leskela, Dieperink & Thuras, 2002; Macdonald, 1998). In this study, this is particularly important. In communities such as the police which have a “cowboys don’t cry” culture, being diagnosed with a mental disorder is extremely isolating. This places them in a category apart from their peers, and is often seen as shameful (Minnaar & Mistry, 2006). Parker et al. (1995, p. 39) comment as follows:

What happens to people who are pushed to the edges of what is considered normal, or to the ends of a psychiatric dimension, is that they are positioned, a place is marked out for them and a set of behaviours and experiences is defined for them.

Foucault connected the development of discourses that describe and prescribe forms of rationality, responsibility and pathology with discipline, surveillance and power. Foucault argued that the ordering and classifying that occurs in systems such as diagnostic systems plays a role in controlling the populace. By classifying people as normal or mad it becomes possible to control society by regulating what someone may or may not do. For Foucault the notion of confession is organised into modern discourse in such a way that the individual cannot believe that he has a healthy identity without acknowledging troubling hidden secrets about the self. The price of been seen as a reasonable agent means that the individual is expected to account for errors in personal terms (Burr, 2003; Foucault, 1975/1995, 1976/1990; Parker, 1989). In this process the person’s subjection is increased (Parker, 1989). Foucault (Parker et al., 1995) argues that the medical treatment of mental distress entails bringing into being mental chains which the person weaves for himself as he takes responsibility for his abnormal condition, and the progress of his cure. At the same time, the discourses pertaining to normality and deviance intensify the models of confession that are already present in religious apparatus. Social and medical sciences have the role of

validating confessions. The mental health system is put in the position of power and becomes the authority on the patient's life. In South Africa the process of the TRC had strong religious overtones of confession which had to be complied with in order to receive forgiveness and possible reintegration into society

Botella, Herrero, Pacheco and Corbella (2004, p. 122) define psychological problems as embedded in the "process of constructing identity". They see psychological problems as a way to belong and relate to the world. In the South African context PTSD may be a useful way to deal with people who were on the wrong side of the political conflict; especially for those who were overtly involved in human rights violations. If they can be defined as ill it may be easier for society to deal with them than it would be if they were defined as evil. Parker et al. (1995) comment that the notion of problems being located within an individual removes any responsibility from society. In this study it is important, as by locating pathology in participants, it is possible to distance society from their actions. Terms such as "depression" or "PTSD", locate the fear and unhappiness in people by blaming biochemical changes or thinking errors, instead of what people have been subjected to or behaviour in which they have engaged (Parker et al., 1995). Those who diagnose are normal and can distance themselves from those who are ill.

Summerfield (1995) reports that adjustment after traumatisation is determined by the meaning the trauma has. He found Nicaraguans could ignore the symptoms of PTSD, and continue to function well as they had given their trauma meaning. Fontana and Rosenheck (1994), found World War II veterans had less severe symptomatology compared to veterans from Korea and Vietnam. They report that in a previous study they had found that the quality of the homecoming reception had a major impact on the subsequent development of PTSD. The Korean veterans had very strong suicidal ideation. They conclude that this was due to the fact that the Korean War was seen as the forgotten war. The Vietnam War was

unpopular and veterans were often vilified. World War II veterans were seen as heroes. King, King, Keane, Fairbank and Adams (1998) confirm that post-war social support is important in preventing or resolving symptoms.

Wiener and Marcus (1994) in what they call a sociocultural construction of depression warn that merely asserting that psychopathology is a social construction leads to reifying social constructionism. They suggest approaching the events called psychopathologies as if they were cultural anthropologists. This helps them to remember that their observations are constructions seen through the lenses of a particular sociocultural matrix. This has the effect of recognising that their approach, like all others, is embedded in a particular sociocultural matrix. Their own acculturation (beliefs, language, assumptions and psychosocial history) influences their approach. They state that one way in which they attempt to emphasise this aspect of their approach is to try and use terms that incorporate this observer-inferential orientation in descriptions, categorisations and interpretations of the psychosocial transactions rather than using terms that attribute agency to the individuals or by invoking inner states or traits. Their concern is whether the representations offer a different, interesting, heuristic and pragmatic way to view some sociopsychological events currently viewed as psychopathological.

The History of Torture; Research into Torture and the Effects of Committing Atrocities

In this section I will briefly going to discuss the history of torture and will then briefly consider factors in society that make torture possible. That will be followed by a brief consideration of some the research on torturers and the committing of atrocities. I will consider the moral implications of torture in more detail in Chapter 11.

Torture was a routine part of criminal procedure in medieval and early modern times (Foucault, 1975/1995; Langbein, 2004; Ross, 2005; Vidal-Naquet, 1963). In South Africa in the seventeenth century slaves who

transgressed were punished brutally. The death sentence was preceded by torture (Giliomee, 2003). Eventually it was decided that confessions under torture were not reliable and in the eighteenth century European governments banned torture from their legal systems. Western countries have in recent times condemned torture, as is represented in the statement of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (1984) quoted earlier in this chapter. As discussed in Chapter 2, torture was ubiquitous in South Africa but it was never acknowledged (Boraine, 2000; Foster et al., 2005; Lobban, 1996).

In considering atrocities committed by the police, three related topics arise: the use of unnecessary force, police brutality and torture. Some authors, especially those who focus on research in the police (e.g. Bruce 2002b) refer to police brutality. Under this they subsume torture and some kinds of killing. Police brutality is common world-wide (Conroy, 2000). Some incidents have made international headlines such as the assault of Rodney King in 1991 (Huggins et al., 2002; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Skolnick and Fyfe (1993, p. 19) define police brutality as a: “conscious and venal act committed by officers who usually take great pains to conceal their misconduct”. It is usually directed at people who have lower status and credibility. In considering unnecessary force, they describe it as a training problem, the “result of ineptitude or insensitivity” (Skolnick & Fyfe, p. 20).

There are very few cross references between the work on torture and the work on police brutality. I have chosen to subsume police brutality under the definition of torture because the police are state agents. As noted by Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) above, police brutality is concealed and is not lawful. Pain arising from lawful sanctions is excluded from the definition of torture.

Various interesting discourses appear to be available in society with regard to torture. On the one side torture is condemned. This is the public position taken by numerous countries. As discussed earlier, this position developed

from the human rights movement. This is very different to medieval and early modern times where torture was a public event and where a public confession was required for a conviction (Langbein, 2004; Ross, 2005).

Torture however remains common (Levinson, 2004b; Mayer, 2008; Parry, 2004; Skolnick, 2004; Vidal-Naquet, 1963). I have summarised the discourses which are used to justify or explain why torture happens as follows:

- o the perception that there is a threat to national security with the potential torturer having a sacred mission to save the nation (Conroy, 2000; Crelinsten & Schmid, 1995; Heinz, 1995; Huggins et al., 2002; Keen, 1986; Kelman, 1995; Sottas, 1998);
- o the need to process large numbers of suspects under time pressures (Crelinsten & Schmid, 1995; Heinz, 1995; Zimbardo, 2004);
- o the dehumanisation of a outgroup who are described as enemies of the state or society and deserving of their fate (Crelinsten & Schmid, 1995; Fyfe, 1996; Hochschild, 1998; Huggins et al., 2002; Keen, 1986; Kelman, 1995; Staub, 1995; Vidal-Naquet, 1963);
- o an assumption that victims are guilty (Kelman, 1995);
- o authorities justify the violation of normal moral principles (Crelinsten & Schmid, 1995; Huggins et al., 2002; Kelman, 1995);
- o imbuing torturers with a sense of professionalism (Crelinsten & Schmid, 1995; Kelman, 1995);
- o a sense of cultural superiority (Staub, 1995; Vidal-Naquet, 1963);
- o strong respect for and a tendency to obey authority (Staub, 1995);
- o violence is normalised (Lester, 1996; Staub, 1995);
- o routinising torture, making it a normal day's work (Huggins et al., 2002; Kelman, 1995; Lester, 1996);
- o believing it is the only method that will work to get information (Klockars, 1980/2005; Suedfeld, 1990b);
- o uncontrolled rage (Fyfe, 1996);
- o oppressive, demanding officers (Fyfe, 1996);

- o aggression is rewarded, caution is punished (Lester, 1996);
- o physiological and emotional stress (Lester, 1996);
- o reliable partners are aggressive (Lester, 1996);
- o police punish offenders (Klockars, 1980/2005);
- o torture is legitimised by medical professionals (Kelman, 1995);
- o torture is legitimised by religious leaders (Osiel, 2004);
- o it is a legitimate way in which to obtain names of suspects (Suedfeld, 1990);
- o torture will deter other people from unacceptable behaviour (Suedfeld, 1990);
- o victims can be intimidated into abandoning previously held beliefs and accepting beliefs held by the perpetrator (Suedfeld, 1990); .
- o the victim is isolated from the victimised group, leading to better control (Suedfeld, 1990);
- o an evolutionary predator response (Nell, 2006).

Certain legal conditions have to be in place for torture to take place.

Crelinsten and Schmid (1995, pp. 9-10) quote from a document compiled by the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories in which they name the following conditions:

- o a long period in incommunicado detention, particularly without access to a lawyer;
- o the inability to identify interrogators;
- o trials under military law or other similar procedure;
- o the absence of independent checks on the detainees' medical condition;
- o rule of evidence which do not automatically rule out confessions obtained under torture;
- o some degree of immunity from legal prosecution enjoyed by interrogators.

These criteria were present in the South African situation (Foster, 1987). In terms of the legal and medical professions in South Africa, the courts generally ignored torture accounts, although some human rights lawyers represented detainees (Dowdall, 1992; Harris, 2008) and with a few exceptions the medical and psychology professions went along with the dominant political order (Dowdall, 1992).

There is little empirical research that refers to the effects of torture or killing on the perpetrators. There is some indication that PTSD incurred in combat may differ to PTSD incurred in other experiences (Van der Kolk, 2007). Tanay (1985) recognises that for example a holocaust survivor is less overtly aggressive than a combat survivor. Unfortunately most research into the effects of combat does not isolate whether or not the participants were involved in perpetration. Breslau and Davis (1987) and Beckham, Feldman and Kirby (1998) found that exposure to atrocities was significantly related to PTSD symptom severity. Beckham et al. (1998) also identified guilty as a prominent symptom in those who had exposure to atrocities. King, King, Gudanowski and Vreven (1995) and Fontana and Rosenheck (1999) identify that killing others has a direct effect on the development of PTSD. Fontana and Rosenheck, 1999, p. 123) state the following:

Killing or injuring others had a strong direct effect on PTSD. In addition, it contributed substantially to committing atrocities. Once the moral prohibition against killing others is breached, it appears that the inhibitory power of lesser prohibitions is weakened as well.

MacNair (2002a, 2002b) refers to perpetration-induced traumatic stress, which is often implicated in combat and policing. She mainly focuses on the effect of killing. She performed a secondary analysis on the data from the National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Study. She found PTSD symptoms were more severe in perpetrator groups. The intensity of the combat was less predictive of the severity of the PTSD than whether or not they had killed. The perpetrator groups complained more of violent outbursts and they abused alcohol more than non-perpetrator groups. There was also some indication that they had more survivor guilt, hypervigilance

and a sense of alienation. Non-perpetrators complained of more memory and concentration problems. Those who admitted to committing atrocities (as in contrast to traditional combat), suffered more severe intrusive imagery and nightmares. They had a stronger sense of disintegration. The factor of disintegration, referred to a sense of unreality, depersonalisation, unrealistic distortion of meanings, restlessness, agitation, self-hatred, hostility toward a part of the body, a perception of high pressure and panic. They felt very strongly that they could never talk about what they had done. Those who reported direct involvement in killing of civilians or prisoners had more severe symptoms than those who observed those events. Witvliet, Phipps, Feldman and Beckham (2004) linked difficulty in self-forgiveness to severity of PTSD symptoms. They unfortunately did not control for involvement in atrocities. Grossman (2004) confirm anecdotal descriptions of perceptual distortions and dissociation as common in combat. Dissociation is regarded as a risk-factor for developing PTSD (Marmar et al., 1994; Van der Kolk & Fisler, 1995).

MacNair (2001) refers to some of the histories of the Holocaust, which also indicate that perpetration results in severe symptoms. One often has to deduce the possibility from descriptions of behaviour such as the abuse of alcohol, or acting out of apparent nightmares such as those described by Browning (1998). Unfortunately, Lifton (1986), in interviewing the Nazi doctors never explored the possibility of PTSD. Many of the Nazi perpetrators may also have been traumatised in the First World War or even been involved in committing atrocities, which may have resulted in psychiatric illnesses, notably PTSD.

Allodi (1995) studied former members of the National Guard of Nicaragua serving jail sentences in that country. They had all been convicted of crimes against civilian populations in time of war, including massacres, torture and inhuman or cruel treatment of prisoners. They all reported being exposed to techniques to reduce the value conflict that derived from knowledge – acquired through personal experience, the media or rumours – of violations

and death of civilians. The most common techniques were denial, rationalisation, the use of ideology, victim dehumanisation, scapegoating, wild fabrications and paranoia.

Haritos-Fatouros (1988, 1995) studied the training procedures of torturers who were ex-military policemen who had served at the Special Interrogation section of the Greek Military Police (EAT-ESA) during the military dictatorship in Greece from 1967 to 1974. She describes that during the training, recruits were subjected to torture themselves. The initiation procedures involved harsh treatment and primary needs were often not satisfied. They were desensitised to the idea of torture in two ways: They had to endure torture as if it were an everyday normal act and they were desensitised to torture, by gradually introducing them to it using techniques such as modelling. Negative and positive reinforcement was used to maintain the behaviour of the torturers once it had been acquired.

Huggins et al. (2002) conducted a study into the violence workers of Brazil. This included both torturers and executioners. They found that violence workers were “ordinary, normal men who could be shaped by the system into any kind of operative the regime needed” (Huggins et al., 2002, p. 238). In contrast to the Greek torturers (Haritos-Fatouros, 1988, 1995), they received no formal training in torture. They found that violence workers were insulated from broader communities. This shielded them from oversight from legal and religious systems. They contend that masculinity norms such as competition, dominance, power and control contributed to the committing of atrocities. The only result of committing atrocities on the violence workers they consider is that of job burnout. They describe this as a “syndrome of emotional exhaustion, cynicism, and reduced efficacy” (Huggins et al., 2002, p.260). The paucity of information of the effects of committing atrocities on the perpetrator is probably due to their participants’ extreme unwillingness to acknowledge that they had personally been involved in committing atrocities.

Most of the research into torture and committing of atrocities has focussed on why and how people engage in these activities. Virtually nothing has focussed on the effects of torture, killing and the committing atrocities on the perpetrator. MacNair (2002b) and Grossman (1995) have started to address the problem with regard to killing. However, the effects of torture on the torturer are largely unknown. Persuading perpetrators to tell their stories appears to be a part of the problem. This will be addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

“Written texts are created within, and against, particular traditions and audiences, and these contexts can be brought to bear by readers. The point is that all texts stand on moving ground; there is no master narrative” (Riessman, 2002, p. 227).

Research design involves a focus on the research question and the strategies which will be employed in answering the question. A flexible set of guidelines are described which connect theoretical paradigms to strategies of inquiry and to methods for collecting empirical material. It also addresses how the researcher will deal with the issues of representation and legitimation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003a).

Research Question

As discussed in Chapter 2, the townships of South Africa in the 1980s and the early 1990s were engulfed by extreme political violence. Torture and other atrocities were endemic among police during this period. I am interested in how perpetrators of torture during this period now describe their involvement in atrocities, the impact it had on them, and how they now attempt to re-establish meaning and identity. Although my focus is on torture, perpetrators do not necessarily restrict their perpetration to torture and I will also briefly explore their involvement in other atrocities.

I will discuss the research design of this study, starting with the inquiry paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) which underlies this study. The inquiry paradigm logically determines the approach to ontology, epistemology and to methodological assumptions of the research (Gergen & Gergen, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I will follow that with a section in which I will discuss the research methods employed in this study.

Inquiry Paradigm

Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 107) define a paradigm as

a set of *basic beliefs* [italics in original] (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a *worldview* [italics in original] that defines, for its holder the nature of the “world,” the individual’s place in it, and the range of possible relationships to the world and its parts.

Psychology has often used positivism, the research paradigm of the natural sciences. However there has been growing awareness that a natural science paradigm does not lend itself to investigating human experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2003b; Giorgi, 1970; Reason & Rowan, 1981). Criticism against positivism include: the loss of other variables which exist in the context, and which may influence findings; the meaning and purpose which people attach to their activities are excluded; grand theories are used within local contexts where the theory may have little or no meaning; general data can often not be applied to individual cases; the possibility of discovery is excluded in favour of confirming a priori hypotheses; the independence of theory and facts is assumed and this ignores the possibility that facts (observations) are only facts within a theoretical framework; values and facts are assumed to be independent which is generally not true; induction cannot prove theory as the same facts could support different theories; the researcher is seen as objective and as not influencing the research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Within the research on posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) many of these criticisms apply. The study of Dunn et al. (2004) is an example of the kind of problems this type of research engenders. In trying to tease apart similar symptoms into indicating PTSD or a personality disorder in combat veterans (mainly Vietnam), they decided that if someone had difficulty being “open” in intimate relationships because of a mistrust of others or emotional numbing it related to PTSD. It indicated avoidant personality disorder if due to a fear of being shamed or ridiculed. Because of the design of their study, reasons for shame (a common problem in trauma, and surely a possible problem for Vietnam veterans) could not be

investigated. This leads to bizarre, forced classifications, which have little meaning.

Qualitative research is now touted as an antidote to many of the problems encountered in positivist research, which was often quantitative. However, qualitative research does not refer to a set of basic beliefs and has a long history in different disciplines. Initially qualitative research was used to attempt to do good positivist research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Denzin and Lincoln (2003b, p. 3) place qualitative research within different historical fields: the traditional (1900-1950); the modernist (1950-1970); blurred genres (1970-1986); the crisis of representation (1986-1990); postexperimental inquiry (1995-2000); and the future (2000-). As can be seen, the philosophical underpinnings of qualitative research have developed and changed over the years. Lincoln and Denzin (2003) describe the seventh or future moment as requiring that the social sciences and the humanities become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalisation, freedom and community. Qualitative research is now generally associated with a paradigm which implies interaction and negotiation with the people who participate in research. Attempts are made to give rich descriptions of research participants' points of view. Qualitative researchers are now committed to an "emic, idiographic, case-based position" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 6). In this paradigm, the researcher is not objective, authoritarian or politically neutral. He or she is also placed within a particular history and culture. Meaning is always open, politically influenced and influencing; the researcher and researched collaborate and are involved in an ongoing moral dialogue (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003).

Denzin and Lincoln (2003c) identify four major interpretive paradigms which structure qualitative research – positive and postpositive; constructivist-interpretive, critical; and feminist-poststructural. In this study I subscribe to a constructivist paradigm. Since a constructivist position does not prescribe any particular method (Schwandt, 1994), I decided to refer to narrative

analysis as a useful approach. It shares a very similar underlying philosophy, which makes it relatively easy to combine with constructivism. In the next two sections I will briefly discuss the underlying belief systems of constructivism/social constructionism and narrative analysis.

Constructivism and Social Constructionism

The constructivist paradigm assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (researcher and respondent co-create understandings) and a naturalist (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures. Terms such as “credibility”, “transferability”, “dependability” and “confirmability” replace the positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003a; Schwandt, 1994, 2003; Smith & Deemer, 2003).

As discussed in the previous chapter, relativism does not mean that no position is taken (Edwards et al., 1995). Not being able to refer to an external reality does not mean that we cannot attempt to justify our positions. If we take the stance of constructing and making, the hope is, however, that we are open to various arguments and interpretations.

Social constructionism differs from some of the other constructivist approaches in that the focus is not on the meaning-making activity of the individual mind, but on the collective generation of meaning through language. Accounts of the world are therefore not seen as reflective of the individual’s internal processes, but as expressions of relationships among people. In terms of epistemology, the researcher and participants are linked in interaction, and the "findings" are created as the investigation proceeds (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). Reality is expressed in symbols and language (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Schwandt, 1994, 2003).

Constructivists try to understand the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live and create it (Greene, 2003; Schwandt, 1994). Schwandt (1994, p. 118) puts it: “particular actors, in particular

places, at particular times, fashion meaning out of events and phenomena through prolonged, complex processes of social interactions involving history, language and actions.” This implies that for the constructivist the objective is not to establish general laws about human behaviour (nomothetic research), but to focus on the particular and the individual (idiographic research) (Smith, Harré & Van Langenhove, 1995).

The research context is just one more area in which meaning is being constructed. Schwandt (1994, p. 118) explains that the inquirer has to: “elucidate the process of meaning construction . . . to construct a reading of these meanings; it is to offer the inquirer’s construction of the constructions of the actors one studies.” Greene (2003, p. 598) states with regard to constructivist inquiry that it “is unapologetically subjectivist – the inquirer’s worldview becomes part of the construction and representation of meanings in any particular context. Inquirer bias, experience, expertise, and insight are all part of the meanings, constructed and inscribed.”

Constructivist work honours the value dimensions of lived experience and human meaning, but does not prescribe a particular set of values. The values of a constructivist inquiry are those of the constructors of meaning in that inquiry; the members of the setting studied, the inquirer and the larger society (Greene, 2003). Parker (2005) notes that qualitative researchers, in reaction to quantitative researchers’ tendency to tell people how they and behave and think, may tend to reduce the research relationship to empathy and respect. Instead he challenges qualitative researchers to take in a polemical position that is willing to open itself to disagreement. This touches on the morality of studying the beliefs of other people and affording them the space for their views. Parker also states that it would be wrong to allow some people to take over the research agenda. He believes that at times participants need to be challenged; a political assessment calls for positions of power to be revealed. I discussed the morality of being open to the stories of perpetrators in the previous chapter, and although Parker has a

point, the difficulty in his position is that the possibility of alternative explanations is shut down.

Narrative Analysis

Narrative psychology shares various concepts with social constructionism and can be used for its methodology. One of the dangers in social constructionism is the loss of the person (Burr, 2003). Narrative analysis ensures that the participants' experiences are the focus, with less chance of them being "lost". Narratives can be analysed for the meaning and identity people have constructed through their narratives (Riessman, 2002).

Narrative psychology is concerned with the structure, content and function of the stories we tell. Human thoughts and language are not broken down into the smallest possible entities, but are rather seen as stories (Bruner, 1990, 2004; Combs & Freedman, 2004; Crossley, 2000; Murray, 2003a, 2003b; Polkinghorne, 2004; Romanoff, 2001; Sarbin, 1986). As described in the previous section, trauma destroys language and shatters narrative (Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Scarry, 1985; Van der Kolk & Fessler, 1995). The construction of narrative after traumatisation is critical (Phelps, 2004), but also raises difficult methodological problems, as the narratives are often still fragmented.

Ochberg (1996) emphasises that the stories people tell about themselves are not only descriptions, but efforts at persuasion. Memory of what has happened, as well as the narrative that is constructed are social processes (Fontana & Frey, 2003; Riessman, 2002). The participant's story is examined to analyse how it is constructed, what linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener of authenticity. It is more than the content that becomes important; the question is why the person tells the story in that particular way. Wortham (2001a, 2001b) draws on the work of Bakhtin (1981a, 1986a, 1986b) and notes that speech carries information about the interactional positions of speaker and audience. Wortham argues that people position themselves interactionally while relating their stories, and this helps explain how people construct

themselves. This is a useful position which I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

Design and Method

Parker (2005) notes that the separation of methodology into distinct approaches is convenient, but research should not be defined by its methodology. Denzin and Lincoln (2003b, p. 5) use the metaphor of a *bricoleur*. A bricoleur is a “jack of all trades”, a “professional do-it-yourself person”. Other metaphors are a quilt maker, or someone who assembles images into montages, as does a filmmaker. They expand the metaphor and describe the interpretive bricoleur as producing a “*bricolage* – that is, a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation” (p. 5). The resultant bricolage is a construction the researcher has compiled. They add that the qualitative researcher as bricoleur uses the available strategies, methods, or empirical materials. If new tools or techniques have to be invented or pieced together, the researcher will do this. The choices about which interpretive practices to employ are not necessarily set in advance. Denzin and Lincoln (2003b) also use the concept of *pentimento*, which refers to the situation when something has been painted out of a picture (was repented of by the painter) and becomes visible again, creating something new. Readers are invited to explore competing visions of the context, to become immersed in and comprehend new realities.

Denzin and Lincoln (2003b) also comment that the researcher as bricoleur knows that science is power and all research findings have political implications. Science is not value-free. The researcher as bricoleur tells stories from a gendered position about worlds that he or she has studied. The metaphors of bricoleur and pentimento proved to be useful in the original design and changes which I had to implement. As I will explain in the following sections, this is a difficult population to work with, and flexibility in collecting and interpreting data was critically important. Other authors (Eisenhardt, 1989/2002; Janesick, 2003) also comment that it is legitimate to

alter and even add to data collection methods in a study in order to get as much depth as is possible. Eisenhardt (1989/2002, p.16) describes this flexibility as “controlled opportunism”.

Case Study and Selection of Participants

In this section I discuss the nature of case study, as well as how participants were selected. I also briefly introduce the participants. Narrative analysis implies case study. For this study a multiple case study design was selected. Case study does not refer to methodology, but whom or what will be studied (Stake, 1994). In terms of case selection, it is important to choose cases from which one hopes to learn the most. This may mean choosing cases which appear to diverge from the norm (Eisenhardt, 1989/2002; Stake, 1994). I identified three men who have very different histories, and who indicated their interest in participating in research.

The criteria I used in deciding which clients to invite to participate were:

- o He had served in the SAP/S during the 1980s and/or 1990s.
- o He had worked in the black townships during the political unrest.
- o He had been or was still involved in perpetration.
- o He was prepared to talk about his perpetration.
- o I felt that I and he had a good enough therapeutic relationship to provide the safety needed in discussing the issues I wanted to raise.
- o He had PTSD, at least partially related to his work in the townships as this would indicate some difficulty with integrating those experiences.

After I had known a number of men for some time and had good therapeutic relationships with them, in which they had confronted very difficult traumatic incidents and had indicated that they had been involved in perpetration, I approached them and explained that I was doing research in adjustment after working in the townships and especially in people who had been involved in perpetration. I explained that I was interested in how people experienced torture and killing. I made it clear to them that they were under

no obligation to participate and asked them to take their time and think about whether they would be willing to tell me their stories. They were reassured that anonymity would be maintained and that I would show them my writings about them. All immediately said they were interested, but I asked them to consider the implications seriously over the weeks that followed and I would then discuss it with them again. I ensured that they were aware that talking about perpetration could be upsetting. Two men, who initially agreed to participate, later indicated that they would rather not. The three whose stories are told agreed to participate. I informed them that they would not be charged for sessions which were research related, and I reimbursed them for basic travel expenses, when a session was set aside for research. They were all requested to sign an informed consent form (Appendix B) which explained the above.

Parker (2005) makes the point that there is no such thing as confidential research. The aim of the work is always to discover something new and to show it to others. Informed consent forms are routinely obtained in research, but as pointed out by Price (1996) lead to a loss of anonymity. It is the one place, where their names are on record as having participated in research – all other references are disguised by using pseudonyms, different place names, and so on. I have chosen to keep the consent forms in a different location, separate from any research materials. Although I do not think this is genuinely an adequate form of protection, I cannot find a better alternative.

Although I will have them introduce themselves in their own words in the following chapter, I will give some information about the three participants at this stage, as it relates directly to their selection, as well as the discussion around the dual relationship that we had. These brief descriptions do not touch on their unique circumstances and experiences; they will tell those stories in their own words. I will refer to them by the pseudonyms Adriaan, Charl and Dawid.

Adriaan

Adriaan is a white, Afrikaans man who was referred by his psychiatrist in 2003 for individual psychotherapy when he was hospitalised. At that stage he was 39 years old. He initially presented with the 17 symptoms for PTSD as well as the nine symptoms of a severe recurrent major depressive disorder as given by the *DSM-IV*. He also had daily panic attacks, and had seriously abused alcohol for many years. He was sober at this stage and had been for a number of years. The psychotherapeutic involvement had initially been sporadic due to difficulties in getting an injury on duty registered. It was eventually accepted by the Compensation Commissioner (the organisation which compensates for work-related injuries) nine years after he had bought discharge. He had numerous hospitalisations in the first year that I saw him. After I had seen him for two years I approached him regarding participation in this research.

He had been in the SAP for thirteen years and much of the time had served in townships in KwaZulu-Natal. He worked in a Riot Unit and eventually joined the Reaction Unit. He left the SAP in 1994. He was unemployed when I met him, but by the time I recorded the interviews he had been working for a number of months. He is married; he has a son from a previous marriage; his wife has three children from a previous marriage. He has physically abused her on occasion and she has experienced the worst of his adjustment difficulties. He has threatened with a family murder.

Charl

Charl is a white, Afrikaans male who was referred by his psychiatrist for individual psychotherapy. He was 40 years old when I first met him in 2005. After I had known him a few months, I approached him to participate in this research. He had also been diagnosed with the 17 symptoms of severe PTSD and nine symptoms of a severe, recurrent major depressive disorder as described by the *DSM-IV*. He was severely abusing alcohol, but stopped within a few months of commencing psychotherapy. After I had seen him for a few months he had to be hospitalised; the SAPS had threatened to stop

his salary if he did not return to work. This was despite being on sick leave. He is currently in the process of obtaining a medical discharge, although an injury on duty has not yet been approved. He worked in the Riot Units for many years, mainly in Gauteng townships, and during the violence post-1990 in KwaZulu-Natal. His wife has died and he is raising his two sons. He admits that he has abused them physically and emotionally. At the period of the interviews he was not in a romantic relationship.

Dawid

He is also a white, Afrikaans male, who was referred by his psychiatrist while hospitalised following a suicide attempt in mid-2007. He had three emergency hospitalisations in 2007. He is younger than the other two participants. He was 35 years old at the time of the interviews. He also has 17 symptoms of severe PTSD and nine symptoms of a severe, recurrent major depressive disorder as described in the *DSM-IV*. During the initial interviews he was still drinking. A few months after we commenced psychotherapy he stopped drinking. He joined the SAP in 1992, and was deployed mainly in the townships in the North-West province. His injury on duty has been approved. During most of the interviews he was on extended sick leave. He is married with three children. He has threatened to kill his family on numerous occasions, turning his firearm on them and himself. He again attempted suicide after we started psychotherapy.

The participants are all on psychotropic medication. I do not give details, as it has been changed on numerous occasions (for all three participants) in an attempt to gain some emotional stability. Approval of an injury on duty is important in terms of available medication, as they often cannot afford appropriate medication unless it is paid for by the Compensation Commissioner. In summary, they have all used anti-depressants, anti-convulsants, anxiolytics, sleeping tablets and occasionally anti-psychotics at various stages and in various combinations. Adriaan received electroconvulsant treatment in 2003 and Dawid in 2007.

Dual Relationships

A serious problem that I mentioned in the previous chapter is the difficulties encountered in persuading perpetrators to tell their stories (Baumeister, 1997; Crelinsten & Schmid, 1995; Foster et al., 2005; Haritos-Fatouros, 1995; Huggins et al., 2002). I chose to approach men with whom I already had a therapeutic relationship. This is an unusual approach to take, as it meant that I had dual relationships with them. Some authors indicate that a more involved position is on occasion indicated in research. Yardley (2000, p. 224), in referring to health and action research, puts it: "Indeed, the link between qualitative methods and clinical practice may become so close that the two can be combined." The implications of a dual relationship are mainly the following two:

- o The relationship I had/have with them as a therapist would influence the story-gathering.
- o They and I sometimes (unavoidably) reverted to a therapist/client relationship.

In retrospect, I believe that the therapeutic relationship made the inquiry relationship possible. I doubt that it would be possible to safely obtain the accounts the participants gave without the underpinnings of a solid therapeutic relationship. Bar-On (1996) in describing the effect of interviewing the children of Nazi perpetrators notes how difficult it was. On occasion he also found the boundaries blurring. He was not therapeutically involved, but says (p. 9):

when we take a closer look at interviewing as a method to gather qualitative information . . . especially within biographical research, it seems less like a formal research set of a priori rules and more like an intervention without the clear boundaries or a contract that a clinical intervention contains as a given.

Numerous investigators (e.g. Ellis & Bochner, 2003; Josselson, 1996; Lieblich, 1996; Miller, 1996) have noted that narrative interviewing and analysis, often appears to cross the boundary into a therapeutic relationship.

Miller (1996) takes it a step further and suggests training in psychotherapy may be useful when undertaking narrative research. Maione (1997) suggests that therapists should engage in qualitative research into their own and others' therapeutic work.

Although the subject of this thesis is not psychotherapeutic techniques, I am including this brief summary of the therapeutic models I followed with them, as it is necessary to indicate something of the nature of the relationship that I had with the participants before and after inviting them to tell their stories.

They and their families have endured numerous crises before they eventually decide to present for treatment. I initially present myself as an expert and in control of the process. At this stage, there often does not appear to be an alternative. They generally fear themselves, know they are dangerous and know they are capable of killing their families, themselves and/or suspects. They are desperately looking for someone who has control, and due to the life-threatening dangers for themselves and their families, it is essential that I be seen as understanding their symptoms and not intimidated by them. As we get to know each other better and their emotional stability improves, the interaction tends to become more collaborative. I always explain the rationale for what I am doing therapeutically.

In general, in dealing with trauma, most models follow a broad schema (expressed in different ways) that essentially includes developing a therapeutic relationship, containment and stabilisation of symptoms; recognition and identification of emotions; recognition of physiological sensations; confronting the trauma (desensitisation and developing perspectives); integration of the trauma and postresolution coping skills (Ford, Courtois, Steele, Van der Hart & Nijenhuis, 2005; Herman, 2001; Philips & Frederick, 1995; Rothschild, 2000; Van der Kolk, 2006).

I initially give a fair amount of information on PTSD, from the perspective of a medical model. They have seen a psychiatrist, and know that they are sick and need medication (and often hospitalisation) in order to be able to cope at all. In one of the initial sessions I explain that some things cannot be “fixed” and that there is a good chance that no matter how hard they and I work, that they will always be at risk for certain symptoms (Parson, 1998; Van der Hart, Nijenhuis & Steele, 2005.). I give information on the treatment of PTSD, the rationales for re-exposure and what the work they and I will do will entail. If it becomes clear that they have been involved in perpetration I explain that the effects on them are poorly understood, and that much of what I do is experimental. I always meet with partners, occasionally with parents, in order to explain PTSD and its treatment.

In dealing with traumatic incidents I generally follow the model suggested by Shapiro (1995) for the use of Eye Movement Desensitisation and Reprocessing (EMDR) and on occasion Prolonged Exposure (PE) (Foa & Rothbaum, 1998). Both are getting good research results (e.g. Chemtob, Tolin, Van der Kolk & Pitman, 2000; Rothbaum, Astin & Marsteller, 1995; Rothbaum, Meadows, Resick & Foy, 2000; Stapleton, Taylor & Asmundson, 2006; Van der Kolk et al., 2007). Important to note is that both are quite prescriptive models, where the therapist provides a strong lead in the therapy process. EMDR involves a lot of interaction, with the client giving regular feedback on their experiences. In EMDR the client (and the therapist!) often does not know what he will experience next, which can be very frightening for both client and therapist. In PE the repetitive visualisation of the trauma can be extremely demanding. I occasionally combine elements of both models. Sessions in which we focus on trauma are often followed by one or more sessions in which we discuss their experiences before, during and after the EMDR or PE sessions. They are encouraged to discover and inform me of their tolerance for confronting trauma they have experienced in psychotherapy. I return to re-establishing emotional stabilisation (Philips & Frederick, 1995) if they lose too much control. As a result of the complex nature of their symptoms there are often

crises which interrupt the process of dealing with the trauma. As they very often have partners who have been traumatised by them with the resultant relationship difficulties, I often refer the partners to other therapists. I am often involved in the therapeutic confrontation of relationship issues. I do not work at all with children, and refer their children to colleagues.

The therapeutic relationship I have with the participants has obviously influenced the way we relate to each other (Fontana & Frey, 2003). This will become clear in the analysis and interpretation of the narratives, but some possible implications can be mentioned now as they had to be kept in mind throughout the information gathering. There are obvious power implications: not only am I their therapist (and they know by the time I meet them that they are sick), but I am also a civilian who does not know their world. I am also female and assumed not to know their world (Lomsky-Feder, 1996). They often tell me about activities that they have been involved in which makes them criminals. This is risky and has implications regarding how I will view them. They are allowing me into a secret world, which they do not speak about, except when telling war stories with colleagues under the influence of alcohol. They also have difficulty in verbal expression (Van der Kolk, 2006), as discussed in the previous section. This puts them at a disadvantage in a largely verbal encounter. Due to their PTSD, depression, alcoholism and impaired relationships they are all at risk for a loss of emotional stability. They have all abused their partners and children. Some of them are at risk for suicide and/or family murders. The possibility of resuming alcohol abuse is always present. They experience extreme shame (regarding their illnesses, their actions towards their families, their general behaviour and their perpetration), which again places them at a disadvantage in the relationship with me. Poor management of the information gathering (or for that matter the therapeutic relationship) could result in drinking, suicide or violent behaviour. They retain some power, in that they choose what they want to tell me. I do not in any way think that they have told me all they can (Grossman, 2004; Parker, 2005); there are numerous stories which they will never mention, or may choose not to tell me. I am at a disadvantage, as I

often do not know what the next story will be, when they will decide to tell it, and what my reaction will be to it and to the narrator. The participants knew that I knew very little about perpetration and that I was curious about it. I had also told them that little was available in the professional literature. This went some way in informing them that they were the experts in this area and that I was open to learn from them. My impression from the interviews and the information that they gave, is that this was successful and that they perceived themselves correctly as the experts. The readers will hopefully be able to form their own impressions on whether or not this was the case.

Ethics

Apter (1996, p. 22) in discussing narrative research states: "Psychology is an intrusive and frequently cruel discipline." Narrative research can violate privacy and harm participants emotionally, partially because of the large amounts of text quoted (Bakan, 1996; Chase, 1996; Josselson, 1996). The generally accepted ethical position is "that the risk of harm to someone who participates in a psychological study should normally never be greater than the risks which that person would encounter during the course of their normal lifestyle" (Barrett, 2006, p. 39).

Areas in which I had to consider my ethical position were:

- o What would the impact of the interviews be on participants?
- o What would the impact of the interpretations be on participants?
- o Is there an ethical imperative to research issues such as perpetration?

Impact of Interviews

In considering whether it is ethical to work with men who not only have serious emotional problems, but could be further traumatised by the experience, it is important to understand the impact of research, in particular narrative research on participants. Bar-On (1996, p.9) notes the following questions he asks himself before engaging in research with someone: "Do you really feel like interfering in his or her life? Will you be able to live with

the consequences of this encounter and intervention? Is it justified also from the interviewee's own perspective?" I think Bar-On has accurately noted the research encounter as an intervention in someone's life. The questions asked can be extremely disruptive. He also suggests that narrative interviews be followed up, in order to ensure that the participants have managed to adjust to the intervention of research. In this study, the participants were at risk of harming themselves or their families in their "normal lifestyle" (Barrett, 2006, p. 39). I was aware that any questions could be disruptive; and that if I managed the research intervention badly, they could respond with despair or aggression, raising the risk of alcohol abuse, suicide or family murder. My focus was therefore to ensure that sufficient safeguards were in place, to minimise the risks they faced in the research we conducted.

Some support for research with traumatised people comes from Griffin, Resick, Waldrop and Mechanic (2003) and Romanoff (2001) who found that traumatised people tolerated research well, even finding it a valuable and interesting experience. I had to consider various options in order to make the experience as safe for them as possible. The first option I considered was whether it was safer to allow them to see a separate therapist. I decided against this, as it takes very long to establish trust and it would entail not only exposure to two people, but it would mean that different issues may be confronted with two people which would be too overwhelming for them. The second option was whether it was sensible to first complete psychotherapy before continuing with research. I decided against this as psychotherapy with them takes a long time and in a sense remains ongoing, as new issues arise. Raising topics for research purposes even after they have completed psychotherapy could result in new issues being raised which would require a therapeutic intervention. I eventually decided that the dual relationship was a safeguard, as it led to automatic monitoring after information-gathering. They already had a relationship with me, which increased the possibility that they would tell me if they had concerns that arose out from the research. I made the situation as safe as possible by:

- o ensuring that they had my contact numbers, and would phone me whenever necessary;
- o meeting their family members as far as was feasible. Family members knew that they were welcome to contact me if they were concerned (the participants agreed to the arrangement);
- o keeping regular contact with their psychiatrist – he was informed of the research I was conducting and we contact each other regularly;
- o only asking them to consider the possibility of research once I knew we had confronted difficult issues and had managed to negotiate them successfully. This implied that there was some trust between them and me, and that they had developed some resilience for dealing with difficult problems and the emotions and memories they evoked;
- o being as transparent as I could – about therapeutic techniques, research methodology and my reactions to their stories.
- o often asking about their experiences; sometimes referring to material I would use in research, sometimes during or after a difficult therapeutic session. This ensured as far as possible that I and they knew what their reactions were. This made it possible to deal with problems as they arose. They also knew that their reactions were important and would be taken seriously.

These are very similar safeguards which I implement when working therapeutically with this population.

Construction of Interpretations

Josselson (1996, p. 70) in discussing the ethics in writing of other people's lives concludes that it "is work we must do in anguish". She notes that people are captured in categories in research which suggest how they should think about themselves. Parker (2005, p.13) in a challenge to researchers to do good moral-political research insists that it is necessary to take in a political position. He follows Billig (1977) and notes that some people we study may have views about the world that are "not only different

from ours, but unpleasant and dangerous, and to collude with them or give them a platform would be, at best, unthinking sentimentality". He urges researchers to position themselves in relation to those they are studying and those who may read their research reports. I tend to follow Denzin and Lincoln (2003a) and do not think it is possible to avoid taking in a political stance in the construction of interpretations. The choice appears to be, not so much whether we take a political stance, but whether we allow ourselves to be aware of the stance we have taken and whether we think through the implications of that stance. The stance we take, as well as our involvement in research has an impact not only on the research we do but also on the lives of other people. This leads to not only being aware of the impact of our interventions on others, but means that we have to be aware of implications such as the tendency in Western culture to individualise phenomena that is studied and to explain it in terms of essential concepts (Bar-On, 1996). Bar-On comments regarding research on the Holocaust that researchers at times use concepts which do not lead to greater understanding, but instead protect the researchers from the meaning and consequences of the experiences they were investigating. Reports may also decontextualise the experiences of survivors by describing their experiences as abnormal. The alternative that their behaviour was normal, considering the abnormality of the circumstances in which they were, is not considered. Some of these difficulties can be avoided by not attempting to prove a priori concepts before reading the text. I also decided to request the participants to read my interpretation, in order to give their view on whether it is a satisfactory representation of their views, and in order to be able to deal with any discrepancies they are unhappy about. I, however, take responsibility for my interpretations.

Imperative to Research

Parker (2005, pp. 23) in referring to Badiou (2001) notes that for Badiou evil arises through fake copies of events which close things down and do not allow differences or that which is unique in findings. Evil is also seen in betrayal which entails giving up and turning against what was opened up or

being afraid of doing and reporting difficult research. Absolutisation refers to the enforcement of an overall scheme to force agreement and not allowing that which is different.

It would, from this perspective be unethical not to research perpetration. Much of the research into perpetration is based on victim accounts or deductions which the researcher has made following events (e.g. Goldhagen, 1997; Staub, 1989, 2003). Some has come from laboratory experiments (e.g. Haney, Banks & Zimbardo, 1973; Milgram, 1974). It is essential to not assume what perpetrators experience, but to ask them.

Parker (2005) identifies principles for qualitative research from the work of Badiou (2001). These are useful comments, and can be used to inform the entire research process as they are respectful of people beyond the obvious “do no harm” generally accepted ethical positions in research. The five arguments Parker (2005, pp. 15-16) identifies are:

- o It is important to not start with assumptions about the nature of human beings that are directly or indirectly derived from psychology. People must not be seen as either essentially good or essentially bad. Instead the focus should be on how good and bad emerge and how they are judged.
- o The people we encounter in research must not be treated as if they were the same as us. This is not to pathologise people, but the starting point should be “others are not the same as us, and there is no reason why they should be” (Parker, 2005, p. 15). Psychology should not attempt to pathologise or remove differences between people.
- o Work on the ethical basis that “respect of particularity is the route to transformation” (Parker, 2005, p. 15). This prevents one from falling into the trap of attempting to factor in all the different aspects that are discovered. It is important to recognise that which is unique.
- o Discrepancies in research do not mean that we do not have all the information we should have. “Psychology should not search for ways

to fit things together as if that is the way to truth. Instead it may be that the differences of viewpoint between the different participants (or between the participants and ourselves) are a function of such radically different lived realities and conflicts of political perspective that it would actually be a mistake to try and smooth over those differences using one overall covering account” (Parker, 2005, pp. 15-16).

- o Communities are not homogeneous. This also applies to a particular category of identity that is being studied. Psychological properties are not necessarily distributed between people, or held in common. It is “more helpful to focus on the moments when members of a community or identity category challenge and refuse the attempt by others to make them fit into it. It is at those moments that we are able to see how the category functions to hold together a certain view of the world and, perhaps, to cover over and obscure real structure of exploitation and oppression” (Parker, 2005, p. 16).

Interviewing

In this section, I will discuss the nature of interviewing and then discuss difficulties that were encountered and how they were managed.

Narrative interviews can take on various forms. For the purpose of this study, a combination of the life history interview and the episodic interview (in which the researcher introduces specific topics) was suitable (Murray, 2003a). Life history interviews are largely chronological in nature. The purpose of the interview is explained at the beginning and a narrative account is encouraged. In the episodic interview the area of concern is more focussed. It is hoped that these particular accounts can be positioned within the larger life history that is obtained and the personal and social context within which these narratives occur can be explored (Mishler, 1986).

Various authors (e.g. Montalbano-Phelps, 2004; Murray, 2003b) have confirmed Mishler’s (1986) contention that the interviewer is an integral part of the research and cannot be ignored. Discourse is seen as constructed

jointly by interviewer and respondents and the questions and responses should have the same status in analysis as the replies. Parker (2005) notes that all interviewing in qualitative research is semi-structured as it invariably carries the traces of patterns of power that hold things in place, and reveals an interviewee's creative abilities to refuse and resist what a researcher wants to happen.

Parker (2005) suggests that the first question should be concerned with the particular topic and why it is of interest. I introduced the first session with a statement such as: "As you know, I am interested in your experiences when you were in the townships and the impact you think those experiences had on you. But, maybe we can start a bit earlier and you can start by telling me where you grew up." I wanted some information on their early lives and their family's political attitudes. I also wanted to know about their expectations before going to the townships; the training/preparation given by the SAP before they were sent into the townships; what they understood their role to be in the townships; experiences in the townships that stood out for them; possible changes in themselves and their colleagues and how they coped with these changes; how these changes manifested in them and their colleagues; their families and friends' responses to them and their experiences; how they experienced the unbanning of the ANC and the negotiations at CODESA; their experiences directly after leaving the townships; their views on the TRC and how they felt about the work the TRC did; did they consider testifying at the TRC; why did they decide against testifying; the elections in 1994 and how they have experienced the period since then; how they experienced the development of PTSD; and what work they are doing now as well as the impact they think their experiences had on them. I also wanted them to look back on their experiences and tell me their thoughts on what they were involved in, especially atrocities they observed or perpetrated. I wanted to know how they became involved in torture and what changes they experienced in themselves due to involvement in atrocities. I was interested in their opinion of torture now. Other questions included how they perceive other people see them, and whether they have

been able to share their experiences with any family members or friends. I was, however, willing to allow what they consider dominant stories and did not force my list into the interviews (Becker, 1997). I followed Becker's suggestion that the exact wording and sequence of the interview questions not be determined beforehand, but that they be allowed to emerge as necessary in the interview.

Combs and Freedman (2004, p. 140) give an indication of an appropriate stance in terms of narrative therapy. I used it as a starting point (with a few adjustments) with regard to my stance in conducting the interviews.

Questions I asked myself included:

- o Is he able to tell his story in his words and not feel forced to use mine?
- o Are there dominant stories that are limiting him or creating problems in his life?
- o Am I inviting awareness of those stories without being presumptuous about what I think should be dominant stories?
- o Am I evaluating him, or am I inviting him to evaluate things?
- o Do I acknowledge his expertise?
- o Am I allowing myself to enter his experiential world?
- o Do I ensure that I do not worsen a sense of isolation?
- o Am I situating my opinions in my personal experiences?
- o Am I open to exploring my responses to his stories?
- o Am I transparent about my context, my values and my intentions so that he and readers can evaluate the effect of my biases?
- o How am I embodying professionalism – am I more concerned about how I appear to colleagues or the interpretations I can make than the experience of me and the research to the participants?
- o Am I sensitive to his needs, and the difficulties he may experience in telling his stories?

A number of sessions were necessary. At times I needed many sessions. As discussed in the previous section, they often were interrupted by

therapeutic interventions or crises that the participants experienced in their lives. This would on occasion also lead to a temporal break in the narrative, which could in some instances only be resumed weeks later. The nature of the material made it inevitable. I did not discuss perpetration in detail, prior to the recordings I made. All sessions were audiotaped. All interviews were conducted in Afrikaans. A log of each interview was kept giving not only details of when and where the interview was done, but comments on the interview (Murray, 2003a). I generally also made notes during the interview, including non-verbal behaviour that was important. I made notes of my reactions to the interview as soon as I could following the interview.

McGrath and Johnson (2003) not only criticise the possibility that any researcher could be objective, but in fact conclude that detachment from the context of the inquiry is a disadvantage. Within a social constructionist framework it is also acknowledged that one's own constructions are part of the process of research (Schwandt, 1994; Yeh & Inman, 2007). I will discuss my reactions throughout the analyses which will hopefully assist readers in their evaluation of my interpretations. I remained aware throughout of countertransference reactions (Bar-On, 1996) and have devoted Chapter 8 to a discussion of my experiences. A number of authors (e.g. Combs & Freedman, 2004; Fontana & Frey, 2003) note that it is important for the researcher to be able to see the situation from the respondents' viewpoints. As it will become clear in Chapter 8 I have very different experiences to those of the participants, which implied that I had numerous prejudices to overcome in myself in order to hear their stories. Some of the suggestions given above by Combs and Freeman (2004) were extremely difficult to implement. The most difficult was without doubt attempting to enter the world of perpetration. I will discuss how I structured my self-reflection later in this chapter.

Stake (1994) suggests that where researchers cannot see something for themselves, it is important to interview people who did. On occasion I asked some of their family members, generally spouses, whether they would object

to giving their impressions on the participants' adjustment. They were generally happy to do this. The participants would often suggest that I ask their partners or parents for more information on their adjustment.

Transcriptions

I have done the transcriptions of the audio recordings myself. This automatically led to immersion in the material and familiarity with it. I often found that I would have more intense emotional reactions to the material while doing the transcriptions than during the sessions. I made notes of my reactions which I used at times in interpretations.

Full transcriptions are not incorporated in the dissertation, but are available for auditing if necessary. I have not used place names. It is unlikely that someone would be identified through the use of a place name, but due to the sensitivity of the material I decided to avoid anything that is identifying. The transcriptions are in Afrikaans, using the transcriptions conventions in Appendix C. As the focus is on the story, I have restricted what I show in the transcriptions. When I quote the Afrikaans I give the full transcription. In the English translation that follows, I place the emphasis on readability. During the interviews, I made notes of verbal statements and non-verbal events. I refer to these notes in the transcriptions for in particular non-verbal communication, such as distance, crying, particular body movements, and so on. Occasionally I refer in the analysis (indicated at the time) to case notes, where I for some reason did not record a session. This would generally be if the session was not designated for research, but the participant said something that I judged to be of value in the research. As the above discussion indicates, transcription of a story is already an interpretive event (Riessman, 2002).

Analysis and Interpretation

I will start by discussing analysis and interpretation in general and then focus on the specifics of this study.

As discussed earlier, all analysis and interpretation are political by nature (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003a; Parker, 2005). Numerous writers note that the researcher brings her personal meanings of events and relationships into her analyses (e.g. Denzin & Lincoln, 2003c; Fontana & Fry, 2003; Price, 1996; Riessman, 2002; Stake, 2004). The researcher constructs a metanarrative about what happened by telling what the narratives signify; editing and shaping and turning it into a hybrid story. Every text is open to different constructions, both by the researcher and by the readers (Riessman, 2002; Stake, 2004). Denzin (2002, p. 362) notes eight interpretive criteria:

- o An interpretation must illuminate what is being studied.
- o Interpretations are built up out of detailed description of events and experiences.
- o Interpretations must unfold over time and record the significant social relationships between subjects.
- o An interpretive account must indicate process and interaction.
- o The interpretation must include all that is known to be relevant about that which is studied.
- o Prior understandings from the research literature and about the subjects and their experiences must be included.
- o The interpretation produces an understanding of the experience which forms a coherent, meaningful whole.
- o Interpretations remain unfinished, provisional and incomplete. This does not mean that the interpretation is inconclusive, as conclusions are drawn. However, interpretations start anew when the researcher returns to the phenomenon.

In narrative analysis, the focus can be on the structure of the stories, the content of the stories or the function of the stories (Eisenhardt, 1989/2002; Gergen & Gergen, 1986; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1989; Mishler, 1986; Murray, 2000; Murray, 2003b; Riessman, 2002; Silverman, 2003). These aspects are often combined in an analysis.

In this study I needed a method which would make it possible to:

- o understand and interpret the narrative which the participants present of themselves;
- o demonstrate the process of establishing identity;
- o identify themes and understandings around perpetration;
- o make it possible for me to reflect on my involvement in the research.

Wortham (2001a, 2001b) takes the position that when people tell their stories they act out elements of their autobiographical narrative. He believes that “narrative speech can simultaneously represent the self and position the narrator interactionally” (Wortham, 2001b, p. xii). His work is largely based on Bakhtin’s (1981a, 1986a, 1986b) approach to literary analysis. It also makes it possible to investigate how the participants and I position ourselves during the telling of the stories, as it invokes the concept of dialogism. In order to get more depth in the analysis of the themes which I am interested in, I used the method of thematic analyses as developed by Attride-Stirling (2001). I am going to discuss the process of analysis I followed, referring to the specifics with regard to the work of Wortham (2001a, 2001b) and Attride-Stirling (2001).

Dialogic Analysis

Wortham (2001a, 2001b) suggests that the story be divided into episodes. These episodes also include the important characters. This provides an overview of the narrative. He also suggests that a table be drawn up which indicates the types of narrated selves the narrator presents in the different episodes.

As discussed in the previous chapter Bakhtin (1981a, p. 293) takes the position that:

There are no “neutral” words and forms – words and forms that can belong to “no one”; language has been completely taken over, shot

through with intentions and accents. For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete heteroglot conception of the world. All words have the “taste” of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions.

An author is not neutral in representing a character’s language (Bakhtin, 1981b). Although Bakhtin is referring to novelists, it is obviously also true of the narrator of a life story. Therefore, as the participants tell their stories, they take in positions with regard to the characters they include in their stories. The nature of the stories they tell often means that they also take in positions with regard to themselves in the stories.

Wortham (2001b, p. 19), working from the basis of Bakhtin’s theories suggests that in narrative analysis that we depict the story that is told (the narrated event) and the interactional context or interview in which the story is told (the storytelling event). I represent the events in the analysis as given in Figure 4.1.

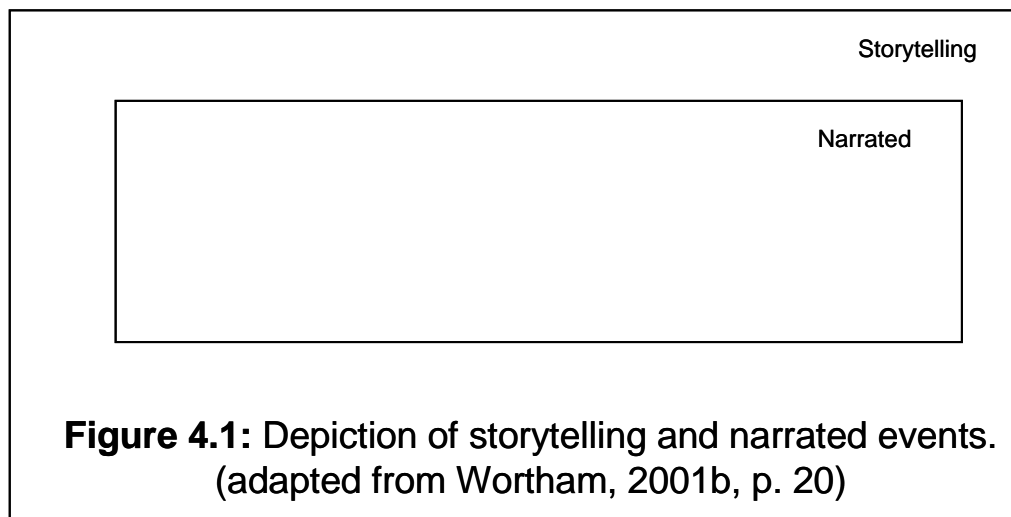
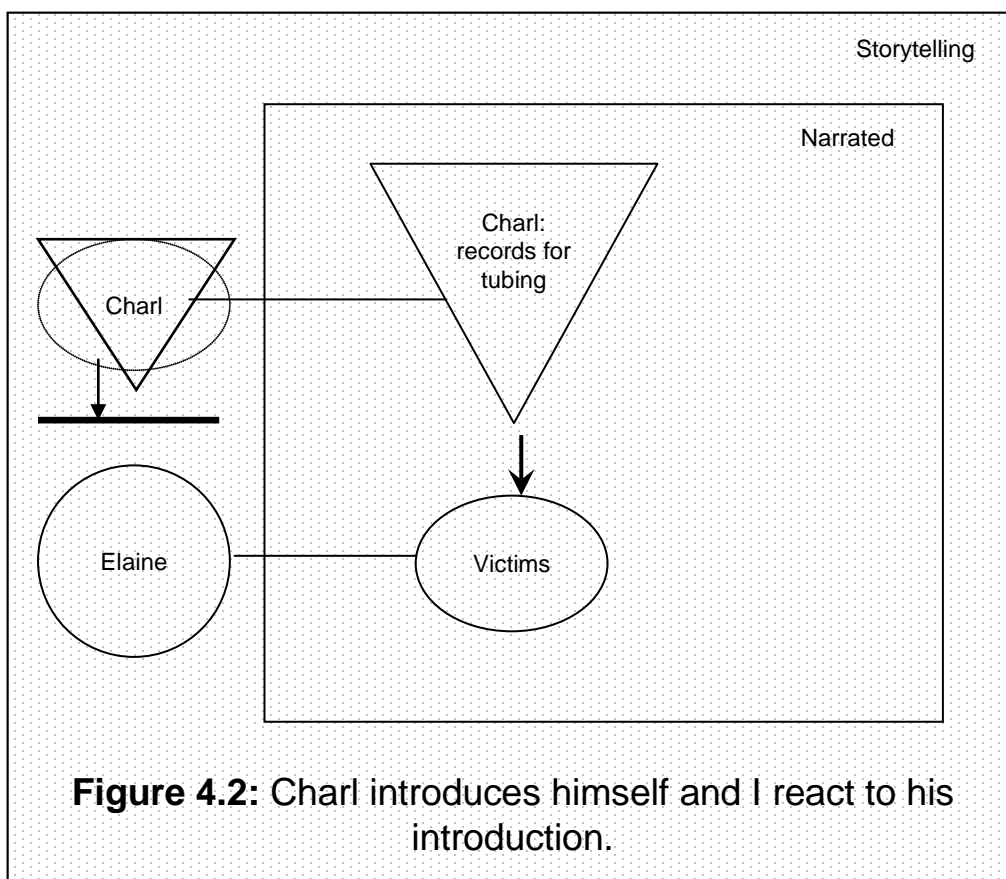


Figure 4.1: Depiction of storytelling and narrated events.
(adapted from Wortham, 2001b, p. 20)

In this way, events can be depicted both inside the narrated event and in the process of storytelling. This makes it possible to indicate my interaction with the participant, and parallels that may take place between us and the event

which is being narrated. Wortham (2001b) suggests ways, and I have added others, of indicating interactions and position changes. I have included a list of the symbols I have used in the beginning of each of Chapters 5, 6 and 7, as they differ for each chapter. To clarify the method in which the dialogic analyses will be done, I use as an example my response to Charl at the first session when I saw him. He had come in and had said that he wanted to be medically pensioned (he referred to being “boarded”, a colloquial expression for pensioning). He immediately continued with a statement that he had the record for tubing (a form of torture where a tyre tube, a wet sack or a plastic bag is placed over someone’s head, smothering him.) My immediate, recalled, internal response was: “You are a fucking psychopath and I want you out of here.” This fairly complex example can be depicted as follows in Figure 4.2:



Charl, in the storytelling event, has positioned himself in two ways: an ill man, a victim who needs to be medically pensioned and as a perpetrator

who has records of torture. I depict his victim status in the storytelling event with a light oval. He is attempting to reach me from within that position. I do not relate to him at all as an ill man. I am only aware of his status as a perpetrator. This is depicted as a bold triangle. The thick line between us represents my rejection of him. Although he does not mention them by name, he has brought victims of torture into the room in his statement of perpetration. He is linked with a line to the victims, indicating his harming of them in the narrated event. I am aware of my empathy with his victims, indicated with a line linking me to them. Wortham (2001b) also refers to parts of the social world, which may not be present in the room, but are familiar to everyone in the storytelling event. In Figure 4.2 our shared knowledge of torture could be indicated by the shading of the background in both the storytelling and narrated events. We share the knowledge that torture had happened routinely in the SAP during apartheid, we both know it is criminal, that it is generally not spoken of and that he is taking a risk mentioning what he had done without knowing me.

I use diagrams such as Figure 4.2, when they will clarify the interaction that is taking place, as well as when the narrator describes epiphanies (Ellis & Bochner, 2003) or major shifts in the narrative

Not only do the speaker's words refer to previous utterances, but they anticipate future speakers' utterances (Bakhtin, 1981a, 1981b). This can continue indefinitely and does not explain how utterances have clear meanings in practice.

Wortham (2001b, p. 37) in reference to this problem asks:

- o How do the linguistic and non-linguistic cues that compose an utterance make certain aspects of the context salient?
- o How does a set of cues and salient contextual features establish the particular interactional positioning being accomplished by this utterance?

He refers to the work done on early speech act theory which suggested that people use rules to connect particular linguistic cues to types of interactional effects. He suggests that the problem is more complicated than the mere application of rules and proposes the use of the concept of mediation. In order to decide on the salience of context people use “contextualization cues” (Wortham, 2001b, p. 36). Hearers attend to cues in speech, they then select aspects of the context as relevant and apply rules to determine what positioning is taking place. Verbal cues such as indexical cues are commonly used to indicate which parts of an utterance are important. The use of indexicals is part of the mediated step between the utterance and the context which is construed.

In further consideration of how utterances have clear meanings in practice, Wortham (2001b) also suggests using emergence, a concept taken from the fields of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. The concept of emergence captures how subsequent utterances can transform the implications of prior ones. Other participants’ utterances can change the interactional positioning accomplished by an earlier utterance. “An emergent approach studies how the contextual structures relevant to interpreting a narrative emerge over a conversation, often solidifying after the narrative itself has ended” (Wortham, 2001b, p. 62).

Wortham (2001b, p. 38) refers to the Bakhtian concepts of voicing, double voicing and ventriloquation which support a mediated and emergent narrative: “Speaking with a certain voice, then, means using words that index some social position(s) because these words are characteristically used by members of a certain group”. Bakhtin (Holquist, 1981, p. 428) sometimes uses the term “heteroglossia” for the same concept. Narrators put words in a character’s mouth which give them the opportunity to index a certain voice for that character – the voice of those in the social world who speak in the way the narrator makes the character speak. One of the indexes for this is quotations. However, it is not a simple use of rules that

will always identify voices. Characters' voices are articulated through dialogue with other voices represented in the story. When a pattern of indexical cues and relevant context clarifies, participants can analyse and react to the types of voices speaking. Narrators articulate their own voices and place themselves socially by juxtaposing themselves against the voices they have established in their narratives. By this placing of themselves, people are defining themselves.

Bakhtin considers authoring to be the process of juxtaposing others' voices in order to adopt a social position of one's own (Bakhtin, 1981a). By doing this, narrators describe a set of events, and by doing that establish a dialogue between the characters. They themselves adopt a position with respect to those characters. To return to the example in which Charl introduced himself, he was using the language of sport; the establishing of records. He, in the language he used, made the torture of others a game, in which competitions could take place between torturers.

As they describe characters who speak with recognizable voices from the social world, narrators speak through these voices and establish their own positions. In the same narrative descriptions, both the narrator's and the characters' voices can get established. Bakhtin refers to this juxtaposition of relevant voices with the concept of double voicing (Wortham, 2001b; p. 63).

Wortham (p. 64) explains further:

double-voiced discourse has a twofold direction – it is directed both toward the referential object of speech, as in ordinary discourse, and toward another's discourse, toward someone else's speech. In double-voiced discourse the speaker's meaning emerges in part through an interaction with the voice of another, with both voices often speaking through one character's words. In double-voiced discourse, 'a conflict takes place,' as the speaker layers his own intonations over the still live words of another.

Bakhtin (1981a) uses the concept of ventriloquation to describe the process of positioning oneself by juxtaposing and speaking through others' voices. By speaking through or ventriloquating others' voices, narrators can

establish positions for themselves. Wortham (2001b, p. 70-75) gives five types of cues which narrators use to index voices and to position themselves with respect to those voices.

- o **Reference and prediction.** Reference involves identifying things in the world through speech. Prediction characterises the objects identified. Characters are often referred to and predicted of in such a way that they fit identifiable social types. Narrators use the linguistic machinery that accomplishes reference and prediction to position themselves with regard to those characters. Characters can be referred to by proper names, titles, and so on. Adjectives and other predicates can voice and evaluate characters. The narrator places the character in recognisable social groups and takes an evaluative stance with respect to them. The narrator voices and ventriloquates them.
- o **Metapragmatic descriptions.** These include the verbs of saying, which describe instances of language use. Such verbs are metapragmatic because they refer to and predicate about language in use. Characterising someone's speech using metapragmatic verbs is a powerful means of voicing and ventriloquation. The narrator limits the type of voice that the character might have. It often also provides a moral evaluation of the character. (Examples include: He said. He lied. He exploded.) Narrators can also use nominalised metapragmatic characterisation of speech events (speeches, lies, promises, etc). They refer to particular types of speech, and by characterising the kind of speech, can index the voices for narrators and characters.
- o **Quotation.** This combines reference to the quoted speaker, metapragmatic verb and quoted utterance in order to represent some instance of speaking. Quotation can range from near-absolute mimicry through quasi-direct discourse to indirect quotation. Even in direct quotation, the narrator filters the quoted speech, even if only by

selecting the material, the framing material and using some form of intonation.

- o **Evaluative indexicals.** Wortham (2001) refers to Bakhtin (1981a, 1981b), who explains that particular expressions or ways of speaking get associated with particular social groups when members of a group habitually speak that way. Narrators can make characters speak with particular voices by putting particular indexes into their mouths or by using indexicals in describing them.
- o **Epistemic modalisation.** Epistemic modalisers compare the epistemological status of the storytelling and narrated events. Narrators can claim to have a God's-eye-view or to be merely participating in a contingent event of speaking. Narrators can also ascribe greater epistemic access to certain narrated characters and less to others. Epistemic modalisation contributes both to voicing and to ventriloquation.

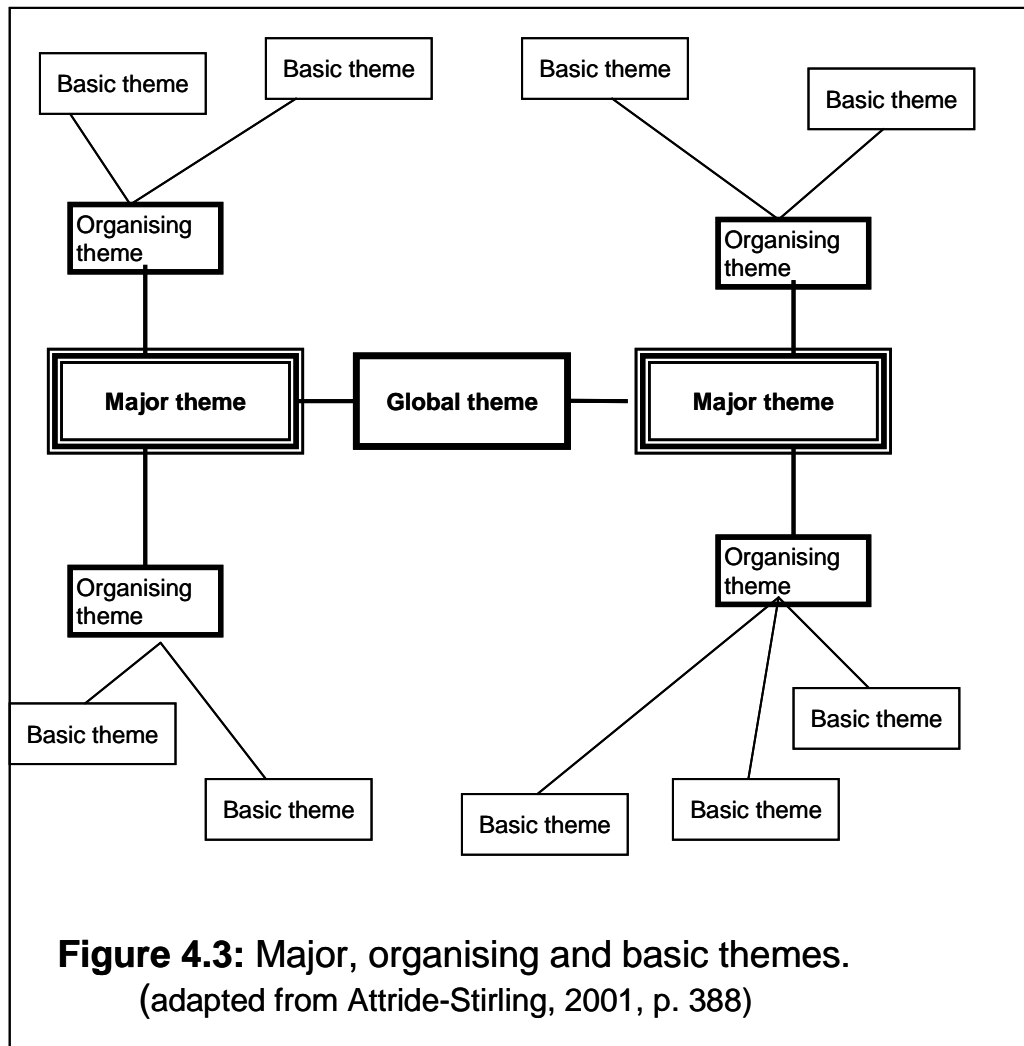
I have devoted a chapter to the dialogic analysis of each participant (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). The dialogic analyses give an indication of how the participants construct their identities in relating their stories, as well as how they position themselves during the telling of the stories. Various themes arose repeatedly, across the stories of the participants. I analyse these themes in Chapters 9, 10 and 11. In these chapters I focus on themes which occurred in all three narratives; I also include material not included in the narratives. Often this material clarifies and gives more depth to certain themes which arose.

Thematic Networks

Attride-Stirling (2001, p. 388-389) suggests the use of thematic networks to organise the data available to a thematic analysis. The method rests on various other methods of analysis, in particular argumentation theory. The thematic networks are then used as a guide for the analysis. Thematic networks rely on and systematise the extraction of the following:

- o **Basic themes.** These are the most basic or lowest-order premises that are derived from the data. In order to make sense beyond their immediate meaning they have to be read in conjunction with other basic themes.
- o **Organising themes.** These are more abstract themes which group together categories of basic themes which have similar content. They summarise the principle assumptions contained in the basic themes.
- o **Major themes.** These are superordinate themes encapsulating the principal metaphors in the text as a whole. They group sets of organising themes that present an argument or a position about an issue. They summarise the main themes, and reveal the interpretation of the texts.
- o **Global theme.** This subsumes the major themes into one very broad category which describes the commonalities in the various major themes.

Attride-Stirling (2001) used the term “global themes” to describe what I have called “major themes”. I needed an extra level to subsume what I have called major themes. A visual representation of the structure that is obtained is indicated in Figure 4.3. As will be noted, a hierarchical structure is avoided, which emphasises both fluidity and interconnectivity in the network (Attride-Stirling, 2001).



Attride-Stirling (2001, p. 390-394) suggests the following steps be followed in the analysis:

- o **Coding the material.** Attride-Stirling suggests that this be done on the basis of the theoretical issues guiding the research, or on the basis of issues that arise during the research. In this study both were used. Material which was used was identified and separated from the rest of the narrative.
- o **Identifying themes.** The identified material is read and themes are abstracted from the coded segments. These themes are refined into discrete categories, broad enough to encapsulate a set of ideas contained in numerous text segments. This is an interpretive step which requires attention to conceptual detail.

- o **Constructing the networks.** The basic themes are arranged into similar, coherent groups. The grouping of themes is made on the basis of content, and at times on theoretical grounds. Clusters of basic themes are arranged into organising themes. The major theme is then determined, working with the information contained in the organising and basic themes. The visual presentation is developed and the organisation is checked.
- o **Describing and exploring the thematic networks.** The networks are described and explored in order to understand deeper meanings in the texts. The original text is interpreted with the aid of the networks. The thematic network that has been established, aid the researcher and the reader, making it possible to use it as an anchor for the interpretation.
- o **Summarising the thematic network.** A succinct summary is given of the themes that have crystallised.
- o **Interpreting patterns.** The deductions in the summaries of the networks and relevant theories are brought together. The aim is to return to the original research question and the theoretical interests underpinning them, and to address these with arguments grounded on the patterns that emerge in the exploration of the texts.

Personal Narrative and Reflexivity

As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, I regard myself as part of the research process. This implies that it is essential that I reflect on my role and position in the research. The dialogic analysis (Wortham, 2001a, 2001b) that I have employed in the analyses lends itself well to this enterprise.

In addition to the interview data, I have also kept a research diary, in which I have noted musings on the process and the effects the participants and their stories had on me. Ellis and Bochner (2003) in their work on autoethnography explain that they employ processes such as emotional recall in order to understand a lived experience. Parker (2005) notes that it is not just that an account is given of an experience, but the position of the

researcher is important. For him, considering the position of the researcher is not just to

wallow in one's own bad or (good) feelings about what happened in the research, to spill your guts about what you felt, but to explore how that particular form of subjectivity came to be the way it was by virtue of the particular institutional relationships that were drawn up and recreated and so to make it intelligible and accountable (pp. 30-31).

I depicted my subjective experiences in doing the research visually in paintings. I will discuss this and my experiences in more detail in Chapter 8. Bakhtin (1986b, p. 109) comments that in a painting we "feel" its author. Hopefully the paintings I include assist the reader in feeling my experiences.

Research Quality

Eisenhardt (1989/2002) in discussing case study and qualitative research notes one of the dangers is idiosyncratic theories which cannot be generalised. However, in a postmodern paradigm, and in particular case studies, the aim is not the formulation of laws. Smith et al. (1995) confirm that case studies are by nature idiographic and that the emphasis is not on generalisation but on understanding the individual. The quality of the research appears to be a better nomenclature than traditional concepts of validity and reliability, mainly as there is no absolute reality to which the results can be compared (Riessman, 2002). Numerous authors (e.g. Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Greene, 2003; McGrath & Johnson, 2003; Morse, 1994; Smith, 2003; Yen & Inman, 2007; Yin, 1989) have considered validity and research quality in the area of qualitative research. The nature of the research must be taken into account and appropriate measures must be used to judge it.

A personal narrative is not meant to be an exact record of what happened (Riessman, 2002; Scheppele, 1994). Narrative assumes a point of view, they are "located in discourses" (Riessman, 2002; p. 256). It is possible to narrate the same events in radically different ways, depending on the values and interests of the narrator. Individuals exclude experiences that

undermine the current identities they wish to claim. Narratives reflect social discourses and power relations, which do not remain constant over time. Riessman regards the concept of truth as inappropriate in narrative, as it refers to an objective reality and suggests that it is replaced with the concept of trustworthiness as it implies social processes. Lifton (1986) notes that it is important to reject what he calls psychological reductionism: the collapsing of complex events into single, all-embracing explanations in ways that sweep away rather than illuminate the interlocking structures and motivations behind those events.

A few broad themes appear to stand out when examining ways of judging qualitative research. The following suggestions can be distilled:

Multiple Perceptions

Multiple perceptions (from different participants, redundant data) are used to clarify meaning and verify the repeatability of an observation or interpretation. This is often referred to as triangulation (Stake, 1994). Richardson (2003) suggests the metaphor of crystallisation instead. Crystallisation recognises the many facets of any given approach to the social world (Janesick, 2003; Richardson, 2003). Sufficient examples of the data illustrating analytic procedures should be given and integrated into the existing literature. This makes it possible to demonstrate the understandings and interpretation that developed (Elliot, Fischer & Rennie, 1999). I hope that by choosing participants who are in some ways very different from each other diverse perspectives will be given on various themes. I also found that the participants often returned spontaneously to some of the topics, which results in a lot of extra data and hopefully gives different perspectives on how they view the themes in this study. Riessman (2002) comments that coherence must be as thick as possible, to indicate the validity of the interpretation. She refers to the work of Agar and Hobbs (1982), who suggest three kinds of coherence: global, local and themal. Global coherence refers to the overall goals a narrator tries to accomplish by speaking, for example explaining the reasons for an action. Local

coherence is what a narrator is trying to bring about in the narrative itself, such as the use of linguistic devices to relate events to one another. This includes techniques such as juxtaposing events and using contrasts to make their point. Thematic coherence refers to content where chunks of interview text about particular themes figure repeatedly.

Sociocultural Milieu

Yardley (2000) notes that it is important to recognise social interaction and culture in qualitative research. She emphasises the importance of the sociocultural milieu of the research situation, including the inevitable power relations involved. The method of analysis I have chosen, should make the different interactions visible. By including my own reactions to and experiences of the research, I hope to be able to add to this analysis. I have also added a chapter on South African history, which hopefully places the stories of the participants within a historical and cultural background.

Commitment

Yardley (2000) refers to the importance of commitment to the research. She includes extensive knowledge of the researched field and immersion in the data. Caring is now often added to discussions on good research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Yardley, 2000). My therapeutic involvement with the participants has resulted in a depth of relationship which would not generally be part of a research project. I have attempted to expose myself to different versions of South African history.

Rigour

Rigour refers to the thoroughness of the study, in terms of the appropriateness of the sample to the question and the completeness of the analysis (Yardley, 2000). In order to achieve this, it is important that the reader be provided with sufficient information in order to judge the thoroughness of the research. This requires transparency in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data (Elliott et al., 1999; Smith, 2003; Uzzell & Barnett, 2006; Yardley, 2000; Yin, 1989). Often the process of interview-

based research is not given in detail (Etter-Lewis, 1996), which makes it very difficult to access the work. Price (1996, p. 207) bemoans that “the failures, regrets, and mistakes of qualitative research are rarely, if ever, published”.

Smith (2003) notes it may also be useful to present the interpretations to colleagues with experience in the field for comment. I decided against this as little appears to be available in the field to use comparatively. Smith also suggests that interpretations can also be presented for comment to the research participants. I decided to present the interpretations of their own story to the participants. They could then give an indication whether they felt that I had represented them appropriately, they could confirm or repudiate my interpretations, and had the opportunity to decide if they were comfortable with what I had said about them. I did not think there was value in giving them the full transcriptions of the interviews to read. They were too long, and would be changed by the context in the interpretations. I made an exception in Dawid’s case; I will discuss the reasons for this when discussing his narrative. Riessman (2002) agrees that it is important to refer material back to those who have participated in research, acknowledging that credibility is increased if the representations are adequate. However, she insists that the work is that of the author, who must take final responsibility for it.

Coherence

Transparency and coherence refer to how clearly the stages of the research process are outlined in the write-up of the study. The reader can also evaluate the coherence of the analytic argument and the claims being made (Riessman, 2002). The fit between the research design, its ability to address the research question and the underlying philosophical assumptions of the approach also have to be coherent (Uzzell & Barnett, 2006; Yardley, 2000). Coherence does not mean that the one true account is being searched for (Elliott et al., 1999); as I have previously indicated, the research is never really concluded and shut off (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003). Lincoln and Guba (2002, pp. 206-207) refer to a similar concept as resonance. These are

criteria “that assess the degree of fit, overlap, or reinforcement between the case study report as written and the basic belief system undergirding that alternative paradigm which the inquirer has chosen to follow”. If the alternative paradigm is constructivist, the report must reflect the multiple realities constructed by the respondents, demonstrate how they were shaped in the research, reject generalisation of interpretations, display and take account of the value influences that impinge on the inquiry. A portion of the case study should be given over to considerations of conscious reflexivity (Lincoln & Guba, 2002, p. 207):

Any case study is a construction itself, a product of the interaction between respondents, site and researcher. As such, the construction is rooted in the person, character, experience, context, and philosophy of the constructor. That constructor, the inquirer, has an obligation to be self-examining, self-questioning, self-challenging, self-critical, and self-correcting. Any case study should reflect these intensely personal processes on the part of the researcher.

Owning One’s Perspective

As discussed above, reflexivity is an integral part of constructivist research. Recognising and disclosing my values and assumptions also makes it possible for readers to interpret my findings. This makes it possible for them to develop different perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Elliott et al., 1999; Lincoln & Guba, 2002). The reflexivity which is an integral part of this study will hopefully make this possible.

Impact

Although the objective of this research is not to develop generalisations, it is still important to note whether it sheds light on existing work, or the experiences of some men in this situation. Does the work add to our understanding? Are the interpretations well-founded and plausible (Elliott et al., 1999; Ellis & Bochner, 2003; Stake, 1994; Uzzell & Barnett, 2006; Yardley, 2000)? Lincoln and Guba’s (2002) thoughts on applicability criteria are useful here. By applicability criteria they mean those which assess the extent to which the case study facilitates the drawing of inferences by the reader that may have applicability in his or her context or situation. This

does not refer to generalisations. Generalisations are context-free and time-free, which applicability criteria are not. Lincoln and Guba (2002, p. 211) note that “transference can take place between contexts A and B if B is sufficiently like A on those elements or factors or circumstances that the A inquiry found to be significant”. They consider transferability still possible when cases differ and mention three ways: There is a vicarious “déjà vu” experience, where the reader can learn vicariously from the situation; a case may also act as a metaphor in which similarities and differences are found; a case can also be used as a basis for re-examining and reconstructing one’s own construction of a given phenomenon.

Resonating with Readers

This is one of the criteria developed as part of the framework for evaluating qualitative research that was developed by the National Centre for Social Research on behalf of the Strategy Unit of the UK Government Cabinet Office and reported on by Uzzell and Barnett (2006). It is hoped that when readers read the research it will resonate with them, and they will judge it to have expanded their understanding of the subject matter. Ellis and Bochner (2003) refer to verisimilitude – it evokes in readers a feeling that the experience described is lifelike, believable and possible. Riessman (2002) refers to whether the analysis is persuasive and plausible. Is the interpretation reasonable and convincing? Persuasiveness is greatest when theoretical claims are supported by evidence from informants’ accounts and when alternative interpretations of the data are considered.

Empowerment

This refers to the ability of the case study to evoke and facilitate action on the part of readers. At the least empowerment means that consciousness is raised (Lincoln & Guba, 2002). This appears to relate to the seventh or future moment Lincoln and Denzin (2003) note in the development of qualitative research. In this period the social sciences and the humanities are required to become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalisation, freedom and community.

CHAPTER 5

ADRIAAN: DIALOGIC ANALYSIS

As I noted in the previous chapter, Adriaan is a white, Afrikaans man who was referred by his psychiatrist in 2003 for individual psychotherapy when he was hospitalised. These interviews were conducted in 2005 when he was 42 years old. He had been working for approximately a year. This followed an extended period of unemployment. He has been diagnosed with severe, chronic PTSD and a severe recurrent major depressive disorder. He also has daily panic attacks. He had been sober for a number of years at the time of the interviews after abusing alcohol for many years. I initially saw him sporadically due to difficulties in getting an injury on duty registered. It was eventually accepted by the Compensation Commissioner nine years after he had resigned (bought discharge) from the police. He had numerous hospitalisations during the first year that I saw him.

The first five sessions for the research amounted to approximately five and a half hours of interviews and were collected over a period of two weeks. Further information on specific topics was collected much later, after conducting interviews with the other participants, and after he had informally indicated that he could add to the themes that had crystallised from interviews with the other participants.

In this chapter I will focus on a dialogic analysis of Adriaan's narrative of his life. The analysis will be done, following the suggestions of Wortham (2001a, 2001b).

In Figure 5.1 I give the genogram for Adriaan at the time of the initial interviews. I used the system suggested by McGoldrick and Gerson (1985).

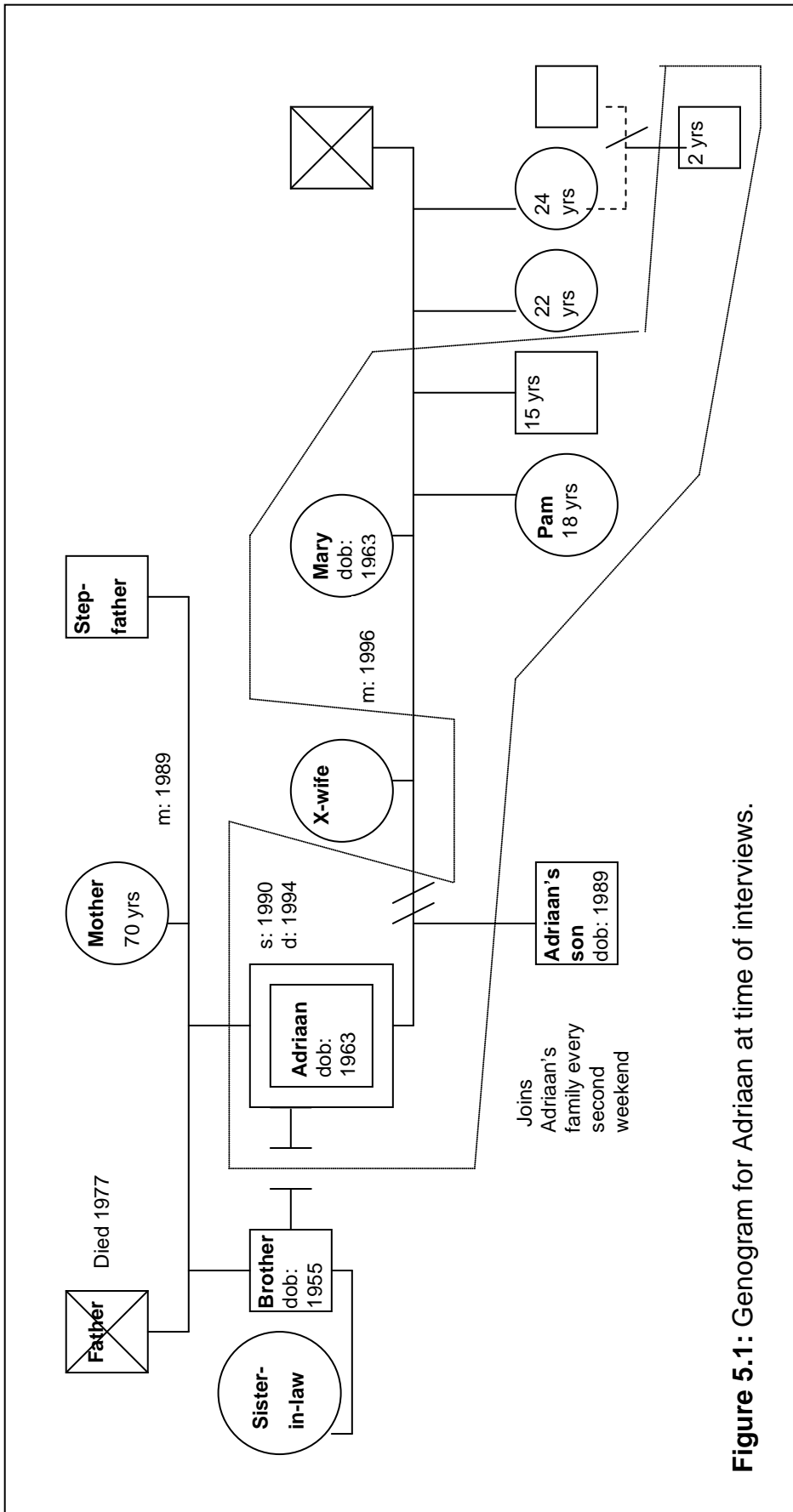


Figure 5.1: Genogram for Adriaan at time of interviews.

Wortham (2001) suggests dividing the narrative into episodes and characters. Gee's (1986) work on structures in narrative discourse was useful in defining episodes. What I have called an episode is essentially what he has called a "section" (Gee, 1986, p. 399). The episodes I identified in Adriaan's narrative are included as Table 1 in Appendix D. It becomes clear when examining this table, that although I did not ask him to divide his narrative into chapters, that there are natural breaks in the narrative. I have listed them in Table 4 in Appendix D. I have divided the dialogic analysis into these periods, as it makes it more manageable.

Adriaan mentions 109 characters in his narrative. They are listed in Table 2 in Appendix D. I have created 11 groups which appear to share characteristics and are important in his narrative. At times a character is represented in more than one group. For example his friend "Ed" is listed under friends and under colleagues in the police. I have on occasion listed groups as characters, when he appeared to use them in this way; for example the group "family" contains various family members. It is immediately clear that some characters or groups of characters appear very often in his narrative. It can be assumed that they are important in his story. When I examine the narrative, 17 characters play minor roles, even though some of them are part of larger groups.

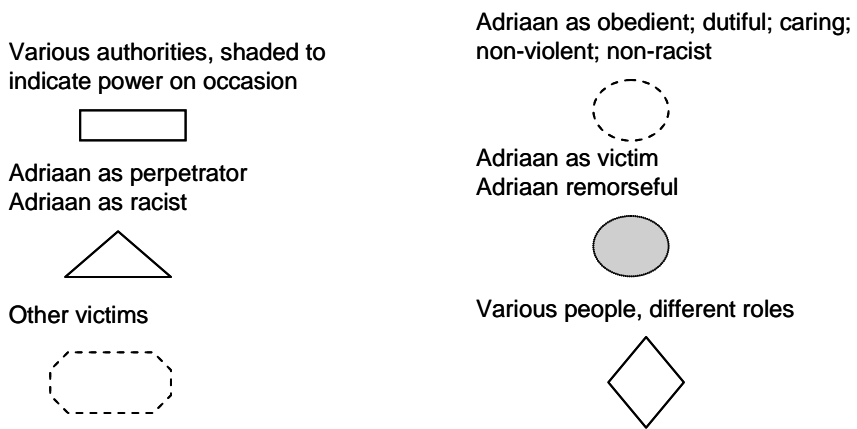
I followed Wortham's (2001b) suggestion to examine the ways in which he has positioned himself and others throughout the narrative. Table 3 in Appendix D lists the ways in which he has positioned himself. On examination recurrent positions are revealed, for example, he often positions himself against racism. Some of these positions he enacted in the interviews with me.

In this analysis, I will focus on incidents which appear to be pivotal. This implies that I will not discuss everything he said. Although I will, in general, follow his narrative chronologically I will at times deviate from this. On those occasions I will note that I have deviated from the chronological narrative

and give my justification for the decision. I will, however, especially when the positioning between him and me changes, present the flow in the conversation that has led to the changes. I have not numbered the lines due to technical difficulties, but I indicate which episodes are quoted in each section, which makes it possible to place them within the narrative. The episodes are summarised in Table 1 in Appendix D.

I am giving the original Afrikaans which indicates all the verbal utterances and pauses. The transcription conventions are listed in Appendix C. I follow the Afrikaans with an English translation which is given with emphasis on the readability although I attempt to indicate hesitations and disjointed speech. In the translation I only indicate pauses of two seconds or longer. They are placed approximately in the correct context, as it is often difficult to place them exactly in a translation. In Figure 5.2 I give the key for the shapes and other symbols I use in the narrative. In Figure 5.3 I indicate the shapes and symbols which I use to indicate the positions he and I are taking as well as the nature of the relationship. This refers to the storytelling event, which is the relationship between him and me. At times I connect the storytelling event to the narrated event, when it is clear that he is enacting that which he is narrating.

Voices in the Narrated Events



Relationships in Narrated Events

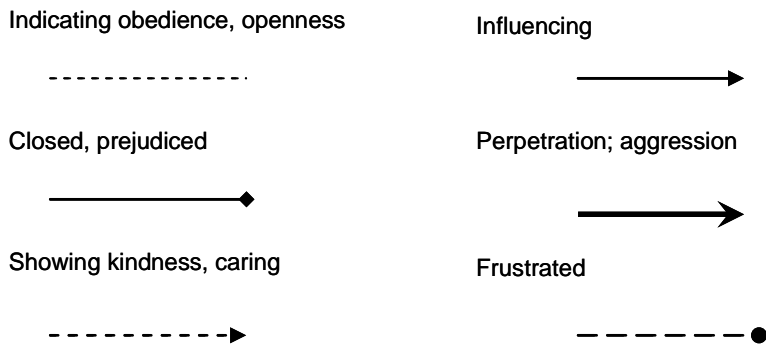
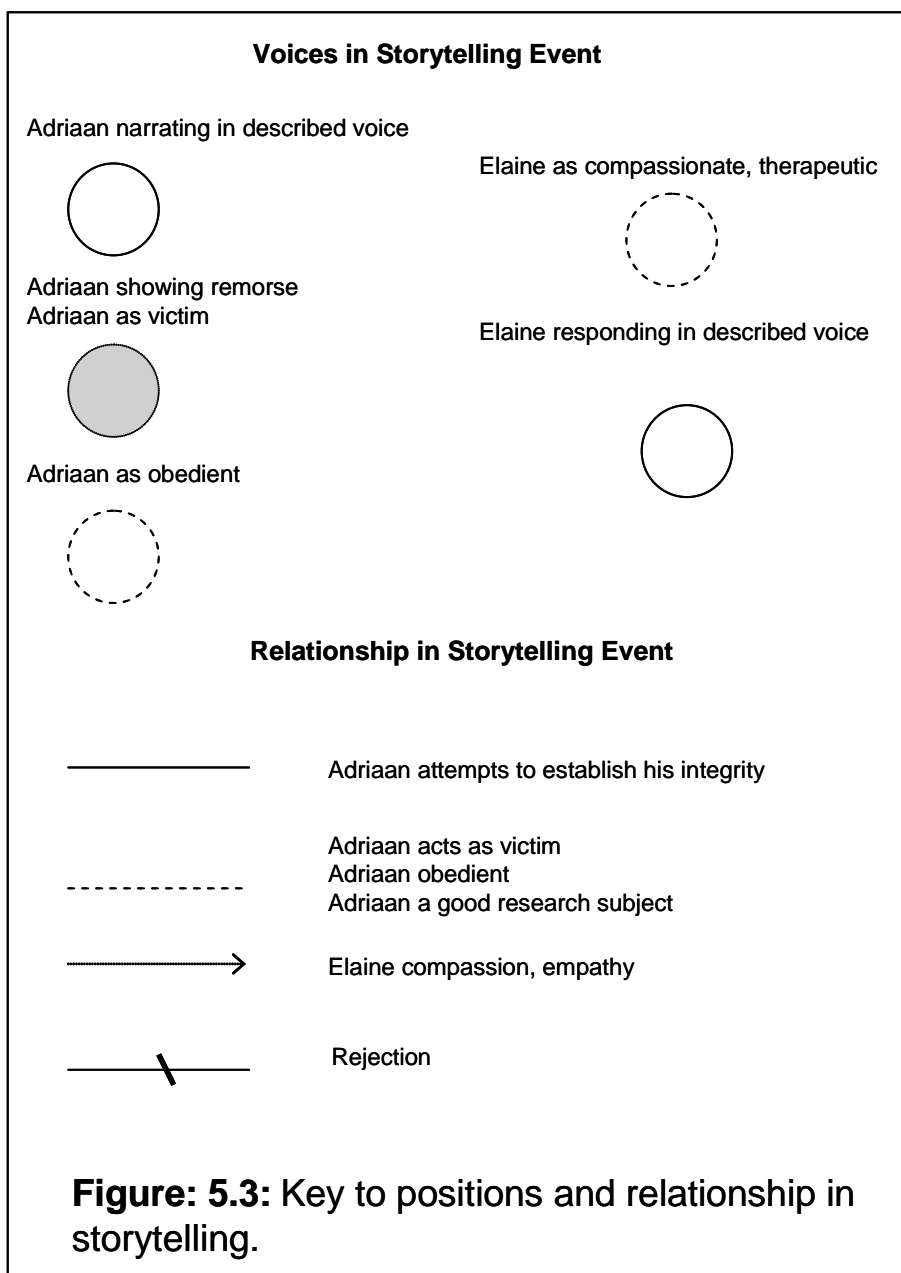


Figure 5.2: Key to positions and relationships in narrated events.



Growing Up and Period Before Joining the Police

The first eleven episodes (Table 4 in Appendix D) of Adriaan's narrative cover the period of growing up and before he joined the police. The major characters are his mother, father, the church and various authority figures (Table 1 in Appendix D). He narrates himself in various positions (Table 3), mainly: as a victim, a poor decision-maker, against racism, empathetic, against the military and as dutiful. I subsume these positions into a position

of innocence. My reasons for describing innocence as the basic position will hopefully become clearer in the following discussion.

Adriaan starts with a much abbreviated narrative (Episode 1; section not quoted). In this he states where he was born and grew up and then where he started working for the police. This appears to indicate that he in some way thinks that his story actually begins on his joining the then police force. He appears to emphasise this view by ending his summary with “and that is that”. He looks to me for guidance and I ask him to elaborate on what events stood out for him while growing up.

He responds as follows (Episodes 2 and 3):

A: (4) j:a, wel (6) s-s-s ek dink net van my ouers (hhhh) huh, (2) kerk, oggend tot aand uh (2) ja en daar was goeie uh die ouers was baie streng gewees, jy weet. maar daar is goeie tye, umm gewees, uh (6) en um (4) ja en dan my pa wat nou, vroeg oorlede is. (4) op ‘n vroeë ouderdom ek was in standerd sewe. (4) [...]

E: wat het daar gebeur?

A: ek we:et nie. ek verstaan net dat umm (2) na die nadoodse ondersoek gesê dis nalatigheid van die dokters gewees. maar, {inhalation} u:m ja dis-s-s dis maar nou wat ek nou gehoor het van my ma, van my ma af. en uh en hy’t gegaan vir ‘n ondersoek en toe hom geopereer en tydens dit het uh was daar ‘n blykbaar ‘n bloedklont deur. (7) [...]

E: hoe het jy geweet daarvan of gehoor daarvan?

A: um een van die kerkraa:dslede het uh (2) ek was besig met rugby oefening daardie dag toe (1) het hulle dit was nogal snaaks gewees jy weet as iemand daar stop dan weet jy iets is

E: het jy geweet?

A: ja, hierso is probleme jy weet. (3) want uh hulle, jy weet mos daardie tyd (hhhh) hulle jou net kom besoek met dood, nou ja, toe weet ek hier is probleme.

E: en wat het hulle toe vir jou gesê?

A: hy't gesê huis toe, jou pa is dood. (5) nie manne van veel woorde nie, jy weet.

E: ok. (1) {some amusement}

A: (4) Yes, well, (6) I just think of my parents {laughs}. (2) Church, morning to night. (2) Yes and there were good, the parents were very strict you know, but there were good times. Um (6) um (4)) yes and then my father died early, at an early age. (4) I was in standard seven. (4) [...]

E: What happened?

A: I don't know. I just understand that (2) the post-mortem indicated that it was negligence of the doctors. {inhalation} That is what I understood from my mother. He went in for an examination, they operated and a blood clot developed. (7) [...]

E: How did you hear about it?

A: One of the church board members. (2) I was practising rugby that day. It was strange, you know, when someone came there. You knew that something ...

E: You knew?

A: Yes, I knew there was a problem. (3) At the time {laughs}, they only visited you if someone had died. So yes, I knew there was a problem.

E: And what did he say?

A: He said: "Go home, your father's dead." (5) They were men of few words you know.

E: Ok. {some amusement}.

His speech is often disjointed and hesitant. This is especially apparent when he talks about matters which he finds emotionally difficult. At times he uses the second person, a further indication of his need to distance himself from emotionally distressing material. In what is in actual fact the introduction to his narrative, he introduces a number of themes. He presents his parents as being in church constantly. They are presented as devout, good people who take their religion seriously. They are also strict, and we can presume to be obeyed. This he develops on a bit later in the first eleven episodes. He

moves to an important event, his father's death after a small operation (section not quoted). He explains that it happened as a result of the negligence of the surgeon. A good, devout man dies because of negligence of an authority figure. By implication Adriaan is also a victim of the actions of a negligent authority figure.

His representation of authority figures is continued when he explains how he came to hear of his father's death. He ventriloquists the church board member as unsympathetic. This is the first intimation that he may see the church as uninvolved and uncaring.

In the following section he talks about the effects of his father's death on him (Episode 4):

A: baie baie (5) hartseer vir my gewees. (4) en uh (3) natuurlik is-s daar 'n leemte in jou in jou in jou lewe. (5) to:g op die einde van die dag, uh-i-i-n die sin dat ek glo as hy (3) gelewe het, dan sou ek miskien ander besluite kon maak jy weet uh. (2) want um basies ons is grootgeword, dat ons nie radikaal is nie my ouers nie jy weet. en (2) um ons 'n familieplaas. ons het grootgeword saam met die kleurlinge wat in die Kaap was (2) elke vakansie, wat ookal, is ons soontoe is om te gaan werk en. (3) my, pa was relatief oopkop jy weet (3) as dit kom met die nie-blanke daai tyd jy weet. (7) °die nie-blank kwessie, ja°. (4)

A: *Extremely (5) sad. (4) And uh (3) you have an emptiness in your life. (5) I believe that had he lived (3) I would have made other decisions. (2) We were brought up not to be radical. (2) We had a family farm, and grew up with the coloureds in the Cape, (2) every holiday we went to work there. (3) My father was reasonably liberal, you know (3) as regards the question of the non-whites. (7) The question of the non-whites. Yes {quietly}. (4)*

He introduces the theme of making wrong decisions, largely because of his father's death. By implication, he positions his mother as an ineffective guide. He suggests that had his father not died, he would not have been "radical" which he appears to equate with racism. By bringing the subject of racism into the narrative this early, he is indicating its importance. He looks forward into the narrative and indicates that he became racist and that was one of his bad decisions. He is denouncing racism, but in his denunciation, he refers to the "*question of the non-whites*" (die nie-blank kwessie), an anachronism which implies racist superiority. This term captures the language of the time; he evokes the dehumanisation of black people, where black people are the "other" and a question, a problem to be dealt with by whites.

I ask him more about the impact of his father's death. He expands on the bad decisions he made (Episode 4). For example, he briefly left school in order to attempt to help his mother financially. He then discovered that she did not need financial help. He also explained that he had played club rugby at school and turned down an offer to play after school, eventually choosing to join the police instead. In retrospect he thinks that he could have made a career of rugby. He explains that he thought of his father's advice and explains (Episode 6):

A: ja, nee hy was 'n staatsdiensman. (4) hy't altyd gesê as jy nie gaan swot nie, polisie of weermag toe, klaar.

E: u-um, u-um

A: hulle het ouens gebrainwash daardie tyd ook. (10)

A: *Yes he was in favour of the civil service. (4) He always said, "If you don't study further, you have to join the police or the army."*

E: *U-um u-um.*

A: *They brainwashed people then as well. (10)*

I will discuss his obedience to his father's wishes together with the next few excerpts as they refer to common themes. Later in the session, I ask about his mother's reaction to him going to the police. He states (Episode 11):

E: en toe is jy klaar met skool. en jy besluit om polisie toe te gaan. hoe het jou ma daarop reageer?.

A: dis wat jou pa sou wou gehad het. {said quickly, mimicking}

E: {amusement, some laughter}

A: trots, nou gaan ek vir my land veg. daar is geen dood soos om vir jou land te veg nie, om dood te gaan vir jou land nie, jy weet.

E: *How did your mother react when you had finished school, and decided to join the police?*

A: *That is what your father would have wanted {quickly, mimicking}.*

E: {amusement, some laughter}.

A: *Proud, now I will be fighting for my country. There is no death such as to fight for your country and to die for your country, you know.*

Earlier in the interview, he had established himself as against militarisation. He had introduced the topic while speaking of school (Episode 5):

A: En dan u-u-h kadette uh. {laughs} ek het Bybelkunde geneem op skool. en um kadette was nie vir my nie. ek het gedink dis 'n spul kak.

E: ja want dis mos verplig gewees op daardie stadium.

A: ja, ooe ja, of die beuel blaas, (hhhh) of jy's storie gewees daardie tyd. die manne het mos kom kyk watter troepe volgende jaar kom, jy weet. dan kom en assess hulle jou, en hoor wat, die weermag kom hoor wie kan rugby speel, wie kan tennis speel. seker nie geworry oor tennis daardie tyd nie maar skool toe gekom om vir 'n assessment. kom hoor wat sê die manne. so ek het Bybelkunde geneem, en toe organise ek dat ons voor skool sommer 'n klas kon insit, jy weet. (5) weet nie hoe dit gekom het, maar ek was nie te veel happy daaroor nie.

A: And then, cadets {laughs}. I took Biblical studies at school and cadets was not for me, I thought it a load of crap.

E: Yes, it was compulsory at the time.

A: Yes, oh yes, or blow the bugle, {laughs} or you're a, story at the time. The men came to see what troops were coming next year, you know. They would come and assess you and see. The army came to see who could play rugby, who could play tennis. Probably didn't worry about tennis at the time. But came to the school to assess. Come and hear, "What do the boys say?" So I took Biblical studies. And I organised a class before school, you know (5). Don't know how, but I was not happy about it.

He uses the example of cadets at school to position himself as against the military, already while still at school. He emphasises his dislike of the military by juxtaposing cadets and Biblical studies. He explains that he arranged to do Biblical studies instead, thus positioning himself as someone who prefers a religious experience to a military one. He has essentially evoked them as opposites of each other. He double-voices the army recruiter and we hear the macho attitudes underlying his speech. In this excerpt he has positioned himself as strongly opposed to the macho, militarised world of the army and firmly on the side of God, of devout Christians.

However, despite his dislike of a military lifestyle he joins the SAP, which was militarised at the time. He describes the power relations (Burkitt, 1999; Burr, 2003; Foucault, 1975/1995) which operate in society. His father is ventriloquised as saying the correct decision is to go into the army or the police. It is an authoritarian command; but his father is the victim of brainwashing. Adriaan is obedient and does what he is expected to do. His mother is portrayed as an ineffectual guide, for whom he feels responsible. Her role is defined as a woman and he, although a child, must be a man and take care of her. Authorities are for the first time presented as not only negligent, but also malevolent. He uses double-voicing and we hear the

propaganda of glory in dying for your country. His mocking indicates that he now recognises the propaganda for what it was. His mother is now not only ineffective, but she has been brainwashed by the authorities into sacrificing her son. It is made more tragic, in that both he and I know the results of this sacrifice and some of his sarcasm refers to his and his friends' futures. He calls on me to validate his position that propaganda was used to get young men to join the police. He is positioning the entire family and community as brainwashed and incapable of independent thought.

He refers to his brother, with whom he has not had contact for many years (Episode 7). His brother believes that Adriaan is lazy and does not want to work. Adriaan also objects to his brother's use of corporal punishment in raising his children (section not quoted). He expands on the relationship with his parents. He is proud of his father's sporting achievements, but explains that his father also used corporal punishment in raising them. He equates the use of violence to brainwashing by authority figures.

A: hy't geweet hoe om (hhh) sy vuiste te gebruik. jy kon nie veel vir die ou terugse nie. (6) maar, vandag weet ek hy't dit goed bedoel. hy is maar net so gebrainwash soos die res van ons ander armsalige drommels, jy weet. (18)

A: *He knew how to use his {laughs} fists. You couldn't backchat. (6)
Today I know he meant it well. He was brainwashed like the rest of us poor wretches, you know. (18)*

I then ask him about his mother (Episode 8):

A: ah. (5) baie placid. in die sin, sy't maar geglo wat die Bybel sê sy is, sy is vrou, e:n die man is die baas (1) en ja, hulle was baie, baie, baie erg in die N.G. Kerk en, jy weet um. pa was scriba, ma kinderkrans gegee, Sondagskool, hulle was relatief aktief gewees. maar sy't ook nou haar streep gehad, reg is reg, jy weet, jy: die Bybel sê buig die boompie dan

buig ek hom maar. jy weet daardie tipe. maar (6) maar Godvresend, kan ek haar bestempel as. maar ek is baie lief vir haar. (8) want sy is die enigste een wat my nie weggegooi het nie. in al die tyd. (10) behalwe natuurlik jou sê dat by my stiefpa het sy nou, jy weet, maar sy glo ook maar sy is nou weer getroud.

A: Placid. (5) She believed what the Bible says she is; she is the woman and the man is the boss. They were very, very involved in the Dutch Reformed Church. My father was the secretary and my mother was involved in children's church, Sunday school. She had her own ideas, right was right. The Bible said that as the twig is bent, so the tree grows, and she ensured that she bent the twig. (6) She is God-fearing. I love her very (8) much as she is the only one who never abandoned me in all this time. (10) Except when she was influenced by my stepfather. But then, she believes this is her role, as she is married to him.

He depicts his mother as obedient to the men she is in relationship with, as well as to God. Again, the importance of the church is emphasised. She also used corporal punishment, which he in one way describes as her own idea, but in another as obedience to the Bible. He uses double-voicing and we hear traditional child-rearing practices propagated by the church. Although he does not use the term "brainwashing" it is implied. He emphasises that he loves her, as she is the one person who has supported him the entire time. He uses the term "nie weggegooi nie" which literally translated means "did not throw me away". He had previously told me that his mother had at a stage begun to believe his stepfather when he said that Adriaan did not want to work. He excuses this as she saw it as her role to support her husband. It is a conservative world he describes with clearly demarcated roles. Lines of authority are established and not to be challenged.

He explains that he had decided not to marry before his mother had remarried, since duty and responsibility towards his family and country were

impressed on him from an early age. He then returns to racial issues, which are a central theme for him (Episode 9):

A: soos ek sê jy weet my my ma-hulle was soos in jy weet soos in omrede ons het hulle nou met die volk gewerk, onder die volk gewerk, daar was nie 'n gevloek en skel op hu:lle jy weet en ja dit het 'n bietjie, my pa maar hy was ook nie bang om sy sê te sê nie. en ek weet even by die kerkraad, dan kom hulle en destyds toe sê my pa waarom kan sekere mense se bediendes daai tyd, hoekom kan hulle nie kerk toe kom saam met ons nie? daar was 'n groot rigmarole. ek dink H N.G. Kerk was seker die eerste wat wel swartes destyds ingeneem het. alhoewel hulle nou moes bo sit op die galery.

E: apartheid moet gehandhaaf word.

A: ja, ja, kyk ons wil hulle nie sien nie. so ons sit hulle in die galery, op die laaste bankie. °jy weet mos°.

E: um um

A: maar ek onthou 'n geveg daaroor. so dis wat ek maar onthou. so, ja jy moet opstaan vir wat jy glo: en beskerm wat jy glo:. die groot ding is volg die pad van die Here, met ander woorde as jou leiers vir jou sê dis die regte pad, dan °don't think twice°. vra nie eers vrae nie.

E: hoewel dit klink asof jou pa nie heeltemal, dit so gedoen het nie?

A: ja, hy was, hy was nie hy was um dit het nie vir hom gegaan oor velkleur as dit kom by Christendom. um maar hulle moes bly waar hulle bly en ons bly waar ons bly. ons kon nie daai twee bymekaar gebring het nie. um ja. maar um werk, kerk, regering, van die dag, um dit was, dit was, sy groot ding was Christendom jy weet Christen het hy geglo. vel maak nie saak as dit kom by kerk nie. maar nog steeds hulle bly waar hulle bly en ons bly waar ons bly. hoe hy gedink het weet ek nie.

A: *As I have said, my parents, because we worked with and between the people, (literally folk, a colloquial Afrikaans expression for black or mixed race labourers) didn't shout or scream at them. My father was not afraid of standing up for what he believed. He even confronted the church*

council and wanted to know from them why people's domestic workers could not join them at church. There was a huge performance. I think H. Dutch Reformed Church was the first church which accepted blacks. They, however, had to sit in the gallery.

E: *Apartheid had to be maintained.*

A: *Yes, we didn't want to see them. So we put them in the gallery, in the last row. You know how it worked {quietly}.*

E: *Um, um.*

A: *But I remember a fight about it. Yes, you have to stand up for your beliefs; you have to protect what you believe. But the most important thing is God's way. In other words, if your leaders say something, do it, don't even ask questions {quietly}.*

E: *However, it sounds as though your father wasn't always that obedient?*

A: *No, he wasn't. When it came to Christianity, skin colour didn't count for him. But they lived where they lived and we lived where we lived. That could never be changed. Work, church, government of the day that was, his big thing was Christianity. Skin colour doesn't matter when it came to church, but they live where they live and we live where we live. I don't know how he thought.*

With these statements he evokes a bizarre time in South Africa's history. His main purpose in this portion of his narrative appears to be to establish his family credentials as non-racist. He starts by describing his father as fairly liberal with regard to other races. His father did not believe that one should abuse workers verbally. This evokes the views of many whites who would often say similar things as a proof of non-racism, with apparent lack of awareness of the underlying arrogance and white supremacy. It is sometimes known as modern racism, and I will discuss it in more detail in Chapter 9.

His father wins the battle against the ultra-conservatives, and black domestic workers are allowed to share the church building, as long as they are at the back of the gallery. Despite acknowledging my cynical statements that

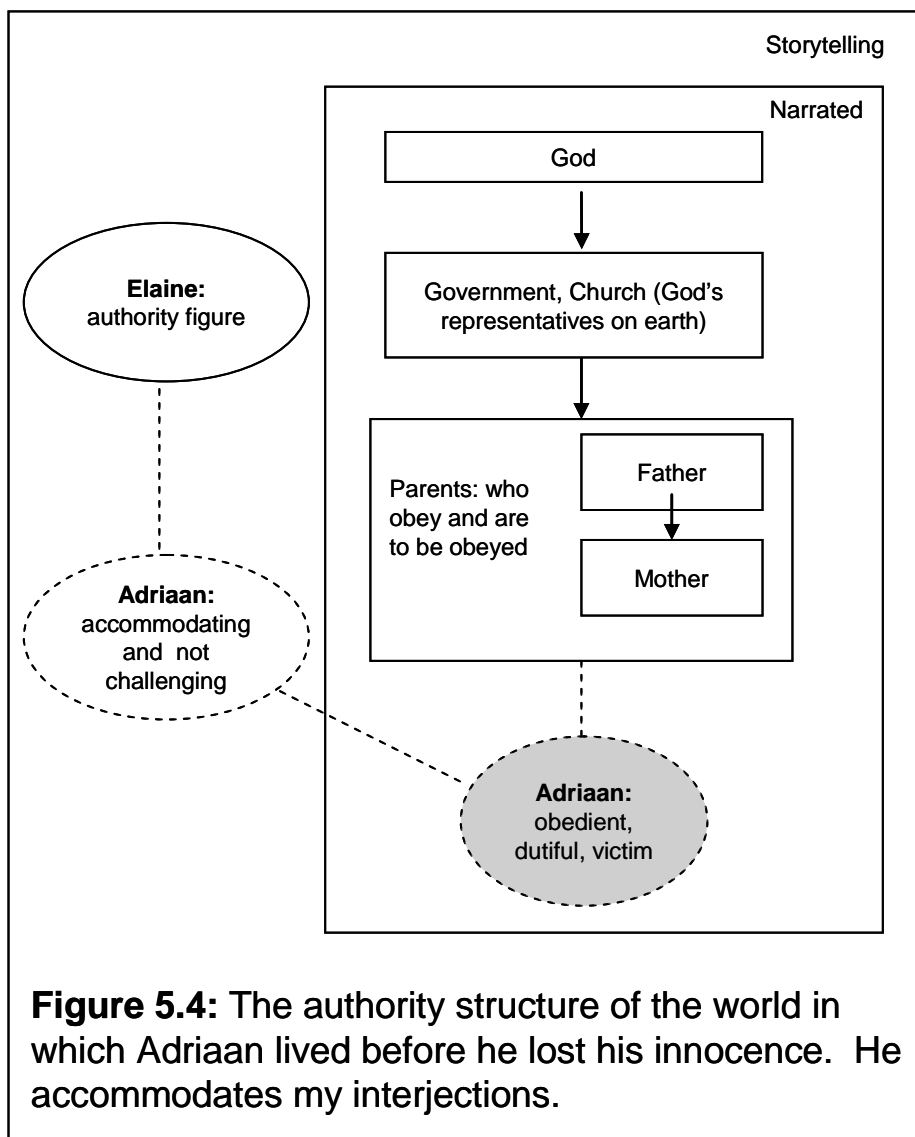
apartheid had to be maintained, he returns to positioning his family as non-racist. His father is the main protagonist, picking up on his belief that he would have made different decisions if his father had lived.

He interprets doing God's will as doing what your leaders expect of you. Although I did not ask him, he is probably referring to the Christian belief that authorities are the representatives of God on earth. My interjection that his father does not appear to have been that obedient, leads to confusion in his narrative flow. He juxtaposes work, church and the government of the day, concluding that for his father colour did not matter in church, but in everyday activities it did. He recognises that this is bizarre and eventually says that he does not know how he thought at the time. Adriaan has held up his father as progressive and non-racist. He grew up to be obedient to authority and as he will explain throughout his narrative, authority figures have disappointed him. He appears to be searching for a discourse, a way of reconstituting himself, and to a limited degree his father has provided this. But, as he has acknowledged his father was also brainwashed and not fully capable of standing up to the authorities of the time.

He looks back with the knowledge that he has been failed by authority figures. He gives some indication of the confusion and conflict that arose when he was expected to obey authority figures whom he sees as representing God's will on earth, but who promoted wrongful behaviour and beliefs.

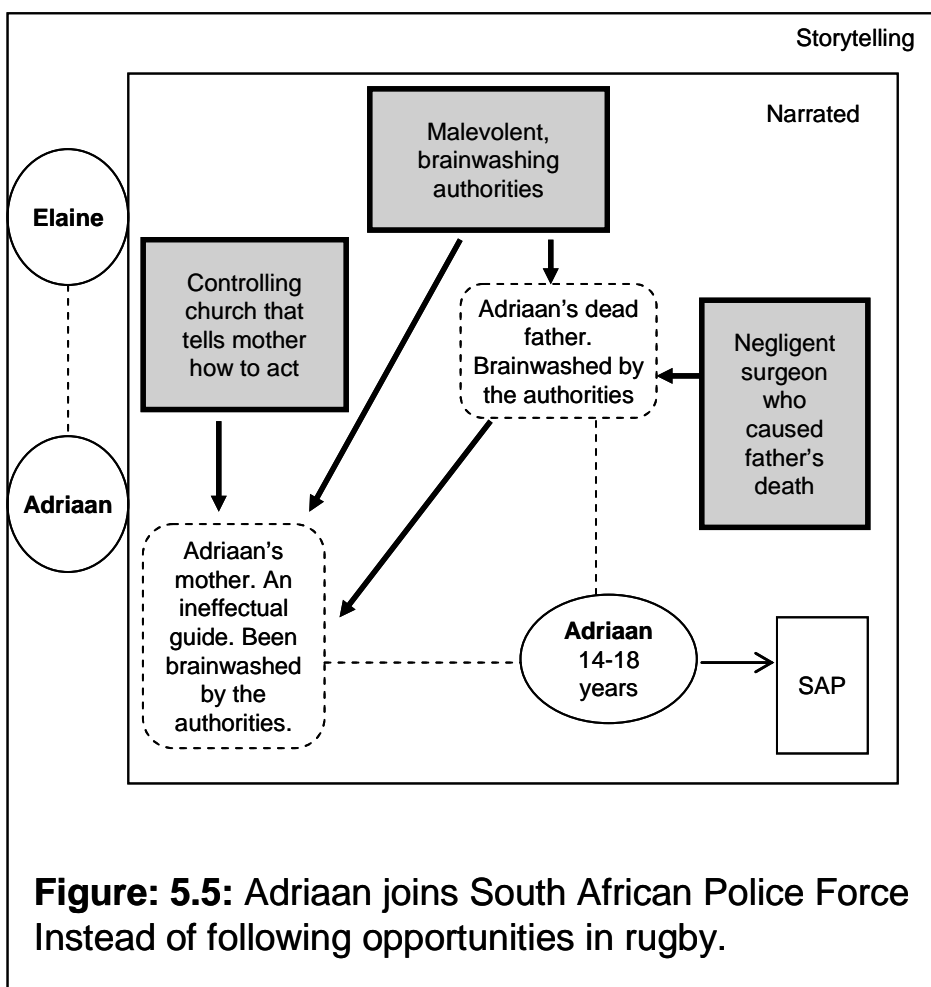
I do not get the impression that he seriously questioned authority growing up. He presents himself as someone who did what was expected of him. This was not only his filial duty, but also necessary as a Christian. Doing the will of God, which often involves obeying authority figures, is critically important in the world in which he grew up. He is the innocent whose role was that of obedience. In this world view, authority figures, God's representatives would take care of him if he fulfilled his role of obedience.

I remain an authority figure to him. In telling me about his father’s stand against racism, he responds to my interjections and attempts to incorporate them into his narrative. He, despite all his difficulties with authority as will become clearer in the next few paragraphs, responds with accommodation to me as an authority figure. He is enacting the belief that he grew up with, that authority is to be obeyed. In Figure 5.4 I attempt to capture it graphically:



He depicts his family as good and as more politically liberal than most. He equates racism with bad decisions; good decisions are against racism. Negligent, malevolent and at times naïve authority figures lead him away

from his true heritage which was to be open-minded and non-racist. His role as an obedient child was to do as he was told. He appears to have done this innocently, without his faith in the authority structures being lost. With the perspective of many years he has realised that authority cannot be trusted. The surgeon was neglectful and his father died. His father, at times stood up for his beliefs, but was brainwashed into using corporal punishment, and advising him to join the police. He depicts his mother as an inadequate though loving guide who needs protection and who does what she is told by the church. He describes himself as a victim from the beginning who makes bad decisions due to the lack of guidance that resulted from his father's death. Figure 5.5 reflects the influence of authority figures on his decision to go to the police.



Joining the Police and Before Going to the Townships

Episodes 12 to 17 (Table 4 in Appendix D) encompass this period. Numerous characters feature in this section. Many of them appear only once and have little further influence in the story. Occasionally a character makes only a brief appearance, but has a major role to play in the story. He continues to portray himself as innocent, but eventually is corrupted and joins the authorities.

He starts by attempting to describe the period in the police college (Episode 12; section not quoted). He struggles immensely to articulate his thoughts on this period. He expresses his difficulty in fitting in, but apart from that, cannot explain the problem. His sentences are extremely disjointed, and he mentions some of the racist attitudes. Again he appears to be attempting to position himself as non-racist, mentioning that road-blocks showed no respect for black people. He also raises the passbook issue and with it the enforcement of apartheid. Eventually I ask what his aim was in going to college. I reflect his uncertainty in my hesitant question. He then defines the problem as he wanted to be a policeman, but the police had been militarised. He could not adjust to the militarisation of the police.

E: hoe was wat was jou, ek weet nie hoe om dit te stel, um miskien jou gevoel hoekom was jy daar?

A: ja, uh (9) ek hoor nou wat jy sê. my doel was om, om kriminele te vang. ek was baie geïnteresseerd in in dit. um soos ek sê. ek wou Taakmag toe. oraait jy weet nou nie veel nie. op 'n way weet jy van SANAB, van die drugs, dit het my baie geïntereseer. en uh (2) um (2) toe ons in die kollege kom, toe is dit net militêr in die sin dat jy word nou opgelei om, die terrorist nou fucked up te skiet. en uh, dis die groot ding gewees. um dit het gegaan daaroor. begin fokus, baie daarop, um in die sin nie oor polisie werk a-a-as sulks self nie jy weet die hele ding is begin met oorlog. ek het even nou nog fotos waar ons staan langs die Casspir met jou camos.

E: And your feeling, I'm not sure how to put this, maybe, what was your feeling, why were you there?

A: Yes, (9) I see what you mean. My goal was to catch criminals, I was interested in the Task Force and SANAB (South African Narcotics Bureau). Drug abuse interested me. But when we got to college it was all militarised. You were taught to shoot terrorists. That was the big thing, where all the focus was. It was no longer on police work. It was all seen as a war. I even now have photos of myself next to the Casspir (armoured vehicle) in camos.

At this point he takes some control in directing the interview. Resuming his story after college, he explains his attempts to stay out of Unit 19 (Episode 13). This was a Riot Unit and had just been established. It appears it already had a reputation for atrocities. The message he received when he asked what the work entailed was:

A: jy-y-y gaan opgelei word deur die Takies. naas dit gaan jy dan townships toe. en toe begin hulle jou die basiese agtergrond gee van die boy, jy weet die kaffer, hy moet moet uit.

A: You will be trained by the Takies (Task Force). After that you will be posted to the townships. And then they started to give you the background of the boy, you know, the kaffir. He has to be gotten rid of.

He uses the derogatory terms of racist discourses; black men are boys and kaffirs. We can hear the voices of the authorities he questioned on the work of Unit 19. He indicates the authorities used propaganda in order to achieve their aim of killing black people.

He managed to avoid being sent to Unit 19 by using his mother's widowhood and instead, with a message of his inadequacy (section not quoted), was posted at a police station in the uniform branch. Avoiding going to the

townships to kill black people was interpreted as laziness and shirking of duty. At the police station he did well, joined the South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB), and made good arrests. But then disaster strikes. While in the SANAB he uncovers corruption (Episode 14). He accuses the two most senior members of corruption. These are important people with influence and false stories are spread about him and apparently believed by his father-in-law (also in the police) and his commanding officer. He is transferred to the Mobile Unit as a result:

A: toe kom ek net terug van SANAB af. stories loop rond ek het met hoere geslaap. um ja toe is ek swartskaaap, swartskaaap maar reguit Mobiele Eenheid toe. (5)

A: I just got back from SANAB to the stories that I had slept with whores. And I was sent, black sheep, black sheep to the Mobile Unit. (5)

He is punished for uncovering corruption and not towing the line. In telling his story he establishes that he is honest and has integrity. He now portrays authority figures as corrupt and incompetent. This is probably an incident that contributes to his starting to question the wisdom of authorities. He is sent back to U police station, and from there he is transferred to the Mobile Unit which eventually became the Stability Unit. He is only vindicated many years later when the people he exposed were convicted and gaoled.

He indicates he wants to return to the topic of the college period (Episode 15). I explained earlier that he struggled to articulate his thoughts about the college period. He appears to have managed to consolidate his thoughts in the few minutes since we spoke about it and is much more forceful in explaining his difficulties with the college. He is also presenting himself as a good, moral person to me before expanding on the period in the townships:

A: nee. nee, omrede, ek weet nie, vandag dink ek-k-k ek het my eie mind probeer vorm oor oor oor dit en dan, maar en gerebelleer teenoor dit

omrede jy mag nie iets sê het nie jy weet. hulle ons vertel hoe erg dit is, dan sê ek vir myself ek gaan die vakansie na die plaas dan gaan ek weer vir Piet en Jan, of wie ookal of wat ookal hulle naam is. hulle is van 'n ander kleur en my beste (hhh) tjommies jy weet. [...] so ja. en um die groot ding ek wou mense gehelp het, dis waarom ek in SANAB belangestel het. dit weet ek ook nou al vandag. en soos dit nou maar was, het prostitute nou daardie tyd, toe, ja, ek het hulle jammer gekry. ons het geweet van meisies, ek het geweet van hulle omstandighede. ek het nogal ondersoek gedoen in hulle en hoekom hulle doen waarom. [...] ja die kerk sê kom ons gaan bid vir die hoer. maar hoekom vat ons haar nie af van die straat nie en gee vir haar werk.

A: No, because I realise today, I was trying to form my own opinions. And I suppose I was somewhat rebellious, as you weren't allowed to say anything. We were told how bad it was, but I would say to myself that during the holiday I will see Piet or Jan, or whatever their names were. They are a different colour, but they are my best pals. [...] And the big thing is, I wanted to help people, that is why I was interested in SANAB. I know that today. And the prostitutes of the time, I felt sorry for them. I knew the circumstances of these girls. I investigated them and why they did what they did. [...] And I began to think, the church says pray for the whore, but why don't we take her off the streets and give her a job?

In this section he explains that he did start to question some of the propaganda they were given. He also states a willingness to understand social problems, even though it entails distancing himself from the church. He has positioned himself as having integrity (investigating the corrupt top cops), being more enlightened than most (had friends of other races), being willing to be called a coward (for refusing to join Unit 19 which he describes as killing blacks), able and willing to understand others' problems and not condemn them (understanding prostitutes).

He tried one more thing to avoid going to the townships (Episode 16). His compulsory period of service was almost over and he decided to go overseas with a friend who had contacts for jobs. He sold many of his possessions in preparation. But this too did not work as his mother was very upset by the idea and he stayed. Duty and obedience won over his need to avoid the townships. One final incident is important (Episode 17), before illustrating and summarising the person he sketches himself to be before going into the townships.

A: en toe wat ek goed kan onthou is, is die een sersant, ek kan sy van nie onthou nie, hy sê vir ons toe (2) hy wil nie een van ons sien ons ouens slaan oor pa:sboeke of of crap nie jy weet. dit was nie honderd jaar daarna nie, toe het hy net verdwyn. toe het Veiligheid hom kom haal. nooit weer die ou gesien nie.

E: hoe het jy geweet Veiligheid het hom kom haal?

A: dit gesien.

E: het julle dit gesien?

A: ons het gesien, hulle het daar aangekom. hulle dit heel diskreet gedoen. maar naas dit toe hoor ons maar nou net, stories. weet nie hoe waar dit was nie. maar, maar ek het hom nooit weer gesien nie. daar's stories dat hy gepos is, sy familie. hoe waar dit is weet ek nie. maar daardie dag, dit was die laaste keer wat ons hom gesien het, was daardie dag.

E: hoe was daai gedagte of die stories wat jy gehoor het vir jou?

A: ja, soo:s ek sê, Elaine, jy weet, ek was seker daai tyd al toe rebels, teen die sis-sisteem en man ek was daar om mense te help. en uh dit was my groot ding ding gewees. en ek het gedink dis waarom die polisie daar is. jy is daar om mense te help. ja, en dis-s-s-s ek was heeltmal uit my sokkies uitgeskok en, jissie is die ouens nou in staat tot hierdie goed toe. jy weet daai tipe ding. jy weet, het ek by myself gedink. maar wat het ek op nog steeds op daardie stadium nog nie geweet nie jy weet wat hulle wel in staat toe was en wat hulle wel gedoen het tot ek self betrokke geraak het by sekere dinge saam met hulle.

A: I remember the one sergeant. He said he didn't want to see any of us hitting people about passbooks or crap such as that. Not a hundred years later, the guy disappeared. The Security Branch had come to fetch him. We never saw him again.

E: How did you know that he was fetched by the Security Branch?

A: Saw it.

E: You saw it?

A: We saw it. They came, quite discreetly. After that we heard stories. I don't know how true they were but I never saw him again. There were stories that he and his family had been posted. I don't know how true it was but that was the last day that we saw him.

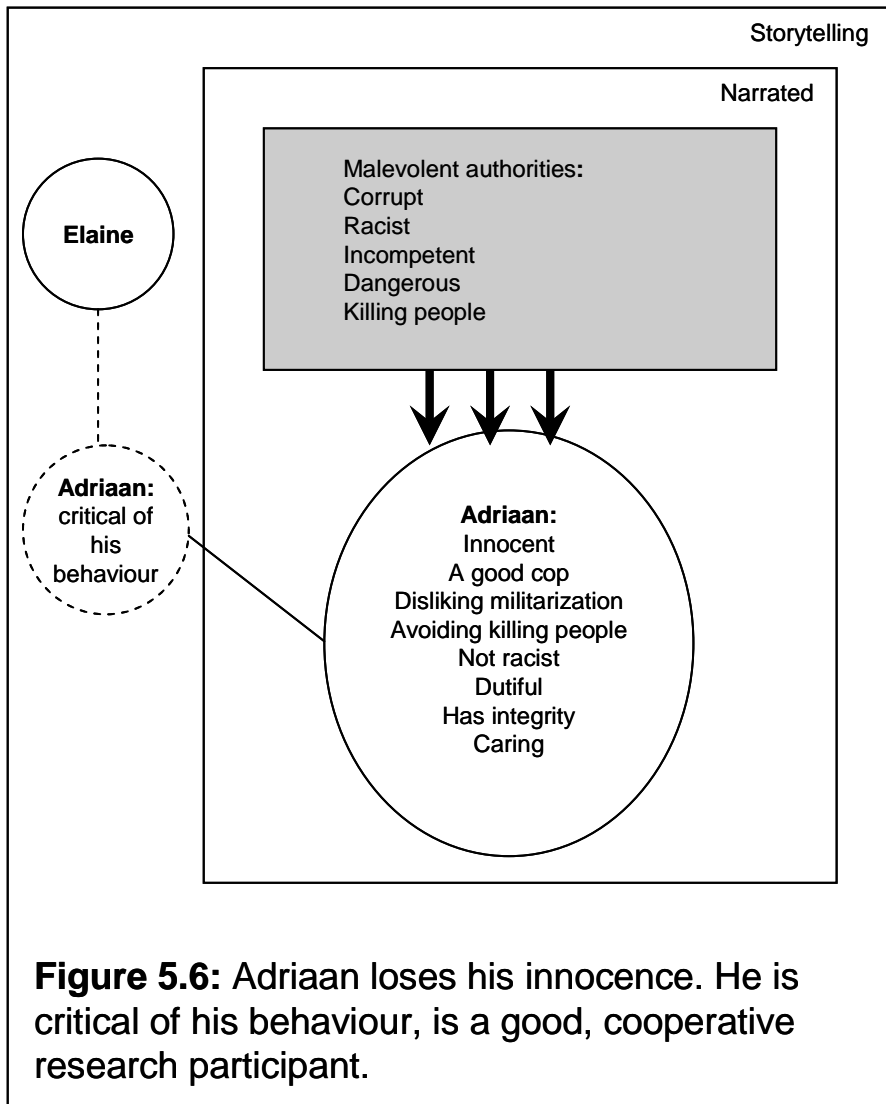
E: How did you experience those thoughts or that story?

A: As I have said, Elaine, I was already rebellious against the system. I was there to help people, and for me it was important to help people. I thought that was what the police did. I was totally shocked; I couldn't believe that they were capable of things like this. What I didn't realise was what they were capable of and what they did; not until I got involved and did certain things with them.

Adriaan describes himself as a young man who joined the police with his innocence intact. His world, as discussed earlier, saw him obedient to authorities who represented God. As he tells the story of the college period and his early service in the police he positions himself as disappointed by the militarisation in the college and the realisation that he was being trained to kill people instead of serve them. He juxtaposes godliness and militarisation. He chose godliness above militarisation. The blatant racism in the police discomforted him. He indicates that he had integrity and exposed corruption. His punishment for exposing corruption was to be sent to the townships, which he tried in various ways to avoid. In part, his role as a dutiful son prevented him from escaping the townships. He positions himself as a good man, an honest, caring policeman and a dutiful son.

In the story of the disappearing sergeant he evokes the fear that was pervasive in the country during the period of the 1980s. The security structures are represented as all-powerful and capable of killing those who were not obedient. He ends this part of the story by stating he was finally corrupted and joined the malevolent authorities and their structures in their nefarious deeds. He was helpless against the forces and structures which dominated in the country.

In telling the story he is a good research subject who cooperates and observes and comments on his behaviour. Being critical of his behaviour is an attempt to reclaim who he was before being influenced by the authorities. In Figure 5.6 I indicate the ways in which he has positioned himself in his narrative before joining the police and then being overwhelmed by the nefarious authorities.



The Period in the Townships until Leaving the SAP

This period is covered in Episodes 18 to 29 (Table 4 in Appendix D). He refers to only a few individuals in this section. He positions himself as having lost innocence, as a perpetrator, as becoming sick and as a victim. With regard to me, he enacts his victimhood in this section; at times becoming very tearful.

He describes the period in the Mobile Unit as chaotic, racing from one incident to another often covering long distances (Episode 18). He uses language that evokes normal policing "kry 'n klagte" (*get a complaint*; section

not quoted) but in highly abnormal circumstances. In the following section he describes situations which are far removed from normal policing:

A: ja en daarop vir my 'n riller om al hierdie chaos te sien en. toe ek daar aankom was daar reeds ouens daar ek was nog in die begin was ek nou 'n tipe, van 'n lekie. dan kry ek jissie, dan kry ek 'n s-swart person wat geskiet, gesteek wat ookal is. dan bel ek nou die a:mbulans, en laat weet die blackjack officers, want ons want niemand wou daar in wou eintlik daar in gaan nie, dis waarom ons die mense gekry het om my daaronder te kry te dat hierdie man nou by die ambulans kan uitkom. dan sê die ouens what? (3) ja

E: so hulle was verbaas toe jy 'n ambulans wou kry.

A: ja, dis uiters bog. (hhh) jy jy hulle kan sien hier-die ou is nog 'n groentjie. ek wou nog help in die begin, jy weet. later aan sê hulle dis die game. en (2) later aan het jy net so barbaars geword soos (2) terwyl die persoon daar lê, geskiet, gewond, lewe nog dan staan jy maar op sy keel, dan spaar dit my die blackjack officers te kry. en ja, allerhande goed, die dra:nk het gevloei, die uh (2) ek was nooit nu:gter nie, ons ons was nooit nugter nie. die shebeens was vol, gery, aangegaan. la:ng dae, jy jy jy gaan miskien dan sê jy jy gaan op skof en en week of wat later gaan jy eers huis toe. so en dan intussen dan drink jy maar, gaan aan, offisiere drink, almaal drink. want dit was 'n nuwe ding gewees vir almaal. destyds bring hulle eers nou die uh rubber bullet uit en die uh gasgrana:te al daardie goed was toe maar die, eerste keer, ontwerp. hulle het nie geweet die die groot stopper die um stopper kon nou 'n gasgranaat skiet en uh rubber-uh-uh-koeël. hulle het vir ons gesê hulle nie geweet presies wat gaan (hhh) die goed maak nie, want hulle het nie geweet nie. dis-s, vandag weet ek hulle dis dinge wat hulle nie geweet het daai tyd van nie. en in die begin was die rubberkoeël se lading baie, baie sterk gewees. jy het 'n ou morsdood geskiet as jy hom raakgetref het. later aan het hulle die lading afgebring, want toe het die kommissies en goed begin deurkom. maar met daardie sterk lading ag, jy het simpel goed begin doen, batterye voor ingesit om hom te help (hhh) vir 'n ekstra. ja die

ouens het snaakse goed begin doen. die ouens het begin eksperimenteer. haal 'n haelgeweerpatroon. (1) sit hom vol water, ys hom by die huis bring hom werk toe maak jousef jou eie slug, jy weet. ja hulle sal nooit uitvi:nd nie, dis water, as jy 'n ou plug sal hy smelt. ja, dis absolut barbaars. ouens platgery met die Casspir uh uh sommer net vir die fun uh. Sondae het ons geweet die mense gaan ke:rk toe. sulke dinge wat my begin opval het. my kerk wat my sê hierdie mense is absolute sondaars maar ek weet toe vir 'n feit, want ek het gewerk in die townships. hulle gaan meer kerk toe, daar is meer mense in hulle kerke as ons kerk is. en al daaie vrae kom op maar, ek glo ek het deelgeword van die sisteem op die einde van die dag, want ek het niks gevoel vir nie:mand nie.

A: And for me it was terrible to see all this chaos. There already were guys there when I arrived and in the beginning I was inexperienced. I'd find a black person who had been shot, stabbed, whatever and I'd phone the ambulance and let the blackjack officers {municipal police} know. None of us wanted to go in there, which is why I would get them to meet me so that we could get the injured man to the ambulance. The guys would say: "What!?" (3) Yes.

E: So they were surprised that you wanted to get an ambulance.

A: Yes. Total rubbish {laughs}. You could see they thought I was a rookie. I still wanted to help in the beginning you know. Later they told me it was the game. And later you became as barbaric as they were. The person would be lying there, shot, wounded, still alive and you would stand on his throat. It would save me getting the blackjack officers. All sorts of things. The alcohol flowed, I was never sober, we were never sober. The shebeens {unlicensed establishments selling alcohol} were full, riding, carrying on. Long days. You would go on duty and only go home a week later. In between you drank. Officers drank, everyone drank. It was a new thing for everyone. At that time they started using rubber bullets, gas grenades. It was the first time things like that were developed. The large stopper could shoot a gas grenade and rubber bullet. But they said to us that they weren't sure what these things would

do (hhh). Today I know that they did not know and in the beginning the charge on the rubber bullets was so strong that you killed a guy if you shot accurately. Later they brought down the charge, because of the commissions and things. With the strong charge, you started doing stupid things; put batteries in the front to help a bit {laughs}, for an extra. Yes the guys did strange things. They began to experiment. They would fill a shotgun casing with water, ice it at home and bring it to work. That way you could make your own slug. They would never find out, it is water. If you plugged someone, it would melt. Totally barbaric. Drive over people with the Casspir, just for the hell of it. Sundays we knew the people went to church. I began to notice things like that. My church told me these people are absolute sinners, but I know because I worked there that they went to church more than we did. There were more people in their churches than in ours. All those questions started arising. I believe I became a part of the system at the end of the day; I felt nothing for anyone.

They worked in chaotic circumstances, often for extremely long periods, mostly under the influence of alcohol. I will discuss the use of alcohol in committing atrocities in Chapters 10 and 11.

Adriaan explains that at first he attempted to maintain his good policeman stance, but was very soon initiated into atrocities. He lost the battle against the malevolent authorities and the structures they had created and joined them in their nefarious deeds. He now positions himself as a perpetrator, who does his expected duty which involves killing black people. He indicates it was barbaric, but shows no particular emotions, beyond occasional laughter. The laughter is possibly more indicative of discomfort with telling the story than of amusement. Rauch and Storey (1998) confirm the changes the police made to ammunition which Adriaan describes.

Authorities are again described as incompetent. They did not test weapons before making them available. Officers joined them in drinking on duty and

did not stop them from committing atrocities. It was a militarised force, but he does not indicate much discipline or control over them. Much later he told me that there were very few officers.

He then mentions that he started having doubts; the subject of religion again arises and he notes that the people in the townships were more in church than those in his own communities. He began to realise that he had believed the propaganda presented to him and that black people were not what he had been told. He at times uses the second person (probably trying to create some distance), but leaves us with no doubt that he actually accepts responsibility for what he did, explaining that he became part of the system. He equates becoming part of the system with developing emotional blunting. He is reconstituting himself as a moral man, by indicating his dismay in what he did and by taking responsibility for his behaviour.

He is also the expert in our interaction and is educating me as to what they experienced and did. Although he must have also been involved in good policing while in the townships, he never mentions it – the impact of the atrocities they were involved in overwhelms his narrative. I hardly participate, and in retrospect I think this was because I actually did not want to know this about him. I had heard these stories before, but had forgotten about all he had done. On rereading my notes, I found previous references to many of these incidents which I had not remembered. I will discuss my response in more detail in Chapter 8.

He continues:

A: ek was nie lank daar, en in 87, toe sê ek vir myself: Here Adriaan hierso wil ek hierso is dinge nie reg nie. ek meen ek het jou vertel van, dan drink ons brandewyn staan ons langs die kanaa:l met daardie vloed in 87 dan het die begraafplaas weggespoel dan raak ons Coke op dan sê ons ag fok dit. drink sommer water en dan vat ons net Milton, dash dit in jou brandewyn met daai water met die lyke. ag so baie ek kan nie eers

daarvan praat nie. maar (3) maar daar was 'n absolute ding in my, toe begin kinders geskiet te word. [...] Sondae gaan mense dan gaan die arme mense kerk toe. om terug te kom na die kerk op Sondae. ons is so gedrink. dan se ons nou wil ons seker nou aksie en bloed sien. dan skiet ons die plek vol traanrook, skiet na die huise dan later raak die boys kwaad, dan sê ons ok nou kom hulle vir ons. al sulke, crap. ag daar is so baie sulke dinge wat ek seker nou nie. maar ek kom toe op 'n stadium 87/88 wat ek toe vir my sê hier moet ek uit. want toe is alles in flardes, my huwelik, my alles, in sy kanon in. hier moet ek uit. en ek het probeer deur die kanale probeer gaan soos die kapela:an blah, blah, blah. nee, jy is kan nie gaan nie jy is een van die troepe. seker die enigste manier om daar uit te kom is om (2) Taakmag toe te gaan.

A: Yes, I had not been there long and in 1987 I told myself: "God Adriaan, things are not right here." I told you previously, we would stand and drink brandy next to the canal in 1987 during the floods and the cemetery which had been washed away. Our Coke would be finished and we'd say: "Fuck it, use water" and we'd dash some Milton {sterilising agent} in our brandy, using the water in which the bodies were. There were so many things; I can't talk of all of it. (3) But there was something in me when children started being shot. [...] On Sundays the poor people would go to church. To come back to the people at church on Sundays, we were so inebriated; we would say we want to see action and blood. Then we would shoot the place full of teargas; we'd shoot at the houses, then the boys would get angry and we'd say: 'Now they are coming for us!' Crap like that. So many things, which I probably don't have to go into. But a time came in 87/88 when everything was falling apart, my marriage, everything. I knew I had to get out. I tried through the channels, like the chaplain, but got "Blah, blah, blah, no you can't go, you're one of the troops." The only way to get out of there appeared to be to join the Task Force.

He continues with a litany of atrocities in which they were involved. In a later interview (section not quoted here) he describes some of the atrocities in which he had been involved. The methods included assaults, water boarding, applying electrical shocks to genitals, and throwing people from bridges and moving vehicles. In Figure 5.7 I attempt to capture the perpetration, as well as my horror at some of what he was saying. I avoid asking any questions – at this stage I was still very wary about asking about perpetration and not at all sure how I wanted to react to it. He also does not appear to want any particular reaction from me. The story of drinking water in which bodies were floating, he uses to indicate their level of dissolution. It also indicates a macho disregard of conventional behaviour. His life, including his marriage, was in disarray. He appears to link the problems in his private life with the atrocities in which he was involved.

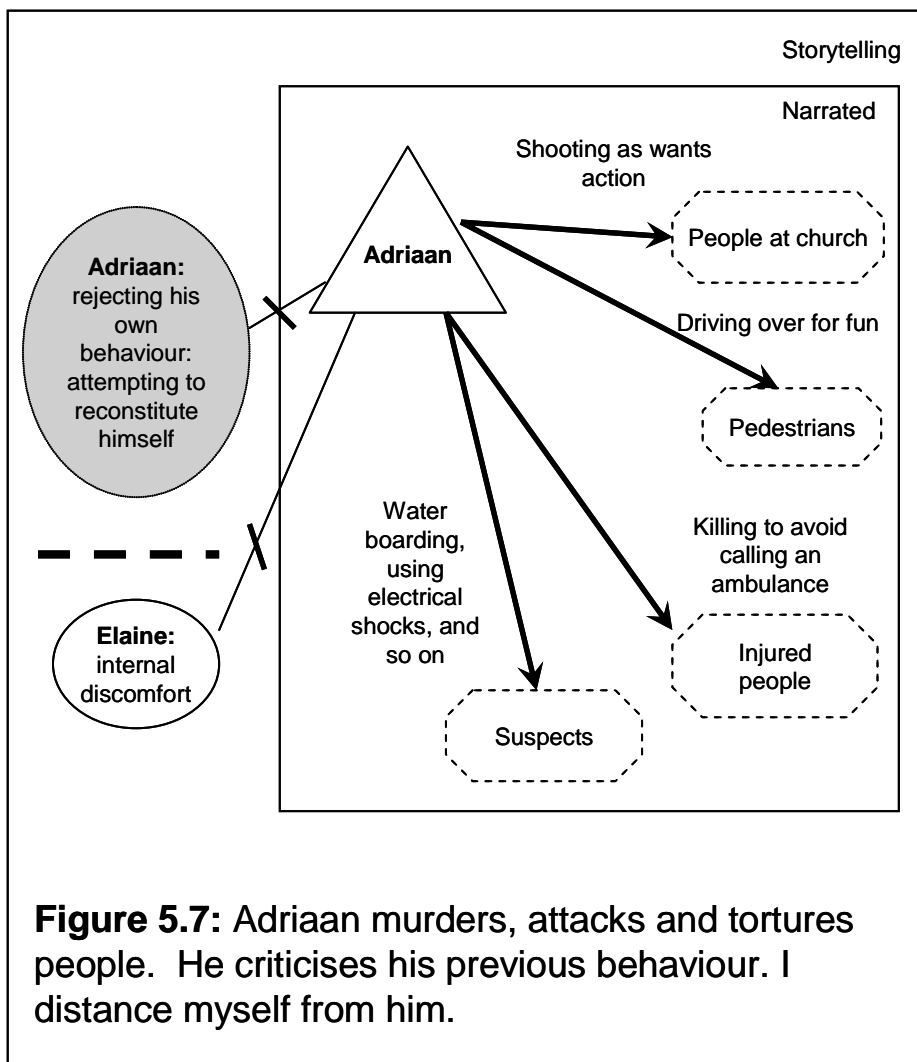


Figure 5.7: Adriaan murders, attacks and tortures people. He criticises his previous behaviour. I distance myself from him.

Eventually he came to a decision that he had to get out of the townships. However, following the prescribed structures did not work. As his wife did not want to go to Pretoria for Task Force training (Episode 19), he only has the possibility of the Reaction Unit left.

I ask in the following few lines (not quoted) whether he had ever thought of resigning and he calls on witnesses in his family to confirm that he had on numerous occasions thought of leaving. He then gives a long description of how difficult the Reaction Unit training was, and how difficult it was at the age of 27 to make it (Episode 19). I only quote a brief part of this story:

A: ons kurses was ses maande gewees. van absolute (hhh) toughheid. toe ons nou daar klaar is toe sê hulle vir ons nee maar julle het nog drie maande proba:sie ook. daar ook nog deur. [...] ons het 'n fantastiese rekord. even vandag nog. ons het 'n beter rekord as die Taakmag as dit kom by huispenstrasies om ouens uit te haal. (6)

A: Our course lasted six months. It was extremely tough {laughs}. When we finished, they said we still had three months of probation. I got through that as well. [...]. We had a fantastic record. Even today. We had a better record than the Task Force when it came to house penetrations and removing people.

His pride in the Reaction Unit is apparent, and I am given the strong impression that had circumstances been different, he would have been a good policeman. He appears to be attempting to recover a positive identity; he reminds me that his goal in joining the police was to help others. He is not only a perpetrator. He hoped that he would be involved in useful work in the Reaction Unit, but they were eventually used by the Security Branch and occasionally by Murder and Robbery to find suspects. He is once again disappointed in attempting to get into conventional policing. His attempts to rehabilitate himself and get out of the townships did not work as the

structures were too powerful. He then continues, telling about an important event (Episode 20):

A: um (5) ei:nde 89, toe word nou ek en Ed Ed was baie goeie v-vriende, ons het saamgeduik en ons was saam op vlootkursusse ons was relatief baie close gewees. hy was ook baie lief vir die hy was ook baie lief vir die see. um daar is dinge soos dit wat nou uitstaan. die aand wat hy gaan ek ek kon dit aanvoel hier kom kak.

E: jy was self nie oraait op daardie stadium nie?

A: nee, dis net na, ek my eerste, aanvalle begin kry het, paniekaanvalle. wel hulle dit destyds afgeskryf as alkoholisme. ek is 'n alkoholis. die kapelaan na my toe gestuur. toe sê hulle nee ek is net 'n alkoholis. ja, en naas-s naas dit, toe na sy sy dood toe begin dit. ek sal dit nooit vergeet nie. hy gesê moenie worry nie, Adriaan, ek sal na jou kyk. ek sê Ed, hier is kak vanaand ek voel nie reg nie. nee moenie worry nie, ek sal na jou kyk.

E: gee jy om om te vertel wat daar gebeur het?

A: {crying} ne-e-e. (8) dis nou (2) ek en hy, dit was 'n gro:ot ANC sterkpunt/Inkatha sterkpunt, ek kan nie onthou nie, ek praat onder korreksie daar. maar daar was maar daar was 'n klomp gewapende ouens daar dis hulle mai:n by 'n sekere area 'n kraal. ja ons het die inligting gekry die polisie kon nie naby die gebied kom nie dis hoekom ons ingestuur is. hulle geen polisieman, hulle hulle het geweier om even in daardie area in te gaan. wa:nt u-u-h al die speurders van U polisiestasierearea, S, hulle kon nie hulle werk daar doen nie. in daardie area hulle was net doodgeskiet daar en. niemand kon daar in-ingaan nie. baie gevaarlik. en dis nou toe hulle ons instuur. en ons het ja, operasies gedoen. twee, drie dae gaan ops lê. goeie bepla:ning deel van die werk. goeie beplanning vooraf. maar die aand toe sê ek nee in elk geval ons is daar op. ons het hulle surprise. hulle het ons surprise. alles was hunky dory, jy weet. ek was gewoon aa:n sulke stories in die townships, waaraan die Reaksieouens nou nie, hulle het hulle spesiale job gehad. ja: en ek en Ed. ons skiet toe, wel hy skiet toe. want die plek waar hy gaan

gaan toe lê was daar net een plek vir 'n ou om te skiet. en toe het ons mekaar gespot, en ek het gesê: gee my 'n beurt. toe sê hy hy skiet te lekker. en uh ja en to:e, ons het opgevolg, en deur 'n frats, 'n koeël het hom getref. en dit was een van ons eie ouens wat (1) uit vrees ek het die ou geken, hy (5) is nou in Nieu-Seeland, hy is nou 'n polisieman daar, kan jy dit glo? maar in elk geval. hy't geva:l terwyl ons gehardloop het na die kraal, toe val hy toe druk hy die sneller. en bang.

E: ek het dit nie besef nie, hoor.

A: die groot impak wat gemaak was, was die feit dat um (3) ons het probeer 'n drip in hom sit. en-en-en weet voor sy dood kon 'n ou. wel duidelik kon ek nou weet geweet die man gaan dit nie maak nie. en dit was chaos gewees. Ed is geskiet. uh hy is in sy nek geskiet, daar is niks wat basies bitter min ouens survive dit.

A: *Um (5) the end of 89, Ed and I were good friends. We did diving together and were together on the navy course. We were quite close. He also loved the sea. Things like that stand out – the night that he – I could feel there was going to be shit.*

E: *You were not ok yourself at that stage were you?*

A: *No, that was just after I started getting my first attacks, panic attacks. Well at the time they wrote it off as alcoholism. I was an alcoholic. They sent the chaplain to me and the feedback was I am just an alcoholic. After his death it started. I will never forget it, he said: “Don’t worry Adriaan, I’ll look after you.” And I said: “Ed there is going to be shit here tonight, I don’t feel good.” “No, don’t worry, I’ll look after you.”*

E: *Do you mind telling what happened?*

A: *{crying} No. (8). He and I. It was an ANC stronghold or an Inkatha stronghold. I can’t remember, but there was a large group of armed men at a kraal in the area. We received the information; the police couldn’t get near the area so we were sent in. They refused to go into the area. The detectives from U and S were shot and killed when they tried. No one could get in. It was very dangerous, and so they sent us in. We planned the operation for two or three days. Good preparation was part of the job.*

But that evening we surprised them; they surprised us, everything was fine; I was used to such things in the townships, whereas the Reaction Unit people weren't. They had their own specialities. And Ed and I were shooting, well actually only he was. Where he was lying there was only space for one at a time. And we were joking, and I said "Give me a turn" and he said he was enjoying himself too much. Well, we followed up and a bullet hit him, it was one of our own people. He shot out of fear. I knew him, he (5) is now in New Zealand, a policeman there, can you believe it? In any event, he fell as we ran to the kraal; he fell and pressed the trigger and bang.

E: *I didn't realise that part.*

A: *The major impact was the fact that we were trying to put in a drip, but before his death you knew. One knew before his death that this man was not going to make it. It was chaotic. He was shot in his neck; few people survive that.*

This is the first time in the interviews that he cries. I am sympathetic, but make no other intervention at this stage. We had spoken about Ed's death before, although I did not know that he was shot by a colleague. Ed's death was extremely difficult for him. He experienced severe guilt. The symptoms he had started experiencing became more and more pronounced. He also felt punished by the unit – for showing emotion and not being able to cope with experiences. He explains (Episode 21):

A: ja, wat my gevang het, uh wat ek wil sê, die feit is hier is 'n klomp snot, hier is die man nou dood vir niks nie. [...] toe wil hulle sommer niks met my te doen hê nie. ek toe net paniekaanvalle begin kry het. {inaudible} is dit kom jou toe tipe ding in die sin dat hulle my toe begin s-straf het. dit was die straf gewees in die Reaksie Eenheid. as jy miskien bietjie horribaal kak aangejaa:g dan het hulle jou 'n week of twee in die in die in die uh opskamer laat werk het, dat jy nie deel kan wees van die aksie nie. dis wat hulle met my gedoen het. en uh en en alles het paniekaanvalle redelik baie erg begin raa:k, en en so 'n ding wat hulle my toe 'n dag gesê

nee luister jy is nie meer goed is vir die Ee:nheid nie. ek was net uh miskien 'n alkoholis in hulle oë, of maar ek was volgens hulle toe nie geskik nie.

E: het hulle direk dit vir jou gesê?

A: ja. ja ek is toe weer verplaas townships toe. um my probleem wat wat ek toe ondervind het het het hulle stuur my terug, en toe word dit net erger. maar in elk geval uit, wou ek uit. maar ek kon nie. um-m in die hospitaal, uit die hospitaal, in die hospitaal, uit die hospitaal.

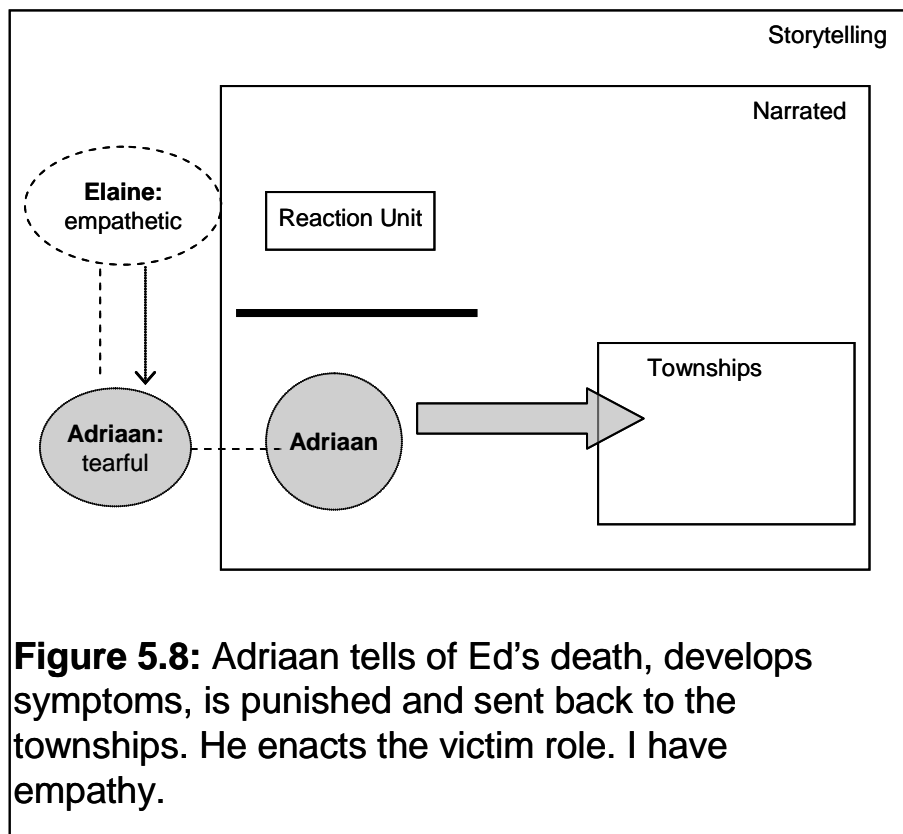
***A:** What caught me was that for this crap a man died. [...] I then saw from their attitude that they wanted nothing to do with me. I had just started having panic attacks and they implied that I deserved them because they started punishing me. The punishment in the Reaction Unit if you had caused too much shit was to be made to work in the ops room for a week or two. You would not be allowed to be part of the action. That is what they did to me. The panic attacks began to become quite severe and then one day they told me that I was not good for the Unit. They may have just seen me as an alcoholic, but according to them I was not suitable.*

E: Did they say it directly?

A: Yes. I was then again sent to the townships. This just worsened the problem I had. I wanted to get out, but I couldn't. I was in hospital, out of hospital, in hospital, out of hospital. .

His speech is very disjointed in this section. He is obviously upset as he tells the story. His illness is punished by removing him from the action. He is now rejected by the malevolent authorities with whom he has aligned himself. He gets no help from the authorities for his problems; instead the chaplain is sent to look for alcohol. At this point he is depicting the authorities as malevolent, uncaring, judgemental and incompetent to treat him. There is no recognition from them that he is possibly escaping into alcohol because of the circumstances in the townships. He is sent back to the townships, which worsens the problem. In the stories he is telling, he

describes how badly he was affected. He enacts this, crying throughout. The interaction between us has changed dramatically. I have empathy, and am open to what he is saying. I illustrate the interaction in Figure 5.8.



He perceives himself as a victim and as very ill at this stage. He describes it:

A: maar in elk geval het ek aangegaan aangegaan. al die simptome. °gedink ek gaan dood° paniekaanvalle. ek kon op ek kon nie bestuur nie maar ek kon dit vir niemand vertel of as ek bestuur het as daar verkeer was, al daai goed. alles, ek moes basies myself fisies leer loop. ek ek was uit ja: net gelê. fri:ghtening gewees. en so het ek myself maar gedokter. [...] my huwelik was °daarmee heen, ek het niks gevoel vir iemand nie. mense het onttrek van my. ek het onttrek van mense°. en uh vir some stupid rede uh, baie aggressief. baie baie °baie°. kon nie twee keer na my kyk nie, dan het ek hom gefloer net een skewe woord of hy floor my maar ek het nie geworry nie.

E: so herhaalde bakleiery?

A: oe vreeslik. ek weet nie of ek myself daardeur wou bewys het nie. ek weet nie. ja, en die drank het gevloei. seven days a week. (9)

E: dit klink Adriaan asof jy op 'n manier ook geweldig magteloos gevoel het?

A: ja, hulle druk jou net af heeltyd. daar was niks, daar was gee:n support structure nie. en uh jy weet soos ek gesê het in die begin ek wou iets bewys het bereik het, ek weet nie wat nie maar, en ek sit met hierdie kak en ek weet nie wat met my aangaan nie.

A: I went on and on. All the symptoms! I thought I was dying {quietly}. I had such severe panic attacks. I couldn't drive, especially if there was traffic. I couldn't tell anyone. I had to teach myself to walk; I was totally out of it. I just lay down the whole time, and doctored myself. It was frightening. [...] My marriage was destroyed; I felt nothing for anyone. People withdrew from me and I withdrew from them {quietly}. And for some stupid reason I was extremely aggressive. A person could not look at me twice, and I would knock him out. Or he would knock me out.

E: So repeated fights?

A: Yes, terrible. I don't know if I wanted to prove myself in some way. And alcohol flowed seven days a week. (9)

E: It sounds Adriaan as though you felt completely powerless?

A: Yes. They gave no support. And in the beginning I wanted to achieve something. I don't know what. And I sat with all this shit and didn't know what was happening to me.

I have empathy with him and express it. He positions himself in the interview as sick and a victim as a result of joining the malevolent authorities. He was abandoned by the police and given no support. Although he was probably still involved in perpetration, he does not mention this; his focus is on the symptoms he developed. After some time the authorities decide to use him to establish a Reaction Unit in P.

He goes on to describe a number of incidents in P. They were used by the authorities to give support to askaris who murdered people. Numerous people died as a result. They themselves engaged in deceit so that they could shoot at people without control. He describes the authorities as not only turning a blind eye to the atrocities that were being committed, but being actively involved in committing them. The police on the ground were ordered to protect the authorities in committing atrocities. This would have given a clear message to the ordinary policeman that it was permissible for him to commit criminal acts. He connects these experiences directly to bad decisions he made (Episode 22).

A: {tells this with obvious difficulty.} alles wat daarmee gepaard gaan. die dinge wat ek gesien het. derde-u-h-mag u-h bedrywighede. a:g o-ns-s askaris wat net ouens gaan doodskiet het, ons moes net die doppies opgetel het. en hulle beskerm het, as hulle in die kak gekom het dan was ons in die omgewing. maar hulle het dit nie direk vir ons gesê nie. hulle het net gesê, luister hierso, daar sal ouens daar wees. maar hulle sal julle kontak op 'n sekere kanaal 8 as daar moeilikheid is. maar toe hoor ons die skote. die eerste huis waar ons gaan ondersoek gaan instel. toe lê: almal daar, ma, oupa, kind almal daar. toe skiet hulle point blank. wat hulle destyds gedoen het hulle u-h daar u-h (4) was mos K Polisie mos gewees. hulle het in hulle voertuie rondgery en hulle speurderkarre en hulle ammunisie gebruik. ons het self van hulle ammunisie gebruik. want Helen Susman het toe begin opkom. toe kom sy met die idee om die idee van nommers op die Casspirs en so aan. ons het hulle gefnuik deur, ouens va:n die K Polisie om ons op sekere plekke te kry. dan gee hulle vir ons hulle ammunisie. want hulle het ons ammunisie begin tel. dan sê hulle jis daardie nommer. dan gaan ons soontoe en tel hulle en dan kom ons almal met ons patrone terug. ag, al sulke dinge. so so het ons aangekarring, en aangekarring en aangekarring. ja, en °heelyd survive°. en dan die besluite wat ek geneem het, stupid besluite, 'n kind sal beter besluite neem. finansieel selfs.

A: {speaking with difficulty.} Everything that happened there, the things I saw. Third force activities. The askaris killed people. We just had to pick up the cartridges and protect them. When they got into shit we were in the area. They didn't tell us directly what to expect; they would say that they would contact us on channel 8 if there was trouble. We heard the shots. In the first house we got to everyone was lying there, mother, grandfather, child, everyone. They shot them at point blank range. (4) Remember the K Police were there. They used the K Police's vehicles, their detectives' cars and their ammunition. We also used their ammunition. Helen Susman had started making her voice heard and had the idea of numbering the Casspirs. We outwitted them by getting the guys from the K Police to meet us and then they would give us their ammunition. They had started counting our ammunition. A Casspir number would be reported; we'd go there and we'd all have all our cartridges. Things like that. And we continued and continued creating havoc. Yes and trying to survive {quietly}. And the decisions I made. Stupid decisions. A child would make better decisions. Even financial decisions.

He continues to describe how they concealed their activities. They obviously knew that they were involved in illegal activities, but felt that they could justify them. The authorities' involvement demonstrated the accepted behaviour. I will return to his poor decisions when discussing the period after he left the police. We move on to talking about his questioning of the justifications they had been given for what they were doing (Episode 26):

E: nou dat ons daarvan praat, wanneer het jy begin dink dat dit nie so waar nie?

A: ja, um toe Ed nou do- na Ed se dood omrede ons goeie vriende was. en, naas dit het was daar 'n paar ouens wat ek nou geken het ook wat ook. PK. kan nie nou almal onthou nie maar daar is 'n paar wat ouens wat ek relatief deur die jare geleer ken het, wat ook hulle nou lewe verloor het en en i-i-in en die s uh in die o-onluste en so aan. en um {voice breaking}

ja toe begin ek nou vrae vra jy weet: en-n toe, kry ek nou kry ek toe simptome van posttraumatiese stres. toe begin ek nou dink nee man, hierdie hierdie is nie reg nie.

E: Talking about it, when did you start thinking this wasn't true?

A: Yes. After Ed's death, as we were good friends. There were also some other guys whom I knew quite well, PK. I don't remember them all, who were killed in the riots {voice breaking}. And so I began to question what was happening. I also developed symptoms of posttraumatic stress and began to think that this was not right.

The deaths of friends and colleagues as well as the PTSD he developed led to him starting to question the value of what they were doing. Symptoms of PTSD often develop after a friend's death in combat (Van der Kolk, 2007). He goes on to describe that General W had come to visit them in 1989 or 1990 and ventriloquates the General's motivational talk instructing them to start wearing camouflage uniforms because camouflage uniforms will help them win the war (section not quoted). Adriaan recognised that this was because the uniform would prompt them to do more "want jy dink mos jy is Rambo as jy die klere aanhet, en jy voel ook so dan doen jy sekere dinge ekstra ook" (*because you think you are Rambo when you wear these clothes and you will do extra things*). He took issue with General W. and:

A: toe sê ek vir hom sommer reguit jy praat kak, jy't nie 'n clue wat buite aangaan nie. ek weet ons is besig om die stryd te verloor in, in daai sin, want ek het geweet watter mannekrag daar op die grond is. ja, van toe af, so 90, toe besef ek, en ek begin toe meer te dink, uh. ons vang die ouens wat op s-straat is-s, slaan die kak uit hulle uit, why are you on the streets, and what, what. um baiekeer het ons nie eers gepraat, as ons 'n swarte sien, dan skiet ons hom net op, dat hy net begin hardloop, dan hoef ons nie moeite te doen om hom vrae te vra nie. maar toe het ek begin dink jissie die ou werk in die bars waar wit ouens sit, hulle werk in restaurante waar wit mense sit. die arme bogger (1) hy moet as hy terugkom by die

huis moet hy nou as hy Inkatha is, die ANC kant probeer dodge, of visa versa. dan het hy nog die moeilikheid. om te vervoerprobleem om net in die township te kom. in die township moet hy nog sy way uitfigure hoe om by sy huis te kom sonder om doodgemaak te word, en dan hier kom die polisie nou en donder hom ook nog. maar dit was, net vir die blankes. ouens wat in hotelle werk, ouens wat in bars werk, ouens wat in restaurante werk. jy weet. toe kom daai dinge vir my op jy weet. jis watter stryd het hierdie manne nie. (7) en wat vir my baie opvallend ook was, was die feit dat (2) weet jy, jy kan sien as 'n ou nou doodgaan, maar net voor sy dood nè, maak nie saak wat sy geloof is nie, dan is dit Amakhosi, Jesus please, dan kom die woord Jesus vinnig op, dit was vir my (2) heel snaaks, maak nie saak wat sy geloof was nie. (4) wat vir my nou heel (5) hy glo aan niks nie, en tot op die laaste oomblikke dan kom hy deur, interessant.

A: and I said to him directly: "you're talking shit. You don't have a clue as to what is happening on the ground. We are losing the battle." I knew what manpower was on the ground, and from around 1990 I began to realise what was happening. I began to think that we would catch guys on the street; we'd beat the shit out of them and demand, "Why are you on the streets?" At times we wouldn't talk when we saw a black. We'd just shoot at him so that he would start running; then we didn't have to go to the trouble of questioning him. I began to think that these guys work in the bars where white guys are; white guys sit, they work in the restaurants where white people sit. The poor bugger, he has to dodge the ANC if he is Inkatha, or visa versa, when he gets home. He also has problems with transport just to get to the township. Once there he has to figure out how to get home without being killed. And then here come the police and beat him up. And all of this just for the whites; guys working in hotels, guys working in bars and guys working in restaurants. I began to realise what a battle these men had. (7) Something else that had an impact on me, you know was, just as someone would die, no matter what his religious beliefs, he would say: "Amakhosi Jesus please". Then the word Jesus

would come up quickly. It really surprised me. It didn't matter what he believed (4). He would believe in nothing and at the last moment, he would come through (5). Interesting.

He becomes very sad while telling the above. He describes how developing empathy with people, realising that they would not win the “war”, developing PTSD, and losing friends all contributed to him realising that what they were doing was wrong. Something else that seems to have led to him feeling like this was the reaction of dying people in calling on Jesus. He comes from a strong Christian background and his need to re-establish a relationship with God forms a strong theme in his narrative. Again, he mentions atrocities they engaged in; the guilt around doing these things pervades his life. In describing this to me, in demonstrating his sadness, he is also attempting to re-establish his identity as a good person. He stands in judgement against himself and what he did. Confessing one's sins is a strong Christian discourse and essential for forgiveness.

In a letter to Ed (which he wrote when hospitalised) he told a story which also led to him deciding that he had to leave the police. He explains that he could no longer live with himself and what was happening. I have incorporated this as part of his narrative, as he only briefly mentioned it when we did the interviews (Episode 29):

So ses maande voor die verkiesing het ek 'n opdrag ontvang om Pretoria toe te vlieg vir 'n so genaamde noodvergadering. Met my aankoms was dit vir my baie snaaks dat daar net blankes was en net al die bevelvoerders van al die Reaksie Eenhede in die land en Pretoria Taakmag. Ons was toe meegedeel gewees dat ons daar byeen geroep is om APLA en AWB teikens in ons verskeie gebiede te identifiseer en dan met ons terugkeer die teikens moes probeer opspoor. Wat ook opvallend was vir my is dat al die operasionele offisiere teenwoordig was. Die Maandagoggend moes ons almal in die saal byeenkom en was daar toe by die deur 'n pamflet ontvang, maar ons was beveel om dit nie oop te

maak voordat een van die generaals ons toestemming gee nie, want dit was die woorde van ons nuwe volkslied. Ou maat, jy sal my nie glo nie, maar die vergadering was geopen deur die generaal wat gesê het: “ ‘n Regering wat nie na sy generaals luister nie, is nie ‘n regering se ‘GAT’ werd nie.” Ons is toe al spottend gesê om die pamflet wat ons by die deur ontvang het oop te maak want die woorde van ons nuwe volkslied was daarop en was toe deur almal gesing en dit lui toe as voorts: “Kaffer jy gaan kak in Afrika, die boere gaan julle opfok. Dis sowaar. Julle bloed gaan in die strate vloei. Kaffer jou moer. Kaffer jou moer.” Onmiddelik het ek besef hier is nou groot kak. [...] My vriend dit was net daar wat ek besluit het genoeg is genoeg. Ek kon nie meer met myself saam leef nie en te sien hoe nog meer mense in die proses gaan seerkry nie.

Six months before the elections I was told to fly to Pretoria for an emergency meeting. On my arrival, it surprised me that there were only whites present and all the commanders of all the country's Reaction Units and the Pretoria Task Force. We were then told that we had to identify all APLA (Azanian People's Liberation Army) and AWB targets in our areas and then on our return try and find the targets. All the operational officers were present. The Monday morning we all had to meet in the hall. At the door we were given a pamphlet which we were told contained the words of our new anthem, but we were told not to open it until given permission by one of the generals. My friend, you will not believe me, but the meeting was opened by a general who said: "A government that does not listen to its generals is not worth a government's arse." We were told with amusement to open the pamphlet that we had received at the door and the country's new anthem was on it. We all sang it and it said: "Kaffir you will shit in Africa, the boers will fuck you up. It's true. Your blood will flow in the streets. Screw you, screw you kaffir." I immediately realised here was big shit. [...] My friend, it was just there that I decided enough was enough. I could no longer live with myself and see more people being hurt in the process.

He ventriloquates the message of the generals at the meeting in his letter. His horror and disgust come through. He goes on to explain that he had an intense need to leave the police. Eventually his brother made him an offer to join him in business (Episode 28). He decided to sell everything. He tells the story of how he gave his house away. He had been given the stand for almost nothing by someone he had assisted during a robbery. He had three weeks to go before moving in when his brother asked him to join him in a business. He explains that he went to a colleague and

A: ek het dit net weggegee. sê net B wil jy 'n huis hê. sê ja. gaan teken by die prokureurs, ek sê ek soek niks nie.

A: I just gave it away. I asked B whether he wanted a house. When he said, "Yes", I told him to go and sign at the attorneys, I said I wanted nothing.

He left the police. By this time he and his first wife had divorced. His son was between six months and a year old when they divorced. After that he had sporadic contact with his child until his former wife came to live close to them. At the time of the interviews he had been living a few blocks from his son for approximately two years. He saw him every second weekend, and despite a need to see him more often, avoided doing it because of the conflict it caused with his former wife.

After leaving the police, he drank heavily, and experienced all the symptoms of PTSD. His identity was now that of a perpetrator who had become sick. Nothing was left of the good policemen, who had integrity and who wanted to serve. His obedience to the authorities had led to him harming many people and being seriously damaged himself.

After Leaving the SAP

In his narrative the period after leaving the SAP extends from episodes 30 to 63 (Table 4, Appendix D). Of these, the following episodes relate to his

current adjustment: 37, part of 39, 40, 42-54 and 57-63 (Table 1 in Appendix D). In this period the interaction between us continues to change. He often cries and portrays himself as someone who needs help; he acts this out in the interviews. He generally describes himself as a victim, as sick and as attempting to rehabilitate. He shows remorse, often sobbing about what he had done. He demonstrates his remorse, and appears to attempt to regain his identity of being a good person by showing remorse. The main characters mentioned include his mother, his brother, Mary (his wife), his child, and Mary's children. Groups of people are also important, for example, various black people who treat him well and his extended family and friends who reject him and from whom he feels alienated.

As he explained in the previous section, he left the police to join his brother in a business. He explains what happened (Episode 30):

A: ons het baie goedge doen, maar ja dis seker maar ek (3) my, my broer se vrou my gesê Adriaan want ek was deurmekaar met some slet. toe sê my (3) broer se vrou vir my Adriaan los hierdie vrou want sy is net agter die geld aan want, soos die besigheid begin groei het, tipe ding. dan soek sy dit en soek sy dat. toe strip ek my moer, slaan my broer uit, ruk sy vrou rond, daa:r is ek P toe weer. los alles net weer so en daar gat ek.

A: *We did very well, but I guess I was the cause of the problem (3). My sister-in-law told me – I was involved with some slut (3) “Adriaan leave that woman, she is just after your money.” As the business grew, she wanted more and more. I lost my temper, knocked my brother out, shoved his wife around, and went back to P. Left everything again and there I went.*

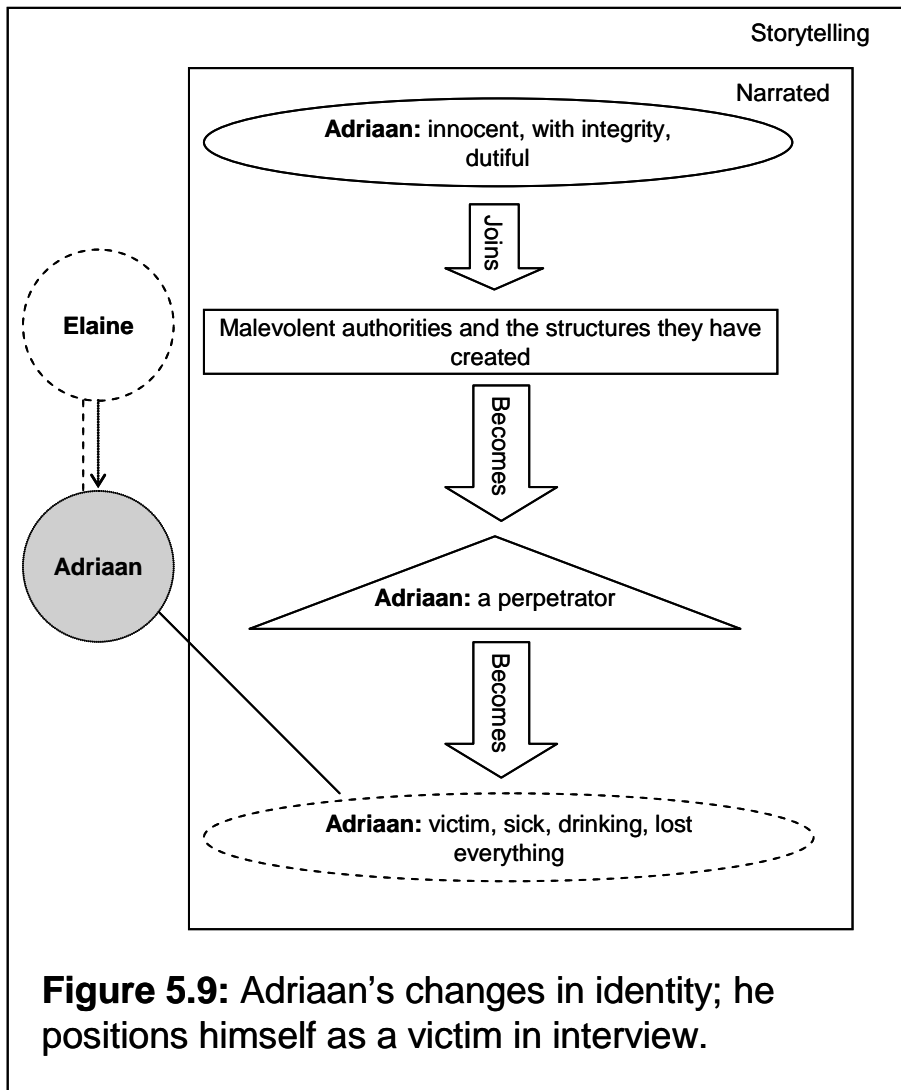
He mentioned earlier that he had started developing severe problems with aggression. As will become clear in this section, he repeated this pattern on numerous occasions. He would often have an aggressive outburst and abandon a job, or whatever he was doing. On this occasion after leaving his

brother he bought his own commercial fishing vessel, but soon he could no longer cope and had to pay someone else to do it. It was not long and he had to give up completely. He was totally debilitated by the symptoms he was experiencing (Episode 31) and eventually began travelling aimlessly throughout the country, using a borrowed bakkie (pick-up truck). He used up all the money he had left, after having previously given away or lost most of his possessions. He was drinking heavily at this point and then started visiting the Transkei where he lived in J (a remote town on the coast). He survived by smuggling crayfish through to restaurants along the coast. He associated with other people who had dropped out of society. He is confused about how long this period lasted, and says anything from three months to a year or longer. His wife and I pieced together his work history, and it may have been as long as two years. He realises what he has lost, and mentions what he had when he started working.

A: jy weet, toe ek in die mag begin het, toe was ek nog 'n konstabel, toe het ek my eie kar, my eie woonstel my eie meubels. meer gehad as die meeste van my ouderdom, jy weet.

A: *You know, when I started in the force I was still a constable and I had my own car, my own flat, and my own furniture. I had more than most people of my age, you know.*

As can be seen in Figure 5.9 he underwent an enormous change in identity. Early in life, he described himself as dutiful, obedient to authority and preferring spirituality to militarisation. He appears to have been innocent. He may have been somewhat rebellious, but never enough to counter his sense of duty. By becoming part of the structures that were manipulated by malevolent authority, he became a perpetrator and lost all empathy and feeling for others. Eventually he became a victim, started experiencing severe symptoms of PTSD, and lost relationships and everything he possessed.



His mother eventually sent him money and asked him to come up to the Highveld (Episode 32). He and his stepfather did not get along and he decided to look for work in B. He eventually phoned a former colleague who rescued him from the hotel where he ended up and took him home with him. That did not work for long, as Adriaan could not adjust to the traffic, crowds and noise of B. He then went to the parents of a friend who lived in O (a rural town). He was comfortable living there, but eventually the friend's mother phoned his mother and asked her to fetch him. His mother then helped him to set up a flat and find a job as a training officer in a security company. He had no means of getting from his job to his home. Here he simply tells the story about how he got to work; the first time he told it, he told it as a confession and sobbed throughout the telling of it (Episode 33):

A: ek het geen vervoer gehad nie. dan het ek ek kan nie onthou hoe vêr ek geloop het nie. maar ek het 'n taxi gekry, 'n, kaffertaxi, dan het ek met die taxi tot in Al gery. en so van Al het ek geleentheid gekry by iemand wat ek geleer ken het by die werk Ad toe. maar die middag het ek geen dan was dit 18 kilos terug na my woonstel toe. ek het dit elke dag gehardloop, elke dag van my lewe. [...] en na maa:nde se gehardloop. die een dag, kom ek weer verby S gehardloop. die een swarte sê vir my, sê vir my jis maar jy's daarem fiks jong. ek sien jou elke dag hardloop. ek sê jissie ou, dis nie van dat ek wil fiks wees nie, ek sê daar is nie 'n taxis of iets nie. hy sê wat baas, stop hier. ek betaal vir hom 'n buskaartjie, hy wys my die bus, die bus laai my 500 meter van my woonstel af (hhh). hy sê vir my die oggende vat jy so en so 'n bus. en daar kry ek {laughing}

E: het jy dit nie besef nie?

A: niks, niks, niks.

A: I had no transport. I don't know how far I walked, but I would then get a taxi, a kaffir taxi and go with the taxi to Al. From Al I got a lift with someone I knew up to work in Ad. In the afternoons, I had nothing. It was 18 kilos back to my flat. I ran it everyday. Everyday of my life, no problem. [...] After months of running, I came running past S one day, and a black said to me: "You are so fit, I see you running every day." I said: "I'm not doing it in order to be fit, but there aren't any taxis or anything else." He said: "Boss, stop." I paid a bus ticket for him, he showed me the bus, the bus loaded me off 500 metres from my flat {laughs}. He told me what bus to take in the mornings {laughs}.

E: Didn't you realise it?

A: None, none, none of it.

By telling this story he demonstrates a few things. It confirms how ill he really was that he was not to notice his surroundings. In positioning himself in the interview, he is indicating the kindness of a black man, but is

inadvertently racist, using racist language and indicating white superiority.

He continues the story:

A: (10) ja. so kry ek toe die Kaya- whatever bus is Kaya. so:, die spesifieke bus, Elaine, hoe dit so gewerk het, weet ek, ek dink dis maar van bo. dis toe 'n vrou:ebus wat, die vrouens sing elke aand Christelikeliedjies, lees uit die Bybel, daar's 'n vrou wat

E: is jy ernstig, Adriaan?

A: ja. hulle het so vir my gesorg, dat, my niemand het in my s-sitplek gesit voor nie. ek het hulle leer ken. elke dag, ons hulle versamel vir almal se begrafnisse. elke dag se storie geword. aan die einde van die jaar, toe club almal in om vir die busdrywer om te sê dankie dat hy ons nie verongeluk het nie. ek het uit my eie uit vir hom 'n groot kombors gekoop. hulle was te happy daaroor. want uh hulle wou geld insamel, vir dit, toe sê ek ek sal dit uit my eie sak dit betaal, koop vir hom iets anders. ja en so het ek hulle leer ken. dis die enigste mense met wie ek half kan kommunikeer is die swartes (hhh) jy weet. mettertyd het ek 'n nouer band. dis-s asof ek hulle beter verstaan, beter kan kommunikeer met hulle (9). ja, daar het 'n hele paar jaartjies net so verby gegaan. dink vier jaar van drank, vrouens. maar ek het kop bo water gehou. (2) en uh toe hou ek dit darem vier jaar uit. ek dink ek was vier jaar ek praat onder korreksie by die firma.

A: (10) *So I got the Kaya-whatever bus, the specific bus. How it worked like this I don't know, Elaine, but I think it was from above. It was a bus that transported women. The women sang Christian songs and read out of the Bible every night. There was a woman*

E: *Are you serious, Adriaan?*

A: *Yes. They looked after me. No one was allowed to sit in my seat in front. I learnt to know them. Everyday we, they collected money for everyone's funerals. It happened everyday. At the end of the year, everyone clubbed in to thank the bus driver for not letting us be in an accident. I bought him a big blanket on my own. They were very happy*

as they had wanted to collect money for it. I said I'd pay for it, they could buy something else. And yes, I learnt to know them. They were the only people with whom I could sort of communicate – the blacks {laughs}. It was as if I had a closer bond, as if I understood them better, could communicate better with them. (9) And so a number of years passed. I think four year of alcohol and women. I kept my head above water and lasted four years. I think I was with the firm for four years.

This section in some ways reminds of his father's belief that one should allow blacks to join whites in church, but that there would be no other integration. He sees this experience as from God, but he is patronising of blacks and there is a sense of white superiority. He positions himself as separated from the women in the bus – he is not part of them, and yet they are the only people with whom he can communicate. I will add in a section now that occurs later, in which we talk about the same episode (Episode 46).

E: die ander dag, toe jy my vertel van die bus vrouens wat sing, toe dink ek daaraan, wat moes jy ervaar het.

A: ek was 'n goner.

E: as 'n mens dink van waarvandaan jy gekom het, en jy word in so 'n situasie geplaas.

A: ja, dis wat (3) vir my amazing was. die feit dat, toe 'n swarte help my en ek ry elke dag met swartes bus. ek sien toe, bliksem man, hierdie mense is net mense. hulle is nog beter mense as ons want, ons sal elke dag bus ry en daar is nie 'n donnerse manier wat ons wit ouens die einde van die jaar, vir hom 'n kombes sal koop, of 'n daar is nie 'n manier nie. of mekaar help en geld insamel. Piet se ma is dood, of wie ookal, en almal gee sy bydrae. of waarvoor hulle ookal voor kollekteer. dit was 'n eye opener. ek sit in 'n taxi. (2) ry elke dag taxi en ek kom elke dag veilig daar. die ouens chat met my. selfs die daar is kere wat ek van S, soms partykeer die bus gemis, nie baie nie maar soms moes ek van S na Al toe ry met die taxi om die bus daar te kry. haal elke dag dieselfde taxi. hulle weet die wit ou hy li:ke nie om want ek was seker een van die min wit

ouens toe. hier sit ek in die taxi hulle het ook laat my voor sit, nie in die middel van hulle nie. klim elke dag veilig uit. klim op die bus saam met hulle. dink dis ook dalk wat miskien 'n rol gespeel het, jy weet, dat ek in daai die Hoërhand my in daardie situasie geplaas jy weet, om te sien hulle is nie um wat 'n mens, gedink het hulle is nie. dit het ek begin experience toe ek in die Transkei was. 'n mens het allerhande stories gehoor van die Transkei. en ek kan net goed praat van daai mense. hulle het my net goed behandel. die ou bliksems ons laat glo dis 'n kommunistiese staat daai, jy weet, allerhande dinge gebeur daar jy weet. ek het geleer dis net mense soos ek en jy. ja, dit was 'n ondervinding. (3) en ek het baie respek vir hulle gekry. ja, (4) selfs waar ek nou is, ek is die enigste wit ou wat permanent daar is, wat bestuur uh. die swartes kan nie glo ek gaan na die townships. hulle sê, elke dag jissie, is jy nie bang nie, jy is nie dit nie, nie dat nie. um ja as 'n ou gaan, dan dink jy aan die bad dinge wat daar was. maar nou probeer ek my instel kom agter dit was nie so bad soos dit was nie, ek was net aan die bad kant gewees.

E: The other day after you told me about the bus with the singing women, I wondered what you must have experienced.

A: I was gone.

E: If one thinks from where you had come and then you were placed in that situation.

A: Yes, it was amazing. (3) A black helped me, I rode with blacks on a black bus and I saw damn it these people are just people. They are better than we are – we will ride on a bus daily but there is no way in which we whites would buy the driver a blanket the end of the year. We would not help each other by collecting money and everyone would give his bit because Piet's mother has died, or whom ever. It was an eye opener. I would sit in a taxi, take a taxi every day and get there safely. The guys would chat to me. When I missed the bus from S, it didn't happen often but did occasionally I would have to take a taxi from S to Al. I always took the same taxi. They knew the white guy didn't like – I was one of the few whites taking a taxi – they let me sit in front, not in between them. I would

get out safely. I'd get on the bus with them. Maybe it had a role to play, maybe God put me in that situation so that I would realise that they are not what you think they are. I began to experience that when I was in the Transkei. One had heard all sorts of stories about the Transkei. But I can only speak well of those people. They only treated me well. The old bastards let us believe it was a communist state you know. All sorts of things happened there. I learnt they were people like you and me. Yes it was an experience (3) and I got a lot of respect for them. (4) Even where I am now, I am the only permanent white guy who drives. The blacks don't believe I go to the townships. They ask me daily whether I'm not afraid. That is not a problem. When you go, you do think of the bad things that happened there, but I try and realise that it was not as bad as it was – I was just on the bad side.

There are numerous ironies in this story. He, who killed black people for fun and committed other atrocities, was assisted by black people. He, who had learnt that black people are “barbarians”, had become the barbarian. He was now confronted with the goodness of the people he vilified. He, who used Christianity to justify why he killed people, was shown love by Christians who belong to the race he saw as the worst of sinners and deserving of death. They were aware of his racism and accommodated his wish to not associate with them. In the telling of the story, although he verbalises that he has learnt a lot from the black people who supported him, and professes his admiration of them, we hear the words and attitudes of racists and white supremacists.

The authorities whom he had obeyed rejected him and gave him no help. In telling me the story, he attempts to gain acknowledgment of his problems from an authority figure.

He estimates about four years passed during which time he worked at security firms, mainly doing training. Here he again positions himself as someone who wants to do the right thing and is victimised as a result of his

attitude. He has integrity and wants to do good training, but finds that this is not accepted in the business environment of security firms (Episode 35).

E: toe jy in die sekuriteitsbedryf gegaan het, wat het jy daar ervaar?

A: ag Elaine, dieselfde (hhh) dieselfede ou kak. werk, werk, werk, werk. bullshit, net bullshit. (6) vertel vir die kliënte hoe goed die ouens opgelei is en vertel wat. maar ek was daar. ek het opleiding gegee volgens die SOB standaard en dis 'n klomp bolle (10). [...]

E: wat het dit aan jou gedoen?

A: oe, dit was frustrerend. (4) absoluut frustrerend °gewees°. maar ook omrede ek nie um die um (3) prinsiep van van besigheid verstaan nie, jy weet. ek wil alles honderd persent gehad het. nou kom ek agter, nee, dis alles bullshit, [...] (3) as ek opleiding gee, dan {sighing} die ou is nog nie eers halfpad deur wat hy moet doen nie, deur sy grade nie. in plaas van ses weke, sê byvoorbeeld drie weke in die proses. dan sê hulle luister hierso, die ou moet gaan, die kontrak begin. dan moet ek allerhande false um (2) u-um (4) eksamens en goed kamstig nou merk en deurstuur na die SOB al sulke (4) fraud, jy weet tipe ding. toe kom ek maar orals gaan dit so, al die sekuriteitsfirmas.

E: *What did you experience when you got into the security industry?*

A: *Oh Elaine, the same {laughs} the same old shit. Work, work, work, work. Bullshit, just bullshit. (6) Tell clients how well the guys are trained, and tell whatever, but I was there. I gave training according to SOB (Security Officers Board) standards and it is a load of crap. (10) [...]*

E: *What did it do to you?*

A: *Oh it was frustrating. (4) Absolutely frustrating. But also, you know, because I didn't understand the (3) principles of how business works. I wanted everything to be one hundred per cent correct and then I discovered that it is all bullshit. [...] (3) When I gave training; the guy was not even halfway through what he had to learn – his grades, instead of six weeks he had done three weeks. Then they would say: "Listen, he must go, the contract is starting." I would have to make up all sorts of false (2)*

um (4) examinations and pretend to mark the things and send them through to the SOB. (4) Fraud, you understand. It works like that in all the security firms.

So, once again, he found himself being abused by authorities, this time in the private sector. He went along with the fraud, because he needed to earn a living. He knew he was largely unemployable, due to his background, illness and drinking. In the interview with me he indicates he knows the danger people are put in because of the fraud in the industry, and this worries him. He discusses the dangers inadequately trained guards are put in:

A: en natuurlik dan (3) sien jy jousef in daai arme wag se skoene want jy was daar gewees hoe jy gebruik was (7) en nie eers geweet waarvoor jy jousef inlaat nie (4). jy hoor allerhande mooi stories as jy begin dan kom jy agter nee wel jy daar gaan sit jy stokstil in die middel van nowhere word jy gesit alleen op 'n site.

***A:** And of course you would (3) see yourself in the poor old guard's shoes because you've been there. You have also been used. (7) You also didn't know what you were letting yourself in for. (4) You hear all sorts of nice stories to start with, and then you realise that you will be sitting alone in the middle of nowhere, on a site.*

He uses the old guard that he evokes as a metaphor for his own life. He was sold the propaganda and given dreams of what contribution he would make. The reality is that he was used for other peoples' gain. Eventually, he is also sitting in the middle of nowhere. In explaining his difficulties with the security industry, he attempts to be trying to retain his identity of being a good person with integrity. He resigned from that job after a final written warning following conflict with senior management.

He and Mary had married after knowing each other for two weeks. Mary's former husband was a drug addict and extremely abusive, both physically and verbally. On listening to her stories, it appears that her life was in danger at times. Her husband was murdered a few years after their divorce. Adriaan and she met after her divorce but her ex-husband was still harassing her (Episode 38). It appears as though the conflict at work and possibly the parallels of feeling used by authorities caused him to lose any emotional stability he had soon after their wedding. He became extremely restless, and could not stay in one place. He told me the story, but in a joint interview, he and Mary spoke of that period. They gave a more detailed description when discussing it together, so I am giving that excerpt here (Episode 36). I am only giving the English translation, as she did most of the speaking and her home language is English.

***A:** My dear just imagine, you will remember, that time that I ran like that.*

***M:** I know, we used to move from D, we weren't even not even three hours in the flat and we moved back to D.*

***E:** Mary how did you cope with it?*

***M:** We weren't even a day or two in D and we had to move back to J.*

***E:** How many times did it happen? Do you know?*

***M:** Elaine, several times. Plenty times. We weren't, I mean, my poor kids didn't know in what school they were going to. They were here today and tomorrow they were in that school. And that's how we carried on (4). The evening I already pack the trailer, while Adriaan is in D, he phones me and says pack the trailer. I used to pack all my own things onto that trailer. He's coming to fetch it next day, next morning early he is here. We're on our way back to D. We not even off packed the trailer and we're back in J.*

***A:** Something was chasing me and I couldn't get away from it.*

***M:** Eventually I said, give the furniture to the shop because we're just moving up and down, give the shop's furniture back to them. And then we went and we lived with my sister and lived in her garage. We didn't live long there and then we were back to D.*

E: *It must have been so disruptive.*

A: *Elaine, if I think back, we literally lived in a garage.*

M: *We lived in this garage like pigs, I'm telling you Elaine.*

A: *Oh Mary we were clean, but we did live in a garage.*

M: *You should have seen this garage we lived in, I nearly died, myself, I nearly died, plenty times. I mean*

A: *[The children*

M: *[My kids, we all had to live in one garage.*

A: *I thought it was ok. I thought it was ok. I was surviving; who cares. Poor wife and kids. Look at Pam. Pam got three distinctions now in matric. I don't know how she did it.*

M: *Ja, jissie, I'm telling you it was ...*

A: *Dreadful.*

E: *But what happened those periods when you were moving backwards and forwards?*

M: *I worked here a bit and then I stopped working and then I went temping and I stopped temping there. In and out, up and down. What I can say, thank the Lord, when we were in J I used to go to my old job, my old boss always used to take me always, at the W's. Always.*

E: *Even for a short period.*

A: *Yes.*

M: *There was a stage I left Adriaan in D, and I came and lived up here. He looked after the kids. I managed to go home every weekend, in D there was no money. I had to work there for six rand an hour. He always gave me a job, my ex-boss.*

E: *I guess if you two could have survived that you can survive anything.*

M: *Elaine, we used to live on R600 a month, Adriaan and I. That's what we used to live on.*

A: *I was in a destructive mode.*

M: *Adriaan and I, and the two kids, we used to live on R600 a month. Tell me where does a family of four live on that much food a month? My daughter and Adriaan used to go and catch fish, and there was a certain kind of fish, you weren't allowed to catch two of or more,*

A: *[Shad.*

M: *[and my daughter used to hide it on the beach*

A: *[For food.*

M: *[so that we had food.*

A: *You know my parents, they are probably middle-class. When they heard what we were doing {whistles}, they could not believe it. And I was paranoid.*

M: *We lived in a caravan. Adriaan and I and the two kids. We'd sit in the caravan and he'd tell me "Fall flat, fall flat. Someone's going to shoot". I mean, jissie. Bloody child was playing with [a*

A: *[laser thing. I'd be crawling around because I believed someone was going to shoot us.*

When he told me the story (initially when Mary was not present) I commented that it appeared that whenever he was upset by something that he would leave. The interaction between us changed. He became very tearful and started expressing intense needs, coupled with his sense of frustration at not being able to satisfy them. From this time in the interviews he starts referring much more to his current difficulty in adjusting (Episode 37). The change in our relationship continues through much of this interview.

E: dit lyk asof, elke keer as iets jou ontstel

A: elke keer as ek voel iets is onregverdig teenoor my of kom my te na, kom ander mense te na.

E: ook ander mense?

A: ja, soos die werk wat ek nou het. al is dit nou 'n swarte, ek kan sien watter onreg aan hulle gedoen word. dan maak dit my dan upset dit my. al het dit niks met my te doen nie. wat kan 'n ou sê? kyk 'n ou probeer almal beskerm, almal almal. ek smag na hoe kan ek dit noem 'n safe haven, waar almal kan rustig wees, met mekaar in vrede leef, ek soek nie geweld nie. maar sodra iets gebeur, dan die eerste ding wat opkom geweld. (8)

E: hoe voel dit om hierdie te vertel?

A: hartseer. (11) ook haat in die (4)

E: *It looks like every time something upsets you?*

A: *Every time I feel something is unfair, whether it is directed at me or others.*

E: *Also others?*

A: *Yes, like at the work I have now. Even if the people are black, I can see the unfairness they are subjected to, and it upsets me. Even if it has nothing to do with me. What can I say? Look, one tries to protect everyone, everyone, everyone. I long for a safe haven, where everyone can be calm, live with each other in peace. I hate violence, but as soon as something happens, the first thing that comes up is violence. (8)*

E: *How does it feel to say this?*

A: *Sad. (11) I also hate the (4)*

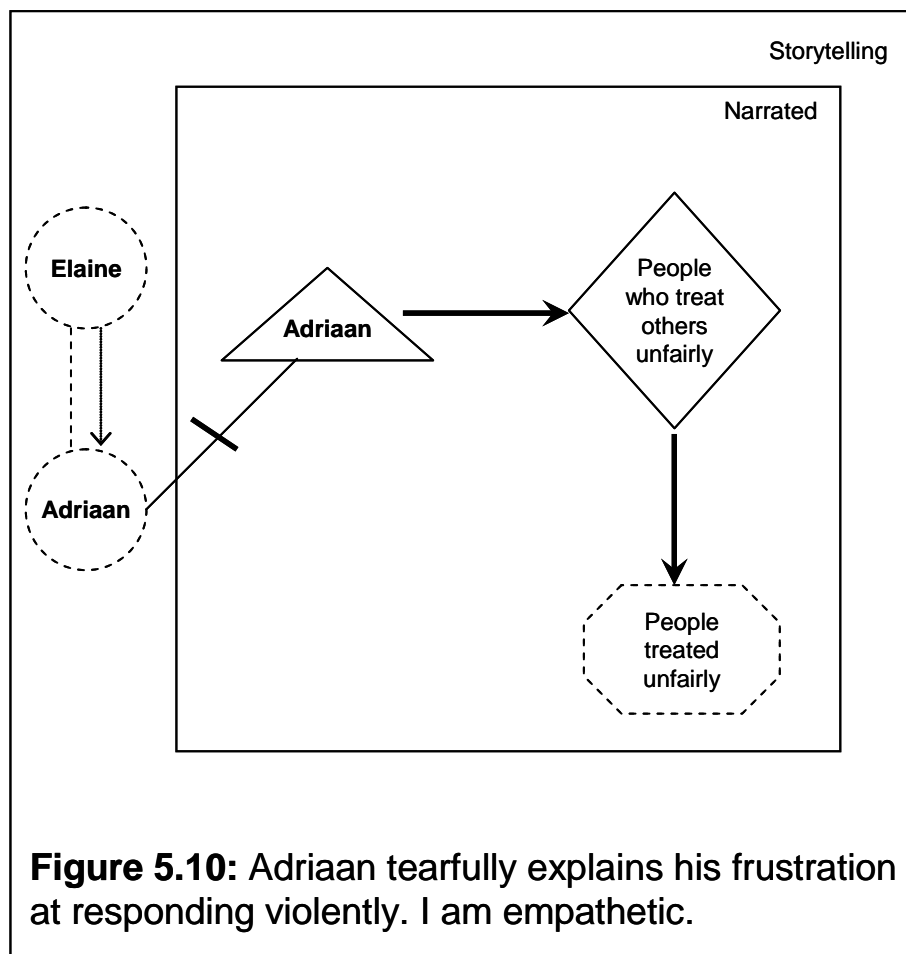


Figure 5.10: Adriaan tearfully explains his frustration at responding violently. I am empathetic.

My empathic interjection makes it possible for him to demonstrate his helplessness and frustration in the session, while explaining it. I try to illustrate the change in our relationship in Figure 5.10:

He goes on to explain that one of the driving forces for him to overcome his problems is his son. Mary and her children also gave him a reason to live. He begins to explain that she and her children are emotionally close and that has been a new and good experience for him (Episode 38).

E: Adriaan wat vir my uitstaan in die storie van jou, hoe jy elke keer weer probeer.

A: °j-ja° (5) maar daar is ook kere wat ek (2)

E: opgegee het?

A: °um°. ek sou sê my groot ding in my lewe is ek wil nie 'n failure wees vir my seun nie. my kinders wat my laat aangehou het, en dan ook natuurlik, Mary um um ek dink dit was 'n groot um uh plus gewees toe ek met Mary deurmekaar geraak het. in die sin dat, hulle is 'n close familie jy is. die kinders is close, alhoewel daar struweling tussen ons gewees. maar hulle gee om vir mekaar, jy sien. en dit het ek nou nie geken nie jy sien. ek het ek het niks van gesinslewe of nog nie so iets experience nie. ja ek dink dit dit was 'n plus gewees. (3)

E: *A one of the things that stands out in this story of yours is how you keep on trying.*

A: *Yes, {quietly} (5) but there have been times that I have*

E: *Given up?*

A: *Yes {quietly}. I would say the big thing in my life is that I don't want to be a failure for my son. My children have caused me to continue and also naturally Mary. I think it was very good that I got involved with Mary. They are a close family, the children are close. We have had fights, but they care about one another you see. I didn't know it you see. I knew*

nothing about family life; I had not experienced anything of family life.

Yes it was a good thing. (3)

Mary has supported him through all his difficulties. He has been both physically and emotionally abusive towards her. He explains (Episode 39):

A: ja, en uh soos ek sê, sy is deur dik en dun saam met my en (1) sy't met. alhoewel ek het haar altyd probeer beskerm het en 'n ou ek voel altyd skuldig daaroor, oor oor die ou toe sy want ek weet sy was um aangerand in haar vorige huwelik en blah blah blah. en dan met my stront, en dan gooi ek ook die toys uit die cot uit en, dan raak ek ook nou veglustig. en dan, dit-t het gebeur, dat ek ook nou aggressief teenoor haar geraak het. um, maar (1) ek het ook tot die besef gekom dat, met al die stront wat sy moes opgevreet het en en voorheen in haar lewe, sy verdien dit nie. um nou betuel ek my maar maar die probleem is nou het sy al die verbal abuse. nou slaan ek maar die mure en kaste so: (4) maar maar van die begin die laaste twee jaar {breathe exhalation}, vandat ek die Smarties eet, nou gaan dit beter. ek voel elke dag voel ek skuldig daaroor. (2) om te probeer. dis nog 'n ding met hierdie ding, elke dag moet jy probeer.

A: *Yes. Like I said, she stood by me through thick and thin. Although I always tried to protect her, I always feel guilty. Because – the guy she was married to beat her and blah blah blah and then I came with my shit and I throw my toys out of the cot and want to fight. And I have been aggressive towards her. But I have come to realise that with all the shit she has had to take and what happened previously in her life she does not deserve it. I now control myself, but the problem is she still gets all the verbal abuse. Now I hit the walls and cupboards. (4) From the beginning – the last two years {breathe exhalation}, since I have been eating Smarties {referring to tablets, using the name of a common sweet}, it has been better. I feel guilty about it everyday. That is another thing about all of this, you have to try everyday.*

He notes that he, on a daily basis, has to try to control his aggression. He also explains how difficult it is to live with him because he is extremely demanding in the household. Everything has to be in place otherwise he becomes angry. He explains this as a result of his exposure to militarism. He struggles immensely to show love. He then starts to mention what he has learnt from Mary. He continues and in the process becomes very tearful (Episode 40):

A: ja en (4) s-sy het my baie dinge geleer, jy weet. soos, byvoorbeeld om ok eerste ding is om, kinders ek kon nie kinders tolerate nie. uh en uh, en um lief te hê, net om vir mekaar te sê I love you en (2) 'n drukkies te gee.

E: toe ek jou eers leer ken het, kon jy nie.

A: ja nee ek was um, even my ma dis die eerste keer, in al die jare wat ek vir haar kan sê, behalwe seker toe ek klein was ja, maar waarvan ek weet vandat ek uit die skool is dat ek vir my ma deesdae sê. {crying} (9)

E: {inaudible} (8) dis ok om hartseer te wees. (10) dis ok.

A: dis net die feit dat dat soveel jare verby gegaan het, jy weet, en daardie woordjie het nie betekenis gehad nie. en {inaudible} ek kon dit nie eers vir my eie ma sê nie en vir my eie kind sê nie (17). ja, watter ander {inaudible} elke dag baklei daarteen. elke dag (5) los jou aggressiwiteit. (3) steek jou hand uit na jou gesin. elke dag is dit {crying throughout}

E: dis 'n doelbewuste besluit elke keer.

A: Yes and (4) she has taught me a lot, you know. For example, to tolerate children, I couldn't do that at first. And to love, to just say to each other I love you and to give a hug.

E: When I first got to know you, you couldn't do that.

A: Yes, no, I um, I towards my mother, it's the first time in all the years that I can say, except I suppose when I was a child, but since leaving school that I tell my mother {crying}. (9)

E: {inaudible} (8) It's ok to cry. (10) It's ok.

A: *It's just that so many years passed, you know, and that word had no meaning and {inaudible}. I couldn't say it to my own mother or my own child. (17) Yes, what other {inaudible} fight against it every day, every day. (5) Don't be aggressive (3) reach out to your family. Every day it's {crying throughout}.*

E: *It's a deliberate decision every time.*

By telling this he allows me and whoever may read this to see something of his desperation, his struggle to respond normally to his wife and his awareness of how abnormal his reactions have become. He is no longer just telling a story, but is speaking with considerable distress of his daily life. He is clearly positioned as a victim at this stage in the interview. A bit later we return to the subject (Episode 44).

E: iets wat ek dink hier 'n geweldige belangrike rol gespeel het, daar was mense wat vir jou lief gebly het.

A: ja, jy weet soos ek sê, my ma, vir 'n lang tyd en toe kom Mary en, ek glo dit het ook 'n groot rol gespeel op die einde van die dag. (5) maar soos ek sê om (3) net om die woordie te sê dankie, lief vir julle. dis moeilik, maar ek weet nie hoekom nie. maar ek leer dit, jy weet. {crying}

E: ek weet jy doen dit.

A: ek is nou 42. op die ou einde op die ouderdom van 40 plus kon ek darem vir my ma sê ek is lief vir haar.

E: baie goed. jy't vêr gekom.

A: ja, jissum, maar Elaine, dis 'n stryd.

E: ek weet.

A: {crying, 20}

E: dis ok. (8)

E: *I think something which played an incredibly important role, was there were people who continued to love you.*

A: *Yes, as you know, my mother for a long time, and then Mary and I believe it played an important role. (5) But as I say (3) just saying the*

words “thank you”, “love you”, it’s difficult. I don’t know why, but you know, I’m learning {crying}.

E: I know you are.

A: I’m 42 years old, and eventually at 40 plus I could eventually tell my mother I love her.

E: You’ve come far.

A: Yes, but Elaine it’s such a battle.

E: I know.

A: {crying} (20).

E: It’s ok. (8)

He allows me to see his emotional struggle. Adriaan has often cried, but has not often spoken of his extreme difficulties in expressing what he feels. He describes and shows his struggle to be someone who can behave in ways which he was not able to for many years. He explained a bit earlier that living in a family has proved to be extremely difficult (Episode 41):

A: ‘n helse aanpassing. jy weet, dis soos ek sê, eerste keer in my lewe wat ek werklik ‘n gesin. my eerste huwelik het het op skrif, vier jaar, maar in werklikheid, ‘n jaar gehou.

E: want jy was nooit by die huis nie.

A: en na, ‘n seker tyd het ek net gesê ag, bogger jou en daar gaan ek. (3) ja ‘n jaar, ‘n jaar en ‘n half, sê twee jaar om {inaudible} (12). ja-a. (2) ‘n helse aanpassing omrede in die sin dat (2) uh (8) ek uh (6) het nie ek het mos gesê geweet, wat ‘n familie is, of wat wat ‘n familie behels nie. ek was-s ook uh, u-uh, wat is die regte woord daarvoor? selfsugtig. (7) ja-a wat kan ek sê? jis verskriklike pressure op ‘n ou gesit (8). dit was-s (3) was um was rof, jy weet. kom by skool en dinge by die skool, Mary doen dit al die jare. ek (4) kan nie be,trokke raak Jesus by die ouers nie, uh (3) uh want ek hou in elk geval nie van die mense nie so dis baie moeilik vir hulle. die kinders weet even vandag nog hy sal nie eers, hy sal nie eers vir my sê nie as daar miskien ‘n rugbybraai is of so iets is nie want weet nie of hulle skaam is vir my nie of maar hy weet ek li:ke dit nie om tussen

sulke mense te gaan nie. sê nou um ek dis 'n ding waaraan ek ook nog moet werk. kom my kinders dan daar te na. maar dis moeilik vir my. so wat (2) by die skool aangaan het ek tot nou geen clue nie. ek kyk maar net na hulle rapporte en (3) kyk wat daar aangaan. maar soos ek sê, ek dink die kinders het ook besef hoekom. (5) jy kan nie die ou simpel ding hy hou nie daarvan nie, en as hy daar is maak hy kak (hhh).

A: A huge adjustment. Like I say, it is the first time in my life that I am part of a family. My first marriage lasted four years on paper, but in reality it lasted a year.

E: You were never at home.

A: And after a time, I said: "Bugger you" and off I went (3). A year, a year and a half, two years, say two years {inaudible} (12). Yes (2) a huge adjustment, because I (8) I (6) didn't know what a family was or what a family involved. I was also, what is the right word, selfish. (7) Yes, what can I say? It put enormous pressure on one. (8) It was (3) rough, you know, talking about school and things at school. Mary has done it all the years. I (4) can't get involved with the people; (3) I don't like the people. It is very difficult for them. The children know even today, they won't even tell me if there is a rugby braai {barbeque} or something like that. I don't know if they are ashamed of me, but he knows I don't like going between people like that. I have to work on this, I am disadvantaging my children. But, it is hard for me. The result is that I know nothing about what is happening at school; I just look at their reports. But I think the children know; they know you can't take the stupid thing anywhere; he causes shit {laughs}.

His language is very disjointed as he describes his difficulties in the family. His distress is obvious. He knows that he makes it difficult for the children, but finds it extremely difficult to change. The next section, which occurs later in the interviews, gives an indication of how alien it feels to him to be part of a family (Episode 52).

A: oeg. dis maar moeilik. ek leer nog sulke dinge nog aan. baie moeilik jy weet um. ek lees nou die dag 'n artikel, hulle sê um liefde is nie net geskenkies dis fisiese kontak met jou kinders en so aan. dis dinge wat moeilik is vir my. even my s-stiefkinders, ek is nou al agt jaar met hulle. dis nie dat ek nie van hulle hou nie of niks nie, ek kan nie eers teenoor my eie kind, gaan hom 'n drukkie gee nie.

E: nie sommer nie.

A: uh, uh.

E: jy moet dink ek moet dit doen.

A: ja, ja. en hoekom weet ek nie. my soos ek sê, my stiefkinders, dit gaan al vir nege jaar, en ek dink ek kan op een hand tel, hoeveel ek miskien vir hulle 'n drukkie gegee het. bitter min. ek sal nie een hand volmaak nie.

***A:** It's so difficult. I'm learning to do these things. It's very difficult. I read an article the other day. They said love is not just giving gifts, it includes physical contact with your children. That's very hard for me. Even with my stepchildren, I've been with them for eight years and it's not as though I don't like them or something like that, I can't even hug my own child.*

***E:** Not just because you feel like it?*

***A:** Uh. Uh*

***E:** You have to think that you must hug him.*

***A:** Yes, yes. I don't know why. I have been with my stepchildren for almost nine years and I think I can count the number of times I hugged them on one hand. Very seldom. Not even five times.*

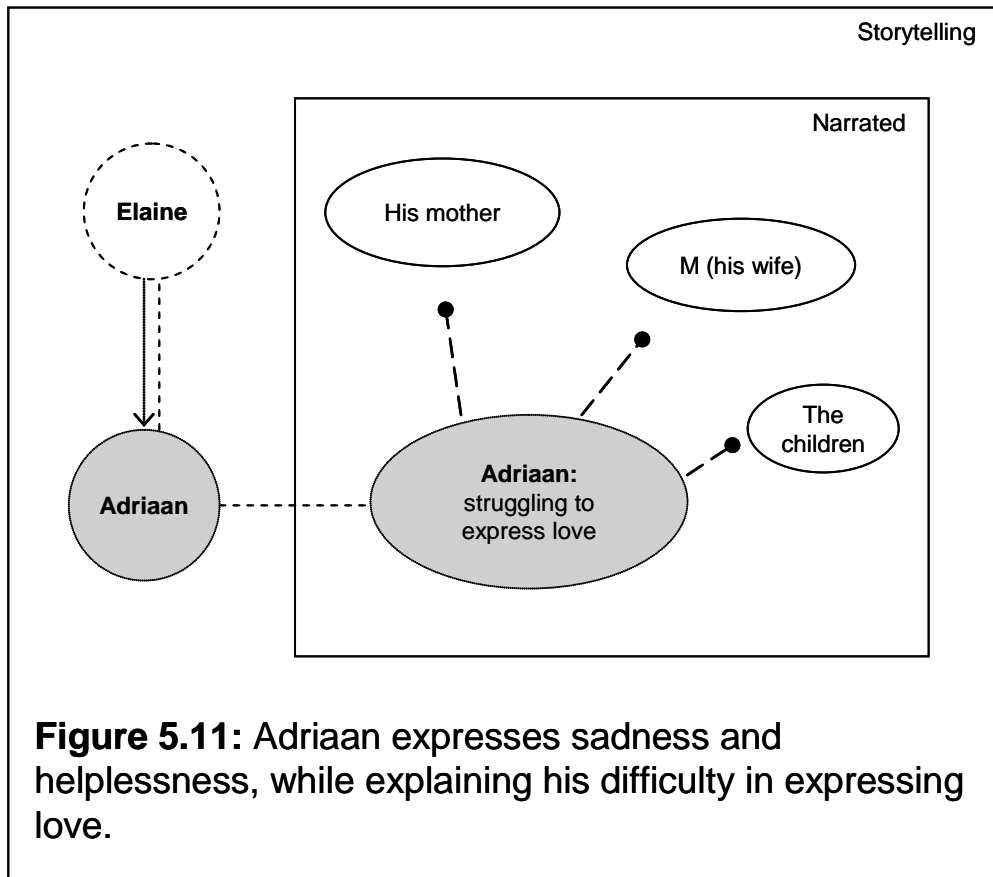


Figure 5.11: Adriaan expresses sadness and helplessness, while explaining his difficulty in expressing love.

In Figure 5.11 I attempt to illustrate the sense of victimhood he demonstrates in relationship to me, as he tells of his immense difficulty relating to his family. I continue to be supportive.

His lack of inhibition is one of the reasons for the extreme alienation he experiences. He easily becomes aggressive and people avoid him. He mentions various times that he has lost his temper. For example, he pulled a teller over a counter in a bank for telling him he could not draw money that day (Episode 23) and at a braai (barbeque), he became angry because he felt two children were treated unfairly (Episode 42). This is a change from his previous functioning. He explains that he lost many friends after leaving the police. He recognises that his behaviour has led to the alienation he feels but is unable to correct it. In talking about the loss of friends he says (Episode 43):

A: het later aan hulle rug op my gedraai. maar nou, vandag weet ek nou hoekom, jy weet hulle kon my seker nie meer kon hanteer nie. (4) want my gedrag, my denkwysse en. want die meeste van my vriende o-o-o was soos ek sê haasmanne mense. en ek het al hoe verder, en verder van hulle weg ge (4) kwyn. tot die dag wat my beste vriend vir my sê Adriaan jissie jy is kwaad vir die wêreld ou. en uh rîrig, jy's kwaad vir die wêreld. [...] (8) maar met die houding van ag fuck julle almal ek het julle nie nodig nie. maar diep binne smag 'n ou ook daarna jy weet. ek sal graag wil, gaan hom ontmoet en om verskoning vra. ek weet nie hoe hoe om dit te doen nie.

***A:** They turned their backs on me. Today I know why, they could probably not cope with me anymore because of my behaviour, and my way of thinking. Most of my friends were, as I say, civilians {haasmanne – derogatory term for civilians}. I got more and more distant from them (4) until the day my best friend said to me: “Adriaan you are angry with the world, really man, you are angry with the world.” [...] (8) But I had that attitude of “Fuck you all; I don’t need you.” But deep inside one longs for it. I would like to meet him again and apologise, but I don’t know how.*

He is extremely angry with the community that he comes from (Episode 47):

A: dis klink nou lelik om dit te sê maar ek het dit vir my ma-hulle gesê ek glo dis hulle skuld. ek sê ek kan nie glo dat hulle toelaat dat sulke bastards hulle 'n rat voor die oë kon draai. hulle het vryheid van spraak gehad, ok ek weet hoe vêr dit gegaan het, maar daar was 'n tyd wat hulle kon iets gesê het. maar hulle het net stilgebly. vandag hulle sit met groot bankrekenings, uh lekker op pensioen. vandag moet ons die vrugte pluk daarvan. (4) en uh ja, ek het hulle toe ons in die Kaap was toe praat ons familie my ooms en tannies sê ek vir hulle antwoord julle dit vir my. hulle kon nie. toe sê ek my Here, dis mos absoluut stupid gewees.

E: hoe het hulle daarop gereageer?

A: ja:, negatief.

A: *It sounds bad, but I told my parents that it is their fault. I said I could not believe that they had allowed bastards like that to deceive them. They had had freedom of speech, ok I know how far that went, but there was a time when they could have said something. But they didn't. They have large bank accounts today, on pension, and we have to pluck the fruits. (4) When we were in the Cape, our family was talking, my uncles and aunts, and I asked them to explain it. They couldn't. I said: "My God, you were stupid!"*

E: *How did they respond?*

A: *Negatively.*

He connects the problems he is experiencing to the white community's inability or unwillingness to stand up to the malevolent authorities and the structures they created. His sense of alienation is pervasive, and affects all relationships. He cannot relate to his family or friends and he is also alienated from the Christian community. Any attempt he makes to indicate his intense difficulties is received badly. Many whites are very defensive about the effect of apartheid; the role they played in its maintenance and the impact it has had on people. His bitterness is understandable in view of the abandonment and displacement he describes. Christianity has played such an important role in his life that it is extremely difficult for him to have this sense of separation. The church has let him down. Christianity was used to justify apartheid and to justify the killing of ANC members. He knows the horrors that developed as a result. Part of the difficulty is that he sees church members as attempting to maintain apartheid (Episode 48):

A: ek sê hulle vandag verwag julle van my ek moet in 'n kerk gaan sit waar julle sit. waar julle nie honderd jaar gelede apartheid goedgepraat het in die kerk. vandag sing julle 'n ander psalm. hoe de hel nou? (9) ek verlang na die kerk. ek wil die Here dien, maar dis 'n kwessie, van uh ek ek kan nie hom dien as ek tussen sulke mense sit. klomp huigelaars. [...] maar daar is nog veral in die kerk, al probeer hulle dit wegsteek, is daar

nog steeds apartheid. hulle wil nog steeds, aan daai ou bietjie wat nog oor is hang en dit tolerate ek sal ek nooit tolerate nie. ek sal hulle in hulle maai stuur.

A: I said to them, you expect that I will sit in a church with you in a church today. Not a hundred years ago, you defended apartheid in the church. Today you sing from a different hymn sheet. What the hell does this mean? I long for the church, I want to serve the Lord, but it is a question of how can I serve him between such a bunch of hypocrites? [...] There are those that are for it, but especially in the church, even if they try and hide it apartheid still exists. They want to preserve that bit that is left over and I won't tolerate it. I will send them to hell.

He becomes very tearful as he continues talking about spirituality (Episode 49):

A: 'n ou dink aan die dood 'n ou dink aan um (2) sê Here ok ek is nou gestraf, wanneer hou dit nou op en?

E: Adriaan jy sê jy's gestraf. hoekom sê jy dit?

A: ah Elaine jy weet um (4) omrede ons het sekere goed gaan doen, ek meen ons het mense ek kan sê ek het mense doodgemaak. en hoekom kon ek nie my kop volg daai tyd nie? dis mos verkeerd jy weet. jy sal nie ongestraf bly nie. hoewel mense dit nie wil glo nie hulle kerke was volle as ons sin. even vandag nog. alhoewel dit aan ons duidelik gesê is dis die antichris.

E: jy het verskriklik berou oor goed.

A: ja. (8) 'n mens is uh ag ek kan nie alles onthou nie maar. dinge wat uitstaan, jy-jy-jy is tydens jou werk was jy so onder die invloed van drank. hoewel niemand omgee het werklik nie. as ek op rusdag gaan is dit vir my 'n verligting ek hoef nie nou te suip nie. maar u-um, daar loop 'n swart man, in die straat, oeps dan ry ons hom oor met die Landrover. net vir fun. [...] ag Elaine. {laughs in apparent disbelief} ja nee jy kan nie glo wat jy gedoen het nie. (8) en natuurlik kan jy nie ongestraf bly nie. die Here

jou straf. maar, asof ek smag daarna om voor my dood om vrede te kry {crying} of vergifnis. (8) en ja jy sit met 'n absolute haat gevoel.

E: teenoor?

A: die voormalige regering, die generaals, hulle sit op hulle groot voorstoepe en relax, hulle hulle is oraait. (17) {crying throughout}

A: *Yes, because you know, one thinks of death and one thinks “God I have been punished, when will it stop?”*

E: *Adriaan, you say you have been punished. Why do you say that?*

A: *Oh Elaine, you know, because we did certain things. I mean we, I can say I killed people. Why could I not follow my own head at that time? It was wrong, you know this. You will not remain unpunished. People don't believe it, but their churches were fuller than ours were. Even today. And we were told clearly it was the antichrist.*

E: *You have enormous remorse about things.*

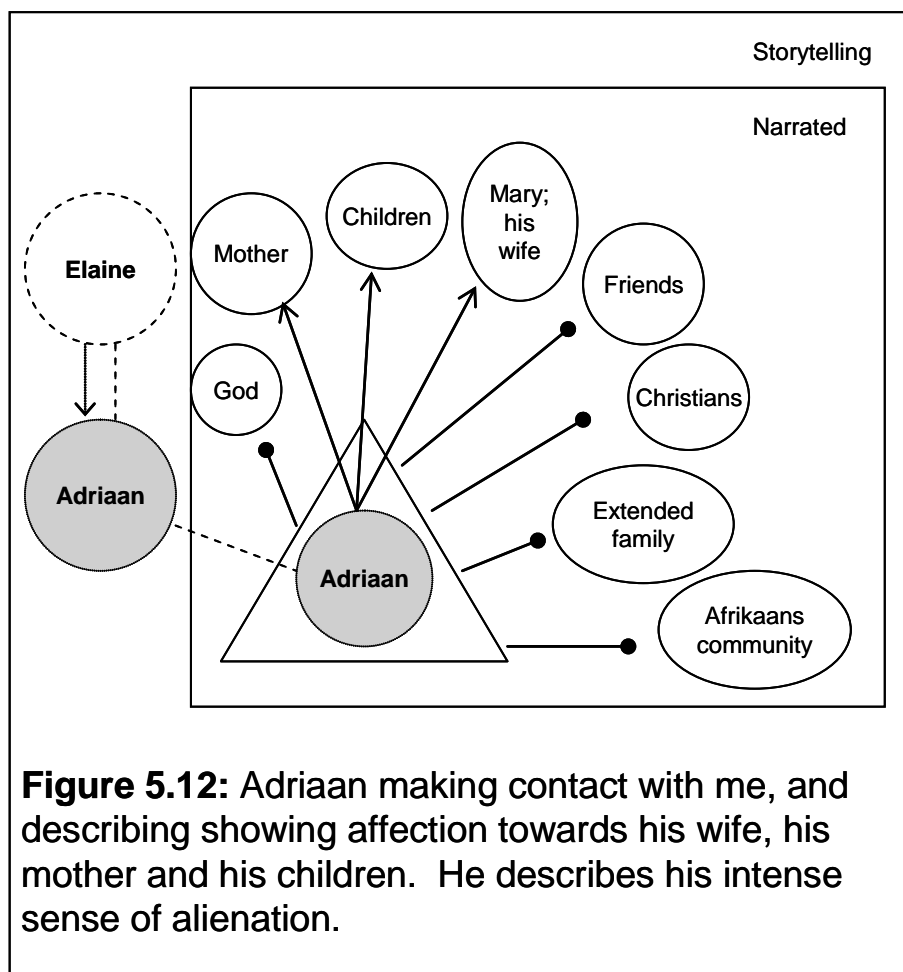
A: *Yes. I can't remember everything, but some things stand out. During your work you were so under the influence of alcohol, although no one minded. On a rest day it was actually a relief not to have to drink. A black man would be walking in the street and oops, we would drive over him with the Landrover, just for fun. [...] Oh Elaine {laughs in apparent disbelief} yes, no you cannot believe what you did and of course you cannot remain unpunished. God punishes you, but it is as if I long to get peace before I die {crying} or forgiveness. And you have an intense feeling of hatred.*

E: *Towards?*

A: *The previous government, the generals, they are sitting on their front stoops and relaxing, they are all right. {crying throughout.}*

As previously discussed he feels alienated from his community. He has rejected them, but also feels abandoned by them. He is isolated with his intense feelings and symptoms around the perpetration of which he is guilty. He obeyed the authorities, and killed those who were described as the “antichrist”. He recognises that he was influenced by the authorities and

blames himself for not having taken a stand against what was expected of him. He has now discovered how wrong it was, and that at times he killed fellow Christians. The symptoms he experiences; the difficulties he has experienced; the bad decisions he has made he connects to God's punishment for what he has done. By enacting his remorse, he is attempting to re-establish himself as a good person. He has done wrong, but he takes the role of a good person who acknowledges what he has done. This fits in with the Christian tradition from which he comes, in which confession of sins is part of the way to redemption. In Figure 5.12 I indicate his attempts to re-establish his identity of being a good person with me and in his attempts to show love to his wife, mother and children.



He then moves to his need to tell people that there is a way back from where he has been. This probably refers at least in part to my request that he assist in research. He explains (Episode 51):

A: weet jy sommer. en uh, op die einde van die dag, hierdie hele ek het nou die dag gesit en dink oor die hele ding dat mense jy weet en aan die einde van die dag kan 'n ou kan mense help jy weet. um um ek kan half getuig daar is 'n uit-uit-uitkoms jy weet. maar jy moet sekere dinge prysgee. (6) jy kan daar uitkom, probeer uitkom. maar daar's dinge wat jy moet prysgee of dis wat ek dink.

E: wat moet jy prys gee?

A: trots, vriende, drank, (6) jou trots, (5) definitief gewere, word so vinnig as flippin' moontlik ontslae daarvan. (4) en um ek byvoorbeeld, ek vermy

gunshops (2) enige ongelukstonele, enige. (8) en dan moet 'n ou konsentreer op die wat saam met jou ge-ge-gestick het deur daardie tydperk. as hulle nog daar rond is. konsentreer op hulle, want hulle is die ouens wat saam met jou. as 'n ou ophou drink dan sien jy daar val die tjommies, dan is daar niks. maar dan moet jy moet konsentreer op, die wat jou lief het. (4) {crying throughout}

E: dis 'n moeilike pad, dis 'n vrek moeilike pad.

A: ja, as 'n ou was waar ek was dan moet hy leer kar ry ook (hhh).

E: want jy moes.

A: ja, ek moes. (6) dan moet jy ook luister vir raad. nie hardkoppig wees en en dink jy's slim en, jy sal dit by jousef doen en um. nie dink jy kan dit self doen nie. want dis 'n ding wat jy kry. dink kan myself help, ek is 'n recce, en maak {inaudible}. daai ding moet jy uit jou kop kry. ek glo vandag dis alles useless.

E: ek dink 'n ander ding wat jy doen, is jy het jou oopgemaak vir ander mense.

A: ja, soos ek sê, luister na advies, luister na ander mense, na wat hulle sê.

A: *I can sort of testify that there is a way out you know, but you have to sacrifice some things. You can get there, try and get there, but I think you have to sacrifice things.*

E: *What do you have to sacrifice?*

A: *Pride, friends, alcohol, your pride, definitely guns, get rid of them as quickly as possible. I, for example, avoid gun shops, all accident scenes, all. And then you have to focus on those who have stuck with you through the period; if they are still there. Concentrate on them, they are with you. When you stop drinking you see the pals falling by the wayside. Then there is nothing left. But then you must concentrate on those who love you. {crying throughout.}*

E: *It is a difficult path, an extremely difficult path.*

A: *Yes, if someone is where I was, then he has to learn to drive as well {laughs}.*

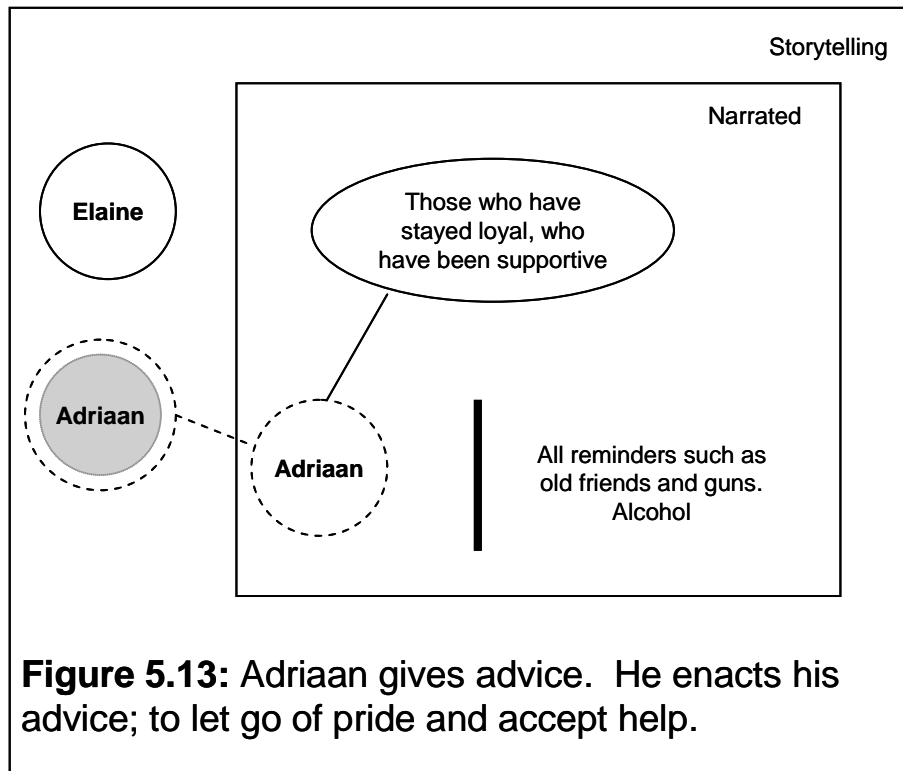
E: *You had to.*

A: *Yes, I had to. Then you have to listen to advice, you can't be stubborn and think you are clever and will be able to do it on your own. You get that, think I can help myself, I am a recce {slang for a reconnaissance soldier, special forces unit in the SADF}. That you have to get out of your head. I think it is of no use today.*

E: *I think one of the things you have done is open yourself to others.*

A: *Yes, as I say, listen to advice; listen to others, to what they say.*

He prefaces this section with the thought of helping others through describing how he copes. He is an obedient, helpful research subject, who has given thought to what he wants to share. Initially he had explained that he had joined the police in order to help people. This was thwarted by the authorities and instead he ended up killing and torturing people. By being helpful in research, he manages to give some value to his experiences. He explains that it is necessary to open yourself to advice. He experiences such alienation and so much suspicion of others, that although he may recognise how necessary this is, it is extremely difficult to do. He does enact it in his relationship with me, despite the difficulties he experiences. He is still crying throughout. He is very hesitant in his statement that it can get better. In Figure 5.13 I indicate the process.



Earlier he had expanded on his difficulties regarding his relationship with God. This is an enormously important theme in his narrative and he returns repeatedly to his guilt and inability to find forgiveness. He discloses his distress at the propaganda he was taught and believed. He clearly feels judged and rejected by God for what he has done (Episode 49):

A: dis dis dinge wat my kwel soos mensgemaakte reëls. kyk wat met my met ons gebeur het, met 'n ou het 'n visie gehad mensgemaak en kyk waar het ons opgeëindig. die Woord is daar. leef volgens die Woord, preek volgens die Woord. nie nodig vir ons om dinge te verander nie dat dit die mens pas nie. dis wat ek glo. luister wat die mens sê, gaan jy net probleme optel volgens my. mense het vir ons gesê apartheid is reg, mense het vir ons gesê, die sogenoemde oorlog is alles reg. die grootste fout. en by Christendom is dit so eenvoudig, want die Woord is daar vir ons. (2) dan begin mense karring aan sekere dinge. (3) die groot ding is om {crying} (9) ek word verlos van hierdie crap, en word vergewe deur die Here, natuurlik. {sobbing} (36) dis goed waarmee ons elke dag moet saamleef. dit sal nie weggaan, weet jy? (4) maar ek dink 'n ou wat met

hierdie probleem sit, as hy (5) vrede, kan kry by die Here in sy geestelike lewe gaan dit 'n groot plus wees want 'n ou smag daarna.

A: Things like this bother me, the rules people make. Look at what has happened to us; a man had a vision created by man and look where we ended up. The Word is there, live according to the Word, preach according to the Word. It is not necessary for us to change things to suit us. That is what I believe. Listen to what people say and you will develop problems, according to me. People told us apartheid was right, people told us the so-called war was right. The biggest mistake. And in Christianity it is so easy, because the word is there for us. But people start interfering and the big thing is to {crying} be released from this crap and forgiven by God. {sobbing} (36). This we have to live with every day. You know it will not go away? But I think that a person with the problem, if he can get peace with God, it would help enormously, one longs for it.

He appears to recognise that some things are not going to change. He seems to believe that that which he is guilty of, is too great for forgiveness, and yet he longs for it. I asked him how he would know that he had forgiveness. He replied (Episode 50):

A: (5) net 'n normale (2) lewe te lei, sonder geweld, sonder om te dink aan geweld, sonder om te dink dat vandag wil jy jousef (2) van die aardbol af blaa:s, of jy wil ander mense te na: kom. as jy vrede in jousef kry op die einde van die dag sal daardie goed natuurlik kom. want dis hel, elke dag is jy in konflik, is jy in konflik met jousef, met almal wat jy sien, veral as dit kom by wit. vir een of ander rede. (2) 'n ou sal na jou toe ek weet nie mense kom seker na 'n ou toe om rêrig vriendskap om vriendelik te wees en dan. 'n ou is dadelik op jou agterpote wat wil die bliksem hê? wat wil hy aan my doen? die agterdog is heeltyd daa:r en. (4) om die lewe te geniet, om uit te gaan. soos nou terwyl met verlof is, ek geniet my ou tuintjie. vir 'n lang tyd smag ek om werklik iewers heen te gaa:n soos die natuur of. as 'n ou werk of as 'n ou gestres is maak nie vreeslik vir jou

saak nie nie sluit jousef toe heelyd jy weet. dis dinge wat ek probeer oorkom jy weet. ek weet as ek nou begin werk, dan gaan ek myself isolate nou weer. op my rusdae gaan ek nou weer slaa:p. terwyl ek nou met vakansie is ek in die oggende vroeg op. ek voel beter. dis dinge wat 'n ou jy vra jousef, as jy werk hoekom kan dit nie dieselfde wees as nou nie. ek verstaan dit nie. (4) maar die werklikheid. dis dinge wat 'n ou pla. ek gesels nou maklik daaroor, maar dis terug na reality toe is 'n ander storie.

A: Just to live a normal life, without violence, without thinking of violence, without thinking that you want to shoot yourself, or that you want to harm others. If you have peace in yourself, those things will come naturally. It is hell, everyday you are in conflict, you are in conflict with yourself, with everyone you see, especially whites for some or other reason. Someone will come to you, I don't know, people probably approach you for genuine friendship, to be friendly, and one is immediately suspicious: "What the hell does he want? What will he do to me?" The suspicion is always there. To enjoy life, to go out, like now when I have leave. I am enjoying my little garden. For a long time I have needed to really go somewhere, like in nature. When one works, or when one is under stress nothing really matters. You lock yourself away, the whole time. I try and overcome these things you know. I know that when I start working again, that I will isolate myself again. On my rest days I will sleep. While on holiday, I am up early, I feel better. These are things you ask yourself: "Why can't it be the same when I work as now?" I don't understand it, but the reality is that these are things that worry me. I am talking easily about it now, but when it is back to reality it is a different story.

In saying how he would know he was forgiven he is again distracted into his alienation from his own community. His sense of alienation is overwhelming. He does not trust people, in particular whites. He also describes that his ability to cope on a day-to-day level is seriously impaired. The conversation then moves to his conflicts around racism and the impact of his

racist beliefs on his relationships. I have previously noted that his conflict regarding racism is a central theme in his narrative. This conflict contributes to his extreme sense of alienation (Episode 53).

A: um soos, Pam het nou 'n kleurling meisie as 'n vriendin, dan sal sy nou, n-nou sy't vanoggend weer gevra of sy kan oorkom vanaand jy weet. um s-sy dink ek het 'n verskriklike haat in hulle, jy weet. wat sy seker opgetel het so in die jare wat sy saam met my grootgeword het, moet maar versigtig wees kan die meisie soontoe kom? in werklikheid wil jy vir haar sê laat die kind kom, voel vry. maar (2) nou het sy seker die anderkant gesien. (8) jy smag jy smag daarna, om as jy jou weer kry. (7) soos even in my verlof ek is elke dag alleen en ek sal wil sê kom ons gaan na daai vriend en daai vriend toe maar daar is niks nie jy weet. moeilik. so as dit kom by, socialising is daar niks. maar (1) nou sit en redeneer omdat jy really fucked up is jy weet. en dis moeilik jy weet. die gewone ou praat maar oor, politiek dit en dat en sus. en dis maar waaroor die mense praat. dan raak ek goed omgekrap daaroor. want hulle praat onsin. praat oor hoe swaar kry die blankes. wat van die swartes?

E: dis nie 'n gewilde posisie om in te neem nie.

A: nee. (4) nee dis waarom ek leer myself om eerder alleen te bly en hou jou bek. maar jy probeer maar jouself vind jy weet, jy smag soos ek gesê het jy weet die ou wat jy was, jy weet. wens jy kan weer daar kan uitkom. (6) °dis verby, jy weet.° (8)

A: *Like now with P who has a coloured girl as a friend. She asked this morning if the girl can come over tonight. She thinks I have a terrible hatred for them you know. She probably picked up on it in the years that she grew up with me. Has to be careful. Can the girl come to us? In reality you want to tell her: "Feel free, let the girl come." (2) But she will have seen the other side. (8) You long, long for it. But when you catch yourself. (7) Now in my leave, I am alone every day and I would like to say let us go to that friend and that friend, but there is no one, you know. Difficult. So when it comes to socialising, there is nothing. But now you*

sit and reason it out because you are really fucked up you know. And it is difficult you know. The average guy talks about things like politics, that is what they talk about. And I get very upset because they talk rubbish.

They will talk about how hard the whites have it, what about the blacks?

E: *That is not a popular position to take in.*

A: *No. (4) No. That is why I am teaching myself to rather live alone and shut up. But you try, but you find that you long for, like I have said, the person that you were. You know, you wish you get there again. (6) It has passed, you know {quietly}. (8)*

His difficulty about this is reflected in the disjointedness of his speech. He juxtaposes his racial attitudes and his inability to socialise. He takes us into a world in which he has realised the wrongness of his previous ways. But, recognising that he was wrong, alienates him from his community. He had earlier mentioned that the only people he could relate to are black (dis die enigste mense met wie ek half kan kommunikeer is die swartes (hhh) jy weet. mettertyd het ek 'n nouer band. dis-s asof ek hulle beter verstaan, beter kan kommunikeer met hulle; *The only people with whom I have some communication are black {laughs}. It is as if I have a closer tie to them. As though I understand them better, can communicate better with them.*). He has repeated this on numerous occasions (sections not quoted). He can only communicate with black people, but is racist in that communication, despite disapproving of racism. He longs for the way he was, in a state of innocence, but knows that it has passed. Again we talk about his isolation:

E: maak die houding van jou gemeenskap dit soms vir jou moeiliker?

A: ja. nee ek, stel eintlik nie eers belang nie. (13) want hulle want vir hulle beteken wat ookal iemand gedoen het vir hulle bogger all, want hulle weet van bogger all. hy't aangehou met sy werk. hy het bevorderingsmoontlikhede gekry, hy het studiemoontlikhede gehad. sy lewe het aangegaan soos hy aangegaan het. ja, hy was weermag toe, maar dis ook nie vir my te veel nie. sy lewe was nie ontwrig: nie, want ons

was daar om te verseker dat dit net in die townships bly, dat dit nie uitsprei nie. en hy het half in 'n kokon so tipe half geleef, jy weet. (6)

E: ek weet jy was al baie kwaad vir die Afrikaners.

A: ja, even vandag (hhh) ek nee ek is eintlik skaam om te sê ek is Afrikaans. om eerlik te wees.

E: verduidelik dit vir my.

A: omrede hy's die volkie wat so graa:g wil opstaan en sê hoe Christelik hulle hy is en omgee vir sy medemens en hoe slim en sterk hy is en. toe kom ek agter hulle is nie so nie slim en sterk en Christelik soos hulle wil voorgee nie. en dat hulle huigelaars is. vandag moet ons in kerkverband kom hulle met allerhande ander dinge, wat voorheen taboe was wat hulle teëgestaan het. soos die swartmense, hulle is nie Christelik nie, hulle is die antichris hulle is dit en hulle is dat. vandag sing hulle 'n ander deuntjie en jy praat van tien jaar. maar as ek kyk na ons geskiedenis dan, haai shame.

E: wat bedoel jy?

A: dit is mos so. ons wil mos met mekaar stry en baklei.

***E:** Does the attitude of your community make it more difficult for you?*

***A:** Yes, no I am not actually even interested. (13) Because they, because nothing anyone did for them means a thing. They don't know anything. He carried on with his work, he had possibilities for promotion and he had the possibility of studying. His life continued as he went on. Yes, he went to the army, but that was not too much, his life was not disrupted, because we were there to ensure that it stayed in the townships, that it did not spread. He lived in a cocoon, you know. (6)*

***E:** I know you have been very angry with the Afrikaner.*

***A:** Yes, even today {laughs}. I no I am actually ashamed to say that I am Afrikaans. To be honest.*

***E:** Explain that to me.*

***A:** Because, they are the people who were so keen to say how Christian they were, how much they cared about their fellow man and how clever and strong they were. And I discovered they are not so clever and strong*

and Christian as they pretended. They are hypocrites. Today in the church they say all sorts of things which they previously rejected, like saying black people are not Christian, they are the antichrist and they are this and that. Today they sing a different tune and we are talking ten years. Shame.

E: *What do you mean?*

A: *It is like that. We want to argue and fight with each other.*

He continues, explaining more of his sense of alienation.

E: *die gemors is, dit los jou met 'n gevoel van vervreemding.*

A: *ja, Elaine, we-weet jy wat, ek smag, ek weet nie of dit die regte woord is nie, maar ek probeer so hard weet jy wat vir my 'n snaakse ding is, ek vermy om 'n mens in die oë te kyk. (2) as ek praat dan kyk ek hier. en uh, ek weet nie hoekom nie. (6) en uh (2) ek weet nie, miskien minderwaardig, aan 'n minderwaardigheidskompleks lei. (2) as jy iemand ontmoet, dis asof jy dadelik dink die ou gaan jou veroordeel oor iets jy weet en dan deins jy weg van dit af. (6) en natuurlik absolute kontak met polisiemanne, ek stel nie belang nie, dis bad news. daar moet jy enigiets wat te doene het met polisie, sekuriteit , weg bly.*

E: *The problem is it leaves you with a feeling of alienation.*

A: *Yes Elaine, you know I long for, I don't know if that is the correct term, but I try so hard. Something I find strange; I try not to look at people in their eyes. (2) When I talk, I look here, I don't know why. (6) I don't know, possible I feel inferior; have an inferiority complex. When you meet someone, it is as though you immediately think he is going to judge you about something and you want to hide. (6) And of course contact with policemen; I am not interested. That is bad news. Don't have anything to do with police or security. Stay away.*

There is a sense of being sacrificed for a community which does not even know from what it was saved. He made the sacrifice, and now he is rejected

and vilified by the community he protected. He feels intense shame and knows he is judged by his community. He avoids contact with policemen, who would naturally be the people with whom he would have the most in common. This is commonly done by people with PTSD. I did not ask him for his reasons, but generally they avoid the contact because the conversations tend to focus on experiences in the police, and at times because of the tendency to abuse alcohol in these groups. I follow up on the sense of shame:

E: en jy voel jy word veroordeel op een of ander manier?

A: ja, definitief. want ek meen min geleenthede, of gaan na 'n braai toe, dan dadelik begin dit oor politiek en so aan. kan hoor dat hulle jou veroordeel jy kon opgestaan het, en ja (2) dink jy sit aan.

E: sonder om te besef waar jy was.

A: ja, dis maklik om te praat. skep dan sit dit om in konflik en dan huil almal.

E: min mense besef waar jy rêrig was.

A: ja, hulle het nie 'n idea nie. (2) ek weet vir 'n feit, min mense het geweet wat werklik aangegaan het. ou Jan Publiek hy't het nie 'n clue nie.

E: ek dink mense het gekies om nie te weet nie.

A: ja ja fuck you Jack, I'm all right. die Suid-Afrikaanse manier. (6) maa:r, wat ek nou op konsentreer is my familie. te sorg al smag ek na vriendskap, op die stadium is my gesin vir my belangrike. (9)

E: *Do you feel you are judged in some way?*

A: *Yes, definitely. There are few opportunities, go to a braai, and immediately it starts on politics and so on. Can hear that they judge you, you could have stood up against it. And yes (2) they think you are exaggerating your problems.*

E: *Without realising where you were.*

A: *Yes, it is easy to talk, it ends in conflict and then everyone is unhappy.*

E: *Few people realise where you were.*

A: Yes, they have no idea. (2) I know few people knew what really happened. The public have no idea.

E: I think people chose not to know.

A: Yes. Fuck you Jack, I'm all right. The South African way. (6) I now concentrate on my family. To look after them, even though I long for friendship, at this stage my family is important. (9)

White communities' lack of knowledge of what happened in the townships, as well as his personal shame, isolates him from others. He again indicates his belief, which he assumes others will feel, that he should have stood up against what was happening. He is embittered and disillusioned by his community. Unfortunately the isolation also means that he is not able to discuss his experiences or struggles with anyone.

I asked him about the TRC and he had the following to say (Episode 56):

E: sê vir my, hoe bewus was jy van die TRC?

A: (4) ja:, dit was daar maar nou, het ek 'n probleem gehad want ek het gedink, hulle pleeg op daardie stadium hulle pleeg hoogverraad. hoe kan hulle? ek was baie anti teen dit. later aan toe elke jy lees maar hier 'n stukkie, dink daaroor 'n bietjie. en um wat vir my um uh die een dag toe is ons Pm, um wat vir my um, toe die ee-eerste keer laat of die son sien skyn aan die einde van die tunnel. daar was 'n Veiligheidspolisieman maar moenie nou vir my sy naam vra nie, dit was 'n groot saak gewees, op televisie gewees en. um ek-ek kon dit g-goed onthou um hy't 'n aktivis geskiet. dit was 'n vrou gewees. en uh, ok dit was nie sy eerste nie maar sy was 'n groot aktivis. ek sal nooit die dag vergeet wat hy haar geskiet het nie want hy het die dag gekom gesels. lekker stukkend dronk gewees. en hy was 'n offisier gewees. 'n baie intelligente ou. 'n baie nice ou. toe ek terugdink daai dag het sy wêreld inmekaar gesak. en die dag wat hy haar geskiet het toe hy nou kom, ja: al die ouens het geseëvier almal het gedrink en gesê jissie, wat 'n goeie ou jy is en. ek kon selfs daai dag sien um, jy weet die ou is nie lekker nie, maar hy is dronk en hy is nou die hero

van die dag. ek kry hom hier toe in Pm. ek loop in 'n slaghuis in daar. hier staan die man. Mary is nog saam gewees. en ek sê vir die ou jis tot my skok half, um intelligente ou, offisier hier kry ek hom, in 'n slaghuis werk. en dis nie eers sy eie slaghuis nie. en ek sê vir hom hoe gaan dit? en hy sê vir my, Adriaan I'm still a butcher.

E: oeg.

A: en uh toe weet ek, Jesus ou jy is net soos ek, u-h-h jy worstel nog daarmee jy weet. en uh (2) dis waar, en daarna is hy (2) of vroeër het ek ek praat onder korreksie weet nie of dit voor of na dit was nie toe is hy TRC toe, en dit was 'n groot storie oor die nuus gewees. toe het hy gaan getuig en sê um ja ek dink dis na hy getuig het wat ek hom gesien het in die slaghuis waar hy gewerk het. toe hy sê ja I'm still a butcher. maar jy kon ook sien hy het half vrede gekry in homself. wat vir my opvallend was dat. toe sê ek vir myself, m-man hierdie TRC is seker nie so kak nie man. kyk die ou. alhoewel hy half 'n grap gemaak het toe hy gesê het Adriaan I'm still a butcher maar hy het jammerte wat hy seker nog gevoel het op die stadium. jy kan sien hy het dalk vrede in homself. ja ja maar ook hartseer om te dink waar die man was en. baie intelligente man. en waar hy vandag is. ek sê nie om 'n blokman te wees maar degrading vir hom. ek kon sien, kon aanvoel en sien hy's 'n beter mens hy't getuig en daar is so half 'n trots terug in hom en hy gee terug aan die samelewing, hy werk met mense, kliënte kom in en hy kan iemand in die oë kyk. alhoewel hopelik vandag is hy iewers anders. miskien het hy sy eie slaghuis. 'n baie intelligente man. (6) hoe het hulle hom manipuleer? ek weet hy kom uit 'n privaatskool uit, met ander woorde sy agtergrond is hoe hy opgeëindig het, sou hy nie in sy wildste drome dit kon gedoen het nie of gedink het nie. dit was 'n groot storie in die nuus gewees. (10)

E: *Tell me, how aware were you of the TRC?*

A: *(4) Yes. That happened, but I had a problem, because I thought that they were traitors. How could they? I was very much against it. But later you read a bit, think a bit about it and then one day we were in Pm, and for the first time I saw light at the end of the tunnel. There was a security*

policeman, don't ask me his name, it was a big case on television. I remember it well. He shot an activist. It was a woman. It wasn't his first, but she was an important activist. I will never forget the day he shot her because he came and talked. He was drunk. He was an officer, a very intelligent man. A nice man. When I think back, his world fell apart that day. The day he shot her he came. All the guys celebrated his victory and drank and told him how great he was. I could see, even that day that he was not ok. But he was drunk and the hero of the day. I ran into him in Pm. I walked into a butchery and there he was. Mary was with me. I said, I was actually half shocked, an intelligent man, an officer and I found him working in a butchery and it was not even his own butchery, and I asked him how he was and he said: "Adriaan I am still a butcher."

E: *Ow.*

A: *I then knew: "Jesus man, you are just like me, you are still struggling." And it is true, he later went, or maybe it was earlier, I'm speaking under correction, I don't know if it was before or after that that he went to the TRC. It was a big story over the news. He went and testified. I think it was after he testified that I saw him in the butchery where he worked and he said: "Yes, I am still a butcher." But you could also see he had found some peace in himself. I noticed that and said to myself, this TRC is probably not so shit. Look at the man, although he half jokingly said "Adriaan I'm still a butcher", but he has remorse. He probably still felt remorse at that stage. You could see that he maybe had some peace in himself, but it is sad to think where he was. A very intelligent man, and where is he today? I don't say to be a butcher, but it was degrading for him. I could see, could feel he was a better man for having testified, and that he had some pride restored in himself. He was giving back to the community, he was working with people; clients came in and he could look someone in the eye. Hopefully he is somewhere else today. Maybe he has his own butchery. A very intelligent man. (6) How they manipulated him – I know he was in a private school, in other words, with his background – where he ended up. In his wildest dreams he could not have done it or imagined it. It was a big story in the news. (10)*

He does not appear to have spoken in depth to the man, and appears to be projecting his own needs onto him. Adriaan indicates the shifts he has made in himself, he used to think that people who testified at the TRC were traitors; he now thinks that they may have been right. Again Adriaan blames malevolent authorities for manipulating this man into the acts he committed. He isolates the need to confess and to contribute as elements which he sees as leading to healing. Confession, as discussed earlier, is an important element in Christian traditions. He recognises the man's remorse and interprets it as positive. For the first time in the interviews he indicates the importance of giving something back to the community. He indicated this need to me before. On one occasion, just after getting the job he had during the interviews, he told me with excitement that he was a taxpayer. At that time he had been unemployed for an extended period. He added that he was helping rebuild the country and hence his pleasure at paying taxes.

I ask him about the changes in South Africa and he answers (Episode 61):

E: as jy nou kyk, hoe voel jy oor die veranderings in Suid-Afrika?

A: ek persoonlik nee ek is happy.

E: ten spyte daarvan dat dit beteken dat dit wat jy gedoen het het geen waarde nie?

A: ja. nee, want omrede ek vandag weet wat die waarheid was agter die regering die destydse regering en-en-en en sy instrumente. ek het 'n absolute haat teen hulle en wat gebeur vandag is 'n goeie ding. ja, dat daar is 'n paar dinge gebeur wat my omkrap, maar dis net die crime. maar dat dinge gebeur soos dit moet gebeur. dis reg dit moes lankal gebeur het. (3) nee, daarmee het ek nie 'n probleem nie. (5) soms raak ek bietjie omgekrap met hulle. (hhh) nee dis reg. (7)

E: *When you look at the changes in South Africa, how do you feel?*

A: *Personally, no I'm happy.*

E: *Despite the fact that it means that what you did has no value?*

A: Yes. No. Today I know what the truth was behind the government, the previous government and its instruments. I have an absolute hatred for them and what is happening now is good. Yes, there are things that happen that upset me, but it is just the crime. But that things happen as they happen. It is right, it should have happened a long time ago. (3) No, I have no problem with that. (5) Sometimes I get upset with them {laughs}. No, it is right. (7)

Despite struggling immensely with his own racist attitudes, he states his support for the changes in South Africa.

Conclusions

Adriaan starts by describing himself as being from a religious family and one that is not racist. However, the death of his father, leads to the loss of a suitable guide. His father he positions as taking in a stand against the racist conventions of the time. Adriaan was unable to emulate his father and despite his best efforts, he was eventually overwhelmed by the malevolent authorities and the structures they created. He became as evil as them. He became very ill, at least in part because of atrocities he committed and eventually left the police. He lost all his material possessions and his marriage was dissolved. His mother helped him and he was helped by black people. He finds that he can only communicate with black people. The rest of the narrative is taken up by his efforts to come to terms with what he has done and to attempt to regain a sense of worth.

He professes that he is against racism, but is racist in his speech. He is completely alienated from his own community, and experiences overwhelming guilt and shame. His current relationships and interactions are affected by the shame he feels for his behaviour.

Adriaan never attempts to defend himself for committing atrocities. He indicates he did it for God and country as his duty. He now knows it was

wrong, he is aware of the power structures of the authorities and knows that he and the entire society were manipulated.

He has struggled to adjust to a family. His wife has supported him through very trying times, despite his tendency to respond with violence. He has beaten his wife on occasion. He often responds violently to conflict and has on numerous occasions assaulted people. Again, he is a perpetrator, and is intensely ashamed of his behaviour. He finds it extremely difficult to demonstrate love.

He has had extended periods of unemployment, and finds it very difficult to cope at work. He believes that God is punishing him and that he deserves that punishment. He indicates an intense need for God to forgive him. He eventually indicates that in order to be forgiven, that he needs to confess and to give something back to the community. This is a reflection of the Christian beliefs of confession and restitution.

In relation to me, he initially positions himself as obedient and accommodating of my comments. He later enacts his victimhood and shares his intense remorse over what he has done. He enacts the culture from which he comes in which redemption is obtained through remorse and confession. He attempts to recover the identity of a good person through his remorse, confession and by attempting to recover his initial role of someone who helps others. He uses the research situation to give thoughtful advice for recovering from the severe symptoms he has experienced.

CHAPTER 6

CHARL: DIALOGIC ANALYSIS

Charl is a white, Afrikaans male who was referred by his psychiatrist for individual psychotherapy. He was 40 years old when I first met him in 2005. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, he introduced himself in the first session by telling me what records he held for torture. He worked in the Riot Units for many years, mainly in Gauteng townships, and during the violence post-1990 in KwaZulu-Natal. After I had known him for approximately six months, I approached him to participate in this research. He was diagnosed with severe PTSD and a severe, recurrent major depressive disorder. His wife has died and he is raising his two sons. He severely abused alcohol, but stopped within a few months of commencing psychotherapy. After I had seen him for approximately seven months he had to be hospitalised; the SAPS had threatened to stop his salary if he did not return to work. This was despite being on sick leave. He is currently in the process of obtaining a medical discharge, although an injury on duty has not yet been approved and he has now been on sick leave for five years. Two years ago he was informed that he could not be placed within the SAPS.

I commenced these interviews in 2005 and the main narrative was given in the period before he was hospitalised. Over the years Charl has explored his emotional experiences, especially with regard to perpetration, in a lot of detail, which has resulted in many hours of recordings. I have incorporated some of this material into the narrative which will be discussed in this chapter and discussed the remainder in more detail in the thematic analyses in Chapters 9, 10 and 11.

The genogram (Figure 6.1) was compiled for the family composition at the time of the main interviews. I indicate that he and his children lived with his mother and brothers during the interviews. This was true for most of the period; towards the end of the interviews he and his children moved to their

own home due to conflict with Charl's mother and one brother. Some of the dates are approximate, as Charl does not always remember dates, and is often confused about times. I have used the system suggested by McGoldrick and Gerson (1985).

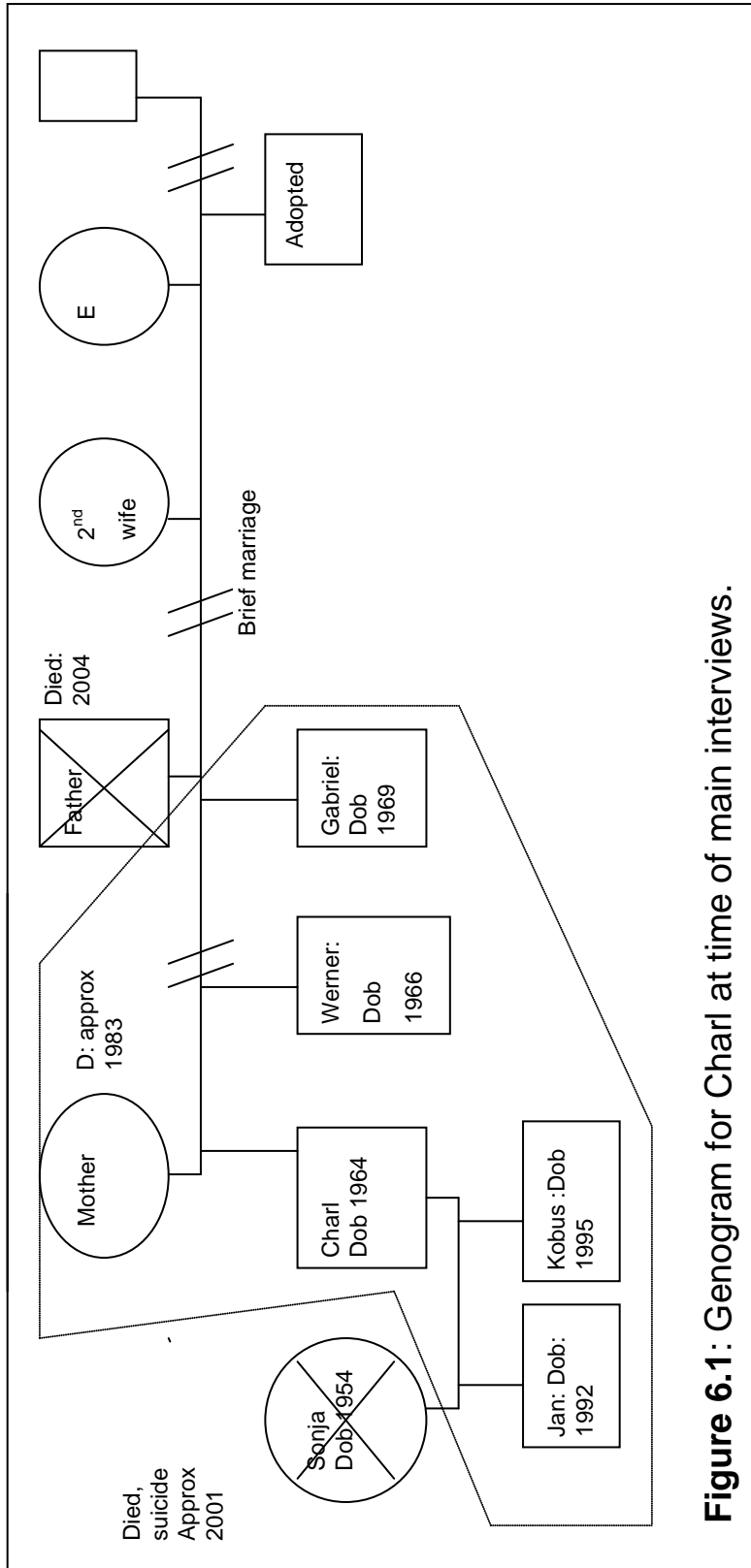


Figure 6.1: Genogram for Charl at time of main interviews.

I have followed the same process as with Adriaan, and again divided the narrative into episodes and characters (Wortham, 2001). This is included as Table 1 in Appendix E. I have divided the narrative and the dialogic analysis into the sections listed in Table 4 in Appendix E.

Charl mentions 72 characters in his narrative. They are listed in Table 2 in Appendix E. I have created eight groups which appear to share characteristics and are important in his narrative. I have on occasion listed groups as characters, when he appeared to use them in this way; for example the group “family” contains various family members. It is immediately clear that some characters or groups of characters appear very often in his narrative. It can be assumed that they are important in his story.

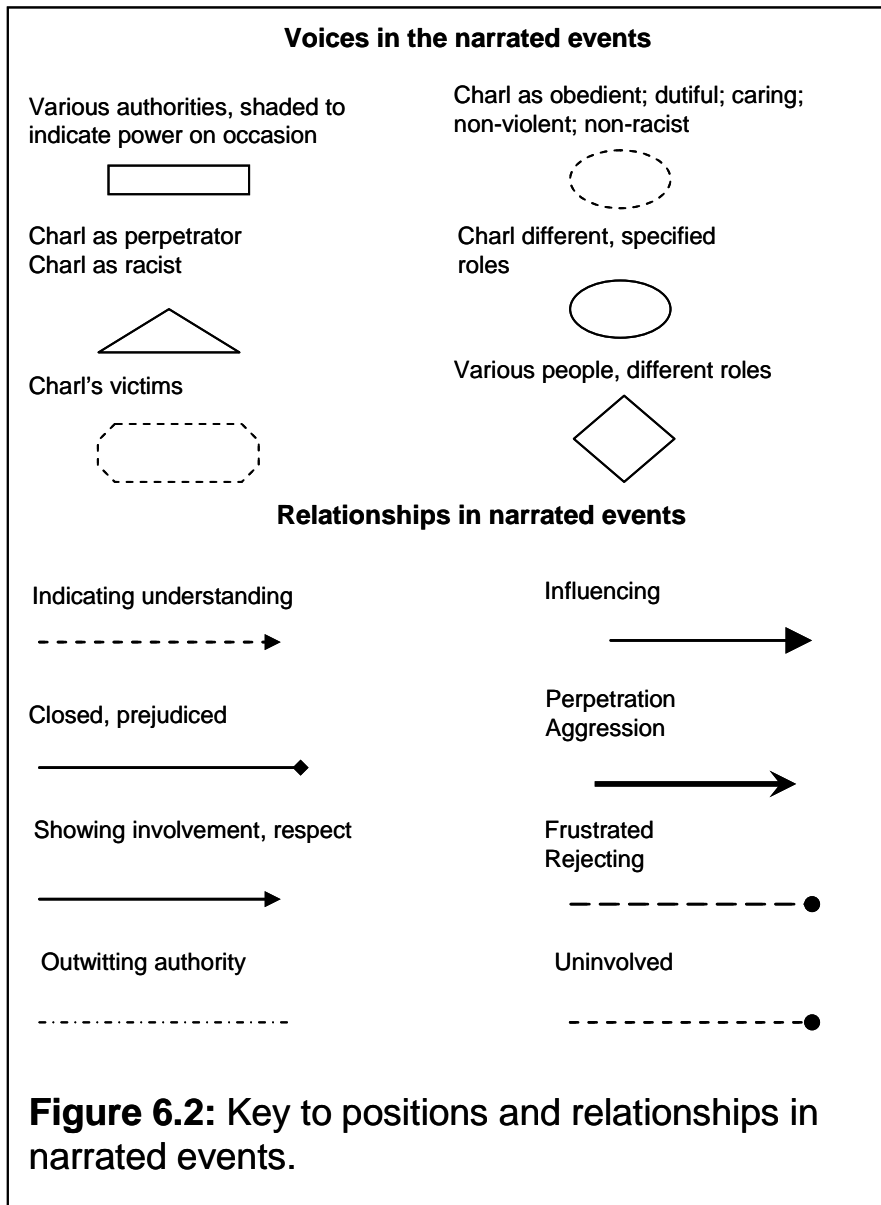
I followed Wortham’s (2001) suggestion to examine the ways in which he has positioned himself and others throughout the narrative. Table 3 in Appendix E lists the ways in which he has positioned himself. On examination recurrent positions are revealed, for example, he will often position himself as outwitting authority. Some of these positions he enacts in the interviews with me.

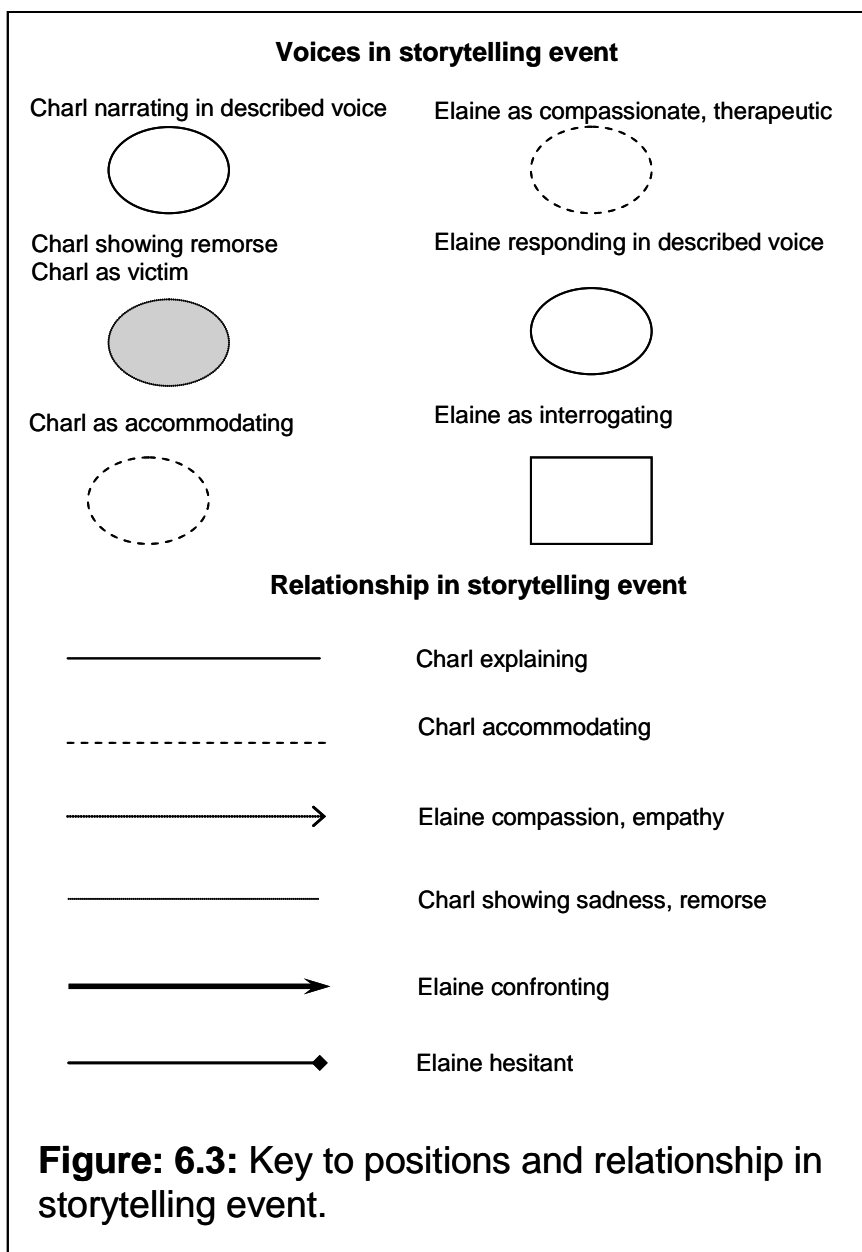
In this analysis, I will focus on incidents which appear to be pivotal and I will not discuss everything that he said. In presenting and discussing Charl’s narrative, I have attempted to follow his narrative chronologically. This is relatively easy in the early parts of his story, but later he no longer presents his story chronologically. This coincides with the period when he started working in the Riot Units. He struggles immensely with dates and periods and his narrative is often disjointed. Some events he mentions were well-reported on and I have been able to give the dates. This, I hope, gives some idea of the periods he describes.

I will, however, especially when the positioning between him and me changes, present the flow in the conversation that has led to the changes. In his story, this is especially important, as he often revisits events, giving

more information as the relationship between us changes. At times I strongly directed the interaction, especially when I was trying to understand aspects of what he was saying or when I was challenging him. On many occasions he directed the interactions, as he kept a diary for a period, and he used it for introspection. He would refer to his diary in order to start an interaction. I have included information from sessions which I used to try to understand what he was experiencing. It was the first time he put these thoughts into words as well as share his experiences with someone, and there is often a therapeutic aspect to the interaction. I have included it, as it is very revealing of the difficulties he is experiencing, mainly as a result of working in the townships and torturing.

As with Adriaan I give the original Afrikaans which indicates all the verbal utterances and pauses. The transcription conventions are listed in Appendix C. I follow the Afrikaans with an English translation which is given with emphasis on the readability. In the translation I only indicate pauses of two seconds or longer. They are placed approximately in the correct context, as it is often difficult to place them exactly in a translation. In Figure 6.2 I give the key to the shapes which I use to indicate the positions Charl takes in the narrative. I also use shapes and symbols to indicate his positioning of the main protagonists and the nature of the relationship between the protagonists. In Figure 6.3 I indicate the symbols which I use to indicate the positions he and I are taking as well as the nature of the relationship. This refers to the storytelling event, which is the relationship between him and me. At times, I connect the storytelling event to the narrated event, when it is clear that he is enacting that which he is narrating.





The Period Before Joining the SAP

The first fifteen episodes (Table 4 in Appendix E) of Charl’s narrative cover the period of growing up and before he joined the police. He has included some information on the status of relationships, such as his current relationship with his father’s third wife. The major characters are his mother, father, his two younger brothers and various black servants (Table 1 in Appendix E). He narrates himself in various positions (Table 3 in Appendix

E), mainly as hardworking, supportive of family, outwitting authority and as racist within a racist background.

He starts with a summary of growing up, which introduces a few important themes (Episode 1).

C: {in measured tones} 1964, Aprilmaand, die 30ste gebore in T. (3) ons het hier in P grootgeword. (6) graad een tot graad twee was ons in die stad gewees, in H gebly. toe het my pa 'n plot gekoop in P, toe het ons daar gaan bly. toe het hy dit verkoop. toe het ons op H 'n plot gekoop. tot in standard nege het ek daar, het ons daar gebly. toe het ek vir 'n jaar by my ouma en oupa gebly, my matriekjaar. (4) as kind het ek pluimbal gespeel (4) tot tot derde in Suid-Afrika gevorder (4) die juniors. (4) my pa was in die weermag gewees, my ma was by die Ongevalle Kommissaris het sy gewerk, later is sy vloot toe ook. toe het sy in die vloot gewerk. my matriekjaar is sy en my pa geskei. (5) my pa het in hier in P agtergebly, my ma het 'n pos in D aanvaar by die vloot. sy't daar gebly vir amper twee jaar. toe is ek alreeds in die polisie, ek het 'n paar keer afgegaan soontoe na haar toe. na skool, ek was in G gewees in die hoërskool. van van daar af is ek direk polisie toe.

C: {in measured tones} 1964, the 30th of April, born in T. (6) We grew up in P. (6) In grade one and two we were in the city, in H. My father then bought a small holding in P. We lived there and then we bought a smallholding in H. I, we lived there in standard nine and then I lived with my grandparents for a year in matric. (4) As a child I played badminton; (4) I was ranked third in South Africa (4) as a junior. (4) My father was in the defence force and my mother worked at the Compensation Commissioner. She later joined the navy and worked for the navy. My parents divorced when I was in matric. (5) My father remained in P. My mother accepted a post in D with the navy. She lived there for two years; I was already in the police. I went to her a few times after school. I was in G High School and from there I joined the police.

He gives a very matter-of-fact summary of the period growing up. Like Adriaan, he appears to think that the important events happened after he joined the police. Charl's introduction is systematic and he links events to where he lived. He maintains this systematic, matter-of-fact telling through much of the early parts of his narrative. Once he starts talking about events in the townships, this breaks down, and it is almost impossible to understand the chronological order of events. This makes sense in terms of the traumatisation which he experienced, and reflects the disruption of his life (Phelps, 2004; Van der Kolk, et al., 2001). In this brief introduction, he touches on a number of themes: his father was in the military, and later his mother also joined; he played badminton and was clearly competitive. He explains that he lived with his grandparents for a year. It does not come across clearly, but this was while his parents were divorcing, as he did not get on with his mother. I ask about his father and he says (Episode 2):

C: {sighing}. ag: my pa was militaristies, hy (1) het ook, klandestiene goeters gewe:rk. ons het nooit basies geweet wat sy werk behels alles nie. hy het party dae weggegaan, vir twee, drie dae dan vlieg hy byvoorbeeld Israel toe of Duitsland toe. toe het hy het my later vertel dan hy het mense net gaan betaal daar, hy het geld gaan oorbetal daar, die mense, hy het BKs gestig beslote korporasies en goeters vir die geheime fondse vir die weermag. [...] hy het met groot somme geld gewerk. (5) en dit het ons nooit geweet nie. ons het altyd net gesien hy gaan nou weg soontoe, hy gaan weg soontoe, dan's hy dan kom hy nie huis toe nie dan hoor ons net as hy terugkom, dan bring hy vir ons geskenkies terug dan sê hy hy was daar of daar of daar en hy het vir ons geskenke nou teruggebring. (2)

C: {sighing}. *Oh my father was militaristic. He was also involved in clandestine things. We didn't know what all his work involved. He would go away for a few days, two, three days and fly to Israel or Germany for example. He later told me he went to pay people. He paid over money.*

He established CCs, closed cooperations for the secret funds of the army. [...] He worked with large sums of money. (5) We did not know that. We'd always just see that he went off somewhere, went off somewhere and he'd not come home. Then when he came home he would bring small gifts and say he'd been there or there and had brought us gifts. (2)

Charl and his father were close. His father had died a year before these interviews. Later in the interview (not quoted), Charl describes how supportive he was of his father until his death. He and his father had spoken about the work his father did after Charl was an adult. At this point, although Charl does not give much indication of his father's attitudes, it would be safe to assume due to his involvement in clandestine activities, that he supported apartheid and the military involvement against "terrorism". Later in the interview I asked specifically about attitudes concerning race in the family. I will incorporate that section now, as it clarifies what is already implicit in the above section. He states (Episode 7):

E: toe jy grootgeword het, wat is jy geleer oor swart mense? wat was die kultuur in die gesin?

C: hulle was die werkers, hulle moes werk. (1) my pa het-t kyk hy het nie van hulle gehou nie. my ma het nie van hulle gehou nie, maar, hulle het hulle goed behandel. hulle het hulle betaal en goed, voordele gegee en goeters. dat die ander mense het gesê di-s-s snaaks my pa behandel die mense so goed.

E: hulle het dit amper nie verwag nie.

C: hulle kon dit nie glo nie. hy het vir hulle 'n kamers gebou, hy het vir hulle 'n radio gegee. en sulke goeters wat jy: op daai tydstop het jy dit nie gedoen nie. ok op skool, toe ons in matriek was het ons ook, soos die skoolaaities wat nou gevang is, ons het aandklokke gehad tienuur, en daar mag nie 'n swarte in P op die plotte op straat gewees het nie. ons het gery en ons het hulle geslaan. dis waar ek die merke op my oog kry. want die ou het misgeslaan met die knopkierie en toe slat hy my toe in die oog. en ek het nie eers dokter toe gegaan nie, want ons het dit

weggesteek. ek het die volgende oggend so gesit {demonstrates} en pap eet en ek is uit en ek het rugby gaan speel en by die huis gekom en gesê kyk hierso, wat het in die rugbygame gebeur. want as my pa dit moes uitvind joe dan sou ons moeilikheid gehad het.

E: When you grew up, what were you taught about black people? What was the culture in your family?

C: They were the labourers, they had to work. My father, look he didn't like them, my mother also didn't like them, but they treated them well. They paid them and gave them benefits. Other people said it was strange that my father treated them as well as he did.

E: They almost didn't expect it.

C: They couldn't believe it. He built them rooms, he gave them a radio, things like that. At that time it was not things which you did. Ok, at school, when in matric we also, like the kids who were caught now, there was a curfew at ten o' clock and no blacks were allowed at the small holdings in P on the streets. We would drive and beat them. That is where I got the marks on my eye. A friend missed and hit me in the eye with his club. I didn't go to the doctor as we hid it. The next morning I sat like this {demonstrates} and ate porridge. I left and I played rugby. When I got home, I said look here, see what happened at rugby. If my father had found out what we had done, oh there would have been trouble.

He sketches a world in which, when black people are treated with a minimum of decency, it surprises the community. Black people are seen as labourers. Charl refers to the case of the Waterkloof Four in which four white schoolboys were convicted of murdering a black homeless man (Venter, 2005). He admits that he had participated in similar activities. He knew his father would not approve and therefore kept it secret from him. The fact that they thought of doing what they did gives an indication of the effects of the pervasive dehumanisation of black people. Much later, he is more forthright, and we who live in South Africa know these words; many of

us have been in numerous conversations in which similar disparaging comments are made (Episode 70):

C: my pa het gesê hy is 'n houtkop 'n kaffer

C: *My father said he was a blockhead, a kaffir.*

Charl embeds himself in a community with layers of racism. He is adept at using different language for different people. Various things are said and not said; different words and contexts are used, and the implied racism is understood by all those involved in the dialogue. Initially, he does not describe overt racism to me, but later when the relationship changes between us, he uses the terms with which he grew up.

Charl describes his father as a perfectionist. He introduces the theme of working hard, which permeates much of his narrative. He and his two younger brothers were expected to work on the small holdings, mowing lawns and doing similar chores. One of their chores was to slaughter chickens, at times up to 500 an afternoon (Episode 4):

E: hemel, Charl, van watter ouderdom?

C: van so standard sewe af (hhh). nee, kyk, ons het gewerk, ons is nie lui nie. tot vandag toe, ek is nie bang om te werk nie. dit is-s (1)

E: hoe was dit vir jou om sulke goed te doen?

C: ag in die begin het dit my gepla met die hoenders, want ek het gewoonlik die hoenders hy't 'n gesplete verhemelte mos 'n hoeder, dan vat jy 'n skroewedraaier en dan druk jy hom daarin en {demonstrates} dan vergruis jy sy brein {speaking quickly}. want dis wat die abattoirwet bepaal.

E: ja

C: jy moet sy brein vergruis dan moet jy hom onderstebo hang, dan moet jy sy nek slagaartjies afsny want hy moet uitbloei. al die bloed moet uit,

anders mag jy hom nie verkoop nie. in die begin het dit my gepla en gevang en goeters maar, verder het ons maar aangegaan.

E: *Heavens Charl. From what age?*

C: *From about standard seven {laughs}. Yes we worked, we weren't lazy. I still am not afraid of work.*

E: *How did you feel about doing this sort of thing?*

C: *In the beginning it bothered me to kill the chickens. I usually, a chicken has a split palate, you had to take a screwdriver and push it in {demonstrates} and crush its brain {speaking quickly}. That is one of the demands of the act on abattoirs.*

E: *Yes.*

C: *You had to crush its brain and then hang it upside down. You then had to cut its neck arteries, as it had to bleed. You could not sell it if it did not bleed properly. In the beginning it bothered me, caught me, but I got used to it*

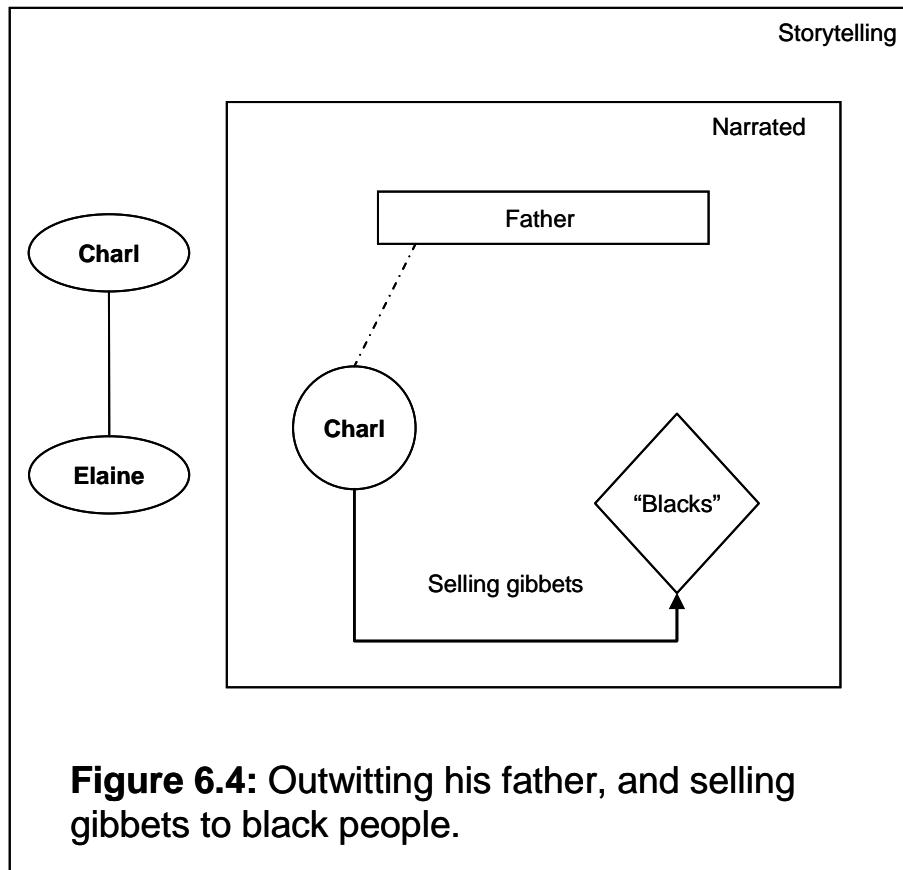
In this story he describes a situation in which he as an adolescent became desensitised to killing chickens. At the age of approximately 14 or 15 years he learnt to suppress his horror at killing. His father viewed work as important and he identified with him and suppressed his repugnance in order to get the work done. I am shocked by the story, and make a comment which reflects my shock. I have difficulty with the killing of animals in any event, and the thought of allowing children to do this routinely is hard for me to accept.

He then describes how he discovered a way to make money (Episode 5):

C: *toe is ons skelm toe het my ma het nie eers geweet en my pa nie verkoop ons derms die derms en pote en koppe aan die swartes (hhh). so het ons op daardie tyd stip het ek R50 'n week sakgeld gemaak wat baie geld was. baie geld was. as ek vat my eerste pay in die polisie was maar R450.*

C: Then we were cunning and without my father's knowledge we sold the gibbets, feet and heads to the blacks {laughs}. At that stage I made R50 a week in pocket money. It was a lot if you take it that my first salary in the police was R40.

In this story Charl introduces an aspect of how he often responds to situations. He is a mischievous child who outwits authority. He will later explain how he dupes authority in the police. He has no resentments when his father discovers what he is doing and takes the money; it is almost as though he regards it as fair when he is caught. Again the pervasive racism is part of the story; he sells to the “blacks”. The term is derogatory, and black people are seen as willing to buy offal, which cannot be sold to anyone else. I attempt to capture these elements in Figure 6.4.



He explains that his parents divorced when he was in matric. A number of factors appear to have led to their divorce. His mother accused his father of having affairs and his mother and paternal grandmother who lived with them did not get along. He explains that he went to live with his maternal grandparents, as he did not get on with his mother. I ask him to tell me more about his mother and he says (Episode 10):

E: hoe is haar persoonlikheid?

C: jissie, dis moeilik om te beskryf. nou-u soos ek haar nou ervaar is sy rustig, sy's kalmer, sy's meer ontspanne. maar vroeër jare was sy maar, 'n moeilike mens. as sy gesê het dis blou dan was dit blou, daar was nie, kleur tussen in. jy kon nie sê ja maar dis ligblou nie. dit dit moes net so gewees het.

E: wat dink jy het haar verander?

C: ek weet nie, ek dink maar die ouderdom. sy't nou begin rustiger raak.

(3)

E: Describe her personality.

C: It is difficult to describe. I now experience her as peaceful, she's calmer, more relaxed. But earlier, she was a difficult person. When she said it was blue, it was blue, there was no colour in between. You could not say it was light blue. It had to be just the way she said.

E: What do you think changed her?

C: I don't know, maybe age. She is more peaceful. (3)

At the time of the interviews he was living with his mother, brothers (both single) and his children on a small holding. This was mainly for financial reasons. He explains that he has two younger brothers (Episode 11; not quoted). The one is eighteen months younger and the other is six years younger than him. The older of the two is an alcoholic whose drinking is completely uncontrolled. Neither of his brothers is ambitious and especially the older one has often been unemployed. He explains that they were both given numerous opportunities by his parents, but did not use them. His brothers appear to have been closer to and protected by their mother. He identified more with his father and was close to him.

He explains that his mother never remarried, but his father did (not quoted). His second marriage lasted two years. He married a third time and Charl has maintained contact with his father's wife and her child following his father's death, although he had not had a good relationship with her.

In this section he positions himself in a family which was politically conservative. He grew up in a racist environment, which reminds of the familiar dichotomy in South Africa in which, at times, black people were treated with kindness; but the underlying belief in white supremacy is always present. He indicates that family is important (at least the past few years) and he has often maintained relationships, despite them being characterised by conflict. He, for the first time, indicates that he often would outwit the system. This later characterises a lot of his behaviour – he works outside of

established rules and systems. He has also informed us that work is important and that he works hard and is competitive. He also tells us that as an adolescent he became desensitised to killing chickens. He found ways in which to suppress his initial dislike of the process of killing.

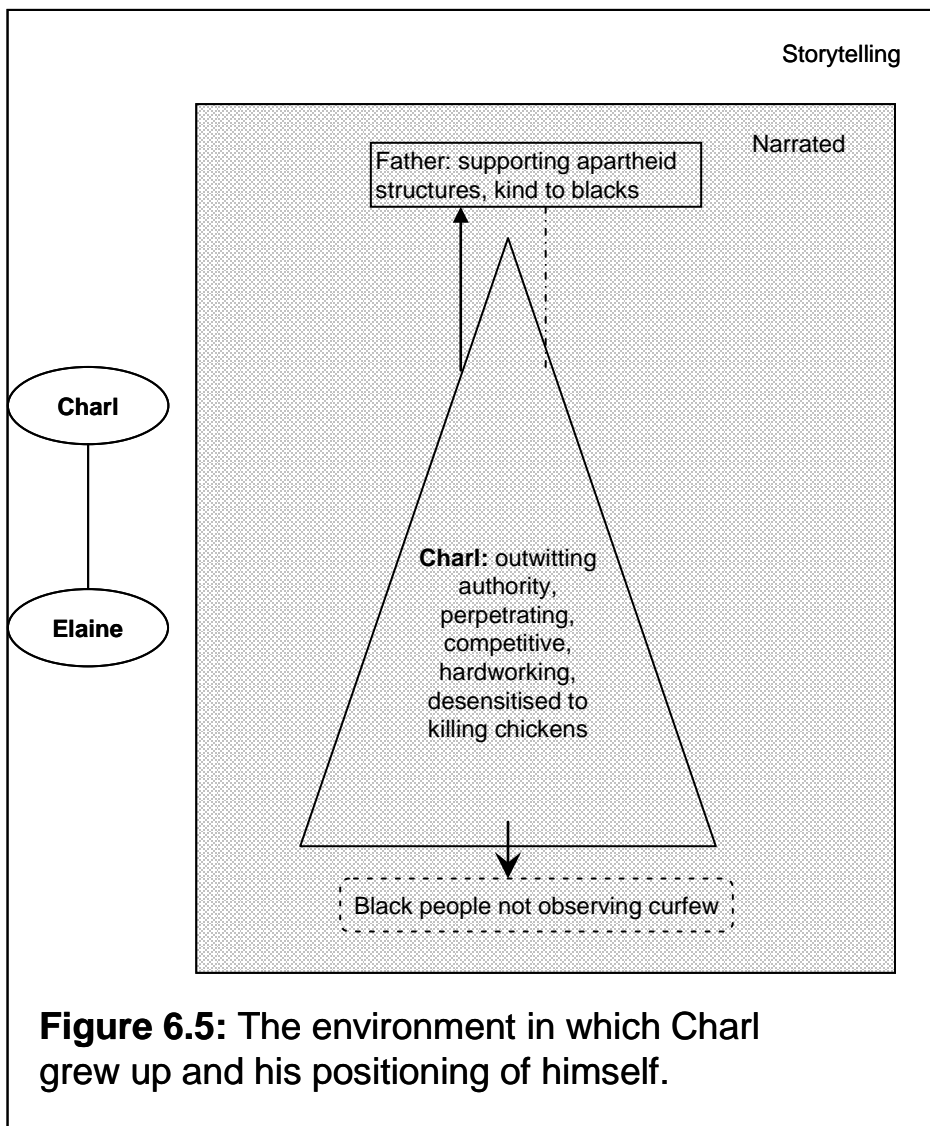


Figure 6.5: The environment in which Charl grew up and his positioning of himself.

In Figure 6.5 the shaded area indicates the racist environment in which Charl grew up. I also indicate some of the ways he positions himself, including as a perpetrator, before joining the police.

Joining the SAP

Episodes 16 to 30 (Table 1 in Appendix E) cover the period. Most characters make fleeting appearances. He joined the SAP after school. I asked about his decision (Episode 16):

C: ek moes kies. my ma wou gehad ek moet 'n onderwyser word, my pa het gesê ek moet weermag toe gaan. toe besluit ek ek gaan nie vir een van julle luister nie toe gaan ek polisie toe. plaas dat ek maar geluister het, en eerder onderwys gaan swot het (hhh).

E: en watter jaar was jy toe?

C: 1984.

C: *I had to choose. My mother wanted me to become a teacher, my father said I must join the army. I decided not to listen to either of them and joined the police. I should have listened and studied teaching {laughs}.*

E: *Which year did you join?*

C: 1984.

This was an extremely violent period in South Africa as described in Chapter 2. It was becoming obvious that changes were going to have to take place, but the government was reacting with more and more oppressive measures. Joining the police at that period would probably indicate a willingness to implement the oppressive legislation of the time. He often refers jokingly to his motivation, saying that he did things for “volk en vaderland” (*for God and country*). This was probably partly his motivation to join the police. His parents’ politically conservative background, and in particular his father’s involvement in the military probably did influence his choice of career.

I ask him about college and he describes the traditional abuse of recruits (Episode 17):

C: kollege was ons het die terroris van 'n sersant gekry, hy het van Koevoet af gekom. (2) jy het byvoorbeeld in die aand gelê en slaap dan kom hy gesuip daar aan. [...] hy was ontsettend sterk. as hy instap dan flip hy die bed so, met jou in die bed {demonstrates} wat in die bed lê. dan is hy lekker getrek dan kom vertel ons dan moet jy sit en luister terwyl hy

dronkpraatjies dan maak (hhh). dan moet jy vir hom koffie maak, dan maak jy vir hom swart sterk koffie en dan gooi hy jou beker by die venster uit (hhh). dan moet jy nou môreoggend parade staan met 'n beker en die beker het 'n chip op so jy slaag nie parade nie (hhh) [...] sulke goed. dan slaag ons bungalow inspeksie, as jy na ete daar dan kom is die hele plek is omgegooi, daar is skuim op die vloer, dan het hy die brandslang gevat, waspoeier uitgegooi op die vloer en dit gespuit en alles. (2) dan sê hy nee hy het stof daar gekry. maar jy weet hy lieg.

C: *We had this terrorist of a sergeant. He had come from Koevoet (a counter-insurgency unit). (2). You would, for example, be sleeping at night and he would come in drunk. [...] He was extremely strong. When he'd walk in, he would flip the bed, with you in the bed {demonstrates}, with you lying in the bed. He would be pissed and would tell us to listen. He would then give us his drunken talk {laughs}. Then we'd have to make him coffee. You'd make him strong, black coffee and he would throw your mug out the window (laughs) and you'd have to be on parade the next morning. And with a chip on your mug you would not pass the parade. [...] And we would pass the bungalow inspection, but when you got there after eating, the entire place would have been overturned, there would be foam on the floor, he had taken the fire hose, thrown washing powder on the floor and wet it all. (2). Then he'd say he'd found dust. You knew he was lying.*

He speaks with the voices of numerous recruits before him who refer to tales such as the above with amusement and who equate it with discipline (Episode 17):

C: al die ander ouens het daar lekker met die girls by die (2) droëkantien gesit en kuier dan het ons nog gehardloop. jis hy het vir ons opgeduiwel. ok ons was wel die beste troep gewees, maar dit was as gevolg van die streng dissipline.

C: *All the other guys would already be sitting with girls (2) at the dry canteen and we'd still be running. Jeez, he messed us up. Ok, we were the best troops, but that was because of the strict discipline.*

During training strongly demarcated roles are evident. Group cohesion and disciplined behaviour are important in a militarised organisation. In the example he gives power relations are enacted, with authority being demonstrated in the degradation of those under authority. Stark roles are depicted – those in power and those who are obedient. Those in power may degrade and abuse those who do not have power and it will be described as discipline. The roles enacted do not allow possibilities for negotiation or discussion. This would potentially present difficulties for those having to adjust to an organisation which is transforming into a service organisation. The issue of hazing or initiation will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

He continued training for the Guard Unit after the basic training. It was quite pressurised and involved much shooting practice, amongst other training. He finds a way to cope with the abuse handed out by trainers (Episode 18):

C: *toe dog ek een aand, kak met jou. toe steel ek 'n gasgranaat daar by A want as ons in die trok geklim het is jy natgesweet en goed dan kom hy en spuit hy jou. dan is die trok toegemaak en dan kan jy nie uitkom en jy gaan half dood {with intensity}. dan moet ons nog dan raak die ouens siek van daai traangas en goeters en dan as jy terugkom by die kollege moet jy nog 'n trok was en al daai goed. toe steel ek 'n gasgranaat. toe reël ek met die ouens en toe hou ons die deure toe toe gooi ek hom in die bungalow in (hhh).*

C: *Then I thought one evening: "Crap with this." Then I stole a gas grenade at A. When we got into the truck, we would be sweaty and he would come and spray us. Then they would close the truck and you couldn't get out. You'd feel like you were half dying {with intensity}. We would still have to; the guys would get sick from the teargas, and when*

you got back to the college you'd still have to wash a truck, things like that. I then stole a gas grenade and I arranged with the others that we would hold the doors closed and I threw him in the bungalow {laughs}.

He positions himself again as someone who will attempt to outwit authority (Episode 18).

C: en as hulle ons laat hardloop het, toe het ons slingeraak en dan gooi ons die haelpatrone uit die kaste uit. as hy sê gryp 'n kas en hardloop dan gryp jy 'n leë kas (hhh).

E: {laughing}

C: toe vang hulle ons ook eendag daarmee want toe het hulle 'n te kort aan rondtes.

E: {laughing}

C: so het jy maar geleer om te gippo (hhh).

C: *And we got clever. When they made us run, we would throw the shotgun cartridges out of the cases. And when he said: "Grab a case", you'd grab an empty one.*

E: {laughing}'

C: *Then they caught us one day. We ran out of rounds.*

E: {laughing}.

C: *And so you learnt to gyppo {laughs}.*

He would often be punished in some way for his escapades. He appears to accept that that is part of the game; it does not bother him in any way. It appears to have been accepted by his trainers, and later we will hear also by his superiors. It is probably interpreted as an accepted form of masculinity; a belief that boys will be boys.

He acknowledges that there was pride in the unit; there was a sense of belonging and of purpose (Episode 18):

C: ons was hulle het ons gedruk. ons was trots gewees daai tyd ook. want nou gaan jy die minister oppas. jy gaan ministers beveilig.

C: *They pushed us. We were proud at the time because we were going to guard ministers. You were going to guard ministers.*

There is a suggestion of idealism, of naivety in his statement that they were going to do a useful job. Immediately following the training he was transferred to the Cape. As it slowly becomes clear, Charl engages in mischief when upset about something (Episode 19):

C: ag ek het ou P. W. ook slapelose nagte gegee. hy het mos die corgihondjies.

E: um

C: as jy nou kwaad is die dag, dan gaan jy so twee uur die oggend en slaat jy teen daardie honde se hok en dan hardloop jy. dan kef hulle nou die hele nag deur tot dit lig word (hhh).

E: {laughing}

C: sulke goeters het ons gedoen.

C: *I gave old P. W. {P. W. Botha, previous President of South Africa} sleepless nights. He has the Corgis.*

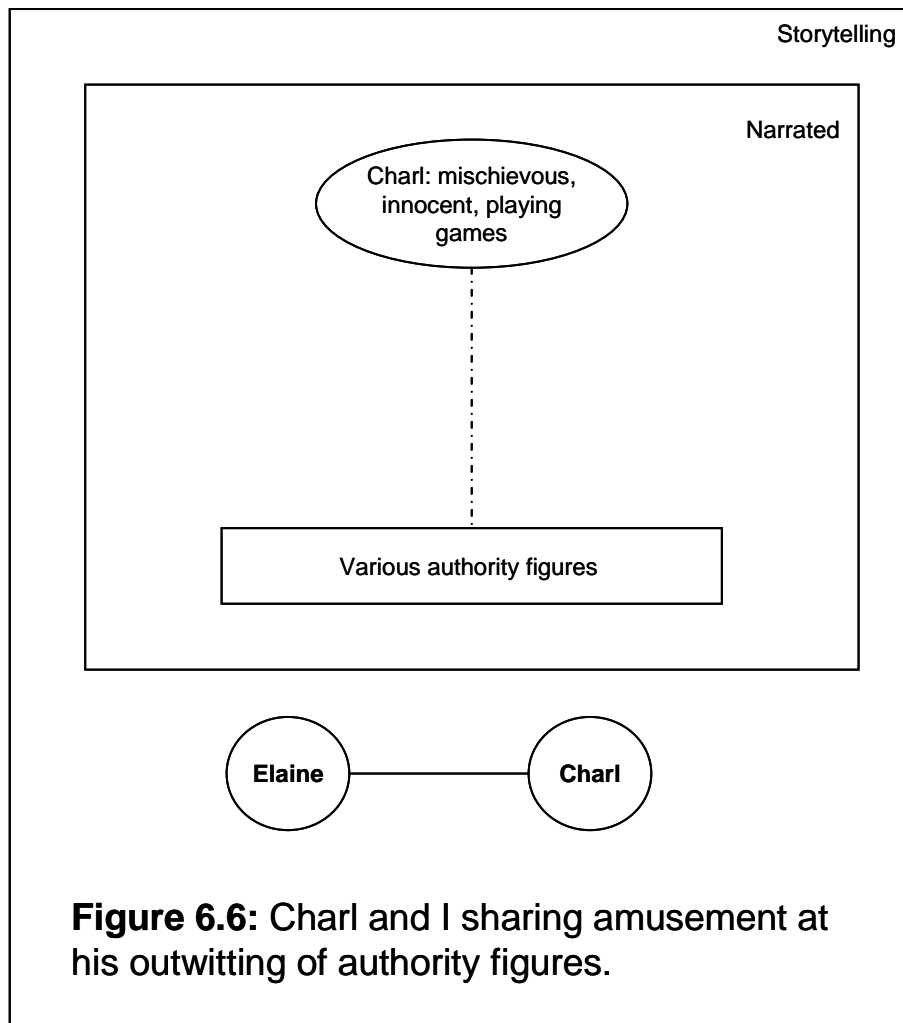
E: *Um.*

C: *And when you were angry, you would go at about two o' clock in the morning, hit their kennel and run away. They would bark the whole night until it was light {laughs}.*

E: {laughing}.

C: *That is the sort of thing we did.*

In terms of his and my interaction it has become comfortable. We often joke and I am often genuinely amused at his stories about his antics. I depict our interaction in Figure 6.6. This probably paves the way for the more serious material which he confronts later in the interviews.



He positions himself as a mischievous, at times childlike, young man. He plays games; he outwits authority and takes it as part of the game when he is caught. Despite his antics, there is as with Adriaan a suggestion of innocence. He is not serious about life and is idealistic about work.

He moves on to what becomes a very serious problem – his drinking (Episode 20).

C: o, nee. en rêrig ons het, en elke rusdag was drink drink drink. [...] dan reël ons twee bungalows. dan gaan bly ons daar vir die die drie en 'n half rusdae. dit was net drank en geroesmoes heeltyd gewees. (2) hulle het gesê daai tyd die Wageenheid is die plek met die hoogste kar afskrywe.

C: *And every rest day we drank, drank, drank. [...] Then we'd arrange two bungalows. And we'd stay there for the three and a half rest days. It was just alcohol and carousing the whole time. (2) They used to say the Guard Unit had the highest rate of car write-offs.*

They got away with bad behaviour. He never mentions any officer taking them to task; it was accepted that they would drink and damage state property. Alcohol abuse arises repeatedly in his narrative. Later we discuss the role it played in more detail. He has positioned himself as someone who may have ideals, but is caught up in drinking, playing pranks and outwitting superiors. Life is a bit of a game; not, it appears, to be taken very seriously.

He explains that eventually after being rained on once again he decided he had had enough of the Cape's weather, and despite the difficulties involved in getting a transfer, eventually got one back to the then Transvaal. He had been in the Cape for 18 months. He explains that he had partially agreed to go to the Cape, as there was less pressure on him there to play rugby (Episode 22).

C: maar toe ek terugkom in P toe is dit net rugby rugby rugby rugby. (5) en die rugby spelers het voordele gekry. as jy rugby gespeel het, is jy beter behandel as die ander polisiemanne. jy het meer afgekry, beter plekke gekry om te werk:. jy kon vroeër kantoorure gewerk waar die ander ouens skofte gewerk het en al daai goeters. jy het vir hulle gespeel om al die voordele te kry.

E: hoe lank het jy by Hoofkantoor gewerk?

C: jissie, ek was ses jaar.

C: *But when I got back to P, it was just rugby, rugby, rugby, rugby. The rugby players were given benefits. If you played rugby you were treated better than other policemen were. You got more time off, you were given better places to work. You could start working office hours earlier, while*

the others had to work shifts. Things like that. You played for them to get the advantages.

E: *How long were you at Head Office?*

C: *Six years.*

Playing rugby for benefits started to take prominence in his life. He picks up on this theme a lot later in the narrative, but he is starting to sketch a situation in which playing rugby brings more immediate benefits than good work does. At Head Office, he did access control. I ask whether he had become bored doing that and he replies (Episode 23):

C: *ja jy het. maar dit het 'n spelery geword (hhh).*

E: *hoekom is ek nie verbaas nie (hhh)?*

C: *ons het gejol. vroumense in die kantore onthaal en sulke goeters (hhh). omdat ons die senior lede was en ons het rugby gespeel.*

E: *en baie min gewerk.*

C: *ons het dit markdag genoem. brandewyn gaan koop (hhh) en dan het jy nou kamstig fotos geneem. die meisies laat afkom. Ons moes fotos neem.*

C: *Yes, but it became a game {laughs}.*

E: *Why am I not surprised {laughs}?*

C: *We had fun. We entertained women in the offices. Things like that {laughs}. Because we were the senior members and we played rugby.*

E: *And did little work.*

C: *We called it market day. We'd buy brandy {laughs} and then we'd pretend to take photos. We'd tell the girls to come down. We had to take photos.*

He still positions himself as someone who did not take things very seriously. Underlying the flirting is a strong suggestion of devaluing the women in the unit. It would appear that the women played along with them.

While at the Guard Unit he often broke the rules, which he thought were unreasonable. People were extremely bored, as they had to sit for an entire shift with no distractions, such as TV or reading. They would often fall asleep during their watch. When he was in charge he would allow them to sleep; only ensuring that those that the duty officer would check on were awake (section not quoted). He eventually decided he needed a transfer. He was bored at the unit, and he appears to have felt that his marriage could be under threat because of the attention he was getting at Head Office from female employees. At this time he and his wife had been married a few months.

It was extremely difficult to get a transfer to another unit and he eventually forced the issue by directly appealing to Minister Vlok (the then Minister of Police). He applied for a transfer to the Riot Unit. I asked him why he chose the Riot Unit and he explains (Episode 26):

C: ag, almal het daar gewerk. al my vriende wat toe uit was en goeters. en dit het vir my meer na (4) werk: geklink daarso (2) glamorous, die werk het dit was uitdagend gewees. dit was harde werk en alles. nie meer jy sit op een plek en jy stagneer nie.

C: *Ag, everyone worked there. All my friends were out there and it sounded more like work. Glamorous. The work was challenging; it was hard work and you no longer sat and stagnated in one place.*

Before starting the narrative of the townships, he tells me of further pranks in which they engaged. This may be to delay talking about the townships, and far less enjoyable experiences. He then mentions that they would get involved in bar fights (Episode 29):

C: dan rand ons mense aan, dan kom B sê. hulle en kom waarsku ons en sê die diensoffisier is op pad, ry so om. dan ry ons weg. dis waar hierdie merk aan my oog vandaan kom, 'n ou het my met 'n bierbottel geslaan

(hhh). dan lê die mense die pad vol, ons het nie opgehou voordat, ons was lelik. oeg toe het ons al begin.

E: toe het dit al begin, né.

C: ja met die bakleiery, ja.

C: *Then we'd go there and assault people. B would come and say that the duty officer was on his way. They would say: "Go this way!" and we would drive away. That is where I got this mark on my eye. A guy hit me with a beer bottle {laughs}. People would be lying everywhere; we wouldn't stop until, we were bad. Oo we had started already.*

E: *It had started by then.*

C: *The fighting, yes.*

Playing rugby provided protection from bad behaviour. They, at times, would shoot at targets in the offices. This appears to have been seen as high jinks and to be tolerated. They were protected from the results of their behaviour by colleagues. At this point he appears to realise for the first time that his violent behaviour started before he was exposed to the violence and trauma in the townships. We discuss the protection he received, as this becomes important in the rest of his narrative (Episode 30):

E: maar dit klink asof dit toe al begin het dat hulle vir julle cover op een of ander manier.

C: ag, ons is altyd gecover. met my knie ook. ek het 'n Portugees doodgery sonder lisensie. ok, hy was dronk gewees. ek was oppad van M van my pa af. ek het die girl ontmoet, sy het nie gelike van iemand wat dop nie. ek het heeldag nugter gebly en ek, het van my pa af gery, gou barracks toe net om net te gaan aantrek, dan sou ek haar gaan oplaai het dan sou ons uitgegaan het vir die aand. toe hardloop hy voor my in daar by S barracks, toe ry ek hom dood. toe het Major R my al gecover. sê vir my gaan betaal gou R100 skulderkenning vir sonder lisensie gery, ek reël dit gou vir jou. as jy in die hof kom dan kan hulle jou nie daarvoor skuldig kry nie. dan moet hulle jou verhoor asof jy lisensie het. kan jou nie

tweekeer op dieselfe ding verhoor nie. toe het ek net gegaan, die R100 skulderkening betaal. toe ek in die hof kom toe het hulle my verhoor asof ek 'n lisensie het. en ek is onskuldig en ontslaan.

E: Charl sulke goed is skokkend.

C: kortpadjies. sulke goed, geweet wat die wet aangaan en vinnig het hulle, want môre moet jy weer vir hulle gaan rugby speel.

***E:** It sounds as though they were already protecting you in some or other way.*

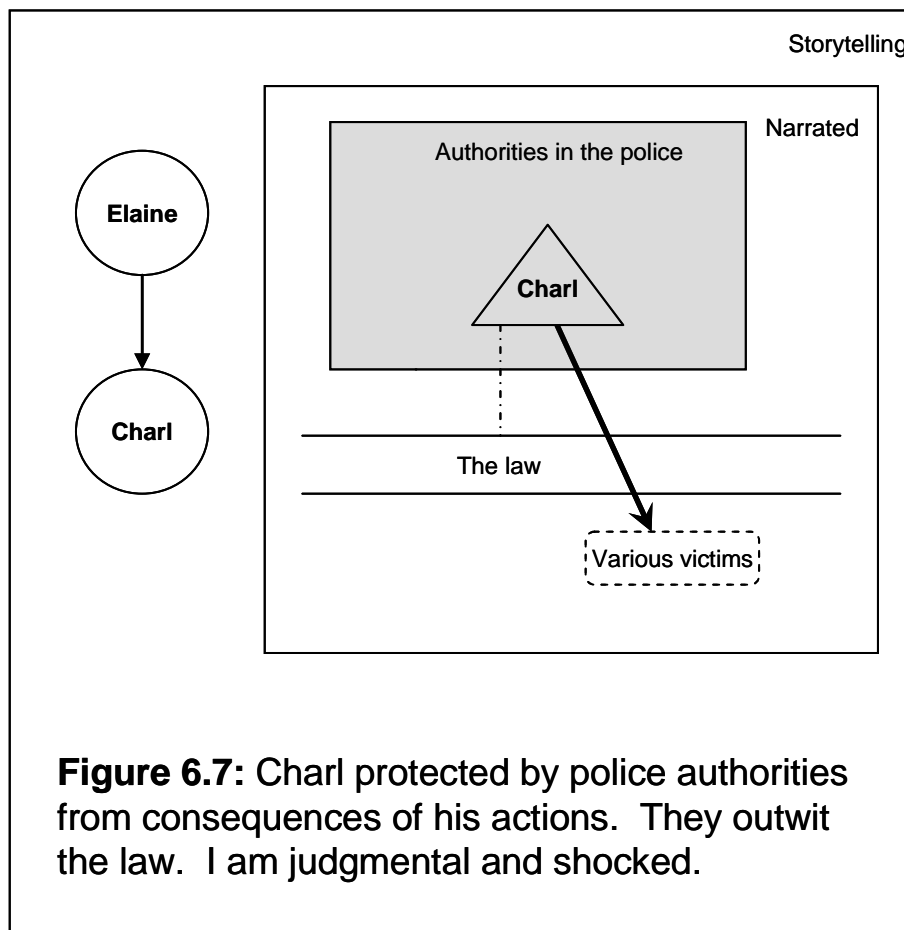
***C:** Oh, we were always protected. With my knee as well. I had killed a Portuguese, while driving without a licence. Ok, he was drunk. I was on my way from M from my father. I had met a girl, she didn't like someone who drank. I remained sober the whole day. I drove from my father, to the barracks to go and dress, then I would go and pick her up. We would then go out for the evening. He ran in front of me at the barracks at S. I hit him and he was dead. Major R covered up for me, and said: "Quickly go and pay the R100 admission of guilt fine for driving without a licence. I'll arrange it for you. When you get to court they cannot find you guilty for driving without a licence. They will have to try you as though you had a licence, you cannot be tried twice on the same offence." I went, paid the R100 admission of guilt fine, and when I got to court they tried me as though I had a licence. I was found not guilty and let go.*

***E:** Charl, things like this are shocking.*

***C:** Short cuts. Things like that. Know the law, and do it quickly. Tomorrow you will play rugby for them.*

He describes a police force in which he got away with criminal behaviour. He was protected, and believed it was mainly due to his ability to play rugby. The outwitting of authority became the outwitting of the law, and was protected by immediate authority figures. There was a strong message, that they stood outside the law and that it did not apply to them. With this belief he joins a Riot Unit. Although I have shown amusement at some of his stories, I also expressed shock at some of the stories he tells. I depict it in

Figure 6.7. He joins the Riot Unit after being bored at the Guard Unit and with the perception that the work will be hard, but “glamorous”.



Working in the Townships

This period is covered by Episodes 31 to 59 (Table 1, Appendix E). A number of people play important roles in this period, and he mentions them repeatedly. Other than them, he refers to numerous unknown suspects.

He had initially applied to join Koevoet, but was turned down because he first had to have an operation due to an injury he sustained in the motor vehicle accident discussed earlier. He started working at a Riot Unit and explains (Episode 32):

E: waar is dit waar jy begin werk het?

C: Onluste Eenheid, B hy was die ergste daai tyd, ons het gesê B brand. ons het dag in en uit, dag en nag het ons daar gewerk. (1) en dit was elke dag skiet skiet skiet skiet skiet skiet skiet. jy het naderhand nie omgegee of jy donshael skiet of jy rubber skiet of jy SSG. jy't net. en ons het 'n roetine gekry, een kar ry in die hoofpad, een ry langsaan maar agtertoe in die systraatjies as hulle die kar in die hoofpad met klippe gooi, en hulle jaag hulle laat hulle dan keer ons hulle vas in die middel, dan het ons hulle goed sweets gegee soos ons gesê het, sweets gegee. lekkergoed uitgedeel, met die haelgewere. en ons het gedrink en gekuier. shebeen toe. eerste in die oggende, dat jy jou voorraad kon kry. (2) en nou in die middag ons het geweet het as jy geskiet het, dan gou-gou gou-gou is alles stil dan kan jy huis toe gaan. daar het ons al geleer, hoe vinniger jy optree, hoe vinniger kan is dit rustig en kan jy huistoe gaan. dan is daar nie moeilikheid nie, want hulle is te bang om uit te kom.

E: *Where did you start working?*

C: *Riot Unit. B was the worst at the time. We said B's burning. We worked there day and night, day and night. Every day we shot, shot, shot, shot, shot, shot, shot, shot. You later didn't care whether you were shooting birdshot, rubber bullets or SSGs. We had a routine; one car rode in the main street, one rode next to it but behind it in the side streets. If they threw stones at the car in the main street, and they chased them we let them. Then we would trap them in the middle and give them sweets. Give them sweets with the shotguns. We drank; we would first go to the shebeen in the morning to get supplies. In the afternoons we knew if you shot, then everything would quickly quieten down and you could go home. We learnt, the faster you act, the quicker it quietens down and you can go home. Then there is no trouble as they are too afraid to come out.*

He confirms Adriaan's story of how much was drunk during these operations. He describes the same feeling of chaos; the working day and night. As would be expected he describes an us-and-them situation. There is no understanding of opposing positions. He gives no indication at this stage of

any understanding of or empathy with the rioters or the people in the townships. And again, playing rugby led to better opportunities (Episode 32):

C: en ook rugby weer gespeel om beter dienste te kry {laughing}.
rugbyspelers het in P gebly, hulle het nie op trips gegaan nie.

C: *And I played rugby in order to get better duty times. {laughing} Rugby players stayed in P and did not get sent on trips.*

Somehow, the focus on rugby appears to minimise what was happening in the townships. He continues the story of working in the townships, starting to mention the perpetration in which he was involved. He has been frank from the beginning about what he has done. He also gave a sworn statement to the police, before he started seeing me, in which he stated what he had done. At this point he is still matter-of-fact about his perpetration; he shows very little emotion, except occasionally amusement. I find it difficult to listen to these stories. He almost definitely knows this is my reaction, but continues the story; I suspect because he has an overwhelming need to confess. I have found with a number of men who have been involved in perpetration, that once they start telling the stories, that it is extremely hard for them to stop. Their need to tell these stories appears to be intensely strong. I never got the impression from Charl that he told me anything in order to get a specific reaction of distaste or horror from me. He shows very little emotion; probably because he is not yet ready in himself to face the implications of what he has done, or trusting enough in the relationship to know what my reaction will be. He continues (Episodes 32 and 33):

C. ek het altyd arrestasies gehad. toe kom die aanrandingsa:ke, jy leer om te tjoeb, en jy leer om 'n kat te bou. (2) want hy gee nie vir jou die inligting net as jy met hom praat daaroor nie, jy moet bietjie ander metodes gebruik om dit uit hom uit te kry.

E: hoe het dit begin Charl?

C: ag, dit het maar so met die verloop van tyd. dit het begin met die aanrandings agter in die bakkie. die ou manne, die ou hande op die eenheid het jou gewys. soos Y die een swarte, Matome wat saam met my gewerk het. hy het reguit vir my gesê laai my agter in die bakkie saam met hom, as ek klop sal jy weet ek is klaar. soos het ek as hulle gesê het daar is aanrandings die man is nooit aangerand nie want ek het die nooit gesien nie. ek het geweet wat daar aangaan, maar ons het mekaar so gecover. ons was sewe ouens wat verklarings ingesit het, hy was een. hoe kan jy sewe verklarings teen een? (3) so het ons begin leer. kyk, hiernatoe kan jy, jy kan dit doen. die uitkenningsparades. jy het ingestap en ander kant uitgestap. iemand wat soos jy lyk, wat naasteby soos jy lyk het in jou plek gaan staan. soos ek en H was altyd. as hy in die kak gekom het het ek vir hom gaan staan (hhh), en as ek in die kak gekom het hy vir my gaan staan. as ander ouens wat heeltemal way out is, nie soos jy lyk nie korter is kleiner is en al daai goeters. so hulle moes daai ou point. jy altyd 'n alibi gehad jy was altyd op 'n ander plek gepost. ons het geweet, ek en hy werk nooit in dieselfe gebied nie. ons werk nooit dieselfe ure nie. ons is nie op dieselfde kompanie nie. sulke goeters. d-dit het gewerk. (4) dit was 'n wenformule gewees. daar het die offisiere ons weer gecover op die uitkenningsparades, want hy het geskryf dat jy is op parade, jy was op die parade gewees. daar was borde wat heen en weer geskuif het, daar was 'n stretcher agter die borde, (hhh) dan het jy agter die borde op die stretcher gelê terwyl die uitkenningsparade gehou word. na die parade dan stap jy saam met die ander ouens daar uit, dan sien die ondersoekbeampte maar jy kom daar uit. die ondersoekbeamptes word nie op die uitkenningsparade toegelaat nie want, hy ondersoek die saak teen jou, hy mag daar wees nie hy mag nie sien wat daar aangaan nie. een van ons offisiere het die uitkenningsparade gehou.

E: so julle het 'n baie duidelike boodskap gekry.

C: ja:, untouchable, jy kan maak wat jy wil. (7) en dit is altyd iemand anders se skuld, dis nooit ons skuld gewees nie.

C: *I always had arrests. Then the assault cases started; you learnt to tube, to give electric shocks. (2) He would not give information if you spoke to him. You had to use other methods to get it out of him.*

E: *How did it start Charl?*

C: *It developed over time. It began with assaults in the back of the bakkie. The old hands showed you. Like Y, a black, Matome who worked with me, he said to me: "Put me in the back with him. When I knock, you'll know I have finished." As I said, there were assaults. The man was never assaulted, as I never saw anything. I knew what was happening, but we covered each other's backs. We were seven guys who put in statements. He was on his own. Seven statements against one. (3) So we learnt. You can do it. The identity parades; you'd walk in one side and out the other. Someone who looked a bit like you would stand in your place. Like H and me, if he was in shit I stood for him {laughs}, and when I was in shit he stood for me. If other guys who looked completely different, didn't look like you, shorter, smaller, things like that, they would have to point that man. You always had an alibi, you were always somewhere else. We knew; he and I never worked in the same areas. We never worked the same hours. We weren't in the same company. Things like that. It worked, (4) it was a winning formula. The officers covered up for us. He would certify that you had been at the parade, you were at the parade. There were boards which could be moved hither and thither; there was a stretcher behind the boards {laughs}. You'd lie on the stretcher, behind the boards while the identity parade was being held. After the parade you'd walk out with the others. The investigating officer would see you coming out. The investigating officers were not allowed at the parade, as he was investigating the case against you. He was not allowed there; he was not allowed to see what happened there. One of our officers held the identity parade.*

E: *You were given a very clear message.*

C: *Yes. Untouchable. You can do what you please. (7) And it is always someone else's fault. It was never our fault.*

He gives frightening accounts of lawlessness and unethical behaviour. The torture developed, with older hands passing down techniques which had obviously commonly been used. They do not appear to have questioned the truthfulness of the information or the confessions they received. He was rewarded with arrests. He again mentions that they protected one another. He was beating the system again, to protect himself and his colleagues from the consequences of their criminality. The officers who were involved, supported them in what they did. He finally summarises it as that they were untouchable and could do just what they pleased.

He continues mentioning atrocities. He still continues to mention them with little visible emotion. He demonstrates an intense, overwhelming need to talk about what he has done, even though it is with little visible emotion; it at times appears to take on the nature of a confession. I commented in the discussion of Adriaan's narrative, that confession is an extremely powerful discourse in Western society. Charl continues (Episode 34):

C: as ons hulle geskiet het ook jy het net oor die radio gesê soos een aand in B, ons het uit die kantien gery en ons is B toe. ok hulle het karre gebrand en goeters toe ons daar aankom. dan sê jy net oor die radio daar is op ons geskiet. (2) en dan skiet ons die witwaks uit hulle uit. dan gebruik ons SSG rontes en goeters en ons skiet en ons kry klaar. daar was van die mense, jy weet jy het hom doodgeskiet, maar jy het hom nooit gekry want hulle vat hom weg. hulle, dit was hulle manier, hulle het, om te wys, hulle vat hom weg, dit was vir hulle 'n skande as jy iemand gekry het wat doodgeskiet was. hulle het hom weggevat en ek weet nie, hulle het hom seker gaan begrawe sonder dat iemand daarvan weet. net dat jy nie: die satisfaksie moet hê jy het hom doodgeskiet nie. dis hoe hulle dit gedoen het. (6) en ons het dit ook geweet. ons het dit ook tot ons voordeel begin gebruik. dat hulle die mense wegvat. (2) dan het ons gesê daar is dokters wat hulle wegsteek wat hulle behandel maar jy weet mos, ek het gejag, ek weet mos as jy 'n ou skiet, as jy 'n bok skiet en hy so maak is dit 'n doodskoot. (2) keer mense vas, in geboue soos in soos

daar by CC in M. die plek brand, as hy wil uitkom, dan skiet hy hom. so waar moet hy? Hy hy bly binne in, kry hom dat hy binne doodgebrand. dis nie omdat hy wou nie maar hy was te bang om uit te kom. dan kry die polisie hom, soos hy weggekruip het, het hy doodgebrand. sulke goeters.

C: Also when we shot them. You'd just hear over the radio, like one evening in B. We left from the canteen and went to B. Ok, they were burning cars and things by the time we got there, and then we'd say over the radio that they were shooting at us. (2) Then we'd shoot the hell out of them. We'd use SSG rounds and things and shoot and get finished. There were people, you knew you had shot him dead, but you never found him, because they would take him away. It was their way, to show, for them it was shameful if you found someone who had been shot dead. They took him away and I don't know, they probably went and buried him without anyone's knowledge. This was just so that you had no satisfaction in killing him. That was how they did it. (6) We knew it and used it to our advantage, that that they took people away. (2) We said there were hidden doctors who treated them. But I hunted you know, I know if you shoot someone, if you shoot an antelope and he does this that it is a death shot. (2) Trap people in buildings like at CC in M. The place was burning; if he tried to come out we shot him. So what did he do? He stayed inside. We found him, burnt to death inside. Not because he wanted to stay there, but because he was too afraid to come out. If he came out the police would get him. As he hid; he burnt to death. Things like that.

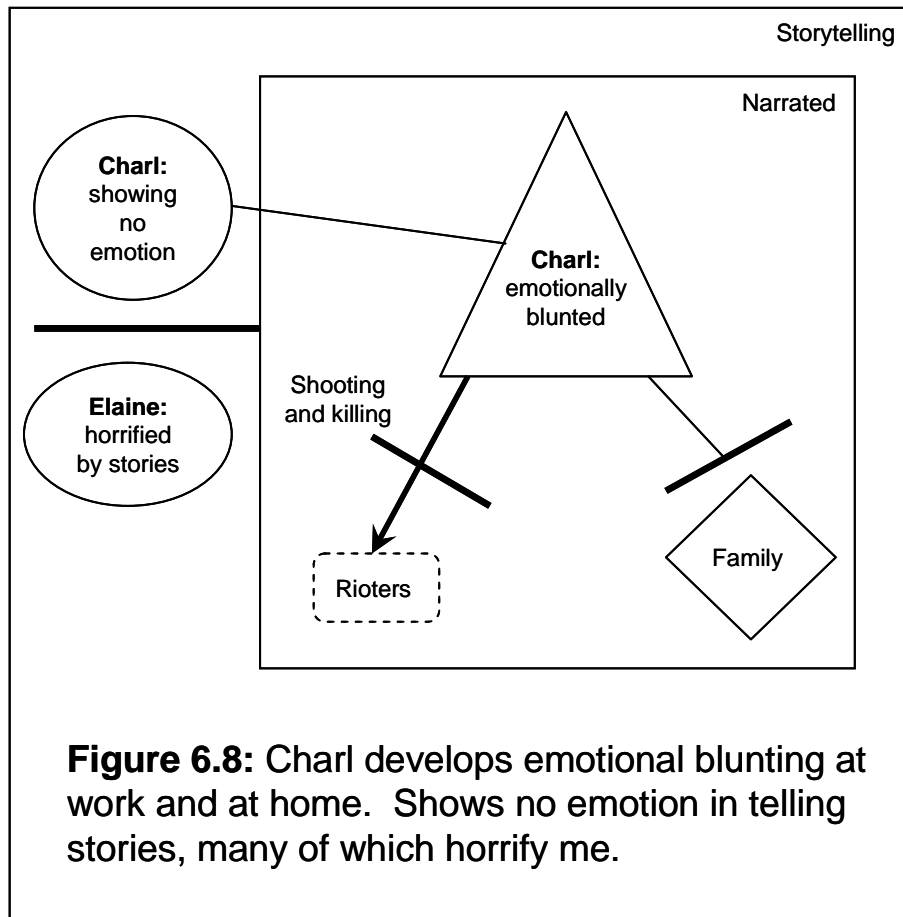
These are horrific stories. He mentions two incidents which he repeatedly returns to: the events in B, when they lied about being shot at so that they could shoot at the rioters and the people who burnt to death in CC. The first incident took place about three months after he joined the Riot Unit (approximately 1990) and the second took place in 1994. He demonstrates no emotion, but his language is less fluent, probably an indication that it is

affecting him. I asked him how he felt at the time of these incidents (Episode 35):

C: jy was op daardie stadium, basies gevoelloos. jy het net gesê ag, hy't dit verdien. sy verdiende loon gewees. (4) jy was gevoelloos ten opsigte van dit. dis hoekom ons begin gevoelloos raak het in jou privaatlewe ook. jy't goed gedoen en daaroor gelag. dit was nie reggewees nie. mense begin aangerand as ons gaan jol. mekaar begin slaan.

C: *At the time you were without feeling. You would just say: "Oh, he deserved it. It was his just deserts." (4) You had no feeling towards it and therefore lost feeling in your private life as well. You did things and laughed about it. It wasn't right. Assaulted people when we went to have fun. Began hitting one another.*

This is in essence what he has been demonstrating in the interviews up until now. He reveals no emotion, but indicates that they were badly affected by the violence they continued to engage in when not working. Already after working three months in the townships, he was experiencing emotional blunting. I attempt to illustrate his emotional blunting in Figure 6.8.



Approximately two years later, again talking about the incident at B that he mentions here, he went into more detail. He then explained that there had been some riots, but they could probably have been resolved without the violence the police incited. He revealed that it was the first time that he was sure he had killed someone.

As we continue, he retells his story. This is part of coming to terms with trauma, but is also part of the interaction between him and me. Perpetrators are generally not going to tell their stories easily (Baumeister, 1997; Crelinsten & Schmid, 1995; Foster, et al., 2005; Haritos-Fatouros, 1995; Huggins, et al., 2002), and often important information can only be revealed once a relationship has been established and tested over a long period.

The lying and covering up spread to all areas of their lives. They would drink and invite women to the canteen, and lie to each other's spouses about

where they were and what they were doing (section not quoted). I comment that normal rules did not count. He confirms this (Episode 35):

E: gewone reëls het nie gegeld nie.

C: niks het gegeld nie. daar was nie reëls vir ons nie, ons het ons eie reëls gemaak.

E: Normal rules did not count.

C: Nothing counted. There were no rules for us. We made our own rules.

He talks more about working in the townships (Episode 36):

C: meantime is dit net drink drink drink en jol en {laughing} kak droogmaak {seriously}. jy het naderhand soos dit begin raak, jy wil in as jy by die huis ook is as jy terug is in P, ons het nie, ek het nie daarvan gehou om in P te werk nie. jy het so 'n ur:ge gehad, jy wil lokasie toe. jy wil nie tussen die blankes wees nie jy wil soontoe gaan. jy wil daar gaan werk. en dit is dit het soos 'n wegkruipplekkie vir jou geraak. jy het beter naderhand met hulle oor die weggekom as wat jy met jou eie mense. jou eie gesinslewe. (2) ek het naderhand so, was ek so, ek was later die enigste blanke op 'n seksie van s-swartes. jy't nie meer saam met blankes gewerk nie, want jy kon hulle nie vertrou het nie. hulle begin agteraf praat en hulle. as jy goeters doen dan voor jy dit nog, voor jy dit vir die offisiere kon vertel het die blankes dit la:nkal al gaan uitskinder en gaan praat oor wat jy gedoen het.

E: watter tipe goed?

C: soos die aanrandings die tjoeperye. daai goeters. goed wat jy nie wou gehad het die offisiere moet van weet nie, hoe jy jou inligting gekry het, daai goeters. dan het hulle gegaan en dit gaan sê.

C: In the meantime it was just drink, drink, drink and having fun {laughing}, causing shit {seriously}. You became like that; when you were at home you wanted, when you were back in P, we didn't, I didn't like

working in P. You had this need to go to the locations {black townships under apartheid}. You didn't want to be with whites, you wanted to go there. You wanted to work there. You hid there. You got on better with them than with your own people, than with your family. (2) I afterwards, I was the only white on a section of blacks. You no longer worked with whites because you could not trust them. They talked behind your back and if you did something, before you could tell the officers, the whites had long ago gossiped about what you had done.

E: *What type of things?*

C: *Like the assaults, the tubing, things like that. Things you did not want the officers to know about. How you got your information, things like that. They would go and tell about things like that.*

He again refers to drinking while working. This he connects to enjoyment, to having fun while working in the townships. This may relate to a macho attitude of dreadful things not bothering him. I will discuss the participants' expressions of masculinities in Chapter 10. Charl begins to intimate that he began to feel isolated from his own community. He became more comfortable in the townships, and eventually only worked with black policemen. He connects the disconnection from his own community to the atrocities in which he was involved. The other white policemen would disclose what he was doing. He touches on a complexity of interracial relationships which is extremely tangled. It was accepted by the black policemen with whom he worked that he and they would torture black people. White policemen, who were being used by the state to suppress black rights, were a risk as they exposed his deeds. The officers protecting them obviously knew what they were doing, but Charl and his colleagues attempted to hide what they were doing from the officers. Adriaan also indicated the need to hide what they did.

Charl explains that he and Matome (a black man) worked together for a long time. They had many arrests. After Matome was shot, they were no longer allowed to work together. They had an interesting relationship which I will

discuss in more detail later. Charl continues explaining about how they achieved many of their arrests and the rewards they received (Episode 37):

C: as ek hulle opgetel het en ek soek nog inligting, dan vat ek hulle eenkant toe en dan werk ek met hulle, ek en Matome en nog twee, as daar ander was. naderhand wou die ouens, blankes begin, hulle wil saam met my werk wil saam met my werk want hulle sien ek kry voordele wat hulle nie kry nie. soos ek het permanent my eie voertuig gehad waarmee ek gery het. waar ander ouens moes baklei om vervoer te kry. my voertuig was daar gewees. en dit was 'n nuwe voertuig. as daar nuwe voertuie gekom het, het ek het altyd die beste gekry.

C: *When we picked them up, and I needed more information, then I would take them aside and work with them. I and Matome and another two if there were others. Afterwards the other guys, the whites, wanted to work with me, because they saw what benefits I was given, which they weren't. For example, I permanently had my own vehicle, which I used while the others had to fight for transport. My vehicle was there and it was a new vehicle. When we got new vehicles, I always got the best.*

The authorities turned a blind eye to how the arrests were achieved. However, he was rewarded by being given new equipment. He explains more about the vehicle he used (Episode 39):

C: my bussie was ingerig. ek het hom in S, by J. se upholstery. al die lappedeeltes het ek uitgehaal, rubber ingesit. want jy spuit dit met die tuinslang en dis skoon. die stoele was ook soos {laughing} nie so agtermekaar nie dit was so by die kante af. dan sit die verdagte in die middel op die stoel van justice. en so is my bussie ingerig.

E: en niemand het ooit iets hiervan gesê nie.

C: nee:. want my werk was gedoen, ek het die meeste arrestasies elke maand gemaak. ek het die beste werk gelewer. ons bussie het jy so skuins opgetrek, dan vat jy die tuinslang, dan spuit jy hom aan die

buitekant, en dan spuit jy hom aan die binnekant uit, want dis rubbermatte. jy laat hom staan dat hy droogword, en dan kan jy weer gaan ry, gaan werk. daai bus hy was rêrig, hy was ingerig.

C: *My minibus was equipped. I took it to S to J's upholstery. All the fabric sections were removed and replaced with rubber. Then you could squirt it with the garden hose and it would be clean. The seats were {laughing} not behind one another; they were placed along the sides. The suspect sat in the middle on the chair of justice. That is the way my bus was equipped.*

E: *Did no one ever say anything about this?*

C: *No, because my work was done. I had the most arrests every month. I did the best work. You would park our minibus on the incline, take the garden hose, and squirt it on the outside, and then squirt it out on the inside. It had rubber mats. You let it stand to dry, and then you could drive again. Really, that minibus was well equipped.*

A horrifying story which indicates the tacit support which his superiors gave for torture. He tells the story with pride, with no indication of any remorse, or even awareness that there could be other views. He gives an impression of never questioning his own behaviour. He does not appear to have any realisation of the ironies in calling a seat a “chair of justice” while torturing suspects. He is focused on the efficiency of the methods they developed. He continues the story (Episode 39):

C: hulle het geweet van die bussie in die lokasies. jy loop lig, as daai bussie in die lokasie is, dan maak jy nie droog nie. W het hulle reguit, ek was burgermeester daar gewees. as ek daar inry en een ou maak nie shop toe dan kom die ander en dan sê hulle vir my kyk die ou respekteer jou nie, ons maak toe, ons verkoop nie want jy is hierso. daai ou doen dit en dit. daar kan jy dit kry, dit dit dit. dan ry ek en tel hom op en maak alles bymekaar. so was ons gevrees in die lokasie. hulle sê reguit vir jou, ons het toegemaak. kyk daai ou hy respekteer jou nie hy doen dit en dit en dit

en dit. dan gee hulle vir jou alles. en dis net in die begin, het ons hulle ons het met hulle gewerk. selfs DA hy sê reguit, hy het my Kaptein genoem. (7) party was te bang. hulle het niks gedoen as ons hulle daai geel bus van my daar was, dan. dis net hulle het geweet ons kom met alles weg. as daar sake teen ons is, dit word. hoe het hulle gesê die prokureur-generaal ken vir Charl hy weet hy is voertuigwag gewees. {laughing} ek was altyd voertuigwag, maar ek is seksieleier, hoe kan ek voertuigwag wees. {laughing} maar dis waar, ek was altyd voertuigwag gewees. hulle het geweet ek doen die aanrandings en al die goeie goed. maar ek is bestuurder. die voertuig is in my naam uitgeboek. hoe kan ek bestuur en iemand aanrand? ek kan mos nie agter die stuurwiel sit en die man sit en aanrand nie. hoe kan ek hom, met die coil shock as ek bestuur? meantime is die coil by my. as ek aan die rathefboom vat, dan earth ek die coil, dan shock hy hom. (2) daar was nie 'n plek om hom agter te earth nie, al die bedrading was voor by my gewees. al sulke goed. ons het planne gehad. ons het maniere gehad.

C: *In the locations they knew about the minibus. They knew they had to be careful when that minibus was in the locations, don't mess up. In W they, I was the mayor there. When I drove in, and someone didn't close up shop, the others would come and say: "Look, he doesn't respect you, we close and don't sell because you are here. That guy does this and that. You can find this and that, this, that, this there." Then I would drive and pick him up and collect everything. We were feared in the location. They would say: "We closed shop, that guy doesn't respect you, he does this and that and this and that." They would give you everything. And that was just in the beginning. We worked with them. Even DA, he would say directly, he called me Captain (7). Some were too afraid. They did nothing when we, if my yellow minibus was there. They knew we got away with everything. When there were cases against us, it would, they said the Attorney-General knows Charl, he knows he is the car guard {laughing}. I was always the car guard. But I was the section leader, how could I be the car guard {laughing}? But it's true, I was always the car*

guard. They knew I did the assaults and all the good things. But I was the driver. The car was booked out in my name. How could I drive and assault someone? I couldn't sit behind the steering wheel and assault the man. How could I shock him with the coil while driving? But the coil was with me. When I touched the gear shift, I earthed the coil and I'd shock him (2). There was no place to earth it at the back; the wiring was in front with me. Things like that. We had plans. We had methods.

In this section he clearly demonstrates the arrogance they had, as well as the knowledge that they were above the law. He had immense power and enjoyed it. He again positions himself as someone who enjoys outwitting others, in particular the authorities. He tells the story with pride and with apparent pleasure. He goes on to explain the impact of these things on them (Episode 40):

C: dit het alles oorgespoel. wat jy in die lokasies gedoen het en op trips gedoen het, by die huis het jy dit ook begin doen. gevoelloosheid. net aan jouself gedink, waar kan ek nou beter score, waar kan ek dit score, waar kan ek dat score? (7)

E: hoe voel jy as jy die goed sê?

C: kan nie dink ek was so gevoelloos gewees nie. hoe het my kinders daaronder gely? dis my grootste spyt vandag, my kinders. want hoeveel is hulle ontnem? hoeveel moes hulle gesuffer het? hulle het nie eendag gekla nie. hulle was net te bly hulle pa is daar.

E: want jy was nie goed vir hulle nie.

C: nee ek was nie. ek het hulle omgekoop, op verkeerde maniere. gebribe om ander pad te kyk.

E: wat bedoel jy?

C: ag, as ons so gedrink het by die huis (2) en as ek laat gekom het en weg was van die huis af. (5) dan het jy hulle maar presentjies gebring om hulle gelukkig weer te maak. hulle het geweet as pa by die huis kom kry hulle iets. (6) werk altyd eerste gestel. hoekom? die polisie het ook gesê, jou werk is eerste, jou werk is tweede en dan kom enigiets anders. so is

ons geleer. (11) hulle het ons gesê ja die swartes is so maar ons het erger as hulle begin raak met wat ons alles gedoen het. want hoekom wou jy nie meer binne in? nie meer in die stad werk nie, jy eerder verkies om in S te gaan werk of M. (7) gevulenteer om op trips te gaan (4) want jy kon wegkom. dan kon hulle nie sien hoe jy maak nie, wat jy doen nie.

C: *It spilled over. You started doing the same things which you did in the locations and on trips at home. You lost all feeling. You only thought of your self and where can I score more, where can I score this, where can I score that (7).*

E: *How do you feel when you say these things?*

C: *I cannot believe I had so little feeling. How much my children have suffered. That is my greatest regret. My children. They were deprived of so much. They never complained; they were always just too glad to see their father.*

E: *You weren't good to them.*

C: *No I wasn't. I bribed them, in wrong ways. I bribed them to look away.*

E: *What do you mean?*

C: *Ag, when we drank at the house (2) and when I came late and when I was away from home. (5) Then you'd bring them gifts to make them happy again. They knew that when their father came home that they would get something. (6) Work was always first. Why? The police said work is first, work is second and then would come anything else. That is the way we were taught. (11) They said this is what blacks are like, but we became worse than them, with what we did. Why did you no longer want to work not want to work in the city? You preferred to work in S or in B. (7) Volunteered to go on trips. (4) Because you could get away. Then they could then not see what you were doing, what you were doing.*

He explains that his behaviour spilled over at home. The story he has been telling in the previous exchange is horrific. He gives no indication that he, at this point, has considered the impact of his behaviour on suspects.

Interestingly, in terms of his relationship with his children, he imitated the

behaviour of his father, who also, after working and being away from home, would attempt to make up for it by giving him and his brothers small gifts. His behaviour towards his children has been a driving force in his willingness to confront his behaviour. If he had not become aware of the impact of what he did at work on his children, he would probably never have stopped the torture and assaults, nor had the courage to face anything he has done.

The only intimation we have that he may question his behaviour towards suspects is the long pause of 11 seconds towards the end of this section. He then returns to questioning his behaviour. Despite the tacit approval from the authorities, somehow, he and his colleagues knew that what they were doing was unacceptable and should not be named. They would make some effort to hide their behaviour, which probably also made it possible for authorities to deny knowledge of what was happening. There appears to have been a mutual unspoken agreement that assaults and torture would happen, but never be named or acknowledged.

He continues to expand on torture, especially on trips which he had to go on once he stopped playing rugby (Episode 41):

C: so daar het dit erger gegaan want daar het die swartes saam begin werk want hulle wil nie by hulle huise werk nie. as hulle weg is van die huis dan werk hulle want hulle weet daar kan niemand iets aan hulle doen nie daar word hulle ook gecover. dan word hulle ook untouchables. (7) daar het ek gesien, 'n tjoeb werk nie so goed soos 'n Pick 'n Pay sak nie {laughs}, en dit het 'n swarte vir my gewys {laughs} 'n tjoeb werk goed maar daai plastieksak is nog beter, want hy luister heeltyd terwyl jy met hom praat en hy praat al hoe minder waar met 'n tjoeb is dit onmiddelik is sy suurstof is afgesny. met 'n plastieksak kry hy nog, hy kan asemhaal, hy kan asemhaal tot op 'n punt, dan kan hy nie. dit is stadiger, maar dit werk beter. (6) ons het begin om te, spesialiseer. tjoeb het ek geweet kak as hy homself natmaak, dan moet jy ophou, want dan is hy tot op sy

E: daarna gaan hy dood.

C: daarna gaan hy dood. dan kan jy hom nog by kry so 'n paar klappe en hy is reg.

C: *There it was worse, because the blacks also began to work with us. They wouldn't at home. When away they would work because they knew no one could do anything to them. They were also protected. They were also untouchable. (7) There I saw a tube does not work as well as a Pick 'n Pay bag {laughs}, and that a black showed me {laughing}. A tube works well, but a plastic bag is better, because he listens to you talk to him the whole time, and he talks less and less. A tube cuts off his oxygen immediately, but with a plastic bag he still gets, he can breathe, he can breathe, up to a point. Then he can't. It is slower, but it works better. (6) We began to specialise. When using a tube I knew that when he shit or wet himself, then you must stop because then he is at his ...*

E: *After that he dies.*

C: *After that he dies. You can still get him to; a few slaps and he is fine.*

His explanation of the technical details in tubing someone, lends some credence to the comment that they had begun to specialise in certain forms of torture. It is a bizarre discussion, in which his indication that black members also got involved in the torture is meaningful. It is as though he is saying that it was more acceptable as they were doing it to their own racial group. There is the suggestion that racism was not central to his decision to torture someone.

This material is difficult to listen to and possibly to read. I found it very difficult at times to maintain contact with him, as his stories were so repulsive. I will discuss my reactions in more detail in a later chapter. I had to make a deliberate effort to confront my reactions to him and that which he was telling me, so as not to judge him, but to attempt to understand what he was saying. It was made more difficult as he appeared to have no sense of the horror of what he was saying. He reports enjoying what he did, and later expands extensively on his enjoyment. A temptation I deliberately avoided

was to classify him in terms of some pathology. I knew that labelling him would be to protect myself from his stories, more than it would be in his interest.

After the previous exchange, he jokes around for a while (not quoted) about the nicknames that policemen were given. This movement from such difficult material probably gives him some time to recover. He then explains that he decided after his wife's death that he could not leave the children alone while working the hours he did, that he decided to go over to training. I have discussed this section later in this chapter, as it is more sensible chronologically.

They were forced to continue working in the townships, even when they could no longer (Episode 44):

C: maar ouens wat in opstand het teen hulle gekom het daai tyd en gesê het niks verder nie. as hulle in die moeilikheid gekom het is hulle sommer ontslaan en goeters. ouens wat nie op 'n trip wou klim nie wat 'n wettige rede het. sê die offisier net vir hom, daar is die bussie, hy ry nou hoofkantoor toe, jy't seker R150, gaan koop ontslag en bedank. hulle het hulle aangery hier na hoofkantoor om dit te kom betaal. R150. dan koop daai ou eerder ontslag as om op 'n trip te gaan. want hy het 'n wettige rede, hy kan nie gaan nie. maar hulle het jou geforseer. die een oujie waarvan ek weet, hy was gesuip, in sy barrackskamer dronk gelê, as gevolg van die stres omdat hy op 'n trip moet gaan. toe hy wakker word toe het Kolonel N sy goed gepak, alles alles toe is hy op die trip. toe is hy, toe het hulle hom weggestuur. toe het Kolonel N sy goed vir hom gaan pak.

C: *But the guys who rebelled against them at the time and said no further. If they got into trouble they were discharged, things like that. Guys who did not want to go on a trip, who had a valid reason, the officer would say to him, there is the bus, go to head office. You probably have R150; go*

and buy discharge and resign. They brought them to head office to pay the R150. That guy would rather buy discharge than go on a trip as he had a valid reason; he could not go. But they forced you. One guy I know of, he was drunk, lying drunk in his barracks room because of the stress, as he had to go on a trip. When he woke up, Colonel N had packed his stuff, all of it, and he was on the trip. They sent him; Colonel N packed his stuff.

He echoes the stories given by Adriaan. They were forced to continue working in the townships. Police management was extremely autocratic. Police members were only allowed organised labour representation from 1993 (Bruce, 2002a). Charl describes a complicated process; he was forced to go on trips, but eventually only wanted to work there. He sees the violence, the killing, the removal of bodies as a refuge, as a place to hide. He explains to me (not quoted) that they may have said they were doing it for extra money, but little of that money came back home – it was spent on alcohol. He speaks again of his children (Episode 45):

C: dit gaan vir my daaroor ek het lank genoeg my kinders se lewens opgeduiwel. hulle moet ook, hoe meer ek hulle aan sulke goed blootstel, hoe groter is die kans dat hulle dieselfde gaan doen. (5)

E: jou kinders maak 'n groot verskil. as dit nie vir hulle was nie.

C: ag, nee wat, dan het ek seker al lankal opgegee {tearful}. as dit nie vir hulle was nie, het ek lankal opgegee seker, boedel oorgegee.

E: ek neem so aan. jouself doodgedrink.

C: ja, of seker iets ergers. (5) dis al wat my keer. (5)

C: *For me it's about, I have messed up my children's lives for long enough. They also, the more I expose them to this, the greater the chance that they will do the same things. (5)*

E: *Your children make a big difference, if it weren't for them.*

C: *Oh, no, then I would have given up long ago {tearful}. If it wasn't for them, I would have given up long ago.*

E: Drank yourself to death.

C: Yes, or something worse. (5) They are all that stop me. (5)

He realises that he has set a bad example for them and that he has to confront his behaviour. I have no doubt that he would not have got involved in this process if it had not been for his children. We have spoken on other occasions, and he has not committed suicide because he knows he has to raise his children.

I ask him to tell about his wife, who had also worked in the police (Episode 47):

E: kan jy vertel van jou vrou?

C: ja:.

E: wat het daar gebeur?

C: ag ek het haar (4) ek weet nie wat het aanleiding gegee nie. ok die eerste keer toe ek en sy begin moeilikheid kry het. sy was 'n kompulsiewe koper. sy sal nou sê volgende jaar Januarie kry sy nou haar bonus dan sy sal nou gaan vandag en die hele bonus gaan uitgee. en, ek is nie so nie, [...] toe het ek haar net eendag gesê kyk, jy moet nou besluit. of (1) jy koop op jou eie en ek skei jou en ek vat my kinders en ek kry klaar of, jy hou op met die gekopery, want ek kan nie langer so in daai vrees lewe nou daar gaan nie geld wees vir dit, nou gaan daar nie geld wees vir dat. toe sê ek dit vir haar. toe lag sy vir my. toe sê ek vir haar: toe lag sy vir my. toe sê ek ek sal jou wys. toe vat ek my goed en trek ek met my kinders en gaan bly by my ma. en ek was drie dae daar toe kom haal hulle my, toe het sy haarself geskiet.

E: Can you tell about your wife?

C: Yes.

E: What happened?

C: Oh I (4) I don't know what initiated. Ok the first time she and I began having problems. She bought compulsively. She would for example get

her bonus next year January, but would go today and spend her entire bonus. I'm not like that. [...] I then one day just said: "Look, you have to decide. Either you buy and I get a divorce and take the kids and that's it, or you stop buying, as I can no longer live in the fear that there will not be money for this, that there might not be money for that." I told her and she laughed at me. Then I said: "You can laugh at me, I'll show you." I took my stuff and moved with the kids. I went to live with my mother. I had been there for three days when they came to fetch me. She had shot herself.

His wife did not die and they continued in a relationship. He explains how he felt (Episode 47):

C: ek het sleggevoel want ek rêrig ek was lief vir haar. ek het haar lief daai was die liefde van my lewe. ek sal nooit weer iemand so lief kan hê soos ek haar liefgehad het nie. toe het sy nou reggekom, toe wil sy nie gaan vir die psigiatriese behandeling nie. want sy het die frontale lob so sy het haar korttermyngeheue, daai goeters het sy verloor. toe jo is dit baie meer, impulsiewe optredes. jo. ek het daarmee gecope en alles. ek het aangegaan. (1) toe het ek vir haar gesê nou sal ons alles klaar betaal al die skuld en goeters wat daar is en ons sal klaar kry. toe gaan ek op 'n trip K toe, om ekstra geld te gaan kry. toe ek terugkom toe het sy met 'n direkteur, 'n verhouding gehad. en sy het dit wragtig voor my kinders gedoen want ek het die dag teruggekom van die trip af toe kyk Jan my so, toe sê hy vir my Papa, gaan jy kwaad word? belowe my jy sal kwaad word nie. toe sê ek vir hom, ok Jan ek sal nie kwaad word nie. toe sê hy vir my Pa, sy en Brigadier het saamgeslaap. ek en my boetie was so bang ons moes daar eenkant slaap, ons kon nie in die aande by haar inkom nie. toe het ek haar gekonfronteer daaroor, haar en my swaer, want hy hy het daar gebly, hy het daar kom bly om haar te help en haar op te pas.

E: hoe lank was dit na haar eerste poging?

C: dit was jissie, seker twee en 'n half jaar.

E: eintlik lank daarna.

C: ja. want sy het gesê sal nooit weer so iets doen nie. dit was te seer. sy sal dit nooit nooit nooit weer doen nie. toe het ek haar geskei. toe het ek en sy weer gaan praat, toe sê sy nee ons moet weer probeer. toe sê ek ok ek sal weer want rêrig ek het haar liefgehad. toe sê ek ok ek sal weer probeer.

C: *I felt terrible. I really loved her. I loved her. She was the love of my life. I will never love someone like that again. When she recovered, she wouldn't go for psychiatric treatment. She had frontal lobe, so she had lost her short-term memory, things like that. She was far more impulsive, oh, I coped with it, I coped with everything. I went on. Then I said to her, we will pay everything, all the debt and things, we'll finish paying it. I went on a trip to K, in order to get extra money; when I returned, she had had a relationship with a director. She did it in front of the children. I got back from the trip and Jan said to me: "Dad are you going to get cross? Promise you won't get cross." And I said: "Ok, Jan, I won't get cross." And he said, "Dad, she and Brigadier slept together. My brother and I were so afraid, we had to sleep in a different place, we couldn't go to her at night." I confronted her, her and my brother-in-law. He had stayed there, to help her and to look after her.*

E: *How long was it after her first attempt?*

C: *It was, gosh, it was probably two and a half years.*

E: *Actually a long time.*

C: *Yes. She said she would never do something like that again. It hurt too much. She will never, never, never do it again. Then I divorced her. She and I spoke and she wanted to try again. I said ok, because I really loved her. I said I'd try again.*

They stayed together for a period, and then (Episode 47):

C: ok ons het aan en af, want toe het ek begin drink, erg. toe het ons maar aan en af. dan is dit 'n verwyd hierso en en verwyd daarso. toe het sy ook net een Vrydag by die huis gekom en toe sê sy gaan uit. ek dog ag,

kak met jou, gaan dan maar uit. toe los ek dit. toe is sy die Vrydag uit, die hele week elke aand is sy uit. en ek het haar nie gevra waar is jy of wat doen jy nie. toe dog ek vee ek my gat daaraan af dan moet sy gaan, dan moet sy gaan en klaarkry. en ek was, die aand was ek besig om die kinders kos te gee, ek het wasgoed gewas, ek het Jan gehelp met sy huiswerk en ek het gedrink. toe was sy net daar in en sy is weer uit en toe dog ek sy gaan weer jol. meantime het sy my pistool kom vat en toe is sy met hom uit. toe is sy parkie toe daar onder in die noord en sy het haarself gaan skiet daarso. (5)

E: hoe het jy gehoor daarvan?

C: ek het iets het net vir my laat die aand maar toe is ek getrek en alles gesê gaan kyk waar is jou pistool. toe sien ek my pistool is nie daar nie. toe slaap die kinders en alles. toe's ek na die buurman toe. toe sê ek vir hom jissie jong, ek weet nie. maar sy was so sy vat my pistool dan gaan gee sy dit in by die polisiestatie om my in die kak te kry, dat hulle my kan aanklaar van nalatigheid. dan vat sy dit dan gaan gee sy dit in, toe dog ek sy is weer spiteful want sy het my gesê, sy sal dit nooit weer in haar lewe dit weer doen nie. (4) en toe, kom my supt daaraan, toe sê hy net vir my ja dit en dit en dit.

C: *Ok, our relationship was up and down, because I had started drinking. Heavily. We were up and down. It was a recrimination here and there. And one Friday she came home and said she was going out. I thought: "Oh shit, go out." I left it. She was out the Friday, the entire week, she was out every night, and I didn't ask where she was or what she was doing. I thought I'll ignore it; she must go and let's get it over with. That night I was giving the children food, washing laundry, helping Jan with his homework and drinking. She came in and left again. I thought she was going out. But she had come to fetch my pistol. She had left with it. She went to the park, there in the north and went and shot herself. (5)*

E: How did you hear about it?

C: *Something told me late that night, but I was drunk, to look for my pistol. Then I saw my pistol was gone, the children were asleep, and I went to*

the neighbour and said to him: "Jeez, I don't know". But she used to take my pistol and give it in at the police station, to get me in shit, that they would charge me with negligence. Then she would give it in. I thought she'd been spiteful again, as she had said that she would never do it again in her lifetime. (4) And then my supt. came and told me, yes and this and that.

He admits that he is still angry with his wife. He has been in a couple of relationships since then, but has ended them as his children and the women he got involved with did not get along. He becomes very tearful as he goes on to explain that he had not wanted children, as he had seen his brothers suffer when his parents divorced. I asked him whether his work had affected their relationship (Episode 52):

E: dink jy jou werk het julle verhouding beïnvloed?

C: ja (2) want ek was baie weg van die huis af. elke keer is dit drie maande hiernatoe, drie maande daarnatoe, drie maande soontoe. dis lank om weg te wees (10) en, die werkery ook. ek is ek het my werk geniet, ek was trots op my werk, ek het byvoorbeeld somer drie dae in 'n shack gaan sit en wag dat 'n ou terugkom dat ek 'n gun kry. die beriggewer het my gesê hy het die vuurwapen. ek het die vuurwapen teruggekry.

E: *Do you think your work influenced your relationship?*

C: *Yes. (2) I was away from home a lot. It would be three months here, three months there, three months there. It is a long time to be away (10) working as well. I enjoyed my job and I was proud of it. For example, I would go and sit for three days in a shack and wait for the owner to return, to get a gun. The informant had told me he had a gun.*

He goes on to give examples of how their life together was often disrupted by work. He admits that alcohol abuse also affected his relationship badly. He is again sidetracked into the way he benefited from the arrests he made;

despite the methods he used to achieve his arrests. This is a pattern that recurs throughout the narrative and in subsequent therapeutic sessions; he always returns to the perpetration he was involved in (Episode 53):

C: um. (6) jy kom weg met bietjie mee:r, hier kry jy bietjie mee:r daar kry jy voordele en hier. rîrig, dis hoe dit gewerk het, as jy die beste was met die arrestasies het jy die beste gekry op die eenheid. jy het alles gehad. jy was untouchable.

E: Charl as jy terugkyk, wat het die goed aan jou gedoen?

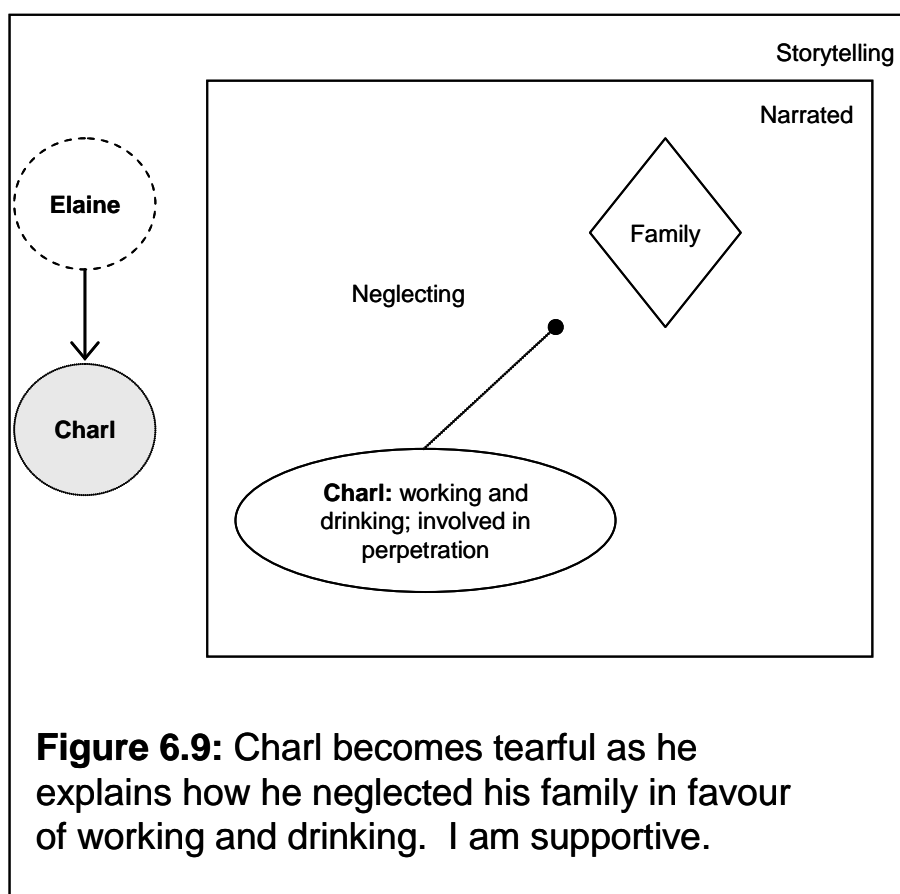
C: op die lang duur het dit van my 'n slegter mens gemaak. rîrig dit het my laat verval, in die afgrond in gedwing, rîrig. {crying} (5) ek het begin drink en al daai goeters. nie huistoe gegaan nie. ok ek het nie gaan jol nie, met ander vrouens gelol nie. dis een ding wat ek nie gedoen het nie. ek het nie met ander vrouens deurmekaar geraak nie. dit is-s teen my beginsels. maar jy het gaan drink vir die hele aand. dan kom jy half vyf in die oggend by die huis. dan is jy so getrek soos 'n rek. maar sewe uur het ons weer gaan werk. daar was nie, jy het nie, by die werk het jy nie weggebly nie. werk was prioriteit nommer een klaar.

C: *Um. (6) You get away with a bit more. Here you get a bit more, there you are given more benefits and here. Really that's how it worked. If you got the most arrests, you got the best at the unit. You had everything. You were untouchable.*

E: *Charl, when you look back, what have these things done to you?*

C: *Long term it made a worse person of me. Really, it led me to destruction, it pushed me into the abyss. Really {crying} (5) I began to drink, things like that, didn't go home. Ok, I didn't go out and have fun, I didn't mess around with other women. That was the one thing I didn't do, I didn't get involved with other women. That is against my principles. But you'd go and drink the whole night and get home at half past four in the morning, as drunk as a lord. But seven o'clock we went to work. You never stayed away from work; work was our first priority.*

In this interaction, the relationship between us starts to change. He becomes very sad, and cries. He starts to explain what effect the work he did had on him and how it affected his family. I depict the changes in Figure 6.9. Work had been his main priority and no matter how much he drank or was hung over, he was at work. He also positions himself as principled; he never cheated on his wife. This contrasts with the other things he was doing at the time, which means that he justified them in some way. One way he has indicated, was in order to receive the accolades of being the best in the unit.



He goes on to continue to explain that he had to do private work for extra money to pay off his wife's debt. He expresses his rage at the man who seduced his wife (not quoted). He blames him, as he realises that his wife had very poor impulse control at the time. He appears to show understanding and empathy for his wife. This is contrasted with his lack of

compassion towards his victims. The change in our relationship makes it possible for me to start asking him about his attitudes (Episode 55):

E: Charl verduidelik aan my. aan die een kant, kan jy by tye verskriklik compassionate wees, né, en aan die ander kant het jy mense getorture? hoe kry jy die goed bymekaar?

C: ek weet nie. dis waar jy perpektief verloor in die lewe. want aan die een kant moet jy, liefde gee en aan die ander kant is jy gevoeloos. dis hoekom. op 'n kol het dit gevoel asof ek geen gevoel het nie, asof ek gevoelloos is, rêrig op 'n kol het dit vir my so gevoel.

E: ja, wel jy het so opgetreë.

C: um, um. en tog geen mens kan gevoelloos wees. geen mens kan so wees nie. aan die einde van die dag het jy gevoel.

E: want dit voel vir my dis jou inherente natuur, dat jy eintlik omgee.

C: um, maar om die werk gedoen te kry, jy kan hom nie vir hom koekies en tee gee en hy gaan jou inligting gee nie. dit is nog al die jare wat ek vir almal sê. jy kan hom nie in jou sitkamer innooi en hy gaan vir jou inligting gee nie. ons is nie in interrogasie, en ondervragingstegnieke opgelei gewees nie, ons is geleer tjoeb. bou 'n kat tjoeb.

***E:** Charl, explain to me. On the one side, you can at times be very compassionate. On the other side you have tortured people. How do you get this together?*

***C:** I don't know. You lose perspective in life; on the one side you give love, on the other you have no feeling. That is why, at a stage it felt as though I had no feeling. It was as though I had no feelings. Really, it felt like that at a stage.*

***E:** Well, you acted as though you had no feelings.*

***C:** Um, um. But no one can be without feelings. No one can be like that. You have feelings.*

***E:** It feels like it is your inherent nature, to care about people.*

***C:** Um. But to do the work, you couldn't give him cookies and tea and expect him to give you information. That is what I have explained*

throughout the years; you cannot invite him into your lounge and think he is going to give you information. We were not trained in interrogation and questioning techniques; we were taught to tube, to shock and to tube.

Charl concealed his activities; he obviously knew it was wrong to torture. He justifies torture in order to get information. I will discuss this problem in more detail in Chapter 12.

He starts giving more information about what they did. He returns to talking about perpetration at every opportunity. I know that once he starts thinking about the implications of torture that he is going to be extremely uncomfortable. He, in returning to the subject, indicates a need to talk about his experiences, probably in more emotional terms. I am very hesitant, as I do not know how he or I will deal with the issues that then arise. It is only recently in our interaction that I have started to feel compassion for him and I am not sure whether I can maintain compassion while he explores these issues. I discuss my difficulties with the process in Chapter 8. I ask how he feels about torture now (Episode 57):

E: as nou as jy daaraan terugdink, wat dink jy daarvan?

C: dit was nie reg nie. dis vieslik. as iemand dit aan my doen, dan sal ek, rêrig ek sal. rêrig ek het daaraan gedink as iemand my moes so geshock het, en so rêrig ek sal ek sal ek sal of 'n vinger van hom afbyt of 'n oor dat hy my iets moet doen dat hy in die kak kan kom. maar ek gaan nie net sit en laat hulle dit aan my doen nie. ek sal in my lewe nie. (3) stilsit en dit so vat. not 'n donder. jy breek sy hele menswees af, menslikheid, daar's niks daar. (4) en dit was ons elke dag se lewe. (4) nou kan jy so gevoelloos daar wees nou kom jy die aand by die huis en nou moet jy gevoel wys.

E: hoe?

C: jy kan nie. (8) jy stomp af. (8) {crying}.

E: en later het die nagmerries en die goed begin.

C: {crying} (21) geweld is 'n oplossing, dis hoe dit later begin word het. (9) maar dit was oor en oor en oor. dis soos, 'n wiel wat rol, teen 'n afdrande,

hy kan hom later nie stop nie. dis hoe ons, dit gedoen het. dis hoe ek mense geleer het om dit te doen. (5) die swartes wou nie saam met ons werk nie. hulle het geweet wat ons doen.

E: *And when you think back, what do you think?*

C: *It wasn't right. It was horrible. If someone did it to me, I would, really I would, really I thought about it, if someone had shocked me like that, really, I would have, I would have bitten off his finger, or an ear, so that he had to do something to me. So that he would be in shit. There was not a way in which I would sit and take it. Not on your life. (3) Sit and take it. No way. You destroy his humanity, his humanity. There was nothing left. (4) And this was our life every day. (4) You would be without feeling, and then you would get home and have to show feeling.*

E: *How?*

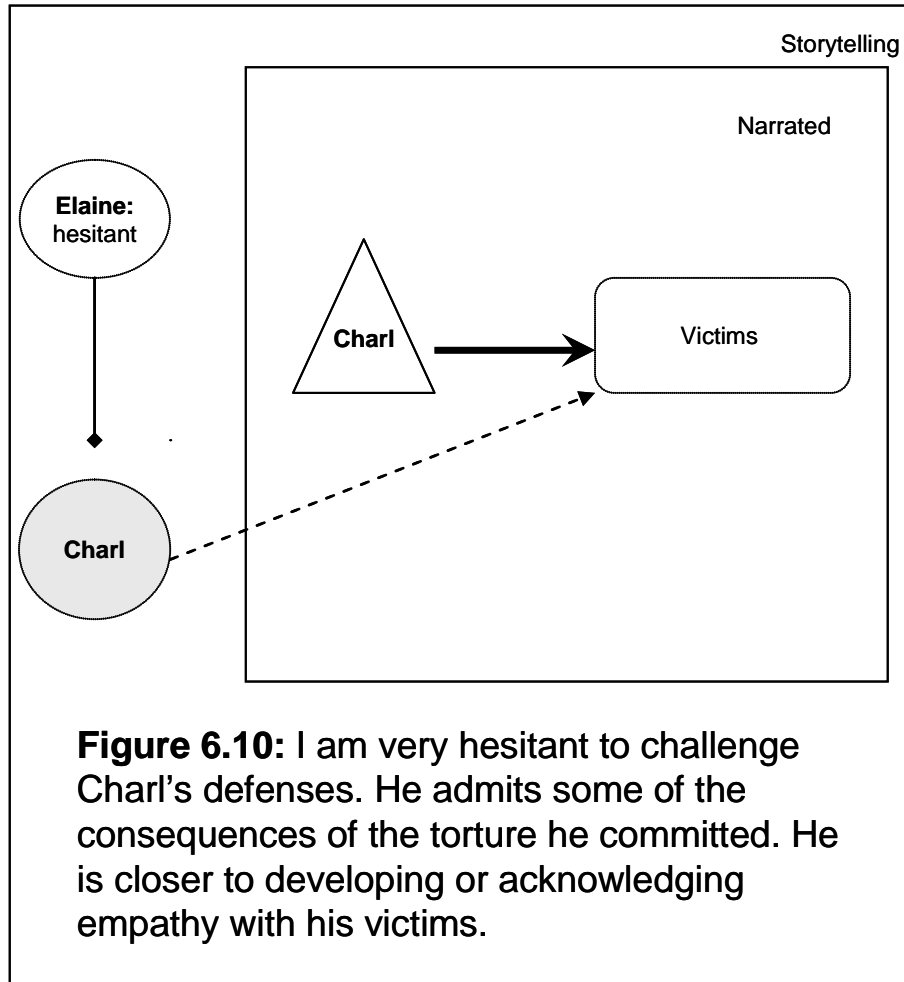
C: *You can't. (8) You become blunted. (8) {crying}.*

E: *And later the nightmares and things started.*

C: *{crying} (21) Violence is the solution. That is the way it was. (9) But it was over and over and over. It is like a wheel rolling down a slope. Later you cannot stop it. That is how we did it. That is how I taught people to do it. (5) The blacks would not work with us; they knew what we did.*

He again complains of emotional blunting which developed as a result of what he did. This led to him also harming his family. For the first time he acknowledges that they damaged the selfhood and humanity of their victims. He is surprised that his victims did not retaliate. It is almost as though he thinks he can share his guilt with his victims (Baumeister, 1997; Learner, 1980). In a later session (not quoted), he acknowledged that they would have treated their victims with worse aggression if they had resisted. He becomes very upset, and cries through much of the above exchange. In his distress at being emotionally blunted he enacts emotion. He also describes being out of control; of not being able to stop harming others. There is a suggestion of guilt towards those whom he taught to torture. He explains that the black policemen would not work with them. But, as he explained

earlier, they would not inform on them either and would join them when away from home. In Figure 6.10 I illustrate some of the changes in Charl and my interaction as well as his positioning towards his victims.



I want to add in one more incident before moving to the period after working in the townships. This incident took place before his wife's death, but was one of the main reasons that he decided to leave the SAPS. He developed many symptoms relating to this incident; and often refers back to it contrasting his reactions at the time with his reactions when working in the townships. The section I am quoting here took place at the end of one of the sessions I set aside for these interviews. We had finished recording for the day, and were chatting before he left. He spoke about someone he had seen when driving to my rooms, and this acted as a trigger for the flashback which follows. He and the person he had seen, had worked together at the

station he was stationed at, at the time of the event, in October 2000. He tells the story (Episode 59):

C: ek het daar buite die polisiestatie gestaan, die dag toe die bomontploffing daar in V was. toe sê ek vir my vir GL daar het 'n bom nou afgegaan en dis 'n grote. ek sê kom ons ry. toe sê ek dis ander kant die berg, want dis nie hierdie kant nie. toe sê V daar het iewers in hulle wyk, het 'n bom afgegaan. toe jaag ons, toe kom ons op die toneel af.

E: julle was een van die eerstes wat op daai toneel was.

C: ons was die eerste. toe kry ons die ou oom en die swartes gekry wat so in stukke daar gelê het. jo, daaroor wil ek nie eers praat nie. {intense reaction} [...]

C: ja. {inaudible} as jy meer voel oor 'n hond as vir mense. dan woe woe, dan is iets nie lekker nie. dan is iets nie lekker nie. (5) rêrig. (5) woeg. nee. um. [...]

E: wat maak dit so verskriklik? (4)

C: die stukke mens, wat so die hele plek, h-o-o-e. (5) stukke vleis wat so orals, so tussen die klippe, bakstene.

C: *I was standing outside the police station, the day the bomb went off, in V. I said to GL, a bomb had exploded and it was a big one. I said: "Let's go!" Then I said: "It's the other side of the mountain, it is not this side." V then said a bomb had exploded in their area. We raced there, to the scene.*

E: *You were some of the first on the scene.*

C: *We were the first. We found the old man (literally old uncle) and the blacks lying in pieces. Yech, I don't want to talk about it. {intense reaction} [...]*

C: *If you feel more for a dog than for people, then, woo, woo, something is wrong. Something is wrong. (5) Really. (5) Oeg. No. Um [...]*

E: *What makes it so terrible?*

C: *The pieces of human, the whole place, oo. (5) Pieces of flesh, lying everywhere between the stones, the bricks.*

As mentioned, this incident was one of the reasons he decided he could no longer cope. He developed severe symptoms relating to this scene and a few months later his wife died.

At this point in his narrative, he has started to position himself a bit differently to the previous period, although he picks up on earlier elements. He again positions himself as hardworking, as he did while growing up. In fact, work had become the dominant force in his life. He had sacrificed his family to a large extent in order to work, and was often away from home for long periods. He remained playful, but there are intimations that play and fun now consisted of torture and shooting at rioters. He suggests that he could no longer do without it, that strange as it may seem, it had become a refuge. He rarely complains of symptoms of PTSD at this stage, apart from emotional blunting and nightmares, although there is little doubt that he had numerous symptoms. In therapeutic sessions, it became very clear, that certain incidents such as the explosion at V had led to severe symptoms. He reports extremely severe alcohol abuse while working. At the period of these initial interviews he had only been sober a few months.

He repeatedly explains that superior officers protected them in what they did. At times they appear to have turned a blind eye, on other occasions gave active protection, even for clearly criminal acts. He was rewarded for his arrests, with no one asking how they were achieved. His perpetration obviously concerns him; not only was it one of the first things he mentioned to me at the initial session, but he repeatedly returns to it. On the one side he appears concerned by his perpetration and on the other indicates pride in his achievements, including torture. He shows remorse for the effect of his lifestyle on his children, but he is largely unwilling to consider the impact of his behaviour on suspects, rioters and people they picked up on the premise that a bit of torture may reveal knowledge of some acquaintance's possible criminal bent.

After the Townships

In episodes 60 to 63 he speaks of the period he worked in training. In episodes 64 to 87 he refers to the period after he went on sick leave (Table 1 in Appendix E). On occasion I refer back to previous episodes in which he discussed issues which are important now.

As mentioned he had decided to move to training. Earlier in his story he had explained some of his reasons for this decision which he had made after the death of his wife (Episode 42):

C: toe moes ek daar wees vir die seuns, ek kon nie meer weggaan en daai goed nie. toe het ek oorgegaan na opleiding toe. maar dit het my toe begin vang. toe gaan ek uit in die aand dan, gaan, ek na hierdie jolplek toe dan soek ek net moeilikheid dat ek net 'n fight kan kry. dan rand ek die mense aan. ek gaan nie uit om die aand te geniet nie, ek gaan uit om 'n fight te gaan soek. drink en baklei. tot vandag weet ek nie hoekom nie.

E: hoe het jy gevoel na die fight?

C: dan was is ek weer rustig vir 'n paar dae gewees. dan was ek rustig vir 'n paar dae. tot dit weer, dit bou so sta:dig, sta:dig op. en dan gaan ek maar weer uit en gaan soek ek weer 'n fight. en elke aand gedrink. daar moes brandewyn gewees het. party aande het ek twee doppe gedrink, maar die meeste van die tyd het ek die bottel klaargemaak (18).

C: *I had to be there for the boys; I could no longer go away and do those things. I went over to training, but it began to catch me. I would go out in the evenings, to party places and look for trouble in order to get a fight. Then I would assault the people. I didn't go out to enjoy the evening, I went out to look for a fight. Drink and fight. I still don't know why.*

E: *How did you feel after a fight?*

C: *Then I would be calm for a few days. I would be calm for a few days. Until it, it built slowly, slowly and then I would go out again and look for a fight. I drank every night. There had to be brandy. Some nights I would have two drinks, but most nights I would finish the bottle. (18)*

He describes an interesting process in this excerpt. He was experiencing a severe dysregulation of mood and behaviour. This theme of using violence to calm himself down became a central theme, and will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 12.

I ask him what the role of alcohol was and he replies (Episode 43):

E: laat ek tog vir jou vra Charl, hoekom het jy so gedrink?

C: ek weet nie. dit was net (1) jy was afhanklik daarvan. (5) jy het dit nodig gehad, dit moes daar wees. weet nie, dit was seker maar 'n manier van wegkruip. om nie met die werklike lewe kontak te behou nie. (6) jou skuldgevoelens weg te steek. ek weet nie. daar kan baie goeters wees. (5)

E: ek dink daar was baie redes daarvoor.

C: daai tyd het ek dit nie so gesien nie. dit was my werk. hoe meer arrestasies hoe meer (2) produktief jy was, hoe meer resultate jy gekry het, hoe beter was jou voordele. hoe meer het jy afgekry, jy kon doen wat jy wou. jy't weggekome daarmee. jy is op 'n platformpie gesit. (5)

E: jy praat met baie bitterheid daarvan.

C: ja, wat het wat het dit my op die einde van die dag my perspektief verloor van die lewe. jy't rêrig, jy was nie normaal nie. om elke dag op daardie high te wees. later toe ek nie meer op daardie high is nie waa:r toe gaan soek ek in brandewyn toevlug, gaan soek ek moeilikheid met mense, gaan baklei. (8)

E: dit maak jou hartseer.

E: *Let me ask you Charl, why did you drink so much?*

C: *I don't know. It was just, you were dependent on it. (5) You needed it, it had to be there. I don't know. Maybe it was a way of hiding; of not maintaining contact with reality. (6) To hide your guilt. There can be many reasons. (5)*

E: *I think there were many reasons.*

C: *At the time, I didn't see it. It was my job, the more arrests you made the more (2) productive you were. The better your results, the better your benefits. You got off more, you could do as you pleased. You got away with it, you were put on an pedestal.*

E: *You speak with bitterness.*

C: *Yes, because I lost perspective in life. You really did. You weren't normal. You were on a high every day. When I no longer had the high, I resorted to brandy. I created trouble, I fought. (8)*

E: *You become sad.*

He suggests that alcohol was used to suppress emotions, in particular his guilt. He begins to indicate that he felt bad about his behaviour. He eventually stopped drinking a few months after I started seeing him.

While he was at training, the symptoms became overwhelming. He explains (Episode 60):

C: ja maar op daai stadium toe was ek so gatvol vir alles. rêrig ek kon nie meer jou kop maak jou deurmekaar. jy sit en dink aan goeters. nou sit jy by die werk dan dink jy aan 'n opset dan sit jy daar en jy is verveeld jy doen niks nie. want ek is by opleiding jy kan nie 24 uur 'n dag opleiding gee nie. nou dink jy aan goeters jis dit het my begin vang. o-e-e dit het gevoel. so nou sit jy daar, jy sit by opleiding. jy-jy-jy is nie meer aan daai goeters blootgestel jy kan dit nie meer doen nie. ek wil dit gaan doen maar jy kan dit nie meer doen nie. nou kom jy in die aand byvoorbeeld by die huis en begin jy drink en dan gaan ek uit en ek gaan soek moeilikheid. nou soek jy jou afleiding op 'n ander plek.

E: jy sit met die emosies binne jou.

C: jy weet nie hoe hanteer jy dit. die een oomblik voel jy so. die ander voel jy so. een oomblik is jy hoog dan is jy weer laa:g teen die grond. altyd so 'n wipplank, op en af op en af op en af. hoekom?

E: met 'n geweldige intensiteit?

C: um. (6) gaan een maal 'n week op daai treinritte net om (2) jousef rustig te kry. in plaas om bar fights te gaan soek gaan jy maar eerder op die trein. daar kan jy jy lewe met hierdie gedagte saam. hoe?

C: *Yes, but at that stage I had had enough. Really I couldn't anymore. Your head is confused, then you sit at work and think about a situation. You are bored and you don't do anything. I was at training, you cannot train for 24 hours a day. Then you think about things. It began to catch me. Oh, the feeling! You'd sit there. You'd sit at training. You weren't exposed to those things anymore. I wanted to go and do it, but you can't do it anymore. Then, for example, you'd get home and start drinking and then I'd go out and look for trouble. You'd look for distractions somewhere else.*

E: *You'd sit with the emotions in you.*

C: *You don't know how to handle it. The one moment you'd feel like this, the other you'd feel like that. One moment you are high, the next you are down, on the ground. Always a seesaw; up and down, up and down. Why?*

E: *With extreme intensity?*

C: *Um. (6) Go on the trains once a week, just to (2) calm yourself down. In stead of looking for bar fights, go on the train. There you could live with these thoughts. How?*

He mentions here that he had started volunteering to take illegal immigrants back to Mozambique in order to get some control over his intense need for violence.

He told this story while hospitalised. The SAPS had threatened to stop his salary to force him to return to work. He had become extremely distressed, as they had stopped his salary previously, despite him being on sick leave. It had caused immense financial strain at the time, and he had become extremely agitated at the thought of it happening again.

I asked for more information on the transport of illegal immigrants. I am persistent in my questioning in the next section. Although it is not strictly narrative interviewing, I am adding it for two reasons: After this session, the interaction between us changed dramatically. He started exploring experiences more freely; he openly questioned his behaviour, often referring back to incidents he had already mentioned, but now expressing guilt and remorse. He also started referring to me as Himmler (not quoted); the process was extremely difficult for him, and ironically he felt tortured. Regarding the deportation of illegal immigrants he said (Episode 61):

E: het jy ooit op daardie stadium gedink wat dit beteken as jy dit doen?

C: hy moes teruggaan Mosambiek toe en, maak nie saak op watter manier nie, hy moet teruggaan. al moes ek hom half kruppel slaan al moes ek hom sy bene breek. want daai kant is hy nie gecheck nie. maar terug moes hy terug en die hele trok moes gaan. dit was my, dit, as ons prisoniere tel moet al my me- moet al my gevangenes op daai trok wees, daar mag nie een weg wees nie. en om twee uit te sonder en hulle half kruppel te slaan, dit bring 'n vrees by die ander ook, die ander is te bang om iets te doen.

E: ok, maar nou sê jy vir my kyk jy daarna, en dis onmenslik. om iemand so te pynig is net nie iets wat 'n mens doen nie. dis 'n onmenslike ding om te doen. (2) kan jy bepaal wanneer hierdie goed onmenslik begin word het? toe jy dit gedoen het, klink dit nie vir my het dit onmenslik gevoel nie.

C: um,um. dit is net jy het ek het eendag die besluit geneem, jis nie nie nog nie. ek sal iemand doodslaan so, wat gebeur dan? wat gebeur dan?

E: *Did you ever, at that stage, think what it means if you do this?*

C: *He had to go back to Mozambique, and it didn't matter how that happened. He had to go back, even if I beat him until he was half crippled, even if I had to break his bones. He wasn't checked that side. Back, he had to go back. And the whole carriage had to go. It was my, when we counted prisoners, all my prisoners had to be in the carriage.*

None may be gone. To identify two and to beat them to a pulp, that would frighten the others, and they'd be too afraid to try anything.

E: *Ok, but tell me, you say you would look at this and realise it is inhumane to harm someone like this; it is not what one does; it is inhumane. (2) Can you say when these things started becoming inhumane for you? It doesn't sound like you thought it was inhumane when you were doing it?*

C: *Um, um. It's just, one day you took the decision. Not another one, I will beat someone to death like this. What happens then? What happens then?*

I probe, to see if he has any remorse, or any awareness of what he is describing. He replies, explaining that he was task orientated and that his primary goal was to ensure that all his detainees arrived in Mozambique. These people are desperate and will jump out of a moving train if they think they can avoid deportation in this way. He found that if he assaulted two of the detainees, the others did not attempt to escape. I question him further on what he says, as I suspect there is more to the story (Episode 62):

E: en toe jy daai besluit neem, was dit wat gebeur dan in die sin van dit gaan reperkussies hê met my?

C: um. wat gaan van my kinders word? {starting to cry} waarheen gaan hulle gaan? alles gaan net daaroor, wat gaan van hulle word? (6) niks om hom dood te slaan op die trein nie en hom ander kant net uit te gooi nie maar aan die einde van die dag sê dit kom terug, wat gaan dan gebeur?

E: en jy gaan tronk toe

C: en ek gaan tronk toe. wat gaan dan van my twee seuns gebeur? (5)

E: en dink jy daai besef?

C: en as ek moet tronk toe gaan, wat gaan met my gebeur, want hoeveel van daai mense wat daar binne is het ek daar binne gesit? (7)

E: ok want ek wil hierdie goed ordentelik by jou verstaan.

C: wat gaan dan van my word.

E: And when you took that decision, was it about that which was happening, in the sense of I am going to have repercussions?

C: Um. What is going to become of my children? {starting to cry} Where will they go to? Everything is about that, what will become of them? (6) It's nothing to beat him to death on the train and throw him out on the other side, but what if it comes back? What will happen then?

E: And you go to prison.

C: And I go to prison. What will happen then to my two sons? (5)

E: And you think that realisation?

C: And if I go to prison, what will happen to me? How many of the people did I put there, who are in there? (7)

E: Ok, because I want to understand this properly.

C: What is going to happen to me?

He explains that he became afraid of his actions, that he was afraid that he would end in prison. He acknowledges that he had no control once he started assaulting people. He explains that he decided to stop going on the trips, for his and his children's sakes. I check again, and he explicitly, clearly states that he stopped as he was afraid of what would happen to him. We take it further (Episode 63):

E: ok, maar ek verstaan dit nog steeds nie. nou sê jy vir my oraait ek het besef op 'n stadium dit wat my kinders, wat gaan van my kinders word en wat gaan van my word. ok, en op 'n stadium, laat ek kyk wat ek geskryf het, ja en op 'n stadium het jy gesê mense buite die polisie, sou sê dis onmenslike goed. (2) maar dit klink vir my toe jy besef het het dit dit meer hieroor gegaan het wat gaan van my kinders as ek in die tronk beland hieroor?

C: selfs van my vriende wat ek meë gepraat het hulle hulle het tot vir my gesê jis Charl. dis nie menslik nie. h-o-o-e doen julle dit? dit het 'n afsku geword. W 'n goeie vriend van my. hy kon dit nie hy het reguit vir my gesê dit is-s-s. jy kan nie. hoekom doen julle dit? (6) hy's 'n rekenaarverkoper, hy verkoop die UBSse en daai goeters.

E: so hy ken nie die goed nie.

C: nee, hy ken glad nie van dit nie.

E: en toe hy dit vir jou sê Charl wat het dit vir jou beteken?

C: toe het ek begin dink. jissie maar hoekom? in die polisie as ons daarvoor praat jis dan lag almal daarvoor {crying} dis 'n moe- dis 'n groot grap. dan praat jy hierso met die mense. hierdie mense is-s hulle is verafsku daarin. hulle kan nie glo jy is tot so iets in staat nie. (8)

***E:** Ok, but I still don't understand. Now you say, ok, I realised at a stage, what about my children, what will become of my children, and what will happen to me? Let me see my notes, yes and at a stage you said people outside the police would say it was inhumane. (2) It sounds as though you when you realised, it was more about what would happen to my children if I ended up in prison?*

***C:** Even some of my friends to whom I spoke, would say to me yech Charl, it is not humane. How can you do it? They found it disgusting. W a good friend of mine couldn't accept it. He said directly, you can't. Why do you do it? (6) He sells computers. USBs and things like that.*

***E:** So he didn't know about this stuff.*

***C:** No, he doesn't.*

***E:** What did it mean to you Charl, when he said this?*

***C:** I began to think. But why? In the police, when we spoke about it, everyone would laugh. {crying} It's a, it's a huge joke. Then you speak to these people and they are disgusted. They cannot believe you are capable of this sort of thing. (8)*

As I ask very difficult questions and am fairly confrontational, he refers to the reactions of friends. He says that they are shocked by his behaviour. This appears to have served as a kind of reality check for him. He starts crying as he explains that his behaviour was a joke in the police; it was entertaining. He has realised that people who are not in the police react very differently. This is an extremely difficult process for him. We continue (Episode 63):

E: en het dit gemaak dat jy toe begin dink het

C: um, heeltemal. toe het ek heeltemal opgehou daarmee. jy begin hoes, jy kry siektes. oe. jy kry byvoorbeeld inflammasie verkoue griep brongitis, al daai goeters. toe het ek net gesê nou moet ek ophou met die goed want, netnou kry ek een of ander siekte terwyl ek hierso ry en. dit was vir jou eie behoud. toe hou ek net op. dit is nie daai bietjie geld werd nie. (3) toe het ek net opgehou daarmee. maar my grootste ophou, ek was ek was bang ek maak iemand doo:d. {voice breaking}

E: *Did that cause you to start thinking?*

C: *Um. Absolutely. I stopped completely. You start coughing, you get illnesses. Oh, you, for example, get inflammations, colds, flu, bronchitis. All those things. Then I decided I had to stop, because, I might get an illness while riding on the train. It was for your own survival. So I just stopped. It was not worth that bit of money. (3) The biggest reason I stopped was my fear that I would kill someone. {voice breaking}*

He seems to have considerable difficulty in admitting that a major reason for stopping the assaults was his fear that he would kill someone. He was afraid that he would lose complete control, and it is hard for him to admit this. In this exchange Charl has become extremely vulnerable. He wants to mention stories I have heard before, but I still do not think I fully understand, and continue to question (Episode 65):

E: kom terug ek wil verder hieroor praat. want ek wil verstaan hoe jy dit uitredeneer. laat ek by jou hoor het jy begin dink wat is die impak op slagoffers?

C: ja.

E: wanneer het jy daaraan begin dink?

C: ek kan nie sê nie. maar, ek het al begin dink daaraan in die aande as ek na my kinders toe gaan daai mense wat ek nou sê ek vat sy lewe, ek maak hom dood. {crying} wat van sy kinders, wat van sy familie, hy is dalk

die enigste broodwinner wie gaan vir hulle kos gee, wie sorg, al sulke goeters dit het alles hier. en kinders hulle is onskuldig. nou kom hy hy in die onluste is hy daarso hy word geskiet, soos in W daar is 'n kind met traangas geskiet. wat het daai kind daai kind het niks met die hele s-s dis 'n baba, hy het niks met die set-up uit te waai nie. nou moet jy 'n ambulans kry, daai kind is half dood, om hom te help. oor traangas. {crying} (11) as iemand dit aan my kinders gedoen het, ek sou hom vregmaak het. {sobbing} (9) daai kind wat in die taxi doodgeskiet het. dit

E: dit het jou baie gevang.

C: o-o-e, dit. (6)

E: jy praat altyd oor die baie bloed, maar dis 'n kind.

C: ja. (6) wat het daai kind gedoen? dis 'n kind dis nou wel 'n swart kind maar dis 'n kind. net 'n kind. hoekom moet hy doodgeskiet word. selfs sy ma, hoekom is sy sy is nie deel van die taxi dis haar manier om by die werk te kom (5). 'skuus. (5) al daai goed het jou al meer laat begin dink hoekom hoekom hoekom hoekom? {sobbing throughout}

E: en dis nie goed waarom jy kon praat nie.

C: met wie moet jy daaroor praat? as jy met die polisiemanne daaroor gepraat het dan was dit dit groot dit was 'n kill, dit was dit dit was dat dit is grootpraat. jy kon nie polisieielkundiges toe gaan nie want môre weet die hele eenheid dit. gaan koop brandewyn 'n stuk vleis en gaan braai.

E: en probeer vergeet.

C: hulle het nie gesê probeer vergeet nie die brandewyn sal dit seker doen. {sighing} (15)

E: *Come back to what we are talking about. I want to understand your reasoning. Let me hear, did you start thinking what is the impact on victims?*

C: Yes.

E: *When did you start thinking about it?*

C: *I don't know, but I began thinking about it in the evenings when I went to my children. Those people, say I took his life, I killed him. {crying}*

What about his children, what about his family? He could be the only breadwinner, who is going to feed them, who will care for them, things like that? It all began. And children, they are innocent. He ends up in the riots, he is there and is shot. Like in W, a child was shot with teargas. What had that child that child had nothing to do with the whole it was a baby. He had nothing to do with the set-up. Now you have to get an ambulance to help him, that child was half dead. {crying} (11) If someone had done that to my children, I would have killed him. {sobbing} (9) That child who was killed in the taxi. That ...

E: *That was very hard for you.*

C: *Oh, that. (6)*

E: *You always speak of all the blood, but it was a child.*

C: *Yes. (6) What had that child done? It was a child, a black child, but a child. Just a child. Why was he shot dead? Even his mother. Why, she was not part of the taxi, it was her way to get to work. (5) Sorry. (5) All those things, made you think why, why, why, why? {sobbing throughout}*

E: *And they are not things that you could talk about.*

C: *With whom would you talk? When you spoke to policemen, it was a big it was a kill, it was it, it was bragging. You could not talk to a police psychologist, because the entire unit would know the next day. Go and buy brandy, meat and go and braai.*

E: *And try and forget.*

C: *They wouldn't say try and forget, the brandy would see to that. {sighing} (15)*

He finds this extremely painful. He is finally admitting that he had on occasion wondered about the effect of his behaviour on his victims. This has been extremely hard for him. I, for the first time refer to victims, and he does not contradict me; he knows I am referring to his victims. He is, in essence, acknowledging his role as perpetrator. He no longer resorts to the boasting and bravado which he used in referring to his minibus. He is positioning himself very differently during this exchange; he is no longer macho, the policeman who boasts about his kills, but a man who knows he

has done wrong, a man who has empathy with victims. His awareness of his children's pain and suffering in response to his behaviour, makes it possible to identify with children in the townships, and to recognise not only their pain, but their parents' difficulties. Taxi violence increased dramatically following 1990 (Minnaar et al., 1998), hence his reference to the mother and child who had been killed in the crossfire.

I am demanding in my questions, and looking back now, I appear harsh and challenging. He answers directly, despite the difficulty in the material. I never asked him, but he may have understood that I genuinely wanted to understand his experiences, and that this meant that I would not be satisfied with rationalisations and subterfuges. But in some ways this becomes an interrogation of him. From this time, the interaction between him and me changed dramatically. I found it much easier to understand and have empathy with him; he was at times startlingly honest in his explanations and explorations of himself and the issues he faces. I gained more power and control in the interviews. I earlier commented that two main ways of positioning themselves were developed during training; either as in command or as obedient. He is now positioning himself as obedient and explores his behaviour as requested. I have, in the main, dealt with this information in the thematic analysis. Acknowledging others' pain and the role he played in it is extremely difficult. In later sessions, he said that he thought that the route to recovery was to develop empathy with his victims. We had never discussed that process, but he appeared to instinctively acknowledge its necessity. However, developing that empathy, would result in an overwhelming awareness of many hours spent committing atrocities. He is forced to acknowledge that he did not add value, but caused more problems. I discuss my experiences in more detail in Chapter 8. He continues (Episode 66):

C: maar hoekom het ek self seer uitgedeel en dit geniet?

E: want 'n mens leer dit doen. onthou jy toe jy my vertel het van daai hoeder storie? in die begin was dit vir jou moeilik.

C: ja:. {crying} (11) jy kry jammer op die een kant en op die een kant doen jy dieselfde en dit is 'n plesier. o-o-o-e. [...] as ek op die taxi toneel kom waar daardie kind geskiet is en dan kry ek jammer en dan kom jy byvoorbeeld in B en hulle vrede praat daarso, vrede praat en jy kom en jy {inaudible} en dan skiet jy die kak uit hulle uit en jy kry lekker. hoe vereenselwig jy daai twee goed hoe bring jy dit bymekaar? hoe gaan jy dit ooit bymekaar bring? want jy kan aan die eenkant goed doen en aan die ander kant.

E: en tog het jy.

C: dis wat seker wat my kop so deurmekaar het. (7) keer mense in CC vas. dat hulle te bang is om uit te kom, dan brand hulle in die binnekant dood. al daai goeters. skiet hulle, omdat hy met 'n TV hardloop of 'n suit. {crying, sighs} (20) ons het nie net drooggemaak nie, ons het gewerk ook.

C: *Why did I hurt people and why did I enjoy it?*

E: *One learns to do it. Do you remember telling me about the chickens? In the beginning you found it hard.*

C: *Yes. {crying} (11) On one side you are sorry, and on the other you do the same and it is a pleasure, oh. [...] I would get to the taxi scene where that child was killed, and I'd be sorry. Then, for example, I'd get to B, and they would be trying to talk peace, talk peace and you'd come and you {inaudible} and you'd shoot the shit out of them and enjoy it. How do you reconcile those two things? How are you ever going to reconcile those things? On the one side you do good and on the other side.*

E: *And yet you did it.*

C: *That is what is so confusing. (7) Trap people in CC so that they are too afraid to come out, and they burn to death inside. All those things. Shoot them because he is running with a TV or a suit. {crying, sighs} (20) We didn't only mess up, we also worked.*

Here he describes his confusion at examining his behaviour. He is referring to incidents which took place over many years. He ends with an almost

pathetic statement that they did not only make a mess, but actually worked as well. He continues (Episode 66):

C: daar het ek gesien 'n tjoeb werk en 'n, kat werk. maar toe het ons ook in plaas van dit gebruik om inligting te kry, toe het ons ook later ook begin misbruik. kyk hoe vêr kan jy 'n ou tjoeb. as hy hom natmaak dan (6) vat 'n rukkie om hom by te kry, maar hy bly lewe darem. gee ook sy inligting vinnig, veral die Zulus. hulle is gehard, hulle praat nie so maklik soos die ander nie.

E: en nou deel hy waarskynlik jou probleem van PTSV.

C: ja, as hy my sien, dan hardloop hulle hulle seker vrek (hhh). en tog ek is nie so 'n mens nie. {sobbing, hitting table} (24).

E: haai, Charl. (4) die goed is hel, is dit nie?

C: {nods} (9) {inaudible}

E: ek weet. (9)

C: maar dit was die manier en die metode. {crying} (16)

C: *There I saw a tube works, and electric shocks work, but instead of using them to get information we began to abuse them. We'd experiment to see how far we could tube someone. When he wet himself then (6) it would take some time to get him to, but he would at least live. He would give his information quickly, especially the Zulus. They are tough, they don't talk as easily as the others.*

E: *And now he and you share PTSD.*

C: *Yes, if he sees me, they'll run as fast as possible {laughs}. And actually I am not like that. {sobbing, hitting table} (24)*

E: *Oh Charl, (4) this is hell, isn't it?*

C: {nods} (9) {inaudible}

E: *I know. (9)*

C: *But it was the way and the method. {crying} (16)*

Again, he demonstrates intense emotions. He retains the notion that torture is acceptable, depending on the purpose for which it is used. His main

difficulty at this stage is that he used torture to satisfy his needs. I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 11. He, however, at my comment that he has caused PTSD in his victims, returns to the painful realisation of how he is seen. His internal identity is not that of a cruel man who tortures, and yet this is what he enacted. At this point I ask how he feels talking about this. It has been hard on him, and I am curious (Episode 67):

C: partykeer voel dit soos 'n verligting en ander kere voel dit asof ek maar net 'n ou vrou met 'n nat broek is. wat kla en kla en kla. slapgat. (4) ander kan dit hanteer hoekom kan ek dit nie hanteer nie. {crying} (13) en ek voel spyt oor wat ek party goed wat ek gedoen het, skuldig. (9)

E: hierdie is moeilike goed Charl.

C: um. (5) ek het self as seksie leier, mense laat wegkom met moord. en ek was onnosel, ek moes nie. (7) maar om die platformtjie te beskerm, kon jy. (4) om die beste toerusting te kry om die beste voertuie te kry om alles te kry moes jy aangaan op die manier wat jy aangegaan het. wat het jy vandag. niks. (4)

E: memories wat jy nie wil hê nie.

C: selfverwyt. {sighs} (16) j-a-a, die lekker polisie. dis 'n goeie plek. (7)

C: *I sometimes get relief, and other times I feel pathetic, and it feels that all I do is complain, complain, complain. A weakling. (4) Others can take it, why can't I? {crying}. I am sorry about some of the things I did, guilty. (9)*

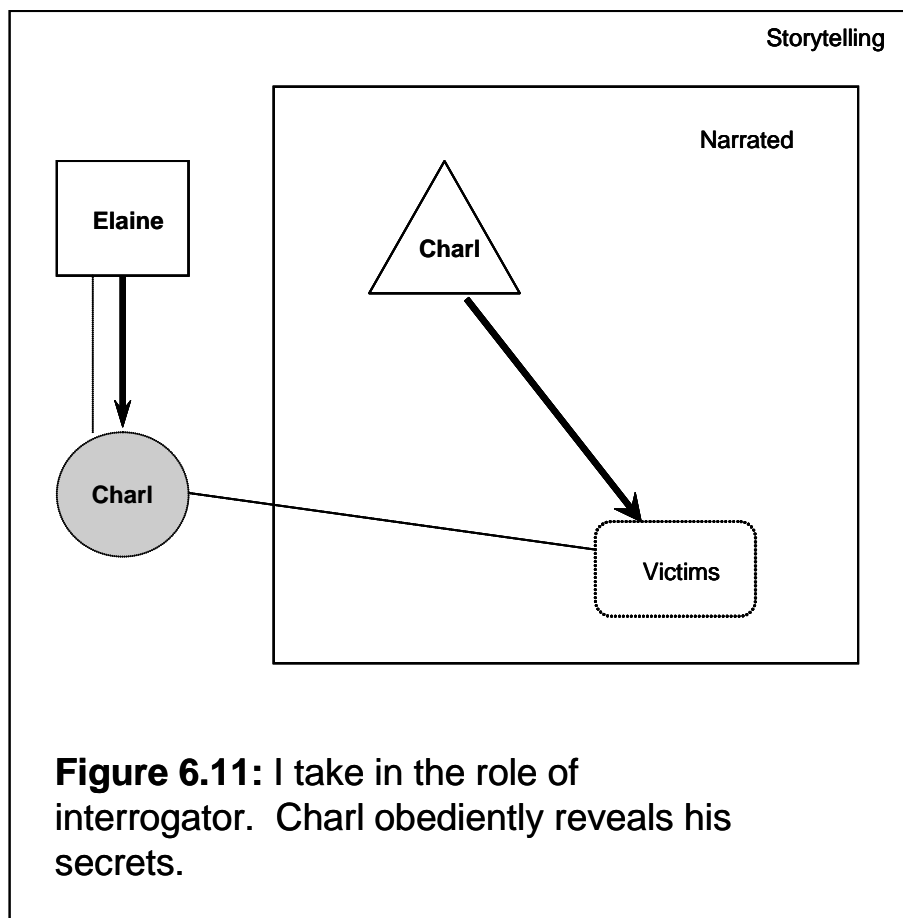
E: *These are hard things, C.*

C: *Um (5) As section leader, I let people get away with murder. I was stupid, I shouldn't have. (7) But to keep your position, you did. (4) To get the best equipment and best vehicles. To get everything you got, you had to do what you did. What do you have today? Nothing. (4)*

E: *Memories you don't want.*

C: *Self-reproach. {sighs} (16) Yes, the wonderful police. A good place. (7)*

The vulnerability he has experienced is extremely difficult for him. He is used to a position of power, and in the interaction I have given here, he has relinquished all power. He obediently reveals his secrets – in his case his intense and remorseful awareness of what he is guilty. He is a man who will be haunted by the effects of his behaviour, not only on his own family, but also on others for the rest of his life. Again he is honest, and clearly connects his involvement in perpetration to rewards he received. I attempt to reflect the change in our positions in Figure 6.11.



Despite the intense difficulty he is experiencing, this is probably one of the very few times he has felt connected to another person in a positive way. He explained to me later that he feared that people would laugh and joke about his experiences. Somehow, he accepts my demanding questions. He is used to extremely intense emotions, mainly anger; the possibility that this

type of therapeutic involvement somehow satisfies similar arousal needs, cannot be discounted.

As I suspect racial issues underlay a lot of the rationalisations around the torture of suspects. I ask him about it and he says (Episode 68):

E: ok. en die oorgrote meerderheid mense wat julle geslaan het ensovoorts was swartmense.

C: ja. dit was nooit blankes nie.

E: hoe het julle oor hulle gevoel?

C: niks. (2) dit was net nog 'n, swarte. (2) dit was net nog 'n probleem. hy gaan net steel en hy gaan verkeerd doen, hy gaan dit doen, hy gaan

E: ja?

C: hy gaan verkrag, hy gaan steel, hy gaan in jou huis inbreek al daai goeters. dis hoe jy hom gesien het.

E: gaan aan vir my daarop, want ja ek dink dis 'n groot deel van die probleem.

C: um um. maar tog van hulle wat ons opgelaai het, hy was miskien net bietjie dronk gewees.

E: um um.

C: dan het jy begin om hom te slaan en te martel, dat jy dat jy kyk of jy nie mee:r goed uit hom kry. want hy moet 'n vriend hê wat 'n vuurwapen het hy moet 'n vriend hê wat dagga het hy moet 'n vriend hê wat gesteelde goed het.

E: en waarskynlik voldoende kere waar dat julle beloon is.

C: ja.

E: maar hoeveel het julle julle toegelaat om te dink dis mense met gesinne?

C: nee, jy het daaraan gedink nie. daar was nooit daai gedagte dat hy het 'n gesin of iets nie. intendeel, jy is na sy huis toe gegaan en jy het sy huis geskud en half afgebreek.

E: *Ok, the vast majority of people you assaulted and so on were black?*

C: Yes, it was never whites.

E: How did you feel about them?

C: Nothing. It was just another black. (2) It was just another problem. He was just going to steal and do wrong, he was going to do this, he was going

E: Yes.

C: He is going to rape, he is going to steal, he is going to break into your house, all those things. That is how you saw him.

E: Go on, I suspect it is part of the problem.

C: Um, um. Some of those we picked up; he was maybe just a bit inebriated.

E: Um Um.

C: Then you began to beat him and to torture him, so that you could see if you could not get more out of him. He must have a friend with a firearm, he must have a friend with dagga, he must have a friend with stolen goods.

E: And you were probably rewarded quite often.

C: Yes.

E: How often did you allow yourself to think that these were people with families?

C: No you didn't think of that. There was never a thought that he had a family. Instead, you would go to his house and you would search his house and half break it down.

He is clear; black people were seen as criminals. Their humanity was not denied; it simply did not exist. He never thought of them as people with families, even when destroying their homes. He returns again to the atrocities he committed and explains that they would pick up people on any pretext, in the hope that if tortured, they would reveal the names of acquaintances who were guilty of more heinous crimes. As I discussed in Chapter 2, criminal activities and political violence became intertwined. Charl had an incredibly high number of arrests, and it becomes clearer how

he achieved them. I am more direct, more questioning of him – I remain in the role of interrogator (Episode 68):

E: in die kollege? swartes, is daar propaganda gewees of

C: ja, dit was. jy is geleer hy is 'n terroris, jy is geleer hy is verkeerd. jy kan hom nie vertrou nie. by die soos by die Wageenheid, my eerste werk. hulle is altyd deursoek by die hekke, maak nie saak of hy polisie swarte was of hy die tuinier was of die teemaker of daai een nie. hy is altyd deursoek, hy is nooit net toegelaat om in te gaan nie. en hy is altyd is hy dopgehou om te kyk waar hy werk en wat hy doen. as hy op verkeerde plek is het ons hom weggejaag. gesê mag nie daar wees nie en hy is uitgegooi en drie kwart van die tyd is hy ontslaan.

E: watter boodskap dink jy het dit gegee?

C: dat hulle is terroriste. jy kan hulle beteken niks, hulle is niks werd nie. as jy hom nie kan dophou, beteken hy niks. hy moet net werk werk werk. soos ek nou sê, al wat jy wil sien is sy gat. as jy sy gesig sien, werk hy nie. dis hoe ons dit daai tyd dit ervaar het op die Wageenheid. (8) [..]

E: *At college, was there propaganda about blacks?*

C: *Yes, you were taught that he was a terrorist. You were taught that he was wrong, you cannot trust him. At the Guard Unit, my first job, for example, they were always searched at the gate, it didn't matter if he worked for the police or not, whether he was the gardener, the tea maker, or something else, he was always searched. He was never just allowed to enter. He was always observed, to see where he works and what he does. If he was in the wrong place, he was chased away, told he was not allowed to be there and thrown out. Three quarters of the time he was fired.*

E: *What message did that give?*

C: *That they were terrorists. They mean nothing. They are worthless. If you don't watch him, he means nothing. He has to work, work, work. Like I say, all you want to see is his arse. If you see his face, he is not working. That was our experience at the Guard Unit. (8)*

As we continued talking he returned to the topic of remorse. He is preoccupied by it and often raises it (Episode 69):

C: in sekere mate sal ek nooit berou kan wys nie.

E: maar daar is goed waar jy dit wys.

C: ja: (2)

E: of nie?

C: ek wys berou. En ek het berou in my hart. dit maak my seer.

E: ek weet..

C: maar hoe sekeres sal ek nooit in my lewe berou oor hê nie. in sekere gevalle sal ek nog haat. want dit is dit is hoe ek jissie, ek het twaalf jaar so gelewe in die polisie. dit was 'n leefwyse. ek kan dit nie nou verander in een twee dae nie. ek kan dit nie in 'n jaar kan verander nie. ek gaan dit dalk nie in twintig jaar kan verander nie. dis die twaalf jare in my lewe wat ek weggegooi het. (2) as ek dink daaraan, dis twaalf jaar in my lewe wat ek weggegooi het.

C: *In some ways I will never have remorse.*

E: *But sometimes you show it.*

C: *Yes. (2)*

E: *Or not?*

C: *I show remorse. And in my heart I have remorse. It hurts me.*

E: *I know.*

C: *But around some things I will never have remorse. In some cases I will still hate, because that is how it is. Jeez, I lived like that for twelve years in the police, it was a way of life. I can't change it in one or two days. I can't change it in a year. I may not be able to change it in twenty years. It is twelve years of my life which I threw away. (2) When I think of it, it is twelve years of my life which I threw away.*

He admits to remorse, but he is realistic about his ability to change some things. He knows some things will not change, others will take consistent

and sustained effort. He feels that he has lost twelve years of his life, and that he may never be able to change some things in his life. He continues and takes it further, returning to the theme of racism (Episodes 70, 71 and 72):

C: En dit alles in belang van volk en vaderland. {laughs} (8) partydae voel ek ook, hulle was net fokken kaffers. maar ek kan ook besef nou dat hulle mense is en dat 'n mens en dat 'n mens hulle menswaardig moet behandel. maar ek is nooit geleer hoe nie.

E: is dit nie frightening nie?

C: um um. my pa het my nie geleer nie, my pa het gesê hy is 'n houtkop 'n kaffer want ek het op die plaas grootgeword. toe kom ek in die polisie toe word daar nog steeds vir my gesê hy is 'n kaffer, 'n teaboy en 'n bode. hy gaan niks in die polisie word nie, toe word hulle in Canters gegooi en goed en word aangery as ons op, tredes het en daai goeters. so het dit hy was altyd verneder hy was altyd niks werd nie.

E: jy het dit geleer.

C: en dis hoe ek geleer is. hoe? (4) nou, ek kan saam met hom lewe ek kan alles vereenselwig. maar los my nou laat onder hulle as as met my werk. ek weet nie, ek weet sjoe ek weet nie.

E: jy kan nie jouself vertrou nie.

C: ek sal hulle doodmaak dink ek nog steeds. (5) en dan sal ek hulle nie doodmaak om iets uit hulle te kry, maar dat ek gestraf sal work daarvoor {crying} dis dis dis waarvoor ek bang is. dat ek tot die uiterste sal gaan, dat ek my straf kan kry.

E: is dit hoe dit voel, Charl?

C: {crying} (13) dat ek bietjie kan terugkry vir al daai seer wat ek aan ander gedoen het. (12) °dis baie. as jy dertig arrestasies 'n week vat vir twee jaar, dis baie. ° {crying}

E: dis baie.

C: dis baie. joe, dis nie dis baie mense. dit behels baie mense. as ek dit anders gedoen het. dink net hoeveel mense kon ek positief beïnvloed het. positief oor ons land. dit is skrikwekkend om daaraan te dink. {section

said very quietly, crying, voice breaking} ok die wat verkeerd is het het hulle straf gekry. dit is reg. maar nogtans al het hy verkeerd gedoen as ek hom menswaardig behandel het dan het ek hom dalk beïnvloed dat hy nie weer sou gedoen het nie.

E: en jy sou beter gevoel het oor jouself.

C: ek kon myself geface het. (4) o-e-e-e. {crying throughout}

C: *And all of it for God and country. {laughs} (8) Sometimes I feel they were just fucking kaffirs, but I can now realise that they are people and that one, that one must treat them humanely. But I was never taught how to do it.*

E: *Is that not frightening?*

C: *Um um. My father didn't teach me. My father said he is a blockhead, a kaffir; I grew up on a farm. I got to the police and I was still told he is a kaffir, a tea boy and a messenger. He'll never become anything in the police. Then they were thrown into Canters (trucks) and things and brought in when we had operations. Those things. So he was always humiliated. He was worthless.*

E: *You learnt it.*

C: *And that is what I was taught. How? (4) Now I can live with him; I can come to terms with everything, but let me alone with them, as it was in work, and I don't know. I don't know.*

E: *You don't feel you can trust yourself.*

C: *I still think I will kill them. (5) And I won't kill them to get something from them, but in order to be punished for it. {crying} That is what I'm afraid of. That I will take things to the extreme, so that I can be punished.*

E: *Is that how it feels, Charl?*

C: {crying} (13) *So that I can feel some of the pain I caused others. (12) It's a lot, when you make thirty arrests a week for two years. It's a lot {quietly}.*

E: *It's a lot.*

C: *It's a lot. It's not, it's a lot of people. It involves a lot of people. If I had done it differently. Think how many people I could have influenced*

positively. Positively about our country. It is frightening to think about it. {section said very quietly, crying, voice breaking} Ok, those who were wrong, they were punished, that is right. But still, even if he had done wrong, if I had treated him with humanity, I could possibly have influenced him not to offend again.

E: *You would have felt better about yourself.*

C: *I could have faced myself. (4) O-e-e-e {crying throughout}*

It is frightening to understand the depth of racism which he is describing. He explains that he was not taught to treat black people with humanity. He cannot find a discourse, other than a racist one, which he can comfortably use. He almost desperately uses that as an excuse for not changing his behaviour. He also indicates that he at times saw his role as punishing people through torture.

Policemen applying for medical pensioning for PTSD are often asked to hand in a statement, stating their reasons. Typically, these statements contain gruesome incident after gruesome incident, followed by the symptoms they experience and often supported by the statements of colleagues who attest to the deterioration in their functioning. He had written a statement when he went on sick leave, which always concerned me, as it was essentially a confession. I had asked him about it, and he had said he was desperate to get out of the police. Here he appears to indicate that he really began to fear his reactions; that he was becoming unstoppable.

He returns to the explosion that he had attended to, and one of the aspects which puzzle him; the difference in his behaviour and his emotions in different circumstances. This is a theme to which he repeatedly returns (Episode 74):

C: *kan nie glo ek was so nie. (5) 'skuus. {crying}*

E: *nee (9)*

C: maar jy is geleer om die werk so te doen. soos daai ene. ek het ek het nie 'n kat ooit in my lewe geken nie ek het nie 'n tjoeb geken nie.

E: jy is ingelyf daarin.

C: ja. daai aggressie teenoor hulle om hulle so te slaan en (3) vir jou plesier dat dit 'n passie geword het. (2)

E: walg jy daarvoor?

C: ek het vanoggend daaraan gedink, 'skuus ek dink nou aan iets anders. hierso het jy die aggressie gehad en by daai bomontploffing wou jy dit stukkie vir stukkie wil jy vat, en aanmekaar sit en dit regmaak dat dit weer, 'n mens kan wees. (2) ek het vanoggend so daaraan gedink. {crying} (6) dat jy daar stukkie vir stukkie wou aanmekaar sit. (2) en terwyl jy gewerk het, wou jy stuk vir stuk afgebreek. hoe:? dit ook, dit gooi ook my kop. oegg dit ook, dit gooi ook my kop, dan weet ek nie hoe. (7) hoe, wat en waar.

E: hoekom stukkie vir stukkie terug sit?

C: om daai ou tannie te beskerm dat sy ook nie daai seer het wat ek seker op daai stadium gehad het. (16) want dit was haar liefde in haar lewe. (4) en jy kon dit nie vir haar doen nie.

E: en wat het jy die aand gevoel? (4)

C: wat het ek die aand gevoel? hulpeloos. (6) heeltemal hulpeloos. (11) want jy kon nie help nie.

E: kon nie help nie. jy kon nie dit weer bymekaar sit nie.

C: jy kon nie goed weer regkry nie. dit was gedoen en dit was klaar. {sighs} (10)

C: *I can't believe I was like this. (5) Sorry. {crying}*

E: *No (9)*

C: *But you were taught to work like this. I had never known how to shock people or how to tube before this.*

E: *You were initiated into it.*

C: *Yes, that aggression towards them, to hit them like that and (3) all for your own pleasure; that it became a passion. (2)*

E: *Are you disgusted by it?*

C: *I thought about it this morning. Sorry, I'm thinking of something else. On one side you had the aggression and at that bomb explosion you wanted to take it piece by piece and put it together and fix it so that it was a person again. (2) I thought about it this morning. {crying} (6) That you wanted to put it together piece by piece. (2) And when working, you wanted to break down piece by piece. How? Also that, that confuses me. Oh-h it confuses me, then I don't know how. (7) How, what and where.*

E: *Why put it together piece by piece?*

C: *To protect that old lady; so that she did not have the pain which I probably had at that stage. (16) It was the love of her life. (4) And you could not do it for her.*

E: *What did you feel that evening?*

C: *What did I feel that evening? Helpless. (6) Completely helpless. (11) Because you could not help.*

E: *You could not help. You could not put it back together.*

C: *You could not fix things. It was done. It was finished. {sighs} (10)*

Lifton (1986, p. 151) referred to this same experience in the Nazi doctors and called it doubling. I will discuss the concept of doubling in more detail in Chapters 8 and 11. Although he takes responsibility for his behaviour, he is extremely angry with the police, whom he knows have abandoned him (Episode 75):

C: dit kon erger gewees het. as ek aangegaan het met daai drang waar sou ek geeindig het?

E: dis scary, né?

C: daai lus vir daai bloed. en daai dat hy moet seerkry, dat hy moet skree en hy is hulpeloos en kan niks doen nie. as ek verder met dit aangegaan het, waar was ek dan vandag?

E: ja.

C: die beste van alles is nou, die polisie verstaan dit nie. (2) [...] maak asof jy rubbish is, gemors is. (3) te sleg is om te cope met jou probleme. lafaard, slapgat. (4) maar as ek aangegaan het soos ek aangegaan het,

en ek het tronk toe gegaan waar was hulle dan? hoe sou hulle my dan behandel het? [...]

E: raak jy kwaad as jy aan hierdie goed dink?

C: ja. (6) ek lag daaroor buitekant maar binne wil ek ontploff.

E: vir wie raak jy kwaad?

C: vir die hele polisie. vir daai vir wie ek 'n lelike naam gegee het. die liewe Jesusbende. wat kon besluit oor, hulle het nie vir jou gevra wil jy dit doen nie, hulle het vir jou gesê doen dit en dat en dit. [...] vandag sit hulle daar bo en hulle trek net skouertjies op. {very tearful throughout}

C: *It could have been worse. If I had gone on with that urge, where would I have ended?*

E: *That is a scary thought, isn't it?*

C: *That need for that blood. And that he must hurt, that he must scream and be helpless, and not be able to do anything. If I had gone on, where would I be today?*

E: Yes.

C: *The best of it all is the police don't understand. [...] Treat you as though you are rubbish. (3) Too weak to cope with your problems. Coward, slacker. (4) But if I had continued as I was, and had gone to prison, where would they be then? How would they have treated me? [...]*

E: *Do you get angry when you think of these things?*

C: Yes. (6) *Outwardly I laugh, but internally I want to explode.*

E: *With whom do you get angry?*

C: *The entire police. Those whom I gave an ugly name; the Jesus Gang, who could decide over; they did not ask whether you wanted to, they told you to do this and to do that. Today they sit up there and shrug their shoulders. {very tearful, throughout}.*

He feels rejected by the SAPS. He intimates that he was following orders, although he never takes refuge behind this well-known rationalisation. He has good reason for his belief that the police do not want to help him. At the time of the interviews they had not yet registered an injury on duty claim for

PTSD, or for the tuberculosis he had probably got when working with suspects. He feels used, but intermingled with this belief, throughout his narrative is the knowledge that he was also using the system for the advantages he could get from it.

At this stage, he begins to recognise some of the dangers in torture. Up until this point, he did not indicate at all that he may have questioned what he did (Episode 75):

C: en dan het hy sy bekentenis gaan aflê voor die landros. (6) sê nou dit was verkeerd. sê nou daai ou was onskuldig en jy het hom nou in daai rigting nou geforseer.

C: *And he would go and confess to the magistrate. (6) What if he was innocent and you forced him to do it?*

He is no longer saying that they had no alternatives; this was the only way in which they could get information. I do not think he has alternatives to offer, but it has become a far more complicated process in which innocent people may confess to crimes they have not committed. He revisits scene after scene, incident after incident. Often he looks at them in more depth, questioning his behaviour. I have not quoted many of these repeated stories. He also started worrying about the amount of ammunition that was shot at scenes. The quantities are enormous: it should be kept in mind that when he talks of a case of ammunition, he means a thousand rounds (Episode 76):

C: daai tyd was daar nie kontrole oor die ammunisie nie. as jou kas leeg is so what gaan haal nog een. daar was nie beheer oor dit gewees nie. daar was nie beheer oor dit gewees nie. jy het maar net gaan haal en gaan haal en gaan haal. en toe hulle ons begin check het jy in elk geval minder voorraad opgegee as wat daar in die stoor is so jy het altyd ekstra gehad. ons het altyd ekstra gehad. waar hulle die karre op 'n stadium

gebrand het, en ek die een doodgeskiet het. geskiet met gemengde ammunisie rubber bokhael skiet net vir die pret. dis toe ons in kantien was en die eerste vyf minute was alles oor. maar ons gaan aan om hulle te agiteer sodat ons kan skiet. net vir die plesier daarvan dat ons kan aanhou skiet. ons het die een kas leeggeskiet en die ander een ook tussen die drie van ons. daardie dag het ons dit gedoen.

C: There was no control over the ammunition at the time. If your case was empty, so what, go and fetch another one. There was no control over it. There was no control over it, you just went and fetched and fetched and fetched. And when they started checking up on us, you said you had less stock than there was in the store, so you always had extra. We always had extra. Once, where they burnt cars, and I shot one dead, we had shot with mixed ammunition, rubber, buckshot. Shot for the fun of it. That is when we had been in the canteen and after five minutes everything was over, but we kept agitating them so that we could shoot, for the fun of shooting. We emptied the one case, and the other between the three of us. That is what we did that day.

He remains concerned about the pleasure it gave him to shoot and to kill. He is speaking very openly and confronting himself directly. He tells the story of returning illegal immigrants slightly differently now (Episode 83):

C: wat my bang gemaak was hierdie treinry dat ek begin dink het ja hoe kan ek hom doodmaak sonder, dat ek gevang word. dit. gaan sit elke dag en aan so iets en dink en dan sien jy wat gebeur met jou kop. hoe kan ek hom slaan met 'n TONFA op sy rug dat jy sy ribbes afslaan. dat hy op die trein sit hy het see:r en goeters, maar as hy van die trein afklim en hy staan op dan steek sy rib deur sy milt of sulke goeters. sulke gedagtes het by my begin opkom. en dit is-s, dit het my begin vang. hoe hoe hoe dink 'n mens sulke goeters uit. dan moet ek aangaan en voortlewe asof niks gebeur nie. ek kan nie daai front kan ek nie ophou nie. daai front sou ek nie kon ophou nie. ek kon my dranksug wegsteek ek kon al ek kon baie

goed wegsteek dat niemand gesien het nie. maa:r daai. en dit het al meer uitgekom en al hoe meer uitgekom as ons op die treine gegaan het. dan het ek al hoe erger en erger en erger geraak.

C: What frightened me was going on the trains. I began to think about how I could kill him without being caught. That. Go and think about something like that daily and see what happens to your head. How I could hit him with a TONFA (baton) on his back, to break his ribs. That he would be on the train, in pain and so on, but that when he got off the train, and stood up, that a rib would pierce his spleen. Things like that. Thoughts like that, started coming up. It began to catch me. How can one think of things like that? And I had to live as though nothing had happened. I could not pretend anymore. I could not pretend any longer. I could hide my drinking and I could hide many things, so that no one knew, but that. It came out more and more. When we were on the trains, I got worse and worse and worse.

Charl was enacting his fantasies more and more and his harming of the illegal immigrants was escalating. He fortunately recognised that he was losing control, and that he had to go on sick leave.

Many weeks later I asked about his alcohol abuse and he explained more around his decision to stop drinking. He has previously explained that he drank to suppress emotions, and possibly memories. He now tells the story with a different emphasis (Episode 84):

E: jy't geweet waarom jy dit gebruik en ter wille van jou kinders het jy besluit jy sal ophou. al het jy geweet alles wat jy onderdruk sal uitkom.

C: ek dink dit is ook my manier om te sê kyk dit is deel van die erkenningsproses om te sê jissie ek soek hulp ek soek hulp help my. ek soek antwoorde. hoekom is ek so hoekom het ek dit gedoen? hoekom het ek dat gedoen?

E: Charl dit gaan daaroor maar jy het bereid geraak om

C: ek dink dis daai aanvaarding ook dat ek gesê het kyk kry alles op die tafel kry al hierdie goeters wat ek so wegsteek wat ek weghou. ek kan dit nie meer saam met my alleen saamdra nie ek moet dit uitkry dit is te veel. [...] {small laugh} ek dink ook dit was makliker om die drank te los omdat ek besluit het kyk ek kry al die goeters klaar. ek soek hulp. dis desperaatheid. dis meer die desperaatheid om hulp te kry wat my gehelp het om drank te los as wat dit iets anders is.

E: *You knew why you were drinking, and for the sake of your children, you decided to stop, even though you knew that everything you were suppressing would surface.*

C: *I think for me it was part of the acknowledging, to say I need help. Help me. I need answers. Why am I like this? Why have I done these things? Why have I done these things?*

E: *Charl, it was about that, but you were ready to*

C: *I think it was accepting that I needed to put everything on the table, all these things I have been hiding, which I withhold. I could no longer carry it alone, I had to get it out, it was too much. [...] {small laugh} I also think it was easier to stop drinking because I had decided to deal with these things. I needed help. I was desperate; it was more my desperation to get help which assisted me in stopping drinking, than anything else.*

Here he is positioning himself very differently to earlier. He appears more comfortable with the idea of asking for help. He is no longer positioning himself as a wimp who cannot cope. As with Adriaan, he appears to be using the interviews to reconstitute himself as a good person. He is, at times, brutally honest; he acknowledges his responsibility for committing atrocities; he is cooperative both in a therapeutic relationship and as a research participant.

We talk about the changes in South Africa. He explains (Episode 79):

C: alles was georden. dit was nie georden soos vandag se lewe nie. dit was abnormaal georden. dit kon nie normaal gewees het nie.

E: jy het nie die abnormaliteit gesien nie.

C: nee want dit was nie abnormaal vir daardie tyd nie.

E: as 'n mens wyer kyk was dit nie normaal nie.

C: ja maar in my oë was dit nie abnormaal gewees op daai stadium nie.

E: en toe word dit heeltemal omgekantel. en alles wat jy gedink het normaal is en seker is, is toe nie. (6)

C: nee, soos F. W. ook. ek sê nog steeds hy is 'n verraaier gewees, want hy het nie eers die polisie in kennis gestel hy gaan die ANC wettig nie. ons het nog daai aand van die ANC mense geskop daar in die museum. die volgende oggend moes ons hulle laat los want toe is hulle wettig verklaar. hy het nie die polisie geken nie.

E: hy het besluit om niemand te laat weet nie.

C: nee, hy het besluit om dit op sy eie te doen.

E: hoe het jy gevoel toe hy dit doen?

C: ek het gevoel hy is 'n verraaier want daar was nie 'n tyd, daar was nie 'n proses wat hy (3) eers bekend gestel het en gesê, dit gaan nou, dit gaan nou gebeur nie. hy het net besluit hy sê dit daai oggend.

E: wat dink jy sou gebeur het as hy gesê het daar is 'n proses?

C: miskien sou ek tyd gehad het om dit te aanvaar. daai skielike omswaai het baie van ons gevang. want ons is nie geleer hulle is aanvaarbaar nie. terroriste en klaar. jy kan hulle nie vertrou nie. (7) daai skielike omswaai van nou is hy terroris nou is hy 'n vriend. ho-o-e sit jy dit bymekaar?

C: *Everything was ordered. It was not ordered like today, it was ordered abnormally. It could not have been normal.*

E: *You didn't see the abnormality.*

C: *No, it was not abnormal for the time.*

E: *If one looks more widely, it wasn't normal.*

C: *Yes, but in my view, it was not abnormal at the time.*

E: *And then it was overturned. Everything you thought was normal and certain, was no longer.*

C: *No, like F. W. (F. W. de Klerk, former president of South Africa) as well. I still say he was a traitor, because he didn't even tell the police that he was going to legalise the ANC. We had still been kicking ANC members around in the museum that night. The next morning we had to let them go, because they had been declared legal. He did not inform the police.*

E: *He told no one.*

C: *No, he did it on his own.*

E: *How did you feel when he did it?*

C: *I felt he was a traitor, because there was no time, there was no process in which he (3) first informed and said, this is going, this is going to happen. He just decided and said it that morning.*

E: *What do you think would have happened if he had said there was a process?*

C: *Maybe I would have had time to accept it. That quick turnaround caught many of us, because we were not taught that they were acceptable. Terrorists and that is it, you cannot trust them. (7) That sudden turnaround from now he is a terrorist, now he is a friend. How do you put it together?*

He recognises that the previous system in South Africa was abnormal. He has immense difficulty in himself and struggles with his racist views. However, he appears to accept that things had to change.

He then told me there was something he had to mention, but that he was hesitant as he knew it would be upsetting (Episode 80):

C: *ek weet nie. daar is nog iets wat ek jou moet sê ook, maar ek weet nie ek moet dit eers vir myself uitsorteer.*

E: *wat is dit Charl?*

C: *Matome daai vriend van my, hy's dood.*

E: *ag nee, Charl. ag nee. ag nee.*

C: *{crying} (4) Supt H het dit nou die dag vir my gesê.*

E: wat het gebeur?

C: {crying} (13) met die trein gery, toe hulle hier stop kon hy nie afklim nie. toe hulle hom optel toe is hy blykbaar pap. toe het hulle hom hospitaal toe vat. blykbaar breinvliesontsteking. op die trein opgedoen. [...] hy weet self wat was die s-s-set-up tussen my en Matome want al die swartes het 'n spottery daaroor by die werk gehad ek en my ngamla, my vriend. waar is jou ngamla? as hulle Matome sien vra hulle vir hom waar is jou ngamla?

E: julle was naby.

C: ja dis een swarte met wie ek enige tyd sou saam werk en enigiets sou mee saamdoen. (3) maar ook seker omdat sy siening was soos myne was want hy het gesê jou kinders kom nie na my kinders se skole nie ek soek hulle nie daar nie. as ons huistoe gegaan het in die aande as ons nie gewerk het nie dan hy het in die kar bly sit hy het nie ingekom nie. ok as ons in die lokasie was en so aan het ons saamgekuier en alles saamgedoen. maar as ons hier was was dit heeltemal weer anderste. (4) altyd fronte. uhrm (7) daar treë jy so op, daar treë jy so op, daar treë jy so op. (2) in die riglyne. [...] hoe anders kon dit gewees het. as ons in 'n ander byvoorbeeld in hierdie era grootgeword het, hoe anders sou dit nie gewees het nie?

C: *I don't know, there is still something I must tell you, but I don't know. I must first sort it out for myself.*

E: *What is it Charl?*

C: *Matome, that friend of mine, he's dead.*

E: *Oh no, Charl. Oh no! Oh no!*

C: {crying} (4) *Supt. H told me the other day.*

E: *What happened?*

C: {crying} (13) *He had ridden on the train. When they stopped, he could not get off. When they picked him up, he was flaccid. They took him to hospital; he apparently got meningitis on the train. [...] He knew what the situation was between Matome and me. All the blacks used to joke at work, I and my ngamla, my friend (ngamla translated as "trusted associate", R. Tabane, personal communication, May 17, 2008), "Where*

is your ngamla?” When they saw Matome they would ask him, “Where is your ngamla?”

E: *You were close.*

C: *Yes, the one black with whom I would work anytime, and with whom I would do anything. (3) Maybe, because he had the same view as I had about things. He said: “Your kids, don’t come to my kids’ schools, I don’t want them there.” When we went home in the evenings if we were not working, then he would remain in the car, he would not come in. Ok, when we were in the locations, and so on, then we would visit together and do everything together. But when we were here, it was different. (4) Always cover ups. Um (7) There you would act like this, there you would act like that, there you would act like this. (2) Within the guidelines. [...] How different it could have been. If we had for example grown up in this time, how different it would have been.*

In this section he talks of his immense sadness at the loss of Matome. They had a good relationship, possibly because Matome did not challenge him in his racism. They never crossed the strange lines drawn in South Africa at the time, where they were able to socialise in the black townships, but Matome would not even enter Charl’s house. In a therapeutic session in which we focussed on the death of Matome, Charl had the realisation he had the need to embrace Matome; but that even in fantasy he could not do it because he was black. Charl recognises the loss of an equal friendship.

He eventually says what his goals are; maybe a good point to stop with his story (Episode 86):

C: *ek kan nog nie sin uit baie goed uitmaak nie. dis ‘n feit, dit erken ek. ek baklei met myself. maar dit gaan beter. ek moet self uitvind waar ek daai lyn gaan trek van reg en verkeerd. dis ‘n dun lyntjie.*

E: *en nie altyd ‘n duidelike lyntjie nie.*

C: *en dit is nie, maar ek sal. wat moet ek doen om aanvaarbaar te wees in die samelewing? maak nie saak wat of wie sê nie. as daai ou my dalk*

affronteer. wat sal aanvaarbaar wees. ek kan nie altyd wegloop nie. [...] wat is van belang vir my, hoe moet ek te werk gaan, aan die einde van die dag, gaan alles oor my en my kinders, maak nie saak of die ANC of die AWB aan bewind is nie. dit gaan vir my daaroor ek en my twee kinders ons moet ook 'n lewe kan hê, ons moet rustig kan aangaan, pa moenie altyd gesuip wees nie {crying} ek is so spyt daaroor ook. (11)

E: dit het so baie gebeur.

C: ja. (6) wie en wat is ek? ek wil nie daai monster wees nie {crying}. ek wil 'n goeie pa vir my kinders wees. (4) ek wil 'n goeie vriend wees vir iemand buite. ek wil eendag 'n vriendin ontmoet ek wil met haar oor die weg kan kom. [...] die bloedlus, hoe kry jy dit weg? want dit het 'n leefwyse geword. dit het 'n leefwyse geword. jy kan nie vir my sê as jy vir twaalf jaar in daai omstandighede was, en jy daai bloedlus gehad het, jy dit net so. dit was 'n leefwyse. daai bloedlus is partykeer nog, ek crave nog daarna.

E: ja, ek weet. al ontstel dit jou hoe.

C: al ontstel dit my hoe. al maak dit my hoe bang. maar ek dink dit maak dit so erg is want dit maak my so bang. dit maak my so bang, omdat ek weet ek crave daarna. [...] maar ek het berou, ek kan nie so aangaan nie. die medikasie kan die ervarings en so onderdruk en beheer, maar die denke, moet jy mee redeneer, jy moet dit uitstry en baklei en stry. dis hoe ek dit sien. die medikasie gee my hulp, maar dit los nie my probleem op nie. dit is soos drank, hy kan nie my probleem oplos nie. ek moet dit hier binne in my kop moet ek dit uitwerk, ek moet dit regkry. ek moet dit uitredeneer en baklei. uit praat en deurpraat. anders hoe gaan jy dit uit jou kry? die goed wat my en ander pla, moet jy oor praat, verstaan waarom was dit op 'n spesifieke tyd so en op 'n ander tyd op 'n ander manier wees. hoekom was jy een tyd so, en op ander tyd was jy anders? hoekom kan ek nou empatie toon, daardie tyd nie, hoekom nou berou hê maar daai tyd het ek nie berou gehad nie? hoekom nou liefde voel en gee maar daai tyd kon ek dit nie doen nie? alles kom terug na een groot ding, SAP, SAP. dit is opleiding, indoktrinasië, behandeling. [...] mens kan nie 'n paradys skep nie, in Suid-Afrika kan alles nie in eenslag regkom nie. soos

hier binne in my alles kan nie in eenslag regkom nie. [...] ek kan nie weer sulke vrye teuels gegee word oor ander mense se lewens en menswees nie.

E: nee, jy kan nie.

C: ek besef dit self. ek kan nie.

C: *There is still a lot I don't understand. That is a fact. I acknowledge it. I argue with myself. But it is going better. I have to find out for myself where I will draw the line between right and wrong. It is a fine line.*

E: *And it is not always a clear line.*

C: *No, it is not, but I will. What must I do to be acceptable in society? It doesn't matter who says what. If someone offends me, what will be acceptable? I can't always walk away. [...] What is important to me, how to approach things. At the end of the day, everything is about me and my children; it doesn't matter if it is the ANC or the AWB in power. For me, it is about me and my two children. We must be able to have a life. We must be able to live peacefully. Dad must not be drunk {crying}. I am so sorry about that. (11)*

E: *It happened so often.*

C: *Yes. (6) Who and what am I? I don't want to be that monster {crying}. I want to be a good father for my children. (4) I want to be a good friend to someone outside. I want to meet a woman and I want to get along with her. [...] The lust for blood. How do you get rid of it? It became a way of life. It became a way of life. You cannot tell me that if you were in those circumstances for twelve years and you had that lust for blood, that you would just. It was a way of life. That lust for blood. Sometimes I still crave it.*

E: *Yes, I know, even though it upsets you.*

C: *Even though it upsets me, even if it frightens me. But I think it is so bad because I am so frightened by it. I am so frightened because I know I crave it. [...] I have remorse, I cannot continue like I have been. The medication can help to suppress the experiences and thus control them, but you have to reason out the thoughts. You have to reason, and fight*

and argue. That is how I see it. The medication helps, but it doesn't solve my problem. It is like alcohol, it cannot solve my problem. I have to sort it out in my head, I have to get it right. I have to reason it out, fight. Talk about it, talk it through. Otherwise how will you ever get rid of it? The things which worry me and others, you have to talk, to understand why it was one way at a specific time and different at another time. Why were you like this at one time and different at another? Why can I show empathy now, but not then? Why do I have remorse now, but at the time I had none? Why can I now feel love and give, but at that time I could not? Everything returns to the SAP, SAP. It is training, indoctrination, treatment. [...] One cannot create a paradise, in South Africa things will not be better immediately. Like inside me, everything cannot get better at once. [...] I can never again be given such a free reign over other people's lives and humanity.

E: *No, you can't.*

C: *I realise that. I can't.*

Conclusions

Both he and I have changed the positions from which we speak dramatically in these interviews. Charl initially positions himself as someone who plays games and outwits authorities. He extends this behaviour once he joins the police. I join him in enjoying his stories of pranks he engaged in. This leads to a feeling of companionship and he eventually starts to tell me of the atrocities he was involved in. He shows little remorse and explains how they often continued to outwit the authorities. As times he appears to speak with pride of their achievements. He had enormous power and the authorities appear to have actively protected him at times. At other times they turned a blind eye. His only remorse centres on his children. He indicates that he played two roles at home – the compassionate and long-suffering husband and the person who drank and worked, rather than being at home. At work he also demonstrated these dual roles; expressing horror and immense compassion for the people in the V explosion while torturing and killing people.

In working with Charl I have to challenge my identity. I discuss the process in Chapter 8. Eventually I have the courage to challenge Charl with what he has done. In the process he experiences me as torturing and interrogating him. He is obedient and gives up his secrets. He acknowledges that he started enjoying torture; that he liked what he did. Although he had symptoms of PTSD at this stage, he appears to have controlled them to some extent with drinking and by participating in violence. After his wife died and he could no longer routinely assault suspects, he started looking for alternative ways to be violent. This resulted in numerous bar fights and assaults on illegal immigrants. He began enacting his fantasies of attempting to kill these people and eventually realised that he had to go on sick leave.

He confesses, with great difficulty, to the remorse he feels. This confession is difficult as it removes his power and he cannot rationalise his behaviour any longer. He can no longer joke about what he has done. He enters a complicated world where he has to face that he at times tortured innocent people simply to satisfy his own needs. He also expresses his racism, and acknowledges that he to be different. He is extremely disappointed in the SAPS who have essentially abandoned him. Charl's life has been turned upside down. He is no longer sure of things which he was certain of; that which was bad is good; and good is bad. People he thought were there for him are not. These are enormous adjustments to make, and they impact on his experience of himself in a myriad of ways. He repeatedly attempts to construct a unified narrative in which all of his behaviour can be explained, by returning to incidents over and over again.

As he indicates his remorse for the perpetration he was involved in, I am able to show compassion for him and to begin to understand what he is confronting. Charl has positioned himself as a man with contrition for his behaviour and through that contrition he is no longer able to act with impunity. He knows he is capable of extreme evil.

CHAPTER 7

DAWID: DIALOGIC ANALYSIS

Dawid is a white, Afrikaans male who was referred by his psychiatrist for individual psychotherapy when he was hospitalised for the second time in 2007. He was 35 years old at the time and had been hospitalised following a fairly serious overdose. He had been hospitalised the previous month for three weeks, but had not seen a psychologist. He joined the SAP in 1991 and due to the large intake that year, was sent to Maleoskop (used for counter-insurgency training) for training. At the first session it was clear that he had numerous conflicts regarding training and work. He has mainly worked at a small station close to Gauteng. It is in a rural area which also has some specialised industries. He is married with three children. After I had known him for a few months, I approached him to participate in this research.

He has been diagnosed with severe PTSD and a severe, recurrent major depressive disorder. He has had various hospitalisations for alcohol abuse. He stopped drinking approximately six months after I started seeing him. Up until stopping drinking he had numerous episodes of serious acting out, which included disappearing from home, binge drinking and gambling. He often threatened to commit suicide, had other suicide attempts; and on numerous occasions threatened to kill his family. These threats were serious; he has directed firearms at his wife and children. He had also been involved in many assaults of bar patrons and had fired off numerous rounds of ammunition (approximately 150) in a built-up area. He had previously been promiscuous, but said that was no longer a problem. He had a third emergency admission to hospital at the end of 2007. During this admission he had electro-convulsive therapy. He returned to non-operational work early in 2008 and operational work a few months later.

I recorded some sessions prior to asking him to formally tell his life story. I have incorporated some of these recordings into the narrative I have

constructed. They commenced in August 2007 and were not done at fixed intervals. The main narrative was started during his third hospitalisation despite the possibility of amnesia due to electro-convulsive therapy (ECT). I will discuss the reasons for this decision later in this chapter. I gave him the transcriptions of those sessions to read, approximately six months after the recording, and he has accepted them as reflective of his views. The section recorded during hospitalisation refers mainly to his early years growing up. Later periods of his life story were recorded over a period of approximately six months. It had to be spaced out, due to the nature of the material. Intervening sessions were used to deal with issues which arose as a result of telling the story, as well as other material issues such as employment and family relationships and so on. It will be clear that our interaction has changed dramatically over the period. Dawid gave his full cooperation and I have often had to pace the interviews and sessions as he would often confront more than is comfortable or wise in a session.

The genogram (Figure 7.1) on the following page uses the system suggested by McGoldrick and Gerson (1985).

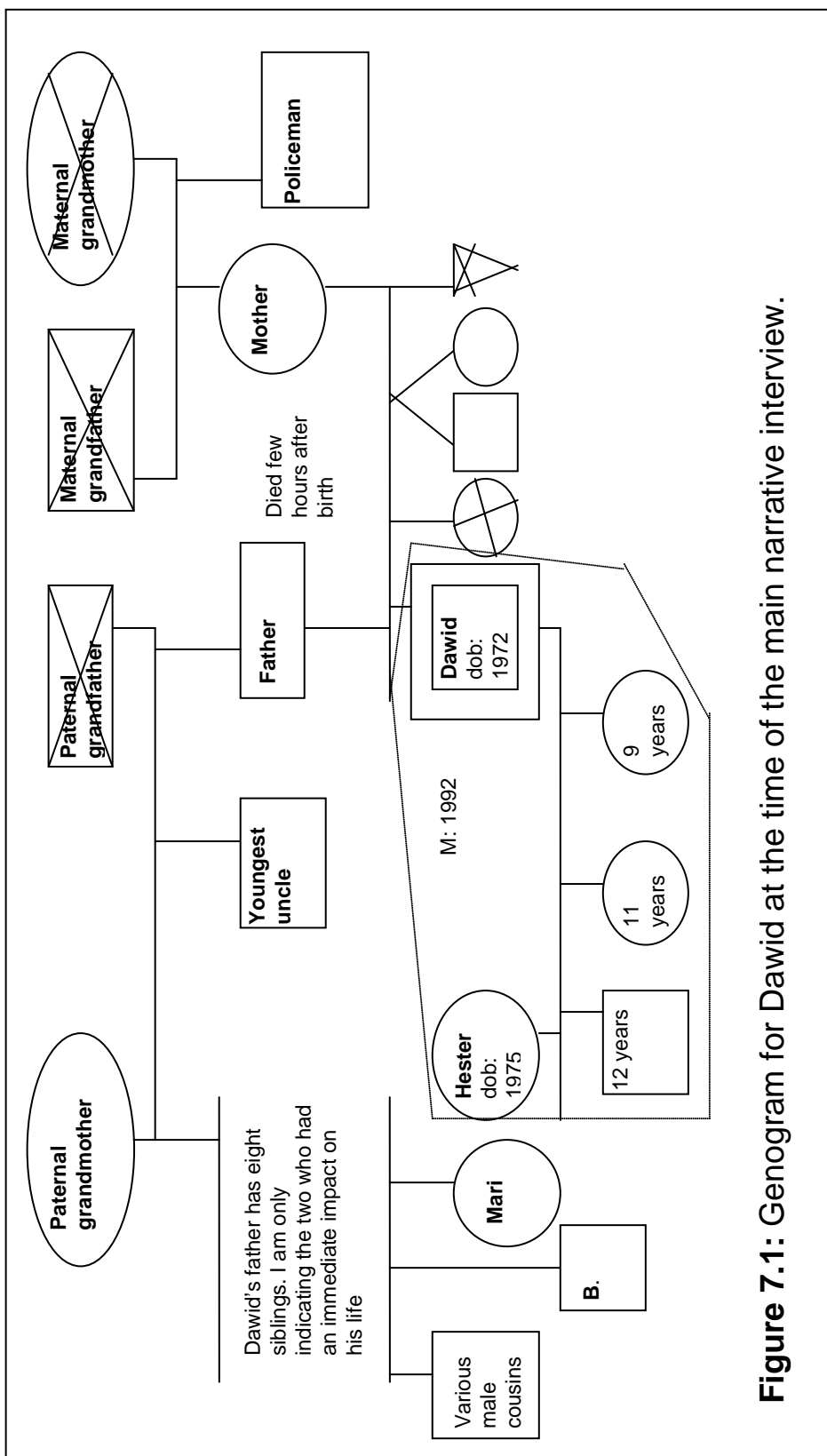


Figure 7.1: Genogram for Dawid at the time of the main narrative interview.

I followed the same process as with Adriaan and Charl, and again divided the narrative into episodes and characters (Wortham, 2001). This is included as Table 1 in Appendix F. I have divided the narrative into the sections listed in Table 4 in Appendix F.

Dawid mentions 82 characters in his narrative. They are listed in Table 2 in Appendix F. He tends to mention important characters more often. I have created six groups which appear to share characteristics and are important in his narrative. I have on occasion listed groups as characters, when he appeared to use them in this way; for example the group “family” contains various family members. It is clear, already on a cursory examination that his family and the police are important in his narrative.

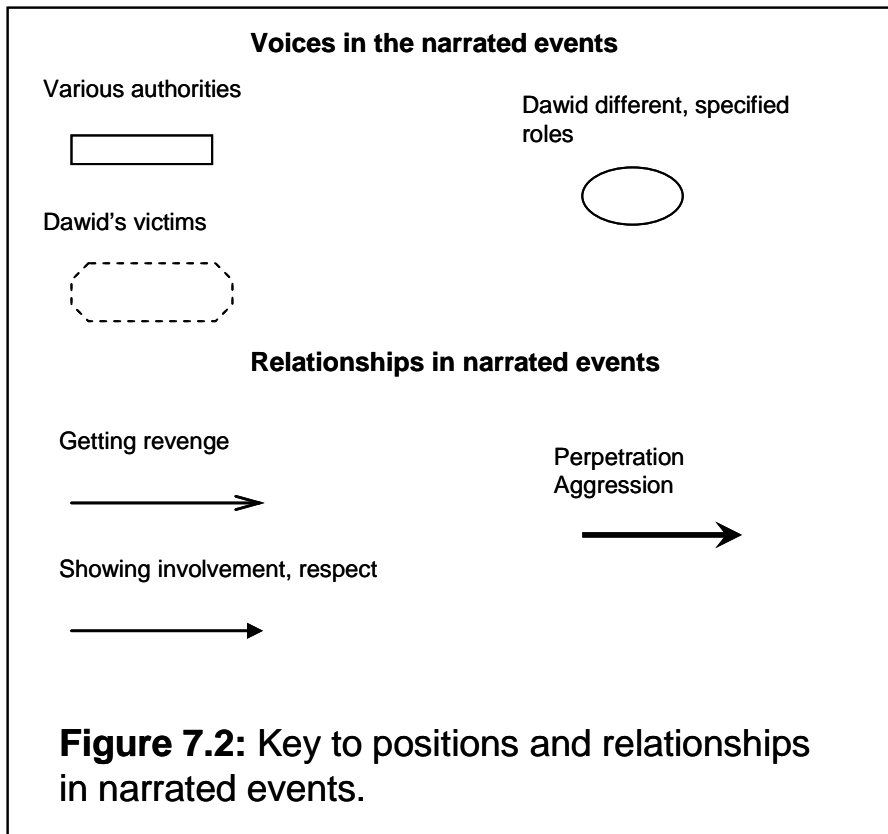
I followed Wortham’s (2001) suggestion to examine the ways in which he has positioned himself and others throughout the narrative. Table 3 in Appendix F lists the ways in which he has positioned himself. He takes in a number of recurrent positions; he loves his family, he needs acknowledgement and is cooperative or pleasing towards me. These are reflected in Table 3 in Appendix F.

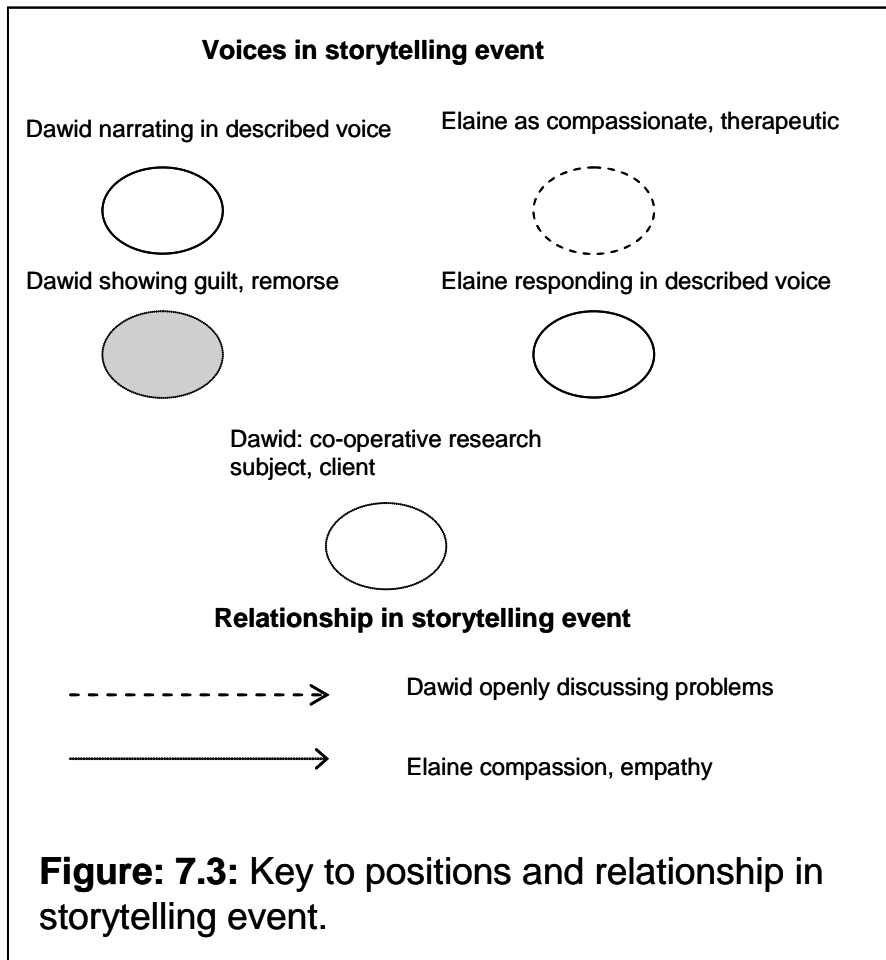
In this analysis, I will focus on incidents which appear to be pivotal and do not discuss everything that he has said. In presenting and discussing Dawid’s narrative, a number of factors had to be taken into consideration. He tends to intersperse his narrative with introspection. I have retained a lot of his introspection as it shows the different ways he positions himself in an attempt to create meaning and identity. There were also a number of important breaks in the narrative. These were generally occasions in the ongoing psychotherapy, when he disclosed information about himself which impacted dramatically on the narrative he was telling and our interaction. I have tried to present the material chronologically in terms of his life history. I have not always been consistent in doing this. It may be useful to view the process with him as two separate narratives: his life story and our interaction. Depending on the nature of the material, I have on occasion had

his and my ongoing therapeutic narrative take pre-eminence above the chronology of his life story.

I will when the positioning between him and me changes, present the flow in the conversation that has led to the changes. It is the first time he has put some thoughts in words as well as shared his experiences with someone, and there is often a therapeutic aspect to the interaction. I have included it, as it is very revealing of the difficulties he is experiencing, especially around his perpetration.

As with Adriaan and Charl I am giving the original Afrikaans which indicates all the verbal utterances and pauses. The transcription conventions are listed in Table 2 in Appendix C. I follow the Afrikaans with an English translation which is given with emphasis on the readability. In the translation I only indicate pauses of two seconds or longer. They are placed approximately in the correct context, as it is often difficult to place them exactly in a translation. In Figure 7.2 I give the key for the shapes which I use to indicate the positions Dawid takes in the narrative; the positions he gives the main protagonists are also given different shapes; the nature of the relationship between the protagonists is also indicated. In Figure 7.3 I provide the symbols which I use to indicate the positions he and I are taking as well as the nature of the relationship. This refers to the storytelling event, which is the relationship between him and me. At times I connect the storytelling event to the narrated event, when it is clear that he is enacting that which he is narrating.





The Period Before Joining the SAP

Dawid, as I mentioned earlier, often intersperses his narrative with introspection. With the exceptions of the noted episodes in which he engages in introspection (Table 4 in Appendix F) the first 34 episodes cover the period during which he grew up and before he joined the police. He mentions 32 characters; the most important are family members. His parents have often been involved in his problems and his father has often had to intervene in his bingeing episodes. I was fairly well acquainted with his early history, before recording this section. I have added in some sections from earlier sessions where I thought the information would assist in understanding his comments.

We had agreed on taping his life story and I initiated this section by asking where he had been born. He replies (Episode 1):

D: ek is soos ek dit verstaan is ek gebore in X. ek verstaan ek is gebore in die R hospitaal. dis 'n staatshospitaal gewees. ek was nogal uh uh in die opset van 'n probleembaba hulle sê 'n instrumentbaba. sovê ek weet né het ek het 'n ek 'n baie en dis die gevoel wat ek kry en dis hoe die mense ook praat was ek die eerste kleinkindseun in die familie aan my ma se kant asook aan my pa se kant. maar my ma se ouers en familie is 'n baie hegte familie gewees. ek vat byvoorbeeld soos my ma moes haar ma elke aand sien. dit was 'n verskriklike hegte band. en intendeel my pa se familie is baie los. hy kon nie uit sy eie ma se yskas iets gaan uithaal nie. verstaan wat ek try sê?

D: As I understand, I was born in X. I understand I was born in the R hospital, a state hospital. I was a problem baby, in that I was an instrument delivery. As far as I know, I was, it's a feeling I get and that is how people also talk about it, I was the first male grandchild in the family on my mother's side as well as on my father's side of the family. My mother's parents and family were very close. For example my mother had to see her mother every evening. They were very close. In contrast, my father's family was not close. For example he couldn't take something to eat out of his own mother's fridge. Do you understand what I'm trying to say?

He initiates his story by embedding himself in an extended family. He implies that he was a wanted child. He was the first male grandchild on both sides of the family. He explains that his maternal grandmother spoilt him (section not quoted). He expresses hatred of his paternal grandmother (section not quoted) whom he describes as a witch. His hatred of her will be expanded on later. He explains that he was an extremely happy child for the first two or three years of his life. He illustrates what he is saying by telling about his first birthday. In a few words we have a picture of a small, happy boy (Episode 3):

D: my pa het vir my 'n koek gebring. ek onthou dit. my pa het vir my 'n chocolate koek gebring. en ek het in die modder so in die hoek van die erf ek onthou daar was baie grond en baie water. en ek het net 'n doek aangehad. ek het daai koek oor myself met modder en water gemeng en geëet en dit was verskriklik ek onthou dit as 'n verskriklike lekker tyd.

***D:** My father brought me a cake. I remember it. My father brought me a chocolate cake. I sat in the mud in the corner of the yard, I remember a lot of soil and water, I only had a nappy on. I mixed that cake over myself with mud and water. I remember it as an extremely happy time.*

He contrasts this with the story of his mother giving birth to a girl who died a few hours after birth. He, in the telling, positions himself as empathetic (Episode 4):

D: soos my pa praat en ek al geluister het kan ek die hartseer in sy stem hoor en my ma sin. [...] soos my pa praat hy sê sy was 'n beaut. hy sê 'n pragtige klein dogtertjie. babatjie lang swart hare. as hy praat kan ek hoor aan sy stem dis vir hom, baie moeilik om daaroor te praat.

***D:** As my father tells it and I have listened, I can hear the sadness in his voice, as well as my mother's. [...] My father says she was beautiful. She had baby long black hair. When he talks I can hear it is hard for him to talk about it.*

He is positioning himself very strongly as a man who is part of a family. He describes a family with shared memories. He is empathetic and is aware of his parents' pain, even many years after the death of their daughter. The way he positions himself initially is in stark contrast to the behaviour I have described, which he has been exhibiting the last number of years. He goes on to talk more about his father (Episode 5):

D: as ek aan my pa dink. en ek sien en ek sien sy gesig so voor my, en ek sien sy liggaam en sy bou en ek ruik hom en ek experience hom dis die (2) mees wonderlikste (2) mees blyste mees trotse gevoel wat 'n kind seker kan hê. {tearful}

E: um um

D: ek aanbid die grond waarop my pa loop al dink hy partykeer ek is fucked up of ek doen dom dinge.

E: dis deel van wat dit so moeilik maak.

D: daar's niemand in my lewe né wat 'n groter invloed het of vir wie ek meer respek het as vir my pa nie. {crying} niemand. daar is niemand nie.

***D:** When I think of my father and I see his face in front of me; and his body and his build and smell him and experience him, it is the (2) most wonderful, (2) happiest, proudest feeling a child can have {tearful}.*

***E:** Um um.*

***D:** I worship the ground on which my father walks even though he thinks I'm fucked up and that I do stupid things.*

***E:** That is part of what makes it difficult.*

***D:** No one in my life has a greater impact than my father has. There is no one I respect more than my father. {crying} No one. No one.*

He is very emotional at times in this interview. He knew the family was extremely disappointed in him and confused by his behaviour. He gives some indication of the confusion he himself is experiencing in saying how important his father is to him and yet acknowledging that he is a disappointment to his father. When considering how he has placed himself within an extended family, it starts to become clear that his behaviour was not part of the family culture. I ask him to tell more about his father and he says (Episode 6):

D: weet jy (4) hy is 'n ou toe hy kleiner was hy baie bright baie slim gewees. en ongelukkig vir hom het hy in die verkeerde familie gebore geraak. sy ma was iemand wat baie in die bed gelê het siek. of die

speelsiek rîrig siek was ek ek my eerlike opinie speelsiek want haar een dogter is presies dieselfde. my pa moes van kleinsaf sy boeties en sussies grootmaak en daar was agt van hulle. [...] dan moes hulle gaan jag het om vleis in die pot in te kry om te kan eet. kyk my pa kyk my pa het hard gewerk van kleinsaf. kyk daai twaalftand spoorwegvurke né daai goed is so fokken swaar ek kan daai goed nie eers optel nie. moes hulle van kleinsaf het hulle stukwerk gekry. as sy pa by die huis kom en daai werk is nie gedoen nie daai grond is nie omgespit nie né is hulle gebliksem. nie bietjie nie. ordentlik. (6)

D: You know (4) he is, he was very bright, very intelligent when younger. Unfortunately for him he was born into the wrong family. His mother would lie in bed, sick. I don't know if it was pretend sick or really sick. I suspect pretend sick as her one daughter does the same thing. My father had to raise his brothers and sisters and there were eight of them. [...] They had to hunt for food so that they could eat. Look, my father, my father worked hard from young. Those twelve tooth railway forks are so fucking heavy, I can't even lift them. From young they had piece work. When his father got home and the work was not done, the soil was not dug over, they were beaten. Not just a bit, properly. (6)

This is a family who tell stories. He knows these stories about his father, some of which he appears to have heard from his paternal grandmother. He has immense admiration for his father. In this and following sections he describes him as hard-working; self-sacrificing, responsible, physically strong, a good sportsman and intelligent. He says he identifies with his father, but he has already indicated that he is a disappointment and does not live up to expectations. He goes on to express anger that his father's siblings give him no recognition or acknowledgement for what he had done for them. I am quoting from an earlier session, in which he had spoken of the same issue and he had described his response to them (Episode 7):

D: hulle ken my pa nie eers nie. verstaan wat ek try sê? dis daai dis 'n verskriklike (2) dis 'n obsessie vir my. ek is om vir hulle te wys fok julle. dis nie net hulle dis om vir die hele lewe te wys luister ek(1) ek is 'n wenner. fok julle almal. kom try my ek sal jou uitsort.

***D:** They don't even know my father. Do you understand what I am trying to say? It's that it's terrible; (2) it's an obsession for me to show them fuck you. It is not just to show them, it is to show the world I am a winner. Fuck you all. Try me. I'll sort you out.*

He takes on his father's hurt as his own and is extremely resentful. His response is to prove himself as good enough. He returns to his anger with his paternal grandmother. His father left him with them when his mother lost her little girl (Episode 10):

D: my ander ouma is te oud om na my te kyk. so toe moes die ou fokken bitch ding na my kyk. dis toe ek die pakslae kry.

E: dis toe jy die mat aan die brand gestee het.

D: waar ek die mat aan die brand gestee het. en waar ek die moerse pakslae gekry het en waar ek fokken gedwing is om kos te eet. sy het my alleen in 'n kamer gelos toe steek ek haar mat aan die brand, met 'n met 'n heater en papier. toe bliksem sy die rook uit my uit. maar sy was nie daar om toesig te hou. toe bliksem sy my. en sy loop en spog daaroor dat sy my 'n pakslae gegee het. die eerste keer. [dis dinge soos daai en sy

E: [hoe oud was jy?

loop en spog daaroor

D: dat sy my 'n pakslae gegee het. die eerste keer. fok twee of drie. drie. daar rond.

E: dis nie asof jy dit kwaadwillig gedoen het nie.

D: exactly. die kak is as mense saam sit hulle praat oor die kleinkinders en wat wat wat wat. hulle dink dis 'n grap. dis nie vir my 'n grap nie.

D: My other grandmother was too old to look after me, so the old fucking bitch had to. That is when I got the hiding.

E: When you set the carpet alight.

D: When I set the carpet alight. And where I got the huge hiding and where I was forced to eat food. She had left me alone in a room and I set her carpet alight using a piece of paper and a heater. She beat me. She wasn't there to supervise me and so she beat me. She boasts about giving me a hiding, the first one. [Things like that she

E: [How old were you?

D: boasts about giving me a hiding. The first one. Fuck two or three. Three. About that.

E: It is not as though you did it with malice.

D: Exactly. The shit is that when people sit and talk about the grandchildren and so on, they think it is a joke. I don't think it is a joke.

He is very angry with his paternal grandmother, partially because she humiliated him. He concludes (section not quoted) that his grandmother took pleasure in hurting him, describing her as sadistic. The next section is taken from a session recorded about a week before the interviews in which we started formally recording his life story. He was attempting to explain some of his behaviour (Episode 11):

D: my vrou sal, kom en vir my sê, nee of dis genoeg, of jy sal nie. dis drie woorde, wat sy in haar lewe nooit moet gebruik nie. want dit maak my ek sal sommer reguit sê dit maak my rubbish. elke gryntjie in my liggaam is ek voluit voluit voluit soos in fokken radikaal teen haar. ek sal fokken voor haar kak aanvang. ek sal nie omgee nie. net om vir haar te wys jy fokken sê nie vir my nee nie. jy sê nie vir sal nie sê nie vir my fokken kan nie meer nie genoeg. daai tipe van ding ek haat dit. asof daar haat in my is. dis 'n baie diepgesetelde tipe van 'n, haat en dit loop saam met die wen ook. ek kan voel die twee is gekoppel aan mekaar. um in die sense van as ek vir jou kan verduidelik volgens my ouma kan ek nooit hierdie hierdie hierdie hierdie ou wees nie. of hierdie hierdie fokken kleinseun. of ek weet

nie wat nie. en en ek koppel dit aan haar aan haar oorheersing van my oupa ook. so so dis 'n gevoel wat ek kry die wen en die haat loop diep in 'n mate saam. dis moeilik om te verduidelik.

***D:** My wife will come to me and say: “No!” or “It’s enough!” or “You won’t!” Those are three words she must never use. It makes me, I’ll say it directly, it makes me bad. Every cell in my body I’m fully, fully, fully like fucking radically against her. I will fucking cause shit in front of her. I won’t care. Just to show her, you won’t fucking say “No” to me, you won’t fucking tell me “Can’t anymore, enough!” That sort of thing. I hate it. It is as though there is hatred in me. It is deep-seated hatred. It goes along with winning. I can feel the two are linked. In the sense that, let me explain, according to my grandmother I couldn’t be this, this, this, this type of person. Or be this type of grandson. Or I don’t know what. And I link it to her domination of my grandfather as well. So I get the feeling that winning and hatred are linked in a deep way. It is hard to explain.*

I will again refer to this section at the end of this chapter. At that stage, he explains his behaviour very differently: In this section he is using well-known beliefs in society that our experiences as children will determine our later behaviour in order to explain his acting out. He is positioning himself as a product of his childhood.

We will discuss more reasons for his hatred of his grandmother later. In the meantime, he again refers to his relationship with his father. He explains (section not quoted), that he struggles to show affection towards his father. In this section, he again indicates how critically important family and extended family is to him. He indicates a strong need for time with and acceptance by his father. I asked whether work had come in the way of them spending time together (Episode 14):

D: hy werk verskriklik hard. hy staan half drie in die oggende op. hy kom sewe uur in die aand by die huis. en wat hy doen is uitmergelende werk.

[...] ek verstaan hy het 'n baie moeilike uitmergelende werk. as ons kuier in die aande maak nie saak wie daar sit nie. agt uur dan sê hy vir jou hy sê jammer mense julle kan bly vir huisgodsdienst. ek gaan nou Bybel vat en dan kan julle maak wat julle wil. julle kan TV kyk. julle kan kuier tot twee uur môre oggend. ek gaan slaap. ek staan half drie in die oggend op.

E: jy het min van jou pa gehad.

D: ek het. ek het. ek kan op een hand tel hoeveel ons gaan visvang het saam. ek dink dis hoekom dit vir my 'n verskriklike intense ding is om my vrou en kinders te laat saam uitkamp.

***D:** He works extremely hard. He gets up at half past two in the mornings. He gets home at seven in the evenings. And he does a backbreaking job. [...] I understand he does an exhausting job. When we visit in the evenings, it doesn't matter who is there, at eight o'clock he says: "Sorry people, you can stay for family devotions. I am now going to read the Bible and you can do what you please. You can watch TV, you can visit until two 'o'clock tomorrow, but I am going to bed. I get up at half past two in the morning.*

***E:** You had little of your father.*

***D:** I did. I did. I can count on one hand how often we went fishing together. I think that is why it is so important for me to have my wife and kids camp with me.*

He mentions a few important things in this excerpt. He again refers to his father's work ethic, which is probably his father's way of showing love towards his family. This has at times been more important than time spent with family. He also mentions that the family is devoutly Christian. Dawid missed his father, and indicates that he recognises the importance of time spent with his family. His behaviour at this time contrasts strongly with how he is positioning himself. He expresses the importance of spending time with his family, but has attempted to kill them, has been unfaithful to his wife, has gambled away their money and has regularly abused alcohol.

At a previous session, when he had said he was afraid of his father, I asked whether acknowledgement by his father was important. He explained (Episode 15):

D: ek ek als wat ek doen is vir erkenning. uh ek het nog nooit in my lewe nie iets gedoen om nie erkenning te kry nie. [...]

E: as jou pa jou uitkak onmiddellik is dit ek word nie erken nie of daar is fout met my. en verder is dit die moontlikheid ek is 'n failure?

D: en dan raak dit fuck you.

E: en jou lewe val uitmekaar?

D: is ja. dit doen.

E: as ons kyk na jou laaste episode.

D: dit het. dis wat gebeur. verstaan jy. as ek (2) in die bek geruk word. ek gaan nie sê uitgekak word nie. net in die bek geruk word.

E: not good enough.

D: ek is nie goed genoeg nie. dan begin dit soos 'n obsessie raak. as dit 'n obsessie raak en ek daaraan dink. ek slaap nie. ek eet nie. ek drink niks nie. ek rook my dood. wie die fok is hulle om my so te behandel? as ek by daai gedeelte uitkom is dit verby. en dan sal ek doen net wat ek wil. ek sal drink. ek dobbel. ek sal net nie meer rondfok nie. dan is ek soos in fuck you all.

D: *Everything I do, I do for acknowledgement. I have never done anything in my life unless it was for acknowledgement. [...]*

E: *And when your father craps on you, immediately you see it as I am not acknowledged, or there is something wrong with me and then the possibility that I am a failure?*

D: *And then I go fuck you.*

E: *And your life falls apart?*

D: *It does, yes.*

E: *If we look at your last episode.*

D: *It did. That's what happens, do you understand? When I'm pulled up, it not even necessary that someone craps on me, just pulls me up.*

E: *Not good enough.*

D: *I'm not good enough. It becomes an obsession. When it becomes an obsession and I think about it, I don't sleep, I don't eat, I don't drink anything. I smoke myself to death. "Who the fuck are they to treat me like this?" By the time I get there, there is no turning back. I will then do just what I please. I'll drink, I'll gamble. I don't fuck around anymore. But my attitude is: "Fuck you all."*

He positions himself strongly during this period as having a catastrophic reaction when he perceives someone as saying he is not doing well enough. The need for acknowledgment plays out in the rest of his narrative and we will return to it repeatedly.

I ask him about his mother and he says (Episode 16):

D: *ek en my ma is baie close. ek en my ma kan hartseer goed uitruil. ons kan lag ons kan gesels. ons kan joke. ek kan sê jy's mal ou vrou. dis my verhouding met my ma.*

E: *dis 'n gemaklike verhouding.*

D: *ons is genuine gemaklik.*

D: *My mother and I are very close. We can share sadness. We can laugh, we can talk, we can joke. I can say: "You're mad, old woman." That is the nature of the relationship I have with my mother.*

E: *It is a comfortable relationship.*

D: *We're genuinely comfortable.*

He goes on to explain that he can take colleagues around to his mother at any time. He, for the first time, brings in race, noting that his mother is not racist and he can bring any colleagues along (Episode 16):

D: ek kan jou nou al my maatjies wit en swart se nommer gee en jy kan hulle vra wie is Dawid se ma. en hulle gaan presies weet waar bly hulle. ons stap in vyf wit tien swart dan staan sy reg. haar borde haar messe haar koppies haar vurke. niks van die onder uit die sink uit soos die ander wit mense maak. almal val neer almal slat neer almal kyk TV. dan sit die swartes by haar en gesels.

***D:** I can give you all my pals', white and black, numbers and you can ask them who D's mother is and they will know where they live. We walk in, five white, ten black and she is ready. Her plates, her knives, her cups, her forks. She doesn't get stuff out from under the sink like other white people do. Everyone falls down in front of the TV. The blacks sit with her and talk.*

He paints a picture of racist whites who even keep separate crockery and cutlery for black people. He is positioning his biological family, especially his mother, as not racist as she does not act like this. He is also not racist and has black friends.

But his mother is not always easy (Episode 17):

D: maar my ma kan baie deurmekaa:r raak. sy het mood swings. sy het op 23 haar baarmoeder verloor. vir bitter baie jare drink drink sy hormoonpille. sy kry hot flushes. en partydae is sy baie moeillik. as ek haar dan net sien dan weet ek my ma is so los haar.

E: hoe is sy dan Dawid?

D: sy is geirriteerd. sy kry warm. sy soek skoor. sy sal sommer jou kop afbyt as jy iets vir haar sê. nie maklik vir ons kinders nie maar vir vreemde mense. sy sal sommer sê fokkof ek is nie lus nie. ek is siek. sy sal in die bed gaan klim. sy sal stilstuipe kry. verstaan jy?

E: hoe lank sal dit duur?

D: dag twee dae drie dae tot haar hormone herstel het.

E: watter impak het daai goed op jou gehad?

D: kom ek wees eerlik. as my ma so geraak het eerste ding het ons klaar die hek gaan oop maak want die meid is weggejaag. sy't haar weggejaag of sy 'n goeie een was of 'n slegte een was. of sy kon stryk of nie kon stryk nie. sy het haar gejaag. na die hek oopgemaak het moes ons hardloop vir ons kaste. dan moet daai kaste eksie perfeksie superskoon. ek het vloere gepolish né. jy kan jou make-up doen so blink was dit. toe ek by die kollege eindig toe kon ek stryk bak klere was kook. jy noem dit en ek kon dit doen. en ek sal nooit in my lewe sê nee dankie. ek vat die dae wat ek weet my ma siek was en ek eet dit op. anytime. ek kan haar nie kwalik neem nie. [...]

E: Dawid as jy gesien het jou ma begin uithaak hoe het dit vir jou gevoel?

D: ek het nie rêrig iets gevoel nie. meer in soos mamma is nie lekker nie. sy is siek. ek het vir haar koffie gaan maak tee aangedra. ek wou haar pampelang. ek het 'n kas gaan regpak. seker gemaak my boetie en sussie is stil. seker gemaak hulle doen hulle huiswerk. dis hoe ek geleer het van jonksaf om my ma te verstaan. eintlik was dit vir my baie lekker om dit te kan doen. dit het ek uit die diepte van my hart gedoen. ek het nooit 'n negatiewe gevoel rondom dit gekry nie. behalwe as sy stilstuipe gekry het as sy in een van daai buie was. vir my ma en my pa buiten miskien my vrou is ek die liefste vir hulle twee. buiten my vrou en kinders. my gesin.

***D:** But my mother can become confused. She has mood swings. She lost her uterus at the age of 23. She has taken hormone tablets for many, many years. She gets hot flushes and sometimes she is very difficult. When I see her I immediately know she's like that, leave her alone.*

***E:** What is she like then D?*

***D:** She is irritable. She is hot. She looks for trouble. She'll bite your head off if you say something. Not easily us children, but strangers. She'll easily say: "Fuck off; I'm not in the mood. I'm sick." She'll get into bed. She'll withdraw. Do you understand?*

***E:** How long will it last?*

***D:** A day, two days, three days. Until her hormones have recovered.*

E: *What impact did it have on you?*

D: *Let me be honest. When my mother was like that, the first day we opened the gate, because the maid was chased away. She chased her away, whether she was good or bad; whether she could iron or could not iron. She chased her away. After opening the gate, we ran for our wardrobes. Those wardrobes had to be absolutely perfect. I polished floors. You could do your make-up in the reflection, it was so shiny. By the time I got to college I could iron, bake, wash clothes, cook. You name it and I could do it. I will never say I wanted it differently. I will take the days my mother was ill. Anytime. I could not blame her. [...]*

E: *When you saw your mother losing it, what did you feel?*

D: *I didn't really feel anything. It was more a case of mom is not ok. She's sick. I would make her coffee, take her tea. I wanted to treat her. I would tidy a cupboard, made sure that my brother and sister were quiet. I made sure they did their homework. From young I learnt to understand my mother. Actually I liked doing it; I did it out of the depth of my heart. I never had a negative feeling about it except when she withdrew. When she was in one of those moods. I love them the most in the world with the possible exception of my wife, my wife and my kids, my family.*

He positions himself again as a caring, loving son who is supportive and learnt to help his mother when she was ill. He was obedient and avoided conflict ensuring that his brother and sister were quiet and did their homework. His siblings are three years younger than him. They are twins; both did not do well scholastically. They are both married and he is close to them. At school he often protected them. As quoted earlier, his mother lost a child between him and his brother and sister; she lost another child after his brother and sister's birth. He had explained at an earlier session that his grandmother had told his father that she would see to it that the children were removed as his mother was repeatedly in hospital and his father was often away, working. He experienced panic at the thought (as an adult) and this threat probably contributed to him being a good, helpful and pleasing child.

The background he is describing, the way he speaks of his parents, the love he expresses towards his family contrast sharply with a man who has repeatedly in the past, and will again in a few weeks time, threaten to kill his wife and children.

He, however, hates his paternal grandmother. There are good reasons for his hatred for her beyond those he has already mentioned. He was sexually abused by his paternal uncle who lived with his mother (Dawid's grandmother). He experienced this uncle as his grandmother's favourite son. He was especially vulnerable because she believed children should not be seen or heard and on weekly visits to her, the children were sent outside to be with their uncle. He ventriloquists her in the following excerpt. When he first mentioned the sexual abuse he became extremely upset. At the time of this interview we had spent a fair amount of time on it. He had experienced extremely severe abreactions during the sessions we devoted to the sexual abuse. I ask about it (Episode 18):

D: normaalweg Sondae partydae Saterdag sou ons by my ouma D gaan kuier. my oom was agt jaar ouer as ek. my niggie-hulle {Mari} het op daai stadium ook in X gebly. sy was soos in hoe kan dit stel ek was verskriklik lief vir haar.

E: julle is ongeveer dieselfe ouderdom?

D: sy is dieselfe ouderdom. ons het twee of drie mande verskil. sy as neef en niggie. ons was verskriklik vir mekaar van mekaar gehou. ouma het haar ook half nie lekker behandel nie. sou ons Sondae daar kom kinders word nie gesien nie kinders word nie gehoor nie. kinders moet fokken weg wees voor die grootmense. ons sou onder die boom speel. dan sou hy ons invat. sê hy gaan nou in die kamer sit en bietjie musiek luister. ek sal dit nooit vergeet nie Suzi Quatro se CD het net uitgekome she's in love with you it is all she wants to do. ek weet nie of jy die song ken nie?

E: ek ken dit.

D: daai song het net uitgekome of hit status bereik of iets. ek weet hy het die tape of plaat gehad. dan is daai ding kliphard. as daai ding kliphard is sal hy ons twee aan ons privaatdele vat en voel te kere gaan.

***D:** Generally on Sundays, sometimes on Saturdays we would visit Granny D. My uncle was eight years older than me. My cousin {Mari} also lived in X at that stage. She was, how can I put it? I loved her very much.*

***E:** You are about the same age.*

***D:** We are the same age. We differ by two or three months. We loved each other as cousins; we liked each other. Grandmother also didn't treat her well. When we got there on Sundays, children were not seen, children were not heard. Children must fucking get away from the adults. We would play under the tree and he would take us inside. He would say he is going to sit in the room and listen to music. I'll never forget, Suzi Quatro's CD had just come out, "She's in love with you. It's all she wants to do." Do you know the song?*

***E:** I know it.*

***D:** That song had just come out or had achieved hit status. I know he had the tape or record and it would be very loud. When that thing was playing very loudly he would touch our private parts and feel us and so on.*

The sexual abuse started when he was approximately four or five. He connects it to places where they lived. It continued a number of years until circumstances changed and his uncle went to the army. His uncle had also lived with them at one stage. It was compounded by his uncle forcing him and Mari to explore each other sexually. He was explicitly taught to stimulate her sexually. Interestingly in the light of what he later got involved in, he was taught to perpetrate from a very young age. His uncle raped Mari and attempted to anally penetrate him (section not quoted). He also observed his uncle sexually abusing their domestic worker (section not quoted). He tried to avoid the abuse (Episode 23):

E: gaan vir my terug Dawid. jy het siek geword om nie te gaan na jou ouma toe?

D: ja fok ek het siek geword. ek het seker, dis moeilik om te verduidelik soos my hande nou so lyk het daar wit knoppe op my hande uitgeslaan. of dit stres was of 'n rêrige siekte was. my ma-hulle het my dokter toe gevat. die dokter het vir hulle gesê ek mag nie kaas eet nie ek is allergies vir suiwelprodukte en en en. dis hoekom my hande so swel en wat wat wat. hy praat toe kak want ek weet wat ek gedoen het. ek was nie siek nie. ek het so gemaak. ek het my hande so vasgedruk fisies so. jy sal nou sien as ek dit so begin doen. kyk hulle begin klaar. sien jy. dan raak jy net so. dan is ek siek. verstaan wat ek try sê. dis wat ek gedoen het. ek wou nie daarentoe gaan nie.

E: *Go back for me Dawid. You became ill to avoid going to your grandmother.*

D: *Yes, fuck it. I became sick. I had, it is difficult to explain. The way my hands look now, there were white bumps on my hands. Was it stress or a real illness? My parents took me to the doctor. He said I may not eat cheese; that I am allergic to dairy and that is why my hands are swelling and so on and so on. He was talking shit. I know what I did. I wasn't sick. I did this. I would put pressure on my hands like this. You'll see when I do it now. Look, they are starting. Do you see? Then it would get like that. Then I would be sick. Understand what I'm saying. That is what I did. I didn't want to go.*

He depicts himself as caught up in the abuse with no way out of it. He attempted to play sick, but that did not help. He made other attempts to get away from the abuse, including hiding when he knew they were going to visit his grandmother. None worked. The abuse continued for a number of years, until circumstances changed. He was often frightened as his uncle had threatened to kill or mutilate him if he told anyone of the abuse.

He and Mari later had a sexual relationship when they were both in high school. He and one of his male cousins as well as he and his sister also explored each other sexually.

He eventually took his revenge on his uncle (Episode 22):

D: ek het sy vrou gespyker toe ek standerd sewe standerd agt agt toe spyker ek die kak uit haar uit. om hom terug te kry. dis wat gebeur het. ek het hom teruggekry. [...] sy't gesê ek spyker lekkerder as haar man. wow ek is standerd agt. ek het haar gespyker elke dag. [...] maar ek het nog nooit hom kon bliksem om hom terug te kry. dis eintlik wat ek wil hê.

E: dis eintlik wat jy wil hê.

D: dis eintlik wat ek soek. die die die steek van sy vrou en dat ek vir my nefies ook uitgedeel het my neef B wat in 'n spesiale skool was, wat ouma drome voor gebou het en toe maak hy niks daarvan nie. is toe in 'n spesiale skool toe gee ek hom vir haar ook of haar vir hom ook. en die se maatjie F. ons al drie het by hulle gekuier. ons het haar doodgenaai man. dood.

***D:** I screwed his wife when I was in standard seven, standard eight, eight. I screwed the shit out of her to get him back. That is what happened. I got him back. [...] She said I screwed better than he did. Wow. I was in standard eight. I screwed her everyday. [...] I could never thrash him to get him back. That's actually what I wanted.*

***E:** That is actually what you wanted.*

***D:** That is actually what I wanted. Fucking his wife and I gave her to my cousins as well. Cousin B who was in a special school and for whom Grandmother built dreams and he did nothing with them and was in a special school. I gave her to him and to his friend F. The three of us visited there. We fucked her to death. Dead.*

A frightening story. He acted out his aggression, his need for revenge against his uncle and grandmother on his uncle's wife. He also got his

revenge on a cousin, whom his grandmother had favoured, by involving him sexually with her. He previously told me that he suspected that one of his uncle's children was actually fathered by one of his cousin's friends. We now have a very different picture from the loving, empathetic, pleasing child whom he depicted earlier.

He and I have often spoken of the effects of the sexual abuse. When I ask now he replies (Episode 26):

E: wat dink jy het hierdie goed aan jou gedoen?

D: in my kop mal gemaak. in die eerste plek my seksueel wakker gemaak la:nk la:nk la:nk voor ek moes. dis hoekom ek seksueel fokken mal is. [...]

E: *What do you think these things did to you?*

D: *Made me mad. First of all, made me aware of sexuality far, far, far too early. That is why I am sexually fucking crazy.*

In an earlier session we had talked about this and he had said (Episode 26):

D: die feit dat ek die vroumense wen. en kyk dis mooi vrouens dis nie lelike vrouens nie. kom ek daarby uit dat ek my ouma in my hart in my brein nog in my gemoed wys ek kan die beste kry wat ek wil hê. en ek dink dieselfde opset met die vrouens. dis vir my 'n tipe van 'n hoe kan ek dit stel die regte woord wat ek soek (6) normaal soos in (2) my oom ek probeer hom wys jy weet jy het my opgefok maar ek is goed genoeg om te kry wat ek wil hê.

E: vat dit 'n vlak verder Dawid om dit aan jouself te wys.

D: om vir myself te wys ek is nie so gefok is nie. (4) dis vir my 'n tipe van 'n (2) in groot mate ontvlugting. en die aggressiwiteit wat daarnatoe aanleiding gee dat ek vrouens gaan soek (2) omdat ek baie aggressiwiteit binne in my het teenoor my ouma en my oom gemik. ek dink dis 'n groot rede hoekom ek ek ek sal iemand aanrand. ek dink nie soseer ek sal die ou aanrand omdat dit vir my lekker is om hom aan te rand nie. ek dink ek

rand hom aan (2) om van my frustrasies ontslae te raak wat ek binne my rondra. met die vrouens dan bewys ek iets aan my myself en my ouma en my oom. [...]

E: as jy terugdink aan die seksuele mishandeling wat het dit jou gesê van jouself.

D: {sighs} (6) in die eerste plek het dit my nie as ek nou daaraan dink dit het my seksueel laat twyfel aan wie ek is. is ek 'n man of is ek 'n moffie? wat is ek nou eintlik? en dit het my laat voel ek 'n verloorder want ek kon nie kon nie sê nee en ek kon opstaan daarteen nie. dis 'n gevoel waarvan ek nie gehou het nie. dat ek gebruik word misbruik word. [...] weet jy ek het nog (2) (hhh) dit sal dalk stupid klink. ek het nog 'n (4) twyfel aan my seksualiteit.

E: natuurlik het jy.

D: ek weet ek is 'n heteroseksuele man. ek is 'n man wat by vrouens slaap. daar is tog daai (3) ek het nog nooit iets anders gedoen verstaan jy van dat ek groot is. maar daar is tog daai kommer van is ek genuine 'n man?

E: en dis waarskynlik deel van die oorwinning van die vrouens.

D: ek bewys ek is 'n man. [...]

D: *The fact that I conquer women, and these are pretty women, not ugly ones. I think I show my grandmother in my heart and brain and mood that I can get the best I want. And I think it is the same with the women; it is, how can I put it, the right word (6), normal. It is as though I am trying to show my uncle: "You know you fucked me up, but I am good enough to get what I want."*

E: *Take it a level further Dawid. To show yourself.*

D: *To show myself I'm not so fucked up. (4) It is, in a way an escape. And the aggression which I have in me, towards my grandmother and my uncle, I think it is a large part of why I will assault someone. I don't think I assault because I enjoy assaulting him, I think I assault him to get rid of my frustrations, which I carry around with me. By getting involved with the*

women, I prove to myself and my grandmother and my uncle. I am comfortable with it. I'm comfortable with the concept. [...]

E: And if you think back to the sexual abuse, what did it tell you about yourself?

D: {sighs} (6) In the first place it didn't; if I think about it now, it made me unsure of my sexual identity. Am I a man or am I queer? What am I? And I felt a failure because I couldn't stand up against it and say "No". I didn't like the feeling of being used. [...] You know at times {laughs} it may sound stupid, I still have doubts concerning my sexuality.

E: Of course you have.

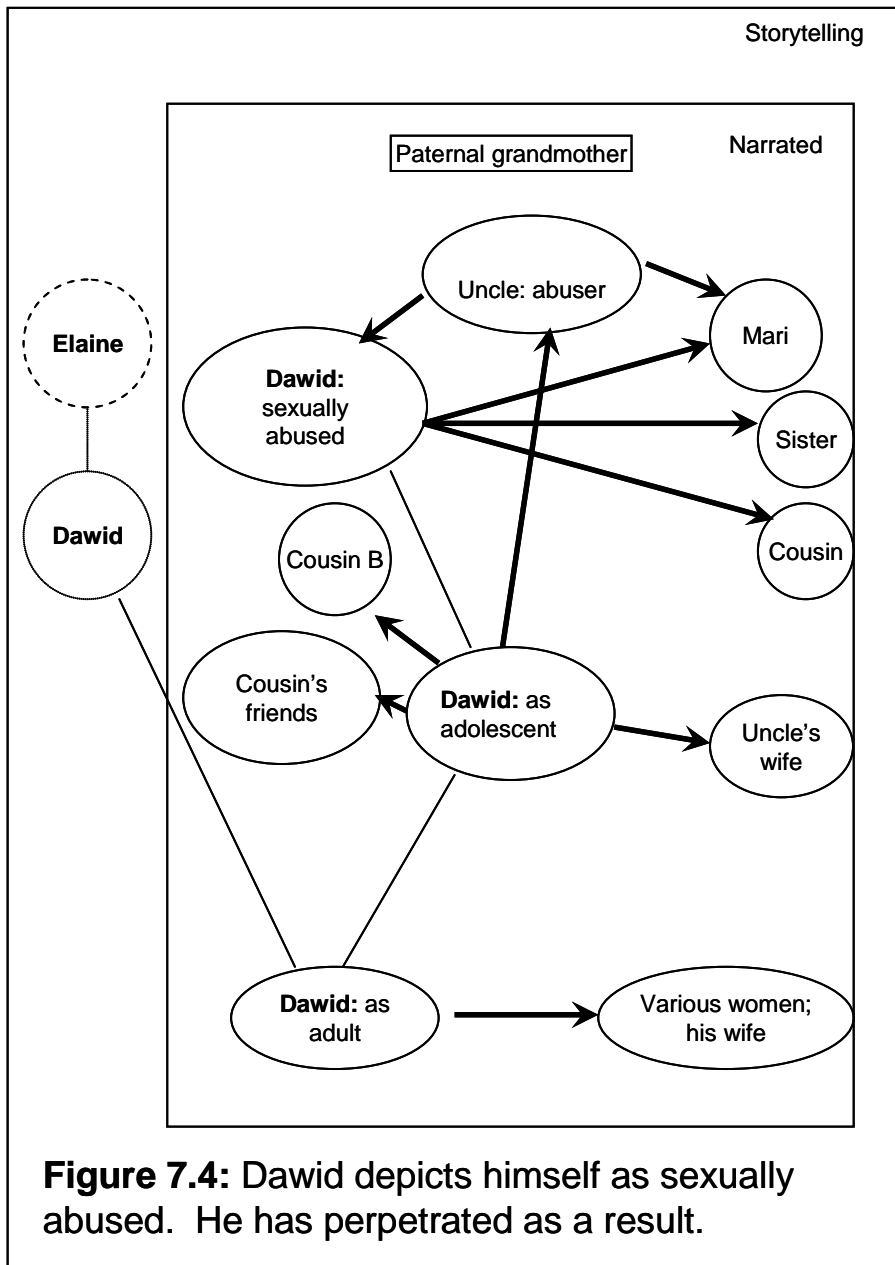
D: I know I am a heterosexual man. I am a man who sleeps with women. But there is still that (3) I have never done anything else, you understand, since I'm an adult, but the worry is there. Am I genuinely a man?

E: It is probably part of why you need to conquer women.

D: To prove I am a man.

He connects the sexual abuse and his hatred towards his uncle and grandmother to his current behaviour, including his aggression. The sexual abuse also seriously affected his relationships with his children. He found it especially difficult to show affection towards his daughters, out of fear that it would be misinterpreted. This had improved dramatically by the time of the interviews.

He has now positioned himself as a damaged child. He has also indicated that his experiences as a child have had and are having a huge impact on his current behaviour. This is a common belief in society, and he and I utilise that belief in our interaction. In Figure 7.4 I depict the impact of the sexual abuse and how he positions himself as a perpetrator as a result thereof.



Dawid enjoyed school (Episode 30):

D: verskriklike goeie juffrouens en menere gehad daar. in atletiek en sport en alles uitgeblink. skolasties redelik goed gedoen. ek het van skool gehou. baie goeie vriende gemaak daar. ek is van standerd vyf af hoërskool met basies dieselfde vriendekring. dis een van die voerskole. ek was skrikkerig gewees om te gaan maar toe ek daar was het ek dit gelike. deur die atletiek en rugby krieket spesiale driipeloton.

D: I had really good teachers there. I did well in athletics and sport and everything. I did reasonably well scholastically. I liked school. I made many friends. I went to high school with the same circle of friends. It was one of the feeder schools. I had some trepidation, but once I was there, I liked it. Athletics, rugby, cricket and the special drill squad.

I ask about the special drill squad and he says (Episode 31):

D: ons het goed gedoen. ons het die SA beker gewen in die hele land. daai tyd het hulle ons nog gedril. as skoolkinders. [...] dit was baie lekker ek het dit geniet. weet jy (1) ek dink dis sulke goed wat gemaak het dat ek polisie toegegaan het.

D: We did well. We won the SA trophy. That time they still drilled us, as schoolchildren. [...] I enjoyed it very much. I enjoyed it. You know, I think it was things like that which made me join the police.

He goes on to mention that it was the discipline which attracted him. He explains how he did things at school (Episode 32):

D: dis die disipline. ek het nog altyd my hele lewe deur ek sien my seun is ook so. [...] ek het van kleinsaf gehardloop. in standerd vyf al het ek al toe hardloop ek agt kilos 'n dag. elke dag. sewe dae 'n week. ek het 'n verskriklike strawwe oefenprogram gehad wat ek slaafs nagevolg het. ek het byvoorbeeld op hoërskool het ek in die oggend het ek vyfuur het ek al begin draf voor ek skool toe gaan. half sewe het ek gaan stort ek trek aan vat my bicycle en dan ry ek skool toe. dan bly ek direk na skool vir oefening atletiekoefening en gim oefening. my ma sê nog gister vir my laaitie sê vir hom jou pa het eers sewe uur half agt in die huis gekom. [...] van daaraf het ek my huiswerk gaan doen, my leerwerk en goed. ek het bitter min TV gekyk. ek was so tot na matriek. ek was so t-t-tot seker vyf jaar na matriek. dit het 'n lewensstyl geword.

D: *It is the discipline. Throughout my life; I see my son is also like that. [...] From young I ran. In standard five I was running eight kilos a day, seven days a week. I had an extremely tough training program which I stuck to religiously. For example at high school I would run at five in the morning before going to school. At half past six I would shower, dress and ride my bicycle to school. After school I would have athletics practice and gym training. My mother was saying to my son yesterday that I only got home at seven or eight in the evening. [...] Then I would do my homework, studying and so on. I hardly watched TV. I did this until after matric. I was like this until about five years after matric. It was a way of life.*

Achievement was important at school, also because it led to acknowledgement (Episode 32):

D: ek het agtergekom as ek iets goed doen word ek geprys en dan is ek die middelpunt van alles. en ek dink dis in 'n groot mate hoekom ek wou uitblink. want hoe meer ek uitblink hoe groter indruk maak ek hoe langer bly ek in iemand se geheue en hoe meer prys hulle my. even met die onnies.

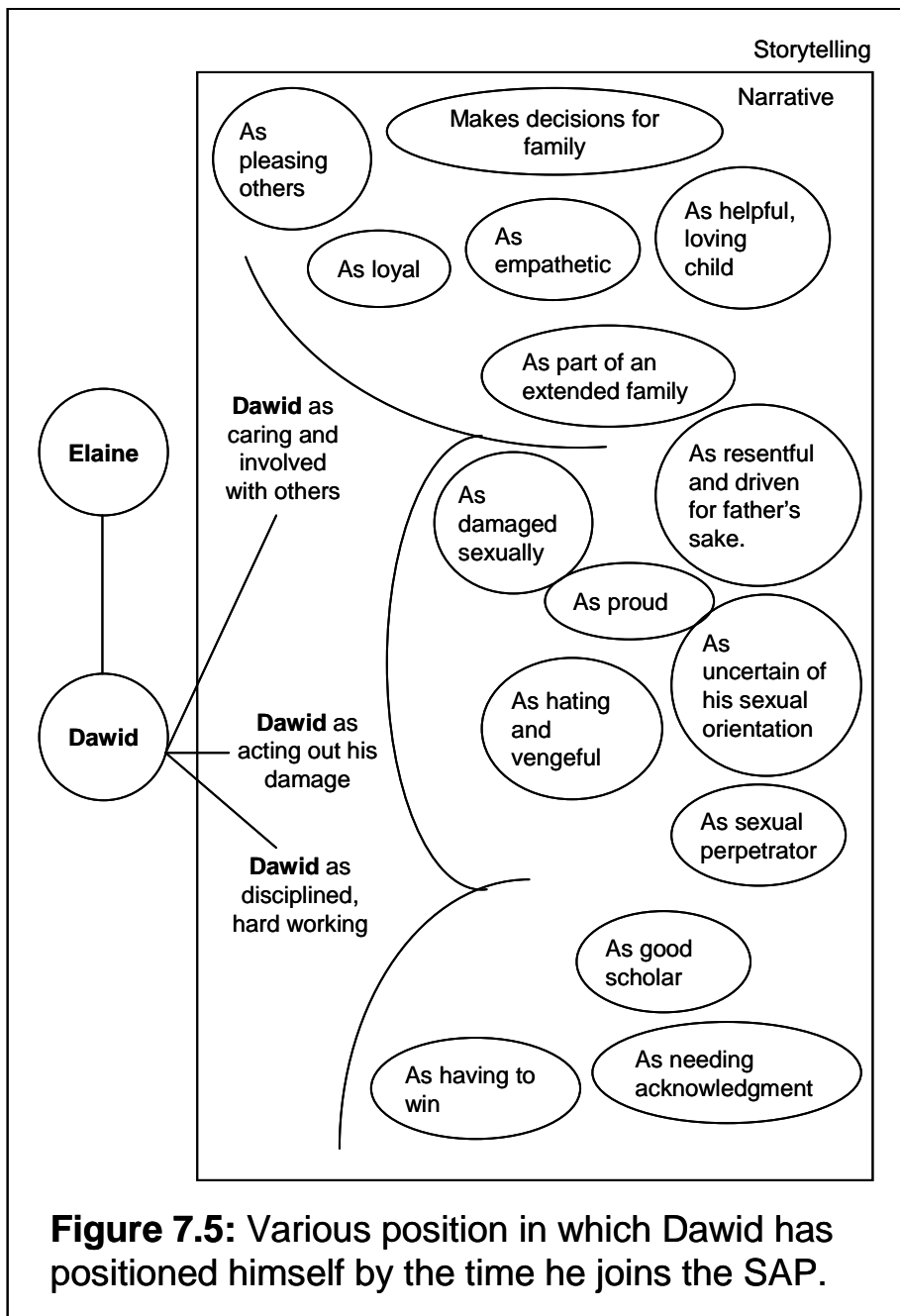
D: *I discovered that when I did well, I was praised. I then became the centre of attention. I think that is why I wanted to achieve. The more I achieved, the bigger impression I made and the longer I stayed in their memories and the more they praised me. Even the teachers.*

As I indicate in Figure 7.5 he has positioned himself in various ways before joining the police. I can subsume them into three dominant positions:

- o He was a loving, empathetic child. He is still empathetic as an adult and makes good decisions for his family. He loves and acknowledges his family and will help wherever he can. He is extremely loyal to them.

- o He is a man who acts out the damage he incurred as a child when he was sexually abused. He hates the people whom he sees as responsible – his uncle directly and indirectly his paternal grandmother. His acting out has on occasion led to him harming his wife and children.
- o He was a disciplined person who demonstrated this discipline and drive at school. He did well, in sport and academically. He is pleasing, and does everything for acknowledgment. Winning is incredibly important to him. He was not rebellious at school, instead he pleased his teachers.

In terms of the relationship with me he has enacted all three positions at this stage. His behaviour has often forced emergency interventions due to his acting out. He positions himself as a good client or research subject. He always spends time thinking about what we have talked about in the sessions. He will achieve the best he can in psychotherapy, obviously earning acknowledgment in the process.



Joining the SAP

This forms an important part of his narrative. Various episodes refer to the period. I have indicated them in Table 4 in Appendix F. The year he joined the SAP (1991) the intake was too large for the college and so the overflow was sent to Maleoskop, a counter-insurgency training facility. He identifies few characters in this section, mainly trainers and fellow trainers, with a few other individuals or groups making brief appearances. I have mainly used

recordings from two sessions for this section. The one was a therapeutic session in August 2007 and the other, where he formally told the story, took place in January 2008. I will indicate when it is taken from the earlier session. Episodes 35 to 40, 44 to 58 and 60 to 66 cover this period.

I ask him why he went to the police, apart from his attraction to the discipline, and he says (Episode 35):

D: weet jy my ma se een boetie was 'n polisieman gewees. ek weet toe ek 'n klein laaitie was so graad een was hy seker die mees perfekte aantreklikste mens wat ek gesien het. daai tyd het hulle nog daai safaripakke gedra met die rooi halse oor hulle gehang. alles het geblink. die bruin leer belde. toe hy gepraat het die mense geluister. die ouens het aan sy lippe gehang. [...] ek is mal oor mense. en ek is 'n problem solver. ek kan ure luister na mense. en planne maak om te help.

***D:** You know, my mother's one brother was a policeman. I know when I was a small boy, around grade one, he was the most perfect, most attractive person I had seen. They still wore safari suits with the red sashes hung over them. Everything shone. The brown leather belt. People listened when he spoke. People hung on his lips. [...] I'm crazy about people and I am a problem solver. I can listen to people for hours and help plan.*

He was attracted to the picture of the idealised policeman, and saw policemen as having stature in the community. He also explains that he enjoys working with people and helping them solve problems. This fits in with one of the ways in which he has positioned himself: as helpful, empathetic and involved. He started working at a station which he enjoyed. He worked there for six months before going to Maleoskop. He tells about their arrival at Maleoskop (Episode 38):

D: en uiteindelik toe ek by Maleoskop eindig (2) daai middag, sê ek vir my tjom bring maar 'n sigaret laat ek try. toe weet ek of hier doodgaan

E: wat het jy die eerste dag gesien?

D: dit was die geskreery aanmekaar. toe ek by daai bus uitgeklim het. shoe shoe. weet jy dis hierdie fris polisiemanne in camos. maar nie camo langbroeke met bootse nie. camo kortbroeke met bootse met sulke mooi sulke bruingebrande fokkers. hulle is fris hulle is sterk. daai ouens skree op jou. my ma het my tas gepak (hhh). [...] los hulle ons by die hek. min besef ons gaan daai tasse opdra. daar is op ons geskree. ons moes daai goed optel en ons gaan kamp toe teen 'n drafpas. jis en {inaudible} half 'n kilo verder. toe ek daar neersak toe besef ek ek gaan hier vrek of ek gaan 'n man word. een van die twee. ja ek is nog lewendig.

***D:** And eventually I ended at Maleoskop. (2) That afternoon, I said to my pal, give me a cigarette, "Let me try." I knew either I would die here*

***E:** What did you see the first day?*

***D:** It was the constant shouting. I got out of that bus, shoo, shoo. You know, these burly policemen in camos, not camo long pants and boots, but camo shorts with boots with beautiful, these tanned fuckers. They were burly, they were strong. Those guys were shouting at you. My mother had packed my case {laughs} and she really filled it. [...] They left us at the gate. We didn't realise we were going to carry up those cases. They shouted at us. We had to pick up those things and jog to the camp. And a {inaudible} half a kilo further, when I dropped down, I realised either I will die here or I will become a man. One of the two. Well, I'm still alive.*

He enjoyed the challenges at Maleoskop and explains (Episode 40):

D: dit het. dit het gegaan oor wen. dis die lekkerste om 'n ondersersant [...] dis die lekkerste om so 'n ou te sien as ek die 4.2 kilo hardloop met vol kit en bootse en ek is halwe kilo vroeër as die naaste ou. en ek staan daar en hy kyk my so en ek scheme fok jou man ek is beter as jy. jy kan my nie moeg maak nie jy gaan my nie dood maak nie jy gaan my nie klaar maak

nie. dis daai gritty guts vasbyt fok jou. ek is beter ek is sterker ek is slimmer. verstaan jy? ek is dis survival. dis survival of the fittest.

D: It was about winning. It is wonderful to see a lance sergeant [...] It is wonderful to see him after I have run the 4.2 kilos with full kit and boots and I'm a half a kilo faster than the next man. And I stand there and he looks at me and I think: "Fuck you man. I'm better than you are. You cannot tire me. You cannot kill me. You cannot finish me off." It is that gritty guts sticking to it, fuck you. I am better. I am stronger. I am smarter. Do you understand? I am, it is survival. It is survival of the fittest.

A bit later, he continues his introspection, trying to understand why he needed attention. He, at this point, explains it by saying he was the oldest grandchild and did not want to share attention. He relates it to his experiences at Maleoskop (Episode 44):

D: selfs in die kollege ook van ons opleidingsbeamptes omdat ek so uitblink en alles verstaan en alles honderd persent doen. hulle gee meer en hulle maak ooper want hulle sien iemand wat hulle self wil wees of wou wees of was of kan wees in jou. verstaan jy? hulle sien jy wil presies wat hulle wil hê wat hulle kan mould. want hy is oop daarvoor en jy gee honderd persent. ek dink dis hoekom mense my maklik aanvaar het daar. omdat ek daai daai daai wen doel gehad het. en ek bereid was om te verander om aan te pas om hulle tevrede te stel en myself tevrede te stel was ek nog steeds die middelpunt van belangstelling. dis ongelukkig hoe ek was en ek is seker nog steeds so.

D: In college as well, some of the trainers, because I did so well and understood everything and did everything a hundred per cent, they gave more and opened up more because they saw someone they wanted to be, or could be through you. Do you understand? They saw exactly what they wanted, what they could mould. Because he was open for it. And

you give a hundred per cent. I think that is why people accepted me easily. Because I wanted to win and I was willing to change to satisfy them and to satisfy myself. I was still the focus of their interest. That is unfortunately what I was like and still am like.

A fascinating analysis in which he brings together his need for recognition, his need to win and his ability to be self-disciplined. He is in essence describing himself as extremely manipulative in order to satisfy his need for acceptance. He relates his behaviour to influences on him as a child. In the analysis he gives, he acts out the good client or patient. He is behaving as someone in psychotherapy is supposed to behave, doing self-analysis and relating his childhood experiences to his current behaviour.

He appears uncomfortable talking about Maleoskop at this point, moving again to achievements at school. We have often talked about Maleoskop and he is defensive as he feels my reaction is too critical. I quote one of these interactions from the earlier session in August 2007. It includes an incident which has affected him deeply. He was extremely disturbed and unhappy at my response. This probably explains some of his current defensiveness.

On one occasion they had to crawl through the sewerage dams on the grounds at Maleoskop. This was an intensely degrading experience and was given to them as a "punishment". They had been accused of squashing an egg into peanut butter, probably a concocted story by the trainers, in order to have an excuse to humiliate them. He tells the story (Episode 64):

D: ons is aangesê om ons camo overalls te gaan aantrek. ons R1e saam te bring. ons inspeksieboots saam te bring. dit aan te trek. dis nuwe bootse dis bootse wat gewoonlik op ons inspeksielakens staan. daai goed is gebone. [...] daai goed was so blink. die dag wat ons dit aantrek toe kraak dit fisies van die lae wat jy hom al blink gemaak het. en dis dik leer bootse. dit vat 'n rukkie om 'n paar bruin bootse uit te trap. hierdie is

splinter nuwe bootse gewees. ons 4.2 kilos nou net gehardloop 4.2 kilos gejaag met ons vol kit. push-ups langs die pad duck walk elke rowwe ding wat hulle kon aandink wat hulle met ons kon aanvang. toe het ons teruggekom en toe is ons gedril. en toe is die hele B kamp, deur ons deur Maleoskop se kakplaas. sulke damme wat sulke wurms in gehad het wat mensekak moes opvreet. ons het deur dit geleopard crawl daar. na dit, ons teruggestuur na ons barracks oor die bed onder die bed oor die bed onder die bed. oor ons inspeksielakens oor ons uniforms oor ons beddegoed. verskeie kere aangegaan wat ons terug is en terugekom het. toe het hulle eventually 'n (1) kan swart plasiek askan kan grond ingegooi met water natgespuit. ons klere uitgeregooi uit ons kaste uit. nie saak gehad vir wie se klere is wie se klere is nie. ons beddens omgegooi toe. toe moes ons eventually op die grond rondrol en ons is gesê ons is fokken sleg. ons moes dit vir onself sê ons is fokken sleg. want ons is nie polisiemanne se gat werd nie. en dat daar reperkussies is vir goed nie reg aanvang net die begin van die reperkussies. want aan die einde van die dag die grootste reperkussie wat jy kan kry is as jy verkeerd werk dat jy doodgaan. dit het vasgesteek. ons het later begin die mense glo soos gode. [...]

E: wat het jy hieruit geleer.

D: jy mors nie met kos nie.[...]

***D:** We were told to dress in our camo overalls, to bring our R1s; and to bring our inspection boots and to wear them. They were new boots, boots which generally were on our inspection sheets. Those things were boned. [...] Those things shone. The day we put them on they cracked from all the layers as you had shined them. They were thick leather boots; it takes a while to walk in a pair of brown boots. These were brand new. We had just run 4.2 kilos, and now we had to run 4.2 kilos with a full kit, doing push-ups along the way, duck walking. Every harsh thing they could think of doing to us. We got back and we were drilled and then the entire B camp had to go through the sewerage works at Maleoskop. These were dams which had worms in them which had to eat human shit.*

We had to leopard crawl through them. After that we were sent back to our barracks. We had to crawl over our beds, under our beds, over our beds, under our beds, over our inspection sheets, over our uniforms, over our bedding. We were sent back and forth a number of times. Eventually they took a can, a black plastic ash can, and filled it with soil and wet it with water. Our clothes were thrown out with a total disregard for whose clothes were whose. Our beds were overturned. We eventually had to roll on the ground and say we are fucking useless. We had to tell ourselves that we are fucking useless. We are not a policeman's arse. And there are repercussions for not doing things right. Just the start of repercussions, because the biggest repercussion is that if you work carelessly that you will die. That stuck. We later believed them like gods. [...]

E: *What did you learn from this?*

D: *Don't waste food. [...]*

On further discussion, it appears that he refuses to drink water and at times to eat, believing that eating and drinking would be a waste of food. He became very upset after telling this story. The following interaction took place (Episode 65):

D: dis moeilik om oor die goed te praat. (1) dis baie moeilik. ek uh °ek weet nie.° ek weet nie of ek met jou daarvoor mag praat nie.

E: natuurlik mag jy.

D: maar ek bedoel uit die polisie uit. verstaan wat ek try sê. ek het 'n goeie verhouding met jou. maar ons beweeg nou op terrein waaroor ek nog ooit in my lewe praat nie. dis dis dis in my hart mag ek nie daarvoor praat nie. ons het 'n eed gesweer. [...] en ek kyk ek kyk baie na die TV1 kak wat op die TV is. van van toe hoe ons die mense geslaan het met sambokke en goed. ja: maar no-nou is dit skielik verkeerd. ek is gesê om dit te doen. ek is fokken opgelei om dit te doen man. dis my job daai. en-en-en-en-en no-nou ly ek daardeur. omdat ek wit is en ek 'n ou wit polisieman is. dis fucked up man.

E: ja dis fucked up.

D: dis fucked up. ek-ek was 'n kind toe ek daar was. ek het nie gesê lei my so op nie. en nou pluk ek die vrugte van hulle fokken kak. nee man dis fucked up. dit maak my die poes in. ernstig. dit my kwaad. dit maak my hartseer. dit maak my opvlie ek sal sommer fokken daai mense gaan fokken dood maak. {very upset, crying}

E: °ok.° Dawid ek het nie twyfel julle is 'n onreg aangedoen nie. °ok.° (4)

D: ek trek swaar nou. rêrig. ek trek swaar. {crying} (9)

***D:** It's difficult to talk about this. It is very difficult. I uh I don't know {quietly}. I don't know if I may talk to you about it.*

***E:** Of course you may.*

***D:** But, I mean out of the police. Try and understand what I am saying. I have a good relationship with you. But we are moving on to territory which I have never spoken of. It's, it's, it's in my heart, I may not speak of it. We swore an oath. [...] I watch, I often watch the shit on TV1 which is on TV. Of, of how we hit the people with whips and things, yes. But no-now it is suddenly wrong. I was told to do it. I was fucking trained to do it man. It is my job. And, and, and, and, and no-now I suffer because I am white and an old white policeman. It is fucked up man.*

***E:** Yes, it is fucked up.*

***D:** It is fucked up. I was a child when I was there. I didn't say train me like that. Now I have to pick the fruit of their fucking shit. No man, it is fucked up. It makes me so mad {poes – literally cunt}, really, it makes me so angry. It makes my heart sore. It makes me want to, I will go those fucking people I will fucking kill them {very upset, crying}.*

***E:** Ok {quietly}. Dawid I don't doubt you were not treated fairly. Ok {quietly}. (4)*

***D:** I'm having it hard now. Really. I'm having a hard time. {Crying} (9)*

The intensity of his reaction appears to be linked to a number of issues. He raises the immense difficulty he has in breaching the secrecy that is endemic in the police. He goes on to explain his difficulty in accepting the criticism of

the police during apartheid. As I noted earlier, he positioned himself as loyal to the family. He is also extremely loyal to the police. I had been critical (section not quoted) of the trainers and their motives in the incident through the sewerage dams. I had also indicated that his avoidance of food and water was bizarre. He finds it difficult to deal with criticism of a group to which he is loyal. We continue to discuss his reaction, in an attempt to understand the intensity of it (Episode 65):

E: ek gaan raai hoekom dit gebeur, ek dink jy reageer so oor my reaksie.

D: dit is ja. jy jy jy verstaan nie hoekom dit so is nie. en jy jy betwyfel hoekom ek so dink hoekom ek dit so ervaar. dis dis ek bedoel nie betwyfel nie. dis nie vir jou logies nie. [...] jou reaksie is hoekom ek nie vir mense sê nie. dis hoekom ek nie vir my vrou sê nie. sy gaan tien teen een dieselfde reaksie hê as wat jy het. sy sal sê jy is fucked up man. [...]

E: ek dink my reaksie het gemaak dat jy besef dit maak nie soveel sin soos wat ek gehoop het dit doen nie.

D: ek verstaan waar jy kom vandaan. ek is eerlik en en en en al is ek nie happy met jou nou nie aanvaar ek aanvaar ek wat jy sê is die waarheid. [...] ek moes sin maak van dit. daar moes vir my, daar moes 'n rede wees. ek kon nie glo dat hulle ons net so deur 'n kakplaas se dam sou jaag net vir fuckedupheid is. hulle het 'n rede daarvoor gehad. daar was kos gekoppel aan die opfok en dis hoekom ek sê ek mors nie met kos nie.

***E:** I am going to guess, I think you are reacting like you are because of my reaction.*

***D:** It is yes. You, you, you don't understand why it is like this. And you wonder why I experience it like this. It's, it's I don't mean you question, it is just not logical to you. [...] Your reaction is why I don't tell people. That is why I don't tell my wife. She'll probably have the same reaction as you have had. She'll say: "You are fucked up, man!" [...]*

***E:** I think my reaction caused you to realise that it does not make as much sense as you hoped it did.*

D: I understand where you are coming from. I am honest and, and, and, and even though I am not happy with you at the moment, I accept, I accept what you are saying is true. [...] I had to make sense of it. There had to be, there had to be a reason. I could not believe they chased us through a sewerage works dam just because they were fucked up. They had a reason. There was food linked to the fuck up and that is why I said you don't waste food.

This interaction demonstrates a number of important issues which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9. One of the aims during training in a militarised organisation is to achieve full, unquestioning obedience of the recruits (Cock, 1991). He clearly demonstrates how upsetting it is for him to start questioning their training. Although he is unhappy with me, he continues to position himself as a good client, exploring his reactions. As an aside, it is perhaps interesting to mention that he now drinks water and has not stopped eating again.

After this very difficult discussion, he is ready to mention some other experiences. He indicates some of the difficulties he has with the political changes and how they impact on him in the light of the training he received (Episode 66):

D: hoekom is ek so degrade en opgefok en al die goed aan my gedoen as daar nie 'n nut daarvoor was nie. ek is nooit ontplooi in in in 'n plek ek is nooit ontplooi in in in wat ek voor opgelei is nie. ek meen ek moes grens toe gegaan het en oorlog gaan maak het. ek moes in een of ander fokken, eenheid gewees het om kaffers te gaan doodskiet. te choke en seermaak en goed. maar ek is nooit daar ontplooi nie. wat is die doel agter die agter die oefening gewees?

E: {sighs} (4)

D: en dis wat my irriteer. nou is dit 'n nuwe regering. (2) maar ek is nie opgelei deur hulle nie ek is opgelei deur die ou regering en is opgelei en sekere persepsies en goed waarin ek opgelei is is gevorm punt. ek dink

niks daaraan om 'n swarte spesifiek 'n swarte want dis ingedwing. ek sal nie maklik dieselfde met 'n wit ou doen nie tensy hy my rêrig die bliksem in maak nie en skoor soek. ek sal eerder 'n swarte seermaak en rêrig torture en

E: dis makliker.

D: dis-s lekkerder. dis aanvaarbaar. want dis hoe ek opgelei is.

***D:** Why was I degraded and fucked up and all this done to me if there wasn't a purpose? I was never deployed in a place, I was never deployed in, in, in what I was trained for. I mean I should have gone to the border and gone to war. I should have been in some or other fucking unit to go and shoot kaffirs, to choke and hurt and stuff. But I was never deployed there. What was the purpose of the exercise?*

E: {sighs}

***D:** And that is what irritates me. Now it is a new government. (2) But I was not trained by them. I was trained by the old government. And I was trained in certain perceptions and things that I was trained in formed me. Full stop. I think nothing of it to a black, specifically a black, because it was forced in me. I won't do the same to a white man, unless he really pisses me off, and looks for trouble. I would rather hurt and injure and torture a black and ...*

E: It is easier.

***D:** It is more enjoyable. It is acceptable because that is what I was trained in.*

Training was imbued with racist attitudes and will be discussed in more depth in the thematic analysis. In the session in January 2008 when talking about his training, he again mentions the racial attitudes in the family. He appears to want to ensure that I realise that his family is not to blame for his racism. After ensuring that I understand this was not his background, he continues and gives an indication of the racist attitudes which infused his training (Episode 49):

E: en die polisie op die stadium was nie [ingestel

D: [glad nie ingestel om (3) weet jy (1) jy het 'n bajonet aan en en en en jy steek poppe en goeters en jy sê vrek kaffer vrek kaffer. verstaan jy? ek meen (2) jy kan sê maar sê dis 'n pop maar in jou brein verander jy daai ek ek ek ek dink ek het van 'n dag van 'n kind verander in 'n man. van onskuldig na 'n moordenaar toe. want as jy daar klaar is voel jy vuil. ek is eerlik. om fisies 'n wapen in 'n rigting te druk met so 'n lang fokken stuk yster aan wat skerp gemaak is en blink in die son en jy sê dood dood. en ek seker ek weet nie van die ander ouens nie maar ek het iemand daar (2) in my brein gesien. ek het 'n liggaam en 'n mens gesien. ek het iemand daar geplaas wat ek raak steek.

E: ek dink dis die doel van die oefening, om verby die huiwering te kom. so dat 'n mens dit kan doen. [...]

E: *And the police at this stage was not [attuned*

D: *[not attuned at all to (3) you know. You would attach a bayonet and would stab dolls and things. And you'd say, "Die kaffir, die kaffir." Do you understand? I mean (2) you can say it is just a doll, but in your brain you change it and I, I, I, I think that in a day I changed from a child into a man. From innocent to murderer. Because when you finished there you felt dirty. I'm honest, to take a weapon physically and to push it in a direction with a long, fucking piece of metal attached which is sharpened and shines in the sun and you say "Die, die!" and I don't know about the others but I saw someone there in my brain. I saw a body and a person. I placed someone there whom I stabbed.*

E: *I think that is the purpose of the exercise; to get past your hesitancy so that you will do it. [...]*

We hear the voices of numerous recruits. We also hear the propaganda underlying the training that they were given. He indicates that the training worked; he was already guilty of killing before he killed. They were given

very little training in basic policing. This was a counter-insurgency training facility and that was the focus in training (Episode 46):

D: ons het elke dag gaan skiet. ons het polisiëring boekewerk um wetlikeaspekte dinge soos verklarings skryf om sekere vorms te voltooi ons het dit nie geleer nie. ons het nie. [...] ons is geleer om fisies te gaan polisieer met bitter min wettekennis. ons is geleer om om om om onself te verdedig en om aan die lewe te bly buitekant.

D: Every day we shot. Police administration and legal aspects like writing statements, completing forms; that we didn't learn. We didn't. [...] We were taught to physically police with very little legal knowledge. We were taught to defend ourselves and to stay alive on the outside.

He had previously told me that they had been deployed to control riots before they had completed their training (Episode 52):

D: ek was nog in opleiding gewees op Maleoskop. daar was op 'n stadium probleme gewees in Z. toe het hulle ons ons groep direk opgeroep. ons is nog studente gewees. en toe is ons wapens gegee met regte rondtes. toe is ons wapens gegee met regte rondtes. en toe is ons die dorp in na die taxi rank. een ding het na 'n volgende gelei. ons het die taxis begin deursoek en toe begin ons wapens kry. en toe raak die ouens opgewonde en toe raak die taxis opgewonde en begin klippe gooi en toe is dit fight vir jou lewe (hhh). kom uit jou Casspir uit en fokken kruip weg kruip weg kruip weg. ons is nog nie heeltemal opgelei gewees. ons het nie presies geweet wat om als daar te doen nie. so ja {inaudible} (3) ek het seker die ba:ngste gekry in my lewe was daai dag. (hhh).

D: I was still in training at Maleoskop when at a stage there were problems at Z. They called up our group. We were still students. We were given weapons with real rounds. We were given weapons with real rounds. And we went to the taxi rank in the town. One thing led to

another. We began to search the taxis and began to find weapons. The guys got excited and the taxis got excited and began to throw stones. And it became fight for your life {laughs}. Get out of your Casspir and fucking hide, hide, hide. We were not fully trained. We didn't know exactly what to do. So yes {inaudible} (3). That was probably the most scared I have been in my life {laughs}.

The emphasis was clearly on the military defence of South Africa. It is frightening to think that insufficiently trained men were sent into a situation like this.

He then refers to the first time he shot someone. He has mentioned this a few times and it is obviously still hard for him to come to terms with it. In his statement he identifies a lack in the training, as well as a realistic appraisal of for whom they were appointed (Episode 53):

D: die eerste skietvoorval wat ek gehad het die consequences daarna dit was easy. maar die die die die die letsel wat dit in my in my in my gelaat het dis nie iets wat 'n ou vergeet nie. dit is maklik om te doen ek is opgelei daarvoor. bang. geestelik daarna moet jy daardeur werk. hulle het jou nooit vertel dit gaan so sleg wees nie. hulle het nooit gesê dit sal sleg voel nie. dit was altyd jy doen jou werk vir jou land. jy beskerm. wie beskerm jy? jy beskerm die wit mense en die regering van die dag. dit was die doel van die oefening. um ek was 'n polisieman gemaak vir 'n selected few. dis eintlik vir wie ek 'n polisieman geword het. vir die selected few. ons het daai selected few met hulle politieke beginsels beskerm. dis waarvoor ek opgelei is en waarvoor ek daargeplaas is. [...]

D: *The first time I shot someone; the consequences were easy, but the, the, the, the, the scar it left in me. That is not something you forget. It is easy to do; I am trained for it. Afraid. Later you have to work through it. They never told you it would be so bad. They never said it would feel bad. It was always you are doing your job for your country. You protect.*

Who did you protect? You protected the white people and the government of the day. That was the objective of the exercise. Um, I was made a policeman for the selected few. That is for whom I became a policeman, for the selected few. We protected the selected few with their political principles. That is what I was trained for and for what I was put there.

In the macho world of the police, there is no room for saying you feel bad about shooting someone. He returns to emphasising the aggression in training and links it to his later difficulties with aggression (Episode 55):

D: baie goed is emosie aan gekoppel. aggressiwiteit. um ek meen om 'n wapen so in 'n rigting te steek en iemand dood te maak of te skree vrek kaffer vrek vat baie emosie. jy kan nie so skree en nie rêrig kwaad word eventually. jy word kwaad. jy jy jy fokken daai energie is alles as gevolg van die aggressie. ek weet nie of die kak daar begin het? met die aggressie gedeelte. omdat ek so (2) baie aggressie gegun het. ek kon so aggressief wees soos hard en soveel as wat ek wou. dis inteendeel van ons verwag. as jy nie aggressief was nie het hulle jou aggressief gemaak.

D: *Emotion was linked to many things. Aggression. Um, I mean, to take a weapon and stab it in a direction and to kill someone or to shout: "Die kaffir die!" takes a lot of emotion. You can't shout like that and not eventually really get angry. You become angry. You, you, you fuck that energy is all as a result of the aggression. I don't know if the shit started there? With the aggression. Because I was allowed so much aggression. I could be as aggressive as hard and as often as I wanted. In actual fact it was expected of us. If you weren't aggressive, they made you aggressive.*

If someone did not measure up, they would make life so unpleasant for him that he would be forced to leave. This would involve assaults and was done with the encouragement of the instructors (section not quoted). I will discuss

this in more detail in Chapter 9. He, at this stage, is positioning himself in a very macho world (Episode 56):

D: dis 'n baie rowwe harde aan die eenkant kan ek dit verstaan jy is afhanklik van die ou langs jou. jou lewe hang in sy hande en syne in joune. en jy luister na jou bevelvoerder sonder om te question. as hy sê doen dit so dan doen jy dit so. hy het dit klaar gedoen hy weet waar die foute lê. [...] daar is baie dae wat dit nie lekker gewees om opgefok te word nie. jy word sleggesê en verneder. maar as ek terugdink kan ek nie dink was dit slegte goed nie. omdat dit so belangrik geraak het in my lewe en in my polisieloopbaan. en dit het my voorberei vir wat sou gebeur. en was dit nie daarvoor nie was ek al dood gewees. verstaan jy?

***D:** It is a very tough, hard, on the one side I can understand it. You are dependant on the guy next to you. Your life is in his hands and his is in yours. You listen to your commander without question. If he says do it like this, you do it that way. He has already done it and knows the mistakes. [...] There are many days when it is not nice to be fucked up. You are insulted and humiliated. But when I think back, I cannot think it was bad because it became so important in my life and in my police career. It prepared me for what would happen. If it wasn't for it, I would be dead. Do you understand?*

At this point he is quite defensive. He is describing a world I do not know. He knows I have at times been critical of the training he received, and is probably reacting to that, not wanting to return to questioning the purpose of his training. He presents the rationales for unquestioning obedience in military traditions. I pick up on his defensiveness and counter it with a comment that part of what concerns me is the lack of ordinary police training they had. He agrees and says (Episode 57):

D: ek het my my my my eksamen in die polisie afgelê met 'n ondersersant wat voor in die klas wat die antwoorde vir ons gegee het. ons het nooit

geleer vir dit nie. maar hulle was baie streng op jou onluste en skarebeheer toetse. dit moes jy voor leer.

D: I did my, my, my, my exams in the police with a lance sergeant in front of the class giving us the answers. We did not study for it. But they were very strict on your riot and crowd control tests. For that you had to study.

I comment on the implications and the following interaction takes place (Episode 57):

E: maar wat is die oorhoofse boodskap wat gegee is?

D: fok die wet. maar daai tyd was dit slim. want ons as konstabels het onder bevel gewerk. die bevelvoerder ken die wet en as hy sê skiet dan skiet jy.

E: But what is the overriding message which is given?

D: Fuck the law. But at the time, that was clever. As constables we worked under authority. The commander knew the law and if he said shoot, then you shot.

He attempts to stay loyal to the police and the training he received, although he acknowledges what I say. It is extremely hard for him to criticise the police, including his training as we saw, as it casts doubt on the value of it and events that followed. I take it further (Episode 57):

E: dis deel van die boodskap. jy is nie verantwoordlik vir jou eie dade nie.

D: nee. jy doen wat 'n ou vir jou vir jou sê om te doen en dis dit. onthou dit was deel van 'n onluste situasie. jy het 'n bevelvoerder gehad saam met jou. en jy sou nie 'n wapen skiet voor hy sê ja nie. of voor jou lewe voor koeëls oor jou kop fluit nie. dit was ongelukkig hoe dit was. so as almal vir hulle self gedink het in 'n groep van agt sou dit nie werk nie. [...]

E: beide maniere het seker meriete.

E: *Part of the message is that you are not responsible for your actions.*

D: *No. You do what you are told to do. Remember, it was a riot situation. You had a commander with you and you would not shoot before he said to do it. Or not until your life, until bullets were whistling over your head. Unfortunately that is the way it was. If everyone thought for themselves in a group of eight it would not work. [...]*

E: *Both ways probably have merit.*

I am aware of his discomfort and his need to defend the training he received. I offer a way out. He does not accept it, but instead chooses to exclude me from his experiences (Episode 58 and 59):

D: ek dink die way wat ek opgelei is is beter. dis meer militaristies. en as dit militaristies is dit georden. en as dit georden is loop dit soos 'n klok. deesdae se polisie werk nie so nie. jy kan question. met ander woorde die konstabel kan die fokken baas question. en sê fok jou man. wie gaan die job doen?

E: maar dis mos een van die groot verwerre tydens die Tweede Wêreld Oorlog, ja daar is soveel mense dood. I was following orders. ek is nie self verantwoordelik nie.

D: weet jy as jy nie in so 'n situasie was nie gaan jy nooit verstaan nie. as jy nie 'n situasie was waar jou lewe afhang van iemand wat opdragte gee nie dan verstaan jy nie.

E: dis hoekom ek vir jou sê daar is meriete aan albei.

D: daar is meriete. ek sê vir jou daar is honderd persent meriete.

E: daar is meriete maar 'n mens kan nie net sê always follow orders nie.

D: {inaudible} namate my kennis opgebou in die polisie en eventually totaal en al heeltemal fokken regtig befok geraak het. daar was baie opdragte wat reg was. daar was wel opdragte was nie reg was nie. daar was opdragte wat half shady was. ek sou nie sê hulle was nie reg nie maar as daar navraag gekom het sou daar kak gewees het. (2) maar soos ek sê ek meen in my persoonlike lewe gaan dit oor geordenheid. en as dit nie georden is en dis hoekom ek gefrustreed is met die polisie en dit

manier hoe dit werk. omdat daar is te veel goed is wat 'n ou briek. daar is te veel base en te min klase. en dis hoekom ek nie verskriklik mal is oor die demokrasie van ons nie. want want want daar is verskriklike moerse nice, gedagtes op die tafel op papier maar fok die goed kom nie in die werklike lewe deur nie. daar is te veel red tape. en dit ook werk by ons dieselfde want die polisie is 'n government organisation. dit we:rk so. [...] daar is geen respek vir mekaar nie. verstaan wat ek try sê. dit het 'n grappie geraak deesdae. en dis moeilik om in sulke omstandighede om te werk.

E: ek kan dink vir jou is dit ongelooflik moeillik.

D: dis moeilik as ek 'n man wil aanvat omdat hy nie sy werk doen nie gaan ek hom reguit sê doen jou fokken werk. nou moet ek {inaudible} nou sê hulle ek is rassisties. verstaan jy? ek sukkel met dit.

***D:** I think the way I was trained is better. It is more militaristic. And if it is militaristic it is ordered. And if ordered it runs like clockwork. Today the police do not work like that. You can question. In other words the constable can question the fucking boss. And say: "Fuck you!" Who is going to do the job?*

***E:** But, remember, it was one of the major defences during the Second World War when so many were killed. "I was just following orders. I am not personally responsible."*

***D:** You know, if you were not in a situation like that personally, you will never understand. If you were not in a situation where your life depended on someone giving orders.*

***E:** That is why I said both have merit.*

***D:** There is merit. I tell you a hundred percent merit.*

***E:** There is merit, but one cannot just say: "Always follow orders."*

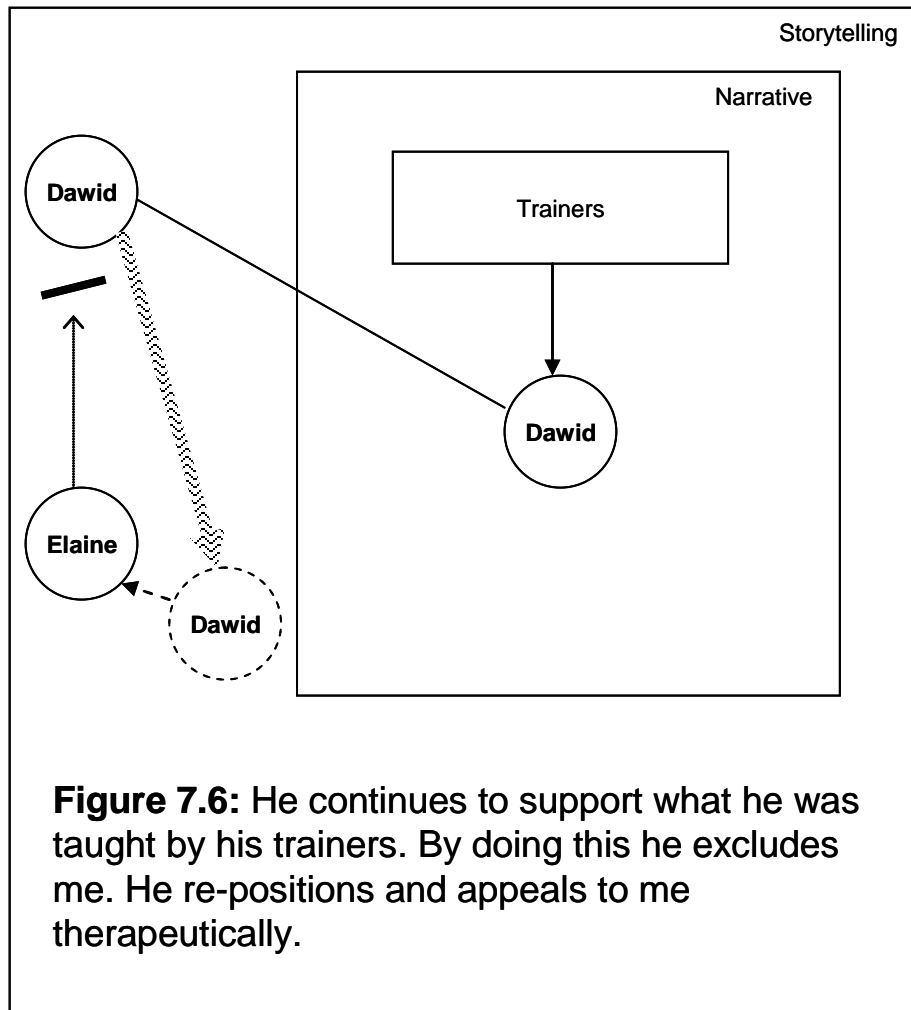
***D:** {inaudible} As my knowledge grew in the police and until I got totally fucked up, really fucked up, there were many orders which were right. There were orders which were not right. There were orders which were sort of shady. I would not say they were right, but if there had been a query there would have been shit. (2) But, as I say, in my personal life*

being ordered is important. And when it is not, that is why I am frustrated with the police and the way it works. There are too many things which hold you back. Too many bosses and not enough people to do the work. That is why I am not too mad about our democracy. There are really nice thoughts on the table, but fuck it, these things are not seen in real life. There is too much red tape. It works like that with us as well; the police is a government organisation. It works like that. [...] There is no respect for one another. Do you understand what I am trying to say? It has become a joke these days. And it is difficult to work in these circumstances.

E: *I think for you it is extremely difficult.*

D: *It is difficult. If I want to reprimand a man for not doing his work, I will say directly: "Do your fucking work!" Now I must {inaudible}, now they say I am racist. Do you understand? I struggle with this.*

We still have the three main positions he takes in playing out: loyalty to a group and pleasing that group; looking for recognition and acknowledgement that he is the best at a set task, and acting out his anger or resentment. These three possibilities were confirmed at Maleoskop. In his and my interaction he was defensive because of my criticism and thus excluded me from his experiences. He then moved position to once again be the good client or research subject and he offers real difficulties in adjustment in the previous section. He also acknowledges that there were at times problematic orders. In Figure 7.6 I illustrate his poisoning of himself as he tells the story of his training:



Following his training he was posted to the Guard Unit, which he hated because of the monotony. He then mentions meeting his wife. She was seventeen when they married. At this stage he was drinking heavily (Episode 77):

D: dit moet ek eerlik erken. drink was soos tweede natuur. as jy nie by die werk is nie is jy dronk. dis hoe dit gewerk het daar. geparty en gespeel en te kere gegaan. toe het het ek getrou met haar.

E: hoe oud was jy?

D: ek was twintig toe ek getrou het.

***D:** I must honestly admit. Drinking was second nature to me. When you were not at work, you were drunk. That is how it worked. We partied and played and had fun. Then I married her.*

E: How old were you?

D: I was twenty when I married.

He applied twenty six times for a transfer out of the Guard Unit. It was only approved after a personal intervention by one of the generals. He then moved to the station in the area they are still living in. It is a rural station and serves a fairly large area. In the beginning he worked in the charge office; he was given the worst jobs, as befits a new constable in police tradition. He and his wife became a part of the social network at the station, and appeared to have enjoyed this time in their lives (section not quoted). He was then placed in crime intelligence. It was stressful, in the sense that it could be dangerous and he knew that he would send colleagues into dangerous areas, but he appears to have enjoyed the work (section not quoted).

At this point it becomes important to add in an incident which took place when he was hospitalised. As I do not have a recording of this session I am discussing it using my notes; some made during the session, some immediately afterwards. I am discussing it at this time, as he refers back to it in some of the following interactions. Chronologically, in terms of his narrative, the incident he refers to here occurred approximately six years after working in the townships and approximately eight years before he and I met.

An emergency hospitalisation followed a weekend when he had disappeared and was binge drinking, gambling and acting out in other ways. His wife and parents had phoned on numerous occasions during the weekend; they were desperate and no longer knew what to do, as these episodes had happened so often. I went to see him the following day at the clinic. He was angry and challenging and insisted that he wanted to self-discharge. In a very difficult, very emotional session he eventually indicated that he had killed two people, but that he could not talk about it as it would mean prison if he did. I asked him to tell me the story with no information that I could in anyway use

against him. I was afraid that if he self-discharged that he would continue drinking and that he would kill others before committing suicide. He then told me the following story:

He had received intelligence concerning two suspects. He decided on his own to fetch them. He took them to a secluded area. He tied them up. He assaulted them, and made the one suspect fondle and perform fellatio on the other. He shot the one man. He eventually killed the other suspect as well, ignoring his pleas. He disposed of the bodies by dismembering them. He got rid of his own firearm and reported it missing after a burglary at his home, which he had arranged. He was eventually found guilty of neglect with regard to the loss of his firearm. When telling this story, he became extremely upset, started vomiting and his skin was cold and clammy.

I had conflicting ideas about the story. As he explained, it had not happened in the heat of the moment, but was pre-meditated. This was shocking. I knew some details were incorrect, for example I had very little doubt that he did not do any of this alone, and was probably protecting some colleagues. When I had him tell the story again a few days later, there were discrepancies in the story which made me doubt its veracity even more. This put me in a predicament. I had told him not to tell me the story in a way in which I could report him. He obviously did not believe it would be safe to tell the true story. I did not want to confront him; he had to tell the story in the way he had told it. He positioned himself as a murderer. I, however, did not want him compounding the fabrication, as I was concerned about the therapeutic implications. I did not doubt that murder was involved; his emotional and physiological responses were intense and I did not think they were acted. He had also previously told me about the stolen firearm. I did not think there was an adequate way in which to discuss his emotional response, without referring to his actions. I eventually decided that I would not talk about the murders directly, and that an opportunity would hopefully arise later to reframe what he had told me, or to get another version of what had happened. In discussion with the promoter (before I had Dawid retell

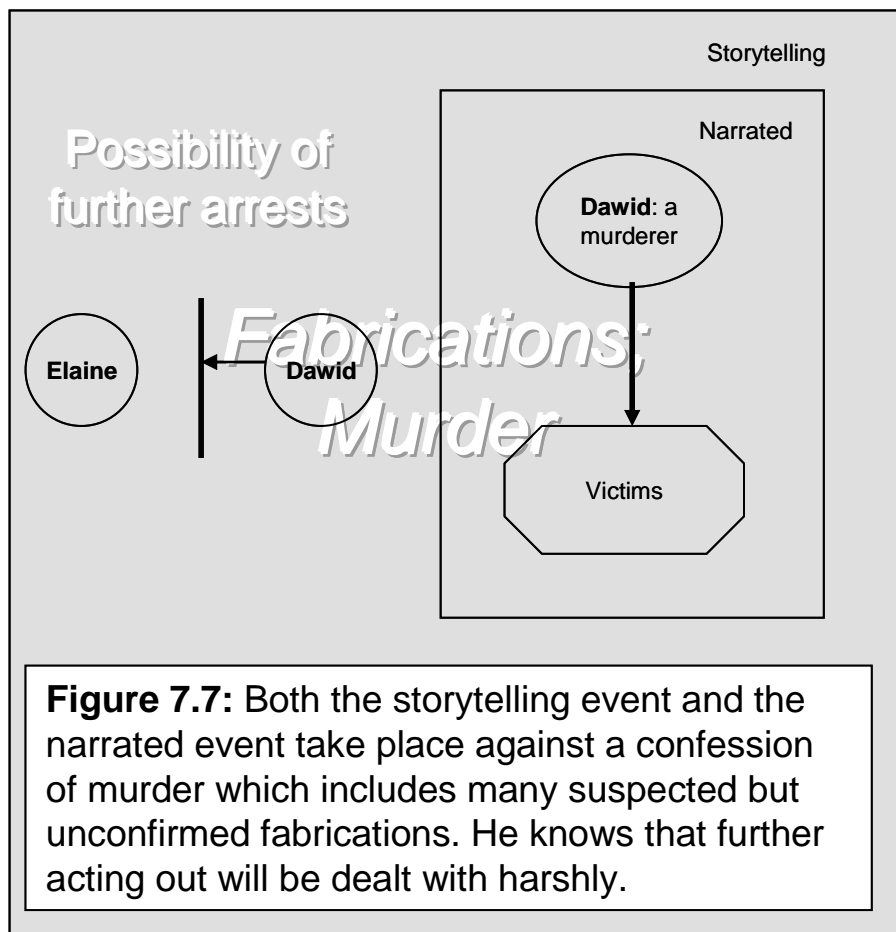
the story), I had agreed that the only approach was to attempt to gain understanding. Dawid accepted this, and that is why we started recording earlier than I had planned. In subsequent sessions, he made numerous references to the story. I think he did it in an attempt to reopen the conversation. I was still unsure that he would tell the truth and ignored what he was saying. I will discuss my reactions in more detail in Chapter 8.

It is important to mention that very soon after his confession and discharge from hospital, after drinking heavily one evening, he telephoned me (at approximately at 02:00) to inform me he that he was about to kill his family. He agreed to allow me to speak to his wife and eventually agreed that she and the children could leave. He was arrested shortly afterwards. He was extremely embarrassed by the arrest and subsequent court appearances. He has not drunk since then and has not acted out at all since then. In many discussions (not quoted) it appears that the confession as well as the arrest played a role in him eventually controlling his behaviour.

In terms of the enacting of power between us, it became interesting, and influenced the rest of the interactions. He had positioned himself as a murderer who dismembered his victims. He had presented himself in the worst possible way. He knew he had lied about the murders and he suspected that I knew he had lied. Acknowledgement and approval are very important for Dawid, as he previously explained. I was accepting of him and did not openly question his account, but avoided the topic and prevented him from talking about it. This left him unsure of where he stood with me. On one level he had power, he knew the truth. I had also strongly encouraged his wife to have him arrested. He was left in no doubt that any further acting out would be dealt with harshly. On this level I had considerable power and was willing to use it.

The following sections were recorded a few months after his confession of the murders. As I have said, the murders took place about six years after

working in the townships. I illustrate the impact of the confession and his arrest on our interaction in Figure 7.7.



Working in the Townships

There are few individual characters in this section, apart from him and a few close colleagues. The period is covered by Episodes 82 to 102 in Table 1 (Appendix F). These episodes include incidents in the townships as well as some of his introspection regarding their behaviour. He occasionally mentions individual rioters and other colleagues. Dawid never worked in a Riot Unit, which is very different to Adriaan and Charl. He was working at a reasonably small station. This inevitably meant that when there were riots the entire station would be called up for duty. He explains how hard they worked (Episode 82):

D: toe raak ons op 'n stadium betrokke by crime prevention. drie van ons ek Theuns en Pieter. (2) ja dis waar die meeste van ons waar baie van die ernstige situasies in my lewe gebeur het. ons was die mal fokkers. ons het amper 24 uur 'n dag gewerk. ons wou elke dag werk. ons wou skelms vang. ons was by alles betrokke. ons as iets gebeur ons was eerste daar. ons het die aksie en adrenalien gesoek. onder andere daai tyd was die tyd wat ek so (2) daai een daar is mos 'n paar dinges groot daar was die tyd nog groot optogte en goed nog daai tyd gewees 94. so 94 se tyd.

E: vertel my daarvan.

D: daai tyd was nog rof gewees. terrorisme e:n daai klas van kak. en toe het die swart stat van ons M het baie probleme gehad ons het gesukkel daar met hulle. (2)

***D:** Then we got involved in crime prevention. The three of us. Theuns and Pieter and me. (2) Yes, that is where most of our, where most of the serious situations in my life happened. We were crazy fuckers. We worked almost 24 hours a day. We wanted to work every day. We wanted to catch crooks. We were involved in everything. When something happened we were the first there. We looked for adrenalin and action. That was the time that I, (2) that one there was large that was the time when there were big protest marches and things that time 94. Around 94.*

***E:** Tell me about it.*

***D:** That time it was still rough. Terrorism and that sort of shit. And in the township {stat: a derogatory term for a black village} of M we had a lot of problems. We struggled with them.*

His language becomes quite disjointed. He speaks fairly freely, but I do not think this is easy for him. He knows I will be asking difficult questions; much of this we have not spoken of in detail previously. He almost immediately states (section not quoted), that they often shot and assaulted people. He mentions a few incidents in detail. Even though they are quite long I am going to quote two in full, as he gives excellent descriptions of the chaos at

the time. It makes it easier to understand the context in which atrocities took place (Episode 83):

D: een voorval het hulle een van die ouens daar met 'n panga gekap. M ek dink dis die ou se van. 'n swarte gewees M. toe het hulle hom daar met 'n panga gekap. dit het gegaan oor oor versekering wat hulle moes betaal daai tyd soos in begrafnisse en goed. 'n begrafnis tipe van 'n spaarboekie wat hulle gehad het. en een ou 'n paar ouens wat die spesifieke klomp mense in hulle in die stat verneuk het. en toe jungle justice hulle met kapmesse gekap en gegooi met klippe en goed. ek moes ongelukkig toe nou die eerste polisiemanne, die speurders was daar, hulle het die een ou wat erg gekap was in die hande gekry en probeer weghou van die mense af. ek was saam met 'n polisieman op die bakkie gewees. daai tyd het ons nog geel bakkies gery. en toe ons ingery toe staan daai hele stat so so teen die paaie af. toe ons inkom gooi hulle ons met klippe né. hulle gooi op my arm raak. my venster is oop. jy kan nie die venster toe hou nie dan gooi hulle jou venster uit en dan skiet die goed in jou oë. so terwyl ons in gooi ons binne die bakkie raak. op 'n stadium maak ons 'n regsdraai en toe maak ons weer 'n regsdraai. ons dink dis waar die speurders is. ry ons toe vas maar tussen huise so {demonstrates} soos 'n drukgang. drade voor drade en agter ons massa mense. so daai dag (4) was dit nag. ek was gewapen met 'n R5 en my 9 mil. en die bestuurder was V gewees. hy was bestuurder ek was bemanning. toe sê hy vir my ons is vandag dood. die drade was so naby aan die bakkie dat ek kon nie uitklim deur om die deur oop te maak nie. ek het by die venster uitgeklim. my uitgeskuif. hy sê toe ek weet nie wat gaan ons doen nie, hier is die R5 vat jou 9 mil en gaan kyk wat kan jy agter kan uitrig. en ek lieg nie vir jou nie Elaine. dit was soos in, soos die mense aanstap die groot massa mense kom van onder in die stat af in die straat op waar ons in is. agter hulle het ons gesien. hulle was op pad na ons toe. want hulle wil nie hê ons moet die manne wegvat wat al die kak gemaak het nie. toe is hulle die moer in vir al die polisiemanne. en ek het eventually agter die bakkie gaan staan die 9 mil gespan en teruggedruk in sy holster en die R5 gespan. ek het

net gaan staan seker 20 meter agter die bakkie. as ek nou moet skiet moet ek skiet. toe hulle nader kom het hulle goed soos in kapmesse en grawe en spitsurke en stokke die klippe het gereën al die pad. 'n skiet gebedjie opgestuur en gesê Here asseblief help. en tot vandag toe ek belowe jou ek weet nie hoe nie ek weet rê:rig nie hoe nie. toe ek weer hoor toe staan die bakkie agter my en idle en hy druk vir my hooter. (2) ek kyk terug. toe het daai bakkie omgedraai. hoe en ek sweer dit was 'n wonderwerk. want hoe weet ek nie. hy sê ook hy weet nie. ek kan hom vir hou gaan haal hy sal ook sê hy weet nie. toe ons weer kyk toe staan die bakkie omgedraai neus na die mense toe. toe het ek weer teruggespring in die bakkie in teruggeklim tussen die drade in binnie in die bakkie ingespring by die venster. toe het ons tussen die mense ingery. het ons ingery toe gooi hulle ons met klippe. toe ons op die teerpad kom toe vra ek hom hoe het jy die bakkie omgedraai. toe sê hy die Here weet alleen hy weet nie.

E: liewe hemel Dawid.

D: ek is ernstig dit was 'n wonderwerk. daar was in spasioe nie ek belowe jou.

E: jy kon nie uitklim nie.

D: ek kon nie uitklim nie daar was nie spasioe nie. ek glo die Hand van Bo het die bakkie omgedraai daai dag. dit was nie ons tyd om te gaan nie.

***D:** In one incident, they were slashing a guy with a panga. I think the guy's surname was M. A black man, M. They were slashing him with a panga. It went around insurance they paid, for funerals and things. A type of savings book for funerals. And one man, a few men had cheated a specific group of people in the township. They decided to use jungle justice. They were chopping them with machetes and throwing stones at them and stuff. I had to, unfortunately the first policemen, the detectives were there, they had managed to get hold of the one guy who had been slashed badly and were trying to keep him away from the people. I was with a policeman in the bakkie. That time we still had the yellow bakkies. When we drove in that entire township was lining the roads. When we*

came in they threw stones at us. They hit my arm. My window was open; you can't close the windows as they then break the windows and the glass shoots into your eyes. So while we, they hit us inside the bakkie. We then turned right, and again right. We thought that was where the detectives were. We were trapped between the houses like this {demonstrates} like in a crush pen. Fences in front, fences and behind us a crowd of people. So that day (4) it was night. I was armed with a R5 and my 9 mil. The driver was V. He was driver, I was crew. He said to me: "We die today!" The fences were so close to the bakkie that I could not get out by opening the door. I had to climb out the window. Shifted out. He said he didn't know what we were going to do: "Here is the R5, take your 9 mil and see what you can do behind the bakkie." I'm not lying Elaine, it was like, as the people came walking towards us, this mass of people from the bottom end of the township in the street in which we were. They had seen us. They were on their way to us, because they did not want us to take away the men who had caused all the shit. They were the hell in with the police. I eventually stood behind the bakkie, I cocked the 9 mil and put it back in its holster and I cocked the R5. I just stood about 20 metres behind the bakkie. I thought, "If I have to shoot, I will shoot." When they got closer, they had things like machetes and spades and pitchforks and sticks. The stones were raining around me. I muttered a prayer and said: "Lord please help." And until today I promise you I don't know how, I really don't know. When I heard again, the bakkie was behind me, idling and he hooted at me. (2) I turned around and the bakkie had turned. How and I swear it was a miracle. Because I don't know. He also said he didn't know. I can go and fetch him and he will also tell you he doesn't know. When we looked again the bakkie was turned around, nose to the people. I jumped in the bakkie, climbed in between the fence wires and through the window. We drove in between the people. We drove in and they threw stones at us. When we got to the tarred road I asked him, "How did you turn the bakkie?" He said: "God knows. I don't."

E: Good heavens Dawid.

D: I am serious, it was a miracle. There was no space, I promise you.

E: You could not get out.

D: I could not get out. There was no space. I believe the Almighty turned the bakkie that day. It was not our time to go.

Dawid follows with another story (Episode 84):

D: die betrokke dag het ons ook ons bakkie het 'n polisieradio. toe ons inkom toe sê hulle vir ons daar is mense wat ge jungle justice word. ek en Pieter wat dood is en Theuns is in die bakkie ry toe daarentoe. skare mense so 250 mense besig om hierdie ouens te try doodmaak. sambokke geslaan wou hulle ophang in die bome. toe klim ons drie uit probeer praat met die mense. op 'n stadium toe sien ons nee fok die kak gaan spat hier. toe klim ek agter op die bakkie dis 'n oop bakkie gewees. R5 kom uithaal. ons het nooit daarsonder gery nie. ons het hom altyd nodig. toe sê hulle ons moet hulle stop slaan. hulle moet stop slaan. want anders is ons ons kan nie toelaat dat hulle hulle in ons teerwoordigheid doodmaak nie. op 'n stadium begin van hulle op die bakkie agter. toe vat ek die R5 en ek span hom toe. toe ek hom draw toe is dit soos in nag toe klap die klippe. nou ja toe gryp hulle elkeen die swartes gryp die swartes wat hulle wil doodmaak en elkeen hardloop elkeen in sy eie rigting met die ouens. een is die kant toe een is die kant toe en 'n ander klomp is ander kant toe. ons is elkeen agter ene aan. en ek gryp die een spesifieke ou. sleep hom terug bakkie toe. ek slaan die mense toe met die R5 se kolf. stamp hulle so met die kolf. ek het toe een agter op die bakkie. ek het die R5 gevat en bo op die ou gaan wat hy besig was om te gooi. Theuns het syne gegryp en Pieter het syne gegryp. Pieter het syne in die bakkie in. Theuns het syne in die bakkie gegooi. en hy het toe eventually toe hy nader aan die bakkie kom toe trek Pieter al weg. en toe val hy. toe spring ek af, om hom te gaan help. toe gooi hulle ontsettend klippe. op 'n stadium het hulle hom op die grond vasgedruk. toe ek, hulle van hom af het toe val ek. ek sal dit nooit in my lewe vergeet toe kom daar 'n groot vet meid. met nie 'n klippie nie met so 'n fokken rots. nou lê ek haar en so kyk. nou try ek opkom. nou

hulle druk my so vas. toe sy kom toe en daai klip so op my gooi. dat sy my kop seker met millimeters mis. ek is ernstig. Theuns kom toe op 'n stadium reg. hy stamp toe die ouens van my af. ek en hy spring toe op en ons hardloop. ek spring toe op die bakkie. ek gryp die R5 en tel dit toe op. gelukkig kom die polisievan. hulle het gehoor ons het kak gekry. dis toe M hy klim uit en skiet 'n 9 mil skoot af. toe hulle maak bietjie oop. die klippe reën. dis lyk soos fokken bye. 'n swerm bye wat oor ons trek. sprinkane. dit is nag. hulle het ons daar gegooi verskeie plekke baie plekke. seer gehad. jissie dis nag. ag daar is baie sulke tonele.

D: This specific day, our, our, our bakkie had a police radio. When we came in they said to us, there are people receiving jungle justice. I and Pieter, who later died, and Theuns got into the bakkie and drove there. A crowd of people, around 250 were trying to kill these men. They were beating them with whips before hanging them in the trees. So the three of us got out and tried to talk to them. At a stage we realised, "No fuck the shit is going to hit the fan." So we climbed on the back of the bakkie. It was an open bakkie. We took out the R5, we never went out without it. We always needed it. They told us we had to stop them beating they must stop beating; because otherwise we'll be in shit. We cannot allow them to kill in our presence. At a stage, some of them started getting on the back of the bakkie. I took the R5 and cocked it. When I drew it, it was as night. The stones rained down. Yes, each of the blacks grabbed a black they were trying to kill and ran in his own direction with them. One this way, one that way and another group the other way. We were each after one. I grabbed the one specific man and dragged him back to the bakkie. I hit the people with the R5 stock and bumped them with the stock. I had one on the back of the bakkie and I took the R5 and on top of the guy whom he was throwing. Theuns grabbed his and Pieter his. Pieter had his in the bakkie. Theuns threw his in the bakkie. Pieter pulled away as Theuns eventually got closer to the bakkie. He fell. I jumped off, to help him. They were throwing an enormous number of stones. At a stage they had him pinned down on the ground. When I pulled them off

him, I fell. I will never forget in my life, a huge fat woman (literally maid, derogatory term for a black woman) came with a stone. Not a small stone, with a fucking rock. I was lying and watching her. I tried to get up. They pinned me down. She came and threw that stone on me. She must have missed my head with millimetres. I am serious. Theuns came and bumped them off me. He and I jumped up and ran. I jumped onto the bakkie. I grabbed the R5 and picked it up. Fortunately the police van arrived. They heard we had found shit. It was M. He got out and shot a 9 mil shot. They opened up a bit. The stones rained down. It looked like bees. A swarm of bees over us. Locusts. It was night. They hit us in numerous places, it hurt a lot. We hurt. Jesus, it was night. We had many such incidents.

These are frightening stories, just two among many, and he evokes the fear and chaos. He positions himself as the macho, fearless policeman, who protects the community. He explains further (Episode 85):

D: um en met (hhh) elke slag na so 'n so 'n riot voorval wat (2) terwyl jy daar is skiet en gaan jy mal en jy is heavy adrenalin en wat wat wat en, na so daarna na so 'n voorval dan dan as dit dan gaan soek ons jy merk sekere ouens wat jy ken. en daarna gaan haal jy hulle uit. en jy wil nie een van daai ouens wees nie. want ons bliksem jou half doo:d.

E: dis 'n klein gemeenskap julle leer die mense ken.

D: ons leer die mense ken. ons weet wie is die instigators. ek meen (2) ons weet hoe lyk. ek meen ons weet hoe lyk die ouens. o-ons (3) as jy die een bliksem sê hy vir jou wie is die ander wat gegooi het. hoe harder jy hom bliksem hoe meer mense vang jy eventually. so ja. (hhh) nogal lekker tye. dis lekker maar dis ook nie lekker nie.

D: *Um, and with {laughs} every time after a riot which (2) while you were there and shooting, and going mad and the adrenalin is pumping and what, what, what and, after such an incident, then, then if it, then you would look for, you mark some guys whom you know. And afterwards*

you'd go and fetch them. You do not want to be one of those men, because we beat you half to death.

E: *It is a small community and you get to know the people.*

D: *We get to know the people. We know who the instigators are. I mean (2) we know how they look, we know how the people look. We (3) if you really beat up one, he tells you who else was throwing and the more you beat him, the more people you eventually catch. The more you beat him, the more people you eventually arrest. So, yes {laughs} nice times. Nice, but not nice.*

He creates the possibility for us to discuss the effects on him. Earlier in the same interview, he had been defensive about the training he received, but appears to have now decided he is willing to discuss these issues non-defensively (Episode 86):

D: *toe is dit omtrent wat ons het 'n hele week net riots gefight. elke dag elke aand die heel dag lank ons het omtrent fokken daar gebly. daar was 'n paar gevalle voor die verkiesing selfs en na die verkiesing was waar ons die fokken ouens kwaai geskiet het. um (5) ek weet nie of 'n ou kan sê ek weet nie of ek rêrig bang was nie. ek was te dom om bang te wees. ek het te veel in myself geglo om bang te wees. ek weet nie. ek was bullet proof. ons het nie bullet proofs gedra nie maar ons was bullet proof. um (3) dis vir my moeilik om te sê Elaine uh (6) ek ek ek weet net nie. maar wat vir my baie lekker was van die riots op 'n op 'n (2) hoe kan ek dit stel in inverted commas basies 'n geregverdigde manier. want jy regverdig dit mos nou. dis riots. (2) ek het mos die reg om gewelddadig te wees.*

D: *Then that is what we would do, fight riots for a week. Every day, every night, the entire day. We more or less fucking lived there. There were some incidents before the election and after the election where we shot the fucking guys badly. Um (5) I don't know if I can say; I don't know if I was really afraid. I was too stupid to be afraid. I believed too much in myself to be afraid. I don't know. I was bullet proof. I didn't wear bullet*

proofs, but we were bullet proof. (3) It is hard for me to say, Elaine, uh (6) I don't know, but what I liked about the riots was that, was that, (2) how can I put it, in inverted commas, it was justified. You justify it. It's riots. (2). I have a right to be violent.

He continues expanding on the topic, getting excited while he talks. I say very little (Episode 87 and 88):

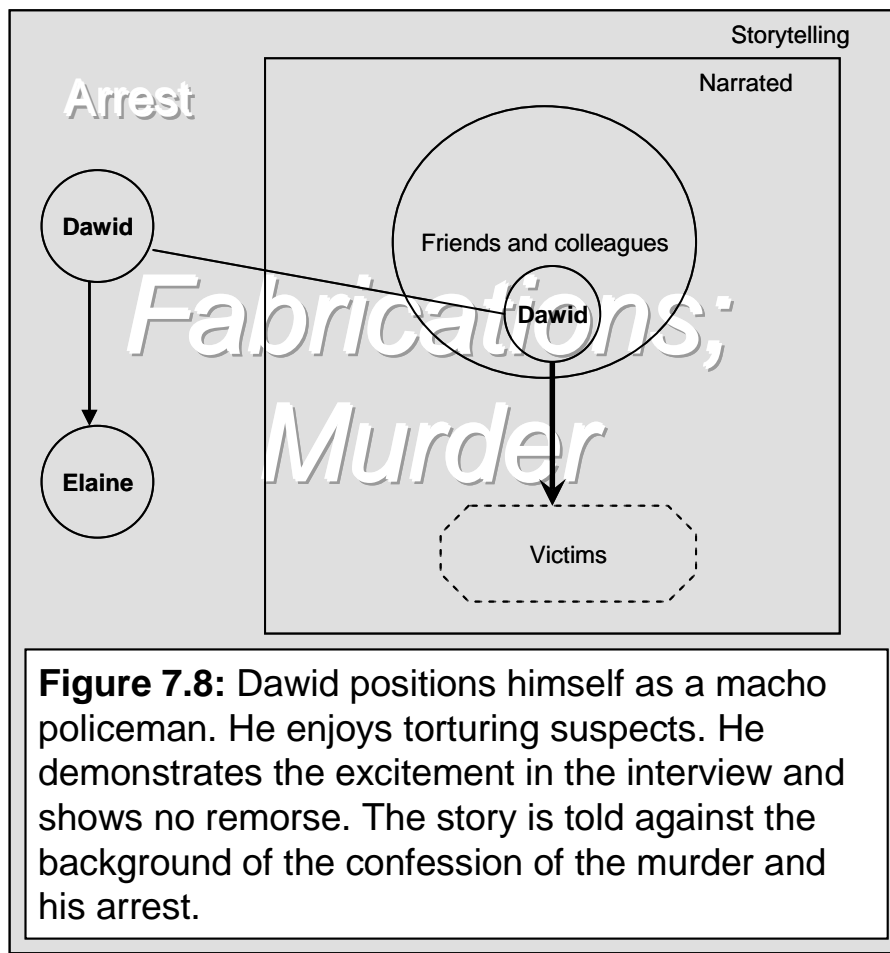
D: um en (4) ja ek haat hulle. dis een ding wat nie twee is nie. ek is my ma-hulle het my nie so grootgemaak nie maar ek is so grootgemaak deur die polisie. fokken hulle is taboe. dis waarom ek die polisie gejoin het. om kaffers dood te maak. om terroriste te vang. wie is terroriste? dis die swartes. so dit was dit vir my lekker om hulle aan te rand. en ons het hulle goed aangerand. kom ek sê dit vir jou. ons het hulle geslaan met gunne. en ons het hulle geskiet met rubberrontes. die die die reëls sê jy skiet eers 'n rubberronde teen die grond. sekondêre stap ons het sommer reguit na die fokken goed geskiet. skiet tonnells deur hulle man. dit was lekker gewees. verstaan jy? dit was (6) dit was fokken lekker. punt. dit was vir my baie lekker. ek het dit geniet. op daai stadium kon ek uiting gee aan wat ek geleer is. onluste en skarebeheer teeninsurgensie. fokken dis om met die goed te fight. verstaan jy? dis waar jy 'n polisieman word. dit is waar jy bond. dis waar jy jou staal wys. dis waar jy jou opleiding wys. dis waar jy, die manne van die kaf skei of die korring van die kaf dit. die manne van die bokke ek weet nie. maar dis waar jy wys wie jy is. dit was lekker. as jy kan operate in so 'n situasie onmiddelik begin jou sersante en goed meer van jou hou: want hulle sien jy weet hoe dit werk en goed. {all said with emphasis and excitement} en ja ek dink omdat ek iemand is wat krediet soek nie krediet daarvan hou om erkenning te hê né was dit vir my soveel lekkerder want dis 'n kwessie van boom {snaps fingers} toe is ek Kapt G se blue eye en is B se blue eye en E se blue eye. verstaan jy? ouens wat by die stasie in beheer is. toe is ek onmiddelik in die pound seats man. wat seker sy voordele gehad het. ek makliker dag af gekry as ander ouens. maar ek wou nie dae afhê nie ek wou by die werk wees. ek

het by die polisie gelê geëet geslaap. ek het gefokken lewe vir die polisie. ons het in die nagte dan bel hulle jou twee uur daar is 'n plaasaanval. dis nie vir my snaaks om in die aand twee uur op te staan en hee:ldag weg te bly tot die volgende oggend twee uur om 'n plaasaanval op te los. om spore te loop om in die berge in te donder en sulke klas van goed. dis waarvoor ek opgelei is. ek het gevoel ek doen 'n verskil. dit was lekker tye. [...]

D: Um and (4) yes, I hate them. That is true. I am, my parents didn't teach me this, the police did this. Fuck, they are taboo. That is why I joined the police, to kill kaffirs. To catch terrorists. Who are terrorists? Blacks. So I enjoyed assaulting them. And we really assaulted them, let me tell you. We hit them with guns, we shot them with rubber rounds. The, the, the rules say, you first shoot a rubber round into the soil. The secondary step we immediately shot the fucking things. We shot tunnels through them. It was fun. Do you understand? It was (6) fucking fun. Full stop. I enjoyed it. I enjoyed it. At that time I could put into practice what I had been taught. Riots and crowd control, counter insurgency. Fuck, it is to fight the things. Do you understand? It is where you become a policeman. It is where you bond. It is where you show what you are made of. It is where you show your training. It is where you separate the men from the chaff, the wheat from the chaff, the men from the goats. I don't know. But it is where you show who you are. It was fun. If you can operate in a situation like this, immediately your sergeant and others start to like you more. They see you know how to do it {all said with emphasis and excitement}. And yes, I think because I look for credit, want acknowledgement, I enjoyed it so much more. It was boom {snaps fingers} and I was Captain G's favourite and B's favourite and E's favourite. Do you understand? Guys who were in control at the station. I was immediately in the pound seats man. That probably had its advantages, I could get a day off easier than the others. But I didn't want days off. I wanted to work. I rested at the police, I ate, I slept. I fucking lived for the police. At night they would phone you at two in the morning

to say there had been a farm attack. It wasn't strange for me to get up at two o'clock and to stay away the whole day until two o'clock the next morning to solve a farm attack. To walk spoor. To go into the mountains and things like that. That is what I was trained for. They were good times. [...]

He indicates that working in the townships served as a vent for a number of important needs. He enjoyed the challenge, the feeling of using his training and the opportunity to impress commanding officers. It also served as an opportunity to justify his aggression. He frankly explains that he chose to torture, shoot and kill black people (Figure 7.8).



He again adds (not quoted) that he did not enjoy everything. He indicates that he is ready to move to the more difficult aspects of this discussion.

I ask him what he did not enjoy, and he answers (Episode 89):

D: as ek moet eerlik wees w-wat wel terugkom is is is van die van die ernstiger aanrandings wat ons gepleeg het. 'n ou kan sê jy hulle. maar hoe ouer jy word, in my geval inteendeel ek dink ek 'n gewete ontwikkel wat ek nooit gehad het nie.

E: ek is baie dankbaar.

D: ek is ernstig. ek dink ek het 'n gewete ontwikkel. ek het altyd gegrap, en gesê ja ek stres nie oor my gewete nie of my gewete is skoon want ek het dit nooit gebruik nie. verstaan jy? uh sulke goed het my nooit gepla toe ek jonger was nie. maar vandat ek deurmekaar geraak het in my kop né is dit asof dit my meer pla. dis asof dit meer pla asof daar wel 'n iets is wat my hoekom? vir wat het jy dit gedoen? was dit geregverdig gewees? ek second guess myself. verstaan jy? [...]

***D:** If I must be honest, what comes back are some of the more serious assaults we committed. One could say you, they, but the older you become, in my case in any event, I think I developed a conscience which I had never had before.*

***E:** I'm grateful.*

***D:** I'm serious. I think I developed a conscience. I always joked and said I don't worry about my conscience or my conscience is clear because I never use it. Do you understand? Uh, things like that never bothered me when I was younger, but since I became confused in my head, it is as though it bothers me more. It is as if it worries me; as though there is something which says why? Why did you do that? Was it just? I second guess myself. Do you understand? [...]*

He indicates that he is willing to examine the effects on him. He has now indicated it twice in the interview and when I make a dry comment, he immediately tells me that he is serious and wants to continue a serious discussion about his experiences. He has taken the lead in talking about the experiences he had in the townships. He knows I am interested in them; we

had expressly set the interview up to explore these issues and once again he proves to be a good research subject. I ask how the assaults started and he says (Episode 90):

E: die aanrandings en goed. hoe het dit begin?

D: weet jy (hhh) dis eintlik 'n snaakse storie. ons het party plekke ons het mense aangerand omdat omdat dit deel van die werk was. tonele waar waar hy begin moeilik raak. waar hy volgens ons begin moeilik raak en so. daarna het jy hom goed gedonder hom geskop en geslaan en bietjie traangas gespuit. daai tyd was ons nog jonk en fiks en rats gewees. ons het gesoek vir dit. ons wou gehad het hulle moet terugbaklei en moet hardegat wees. waar jy verdagtes soek en lekker bliksem en so. want jy ondervra hom mos nou. dit het in 'n mate het dit toe verander. ons het in die aande gaan rondry. ons het dit genoem die road to D. stop jy langs hom dan vra jy hom waar is die pad na D. as hy so vir jou probeer verduidelik dan floor hy hom. dan sou ons uitspring en hom fokken goed skop. deel van die stante was in die dit was dit was dit was grappies gewees. um

E: julle het dit gedoen omdat julle kon.

D: ons het die mag gehad om te kon ja. en ons het gewet as ons hom goed bliksem sal hy nie kom kla nie.

E: *The assaults and things, how did they start?*

D: *You know {laughs} it is actually a funny story. We did at times; we assaulted people because it was part of the job. Scenes where, where he would become difficult. When according to us he was getting difficult and so on. Then you would thrash him well, would kick and hit him and spray with a bit of teargas. We were still young and fit and agile. We looked for it. We wanted them to fight back and be hard arsed. You would look for suspects and beat them. You're questioning him. It changed a bit. We would go and drive at night. We called it the road to D. You would stop next to him and ask for the road to D. When he tried to explain, you*

would floor him. We would jump out and fucking kick him. Part of the townships were in, were in, it was a joke. Um

E: *You did it because you could.*

D: *We had the power to do it. Yes. And we knew if we hit him hard enough that he would not come and complain.*

He is in a quandary, in that he needs my acceptance and recognition. In order to get my acceptance and recognition, he will have to expose areas which could end in me denouncing and rejecting him. He has often told me (quoted at a later stage) that when he verbalises something, it becomes real. He, in verbalising this, is saying that he is willing to allow the perpetration to intrude upon his current shared reality with me. I indicate in this excerpt that I do not see their behaviour as a joke, but as enacting of the power that they had. He accepts my interpretation. In this excerpt he is positioning himself very differently to what he does in the following excerpt. The following interaction had taken place approximately six months earlier (before the murder confession and arrest), and clearly shows the change in how he positions himself (Episode 92):

E: ek wil jou 'n vraag vra. pla dit jou?

D: weet jy dit het aanvanklik. maar dit pla my nou nie meer nie. °dit doen nie°. aanvanklik toe ek jonger was het dit my gepla want dis asof ek. ek was nog baie baie by die kerk betrokke en-n my Christelike beginsels het het dit vir my gesê dat dat wat ek doen is verkeerd. ek weet nie of jy in die Here glo of wat nie maar ek glo aan die Here en ek glo aan die Heilige Gees. ek glo hy het my aangekla. ek het sy mond toegeplak met tape. en net besluit ek wil nie meer na hom luister nie want dis te veel emosie dis te veel te veel emosie en te veel te veel energie wat ek spandeer aan dinge wat ek doen en gedoen het en nog gaan doen. dis baie energie consuming om heel tyd

E: om jouself te bevraagteken.

D: jouself te bevraagteken. behalwe die bevraagtekening die die die die die die guilt in die werk. dis baie. vir my spesifiek soos ek soos soos nou met

die die vorige sessie ek was die hele week omtrent op my voete uit. dis vir my verskriklik dit 'n ek dink omdat ek sensitief is. ek weet voor my heilige siel dis verkeerd. maar ek question dit nie meer nie, want ek wee:t as ek dit gaan question en gaan terug dink daaraan en ek guilt gaan ervaar dat ek gaan my self mal maak. ek gaan nie eers kan opstaan in die oggend.

E: so die konflikte wat jy ervaar as jy dit sou toelaat is onhanteerbaar?

D: is onhanteerbaar op die stadium. ek is te bang om te ervaar. ek is te bang om rêrig terug te

***E:** I want to ask you, does it trouble you?*

***D:** You know, it did initially. But it no longer bothers me. It doesn't {quietly}. When I was younger, it bothered me because I was still very, very involved in the church and my Christian principles say what I'm doing is wrong. I don't know if you believe in God or not, but I believe and I believe in the Holy Spirit. I believe he has accused me. I have taped his mouth shut. I just decided I don't want to listen to him anymore, it involves too much emotion, too much emotion and too much energy which I exert on things I do and have done and am going to do. It consumes too much energy to spend the whole time*

***E:** Questioning yourself.*

***D:** Questioning yourself. Apart from the questioning the, the, the, the, the, the guilt in doing the work. It's a lot. For example, with our previous session, I was out on my feet for the entire week. It is terrible. I think it is because I am sensitive. I know what I'm doing is wrong, but I no longer question it, because I know that when I question it, I will think back and I'll experience guilt and I will make myself crazy. I won't even be able to get up in the morning.*

***E:** The conflicts you experience are unmanageable?*

***D:** They are unmanageable at this stage. I am afraid to experience them. I am really afraid*

He portrays himself in various ways in this excerpt. He is sensitive, and yet he tortures. He is religious and knows that torture is wrong, but all he can do

is deny and suppress his Christian beliefs and principals. He clearly expresses his fear in confronting what he has done, and yet repeatedly indicates that he wants to talk about it. I should perhaps add that I had by this time, on numerous occasions when he had initiated the topic of perpetration, indicated that I did not think he was ready to talk about atrocities he had committed. At this point he defines torture as part of his job. He explains further (Episode 94):

E: maar die gemors is die persoon wat dit doen en wat dit aan hom of haar doen.

D: dis waar. maar aan die ander kant voel dit ook (1) vir my voel dit ek doen 'n diens aan die gemeenskap. ek doen die gemeenskap weet nie als wat ek doen nie. hulle het nie nodig om te besef te weet dat ek dit doen nie. um ek doen dit vir hulle. ek dis hoekom ek sê ek verkoop my siel aan die duiwel. ek doen goed wat verkeerd is {measured tones} in die oë van die gemeenskap as hulle daarvan sal uitvind. of ek sal tronk toe gaan as hulle daarvan sal uitvind. ek doen goed wat verkeerd is in die oë van die Here. wat ek jy sal baie hoor ek praat van die Here. ek kom uit 'n Christelike huis uit. ek het my Christelike beginsels neergelê om die job te doen wat ek doen. en (3) ek dien die gemeenskap op die manier wat ek hom dien. (1) en daar is mense soos ek nodig. uh (3) dis hoe dit vir my sin maak ek maak sin vir my soos ek dit verduidelik. (2) as ek kyk na 'n oorlog en ek vereenselwig dit wat ek doen met oorlog. all is fair in love and war. (1) vir my is dit aanvaarbaar om 'n ou (2) aan die keel te gryp en hom te verwurg tot hy, in sy broek kak en hom bliksem en alles en alles om inligting kry wat ek weet 'n gemeenskap te beskerm of hulle eiendom terugkry. dis mos vir my aanvaarbaar. dis soos in dit dit het wel 'n impak op my maar daardie tyd het ek mos gesweer. en gesê beskerm en dien. om hulle veilig te hou.

E: *But the problem is what it does to the perpetrator and what it does to him or her.*

D: That is true. But on the other side, it also feels, I feel like I am doing a service for the community. I do, the community does not know everything I do. They do not need to realise to know what I do. Um, I do it for them. I, that is why I say I have sold my soul to the devil. I do things which are wrong {measured tones} in the eyes of the community, if they should find out about it. If they should find out about it I could go to prison. I do things which are wrong in the eyes of the Lord. I come from a Christian house. I have lain down my Christian principles in order to do the job I do. And (3) I serve the community in the way in which I serve it. And people like me are necessary. (3) That is how I make sense out of it; I make sense in the way I explain it. (2) If I look at a war and compare what I do to war. All is fair in love and war. I think it is acceptable to grab a guy by the throat and throttle him until he shits himself and thrash him and so on and so on to get information which I know will protect a community or to get their property back. I think it is acceptable. It has an impact on me, but that time I swore and said protect and serve. To keep them safe.

Here he positions himself as a sacrifice for the community. He is placed in the position he is in by a community which needs him to do the job he does, in the way in which he does it. He sacrifices his principles in order to serve. The community needs to be protected from the knowledge of how he protects them. I don't think he is doing it consciously, but he may be tapping into long-held Judeo-Christian and older pagan beliefs of individual sacrifice for the greater good (Kren, & Rappoport, 1980; Maccoby, 1982).

Later, when Dawid indicates a need to talk about perpetration, he positions himself very differently. He is thoughtful, and more critical of his behaviour. He refers to the murders. He explains that the culture of committing atrocities prepared him for committing murder (Episode 91):

D: e-ek dink dis waar ek die eerste keer (1) waar dit ek weet nie hoe kan ek dit stel? ek dink dis daar waar ek uh (3) dalk die gedagte gekry het dat (2) a-as jy iemand doodmaak toughies. as jy jou kop sou verloor en dit

gebeur ag wel fok. toughies. dis asof dit half normaal was. ons mag dit doen. (5) ek weet nie. uh ek ek dink tog in 'n groot mate het het het wat ons gedoen het ons het my miskien half voorberei vir wat ek verder in my lewe sou doen of later sou doen. um

E: dit meer aanvaarbaar gemaak?

D: ek dink die feit dat ek nie skuldig gevoel het oor goed wat ek gedoen het nie. verstaan jy? dit het my nooit gepla nie. ek is eerlik Elaine. ek is dood eerlik. ek het nooit ooit na so 'n aanranding of iets sleggevoel vir die perd wat ek gebliksem het. intendeel dit was meer 'n boost gewees. ons het gesit en boast daaroor as ons die aand 'n paar doppe drink. ek het hom gebliksem. ek het hom goed gemoer. ek het hom reguit geskop. het jy gesien hoe slat ek my fokken hoe skop ek my boot in sy mond in? rêrig gesien hoe lê sy tande op die grond. verstaan jy? ons het daaroor gejoke en. rammetjie uitnek getry speel. ek dink dit het miskien aanvaarbaar gemaak (2) vir wat ek later in my lewe sou doen. um (2) en ek dink baie tonele bygewoon het moorde en verkragtings en skiet voorvalle en. ek dink daar's 'n verskil tussen die ou tyd en die nuwe tyd. (2) ek weet nie hoe om die te stel nie. dis so 'n interwoven ding. dis asof die een het net die ander een na die ander een toe gelei. en (3) al die geweld het my op 'n stadium dit wat ek gesien het. dit wat ek experience het. dit wat ek self gedoen het het my miskien dalk ek weet nie (4) my hard gemaak in die opset van

E: afge=

D: afgestomp gemaak. ek dink dis die regte woord. ek meen hoe kan jy iemand so ernstig aanrand en absoluut niks skuldig voel daarna nie?

E: dis mos nie normaal nie Dawid.

D: daai tyd was dit normaal vir my gewees. ek is eerlik. ek het nie een nag slaaplose nagte gehad oor die kak wat ek gedoen het nie. nooit nooit hoor my lied nooit. my tonele het my nooit gepla nie.

***D:** I-I think that is where I for the first time where I don't know how can I put it? I think it was there where I uh (3) maybe got the thought that (2) if you kill someone. Tough luck. If you lose your head and it happens. Oh*

well, shit. Tough luck. It was as if it was almost normal. We could do it. (5). I don't know. Uh I, I think to an extent that that, that, that what we did prepared us, me for what I would do later in my life or what I would do.

E: *Made it more acceptable?*

D: *I think the fact that I did not feel guilty about things I did. Do you understand? It never bothered me. I'm honest Elaine. I am dead serious. After an assault or something like that I never felt bad about the person whom I assaulted. In actual fact it was a boost. We would sit and boast about it when we had had something to drink. "I beat him up." "I thrashed him." "I kicked him." "Did you see that I hit my fucking, how I kicked my boot in his mouth?" "Really see how his teeth were lying on the ground." Do you understand? We joked and swaggered around. I think it made it acceptable (2) to do what I did later in my life. Um (2) and I think attending many murder and rape scenes and cases of shootings and. I think there is a difference between the old time and the new time. (2) I don't know how to put it. It is interwoven. It is as if the one led to the other. And (3) all the violence and everything I saw, everything I experienced, that which I did myself, made make me possibly, I don't know (4) hardened me in*

E: *blu=*

D: *blunted me. I think that is the correct word. I mean, how can you assault someone so seriously and feel absolutely no guilt afterwards?*

E: *It is not normal, Dawid.*

D: *At the time it was normal for me. I am honest. I never lost one night's sleep because of the shit I did. Never, never, hear me, never. My scenes never bothered me.*

He explains that the normalisation and almost routine nature of violence, led to emotional blunting and eventually to the possibility of further atrocities. The approval of the group also played a role in this process. He explains that more and more they would simply assault someone because they could (section not quoted). They had a lot of power, and that was part of the enjoyment (Episode 99):

D: inteeendeel ons was so bekend gewees dat die swartes in al die statte het vir my op die naam geken vir Pieter op die naam geken en vir Theuns op die naam geken.

E: die magstorie is groot..

D: dis groot ja.

***D:** Actually we were so well-known that the blacks in the townships knew my name, knew Pieter by name and Theuns by name.*

***E:** Power is a big part of this.*

***D:** It is big, yes*

They were given tacit support (Episode 101):

D: en ek weet nie of ons dalk in 'n mate verwag het dat die land gaan verander of iets nie. maar ons het ons laaste ruk het ons magte en ons gesagte en ons vuise en ons gunne goed gebruik. let's be honest. ek dink ons het, 'n bietjie overboard gegaan. ons het regtig 'n skrikbewind gevoer. op 'n stadium was daar 'n march polisiestatie toe oor ons groep. die hele M het hiernatoe het hiernatoe gemarch met borde om te sê hulle moet ons fire en weg jaag en ons het hulle goed opgeskiet dankie. um inteeendeel toe was ons bevelvoerder Kolonel B op 'n stadium hier gewees. toe bring die mense van M vir hom swart sakke (hhh) ek sal dit nooit vergeet nie swart sakke met rubberrontes en fokken canisters met butaangas en goed gehad het waarmee ons hulle geskiet het en opgefok het (hhh). ek praat nie van een swart sak nie ek praat van 'n he:le paar swart sakke. kyk ons het bewind gevoer hierso hoor. skrikbewind. as jy nie reg was nie het jy gekak. punt. (5) um dit was nog aanvaarbaar. dit was nog binne die reg in 'n groot mate.

E: {looks at him with scepticism}

D: dit was.

E: bending a few rules.

D: ja. bending a few rules. maar dit was as gevolg van hulle aksie het ons 'n reaksie gehad. um

E: ja. 'n bietjie van 'n oorreaksie.

D: waar het jy gesien dat 'n polisieman gaan twee rondtes skiet as hy kan twintig skiet? verstaan jy? dit was lekker gewees. dit was aangenaam. dit het my nooit gepla nie. ok wat ons baie keer in die situasie gedoen het het baie keer buite beheer geraak. ons het mense ernstig aangerand. sulke klas van goed.

***D:** I don't know if we in a way expected that the country was going to change or something, but the last while, we used our powers, our authority, our fists and our guns well. Let's be honest. I think we went a bit overboard. We really had a reign of terror. At one stage there was a march to the police station because of us. The entire M marched here, marched here with boards calling for us to be fired and chased away. We really shot them. Thank you. In fact when Colonel B was here at one stage, the people of M brought him black bags {laughs}. I will never forget it. Black bags with rubber rounds and fucking butane gas canisters and things which we used to shoot them and fuck them up {laughs}. I am not talking about one black bag; I am talking about a number of black bags. Look we reigned, a reign of terror. If you were not right you got shit. Full stop. (5) Um, it was still acceptable. In many ways it was within the law.*

***E:** {looks at him with scepticism}*

***D:** It was.*

***E:** Bending a few rules.*

***D:** Yes, bending a few rules. But it was because of their reaction that we reacted. Um.*

***E:** Yes, a bit of an over-reaction.*

***D:** Where have you seen a policeman shoot two rounds when he can shoot twenty? Do you understand? It was fun. It was pleasurable. It never bothered me. Ok, what we often did in the situations often got out of control. We assaulted people severely. Things like that.*

He has now positioned himself in a number of interesting ways with regard to his perpetration. He is a sacrifice for the community, he has blunted his conscience, he has enjoyed the adventure and proven himself as effective in fighting riots. He has also assaulted people simply because he had the power to do it. He and his colleagues are macho men, who are unaffected by scenes. In relation to me he is beginning to construct himself differently. He has indicated on a number of times that he is troubled by his behaviour. I have not quoted it, but he also indicated that for him torture became linked to sexual arousal. I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 11.

Confronting his Behaviour

Most of the rest of his narrative consists of his thoughts around perpetration and PTSD and are covered by Episodes 104 to 137 (Table 1 in Appendix F). He remains the main protagonist, with brief appearances from other characters.

He had indicated he was willing to explore his perpetration, but I remain afraid of a defensive reaction and approach it carefully. He accepts the approach (Episode 104):

E: Dawid ek dink ons ek dink ons kan aanvaar daar is 'n hele klomp mense met PTSV as gevolg van jou.

D: which is true. ek neem so aan ja. maar dis juis dinge wat deesdae my pla.

E: as dit jou pla watter aspek daarvan pla jou?

D: weet jy my gewete pla my straightforward in die opset van (3) ek weet nie (6) ek dink die aggressie of die die geweld wat daarmee saamgegaan het en dat ek niks gevoel het daarvoor. ek dink dis wat my die meeste pla. maar dit het my eers begin pla na ek kwaai deurmekaar begin raak het. soos my vorige sekskapades en goed my begin pla het na ek eers deurmekaar begin raak het. ek dink daar het ek regtig na ek eers PTSV gekry het. het dit my eers begin pla. want ek het PTSV gekry van al die {inaudible} kak. ek dink ek het begin overload. en naturally as jy overload

dan loop die goed uit. dis wat my begin pla het. dit het my eers begin pla toe die goed begin terugkom. um (3) die bloed die gore die die die fisiese skok en pyn en stront wat jy op daai ouens se gesigte sien.

E: Dawid, I think we can accept that there are a large number of people who have PTSD because of you.

D: Which is true. I accept that. But those are the things which now bother me.

E: If it troubles you, what part of it troubles you?

D: You know, straightforwardly my conscience, (3) in the sense of I don't know (6) I think the aggression or the violence which accompanied it and that I felt nothing about it. I think that is what troubled me the most, but it only worried me after I started becoming seriously confused. Like my previous sex escapades and things began to trouble me only after I began to get confused. I think there I really I only really got concerned after I got PTSD. It began to worry me because I got PTSD as a result of all the shit. I think I began to overload. And naturally if you overload, the stuff runs out. That is what troubled me. It only troubled me once the stuff came back. Um (3) the blood, the gore, the, the, the physical shock and pain and crap which you see on their faces.

He no longer asserts that it does not trouble him. This is important, as he is no longer taking the role of the macho policeman. He connects developing guilt to developing PTSD. He gave a fairly detailed explanation of his experiences, which I will refer to in Chapter 10. He moves to the pleasure he got from the excitement (Episode 105):

D: weet jy dit was altyd die lekkerste as ons 'n huis penetreer né. ek was altyd heelvoor. ek wou altyd die deur afskop en ek wou altyd eerste ingaan want dit was vir my verskriklik lekker as jy die komberse van die ou afruk en hy lê daar met sulke groot fokken oë. daai eerste skok op sy gesig. dit was vir my 'n (2) dit is dit is soos soos-s ek het nog nooit drugs gebruik nie maar ek dink dis dieselfde invloed.

D: *Do you know, it was always the best if we penetrated a house. I was always first. I wanted to kick down the door and I wanted to go in first because it felt so good when you tugged the blankets off the guy and he lay there with these big fucking eyes. That first shock on his, his face. For me (2) but it is, it is like, like I have never used drugs, but I think it feels the same.*

He takes it a bit further (Episode 106):

D: ek dink dis daai (4) gevoel wat 'n ou probeer soos om 'n alkohol verslaafde te wees. in die begin is dit baie lekker en dis maklik om dit te kry. en daar na moet jy meer doen om dit te kry of daar te hou. verstaan jy.

E: dit eskaleer?

D: exactly. dit raak van ses biere tot twintig biere na 'n moord toe om dronk te raak. ek dink dis waar dis verslawend. dit is letterlik verslawend. jy raak verslaaf aan jou mag en gesag. jy raak verslaaf aan waarmee jy kan wegkom.

D: *I think it is that (4) feeling which one it is like being addicted to alcohol. In the beginning it is very good and easy to get there. And then you have to do more and more to get it or to keep it there. Do you understand?*

E: *It escalates?*

D: *Exactly. It starts at six beers, then twenty beers and then a murder to get drunk. I think it's true. It is addictive. It is literally addictive. You become addicted to your power and authority. You become addicted to what you can get away with.*

He explains that he has never stolen or taken bribes. Violence is the problem. He starts to explore areas he hasn't previously. This is an extremely difficult process and must not be underestimated. I ask him how he feels exploring these issues (Episode 107):

E: hoe voel dit om dit te sê?

D: ek voel skuldig. {sounds surprised} ek is eerlik. ek weet nie of dit is om-om-omdat ek terug is in die kerk. of ek werklik nou eers besef ek het 'n gewete (hhh). [...] dit dit (3) weet jy ek kan vir jou sê hoe ek voel. ek kan nie vir ander polisieman sê ek voel sleg daaroor nie. ek dink in 'n groot mate ek is eerlik met jou ek dink na dat 'n ou die doen voel jy tog sleg. jy is net te bang om dit even aan jousef te erken. want want erken jy dit dan beteken dit jy het iets verkeerd gedoen.

E: °en?°

D: en erken jy dit maak dit van jou 'n kakker slegter polisieman want jy is nie meer hierdie ou wat goed doen soos jy moet nie. jy wil nie erken hoekom jy sleg voel nie want dan weet jy jy het iets verkeerd gedoen mens voel net sleg oor goed wat jy verkeerd doen. {laughs} dit maak nogal sin né?

E: ja.

D: hoekom dink jy bêre 'n ou dit?

E: ek dink dit is waarom 'n mens dit doen. en dit vat geweldig guts om die dag te sit en te sê

D: jy het dit gedoen en jy voel sleg daaroor. ja. {laughs} dit doen. dis nie 'n maklike ding om te vertel.

E: dis vrek moeilik.

E: *How does it feel to say it?*

D: *I feel guilty. {sounds surprised} I am honest, I don't know if it is because I've started going to church again, or whether I have now only begun to realise I have a conscience {laughs}. [...] It it (3) do you know, I can tell you how I feel. I cannot tell other policemen I feel bad about it. I think I am honest with you to a large extent, and I think one feels bad when you do it. You are just too afraid to admit it to yourself. Because you admit that it means that you did something wrong.*

E: *And {quietly}?*

D: And admit that it makes you a shit, bad policeman, because you are no longer this man who does good like you should. You don't want to admit why you feel bad, because then you know you have done something wrong. One only feels bad about things you have done wrong. {laughs} It makes sense, doesn't it?

E: Yes.

D: Why do you think you bury it?

E: I think because of what you have said. And it takes enormous guts the day to sit and say

D: you have done it and you feel terrible about it. Yes. {laughs} It does. It is not an easy thing to tell.

E: it is extremely hard.

He is demonstrating immense courage in this interaction. He is a man who wants recognition, who wants to be applauded for his courage. In his identity there has been no possibility of being wrong. He explained early on in our interaction, connecting his behaviour to his need to prove himself to his grandmother, that he would act out whenever he was reprimanded. We have built a relationship in which he is willing to honestly explore aspects of his behaviour which are extremely difficult and threatening to him. Even in our current interaction he has moved from defensiveness to direct confrontation. I am supportive of his self-analysis and commend him for his courage. With the change in interaction, he mentions an incident from school. He appears to have decided it is time to mention a number of very difficult incidents (Episode 108):

D: maar weet jy hierdie ding het al begin toe ons kinders was.(2) die aanrandings van die swartes. ons het altyd in sulke gangs op die strate geloop. so standerd nege matriek.

E: Waterkloof Four. [...]

D: ja soos daai klomp. ja presies so. dit was ons sport of ons tydsverdryf Vrydag Saterdag Sondagaande tot so by elfuur twallfuur toe. daai tyd was dit maklik dit was Suid-Afrika. ons het so vyf ses ouens geloop as ons een

gekry het het ons hom gebliksem. intendeel ek weet nie so lekker of ek al, klaar daai tyd iemand doodgemaak het nie. ek weet nie. [...]

E: hoekom voel jy so.

D: dit was twee gevalle. die een was voor die ander ene. ons het 'n man die een aand geslaan. en ons is about vyf ouens nefies. almal nefies. ons het ernstig aangerand. op 'n stadium nie ek kan nie ek self of my ander nefies maar my een nefie het op sy kop gespring. toe ons hom eventually gelos het het dit bloed by sy oë en ore uitgeloop en goed. ons het nooit in die koerant gelees daarvan.

***D:** But you know this thing already began when we were children. (2) The assaults of the blacks. We used to roam the streets in gangs. In standard nine, matric.*

***E:** Waterkloof Four.*

***D:** Yes, like them. Yes, exactly like that. It was our sport, a leisure activity Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights until eleven, twelve o'clock. That time it was easy, it was South Africa. We were five, six guys and if we found one we assaulted him. In fact, I don't know if I had already killed someone at that time. I don't know. [...]*

***E:** Why do you feel like that?*

***D:** There were two cases. One before the other. We beat up a man one night. We were about five guys, all cousins. The assault was serious. At a stage, I don't know if I or my other cousins, but my one cousin jumped on his head. By the time we eventually left him blood was running out of his eyes and ears and so on. We never read anything else in the newspaper.*

He had thrown a full beer bottle at the second man, and fears that he may have caused him serious injury. Both he and Charl had engaged in this sort of behaviour at school. It is indicative of the culture of dehumanisation in the country. Dawid also hid his behaviour from his parents; a teacher at school became aware of what they were doing and took them to task. He ends this section by saying (Episode 108):

D: (6) groepsdruk.

E: major deel is dit nie.

D: groepsdruk. ek is eerlik. my ma-hulle het my nooit so grootgemaak nie.

D: (6) Group pressure.

E: A major part isn't it.

D: Group pressure. I'm honest. My parents did not bring me up to be like this.

Immediately after saying this he starts speaking about school again. I challenge him by asking him to describe his emotions. I am quoting this section in its entirety as he presents the arguments which he repeatedly plays through in attempting to come to terms with his guilt (Episode 110):

D: ja (4) ek weet nie of ek probeer om myself nou (hhh) (3) hoe kan ek dit sê (6) dalk (2) te verontskuldig in 'n mate oor (1) wat ek al gedoen het en waarvandaan dit kom. verstaan jy? ek dink aan die einde van die dag het 'n mens het 'n eie brein. en jy het 'n stel sedes en waardes waarvolgens jy lewe. en dis maklik. ek het al baie vir mense gesê selfs in my werk as 'n polisieman dat onkunde is nie 'n verskoning voor die wet nie of die feit dat jy geover react het maak dit nie makliker of beter nie. weet jy.

E: Dawid dis verskriklik moeilik. jy sê jy probeer dit regverdig maar.

D: ek kan dit nie regverdig nie.

E: ek gaan nie met jou daarvoor baklei nie. jy sit met die gemors. of jy gaan sê ek is verantwoordelik vir wat ek gedoen het of jy sê ek het my (3) [ek het oorgegee en ek is beïnvloed deur ander mense.

D: [dis die probleem ek dink dis waar ek vashaak. jy sien ek wil nie sê ek is beïnvloed nie.

E: ek dink dis waar jy vashaak.

D: ek haak vas want of ek erken ek het geen waardes en sedes nie en ek is actually die slegste van die slegste van die slegste op die aarde. want ek het toegelaat dat dit gebeur

E: of dit gedoen.

D: of dit gedoen. of ek erken dat ek wel waardes en sedes het maar dit het fokkol daarmee uit te waai gehad het. verstaan jy? ek wou dit nie in plek sit nie. maar ek sou nie sê dis net groepsdruk nie. ja dit was in 'n groep gewees. en toe ons dit gedoen het het ons dit gedoen. maar dis daar waar ek moes gesê het luister boys as julle dit weer doen moet ek julle toesluit. ek het nooit my werk as 'n polisieman gedoen nie. dit waarvoor ek en ek dink dis waaroor ek die skuldigste voel dit waarvoor ek gesê het ek sal opstaan en veg het ek toegelaat om te gebeur en ek het dit saamgedoen. en dis daar waar die fokop vandaan kom.

E: °dis waarvandaan die fokop vandaan kom.°

D: alhoewel ek het nooit gesê ek sal, die kaffers beskerm nie. seker nie. ek glo nie. sê mense van Afrika. daai tyd was hulle nie gereken as mense nie. verstaan jy? (3) (hhh) ek kan probeer enige way ek het al baie gedink né. ek kan hoe try en verontskuldig maar ek kan nie want hulle was deel van my samelewing. ek moes hulle beskerm het. en ek het nie. ek het nie. dis die ergste van alles. dis waarvandaan die kak kom. dis waar in 'n groot mate dit my ook klaarmaak. ek dink dis waaroor ek die meeste sekerlik die meeste oor daai voorvalle skuldig voel. omdat ek nooit opgestaan het en gefight het vir die mense waarvoor ek eintlik moes fight nie.

E: mense wat eintlik swakker was.

D: exactly. (1) exactly. en nie dat ek en die hartseer daarvan dis nie dat ek (1) 'n pissie was en dit nie kon doen nie. as ek opgestaan het en dit wel vir hulle sou gesê het ek sou baie onpopulêr gewees het maar niemand sou dit weer gedoen het voor my nie. verstaan jy? ek het genoeg guts en (2) persoonlikheid gehad om so iets te kan doen. verstaan jy? maar ek het nie. ek het gekies om dit nie te doen nie. (4) ek kan baie sê ek kan sê my opleiding het my seker daarentoe gedwing daartoe in 'n mate en die feit dat ons baie aggressie moes uithaal op hulle en en en.

E: jy raak hartseer.

D: {exhaling} ek het myself totally ek het myself nou net geantwoord. ek het. ek het my reeds geantwoord. ek weet ek het nie gedoen wat ek moes doen nie.

D: Yes. (4) I don't know if I am trying to {laughs} (3) how can I put it (6) maybe (2) to justify what I did in a way and where it came from. Do you understand? I think one has a brain of one's own and you have morals and values according to which you live. It's easy. I have often told people, even in my job as a policeman that a lack of knowledge is not an excuse before the law and the fact that you say you overreacted, does not make it easier or better. You know.

E: Dawid, it is so hard, you try and justify it but

D: I cannot justify it.

E: I can't fight with you about that. You have the mess; either you say "I am responsible for what I did" or you say (3) ["I gave in and I

D: [that is the problem. I think this is where I am getting stuck.

E: was influenced by other people."

D: You see, I don't want to say I was influenced.

E: I think that is where you are getting stuck.

D: I'm stuck because either I acknowledge I have no values or morals and I am the worst of the worst of the worst of the worst on earth, because I allowed it to happen

E: Or did it.

D: Or did it. Or I have to acknowledge that I have values and morals but that it had nothing to do with it. Do you understand? I just didn't want to do what I had to, but I don't think it was group pressure. Yes, it was a group and when we did it, we did it. But that is where I should have said: "Listen boys, if you do it again, I will have to lock you up." I never did my job as a policeman. That which I and I think that is what I feel the most guilty about. I allowed that which I said I will stand up against and fight to happen and I participated. That is the fuck up.

E: That is the fuck up {quietly}.

D: *Although I never said that I would protect kaffirs. Surely not. I don't believe I did. Say Africans. That time, they weren't considered to be people. Do you understand? (3) {laughs} I can try any way, I have thought so much. I can try justifications, but I can't; they were part of my community. I had to protect them. I did not. I did not. That is the worst of everything. That is where the shit comes from. That is what destroys me. I think it is what I feel the most, surely the most guilt around those incidents. I never stood up and fought for the people for whom I should have fought.*

E: *People who were weaker.*

D: *Exactly. Exactly. And that is the part that is sad, it is not that I was a coward and could not do it. If I had stood up and said it to them, I would have been very unpopular, but no one would have done it in front of me. Do you understand? I have enough guts and (2) personality to do it. Do you understand? But I did not. I chose not to do it. (4) I can say my training forced me into it and that we had to use a lot of aggression against them and, and, and*

E: *You become sad.*

D: *{exhaling} I have totally, I have answered myself. I have answered myself already. I know I did not do what I had to do.*

The need for the stronger, especially for stronger men, to protect those who are weaker is a powerful discourse in Western society. This is extremely difficult, but he continues (Episode 111):

D: ek het vir myself respek verloor. en hoe gaan ek ooit? ja ek stry nie ek kan nog lank in die polisie bly en ek kan nog baie goeie dinge vir baie mense doen. (3) maar ek het respek vir myself verloor. ek het reeds myself as polisieman verkoop. verstaan jy? ek hoo:rt nie meer in die werk nie. ek is nie (2) ek is nie van inbors genoeg om die werk te doen nie. ek is nie meer (3) rein nie. verstaan jy as ek dit so stel?

E: ek verstaan.

D: as ek dit so kan stel. dit wat ek gedoen het al maak my nie meer 'n polisieman nie. dis so goed ek het gesondig. jy kan nie 'n tien twintig persent goeie polisieman wees nie.

E: ek stel dit dalk te sterk so sê as dit te sterk is. dis amper asof jy siek word vir die goed in jouself.

D: ja. (3) ek raak naar as ek in die oggende myself in die spieël sien. kom ek is eerlik met jou.

E: so dis nie te sterk nie?

D: nee fok dit. jy is nog bietjie lig. weet jy ek haat myself. kom ek is eerlik met jou. ek haat my vir die dinge wat ek gedoen het. (2) ek kan myself nie vereenselwig met wat ek gedoen het nie. ek kan myself nie in die oë kyk en sê ok jy het fouteer vergewe jouself en gaan aan met jou lewe nie. ek kan myself vergewe. die Here het my vergewe. maar ek het my nie vergewe in die sense dat ek kan sê ek is nog veronderstel om 'n polisieman te wees nie. dis so goed jy maak 'n wolf skaapwagter. dis wat ek is. hoe kan ek mense gaan help as ek fokken hoeveel mense al leed aangedoen het? uit my eie vrye wil uit. omdat ek te sleg was om op te staan daarvoor. verstaan jy? hoe kan ek verwag mense moet my respekteer as ek eintlik myself nie meer respekteer nie? hoe kan jy my in 'n werk plaas waar ek mense moet oppas as ek hulle fokken aanrand? verstaan jy? {all said with sadness and difficulty} hoe kan ek myself in daai posisie plaas en sê ek is 'n goeie polisieman of ek is 'n professionele polisieman. 'n dokter gaan nie sy pasiente fokken skade doen vir die plesier daarvan nie. verstaan jy? dis die ergste.

E: dat

D: dit was plesierig. dit was vir my lekker.

***D:** I have lost respect for myself. How am I ever? Yes, I am not arguing, I can stay in the police and do a lot of good for many people (3) but I have lost respect for myself. I have sold out as a policeman. Do you understand? I no longer belong in the job. I do not have the character to do the job. I am no longer pure. Do you understand if I put it like that?*

***E:** I understand.*

D: *If I can put it like this, that which I have done, disqualifies me as a policeman. It is as though I have sinned. You cannot be a ten or twenty percent good policeman.*

E: *I may be putting it too strongly, say if I am. But it is almost as though you become sick at what is in you.*

D: *Yes. (3) I am nauseated when I look at myself in the mirror in the mornings, let me be honest with you.*

E: *So that is not putting it too strongly?*

D: *No. Fuck it. You are not putting it strongly enough. You know, I hate myself. Let me be honest with you. I hate myself for what I have done. (2) I cannot reconcile myself to what I have done. I cannot look myself in the eye and say: "Ok, you have made a mistake, forgive yourself and go on with your life." I can forgive myself, God has forgiven me, but I cannot forgive myself in the sense of saying I am still meant to be a policeman. It is as good as making a wolf the shepherd. That is what I am. How can I go and help people if I have fucking harmed how many people? Out of my free choice because I was too fucking useless to stand up and be counted. Do you understand? How can I expect people to respect me if I no longer have respect for myself? How can I be placed in a job where I must protect people, if I fucking assault them? Do you understand? {all said with sadness and difficulty} How can I place myself in that position and say I am a good policeman or a professional policeman? A doctor doesn't fucking harm his patients for the pleasure of it. Do you understand? That is the worst.*

E: *That?*

D: *It was fun. I enjoyed it.*

He demonstrates immense courage in eventually putting these conflicts into words. In the light of what we now know of him, we can begin to understand his acting out. He was imbued with self-hatred and disappointment in himself. Shame has been linked to a need to punish others (Wicker, Payne & Morgan, 1983). He either had to say he was a coward, or influenced by others, or evil. None of these positions were acceptable. He became sick

and he acted out. Dawid appears to be referring to the discourse of idealised masculinity which includes the “warrior psyche” (Keen, 1991, p. 39). These discourses call on men to suffer, die and kill for those they love. They are expected to demonstrate physical courage and honour among other values (Higate & Hopton, 2005; McCarthy, 1994). He has failed to live up to these ideals.

As Charl did, an aspect that really worries him is the knowledge that he enjoyed perpetration. I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 11.

We talk about idealism leading to problems and he says (Episode 113):

D: weet jy die polisie was altyd vir my ‘n idealistiese plek gewees. ek het vrede gemaak ek gaan ‘n polisieman word. reg. en toe sit ek in my kop en dink weet jy nou gaan ek een wees so (2) kom ons maak dit die beste daarvan. kom ons verander goed kom ons maak dit beter. maar dis hoe die aan oorgedra is op Maleoskop. as jy hom doodmaak dan beskerm jy jou land. ek dink dit het dalk êrenster vasgesteek. ‘n ou staan nie met ‘n R1 met ‘n fokken bajonet en steek hierdie fokken goed aanmekaar en sê maak jou dood. gaan fokken dood. ek maak jou dood fokken terroris. ek gaan jou doodmaak die terroris en dit steek nie iewers vas nie.

E: dit steek vas. dis bedoel om vas te steek.

D: You know I was always idealistic about the police. I made peace with being a policeman, right and then I thought: “You know you are going to be a policeman, so (2) let me make the best of it. Let me change things, make it better.” But that’s how it was taught at Maleoskop, if you kill him, you are protecting your country. I think that got stuck somewhere. You don’t stand with a R1 with a fucking bayonet, and stab these fucking things all the time, saying: “I am killing you”. “Die. I am killing you terrorist.” “I am going to kill you terrorist” and it doesn’t get stuck somewhere.

E: It gets stuck. It was meant to get stuck.

He again mentions the effects of perpetration. I pick up on it. It is extremely difficult for him (Episode 115):

E: ons kan sê dis nie so erg nie. maar dis bullshit.

D: dis kak ja. ek try my al hoe lank vertel wat ek gedoen het is oraait ek kan dit aanvaar. ek moet dit laat gaan. en ek het myself vergewe en die Here het my vergewe en ek ek kan met 'n skoo:n rekord by die polisie gaan begin weer. daar's nie 'n fokken manier nie. ek gaan dit nooit vergeet nie. ek kan myself nooit rêrig werklik weer vertrou nie.

E: ek sal jou nooit rêrig weer vertrou nie.

D: ok dankie vir jou uh

E: yeah I'm nice about it.

D: vir jou vir jou eerlikheid hoor (hhh)

E: as jy daaraan dink dis gesê met rede. jy sê self as 'n mens oor die lyn gegaan het

D: dis maklik.

***E:** We could say it is not so bad, but that would be bullshit.*

***D:** Crap, yes. I have tried for so long to tell myself it is ok and I can accept it. I must let it go. I have forgiven myself and God has forgiven me and I can start again at the police with a clean record. But there is no fucking way. I will never forget it. I can never really trust myself again.*

***E:** I'll never really trust you again.*

***D:** Ok, thanks*

***E:** Yeah, I'm nice about it.*

***D:** for your honesty {laughs}.*

***E:** Think about it, I said it with reason. You say yourself that once you have gone over that line*

***D:** It is easy.*

This is a problem we have. He and I later debated the wisdom of him returning to operational work. Eventually he did, with very regular follow-up appointments. He continues with introspection (Episode 120):

D: dit is een van die aspekte in my lewe waarvoor ek die meeste voor bang is. as jy eerlik raak met jouself dan moet jy uitkom by die punt was dit groepsdruk? was dit dat ek nie beginselvas genoeg was nie? of wou ek dit regtig doen. en die een wat my die bangste maak is die feit dat ek vir myself gaan sê ek wou dit regtig doen.

E: dis 'n verskriklike ding om te sê is dit nie?

D: ja:. {exhaling} (3)

E: wat sê dit dan van jou? (14)

D: ek weet nie. ek is bang om dit te sê. (2) dan is ek ontstabiel in die eerste plek. dis hoe ek voel. dat ek 'n fokken psigopatiese moordenaar is. (3) het ek dit willens en wetens gedoen? het ek dit gesoek? het ek dit toegelaat? was dit groepsdruk? is ek gebreinspoel daartoe? was dit vooruit beplan? en wat my die bangste maak is om te sê ek wou dit doen. verstaan jy?

D: *This is one of the aspects in my life that I am most afraid of. If you are honest with yourself, then you must question yourself: "Was it group pressure?" "Couldn't I stick to my principles?" "Or did I really want to do it?" That is the one that frightens me the most. The fear that I am going to say to myself I wanted to do it.*

E: *It is a terrible thing to say, isn't it?*

D: *Yes. [exhaling] (3)*

E: *What would it say of you? (14)*

D: *I don't know. I'm afraid to say it. (2) It would first mean that I am unstable. That is how I feel. That I am a fucking psychopathic murderer. (3) Did I do it deliberately? Did I seek it out? Did I allow it? Was it group pressure? Was I brainwashed? Was it planned? And the most frightening is to say that I wanted to do it. Do you understand?*

This leads to him questioning his training and why he was selected. He wonders if it was not that they thought that he would be easy to indoctrinate (section not quoted). He also explains that part of his confusion is that I, his parents and his wife have not rejected him, despite knowing the story of the murders (section not quoted). He explains that it would have been easier in a way if we had all rejected him as he would then be able to act the martyr.

I want to discuss one more incident before returning to the murders. He was shot one evening during a stakeout. This happened a few years after the murders. After this event he was no longer bullet proof. He nearly died from loss of blood. He explains what it did to him (Episode 119):

D: na ek geskiet is toe verloor ek guts. [...] dis dis dis dis soos in (2) di-di-di-di-di-dit het in my brein ingebrand. di-di-dis asof dit sal nooit ooit weer sal weggaan nie. en en die experience wat ek daarmee het dis soos in shoe dis dis soos in (5) dis net 'n pissie man. dis dinge soos daai wat wat wat wat wat wat

E: gaan aan Dawid

D: dis moeilik. dis moeilik vir my. ek ken my nie so nie. dis swaar. ek is ernstig. ek ken my nie so nie. [...] weet jy wat ek is geleer om, as daardie tyd was dit as student, het ons het ons op goed geleer. jy is in Pick 'n' Pay of in Checkers en daar kom 'n terroris en hy gooi 'n handgranaat in Pick 'n' Pay en jy is naby en wat maak jy? jy duik op hom. dis hoe ek opgelei is. [...]

E: Dawid is jy baie teleurgesteld in jouself?

D: ja ek is. ek is teleurgesteld omdat ek nie meer die guts het nie. en ek basies soos in (5) voorgee ek het die guts.

E: maar jy het nie.

D: nee ek het dit nie meer nie. daardie guts is lankal verby. ek dwing myself om te gaan.

D: *After I was shot, I lost my guts. [...] It, it, it, it is as (2) th-th-th-th-th-th-th-th-th though it had seared itself in my brain. It-it-it is as though it will never*

go away. And the experience which I had was as though, as though, (5) it is just a sissy man. It is things like that which, which, which, which, which which

E: Go on Dawid.

D: It is hard. It's hard for me. I don't know myself like this. It is hard. I don't know myself like this. [...] You know, as a student, we were taught, you were in Pick 'n' Pay or Checkers {supermarkets} and a terrorist came and threw a hand grenade in Pick 'n' Pay and you were close. What did you do? You dived onto it. That is how I was trained. [...]

E: Dawid, are you very disappointed in yourself?

D: Yes, I am. I am disappointed because I no longer have guts. I just pretend I have guts.

E: But you don't have.

D: No, I no longer have. I lost my guts a long time ago. I force myself to go on.

He eventually could no longer cope (Episode 116):

D: nou kan jy self dink (2) die aand wat ek besluit het ek gaan af siek boek né. maar voor dit daai laaste twee maande wat so deurmekaar was. jy sit met die besef jy kan nie meer nie. jy jy jy worry jouself dood om werk toe te gaan want jy wil nie nog 'n toneel bywoon nie. jy voel skuldig oor al die kak wat jy hier gemaak het. jy is te bang om werk toe te gaan. verstaan jy? jy is bang fokken (2) jy begin al oor jou skouer kyk weet iemand nie van die goed nie. verstaan jy. jy is te bang om werk toe te gaan fok jy is bang iemand vang jou. weet jy wat ek try sê? of jy is bang jy raak so gesuip aan diens dat jy eventually doen jy iets stupid dat jy jou kaptein doodskiet. verstaan jy?

E: jy was bang.

D: ek was vreesbevange. bang is nie die regte woord nie. ek het werklik vreesbevange geraak. ek was bang vir alles. Elaine ek was bang vir alles. ek was net nie bang vir drink nie. en vir rondneuk nie. ek was nie bang dat my vrou my uitvang nie. maar ek was op op op op 'n mission om myself

klaar te maak. verstaan jy? ek dink nie ek was bang vir doodgaan eers nie. ek is nou bang. ek wil nie nou doodgaan nie. [...]

D: You can imagine (2) the night when I decided that I was going to book off sick. Before that, the previous two months were so confused. I sit with the realisation you can't continue. You, you, you worry yourself to death, because you don't want to go to another scene. You feel guilty about all the shit you have caused. You are afraid to go to work. Do you understand? You are afraid, fuck (2) you start looking over your shoulder, does anyone know about this stuff. Do you understand? You are afraid of going to work. Fuck, you are afraid of being caught. Do you understand what I am trying to say? Or you are afraid you are going to get so drunk on duty that you will eventually do something stupid like shoot dead your captain. Do you understand?

E: You were afraid.

D: I was petrified. Afraid is not the word. I was petrified. I was afraid of everything. Elaine, I was afraid of everything. The only things I was not afraid of was drinking and messing around. I was not afraid that my wife would catch me. I was on a mission to destroy myself. Do you understand? I don't think I was afraid of dying. I'm afraid now. I don't want to die. [...]

He could no longer do the job. He has now positioned himself as someone without moral or physical courage. He has not behaved as he knew he should have. Ironically, he shows courage in admitting his lack of courage. He summarises his experiences (Episode 127):

D: weet jy as ek terugdink aan my kinderdae en ek trek die (5) en ek dink aan wat ek gedink (1) het toe ek 'n kind was (2) en kyk wat ek vandag is kan ek nie vereenselwig wat ek geword het nie. ek kan nie. ek kan nie. ek het drome gehad. ek het drome vir myself gehad. hierdie perfekte ek het vir my hierdie perfekte wêreld voorgestel. ek gaan iets wees eendag. ek gaan iets bereik. en selfs toe ek in die polisie gekom het. ek het baie

ideale gehad in die polisie. ek wou voor die ouderdom van 30 wou ek darem 'n offisier gewees het. en toe kom hulle en verander die hele fokken story. ok dit was buite my beheer. maar ek het daartoe gewerk. en ek het verdien om een te word. en ek verdien nog steeds om een te word. maar ek sal nooit ene word nie. ek my vereenselwig daarmee. alhoewel dit nie vir my lekker is om my drome te laat gaan nie. en ek het gesien hoe tree ek af in die polisie. en hoe baie dinge het ek gedoen wat goed is. [...] ek dink as ek vandag kon oor kies sou ek nog steeds 'n polisieman wou word. en as ek vandag die keuse gehad om te kon sê ek is honderd persent genees sou ek fokken in 'n oogwink teruggaan na die polisie toe. ek het en dit gaan verskriklik snaaks klink met alles wat ek jou vertel het ek het regtig 'n liefde vir mense (1) en mense te help. al het ek al die ander kak gemaak. en ek kan nie dink waar het ek opgeëindig na ek al die moerse drome en ideale gehad het nie. ek sit in 'n polisiestrasie vol mense en ek is alleen. ek is eensaam. even by die huis. daar is 'n deel van my lewe wat ek nie vir my vrou kan gee nie. of 'n deel van my menswees wat ek nie aan haar kan verduidelik nie. (3) daar's baie keer wat sy my vra waaraan dink ek. ek kan nie vir haar sê waaraan ek dink nie. al kon ek wil ek nie. daar is baie dae wat ek hier by die huis sit wat ek regtig ek wil net alleen wees. maar ek wil ook nie alleen wees nie. (3) dis asof ek my vertrouwe verloor het in my omgang met mense. rêrig. ek is nie naastenby so, uitbundig of (2) ekstrovert soos ek was nie. ek is baie meer ingetoë nou. ek sal byvoorbeeld glad nie met mense gaan kuier nie. ek wil eerder alleen wees. [...] ek voel sleg oor al die goed. fok dit. weet jy dis onbeskryflik om ek kan nie vir jou beskryf hoe sleg voel ek regtig nie. dis (6) weet jy dit is iets wat 'n ou (1) so lank saam met jou dra, en wat jy weet jy eventually hier binne in jou hart maak iets dood in jou. dit maak groot skade. dit maak groot skade. (3) jy is te bang om dit te sê. jy is rêrig bang. dit wat ek erken hierso dis ernstige goed. as ek dit vir 'n polisieman sê was ek lankal in die tronk.

***D:** You know, when I think back to being a child and I pull it (5) and I think of what I thought when I was a child. Look where I am today. I cannot*

reconcile that with what I have become. I can't. I can't. I had dreams. I had dreams for myself. This perfect, I had a picture of this perfect world. I was going to be someone one day. I was going to achieve something. Even when I joined the police, I had many ideals in the police. I wanted at least to be an officer before the age of 30. And then they changed the whole fucking story. Ok, that was not under my control. But I had worked towards it. And I deserved to become one. I still deserve to become one. But I never will be one. I accept it, although I don't like letting my dreams go. And I saw how I would retire in the police. And how many good things I had done. [...] I think that if had to chose again, I would still become a policeman. If I had the choice to say I am fully healed, I would go back to the police in a blink of an eye. I have, and it is going to sound strange with in the light of everything I have told you, I love people, to help people. Even though I did all the crap I did. I can't think where I have ended up, after having all those dreams and ideals. I am in a police station full of people and I am alone. I am lonely. Even at home, there is a part of my life which I cannot share with my wife, a part of me I cannot explain to her. (3) She'll often ask what I am thinking. I can't tell her. Even if I wanted to. There are many days when I am alone at home, but I don't really want to be alone. (3) It is as if I have lost confidence in my interaction with people. Really. I am not as exuberant or (2) extroverted as I was. I am much more reserved. I don't visit with people, I would rather be alone. [...] I feel bad about all these things. Fuck it. You know, it is indescribable, I cannot tell you how bad I really feel. It's, (6) you know you carry it with you. And you know it is killing something inside of you. It is doing great damage. It is doing great damage. (3) You are too afraid to say it. You are really afraid. That which I am admitting to is serious. If I told a policeman, I would be in prison.

He goes on to talk about his need for forgiveness (Episode 128):

E: dis ook emosioneel moeilik.

D: dis emosioneel moeilik ek is nie 'n ou ek weet met jou saam is ek baie naby aan my emosies en goed. ek was nie. dis nie lekker nie. wat ek in my lyf voel is sleg. dis bitter sleg. dis plain weg sommer kak. dis-s hondsleg. en weet jy (2) om jousef te vergewe vir al die goed, dis waar die ergste inkom.

E: o dis moeilik.

D: dis bitter swaar. ek is eerlik. dis maklik ek staan op my knieë en ek sê vir die Here vergewe my. en hy vergewe my. en ek weet hy vergewe my. maar om jousef te vergewe.

E: en 'n mens sit ook met die probleem. 'n mens wil ook nie daai vergifnis goedkoop

D: ek kan dit nie net sommer wil hê nie. ek wil dit nie net kry ek wil dit verdien. ek wil dit verdien. ek wil iets doen om dit te kry.

E: dit maak dit goedkoop. as if it didn't matter. it mattered terribly. (4)

D: daar slaan jy die spyker op die kop.

E: dis hoekom ek nooit vir jou sê dis ok nie. dis nie ok nie.

D: dis nie ok nie. dit sal nooit ok wees nie. al word ek 'n honderd jaar oud sal dit nooit ok wees nie.

E: *It is also emotionally difficult.*

D: *It is difficult emotionally. I am not someone I know with you I am close to my emotions and things. I was never. It's horrible. I feel horrible things in my body. It is terrible. It is shit. It is unbelievably bad. And you know (2) to forgive yourself for all this stuff. That is where the worst comes in.*

E: *Oh it is difficult.*

D: *It is extremely difficult. I am honest. It's easy. I get on my knees and I say: "Forgive my Lord." And he forgives me. I know he forgives me. But to forgive yourself.*

E: *And one sits with the problem. You don't want cheap forgiveness*

D: *I can't just say I want it. I don't just want it. I need to earn it. I want to earn it. I want to do something to get it.*

E: It would otherwise be cheap. As if it didn't matter. It mattered terribly.

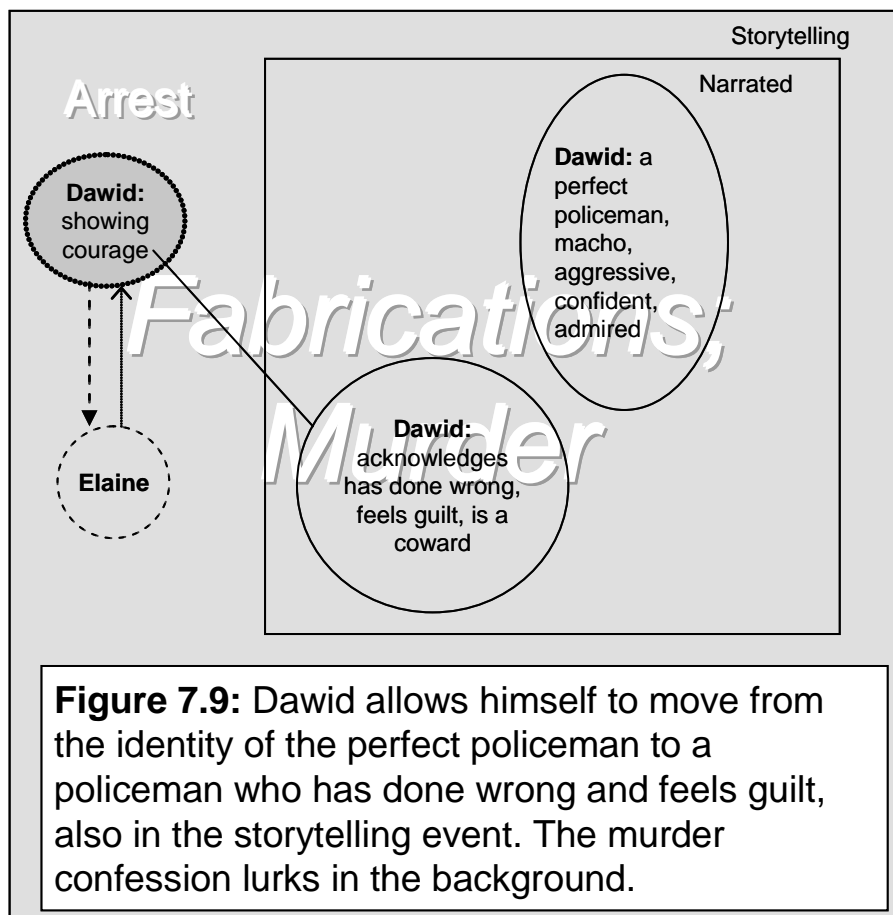
(4)

D: There you have hit the nail on the head.

E: That is why I never say it is ok. It is not ok.

D: It is not ok. It will never be ok. Even if I become a hundred years old, it will never be ok.

I represent the changes in his identity in Figure 7.9.



At this stage, I want to return to the murders. About six months after first telling me about having murdered people, and about a month later than the material I have just been quoting, he and I were summarising what we had achieved up until then. He raised the topic of his confession of the murders. I decided it was a good time to tell him that I did not believe his story. He immediately said he had not told the truth and he was ready to tell the actual

story: He had been trying to speak about the murders for some time; I had not been willing. I think that the session from which I have just quoted, and his stark honesty, made it possible for them to be confronted again.

I did not record the session. The story (taken from my notes made during the session) is as follows: he was trying to get acceptance from three older members at the station. They were seen as the best at the station. On an occasion he had joined them, drinking and having a braai. They received intelligence concerning the whereabouts of two suspects. They decided to fetch them and to interrogate them. From there, in essence the torture got out of hand and by accident one of the older members shot and killed the one suspect. They were now in a predicament. The older members had no doubt that the only thing they could do was to murder the suspect who had witnessed the death. He was shot, despite his pleas. Dawid does not know what happened to the bodies. He was sent back to the station with the braai paraphernalia.

This story rings true in terms of what we know of him and his need to be accepted by authority figures. Much of what he has expressed in the last few excerpts relates to the murders as well as the township violence. Why the lies? I think partially to protect himself; he was certainly not sure how I would respond and what I would do with the information he had given me. He tested me as well by exaggerating the events. At that point he would have welcomed rejection – he knew he deserved it. But if I did not reject him, it may become possible to eventually share the truth. He explained that the lies had come easily as he had described a fantasy he had often had.

During a session a few weeks later we were talking about the murders and the impact they had on him (Episode 130):

D: ek dink wat my die meeste pla is die feit dat ek niks gedoen het daaraan. dis wat my pla. dit maak my klaar. ek probeer dit heeltyd dit regverdig. in die sense dat ek over-compensate. ek het baie na die tyd

baie over-compensate met werk. ek het probeer om goeters beter nicer mooier te doen om op te maak wat ek nou gefokop het. verstaan jy? en dis baie swaar om te erken soos jy die ander dag vir my gesê het om te aanvaar dat ek op 'n stadium 'n lafaard was. dit is die twee goed wat my die kwaaieste pla. dat ek 'n lafaard was in die sense dat ek dit nie geraporteer het nie. dat ek niks omtrent dit gedoen het nie. en dat ek te bang was om iets te doen vir die consequences wat ek self sou gekry het. verstaan jy? nie in die sense van wat die wet aan my sou gedoen het nie, maar wat die ander drie polisiemanne aan my sou doen. ek het altyd gedink ek is 'n ou wat (3) wat redelik hoe kan ek sê manhaftig is. ek is nie bang om dood te gaan nie. of so het ek gedink. tot ek besef die ouens {inaudible} en ek was bang. ek was fokken vreesbevange. en dit het my die bangste gemaak. dis wat my bygebly het van die hele situasie.

D: I think what troubles me the most is that I did nothing about it, that is what troubles me. It kills me. I am trying to justify it in the sense that that I have over-compensated. I over-compensated at work a lot. I tried to do things better, nicer to try and make up for my fuck-up. Do you understand? And it is very hard to admit, like you said to me the other day, to accept that at a stage I was a coward. Those are the two things that trouble me the most. That I was a coward in the sense that I did not report it, and that I did nothing about it. I was too afraid to do anything because of the consequences for me. Do you understand? Not what the law would have done to me, but what those three policemen would have done to me. I always thought I was someone (3) who was fairly, how can I put it, brave. I'm not afraid to die. Or so I thought. When I realised these guys {inaudible} and I was afraid. I was petrified. And it frightened me the most. That is what stays with me.

His entire identity of himself as a policeman, as a man, was shaken. He did not live up to the image he had of himself. He explains that he tried to bury it so deeply within himself that not even he could find it (section not quoted);

he could not allow the reality into consciousness. He then explains the impact of telling the story (Episode 132):

D: weet jy dis moeilik om (2) om vir iets verskoning te vra, wat net jy van weet. jy kan dit nie hard op sê nie. weet jy die eerste keer toe ek dit vir jou vertel die ander dag die werklike storie. toe dit, eventually in woorde uitgekóm het. toe is dit tasbaar. toe kon ek aanvaar dis tasbaar. dis rêrig iets wat gebeur het. toe kon ek verskoning vra daarvoor. oor dit eventually uit my mond gekóm het. dis moeilik om iets wat net in jou brein is wat jy wat jy nog nooit vir iemand vertel het om verskoning te vra voor die Here. ek weet hy verstaan. ek weet hy is daar. maar hoe kan ek dit sê dit moet eers uit. dit moet werklik fisies daar staa:n. jy moet dit sien. en dan moet ek kan kan sê ok. dit is waarvoor ek om verskoning vra. sien jy Here dis waarvoor ek om verskoning vra. kan jy my nou vergewe en dit wegvat?

E: it became real.

D: dit het werklik geword. dit het eers werklik geword na ek jou vertel het. dit was altyd in my brein. maar maar dit het nooit vir my werklik werklik gevoel nie omdat ek dit nooit gesê het nie. dis iets wat jy saamdra wat jy vir niemand kan vertel nie. [...] dat ek jou vertel. dat ons teruggaan en dat ons daarvoor praat. dit maak dit net vir my soveel makliker om te aanvaar ek was regtig daar. en ek het regtig opgefok. en ek kan regtig vergewe word. verstaan jy.

E: dit was absoluut noodsaaklik om dit te sê.

D: ek moes dit sê. ek moes dit op een of ander manier sê. en en ek dink dit was een van die belangrikste goed wat ek nog ooit gesê het vir jou. vir myself.

E: ek twyfel nie daarvoor nie.

D: ek dink dit was die belangrikste ding wat ek gesê het. spesifiek met die doel om beter te word. ek het geweet as ek wil gesond word sal ek dit moet sê. want dit maak my siek binne in. dit doen. dit het my siek gemaak.

D: You know, it is difficult (2) to ask for forgiveness, which only you know about. You cannot say it out loud. You know, the first time when I told you the real story the other day, when it finally was verbalised, It became tangible. I could accept it was tangible. It really happened. I could ask for forgiveness, because I eventually verbalised it. It is difficult to ask for forgiveness for something that is just in your brain, which you have never told anyone about before God. I know he understands. I know he is there. But how do I express it, it has to be said. It has to stand there, physically; you have to see it. I then have to be able to say, “Ok, that is what I am asking to be pardoned for. Do you see Lord, that is what I am asking pardon for. Can you forgive me now and remove it?”

E: It became real.

D: It became real. It only became real after I told you. It was always in my brain, but, but it never felt real, because I never said it. It is something you carry with you which you can never tell someone. [...] That I told you. That we could go back and talk about it. It makes it so much easier to accept I was really there; I really fucked up and I can really be forgiven. Do you understand?

E: It was absolutely essential to say it.

D: I had to say it. I had to somehow say it. I think it was one of the most important things I have yet told you. Told myself.

E: I don't doubt it.

D: I think it was the most important thing I said. Specifically with the goal of getting better. I knew if I want to get better, I will have to say it. It was making me sick inside. It did. It made me sick.

He is touching on a number of things in this quotation. There is a very strong discourse in our society that confession is necessary for healing (Foucault, 1976/1990; Harrington, 2007). He enacts this belief. Previously he had on occasion indicated that he felt as though he was two people. Following this confession he no longer needs a separate identity to explain his behaviour. He has made it possible to have an open relationship with

another human being. He has faced himself and no longer needs the acting out identity (Episode 134):

D: my oorspronklike was {inaudible} was my emosies. ek kon nie oor dit kom nie. het jy al gevoel hoe voel dit om 'n lafaard te wees. nie te dink nie. genuine in jou hart te voel jy is 'n lafaard. so goed jy ruk jou binnegoed uit. en jy sê vir jouself ek is fokkol werd. ek loop met die uniform en ek het al so baie goed gedoen. was dit braafheid domheid of was jy regtig egtig van plan om dit te doen. twyfel. twyfel. om te voel hoe voel dit om 'n lafaard te wees. vir my was dit onaanvaarbaar. vir my was dit onaanvaarbaar. iets wat ek nie wou voel nie. en dan gaan drink ek dit dood. toe gaan suip ek. en dis waar die bakleiery vandaan kom. die aggressiweiteit. ek het baklei om te bewys ek is 'n manly enough is om my job te doen, 'n man te wees vir my vrou. hoe bewys mans dit? deur om ander ouens te bliksem. en rond te fok. en om te suip. en om laat by die huis te kom en te sê ek is die baas van die fokken huis en niemand sal my sê vir my hoe laat kom ek by die huis aan nie. en by die werk kak te soek met die base. verstaan jy. dit was vir my 'n manier om te bewys ek is nie 'n lafaard nie. alhoewel ek die teendeel bewys het.

D: *My original {inaudible} was, was my emotions. I could not get over it. Have you ever felt how it feels to be a coward? Not to think it. To know in your heart you are a coward. It is as good as pulling out your insides. You tell yourself you are worth fuck all. I wear the uniform, and I have done so much good. Was it courage or stupidity? Or did I really and truly mean to do it? Questioning. Questioning. To feel how it feels to be a coward. For me, it was completely unacceptable. It was unacceptable. Something I did not want to feel; I would drink to suppress it. I went drinking and that is where the fighting came from, the aggression. I fought to prove I was manly enough to do my job, to be a husband for my wife. How do men prove it? By thrashing other men. And fucking around. And by drinking. And by getting home late and saying: "I am the head of the fucking house and no one will tell me what time to get home!"*

And to look for shit at work with the bosses. Do you understand? It was a way to prove I was not a coward. And I proved the opposite.

Initially in his narrative he explained that he acted out in rebellion, in order to avoid being dominated and to prove himself. He was a product of his childhood. Here he explains it very differently, referring to various roles prescribed by society. He is clearly aware of the humour in the story and positions himself as no longer needing to behave in the ways he describes.

A few months later I asked him again about racism and he said (Episode 135):

D: baie dinge wat ek gesê het wat ek na die tyd terugdink fok dit waar kom dit vandaan? ek dink persoonlik ek was kwaad en dit was dalk maklik om die swartes te blameer. die polisie het my in 'n groot mate teen swartes opgemaak het. persoonlik in my hart geen kwade gevoelens teenoor swartes nie. inteendeel leef en laat lewe.

E: wat baie nader is aan hoe jy grootgemaak is.

D: exactly. ek het baie goeie swart vriende. ek het nie 'n probleem met hulle as hulle my vriende is nie. waar ek wel die lyn sny is met met met ek wil nie hê my dogters moet met 'n swart man trou nie. ek is dood eerlik. dis hoe ek voel. ek is nie so grootgemaak nie. ek sukkel verskriklik met die konsep (4) om te kan om by om by om by saambly liefde getroud te wees uit te kom. ek sien my buurman hy is met 'n swartvrou getroud en hy is uitgeskuif deur die samelewing in ons omgewing. dis vir hulle baie snaaks. baie konservatief grootgemaak. omdat ek Christelik oorwegings ook het sê my Bybel moenie ondertrou nie. verstaan jy?

***D:** Many things I said previously; afterwards I wondered, "Fuck, where did that come from?" Personally I think I was angry and it was possibly easy to blame the blacks. The police made me dislike blacks. Personally, in my heart, I have no anger against black. Live and let live.*

***E:** That is much closer to how you were raised.*

D: Exactly, I have good black friends. I don't have a problem with them as friends. I do set a limit however, with, with, with I don't want my daughters to marry a black man. I am dead serious. That is how I feel. I was not raised like that. I struggle with the concept (4) to be able, to able, to able to consider living together, love, marriage. I see my neighbour, he is married to a black woman and he is ostracised by the community in our area. It is very strange for them. Brought up very conservatively. I also have Christian principles and my Bible says intermarriage is wrong. Do you understand?

This puts him in a predicament, as he knows I am in an interracial marriage. I also disagree with him on this being a Biblical principle (section not quoted). He eventually says (Episode 135):

D: kyk as my dogter regtig die dag na my kom en sê pa ek is lief vir hom kan ek dit nie keer nie. ek gaan nie my kind wegstuur nie, verstaan jy? maar as ek dit kan verhoed gaan ek. ek het 'n baie goeie swart vriend.

D: Look if my daughter really came to me the day and said, "Dad, I love him" I won't be able to stop it. I am not going to reject my child. Do you understand? But if I can prevent it, I will. I have a very good black friend.

He continues presenting himself as non-racist. However, this time it appears considered, different to in the beginning. I ask him how he managed to get over the racist attitude in the police and he says (Episode 135):

E: jy is nie so deur die polisie opgelei nie. hoe kom jy verby dit?

D: ek dink dis 'n (3) saak wat jy moet uitklaar. ek dink ek is ek is ek is redelik belese in die eerste plek en in die tweede plek is ek nie stupid nie. ek is redelik intelligent. en ek dink na my toestand het en ek het begin rustige raak en het ek meer introspeksie gedoen rondom goed soos wat gesê is toe ek opgelei is. en dit maak nie vir my sin nie.

E: dit maak geen sin nie.

D: dit maak op die stadium vir my geen sin nie. dis waarom ek sê ek het dit vir myself uitgemaak. hulle is mense soos ek. ek hanteer hom soos ek moet.

E: *You weren't trained like that by the police. How do you get past that?*

D: *I think it's (3) a matter which you have to think about. I think I am, I am firstly reasonably well-read and secondly I am not stupid. I am reasonably intelligent. And I think after my condition, when I became calmer I did more introspection around things that were said like during my training. And it makes no sense.*

E: *It makes no sense.*

D: *It makes no sense at this stage to me. That is why I say I had to sort it out for myself. They are people, just like me. I treat him as I must.*

He was very upset earlier in my criticism of his training, but appears to have been able to incorporate my criticism. He continues, and explains that he made deliberate attempt at integration (Episode 135):

D: op die stadium het ek meer swart vriende as wit vriende. dis 'n besluit wat ek in my hart geneem het. en en met die oog op die toekoms vir my kinders ook hulle moet weet hulle moet weet waaroor dit gaan. my ouers het altyd gesê ja behandel hom soos jy {inaudible}, maar ek het nie swart vriende gehad nie. ongelukkig daai tyd was dit apartheid gewees. ek dink as hulle kon sou het hulle dalk. ek dink ek is geneig om swart mense die benefit van die doubt te gee.

E: wat bedoel jy?

D: in die opset daar is baie dinge rondom hulle gesê wat altyd as sleg uit gebeeld was. en ek bedoel benefit of the doubt is bewys jou aan my. bewys jy is nie rêrig soos hulle sê jy is nie. dit was 'n eye opener gewees. ek wil vir my kinders die regte pad wys. hulle moet weet jy kan met swart mense kuier. jy kan met swart mense vriende wees jy kan met hulle kommunikeer en al daai klas van goed. aan die ander kant weet ek as ek dit toelaat skep ek dalk die die moontlikheid dat my dogters dalk met

swart mans deurmekaar raak. maar aan die ander kant ons is in Suid-Afrika. ons is in 'n land wat 'n rainbow nation bestempel word, waar daar multi-cultural goed aan die gang is. as ek hulle nie voorberei op wat in die toekoms gaan gebeur gaan hulle nooit aanpas nie. dan gaan hulle presies sit waar ek gesit het toe ek uit die skool uit is. baie maklik beïnvloedbaar uh met met gedagtes wat totaal en al ek glo vandag totaal en al, heeltetal wanpersepsies was rondom die swartes.

E: dit was propaganda gewees.

D: dit was propaganda gewees. dis hoe ek voel oor dit ek meen. en in 'n groot mate voel ek baie skuldig oor oor goed wat ek gesê het toe ek so deurmekaar was. ek baie goed gesê waaroor ek baie spyt is. unfortunatly ook moet ek by sê my werk die verdagtes wat ek hanteer is meestal swart omdat dit die grootse populasie in die land is. en ek dink dit het op 'n manier omdat ek kwaad is vir die polisie was ek uiteraard kwaad vir almal.

***D:** At this stage I have more black friends than white. It is a decision I made in my heart, and for the sake of my children's future, they must know what it is about. My parents always said treat him as you {inaudible}, but I didn't have black friends. Unfortunately it was during apartheid. I think that if they could have, they may have. I think I am inclined to give black people the benefit of the doubt.*

E: What do you mean?

***D:** In that things were always said about them that were bad. And for me the benefit of the doubt is, "Prove yourself to me. Prove you are not what they said you were." It was an eye opener. I want to show my children the right way. They must know that you can visit with black people. You can be friends with black people. You can communicate with them and all that sort of thing. On the other hand I know that if I allow it, I am creating the, the, the possibility that my daughters may get involved with black men. But then we are in South Africa. We are labelled a rainbow nation, where multi-cultural things happen. If I don't prepare them for the future, they will never adjust. They will in precisely the same situation I was*

when I left school. Very easy to influence, with thoughts which I now believe were totally, completely false perceptions around blacks.

E: *It was propaganda.*

D: *It was propaganda. That is what I think about it. I feel very guilty about the things I said when I was so confused. I said many things I feel very bad about. Unfortunately, I must say at work, most of the suspects I deal with are black because that is the biggest population in the country. And I think because I was angry with the police that I was angry with everyone.*

He has been affected very badly by affirmative action. He comments on how he has come to terms with the destruction of his career (Episode 137):

D: *yes, ek stem nie heeltemal saam met hulle regstellende aksie. maar fok dit ek sou ook regstellende aksie gehad het. ek verstaan dit ek het begrip daarvoor. alhoewel dit my negatief beïnvloed. dit beïnvloed my negatief. maar ek het begrip vir dit. ek hoop net teen die tyd wat my kinders groot is sal dit nie meer daar wees nie. dat almal 'n gelyke kans het ten opsigte van opleiding, breinkrag of of of of of wat ookal 'n gelyke kans. die beste man vir die job. en dis ek sal so aan gaan ek sal so aangaan as dit my kinders se lot sal verbeter in Suid-Afrika.*

D: *Yes, I don't fully agree with their affirmative action. But, fuck it, I would also have had affirmative action. I understand it. I understand it. Even though it has a negative effect on me. It has a negative impact on me. But I understand it. I only hope that by the time my children are adults that it will no longer be there. That everyone will be given an equal chance for training, brain power or, or, or, or, or whatever. The best man for the job. And I will continue like this, I will continue in this way if it will improve my children's chances in South Africa.*

Dawid again positions himself as a sacrifice, but this time it is as a sacrifice for his children. He accepts the changes in South Africa and accepts affirmative action if it will result in an equitable society for his children.

Conclusions

In the beginning I said that he positioned himself in three ways:

- o as a helpful, empathetic, loyal child;
- o as a child damaged by sexual abuse who acted out his pain in revenge;
and
- o as a child who was disciplined and worked (and occasionally manipulated) towards acknowledgement.

This changed. He has been involved in evil and cannot say he is helpful or empathetic. He has also harmed his family. He has let himself down and is not the idealised policeman he wanted to be. He did not have the courage to stand up to senior officers and by implication was influenced by them. He demonstrated a lack of courage and did not protect the weak. He eventually became ill and began acting out. Dawid ends his narrative by explaining that confession has enabled him to start accepting that he really is a coward and is an accessory to murder. He recovers courage and self-worth through his confession and positions himself as a far more mature man by the end of his narrative. Through the process he has come to examine the propaganda to which he was exposed and has started repudiating it. He positions himself as accepting the changes in South Africa.

CHAPTER 8

ELAINE: THE EXPERIENCE

The position of the researcher is not just to “wallow in one’s own bad or (good) feelings about what happened in the research, to spill your guts about what you felt, but to explore how that particular form of subjectivity came to be the way it was by virtue of the particular institutional relationships that were drawn up and recreated and so to make it intelligible and accountable” Parker (2005, pp. 30-31).

As I discussed in Chapter 4, reflexivity is an integral part of constructivist research. Recognising and disclosing my values and assumptions also make it possible for readers to interpret my findings. It also assists readers in developing different perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003a; Elliott, et al., 1999; Guba & Lincoln, 2002).

In this chapter I will give a brief personal history and then discuss six paintings I did while doing the study. I also kept a research diary which I have referred to in writing this chapter. In the discussion that centres on the paintings I will reflect on my role and position in the research. I indicated in Chapter 4, and I think it was clear in Chapters 5 to 7, that the therapeutic relationship I have with the participants is entwined with the research relationship. In this chapter I have in general not attempted to separate my responses into those that would be experienced in research versus those that would be experienced in psychotherapy, as the separation would be artificial. I do however often discuss the interaction between the two interventions.

Dual Relationships

As explained in Chapter 4, I initially took on a position of an expert in relation to the participants. I did this to get some control in their chaotic environments. They also had to know that I could tolerate whatever they chose to tell me (Davies & Frawley, 1994; Shay, 1994). They were already

part of the mental health system; knew they were sick and that they needed help. As the participants and I got to know each other, and their emotional and behavioural control improved, our relationship became more relaxed. I then approached them and asked whether they were willing to participate in research. A therapeutic relationship and a research relationship differ in some ways, and I expected this to have an effect on our interaction.

Herman (2001, pp. 134-135) describes the therapy relationship as unique in that:

- o its sole purpose is to promote the recovery of the client.
- o the client voluntarily submits to an unequal relationship in which the therapist has superior status and power.

Herman (2001) goes on to explain that in this relationship, the therapist is aware of the unequal power of the client and respects the client's autonomy by remaining disinterested and technically neutral. The therapist therefore does not gratify personal needs through the client, take sides in the client's inner conflicts, or try to direct the client's choices. She emphasises that technical neutrality is not moral neutrality. I have discussed the question of moral neutrality in Chapters 3 and 4 and will return to it later in this chapter.

In a research relationship, the sole purpose is not the recovery of the client. In actual fact whether the participants recover or not is of no importance in the research relationship. I am interested in how they create meaning after torturing and committing other atrocities. Even a response such as a successful suicide would not have been problematic for the research I was doing, if I knew that I had taken all necessary precautions for their safety. In a research relationship, the participants have more power than in a therapeutic relationship. They knew that I was dependant on them for information and knowledge. I was not disinterested; I had a vested interest in their experiences. However, it was important to recognise throughout that

this was always an inherently unequal relationship – they were sick and I was healthy (Murray, 2002). This impacts on the narratives they gave.

This sets the scene for what should be quite complicated transference and countertransference relationships. These are terms which grew out of the psychoanalytic literature, and I have decided to use them as they have crossed into general use in psychology, and many authors use them, even though they do not write from a psychoanalytic perspective (e.g. Dalenberg, 2000).

My History

I realised when starting this section, that the research participants all had the protection of anonymity, with the exception of me. This means that inadvertently my family is also exposed. I am therefore, going to restrict this part to aspects which I consider pertinent to this thesis; focusing more on my responses for which I am responsible.

I was born in 1960. Placed within a historical context in South Africa, this was the time of the Sharpeville uprising. I am therefore just slightly older than Adriaan and Charl, and about twelve years older than Dawid. I, like them, was born into a deeply racist society. This was the time of petty apartheid, with separate entrances, beaches and benches for different racial groups. It was impossible to grow up without awareness that some people were deemed inferior to others; every part of society gave that message. The impact of apartheid on me, on every person I know in South Africa is pervasive. A personal example relates to history at school. I grew up with the history books that ignored a large part of our history, as did most of my generation. The frightening part is that I never thought that there was an alternative history.

My parents are farmers in the Free State. They still farm and my two brothers are involved in the family business, which has expanded into a large enterprise, and now bears no resemblance to my early memories. My

earliest memories are idyllic and feel very far removed from my current life. The farms in the area were only electrified after I started school. I have numerous memories of coal stoves (especially at my paternal grandparents), of fruit orchards, of peeling and stoning fruit for canning and drying. It was a time when they still laid up food for the winter months. My grandmother made soap under the trees in big cast iron pots the day after processing meat. Animals were slaughtered for meat on the farm, and a day was devoted for processing in which the entire family participated. Meat for biltong would be hung a few days later, and eventually stored in pillow cases in cupboards which retained the smell of the biltong and dried peaches of previous seasons. We would play in heaps of leaves (after thrashing of maize) in winter; reaping was largely still done by hand. I was taught all the necessary skills of embroidery and knitting, crochet and dressmaking, baking and cooking.

I have two younger brothers and my mother learnt to drive so that she could take us to school every day. We went to school in Sasolburg (formally established in 1954), a town that at the time had a huge mix of people, including factory workers, miners, professionals and a large immigrant population. I had a very different background to my peers and could often, due to the distances involved, not participate in activities. I think this had a number of results, among them a sense of not belonging and enforced observer status. The problem was probably compounded by the reading I did. I read voraciously, which no one else in the class did. I was politically reasonably aware as a result, which contributed to a sense of isolation. This, I think, isolated me from my family as well. We have always had very different political views. I, for example, vividly remember hearing about Biko's death. I remember thinking about it later the day at school, the horror at the knowledge that the police were lying and that he had died as a result of torture. I remember the heat and dust from where I was walking and the sense that I knew no one I could share my thoughts with, as they would either not know he had died, not know who he was, or not care. They would

probably also believe the police. If they knew who he was they might even think it a good thing.

After university, I met my husband. He is a South African of Chinese descent. At the time (1981) it was illegal for us to have a relationship as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and a particular clause (I do not remember which) of the Immorality Act (1950) were still in force. He was still forced to obtain permits to live in White areas. In order to do this he had to present signed affidavits from his potential neighbours saying that they did not object to his presence. He was obviously disenfranchised and experienced discrimination on numerous levels. In order to have a relationship, one of us had to apply for reclassification. This was a long, drawn-out and humiliating process. My husband was eventually reclassified. I would never do that now, but at the time it seemed to be the best option, as we had no idea of when the respective acts would be repealed. This was the period of "total onslaught" in South Africa, with paranoia running rife. We were always aware that we could be arrested for having a relationship, if someone chose to report us. My husband's family accepted our relationship. Mine did not. This resulted in conflict, but we eventually married. The relationship with my family improved after our marriage. We have been married for twenty four years and have two sons.

I do not remember a time of not feeling guilty about apartheid. This is deserved guilt, which I do not expect to change. I have never had the luxury of saying "I did not know". I knew. I always knew that I was partially responsible for apartheid by being a bystander and doing nothing to stop it. I remember knowing this in primary school. I did nothing, because I was a coward. Boys of my generation were conscripted. I often wondered at school whether I would have had the courage to be a conscientious objector if I had been male. I knew I would never have been able to tolerate conscription. Is this partially my motivation in doing this work? Undoubtedly. I do not see it as a way to assuage my own guilt. I will always feel guilty. I

do think my awareness of my role in maintaining apartheid led to me being more willing to hear stories of perpetration.

I have been interested in trauma responses for approximately fifteen years. In working with traumatised clients I would occasionally stumble across perpetration accounts. I have mentioned in Chapter 1, that as I have thought about it, I have remembered many men who have indicated that they were involved in perpetration. One in particular, had an enormous impact on me. It was the story of a man who had joined the railway police at the age of sixteen. The railway police and the SAP amalgamated and he was put in a riot unit and sent to the townships. He told me of a torture gone wrong. He had led the group and a suspect was eventually necklaced by accident. He moved to another part of the country and I later heard that he had committed suicide. I coincidentally saw a number of people who had worked with him and who were extremely badly affected by his PTSD and eventual death. His death, coming soon after the TRC, made me aware that there were many traumatised men who had also perpetrated. I knew that I had been ineffectual in managing what he had told me, and began to wonder what alternatives there were for managing perpetration.

My Narrative of the Research

A body of work stems from the experiences of working therapeutically with traumatised clients. Various terms are used to define this for example, compassion fatigue (Figley, 1995), empathic strain (Wilson & Lindy, 1994b), trauma-related affective reactions (Wilson & Thomas, 2004), trauma-related countertransference (Dalenberg, 2000) and vicarious traumatization (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). There are subtle differences in this body of work which often overlap. Essentially two concepts are involved: countertransference and vicarious traumatization. The terms used to describe the effect on the therapist of working with traumatised clients all indicate that the experience is exhausting and difficult.

The participants all have PTSD which developed from their work in the police. Dawid was also traumatised when he was sexually abused as a child. I expected the well-described forms of countertransference (e.g. Briere & Scott, 2006; Dalenberg, 2000; Davies & Frawley, 1994; Wilson & Lindy, 1994a; Wilson & Thomas, 2004) which are experienced in relation to traumatised clients to develop in my work with the participants. None of the work on countertransference with a traumatised population refers in detail to the effect on a researcher or clinician who works with a population who have perpetrated. At most there is a brief discussion on sexual abuse victims who possibly perpetrate (e.g. Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). Lifton (1986, p. 501) who published extensive interviews with the Nazi doctors expresses the complexity of working with perpetrators in his afterword:

I complete this work with many different feelings: relief at the idea of Nazi doctors no longer inhabiting my study, uneasiness concerning the limitations of my work, anger toward Nazi killers in general and Nazi doctors in particular, and a certain satisfaction that I have seen the effort through. My mind darts back and froth between the sitting rooms in which I talked to former Nazi doctors and images of Jews lined up for selections at Auschwitz and mental patients being gassed at killing centers. From the beginning I have been on guard against letting the sitting rooms block out the victims.

Bar-On (1989b) describes the self-examination he had to confront, while interviewing the children of perpetrators in Nazi Germany and how hard it was at times to be open and accepting. He realised that the interview process demanded restraint and empathy, a spirit of inquiry combined with a non-judgemental approach. He noted that he learnt to dissociate his emotions from the stories he heard. At other times he found himself so empathetic, that he had to remind himself of what happened to fellow Jews.

Other authors (e.g. Baumeister, 1997; Kren & Rappoport, 1980) have briefly commented on the difficulties a researcher has in working with perpetration. I suspect that one of the major reasons for the lack of perpetrator accounts is the difficulty the researcher has in confronting the material. I will extend

the concepts of countertransference and vicarious traumatisation to working with perpetrators in this chapter.

Initially, countertransference was seen as linked to the therapist's own neuroses. It was presented as the "enemy of neutrality" (Dalenberg, 2000, p.4). This has undergone revision and now many authors (e.g. Bouchard, Normandin & Séguin, 1995; Dalenberg, 2000; Herman, 2001; Pearlman, & Saakvitne, 1995; Waska, 1999; Wilson & Lindy, 1994a; Wilson & Thomas, 2004) see it as useful and even essential for the therapist to pay attention to his or her reactions. The controversy lies in whether or not there is value in sharing this information with the client (Dalenberg, 2000; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995, p. 22) summarise the countertransference literature into two core approaches:

- o Inclusive interpretations which "define countertransference as any response the therapist has to her client, positive or negative, conscious or unconscious, spoken or unspoken".
- o Focused interpretations which define as countertransference "those responses that are unconscious, that inhibit the therapist's ability to be therapeutic with the client, or that reflect the therapist's transference onto the client of significant relationships from the therapist's past".

I am adopting an inclusive interpretation in this study, as that accommodates the social constructionist view that the participants and I are joint creators of knowledge, identity, understandings and work within a particular culture. I also include the power invested in organisations which play out between the participants and me in transference/countertransference reactions (Burr, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003c).

Themes relating to countertransference include: disbelieving the story, denial and avoidance of the trauma, issues around blame and shame,

responses to anger and perceived manipulation by the client, sexual countertransference, need for non-erotic touch, voyeurism, parental countertransference, response to taboo subjects, therapist responses to victim as perpetrator, theory as source of countertransference and organisational countertransference (Dalenberg, 2000; Pattison, 1973; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995; Woodmansey, 1988).

Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995, pp. 22-23) recognise the following categories of countertransference:

- o the therapist's affective response to the client;
- o the therapist's responses to the client's transference to the therapist;
- o the therapist's defences against his or her own affects or intrapsychic conflicts aroused by his or her client and the client's material in the session;
- o any response that hinders a therapist's ability to be therapeutic to his or her client; and
- o the therapist's unconscious response to the client.

Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995, p. 279) refer to vicarious traumatisation as: "a process through which the therapist's inner experience is negatively transformed through empathic engagement with clients' trauma material." Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995, pp. 282-294) identify the following areas in which vicarious traumatisation can take place:

- o changes in identity, world view and spirituality.
- o maintenance of a positive sense of self-esteem, a consistent sense of identity and to manage and modulate strong affect.
- o ego resources, such as making self-protective judgements, being introspective, establishing and maintaining boundaries, empathy, striving for personal growth, awareness of psychological needs, clear cognitive processing.

- o psychological needs such as a sense of safety, the ability to trust, positive self-esteem, experiences of intimacy and a sense of self-control.
- o sensory system, including imagery and bodily experiences.

I will focus my discussion on countertransference and vicarious traumatisation regarding various paintings I have done while doing this research. I often found that I was struggling to verbalise what I was experiencing; it was easier to paint and then stand back and understand what I had depicted. It was extremely difficult to be aware of all my responses; at times I found myself depicting themes in the paintings of which I was not consciously aware. Another reason for the paintings was that at a stage I found that I was becoming emotionally blunted to what I was hearing. I could hear the most horrendous stories and they would have no impact on me. In order to circumvent that response and to maintain a controlled emotional response I decided to paint my experiences. This is something I commonly do when working with traumatised clients, and it worked well in this instance. I have done six paintings; the reproductions accompany the discussions.

The experience of having therapeutic relationships and doing research with the participants was extremely isolating. Generally, it would be recommended that one obtain supervision (Herman, 2001). This proved to be difficult. Not surprisingly my immediate colleagues did not like the stories I had to tell; they would indicate that it forced them to start questioning their culpability in what had happened. They also found the stories horrifying. It was clearly too burdensome to routinely expect them to be available to listen to gruesome stories and their impact on me. I occasionally discussed my reactions with them, sparing them the horrible details. I attempted to formalise a process with a colleague whom I trust, but immediately felt that she was distancing herself from the accounts and my experiences. I simply could not tell her any more, and did not take it further. This was probably a mistake, but I did not feel that I could challenge her to confront things from

which I felt that she recoiled. This was an important lesson. I realised that if I picked up on her response as easily as I did, that I could not pretend with the participants. I had to be wholly present. Moran (2007) discusses how he successfully interrogated Japanese prisoners in World War II. He emphasises how important it was to be genuinely sincere with prisoners. He emphasises that it was important to not merely assume the attitude in order to gain the prisoner's confidence as he or she would know the difference.

One of the shifts I had to make in doing the research was to become aware of my reactions for long periods. With trauma clients I have learnt to be extremely aware in a session, of them, their reactions and my reactions, and to cut off that awareness after a session. In doing this study I had to force myself to focus on my reactions and responses, in order to capture my experiences. I was very aware of the participants and their reactions. I had to retain that awareness in order to capture it. I was also reading a lot about various views on evil, as well as South African history. This meant that I was confronted by the depravity of man; bodies, and bits of bodies, braais and drinking while burning victims, and bits of skull and brain. The transcriptions forced more immersion in the material. I would often have to replay a sentence ten times in order to get it exactly right. This was more difficult than only a therapeutic intervention would have been. After a therapeutic session, I could put aside the vicariously experienced images, sounds, voices and smells. The transcriptions made that impossible. I will now discuss the paintings.

The Abyss

Anticipatory Anxiety

I did this painting (Figure 8.1), in acrylic ink, very soon after commencing work with the participants. I found that I was delaying discussing perpetration as I anticipated experiencing a number of internal conflicts. I had on occasion worked with perpetrators prior to this study and had known

that I had countertransference reactions which I had been afraid to examine in detail.

One of the initial experiences I had was that I was being invited by the participants to enter into an abyss with them. I was terrified. Wilson and Thomas (2004, p. 19) refer to the abyss experience as archetypal and define it as:

individual encounters with extremely foreboding psychological experience, which typically involve the confrontation with evil and death; the experience of soul death and the spectre of nonbeing; the sense of abandonment by humanity; the sense of ultimate aloneness in the universe and despairing; and the cosmic challenge of meaning.

Danieli (1984, p. 30) in work with Holocaust survivors refers to the fear of being drawn into a “vortex of such blackness that I may never find clarity and may never recover my own stability so that I may be helpful to this patient.”

In front of us, in the painting, is the pathway. If I and the participant accept the invitation and embark on that path, we overlook an abyss. I first experienced it as a dark, threatening void, but decided to cast light on it. A flat, desert scene is revealed. It is a broad expanse of nothingness, of desolation. It depicts my fear of total ego disintegration in the participant if I should agree to descend into the abyss with him. I did not know if I would be able to contain his emotions and how I would manage them. I also feared that I may be confronted with my culpability and I did not know how I would manage those feelings. In that nothingness is a delicate drawing of a man tied to a chair. He is bound with ropes and is being tortured. I will discuss my experience of the victims of torture in the next painting.

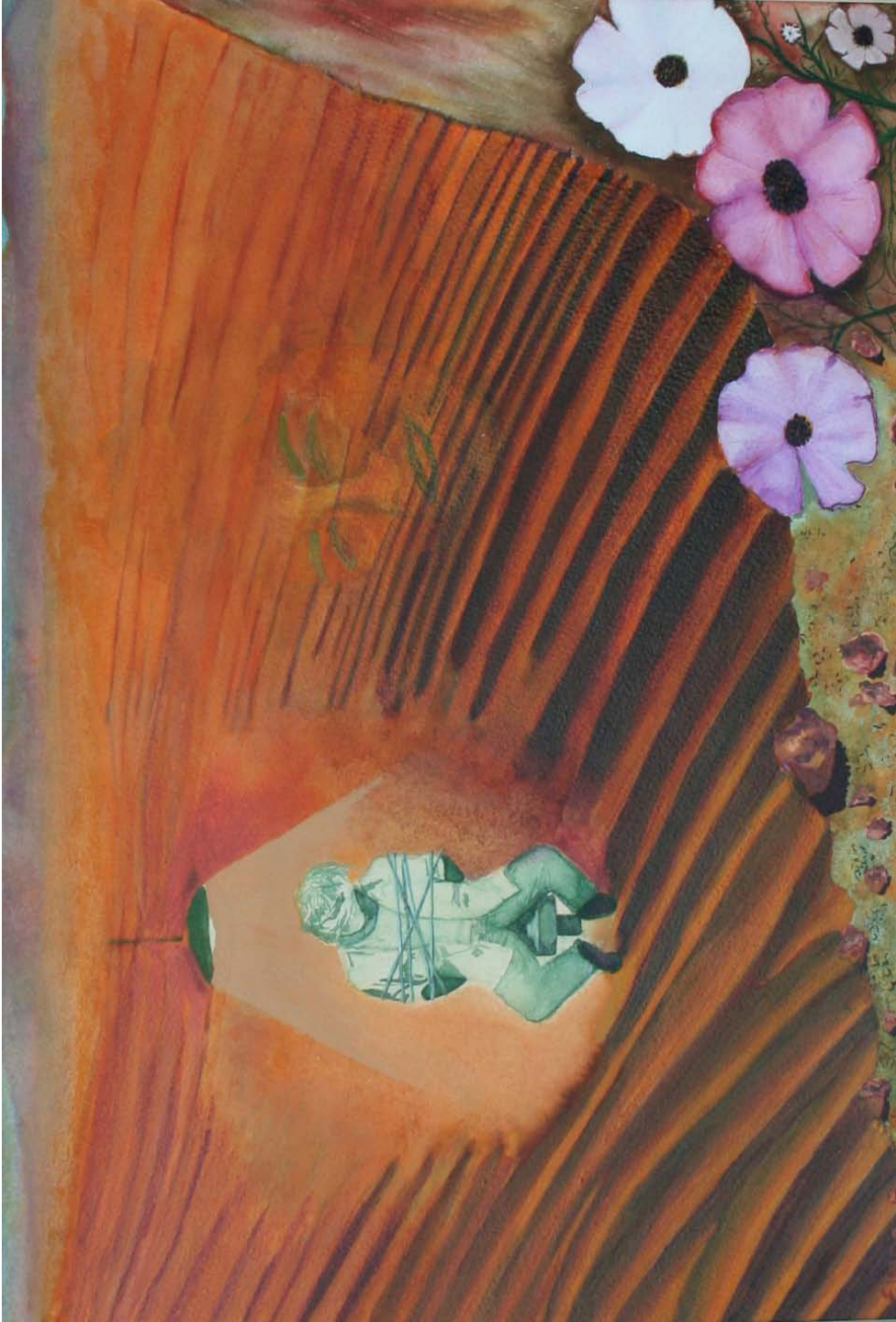


Figure 8.1: The Abyss

Role Reversals

I only later realised that I had added no perpetrator in the painting. At times it felt as though the roles were reversing; I was the torturer, forcing the participant to face what he had done.

I always find it difficult to confront painful memories with clients. I always have the sense that I am a source, for the moment, of their pain. This is a well-known countertransference issue (Dalenberg, 2000; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). I cope with it when working with traumatised clients, by knowing that we have negotiated what we are going to do; they know the risks and have agreed to them. I know that they will recover once we have faced the trauma. In this instance, I was far less sure of myself. I had to tell the participants that I did not know what the eventual results of disclosure would be. I told them that I thought talking about what they had done would be extremely unpleasant and that I could not hold out healing as I could with the traumatic events they had suffered. Their need to talk about what they have done combined with their natural tendency to take risks (pre-requisite for doing the jobs they have done) meant that my warnings were no deterrent. They were always more ready to tell than I was to listen. In some ways this could possibly be interpreted that they were dumping their guilt on me, torturing me with unpleasant images. I, at times, felt dumped on, but I did not get the impression that it was to torture me; it tended to happen when they were extremely defenceless and faced by the horror of what they had done and were trying to rid themselves of the memories of their actions. This is very different to the reported unwillingness of perpetrators to tell their stories (e.g. Huggins et al, 2002). I think a number of complex reasons contributed to the participants' willingness to tell their stories. I will explore a number of them in the rest of this chapter.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, Charl had on occasion called me Himmler. He experienced extreme pain and distress when we talked about perpetration and clearly felt that the roles had reversed; that I was torturing him. I had to repeatedly consider whether I was deliberately causing him pain. I found

that I had to be aware of my emotions towards him every moment. I had initially had a very strong response to him (discussed in Chapter 4), and I sat before the question daily of whether I was still angry with him for apparently boasting about his behaviour and not showing remorse. I realised that I was not neutral – either in terms of therapeutic or research relationships. I wanted the participants to say they were sorry. I did not feel that I could work with them if they were not prepared to admit that that which they did was wrong. And yet, I wanted to be open enough to understand their reasons and experiences. This would include justifications for torture. At this point I had not examined my thoughts around torture in detail – I did not think there was much to examine.

Questioning of Own Culpability

Looking back, I think I wanted them to accept responsibility, to acknowledge that they were the problem. I did not want to think that we, as a society, were guilty; that I was partially responsible for atrocities. It is one thing to blithely say that we created and create this type of society – it is far more difficult to be confronted with the results of what we have created.

On the right hand side of the painting are cosmos. They are fragile and delicate, but quite dominant in the painting. They also have black hearts, replacing the golden heart of the cosmos. They are symbolic of an apparent reality which we can subscribe to; it reassures us that the world is as we see it. I hope the black heart of the cosmos, gives a vague sense of wrongness, of something that is not quite right. They are deceptively beautiful, but are invasive weeds, that are a problem all over the world. They take over productive farm land. We can deceive ourselves about our own capability to commit evil and at times our propensity towards evil if we choose. We can also believe the propaganda we are told about others and our world and act in ways which appear right, but are wrong. I was aware that not only had I some responsibility for the society in which I live, but I was also a victim of the propaganda and the dysfunctional society into which I had been born. I hated the realisation that I had possibly also incurred some damage as a

result of being born in South Africa. I have never seen myself as a victim, and was very uncomfortable with the idea. I was far more comfortable thinking that I was partially responsible for the problems in South Africa. This was a useful realisation, as the participants all struggled with the realisation that they were also victims.

As I have mentioned my husband is Chinese. In 2006 he and I tried to understand some of his family history. Eventually we found that the family had been removed from their property in Fairview, Port Elizabeth the beginning of 1967. Within six months of the forced removal my husband's grandmother and her one daughter died. We only realised this after we found the tombstones. This is not spoken of by the family. While doing this study I was aware of the damage that had been done to family close to me as a result of apartheid policies.

Development of Empathy

I recognised that I would have to develop empathy with the participants in order to work effectively with them. Empathy is a central concept in therapeutic work with traumatised people (Wilson & Thomas, 2004; Wilson & Lindy, 1994b). Is it necessary to develop empathy when working with perpetrators, especially if the nature of that work is research? I argue that it is essential in both therapeutic work and research. The danger of not developing empathy means that one runs the risk of pseudospeciation (Lifton, 1986). Once we have decided that someone belongs to a different species, it is a brief step to dehumanisation. Dehumanisation is one of the building blocks in perpetration (Staub, 1989, 1995). Other dangers would be voyeurism, insincerity or distance (McCann & Colletti, 1995; Wilson, Lindy & Raphael, 1995).

The only protective factor was the development of empathy. The participants did not have empathy for their victims; they degraded them and believed they were subhuman. To avoid harming the participants I had to have empathy with them, even as they described perpetration. This meant

that I had to be willing to know their emotions in the abyss; even though I was uncertain what they would be. This is not a justification of their behaviour in any way. It would however be impossible to understand their behaviour without empathy for them. Shay (1994, p. 189), who describes his work with Vietnam veterans puts it:

To be trustworthy, a listener must be ready to experience some of the terror, grief and rage that the victim did. This is one meaning, after all, of the word compassion. Once the vet sees that the listener authentically experiences these emotions, even though with less intensity than in combat the vet often loses the desire to shout in the listener's face, "You weren't there, so shut the fuck up"

I repeatedly had to remind myself that I was not there. I do not know how it felt. I do not know the noise, the adrenaline surges, the smells, the group pressure, the training and the propaganda. I do not know how I would respond in similar circumstances.

Wilson and Thomas (2004, p. 21) define empathy as "the psychobiological capacity to experience, understand and communicate knowledge of the internal psychological state of being of another person." Wilson and Thomas, (2004, p. 17) also state that in working with traumatised people, therapists

sustain a centred focus by drawing on their own experiences with pain, uncertainty, anxiety, suffering and memories of profoundly upsetting life experiences in an attempt to understand the client's internal struggles with psychic trauma and how it has altered their world and reality. The therapist attempts to match understanding of the client's internal state and to empathically "walk where they walked" in order to know more precisely the intricacies of the client's trauma experience.

Various authors (e.g. Cozolino, 2002; Damasio, 2004; Schore, 2003b; Wolf, Gales, Shane & Shane, 2001) describe empathy as the activation of similar neural pathways in the observer, as in the person experiencing the action or emotion. Damasio (2004, p.116) puts it: "the brain momentarily creates a set of body maps that does *not* [italics in original] correspond exactly to the

current reality of the body.” This is deduced from work done on monkeys and the neurons involved have been called mirror neurons (Cozolino, 2002; Damasio, 2004). It was found that neurons fire in the observer monkey when another primate or the experimenter is engaged in specific behaviours. The same neurons fire when the monkey performs the action itself. Although identical experiments cannot be performed on humans, scanning studies have been used to extend the findings to humans. Cozolino (2002, pp. 185-186) explains:

It is logical to assume that the facial expressions, gestures, and posture of another will activate similar sensory-motor circuits in the observer. These motor systems, in turn, activate networks of emotions associated with such actions. Seeing a child sad child cry makes us reflexively tilt our heads, say “aawwhhh,” and feel sad with them. Watching a defeated athlete walk slowly off the field with his or her head down can lead us to feel sad and, perhaps, trigger a memory of a time we suffered defeat ourselves. In these and other ways, mirror neurons may bridge the gap between sender and receiver, helping us understand one another and enhance the possibility of empathetic attunement (Wolf, Gales, Shane, & Shane, 2000; Wolf, in press). The internal emotional associations linked to mirror circuitry are activated via outwardly expressed gestures, posture, tone, and other pragmatic aspects of communication. Our own internal state – generated via mirroring – can become our intuitive “theory” of the internal state of the other.

Wilson and Thomas (2004, p. 34) note how frightening this can be:

Immersion into this inner world of traumatization can be fear provoking, overwhelmingly distressful, and anxiety producing and can lead to altered views on humanity, morality, justice and the goodness of life. Such immersion through empathic attunement also means immersion into the ego-space of traumatized people and the realm of the abyss – the intense emotional cauldron of dysregulated affective states and their expression in altered patterns of attachment relationships.

I found that doing the transcriptions for the V explosion led to me letting my guard down and developing empathy with Charl. The account he gave of the explosion did not contain perpetration, just his distress at others’ pain. I no longer avoided developing empathy with him. Looking back, with Adriaan

I was afraid to confront what he did. I avoided it. I just didn't have the courage to confront the horror of what he had done, of my own complicity. I couldn't cope with his pain, or probably mine. His honesty was too much for me. Adriaan's family also reminds me of my own. I have met his mother and stepfather and they could be my aunt and uncle. It really meant that anyone could perpetrate.

Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995) recognise a response to taboo subjects as a countertransference theme. I did not want to know my capacity for evil; I was perfectly happy in my role as a therapist – a good person, who is not violent, who does not kill and is in a healing profession. I do not even eat animals. I do not use harmful sprays in the garden. I also did not know how I was going to balance any of this: How could I have empathy with the victim, as well, at the same time, empathy with their torturer?

Trial identification is seen as "the temporary identification with the patient" (Basch, 1983, p. 105). Basch follows Fliess (1942) and equates trial identification with empathy. Basch (1983, p.104) explains that "empathy involves resonating with the other's unconscious affect and experiencing his experience with him while the empathizer maintains the integrity of his self intact". As I explained above, even a temporary identification meant that I would have to acknowledge my potential for harming others; it would inevitably change my view of myself. I would retain a sense of self, but how I experienced myself had to change. This was inevitable as soon as I realised that the participants were not the "few bad apples" of society, but a reflection of a society which we had created. I did know that I could not allow the participants to confront extremely frightening truths about themselves, unless I made an honest attempt to join them in their journey. I therefore, had absolutely no choice but to know my capacity for evil; my ability to make bad decisions; that I could enjoy others' suffering. I had to repeatedly recognise that I could actively join an evil discourse. The need for this introspection is confirmed by Haley (1972). The taboos against this sort of expression in our society are extremely powerful. Even as I write some of

these things, I want to delete them, and say: “Ok, let me leave my identification with evil as an abstract thought; don’t make it specific. I cannot be that bad, that is not really a part of me.” It is a battle which does not go away; it is a deliberate decision to know these things, concretely and specifically.

Kren and Rappoport (1980, p.126) in discussing the Holocaust explain that extended exposure to the horrors of the Holocaust results in despair:

What remains is a central deadening sense of despair over the human species. Where can one find an affirmative meaning in life if human beings can do such things? Along with this despair there may also come a desperate new feeling of vulnerably attached to the fact that one is human. If one keeps at the Holocaust long enough, then sooner or later the ultimate personal truth begins to reveal itself: one knows, finally, that one might either do it, or be done to.

Challenges to Own Identity

As I have mentioned, I think one of the effects of growing up where and how I did was to not get involved; to observe instead. I had to counter that in myself and ensure that I did not distance myself from the participants’ experiences to protect myself.

Once I decided to descend into the abyss with the participant, I realised that I needed my face (slightly distorted) in the desert – also covered by the ripples in the sand. At times I felt totally overwhelmed by what I was hearing. I realised that I would not be left untouched in the abyss. I had to change to accommodate the material, and I did not know what the eventual changes in me would be. Kren and Rappoport (1980, p. 125) make this statement with regard to the Holocaust:

None of those who engage in serious study of these extraordinary happenings, including trained scholars, can escape without experiencing a deep personal crisis. In this sense, the enduring meaning of the Holocaust is profoundly rooted in the feelings it evokes.

It meant that I would have to challenge my identity. It was not good enough to say, intellectually, we are all capable of evil; it meant that I had to know emotionally that I was capable of evil. I also had to know that I have the ability to deceive myself as to my inherent goodness and honesty (Gilbert & Malone, 1995; Miller, Ashton & Mishal, 1990; Ross & Nisbett, 1991). This is extremely painful, and challenges any liberal “do-gooding” that may still exist. They are not the other; I and they share the same humanity and the same ability to choose evil, or to have evil chosen for us and to go along with it, without protest. Lifton (1986, pp. xi-xii) in discussing avoidance of studying perpetration accounts put it:

Such avoidance contains not only fear of contagion but an assumption that Nazi or any other evil has no relationship whatsoever to the rest of us – to more general human capacities. While Nazi mass murder and brutality tempts one toward such an assumption, it is nonetheless false, and even dangerous.

Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995) mention denial as a common countertransference theme. I had to recognise that not only did I live in a society in which torture could happen, but that I was a joint creator of that society. I may not have actively dehumanised others, but I was at the very least a bystander who observed atrocities and made no attempt to stop them. I was part of a political system which degraded people and made torture possible. I had benefitted in numerous ways from that system. As I was going about my everyday business and using structures which were available to me as a white South African I perpetuated atrocities. I had to acknowledge that I may also have been a victim of apartheid and influenced by the inherent evil in that ideology. I could not separate myself from my world, I was influencing and influenced. I had not physically tortured anyone, but that was at most an accident of birth. I could only join the participants in their journey if I kept this knowledge in consciousness all the time.

Disclosure of Countertransference

Various authors (Dalenberg, 2000; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995; Van der Kolk, 1994b) suggest that one way of dealing with countertransference reactions is to disclose them. In general I follow that policy when working with traumatised clients. One of the questions I faced in working with the participants was whether I should disclose my reactions to them and their stories or not? Even in a research relationship I would argue that it is important. They know that the stories they are telling are shocking; they know that they have an impact on anyone they may tell. When Charl first saw this painting, he commented and said that it would teach me what happens when I talk to people like him. Haley (1972) notes that is critical for the therapist working with perpetrators to be a real person. This I argue includes being open about my reactions.

The possible effect of not disclosing my reactions to their stories appears to be extremely detrimental. A blank slate response is a response and can very easily be misinterpreted; either that I am uninvolved and aloof in the face of their revealing their most frightening secrets, or that what they have done does not matter. If I did not disclose my reactions, I would model that deception and lying about reactions is acceptable. They all struggle with secrecy and emotional expression – modelling of acceptable behaviour is essential. They are all afraid and expect rejection. I would on occasion say that I was nauseous or that the images had stayed with me. I would also often comment that I was tired after a session and that I expected that they were also tired. The participants are hypervigilant both due to their PTSD and because they are extremely aware of the nature of what they are disclosing. It is criminal behaviour, not things to be taken lightly. Not responding and disclosing discomfort challenges their judgment. In the police, they joke and boast about these stories. It is critically important to demonstrate a different response. Even within a research relationship I would argue that the researcher has an ethical responsibility to allow the participants in a study such as this to know that their stories have affected him or her.

The participants all knew that they would possibly evoke disgust or rejection in me for what they had done. At times they felt they deserved rejection. Dawid, in his first confession to murder was evoking complex possibilities. On the one level he later explained, he felt as guilty as though he had pulled the trigger. On another level, he has fantasised doing what he confessed he did. He had not acted it out, and therefore it was safe confessing, as I could do nothing with the information. He could test me with the information. He explained to me on one occasion that even if forced to do a polygraph, he knew he would pass as he was not in reality guilty of what he had confessed to. He told an exceptionally gruesome story, which should have elicited rejection from me. At the time he was acting out in other ways so badly, that he knew he should elicit rejection. He explains:

D: dis die fokop. is moeilik om te verduidelik hoe ek goed bymekaar sit in my kop. ek verwag ok bo en behalwe dat ek my self verwerp in 'n groot mate het ek verwag dat iemand soos jy wat my hele lewensverhaal luister
E: dat ek jou gaan verwerp.

D: ja. en dat iemand soos my ma-hulle of iemand soos my vrou wat die nou die werklike toedrag van sake ken sal my verwerp en dit gebeur nie.

E: en wat doen dit aan jou?

D: dit maak my deurmekaar. dit maak my baie deurmekaar. dit sou vir my makliker gewees het as almal gesê het jy is die slegste fokken ding op die aarde. ek wil niks ooit weer met jou te doen hê nie. en dan moes ek maar ly 'n tipe van 'n martelaar raak um as gevolg van my sondes en stront. (5) nou gebeur dit nie. en ek verstaan nie hoe werk dit nie.

E: al wat ek kan doen Dawid is sê waar ek daar staan. ek dink nie daar's eenvoudige redes vir die goed nie. en ek dink nie jy is alleen verantwoordelik nie. ek sê nie

D: dis reg nie.

E: nee. of dat jy geen verantwoordelikheid het nie.

D: That is the fuck up. It is difficult to explain how I put it together in my head. I expect, ok, apart from the fact that I reject myself I expected someone like you who has listened to my whole life story

E: That I will reject you?

D: Yes, and that my parents and my wife who know what happened will reject me. It has not happened.

E: What does that do to you?

D: It's confusing. It's very confusing. It would have been easier if everyone had said: "You are the worst fucking thing on earth. I want nothing to do with you." Then I would have to be a type of martyr because of my sins and shit. (5) Now it doesn't happen, and I don't understand how it works.

E: All I can do Dawid is say what my point of view is. I don't think there are simplistic reasons for these things. I don't think that you are solely responsible. I'm not saying

D: that it is right.

E: No. Or that you have no responsibility.

It was also essential to communicate clearly that although I had never tortured, I regarded myself part of a society that had guilt for making torture possible. I would routinely say it; acknowledging that I had not actively killed or tortured someone, and that difference did exist between us. I decided information was also important and I often communicated that perpetration is not due to personality characteristics, but that situational factors play an immense role. I occasionally gave personal anecdotes about my life as a South African. I found that the Milgram obedience experiments (Milgram, 1974) and the Stanford prison experiment (<http://www.prisonexp.org>) were easy to communicate and very helpful in making it clear that I did not view the participants as bad, evil people who were separate from the rest of us. Normalisation of symptoms is often used in dealing with trauma (Dalenberg, 2000). This is certainly not routine in research, but as I explained in Chapter 4, I am intimately involved in the creation of the narratives, and am not attempting an "objective" study of the participants' lives. As is clear in the

excerpt I have just quoted, Dawid did not deny his culpability. The participants often ensured that I knew that they were responsible for their behaviour.

Dalenberg (2000, pp. 53-54) notes three points which are valuable in disclosing countertransference reactions and are not incompatible with ethical research:

- o Is the disclosure relevant to the client's need to know, rather than the therapist's need to discharge affect?
- o Are the method and timing appropriate?
- o Is the content of the disclosure appropriate to the client's needs?

Disclosing countertransference also indicates that you consider the client or participant likable. After perpetration, this is critically important. They have strong feelings of alienation, of worthlessness. They need to be recognised as people with potential to confront their actions and be restored in relationships. They were comfortable talking about the processes and the relationship we had and would often initiate the discussion. The following excerpt from interviews with Dawid is illustrative:

D: {crying} (12) jy weet hoe om my dag op te fok.

E: ek is jammer. nee, ek is nie jammer nie.

D: ek weet jy is nie jammer nie. ek is ook nie jammer vanoggend nie. [...]

E: vanoggend was moeilik op jou né?

D: ja dis moeilik. dit was nie 'n lekker sessie nie.

E: ja, ja [...]

D: ek is bly ek het die perspektief gesien. [...] toe ek nou daaroor praat, toe jy die vraag vra, dis asof dit whe-e-e gaan daar 'n liggie op vir my.

E: something makes sense.

D: ons kom êrens, né?

D: {crying} (12) *You know how to fuck up my day!*

E: I'm sorry. No, I'm not sorry.

D: I know that you're not sorry. I'm also not sorry this morning. [...]

E: This morning was hard on you, wasn't it?

D: Yes, it was hard. It wasn't a nice session.

E: Yes, yes. [...]

D: I'm pleased I got that perspective. [...] When I spoke about it earlier and you asked the question it was as though whe-e-e a light went on.

E: Something makes sense.

D: We are getting somewhere, aren't we?

It is critically important, even in a research interview, that the interviewer is fully present and fully aware of the participant's experiences as well of his or her own. It is extremely difficult and takes enormous courage to recount these stories. There was a good chance that they would have recurrent, distressing images for hours, sometimes days afterwards. They would also often have nightmares which related to our discussion. They often complained that they were drained for days after telling some of the stories, or exploring their reactions. The stories evoke extremely powerful emotions both in the participants and in the interviewer. These reactions had to be noticed and dealt with adequately. Shay (1994, pp. 188-189) in discussing the therapist's experience summarises much of what I have said in this section:

Combat veterans will never trust a therapist whom they see to be "freaked out" by what he or she hears. . . . The listeners must also be strong enough to hear the story without having to deny the reality of the experience or to blame the victim. . . . *Without emotion in the listener there is no communalization of the trauma* [italics in original].

Haley (1972) also emphasises the need to tolerate hearing dreadful things and not retaliate when working with perpetrators. I quote an exchange with Charl which illustrates many of the points I have raised in this section. It took place a session following a therapeutic session in which he had disclosed things which made him feel very vulnerable:

C: ja, en jy voel asof jy dan en ek weet nie, of dit ook die stigma is van die polisie maar dat jy's bang dit gaan verder. as jy hulle sielkundiges gaan sien het, dit het altyd uitgesnowball, uitgekring. wat dink die mense? {laughs} so 'n siek gedagte.

E: Charl ek sal jou sê wat ek van jou dink op hierdie stadium as dit sal help. ek het baie meer empatie met jou as wat ek gehad het. (4) en ja, daar is tye wat ek kyk en dink, fok, hierdie man is siek.

C: {laughs}

E: natuurlik dink ek dit soms, ek sal stupid wees as ek dit nie dink nie.

C: ek dink dit self.

E: ja, natuurlik. en ek dink ek wil nie in hierdie man se kop wees nie, en ek dink, shit how does one live like this. ek is bekommerd by tye. en soms het ek 'n kol op my maag en ek dink we'll have to find a way out of this. [...] na ek jou gesien het, ek dink dis Donderdag, probeer ek onthou waarom het ons gepraat. ek kan nie onthou nie dis te oorweldigend. ek speel die goed agt tien keer oor dat ek dit kan neerskryf.

C: {laughing} jy maak dit vir jouself ook moeilik.

C: *Yes, and you feel as if, I don't know if it is also the stigma of the police, but you're afraid it will go further. When you saw their psychologists, it was never kept confidential. What will people think? {laughs} A sick thought.*

E: *Charl, I'll tell you what I think of you at this stage if it will help. I have much more empathy for you than I had. (4) And yes, there are times when I look and think, "Fuck, this man is sick."*

C: {laughs}

E: *Of course I think it sometimes, I'd be stupid if I didn't think it.*

C: *I think it myself.*

E: *Yes, naturally. And I think, "I don't want to be in this man's head", and I think, "Shit, how does he live like this?" At times I'm worried and sometimes I have a hollow spot on my stomach and I think, "We'll have to find a way out of this." [...] After I saw you, I think it was Thursday, I tried to remember what we had spoken about and I could not remember. It*

was too overwhelming. I play the stuff over eight, ten times so that I can write it down.

C: *{laughing} You make it difficult for yourself.*

Clashing Systems

I was often told by the participants that they had no choice but to be honest with me. They knew participation was voluntary, but appeared to feel it was involuntary. It took me a while to understand some of this. Their background is that of interrogations, and I only later realised that they automatically saw what I perceived as either a research interview or a therapeutic session as interrogation. I do not know whether they needed the sense of being under duress in order to tell their stories. When the secrecy in the police is taken into account, it is possible. At one stage Dawid explained that he did not know whether he was allowed to talk about things which happened in training. Charl with his comments on seeing me as Himmler suggests that he felt forced. I have on other occasions (unfortunately I do not have recordings of this) been told that the psychiatrist was the good cop, whereas I was the bad cop, a well-known interrogation ploy.

The police system uses interrogation to arrive at truth. It is used when someone is suspected of criminal activity. The participants have all engaged in torture – a criminal act. The interrogator is all powerful; as the participants have illustrated. The suspect has to submit to the process. On the other hand is the mental health system. Participation is generally described as voluntary participation. The interviewer is often not very interested in truth, but is more focussed on processes. It is generally not an adversarial process, but a cooperative endeavour. It demands, however, that the receiver is defined as sick, not guilty (Foucault, 1976/1990). In this, he loses power. The interviewer has enormous power over him; often deciding what the next step will be. The representatives of the mental health system decide when he will be ready for discharge if hospitalised, if and when he may return to work and what medication he needs. The receiver's role is to

be compliant with treatment (Foucault, 1976/1990). Treatment often includes confession (Harrington, 2007).

Shadows

This is another painting (Figure 8. 2) done in acrylic ink. Again, it shows the man who is tied to a chair and is a torture victim. The perpetrator is represented by a fist. My face is in a corner. Most of the rest of the painting is taken up by grey, faceless people. The cosmos appear again. Colours tinge the grey people throughout the painting.

Weight of Responsibility

I did this painting when I was very aware of the people whom the participants had harmed. They brought a weight of accusation into the room. I was aware of people who had been damaged or killed because of the participants' actions. I was aware of faceless children who were hungry, of children who were now adolescents and adults who had had a broken father because of his experiences at the hands of the participants. I was also aware of the families of the participants and how every aspect of their lives was affected by a husband and father who drank, was violent and emotionally unstable. I recognised the transgenerational effects of abuse and torture. I was aware of my own family who would also be impacted on, when I was drawn too much into my experiences with the participants. I was aware of politicians who played uncaringly with people's lives. I was aware of the connectivity in the universe and how everything impacted on everything else. They have tortured, and in harming others they and their families are damaged. Steve Biko (2004, p.24) put it:

There exists among men, because they are men, a solidarity through which each shares responsibility for every injustice and every wrong committed in the world, and especially for crimes that are committed in his presence or of which he cannot be ignorant.

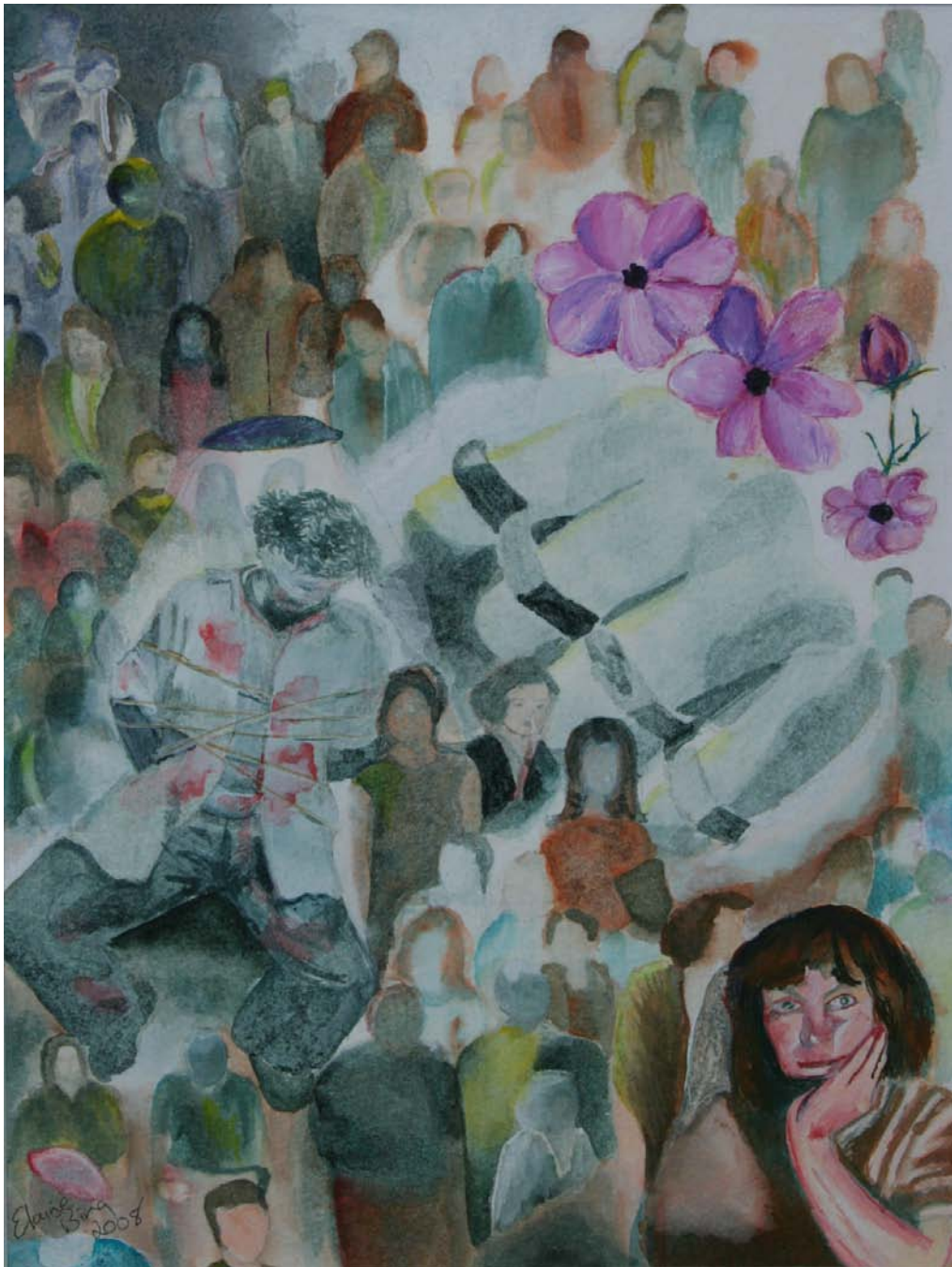


Figure 8.2: Shadows

I felt the weight of responsibility of not making mistakes, even when I was unsure about how I should manage something. I felt I had a duty towards the participants and their families. It also brought a sense of the necessity of treading gently; of treating the participants with respect.

I often had a sense that working with perpetrators somehow betrayed the victims. I have had therapeutic relationships with a number of people who were tortured by the police during apartheid, who were imprisoned under the apartheid legislation or whose parents were killed by the security police during apartheid. It was extremely difficult to see them, knowing that I also see perpetrators of these abuses. On an intellectual level, it is helpful for me to hear both sides, but I suspect that the victims of these atrocities would be shocked and would feel betrayed if they knew I see perpetrators.

Organisational Factors

The weight of responsibility was also due to the recognition that our society ignores men like the participants because of our discomfort in facing our complicity. We hope that they will go away. They make us very uncomfortable. The belief that people torture because of essential factors such as personality disorders is powerful. Deciding their behaviour is due to a personality disorder would again remove culpability from a society. It is extremely difficult to believe that they may suffer, and that they may need and deserve treatment. All the participants have dealt with numerous motor vehicle accidents, rapes, armed robberies, murders and other violent crimes. They have had exposure to extreme political violence. They all have parents, wives or partners and children. They have also been involved in perpetration. They are not only defined by their exposure to political violence and their involvement in perpetration.

On one occasion, during this period, I was working with a man who had been a senior officer at Koevoet. He referred to traumatising of people under him as collateral damage. The callousness, which I am sure was common, shocked me. At times I would become very angry with the SAPS

and the Compensation Commissioner for not providing better care. It is a never-ending battle to get compensation for the participants or payment for service providers. The participants and other people in the same position, very seldom get claims acknowledged, let alone approved. The bureaucracy is never ending and the level of incompetence may not be surpassed anywhere. In terms of psychotherapy it is easier to decide to do it pro bono. I have found this to be a better option for myself. The irritation and resentment with the bureaucracy carry over into psychotherapy and deciding that this work is my service to the community is an easier way to manage the problem than attempting to get payment. However, at times I am aware of the participants' despair, loss of hope and anger when they struggle for some form of acknowledgement and compensation. At times I have felt myself affected by that same sense of despair and anger. I have often felt that I wish someone would run berserk and kill all the management responsible for the position in which the participants find themselves. All the participants in this study have at times had to rely on family or friends for day-to-day expenses (including food for their families) as a result of these problems. It also seriously affects the medication options available, as the police medical aid is very limiting in terms of what can be prescribed. Unfortunately fewer and fewer psychiatrists are willing to see these patients for the same reasons. One aspect that should be mentioned specifically, as it indicates the level of denial in society, is that although the Compensation Commissioner acknowledges the diagnostic criteria of both *DSM IV TR* and The World Health Organization's (1992) *ICD-10* classification of mental and behavioural disorders (*ICD-10*) for PTSD, the possibility of a claim for PTSD with delayed onset is effectively excluded. This notice was published with retroactive effect in the Government Gazette ("Circular instruction", 2003). Charl was one of the people affected.

Ethical Positions and Questioning

Despite the difficulty in keeping the victims in mind when working with the participants it was essential to do so. The participants can be very persuasive and it is easy to lose the reality of people who were harmed.

Miller et al. (1999) report from exploratory studies that when people listen to explanations for perpetration that they are likely to be more condoning towards perpetration than when they do not. At times it is relatively easy to say an action is wrong. Charl explained how they would pick up people and torture them, in the hope that they would get information on an acquaintance that may have criminal tendencies, or that they would pick up someone, and essentially torture them because they had not had their fun for the day. Adriaan explained that he would kill people, to simply avoid having to call an ambulance. I think most of us would recoil at a story such as those Charl tells of taking back illegal immigrants so that he could assault them. Most of the atrocities they committed in the townships were easy to condemn. However, as they evoked the circumstances in which they worked, I began to understand how easily atrocities are committed.

Their behaviour extended to suspects who were suspected of criminal behaviour. When I was told by them of assaulting someone who was caught in the act of rape, I could understand the reactions of the policemen concerned. I know it is wrong, and that police brutality may never happen, but I understand in these circumstances why it does. At other times, the lines became more blurry. Charl, on an occasion, described torturing a suspect, who eventually through his confessions was linked to cash-in-transit heists. There was adequate evidence for a conviction. I began to understand their frustrations in having a suspect, whom they suspect is involved in serious crimes and not being able to get enough evidence to link him to those crimes. They described a sense of helplessness which I began to understand.

I was confronted by the moral debates around torture. In Chapter 4 I discussed the work of Parker (2005) and that he suggests that researchers take in a position and allow and even encourage disagreement. I stated that I wanted to take a less polemic position. The result is that I opened myself to understanding the arguments and experiences of the participants. This

made it extremely uncomfortable for me on occasion as I found myself questioning moral positions I never thought I would question.

The cosmos are dominant in this painting. I had a sense of a community which does not want to know what is done in its name. I often had the sense of underlying malevolence which is part of the structure of the society we have created, and which cannot be confronted. I found myself wondering whether Dawid was correct in saying he was a sacrifice for the community and that people like him were necessary.

Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995) talk of possible changes in identity and worldview. In the beginning of this study, if asked, I would have said torture was wrong. I would have had no doubt that I was right in taking in that position. I align myself with a human rights approach and torture is decried within the human rights movement. I was surprised that there were writers who did not take in such a strong stand; who appeared to think that as torture would happen, that it should be managed, for example with torture warrants (Dershowitz, 2004). I found that as the study progressed that I was developing sympathy with the participants and with the decisions they had to make, often in life-or-death situations. Zimbardo (2007, p. 2) reproduces one of Escher's (1960) artworks, Circle Limit IV. It represents white angels and black demons. One either looks at the angels, who are visible because of the demons, or sees the demons who are defined by the angels. When taking in a stance against torture, supporting the victim, I can cite numerous reasons why torture is wrong, inhumane, inefficient, immoral and so on. When I put myself in the position of the participants I understand it, and want to turn away and not notice it happening, not willing to stop it. Do I think torture is morally right? No. Definitely not. But I do think it is much more complicated than I originally thought.

Van der Kolk (1994b) comments on work with traumatised people:

the desire to take a moral stance, to actively side with positive action, interpersonal connections, and empowerment, puts a great strain on

our capacity to take a passive, listening stance from which we can help our patients figure out how the trauma has affected their inner world and outer expression.

Herman (1992, p. 7) takes in a different stance and states: “But when the traumatic events are of human design, those who bear witness are caught in the conflict between victim and perpetrator. It is morally impossible to remain neutral in this conflict. The bystander is forced to take sides.”

In terms of working with perpetrators it is extremely difficult to allow them the space they need to explore their experiences. As I discussed earlier it means that you have to allow identification and develop empathy with them.

Torture is a criminal offence. I often found that I had to consider the ethics of knowing these stories. They told me their stories in confidence; the participants were my primary clients and entitled to confidentiality. I also had an ethical responsibility towards the community. Allowing them to return to operational work could result in further torture. I would repeatedly be faced by the question of where I placed myself: Do I want torture to continue if it leads to arrests and convictions or must I do what I can to prevent it? These were not theoretical or philosophical arguments, but rooted in daily experiences.

Flowers

This acrylic painting (Figure 8.3) was done in two stages. There are strong diagonal slashes of colour. It is restless and disturbing. I was extremely aware of these feelings in relation to some of the things that the participants said.

Dysregulated Affect

MacNair (2002b) refers to the work of Haley (1974) and Shatan (1978) who both pointed out that when the patient reports atrocities, therapists have more trouble listening. Wilson et al. (1994, p. 23) speak of traumatoid states which are “trauma-like reactions that develop after significant exposure to a

traumatized person and include symptoms of dysregulated affects, somatic reactions, hyperarousal". They refer to two types of traumatoid states: Type one involves "forms of denial, detachment, distancing or withdrawal from the client" (p. 23) and type two involves "forms of overidentification, enmeshment or overidealization of the client" (p. 23). I found that I was at risk for both of these experiences. I found that I also experienced anger; a desire to harm or punish the participants. I would propose this as a third traumatoid state.

I generally found I could maintain contact with the participants when they experienced intense emotions, after I allowed myself to develop empathy. Prior to that, I was more at risk of withdrawing, or simply forgetting what a participant had told me. When I thought back, I could remember deciding not to remember. On occasion, the difficulty was not only the nature of the material, but because I could not imagine the man with me doing what he said he had. On other occasions I would have clear images of him doing what he said he did, and then it would be difficult to maintain empathy. As I described earlier, this put me in a quandary: They had the courage to face what they were guilty of; I could not allow my squeamishness to prevent me from allowing them to talk about it.

Especially in the beginning I was aware of aggression towards the participants. I would find myself questioning whether this was really remorse I was seeing in a participant. I wanted them to experience remorse and for it to hurt. I wanted to take in the position of an accusing society that holds them solely responsible for their actions. This would absolve me and I could say that they were simply evil and the problem. This was the route taken by the politicians at the TRC (Boraine, 2000). They had hurt others and I wanted them to acknowledge what they had done. I had to bring myself back to the acknowledgement repeatedly that I was part of the society that had made this possible. I had to remind myself continuously, that not



Figure 8.3: Flowers

challenging them was not condoning their behaviour. In the stories they tell, they are catapulted into a world for which they were not prepared. I have children who are now the age of the participants when they were forced to either do military service or join organisations such as the police. On occasion it helped to recognise that this could have been my children's future.

On the painting there is another level. I painted fragile flowers which have no base. It is fragility floating on the violence and destruction below. When the participants told their stories, it had an enormous impact on them and me. I had to be aware the entire time that the participants were also emotionally fragile; they were severely traumatised as well as perpetrators. In some ways this made developing empathy easier. Their emotions are often labile, at times blunted, and they can easily respond with violence or with binge drinking. This means that it is critically important, even in doing research, to be finely attuned to them and to ensure that they are taught containment strategies. The underlying PTSD can lead to catastrophic flashbacks, and extreme reactions, even when telling a story for research purposes. Telling a story leads to numerous images, both traumatic and those where they engaged in perpetration. Dawid told me that he would start by boasting about what he had done. As the conversation progressed, he said he felt worse and worse. He said it was because he could see how I felt about what he was telling me. I am not at all sure that I showed how I felt, and whether it was just something he needed to see.

At times, I became aware of a sick, sinking feeling before seeing the participants. This was especially a problem when they spoke about gruesome scenes in which they were responsible for gratuitous violence. One of the problems which arose, and which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 11, is that they appear to sometimes get pleasure from recounting the incidents. Charl explained that he used some very violent scenes to calm himself down. I had to decide when to allow the stories and when not. I also had to decide whether I was preventing the stories to protect myself,

or because I thought the recounting was detrimental to the participants. At other times the sessions drained them. Charl explains:

C: en as ek hier kla-ar is, soos Donderdag, dan gaan ek huis toe en dan gaan lê ek, ek is. rîrig ek voel sielsdood. rîrig, ek voel sielsdood.

C: *And when I finish here, like Thursday, I go home and I lie down. It feels as though my soul had died. Really I feel as though my soul has died.*

I had intense physiological responses to the stories. I found that if I had seen one of the participants early in the morning, and went through the day consulting, that I would be plagued by vague feelings of nausea throughout the day. Only the evening, when I had time to consider my reactions, would I connect my discomfort to some story I had been told earlier the day. On an occasion I became aware that it felt like I had a thick mass in my head, after Charl expressed remorse around perpetration. I had no emotions I could grasp. On other occasions I would become very sad. I think this was a general grief and sadness at the damaged lives.

Boundaries

Often, especially in the beginning of therapy, the participants would lunge from crisis to crisis. Maintaining appropriate boundaries is extremely important to avoid enmeshment (Dalenberg, 2000; Herman, 2001; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995; Van der Kolk, 1994b). I have considerable experience working with traumatised clients, which helped as I knew my responses to these transference reactions, and did not have to debate them in myself most of the time. I am not going to discuss this in more detail, as numerous works refer to the subject (e.g. Dalenberg, 2000; Herbert, 2001; Linehan, 1993; Philips & Frederick, 1995) and I do not think I can add to the debate.

Shame

The participants all indicated their shame in the first session. Herman (2001, p. 54) put it: "The violation of human connection, and consequently the risk of a post-traumatic disorder, is highest of all when the survivor has been not merely a passive witness but also an active participant in violent death or atrocity." Again an open relationship in which our reactions were discussed was critically important. It is also useful to raise it as a topic for discussion. Again, I think this is important in both a therapeutic and a research relationship.

Levi (1986, p. 86) refers to the shame of humanity when watching victims in the Holocaust. He says: "the just among us, neither more nor less numerous than in any other human group, felt remorse, shame, and pain for the misdeeds that others and not they had committed, and in which they felt involved." I have noted that we are part of a society which established the possibility of torture and we carry that shame.

The participants felt extremely vulnerable and exposed in describing their experiences. Charl put it like this:

E: hierdie is vir jou verskriklik moeilik is dit nie.

C: {crying} ekskuus.

E: nee.

C: om daai binneste oo:p te maak vir iemand anderste. dis

E: verskriklik.

C: dis soos jy loop kaalgat te loop in 'n shopping mall.

E: *This is extremely hard for you isn't it?*

C: {crying} *sorry.*

E: *no.*

C: *to open up your internal experiences to someone, it's*

E: *terrible.*

C: *it is like walking naked in a shopping mall.*

The therapist or researcher, who does not self-disclose, runs the risk that the client or participant will see her non-verbal signs of shame (possibly related to the shared sense of shame as discussed earlier) and believe they relate to him. Tangney, Burggraf and Wagner (1995) caution the possibility that shame can develop in therapy. The risk of causing an intense reaction of shame is increased without a good, supportive relationship to sustain questions asked in research. I will discuss shame in more detail in Chapter 11.

Disconnection from others

Herman (2001, p. 133) explains: “The core experiences of psychological trauma are disempowerment and disconnection from others”. I doubt that any other action damages attachment relationships more than perpetration does. Torturing and killing others, has to have an immense impact on how you relate to people. The participants all expressed a sense of disconnection. Adriaan gave a clear account of how his involvement in perpetration has isolated him from his community.

I mentioned earlier in this chapter that at times I felt very isolated while doing this study. I at times felt disconnected from others; it was hard, and is still difficult to tell the story of this research. I am hesitant to give the details because they are unpleasant and because on occasion it appears to elicit voyeurism. Again, my experiences gave me some insight into what the participants were experiencing.

Non-erotic touch has a very controversial history in the field of psychotherapy (Dalenberg, 2000), with diametrically opposing views being adopted. I will often touch a client’s hand if they are having a difficult time in a session. I have often reached out and touched the participants in this study. I think it is important in people who have perpetrated, as in people who have been traumatised. It helps maintain a sense of reality; it assists in

disclosure; it helps in combating a sense of shame and it confirms our shared humanity (Dalenberg, 2000; Pattison, 1973; Woodmansey, 1988).

Drawers and Things

This painting (Figure 8.4) is of a bizarre interior, done in acrylic. It is a stylised, forced painting, in which there are numerous misplaced and strange items. It grew out of a sense of walking into a strange world, where nothing is what it purports to be. The painting on the wall of a tranquil landscape is of Vlakplaas (Edelstein, 2001, p. 22). The fire screen depicts the covered head of an exhumed corpse (Edelstein, 2001, p. 215). A number of the items appear to float. In the mirror there is a reflection of a policeman. He is not represented in the room, but is invisible. A diminutive armoured vehicle is on the floor.

Alien Worlds and Covert Operations

Under apartheid things were denied that were obviously true. The TRC was largely established to uncover the secrets of the past and numerous books have been written with that purpose (e.g. De Kock, 1998; Du Preez, 2003; Gardner, 1997; Harris, 2008; Heunis, 2007; Kasrils, 1998; Krog, 1998; Mandela, 1994; Mbeki, 1984; O'Malley, 2007; Pauw, 1997; Potgieter, 2007). Adriaan evoked the fear and secrecy in the country, as well as in the police in his description of the sergeant who disappeared after he was visited by the Security Branch.

I also grew up in the secrecy and fear which permeated the country. As I noted earlier, once my husband and I started a relationship, I was aware that



Figure 8.4: Drawers and things

we ran the risk of being reported for having a relationship. This was brought home to me recently, when a new client (a policeman) looked at the photos in my consulting room and commented that he would have had to arrest me twenty five years ago.

I will discuss the culture of secrecy in the police in more depth in Chapter 9. In this chapter I will focus on the impact it had on our relationships. The participants work and worked in an organisation in which the culture encourages secrecy. Members of the police do not easily trust outsiders and believe no one can truly understand the ways in a police department (Minnaar & Mistry, 2006; Skolnick, 1994/2005; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993; Toch, Bailey & Floss, 2002). I am an outsider. Not only am I not in the police, but I am female. I am also English speaking and in an interracial marriage. Despite receiving tacit approval from the apartheid authorities, the participants know their actions remain criminal. Charl, on a number of occasions mentioned his fear of prosecution. All of these factors do not easily lead to the development of trust and open discussions of their perpetration.

At times I knew I was being lied to and that was difficult to manage. Dawid's first confession of murder was such a time. I did not believe the story in its entirety. This put me in an extremely difficult position, as I mentioned in Chapter 7. I did not want to discuss it further with him as I did not want to compound the problem. I did not doubt that it was emotionally true. I had no choice but to accept his presentation of himself as a murderer. I thought that the confession had increased the community's safety, but I was still not sure of what he had done or what he was capable of doing. Part of the difficulty was that I realised I had invited a lie. I had told him to tell me the story in such a way that it was impossible for me to take any action against him. At the time, I had felt that was necessary, as I feared his acting out if he self-discharged.

My immediate emotions ranged from condemnation, to compassion, to dismay. I felt it as a lump in my stomach of which I was aware the entire time. The only way to eventually deal with it was to decide to feel what was in the lump. When I explored that feeling it was rage. I was angry about the story; about the pre-meditated nature of it. I wished I could have him thrown into prison. I was extremely angry at the total lack of recognition for the law. I knew it implied a lot in terms of prognosis for psychotherapy. I was also disappointed in him; I did not expect premeditated murder. If he had said it had happened in the heat of the moment, I would not have been surprised. Pre-meditated murder implied a callousness which I had not seen in him. As I realised that he had lied, I began to realise that it had enormous therapeutic implications. The compassion was for his wife and parents who had to live with his confession of murder. He gave them some indication that he was guilty of murder, but I do not think he gave them the details.

Dalenberg (2000) discusses the effects of a client lying. Essentially it leads to the therapist withdrawing. It is extremely difficult to remain engaged when you are sure your client is lying to you. Herman (2001) emphasises truth-telling as part of the therapeutic contract. I was aware of fabrications with which Dawid had chosen to represent himself, in the background of all our interactions. We later determined that it was a mutual awareness. He explained that he knew that he had to confess to lying, but did not know how or when. As I felt that he was confronting his experiences more openly, I eventually felt safe telling him that I did not believe his story. This made the eventual story of the murders possible.

Developing trust with people who have perpetrated is an ongoing, difficult process which must not be underestimated. I found myself tested and re-tested by the participants. All I could do was to be completely authentic. This meant that I had to be open about what I felt and thought about the participants. I could not take refuge in subterfuges, or pretence about what they told me. They knew that what they were telling me was shocking. They

knew it was at times nauseating and that I would have mixed feelings regarding them.

I sometimes found that I did not believe something I was told or more commonly that I thought it had been exaggerated. On one level it did not matter – I was interested in how the participants created identity and they may use exaggeration in this process. It is common when telling war stories. I had to take into consideration that my reaction of disbelief could also be due to countertransference and my own difficulties with the material (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995).

I often found myself irritated by the participants' tendency to use politically correct language to disguise racism (sometimes known as modern racism). I would react to my perception of their dishonesty. I had to repeatedly remind myself that they were positioning themselves in particular ways and to rather attend to the meaning of what they were doing. I knew my reactions were due to my personal experiences. They often raised the subject when they were ready and at times we could have a valuable discussion. It, however, remains a difficult subject for me to confront and not to take in a condemning stance.

Unpredictable Experiences

There are numerous cupboards and chests in the painting. I never knew when I pulled open a drawer or looked inside a wardrobe what new horror would be waiting on me. I was also always unsure what I would hear next and how I would feel about it, or about the participant who had told me. At times, I realised that my reactions were very different from theirs. The first time Adriaan told the story of running to work, he told the story as a confession, sobbing throughout because of the shame he experienced in the telling. I felt totally disconcerted when he told me the story; I could not understand why he was crying. I was only aware of the inner strength he had in order to continue trying to rebuild his life, despite what he had experienced.

As I have explained, very little research exists in perpetration. When Charl told me that he experienced pleasure from what he did and that he used gruesome images to calm himself, I did not have a background of research to know whether this was to be expected or not. When Dawid told me that torture was linked to sexual stimulation for him, I also did not know how common this was. I had only once previously had a client who had explained the same processes to me. My intuitive sense is that it is probably common, but unfortunately little exists in the literature. This created a lot of uncertainty in me and I often did not know what an appropriate response would be.

Despair

I also had the sense at times of how overwhelming the different views and perspectives were in South Africa. At times the damage seemed so extensive that it removed hope that things could ever get better. In the painting the cell door opens (Edelstein, 2001, p.121) onto the exercise yard at Robben Island (Edelstein, 2001, p. 63). The statues represent various people. The girl is a child in traditional Afrikaner dress (Edelstein, 2001, p. 175). A female comforter at the TRC is represented (Edelstein, 2001, p. 95), and at the back an anonymous young man turns his back on us as he runs away (Edelstein, 2001, p.84). In front of the fire, a board advertising Post Chalmers holiday farm near Craddock is propped up (Edelstein, 2001, p. 119). It was a centre used for torture. The figure of the tortured man is frozen in a statue. There are a few hanging cosmos in a vase. It is a disjointed painting, in which nothing fits. There is no sense of cohesion. At times I felt completely overwhelmed, not only by the participants but by what they represented in South Africa. Experiences and points of view are often diametrically opposed. I would be aware of the difficulties in South Africa of attempting to find common ground in such an incredibly divided country. At times I would have an overwhelming sense of despair. The despair I experienced was related to the stories the participants told, the damage they had incurred as well as the damage they had inflicted on others. I often

experienced extreme anger at politicians who play games with people's lives.

Emerging Narratives

In this acrylic painting (Figure 8.5) a tree trunk and branches are emerging from a scratched and disturbed surface. Below the obvious surface, there is a mauve layer which is sometimes visible.

Fractured Narratives

This painting depicts the sense of narratives which emerge and disappear; of shadows appearing and of vague suggestions of shapes which may appear. A framework begins to appear. There is no completion; narratives are open and may be re-storied; changing their focus and meaning. I do not think I get the full stories; I get some stories and many of them are partial stories. I did not know where the narratives would take me or the participants. I did this painting after Dawid told me the true story concerning the murders. I knew from before Dawid's first confession to murder, that there was much I did not know. Although he confessed to a heinous crime, he continued to have the power in the relationship. I am put in a reactive position, which is dangerous and difficult to manage. This pattern played out repeatedly with the participants; they take a very long time to develop sufficient trust to tell some stories. Charl told stories repeatedly, often adding in details which had not been present in the initial stories. This is commonly found in trauma narratives (Krisinsley, Gallagher, Weathers, Kutter & Kaloupek, 2003; Southwick, Morgan, Nicolaou, & Charney, 1997) as people probably trigger other traumatic memories. The same process may be occurring in remembering of atrocities.



Figure 8.5: Emerging narratives

I have found myself writing and rewriting numerous sections of this thesis, as my views change. At times I am inconsistent in my standpoints. For me the narrative of this research continues to develop.

Fractured Language and Shattered Assumptions

The language the participants used was often fragmented, indicating the fragmentation of their lives. It was clear, throughout that the participants struggled to verbalise their thoughts and feelings. As discussed in Chapter 3, language is destroyed by trauma (Scarry, 1985). The fragmentation of narratives in trauma was also discussed in Chapter 3 (Crossley, 2000; M. Gergen, 1994; Sarbin & Kitsuse, 1994). Herman (2001, p.51) explains:

Traumatic events call into question basic human relationships. They breach the attachments of family, friendship, love, and community. They shatter the construction of the self that is formed and sustained in relation to others. They undermine the belief systems that give meaning to human experiences. They violate the victim's faith in a natural or divine order and cast the victim into a state of existential crisis.

Janoff-Bulman (1992, p. 51) speaks of "shattered assumptions" caused by trauma. The world is no longer benevolent, the meaning of events is no longer evident and belief in self-worth is challenged. For the participants this was true; they had partially been responsible for the shattering of assumptions in themselves. They experienced trauma on multiple levels. They have been traumatised by what they have seen, and had to deal with. They have all been disappointed by the SAP/S and often by their own communities. Herman (2001) refers to the work of Kardiner and Spiegel in which they noted that realising you are expendable to your own people, is extremely traumatic. The participants also all indicated that they were afraid of themselves and what they could do. Any concept they may have had of themselves as good is shattered. Dawid clearly indicated that he is no longer worthy of the uniform he wears.

I found the same assumptions challenged in myself while working with the participants. As I have explained earlier in this chapter I was aware of a sense of malevolence the entire time. Events were often not meaningful; people were used to maintain bizarre ideologies and there is no relationship between behaviour and what happens to people. My self-worth was challenged in that I had to become aware of my ability to engage in evil, or at the very least my role as a bystander when evil happens.

At times I did not have words to describe my experiences, they were simply not available. I often struggled with terms – I was very aware of the condemnation implicit in terms such as torture, assault and murder. The participants avoided the use of these terms far less than I did.

Different Worlds

In this acrylic painting (Figure 8.6) there is a white fisherman's cottage embedded in a threatening landscape. The landscape suggests violence; the colours are mainly purple and orange. The sky reflects the same colours with some blue. The fisherman's cottage is misplaced. It is not at the sea, but between mountains. It appears welcoming.

Doublethink

The participants all refer in some way to the different roles that they played, often saying that they thought they had more than one personality. The literature on trauma often refers to dissociation (Kluft, 1994; Kluft, & Fine, 1993; Philips & Frederick, 1995). In literature we find a similar concept. Herman (2001) refers to George Orwell's term of what he called "doublethink" (Orwell, 1950, p 35). Doublethink is:



Figure 8.6: Different worlds

To know and not to know, to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully constructed lies, to hold simultaneously two opinions which cancelled out, knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them, to use logic against logic, to repudiate morality while laying claim to it, to believe that democracy was impossible and that the Party was the guardian of democracy, to forget, whatever it was necessary to forget, then to draw it back into memory again at the moment when it was needed, and then promptly to forget it again, and above all, to apply the same process to the process itself-that was the ultimate subtlety: consciously to induce unconsciousness, and then, one again, to become unconscious of the act of hypnosis you had just performed. Even to understand the word "doublethink": involved the use of doublethink.

Lifton (1986, p. 418), in studying the Nazi doctors refers to what he calls "doubling". He describes this as: "the division of the self into two functioning wholes, so that a part-self acts as an entire self." For Lifton it was an adaptive process. From a social constructionist perspective, it is creating separate identities through the use of often opposing discourses.

I will discuss this with regard to the participants in more detail in Chapter 11, but it is important to discuss my reaction at this point. I found that I had to separate my emotional experiences in the work I was doing with the participants from the rest of my life. After a session of described atrocities, I had to somehow not take that into other relationships with family and friends and other therapeutic relationships. I had to cut off from what they told me but I could not allow emotional blunting. I have always been able to do it with trauma clients, but found it much more difficult with the participants. I think the research element with the immersion in the material was the one reason for the difficulties I had with the stories of the participants. The challenges to my identity also made it difficult to separate my work with the participants from the rest of my life.

Overwhelming Images/Blunting

When I was not careful the images would overwhelm me. On one occasion I had intrusive images of children attempting to necklace another child. The horror stayed with me for hours. Distraction only worked for brief periods. I

would often find that I could only work on the material for ten minute stretches. I would then have to abandon it and distract myself. At other times I would struggle to leave it alone. I would have thoughts of: “Am I becoming addicted to vicarious experiences of violence?” I was obviously at risk for vicarious traumatisation. At one stage I became blunted to what they told me, and only after a new story, for example one of forcing people’s heads in boiling water, did I again feel horror. It was frightening noticing how quickly I became blunted. I began to understand the need the participants described of exposing themselves repeatedly to traumatic or violent situations. At times it was difficult to decide what was worse: the intense feelings and images or the sense of being dead. As I noted in the beginning of this discussion, this was one of the main reasons I started painting – to modulate the affect I was experiencing and to make my emotions easier to manage without blunting.

Conclusions

Research with perpetrators appears to carry considerable risks for both the participants and the researcher. I had to ensure that the participants were safe and did not lose emotional stability during the interviews.

The countertransference I experienced in working with the participants was extremely powerful. I think my experience in working with traumatised people helped me in knowing what to expect in many areas. Much of the countertransference I experienced was similar to that which is described in working with traumatised people.

I did not expect the challenges to my identity to be as severe as they were. I knew there would be challenges, but I did not think that I would question values of which I had been certain. This partly developed because I developed empathy with the participants. The development of empathy is not generally regarded as important in research; however I think the participants’ awareness of my empathy led to them telling their stories more freely than they would have otherwise.

I was at risk for vicarious traumatisation at times. I am fortunate at this stage in that I do not have any recurring images and do not struggle with emotional regulation. I am also not emotionally blunted. Doing the paintings helped me to deal with any intrusive images and uncomfortable emotions I experienced.

I realised that I have never had an open discussion with colleagues on the impact of working with clients who have opposing value systems to me. This may be an area which needs attention in the training of psychologists. The ethical position of the researcher in being told stories by perpetrators needs more discussion.

CHAPTER 9

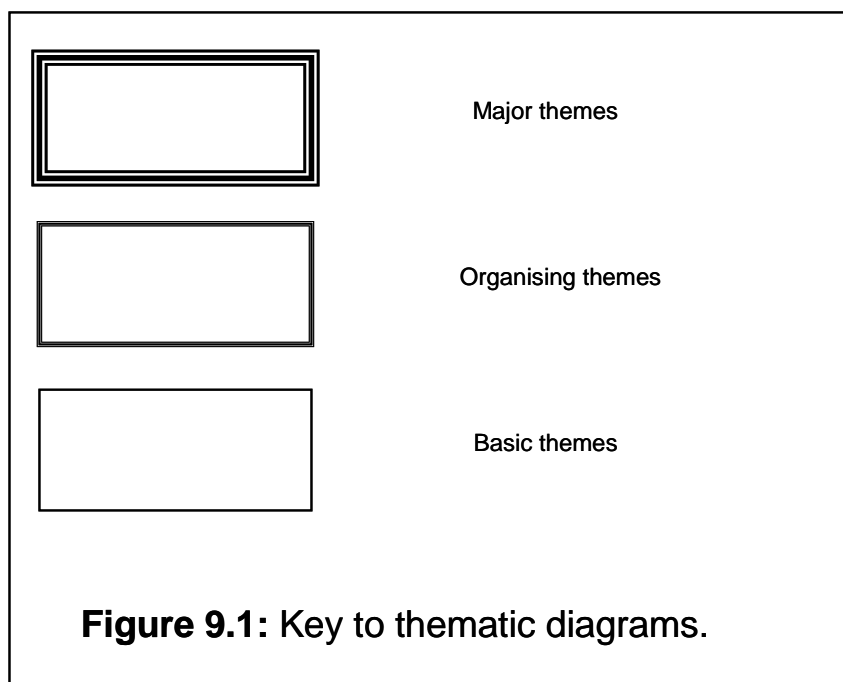
THE WAY IT WAS TO TOTAL CHANGE

C: alles was georden. dit was nie georden soos vandag se lewe nie. [...] in my oë was dit nie abnormaal gewees op daai stadium nie.

C: Everything was ordered. It wasn't ordered like today. [...] in my view it wasn't abnormal at the time.

In this and the following two chapters, my focus is on the adjustments the participants are making after working in the townships and after having perpetrated atrocities. As discussed in Chapter 4, Attride-Stirling (2001) suggests the use of thematic networks in the analysis of themes. In Chapter 4, I discussed the process of isolating themes. I divided the themes into basic themes, organising themes and major themes.

Figure 9.1 gives a key to the representation of these themes.



As discussed in Chapter 2, enormous changes have taken place in South African society and in particular in the police. In the quote from Charl with which I have started this section, he explains in a few words that society, as he knew it, has been overturned. I start with the militarisation of the police and the impact it had on the participants. I then discuss racism. The participants are all attempting to confront their racism and I spend some time on their attempts. I then discuss their experiences of the changes in South Africa.

Major themes which are subsumed under the global theme of this chapter “The way it was to total change” I identified as:

- o obeying the command
- o entrenched racism;
- o confronting racism; and
- o changes in South Africa.

Obeying the Command

It is important to note that the participants have had different exposures to the changes in organisational structure in the police: Adriaan only experienced the militarisation of the police – he resigned before it changed into a service organisation; Charl experienced both, but had not been working for between three and four years at the time of the interviews; Dawid has been exposed to both although most of his working life has been spent in the SAPS. Both Adriaan and Charl were in public order policing; Dawid’s training was largely focussed on public order policing, although he was placed at a station.

Police forces have commonly been militarised. Robert Peel created the first modern police force in Great Britain in 1829. Large organisations are a fairly recent invention and he based the organisational model of the police force on a military organisational model as few other structures had been developed. One of the results of a military organisational model is that

camaraderie and group loyalty on the ground are strong and that the police at the bottom are often opposed to management. Group loyalty can often lead to an increase in secrecy and protection of one another (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Important decisions are made at the top and “soldiers are limited to doing and dying, rather than wondering why” (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993, p. 118).

In South Africa, as discussed in Chapter 2, the SAP was militarised. In his testimony at the TRC Former Commissioner of Police and member of the SSC, Johan van der Merwe summarised the reasons for militarisation by explaining (as cited by Boraine, 2000, p. 134): “it was the point of departure for the government of the day that for all practical purposes we were in a war situation and that the enemy had to be defeated at all costs.”

The NSMS was fully activated in 1985/1986. “The NSMS’s form of administration was justified by ‘military things are better’ arguments, a ‘can-do’, enthusiasm, unqualified commitment to a job, the shortest possible distance between a problem and its solution, control by command, and institutional simplicity” (Seegers, 1996, p 164).

Brogden and Shearing (1993) in discussing culture in the SAP note that it had a sense of mission, that members were suspicious, they were a community which isolated themselves from the outside world, were conservative, male dominated, had stereotypical assumptions of race and believed that policing required that the rules were disregarded on occasion.

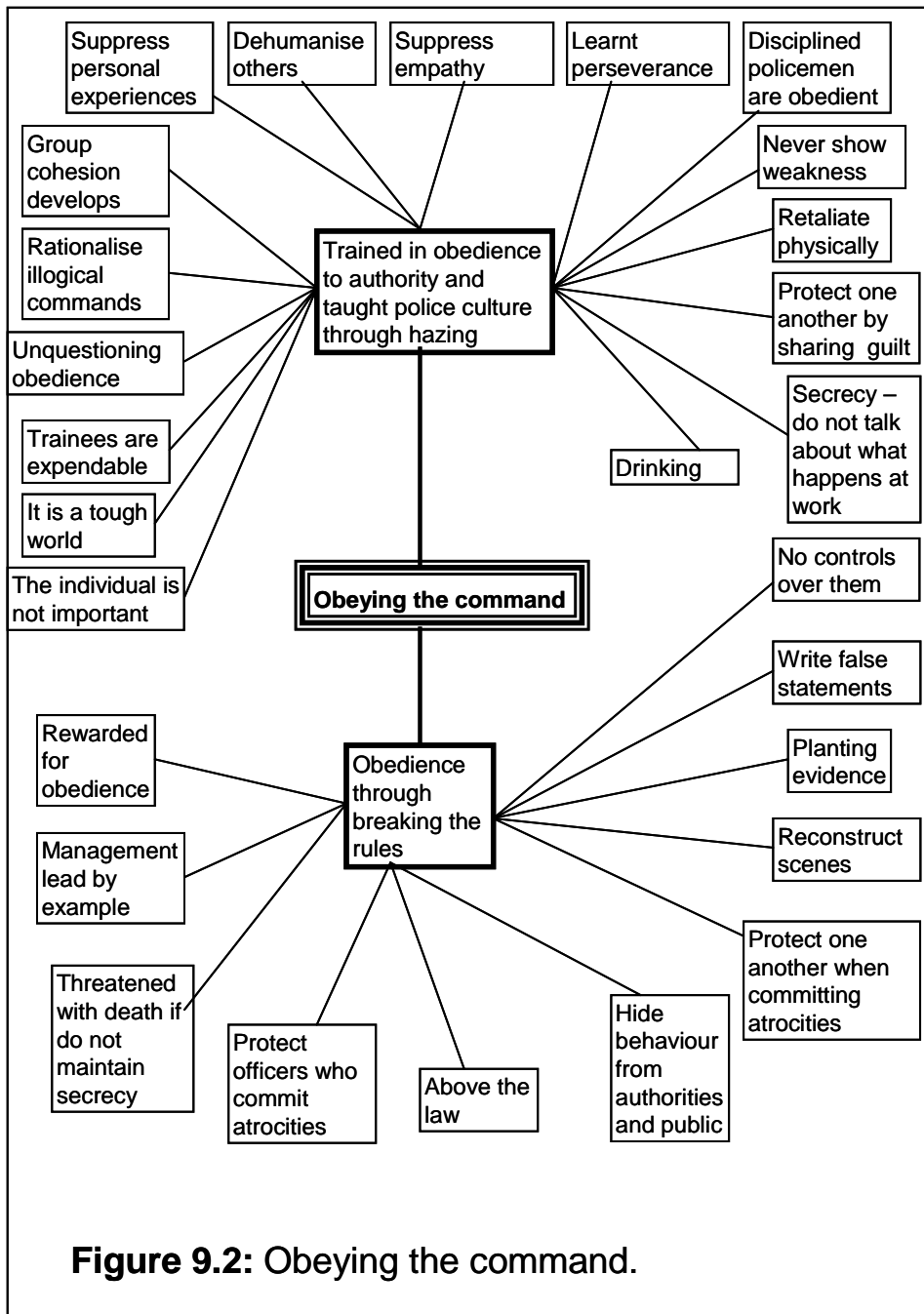
The organisational structure of the SAP was changed from a militarised organisation to a service organisation with the acceptance of the South African Police Service Act 68 of 1995. I will discuss the participants’ experiences of the changes later in this chapter.

In this section, I focus on the effect of joining a militarised police force on the participants. I have called this major theme “Obeying the command” as that

was the main objective of their training. It is represented in Figure 9.2. I have identified the following two organising themes:

- o trained in obedience to authority and taught police culture through hazing;
- o obedience by breaking the rules.

In discussing the organising themes, I refer to the basic themes which are represented clockwise on the diagrams as they arise in the text.



Trained in Obedience to Authority and Taught Police Culture through Hazing

The practice of hazing or submitting recruits to initiation rites is common in the training of military organisations (Golston, 1993; Whitaker, 2000).

Various reasons for hazing have been mooted: the stripping away of the person's attitudes, worldview and behavioural patterns in order to resocialise

the person into a new set of values, attitudes and beliefs (Crelinsten, 1995; Goffman, 1961); in order to suppress empathetic responses and to train in cruelty (Golston, 1993; Whitaker, 2000); to desensitise to torture (Haritos-Fatouros, 1995); and to teach recruits to comply with degrading and illogical commands (Haritos-Fatouros, 1995; Huggins et al., 2002), to develop self-confidence and a sense of pride at belonging to a professional unit (Crelinsten, 1995) and stress inoculation (Grossman, 1995). The participants also saw it as an enactment of masculinity which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Both Dawid and Charl describe trainers who abused them and various incidents which can be interpreted as forms of hazing. The abuse ranged from relatively minor to serious. Dawid in his narrative describes his arrival at Maleoskop where intimidation through shouting started immediately. Both Charl and Dawid mention trainees who were injured or killed by instructors during training. Charl explained that a trainer negligently shot dead a trainee. He received a fine which was paid by the state. Another trainee was injured by negligence, and there appear to have been few repercussions. Dawid mentions a trainer who shot a trainee in the shoulder for doing insufficient push-ups. When I asked about accountability he explained:

D: weet jy opleiding het 'n persentasie. jy het 'n tien persent wat jy kan verloor onder opleiding. so met ander woorde as jy fokken deur ons geskiet word dan tough shit tough shit. dan stuur hulle vir jou ma vir jou meisie dankie vir jou dienste. dis hoe dit was dis hoe ek dit ondervind het en gevoel het.

D: *You know training has a percentage. You have ten per cent you can lose under training. So, in other words, if you are fucking shot by us, then tough shit, tough shit. Then they send your mother you girlfriend: "Thank you for your services." That was how I experienced and felt it.*

I have heard this belief before. Dawid explains this as a sign of how macho they had to be. I will discuss masculinities in more detail in Chapter 10. The other message is that they were expendable. Incidents such as the injuring of trainees devalued their and other people's lives. It was also a powerful message that their employer demanded unquestioning obedience. Less than complete obedience could result in death.

Dawid and Charl rationalise the bullying by the trainers. As discussed in his narrative, Dawid indicates that they were forced to leopard crawl through sewerage dams so that they would learn not to waste food. Dawid indicates how degraded he felt in the following excerpt:

E: hoe het jy gevoel?

D: miserabel. asof ons in een koor ons was almal miserabel. ek het gevoel asof ek as mens nie vir die opleidingsbeamptes bestaan. ek het gevoel soos 'n vark soos 'n dier. ek het nie van die gevoel gehou nie. ek het daardie dag amper my goed gevat en geloop. ek is ernstig. as C nie vir my gesê het fok dit man hulle gaan ons nie breek nie. het ek daardie dag geloop. genuine. belowe jou. baie van ons was dikwels op die plek.

E: *How did you feel?*

D: *Miserable. We were all, we were all miserable. I felt as though I did not exist as a human being for the trainers. I felt like a pig, like an animal. I did not like the feeling. I almost took my stuff and left that day. I'm serious. If C had not said, "Fuck man, they won't break us!" I would have left. Genuine, I promise you. Many of us were often in that place.*

He indicates some of the group cohesion that was achieved through hazing. Solidarity is part of police culture (McNamara, 2002). Police officers are loyal to each other and regard themselves as pitted against the outside world (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). They all suffered together and found ways to persevere by suppressing what they felt. Dawid clearly felt dehumanised

and learnt that dehumanising people was part of a policeman's role. The trainers modelled a lack of empathy.

Charl, in referring to hazing calls it strict discipline.

C: jis hy het vir ons opgeduiwel. ok ons was wel die beste troep gewees, maar dit was as gevolg van die streng dissipline.

C: *Jeez he gave us hell. Ok, we were the best troop, but that was because of the strict discipline.*

Huggins et al. (2002) also note that Brazilian torturers referred to hazing as training in discipline. This common explanation can be reinterpreted as a suppression of all the trainees own experiences in obedience to rules of the organisation. This is also one of the reasons for physical endurance training. Dawid confirms this.

E: een van die goed wat jy geleer het dink ek was om nie ag te slaan op wat jy voel nie.

D: ja. as 'n ou gewys het jy kry swaar het hulle op jou gepik. so 'n ou ek dink ek dink die die die masker draery het al by die opleiding begin.

E: ek dink nie daar was 'n keuse nie.

D: daar was nie. ek stem saam met jou. want daar het jy nie gewys jy kry seer jy kry swaar jy's moeg jy's siek jy voel nie lekker nie. jy vat dit soos dit kom. jy het blank deurgegaan tot dit klaar was. en later het jy geleer om vir jouself te sê dit gaan gebeur. jy handle dit. hoe fikser en sterker jy word hoe minder kan hulle aan jou doen. jou blank gesig jy gaan net aan.

E: *One of the things I think you learnt was not to attend to what you feel.*

D: *Yes, if you showed you were struggling, they picked on you. So one, I think, I think wearing a mask already started at training.*

E: *I don't think there was a choice.*

D: There wasn't. I agree with you. You didn't show you hurt, that you were having a hard time, that you were tired, that you were sick, that you didn't feel good. You took it as it came. You blanked out until it was over. And later you learnt to tell yourself it is going to happen. You cope with it. The fitter and stronger you became, the less they could do to you. You put on your blank face and went on.

Golston (1993) regards hazing and harsh training as inducing an ability to dissociate from experiences. She takes it further, claiming that initiates are traumatised and may experience PTSD through their training. She regards it as an inevitable relationship, which in my opinion takes the argument too far. What is important is that recruits were taught to pretend they were coping, no matter what they felt.

If the bullying in training became unbearable, the accepted reaction was retaliation. It all happened on a physical level and involved outwitting the other party. At times it was risky, but this was far more acceptable in the situation than showing weakness:

C: hulle het ons geleer om te begin lelik te begin raak. want ons het byvoorbeeld fopgranate in hulle vuur gegooi as hulle vleis gebraai het (hhh).

E: {laughing}

C: sulke goeters. nou kan jy dink dis snaaks maar ons kon iemand lelik seergemaak het.

C: *They taught us to become bad. For example we threw dummy grenades in their fire when they braaied {laughs}.*

E: {laughing}

C: *Things like that. It's funny now, but we could have hurt someone badly.*

Hazing was also common between one another:

D: ons het 'n jannie jammergat outjie by ons gehad. rêrig 'n jannie jammergat. een van daai maer outjies. fokken hy skree hy bewe. ons het hom gekry dat hy eventually soos 'n man operate. ons het niks gedink om hom in die stort te gaan skrop nie. of om met 'n strykster en 'n kussing raak te slaan as hy in die aand slaap nie. uh ons het mekaar geleer. as jy nie inpas nie het jy of gefokkof of ons het jou gemaak inpas.

***D:** We had this pitiful wimp with us. Really a pitiful wimp. One of those scrawny types. Fuck he screamed, he trembled. We eventually forced him to become a man. We thought nothing of scrubbing him in the shower {with scouring powder}. Or to hit him with an iron in a pillow when he slept. We taught one another. If you did not fit in, you fucked off. We made you fit in.*

Dawid explained (not quoted) that the trainers encouraged them in this behaviour. It was believed that if someone could not handle the training they would not be dependable in an emergency. A process is started in the excerpt I have quoted. They work together as a group, increasing their cohesion, and assault someone. No empathy for their victim is allowed. Engaging in something like this as a group also means that everyone is guilty. Secrecy is encouraged and they protect one another in socially unacceptable behaviour. Whitaker (2000) in discussing hazing comments that secrecy often accompanies the practice which gives an organisation free reign to engage in violent behaviours. This is confirmed by Huggins et al. (2002) who found it very difficult to get honest accounts of what trainees experienced during training. Secrecy in the police was already inculcated during training. They were prepared for protecting one another if they behaved in unacceptable ways in their work.

I have focussed on hazing in their training, as the participants gave the most information on the practice during training. Hazing in the police does not end after training. Students who start work at stations in South Africa are

traditionally known as “blougatte” (blue arses) and are routinely given the worst tasks to perform.

Haritos-Fatouros (1995), in her study of the training procedures of official torturers during the military dictatorship in Greece from 1967 to 1974, found that one of the selection criteria was complete obedience to authority. Initiation ceremonies and other rituals were built into their training and gave the sense that they belonged to their commanding officers. Huggins et al. (2002) in their study of Brazilian torturers suggest that hazing and harsh training play a role in creating unquestioning obedience. Other authors (Crelinsten, 1995; Golston, 1993) also suggest that these training tactics are important in creating torturers. However, numerous recruits experience harsh training and hazing without becoming torturers, indicating that hazing and harsh training may well contribute but are insufficient in creating torturers.

The participants indicate they learnt unquestioning obedience from their trainers through hazing and harsh training. Adriaan indicted in his narrative that he was somewhat rebellious towards authority, but he eventually submitted to them. They learnt to rationalise illogical commands and to follow them unquestioningly. They learnt to work together as a group, sharing guilt and to protect each other through secrecy. They had to suppress all personal experiences and in particular anything which would be interpreted as weakness. This included having no empathy for victims. The only acceptable outlet for what is experienced as intolerable is physical retaliation. Dehumanising others was shown to be acceptable. I did not quote any excerpts referring to alcohol in this section, but they all started drinking during training. It is also seen as an acceptable way of coping with difficult emotional experiences.

Obedience through Breaking the Rules

In general torturers are seen as obedient, willing servants of the state (Crelinsten, 2005; Kooijmans, 1995). As discussed in the previous section

the participants were taught obedience. However, they did not report that they were obedient to authorities when they committed atrocities. They never mentioned a direct order to torture or to commit some atrocity while working. Dawid mentioned in his narrative that they were taught to torture and the training clearly taught them to kill, but they indicate that they committed atrocities because of the lack of supervision, not because of direct orders. Adriaan and Charl explain:

E: want daar was geen beheer rêrig gewees nie?

A: ja want daar was nie genoeg offisiere gewees nie. [...] aan ons kant was die hoogste rang vir 'n lang tyd sersant gewees en daarna adjudant.

E: *There was no real control?*

A: *Yes, there were not enough officers. [...] For a long time the highest rank was a sergeant and then a warrant officer.*

C: in N was daar beheer oor ons gewees. hulle het. ek was deel van die beheer oor hulle. ek het gehelp om die valse verslae te skryf. dis regverdig. die Onafhanklike Onderzoek mense het gesê ons optrede was geregmatig. ek het geweet hoe om die verslae vir hom op te stel. hy het geleer 'n ding is net so. so as jy dit net so vir hom gee, is hy reg. as jy 'n bietjie na links of regs dan kyk hy met ander oë daarna. [...] dan lees hy. hulle lees nie. as hy so is, is hy reg.

C: *In N there was control over us. They did. I was part of the control over them. I helped to write those false reports. It's fair. The Independent Complaints people said our behaviour was legitimate. I knew how to write the reports for him. He learnt how something is. When you gave it to him, he was ready. If you were a bit right or left, he would look at it differently. [...] Then he read. They didn't read. If it is like that, it is right.*

Charl is referring to the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) which was established in 1997 and has the task of investigating complaints of brutality,

criminality and misconduct in the SAPS (Independent Complaints Directorate, n.d.).

They developed numerous ways to outwit the authorities. Charl gives an example of how they falsified scenes:

C: polisiemanne by S Indiërs doodgeskiet. toe ons op die S trip was. die een swarte van ons toe vang hy 'n Zulu met 'n vuurwapen. toe soek hulle nog. hulle het drie gevang. toe sit die een langs hom op die agterste sitplek. vat hy sy pistool, druk teen kop, sê praat of ek skiet jou dood. toe trek hy die sneller, toe vergeet hy sy pistool is one up. hy het 'n patroon in die loop. toe skiet hy hom dood in die bussie. toe ry hulle na die hospitaal toe, die kliniek, maar hy was klaar dood.

C: *Policemen at S shot Indians dead. When we were on the S trip, the one of our blacks caught a Zulu with a gun. They were still looking for more. They caught another three. One sat next to him on the rear seat. He took his pistol, held it against his head, and said, "Talk or I shoot you dead." He pulled the trigger and forgot the pistol was loaded. He had a round in the barrel. He shot him dead in the bus. Then they drove to the hospital, the clinic, but he was already dead.*

After the fact, they reconstructed the scene to protect the policeman who had killed the suspect. This appears to be a common practice. Bruce (2000) examined the operational systems which assist the SAPS in managing the use of force by officers. His participants said in interviews that they would reconstruct scenes before following regulations which would lead to the involvement of the ICD. Klockars (1980/2005) notes that the use of dirty methods is often concealed from the public. Marx (1981/2005) contends that authorities often contribute to atrocities by non-enforcement and covert facilitation. Their presence and behaviour can often lead to escalation of violence.

Adriaan explains how they disguised the amount of ammunition they used:

A: daar u-h (4) was mos K polisie mos gewees. hulle het in hulle voertuie rondgery en hulle speurderkarre en hulle ammunisie gebruik. ons het self van hulle ammunisie gebruik. want Helen Susman het toe begin opkom. toe kom sy met die idea om die idea van nommers op die Casspirs en so aan. ons het hulle gefnuik deur, ouens va:n die K polisie om ons op sekere plekke te kry. dan gee hulle vir ons hulle ammunise. want hulle het ons ammunisie begin tel. dan sê hulle jis daardie nommer. dan gaan ons soontoe en tel hulle en dan kom ons almal met ons patrone terug. ag, al sulke dinge. so so het

***A:** Remember the K Police were there. They used the K Police's vehicles, their detectives' cars and their ammunition. We also used their ammunition. Helen Susman had started making her voice heard and had the idea of numbering the Casspirs. We got past that by getting the guys from the K Police to meet us and then they would give us their ammunition. They had started counting our ammunition. A Casspir number would be reported; we'd go there and we'd all have all our cartridges. Things like that.*

And Charl explains:

C: die ondersoek werk in W is=

E: is dit swak?

C: alles is natuurlike oorsake daar. {laughing} al lê hy met die byl in die kop is dit natuurlike oorsake. (9) dis lelik om te lag, maar ons het dit misbruik. ons het dit uitgebuit.

***C:** The investigative work in W is=*

***E:** Is it bad?*

C: *There everything is natural causes. {laughing} Even if he is lying with an axe in his head, it is natural causes. (9) It's bad to laugh, but we abused it. We abused it.*

In the above quotations Charl and Adriaan are referring to former homelands where Rauch (2000) confirms that corruption was rife. The participants appeared to act with impunity. Dawid and his colleagues would also cross into the former homeland areas, knowing that they would not be caught if they did something wrong. The participants' behaviour indicates that they had all received the message that they were above the law.

In the following quotation Charl clearly indicates that he hid his activities.

C: ek het nie daarvan gehou om in T te werk nie. jy het so 'n ur:ge gehad, jy wil lokasie toe. jy wil nie tussen die blankes wees nie jy wil soontoe gaan. jy wil daar gaan werk. en dit is dit het soos 'n wegkruipplekkie vir jou geraak. [...] jy't nie meer saam met blankes gewerk nie, want jy kon hulle nie vertrou het nie. hulle begin agteraf praat en hulle. as jy goeters doen dan voor jy dit nog, voor jy dit vir die offisiere kon vertel het het die blankes dit la:nkal al gaan uitskinder en gaan praat oor wat jy gedoen het.

E: watter tipe goed?

C: soos die aanrandings die tjoeperye. daai goeters. goed wat jy nie wou gehad het die offisiere moet van weet nie, hoe jy jou inligting gekry het, daai goeters.

C: *I didn't like working in T. You had this need to go to the locations (traditional black areas). You didn't want to be with whites, you wanted to go there. You wanted to work there. You hid there. [...] You no longer worked with whites because you could not trust them. They talked behind your back and if you did something, before you could tell the officers, the whites had long ago gossiped about what you had done.*

E: *What type of things?*

C: *Like the assaults, the tubing, things like that. Things you did not want the officers to know about. How you got your information, things like that. They would go and tell about things like that.*

Adriaan confirms how they concealed murders they committed:

E: en dan sou dit mense wees wat verdagtes was, of mense wat net deel is van die riots?

A: ja dis verdagtes, ouens wat deel is van die riots. veral natuurlik aan die ANC kant aan die ANC kant. ons het nie geworry oor die Inkatha ouens, maar die ANC kant ja. en uh later aan toe kom die naam spook op. dis nou, as jy 'n geweer kry, hou hom, skiet die suspect. niemand het geworry daaroor nie.

E: *And was it suspects, or people who were just part of the riots?*

A: *Yes suspects, guys who were part of the riots. Especially ANC supporters. We didn't worry about the Inkatha guys, but yes, those on the ANC's side. And later ghosts came up. That was, if you get a weapon, keep it, shoot the suspect. No one worried about it.*

Charl also mentioned using what he referred to as "spoke" (ghosts). They would kill people by using firearms which they had removed earlier from suspects and had not booked in.

Adriaan explained that at times they were threatened by management working with askaris to ignore brutal attacks of which they were aware:

A: dan kom die offisier of die persoon wat in bevel is van die storie. kom na jou toe en sê luister boetie en sê as jy wil leef vanaand fokkof. dan het hulle ons gedreig.

A: Then the officer or the person in charge would come to you and say: "Listen, mate, if you want to live tonight, fuck off!" They would threaten us.

Charl confirms being used by other units to torture so that they could not be accused of torture in court:

C: bekentenis moord en roof. oe. hulle het my altyd gesoek, dat ek die ou gaan soek. as hy kom, dan lê hy bekentenis af. hulle het hom nie onbehoorlik beïnvloed nie. hy sê dit ook. maar hy sê nie wat ons gedoen het nie. maar tog van daai bekentnisse het bly staan.

C: Confessions. Murder and Robbery. Oh, they always looked for me, so that I would go and fetch the guy. When he came, he would confess. They had not influenced him improperly. He would also say that. But he did not say what we had done. But, some of those confessions remained standing.

The relationships the participants describe with the management structures of the SAP in the above excerpts are interesting. As Adriaan has explained, officers would commit atrocities and indicate that they were not to talk about it. The officers, through their examples, indicated what was expected of the policeman working on the ground.

The participants suggest that there were no controls and that led to the committing of atrocities. As noted, direct orders do not appear to have been given which would have encouraged torture. However, as Charl explained in his narrative, they were protected from their criminal activities. Nothing was said out loud; no one knew officially what was happening.

In the classic Milgram obedience experiments it was found that when not supervised, subjects tended to not administer as high shocks as when they were supervised by the experimenter (Milgram, 1974). However, in this

instance the participants report committing atrocities because of a lack of supervision. The participants were immersed in the general culture of racism and dehumanisation of black people in South Africa. There was a culture of denial in South Africa, visible in the suppression of the media and the insistence that black people accepted apartheid policies. Secrecy and unquestioning obedience were inculcated in the training. The participants and management both accepted that their role was to remove black people; that black people had no value and in fact were a danger to white society. Foucault (1975/1995) indicated with the metaphor of the panopticon (a prison design of Bentham) that when people felt that they were being observed, surveillance would become internalised. People would then monitor and control their own behaviour according to the prevailing discourses.

Management would show their approval by rewarding them with protection, better equipment, time off and so on. The participants appear to have at times experienced it as a game of outwitting authority figures. They were in fact, unquestioning in their obedience and needed no direct commands to torture or commit other atrocities. Kelman (1973) recognises the contribution of an acquiescing authority in perpetration. Zimbardo (2004) confirms that authority figures do not always have to be present urging the subject to obey.

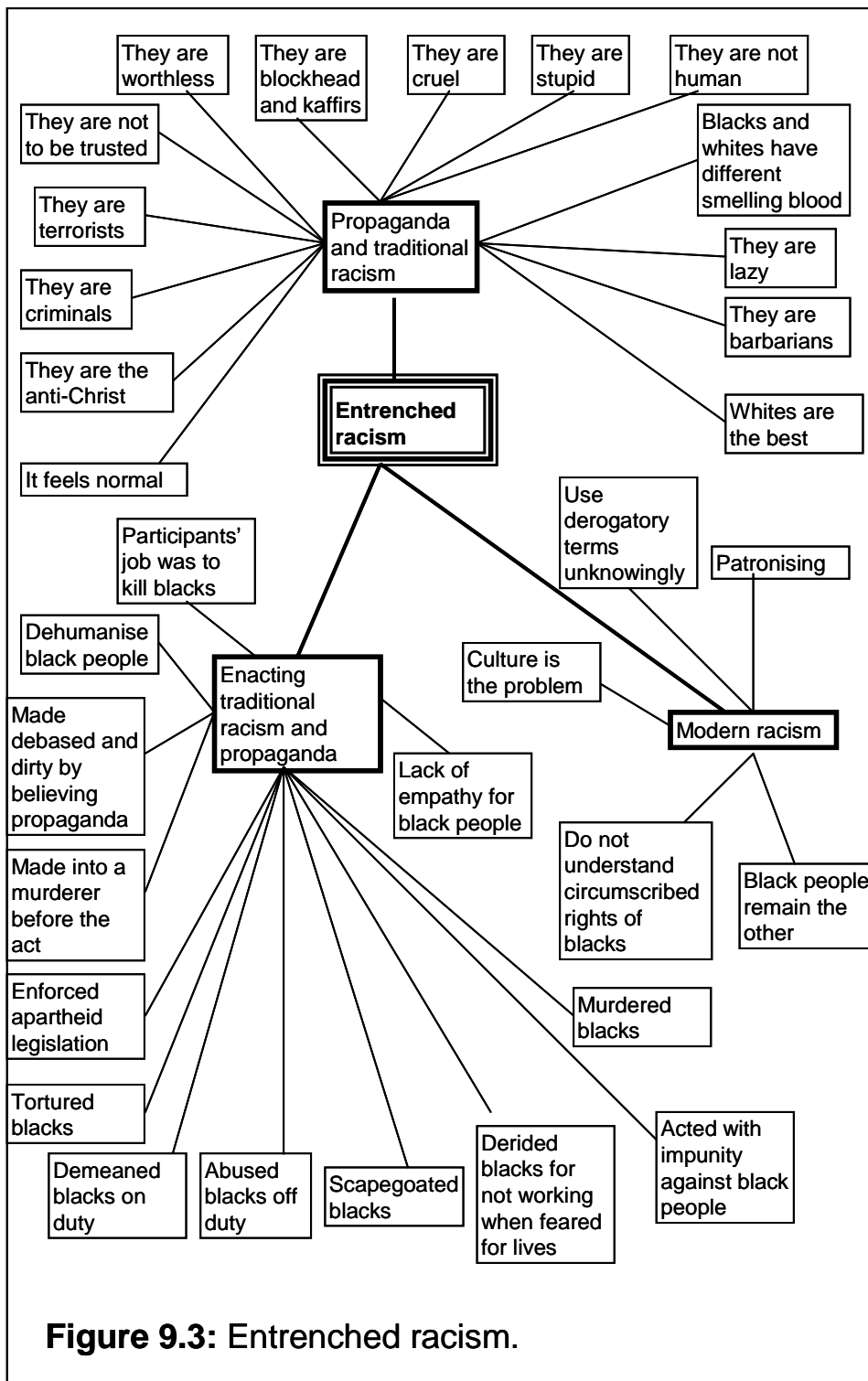
Brogden and Shearing (1993, p. 41) summarised it as: "The South African Police is not a force out of control. It is very much in control and it is this control, coordinated through the discourses of apartheid, that promote and shape the use of violence."

Entrenched Racism

I discussed the entrenchment of racism in law in South Africa during the discussion of apartheid in Chapter 2. In this section I will discuss the racist beliefs of the participants. In the following section I will discuss how they are confronting their racist beliefs.

In Figure 9.3 I represent the major theme of “Entrenched racism”. The organising themes I have identified as:

- o propaganda and traditional racism;
- o enacting traditional racism and propaganda; and
- o modern racism.



As discussed in Chapter 2, apartheid curtailed and removed the rights of black people in a wide range of areas (Boraine, 2000; Durrheim, 2005; Foster, 1987; Giliomee, 2003; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Mandela, 1994). The police were expected to enforce these laws (Seegers, 1996). When

considering the legislation of the period directed at black people, it is easy to understand the interpretation of them as the enemy.

In South Africa under apartheid, brutality, torture and extrajudicial execution were used to intimidate whole communities, by the police, security forces and paramilitary groups (Harris, 2008; Jempson, 1996). Black people were dehumanised. Boraine (2000) on commenting on the dehumanisation of the victims of torture at the TRC noted:

The moment one designates a person as sub-human, one can act against them as an object with very little feeling. After all, if they are not quite human, then they don't feel as we do, they don't hurt as we do, and in a sense they don't bleed as we do. They don't care about their children as we do; they are different; they are other; they are pushed aside; they are marginalised; they can be killed and disposed of (p. 129).

The theme of racism arose repeatedly in the interviews I had with the participants. Racism is ubiquitous in South Africa. Dubow (1995a, pp. 5-6) puts it:

patterns of paternalism and prejudice have been deeply embedded in the collective mentalities of white South Africans, for whom notions of superiority, exclusivity and hierarchy exist as more or less conscious "habits of mind". Together they comprise a folkloric amalgam of popular beliefs and traditions in which the idea of human difference has been accepted as natural and incontestable.

Charl commenting on his personal racism agrees:

C: maar die dis weer eens dis so lankal deel van jou lewe. jy dit is soos asemhaal. dis soos normaal.

C: *But, again, it has been part of your life for so long. You, it is like breathing. It feels normal.*

The TRC also noted that racist thinking and behaviour was pervasive in South Africa, and that most people were influenced in some or other way by racist views in the country:

White South Africans were constantly told by their parents, schools, the media and many churches that black people were different from them and at a lower stage of development. With the emergence of the bantustan scheme, they were told that blacks were not even South Africans. Thus a distinction emerged in their minds about the citizenship of South Africans. Whites were the South Africans while their fellow black residents were now foreigners, temporary sojourners in white South Africa, no different from other disenfranchised migrants working outside of their home countries. They became “the other”, a short remove from what they were to become, “the enemy” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, 1998, volume 2, chapter 1, paragraph 20).

The participants all believed that their racist beliefs were formed while serving in the police. Adriaan describes his family as non-racist and progressive. As I discussed in the analysis of his narrative, he is patronising of black people in his assertions of non-racism. Charl describes his family as being better and less racist than others in the area. His father, he says, gave more to black people than other whites in the area did, but there is an underlying belief in white superiority in his telling of the story. In other narratives he tells of his family as frankly racist, using derogatory terms for other races. Dawid explains that his family believed black people should be treated with respect, but an underlying belief that they were somehow different, shows in his father’s command that they should not marry black partners. Although the participants depicted their families as non-racist, both Dawid and Charl report involvement in serious, racially motivated assaults as adolescents. They hid these attacks from their parents, but they indicate the effects of the dehumanisation of blacks in the culture to which they were exposed.

In the interviews the participants positioned themselves in a number of starkly different ways. At times they were expressly and blatantly prejudiced, making derogatory statements of black people, believing in white superiority.

At other times they demonstrated what has been termed “modern prejudice”, which encompasses “subtle, ambivalent and aversive prejudice” (Finchilescu, 2005, p. 468). Sometimes the participants denied being racist and on other occasions they described being controlled by racist beliefs.

I found that the participants tended to use politically correct language with regard to racist beliefs until they became more comfortable with me and the process. They would then reveal their underlying racism. The participants only tortured and killed black people; this made a stance of non-racism difficult to sustain. Dawid in his narrative initially denied personal racism. After disclosing atrocities and extreme racist views, he could later return to a relatively non-racist position, by saying that he had examined his views and found them to be irrational.

Self and Acheson-Brown (2008, p. 195) note that it is possible for “people to utter intolerant, exclusionary statements while also referring to egalitarian, inclusive ideas”. They often show no noticeable discomfort in doing this. Durrheim and Dixon (2004) showed how white South Africans variably constructed desegregation as either an agreeable policy which allows everyone freedom of movement and association or an unacceptable process that had seen whites displaced from various places of value. The participants repeatedly used different accounts to “warrant voice” (Gergen, 1989, p.70) depending on how they wanted to position themselves in the interviews (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The participants have all been exposed to the apartheid discourses on race, they have all heard the supposedly non-racist rhetoric of the ANC and the ideals of a rainbow nation, they have all heard the dangers of racism as shown at the TRC, they know that to succeed in South Africa it is necessary not to be racist and the necessity of affirmative action (Wicomb, 2001). They had a fairly good idea of my position on racism, although they never asked me, and I presume they thought it prudent to initially maintain a non-racist position with me.

Feagin (2008, p. 80) conceives of racism as “an old, complex, and institutionally imbedded set of collective attitudes, emotions, inclinations and practices”. This implies power relations. The importance of power relations in racism is also emphasised by Ahmed, Nicolson and Spencer (2000), Biko (2004), Operario and Fiske (1998), Parker (1992) and Wetherell and Potter (1992).

Racism, within a social constructionist framework is defined by the people who do “race talk” (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005, p. 448).

Stevens (2003) comments that the danger with postmodernism, is that it may divert attention from oppressive social systems and re-direct it towards the level of the individual’s perceptions, opinions, logic and mind. Riggs and Augoustinos (2005) criticise the social construction of race for ignoring the materiality or embodiment of race. Durrheim and Dixon (2005) comment that one should not limit analysis to how people talk about race, but to include non-discursive aspects. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are a number of theorists (e.g. Burkitt, 1999; Burr, 1999; Collier, 1999; Parker, 1992) who include any number of constructive actions as part of discourse. In the following section I will discuss how the participants acted out their racism.

Numerous writers and researchers in the field of racism tend to regard racism as the province of white people with black people the victims. Miles (1989) takes in the position that it is faulty to limit the parameters of racism by skin colour. He puts it:

there is not single truth about racism which only “blacks” can know. To assert that the latter is so is, in fact, to condemn “white” people to a universal condition which implies possession of a permanent essence which inevitably sets them apart (p. 6).

However in South Africa the effect of “whiteness” (Hook & Howarth, 2005, p. 507) and white racism cannot be underestimated.

Propaganda and Traditional Racism

There is little to distinguish traditional racism from propaganda. The two appear to be part of the same discourse: a group of people is the other; they are different (and worse) than we are.

In South Africa, as discussed in Chapter 2, the media was controlled and the government at times took an aggressive role in promoting propaganda as was demonstrated by the information scandal (Giliomee, 2003).

Dehumanisation of others is noted as central to the eventual committing of atrocities (Boraine, 2000).

Whitaker (2000) contends that automatic unquestioning obedience to authority takes precedence over empathy for others in militarised organisations. The lack of empathy for others makes it easier to kill the perceived enemy. Propaganda is presented in such a way during training that the recruit knows that he is on the good side and that he must fight the enemies of the system who are evil (Crelinsten, 1995; Keen, 1986).

I distilled various racist epithets from the interviews with the participants. The underlying propaganda is obvious:

o **Black people are sinners and the antichrist.**

A: my kerk wat my sê hierdie mense is absolute sondaars.

A: My church said these people are absolute sinners.

D: ek meen as jy elke dag moet hoor die die die antichris of die terroriste is swart me:nse.

D: I mean, if you heard every day the, the, the antichrist or terrorists are black people.

o **Blacks are criminals.**

C: Hy gaan net steel en hy gaan verkeerd doen.

C: *He will just steal and he will do wrong things.*

C: Hy gaan verkrag, hy gaan steel, hy gaan in jou huis inbreek al daai goeters.

C: *He will rape, he will steal, he will break into your house, all those things.*

D: swartmense beteken op die stadium terroriste. jy vertrou geen van hulle nie. jou job is om hulle te gaan uithaal. die kriminele element.

D: *At the time black people meant terrorists. You don't trust any of them. Your job is to take them out. The criminal element.*

E: hoe het jy na die tyd gecope? {removing a decomposing body}

C: ag jy het maar dis daai hulle is nie mense nie. dis maar net nog ene. misdaadvoorkoming.

E: *how did you cope afterwards? {removing a decomposing body}*

C: *Oh you did. They are not human. It is just another one; crime prevention.*

o **Blacks are terrorists.**

C: Hulle is 'n terroriste, jy moet hom oppas, jy moet kyk hy gaan bomme plant, hy gaan dit doen, hy gaan dit doen.

C: *They are terrorists. You have to watch him. You have to watch, he is going to plant bombs. He is going to do it. He is going to do it.*

C: Jy is geleer hy is 'n terroris, jy is geleer hy is verkeerd.

C: *You were taught he is a terrorist. You were taught that he is wrong.*

o **Blacks are not to be trusted.**

C: Hulle is altyd deursoek by die hekke, maak nie saak of hy polisieswarte was of hy die tuinier was of die teemaker of daai een nie. Hy is altyd deursoek, hy is nooit net toegelaat om in te gaan nie. En hy is altyd is hy dopgehou om te kyk waar hy werk en wat hy doen.

C: *They were always searched at the gates. It didn't matter if they worked for the police and whether he was the gardener or made tea or whatever. He was always searched. He was never allowed to just enter. And he was always watched to see where he was working and what he was doing.*

o **Blacks are worthless.**

C: jy kan hulle beteken niks, hulle is niks werd nie.

C: *You can, they mean nothing. They are worthless.*

C: ons is geleer hulle is net sleg. en dit is so.

C: *We were taught they are only bad. And that is so.*

o **Blacks are blockheads and kaffirs.**

C: my pa het gesê hy is 'n houtkop, 'n kaffer.

C: *My father said he is a blockhead and a kaffir.*

D: julle is 'n klomp boys of houtkoppe.

D: *You are a bunch of boys or blockheads.*

o **Blacks are cruel.**

A: hulle vertel jou hulle is barbars. you'll expect it from barbarians.

A: *They told you they were barbarians. You'll expect it from barbarians.*

o **Blacks are stupid.**

A: ek het al gelees hulle sê (3) science bewys dat die swartes so bietjie agter is, {inaudible} fok dit Elaine, ek kan sien, dat hulle agter is. (22)

A: *I have read that they say (3) science proves that blacks are a bit behind, {inaudible}. Fuck it, Elaine, I can see they are behind. (22)*

C: toe kom ek in die polisie toe word daar nog steeds vir my gesê hy is 'n kaffer 'n teaboy en 'n bode hy gaan niks in die polisie word nie.

C: *Then I joined the police and I was still told he was a kaffir, a tea boy and a messenger. He will become nothing in the police.*

o **Blacks are not human.**

C: hulle was nie mense nie en partydae voel ek nog steeds hulle is nie mense nie.

C: *They were not people and sometimes I still feel that they are not people.*

D: daai tyd was hulle nie gereken as mense nie.

D: *At the time they were not seen as people.*

C: daar was nooit daai gedagte dat hy het 'n gesin of iets nie. inteendeel, jy is na sy huis toe gegaan en jy het sy huis geskud, halfpad afgebreek.

C: *There was never the thought that he had a family or something like that. In actual fact, you would go to his house and you would half break down his house.*

o **Blacks and whites have different smelling blood.**

A: daar is 'n verskil tussen die reuk van witmens (2) en swart. [...] maar dat daar 'n verskil is tussen swart en wit bloed. guaranteed. guaranteed. of jy my glo of nie. (6) ek het dadelik geweet dis swart bloed.

A: There is a difference in the smell of white people and black. [...] But that there is a difference between black and white blood. Guaranteed. Guaranteed. Whether you believe me or not. (6) I immediately knew it was black blood.

o **Blacks are lazy.**

C: as jy hom nie kan dophou beteken hy niks. hy moet net werk werk werk. soos ek nou sê, al wat jy wil sien is sy gat. as jy sy gesig sien werk hy nie. dis hoe ons dit daai tyd dit ervaar het op die wageenheid.

C: If you can't watch him he means nothing. He must just work, work, work. Like I say, all you want to see is his arse. If you can see his face he is not working. That is how we experienced it at the time on the Guard Unit.

In all the above excerpts, blacks are described as different from whites; they are “the other”. Black people are not individuals in the above statements, there are no personalities, no different abilities, no uniqueness. The pernicious and entrenched nature of scientific racism is evident in Adriaan's comment on blacks lacking intelligence (Dubow, 1995a; Feagin, 2008). The contradictory themes of propaganda are visible: blacks are dangerous; they are communists and terrorists. At the same time they are lazy, worthless and will amount to nothing. These are common discourses used in South Africa and will be familiar to many people.

At times the comments employ humour, appealing to the listener to join the exchange, either on a humorous level or to further construct the discourse.

It is not difficult to imagine some of these exchanges taking place between colleagues.

Enacting of Traditional Racism

Racism permeated the training. The participants linked the propaganda they were exposed to during their training as an injunction to kill black people:

D: dis direk vir ons gesê, ja. dis ons werk gewees. in die apartheidsera swartmense swartmense beteken op die stadium terroriste. jy vertrou geen van hulle nie. jou job is om hulle te gaan uithaal. die kriminele element.

D: We were directly told, yes that was our job. In the time of apartheid black people, black people meant terrorists. You did not trust any of them. Your job was to take them out. The criminal element.

A: en is ons mos in P gestationeer, dat hulle die ouens nou. vandag weet ek nou. dis net begin daar. sê hulle toe vir my dit, di:s nou die in ding. ek vra nou wat gaan hulle doen. toe sê hulle nee jy-y-y gaan opgelei word deur die takies. naas dit gaan jy dan townships toe. en toe begin hulle jou die basiese agtergrond gee van die boy, jy weet die kaffer, hy moet moet uit.

A: And we were stationed in P, that they, the guys, today I know, it just started there. They said to me, this is now the thing to do. I asked what they were going to do. They said, "No, you will be trained by the Takies" (Task Force). After that you will go to the townships. And then they gave you the basic background on the boy, you know, the kaffir. He has to be gotten rid of.

The dehumanisation of black people through propaganda is clear in this excerpt. They were told who the "boy" was, so that he could be removed.

Huggins et al. (2002, p.148) indicate that some of the rituals during training “announced a trainee’s transition from normal and unsoiled to debased and dirty.” Dawid agrees, and expresses it in terms of specific training:

D: jy het ‘n bajonet aan en en en en jy steek poppe en goeters en jy sê vrek kaffer vrek kaffer. verstaan jy? ek meen (2) jy kan sê maar sê dis ‘n pop maar in jou brein verander jy daai ek ek ek ek dink ek het van ‘n dag van ‘n kind verander in ‘n man. van onskuldig na ‘n moordenaar toe. want as jy daar klaar is voel jy vuil.

D: You would attach a bayonet and would stab dolls and things. And you’d say, “Die kaffir, die kaffir.” Do you understand? I mean (2) you can say it is just a doll, but in your brain you change it and I, I, I, I think that in a day I changed from a child into a man. From innocent to murderer. Because when you finished there you felt dirty.

Charl appears to refer to very similar training methods:

E: Charl hoekom dink jy was jy so fanaties?

C: ag ek weet nie. dis maar seker die manier hoe ek grootgemaak is en die opleiding wat ek gekry het. al daai goeters. indoktrinasië. selfs met die wagenheidskurses toe ek daar gegaan het. die beveiliging van die ministers. jy is elke dag is jy geindoktrineer, die kaffers die kaffers die kaffers skiet skiet skiet skiet en jis ons het daar geskiet. elke dag het ons ten minste tien ure geskiet. net skietoefeninge gedoen op teikens en goeters en dril. en die swartes die swartes jy’t heeltyd kaffer kaffer kaffer rêrig ons is so opgelei. (10) ons was tog in ‘n oorlog.

E: Charl, why do you think you were so fanatical?

C: Oh I don’t know. It is probably because of how I was raised and the training I received. Things like that. Indoctrination. Even in the Guard Unit training when I went there, the protection of the ministers. You were indoctrinated everyday. The kaffirs, the kaffirs, the kaffirs. Shoot, shoot,

shoot, shoot. And we shot there. Every day we shot for at least ten hours. Just shooting practice on targets and things. And drilling. And the blacks, the blacks. The whole time you'd: "Kaffir, kaffir, kaffir." Really that is how we were trained. (10) We were at war.

Racism was enacted in various ways in the police against suspects. This involved the enforcing of apartheid legislation, as well as assuming that black people were terrorists and criminals. Adriaan notes the racism inherent in the policy of influx control (discussed in Chapter 2).

A: Kaptein P en daai ouens uh hulle was oor Christelike beginsels en en (5) ja weet nie hoe weet nie hoe te verduidelik hoe was die situasie nie. (2) hulle my geirriteer hulle het my geirriteer want omrede um hoe-oe-oe hulle gedink het wat hulle ons uit en leer jou hoe om 'n padblokade te doen en dan ruk en pluk hulle die ouens uit, natuurlik swart ouens, die way hoe hulle aangaan en oor niks nie. 'n pasboek jy weet. dis 'n verskriklike ding vir hulle gewees om 'n ou te kry sonder 'n pasboek.

A: *Captain P and those guys, uh they were very into Christian principles and, and (5) yes don't know how to explain the situation. They irritated me, they irritated me because they thought, they took us out to teach us how to do a road blockade and they would tug and pull the guys out. Of course black guys. The way they went on about nothing. A passbook you know. It was a terrible thing for them to find a guy without a passbook.*

Brogden and Shearing (1993) and Foster (1987) confirm that in South Africa torture was mainly directed at black people:

E: ok. en die oorgrote meerderheid mense wat julle geslaan het ensovoorts was swartmense?

C: ja. dit was nooit blankes nie.

E: hoe het julle oor hulle gevoel?

C: niks. dit was net nog 'n swarte. dit was net nog 'n probleem.

E: *Ok, and the largest number of people you assaulted and so on were black?*

C: *Yes, it was never whites.*

E: *How did you feel about them?*

C: *Nothing. It was just another black. It was just another problem.*

At work in the police black people were restricted in terms of the work they did:

C: daai tyd was hulle net bodes en teemakers gewees, dis al. die swartes het verder niks gedoen in die polisie nie. Hulle is of 'n bode of 'n teemaker of 'n gewone arbeider. (7) Dis wat hulle gedoen het.

C: *At that time they were only messengers and tea makers. That is all. The blacks did nothing else in the police. They were a messenger or a tea maker or an ordinary labourer. (7) That is what they did.*

Charl is not historically accurate in his comment that black people could only be employed as menial positions. B. J. Vorster made the permanent appointment of black people as policemen possible before 1978 (Dippenaar, 1988). However, the view that black people could only be employed as labourers or servants obviously continued. Black policemen were derided for refusing to work when they feared for their lives:

C: dis hoe dit gewerk het. daai ouens het gesê nee not 'n wiel hier gaan ek nie. maar dit was meer uit vrees dat hy iets aangedoen gaan word as hy vanaand terugkom. dan het hulle vir hom gesê nee hy is 'n sleg kaffer. al is hy 'n polisieman, het hulle dit vir hom gesê.

C: *That is how it worked. Those guys would say: "No way, I am not going." It was because of fear that he would be harmed when he got*

home tonight. Then they would tell him he is a useless kaffir. Even though he was a policeman they would say it to him.

Black policemen were demeaned on duty and abused off duty. They were blamed for any problems:

C: toe word hulle in Canters gegooi en word aangery as ons optredes het en daai goeters. hy was altyd verneder hy was altyd niks werd nie.

C: *Then they would be thrown in Canters and taken along if we had to do duty and so on. He was always humiliated. He was worthless.*

C: daar as jy hom geklap het, het niks gebeur nie want hy was driekwart van die ding as iets verkeerd was het jy dit op hom afgeskuif. maak nie saak wat nie. (6) jy het hom misbruik. soos ek het 'n geldleenskema uitgehaal daai tyd. dertig persent rente. as hy tien rand geleen het moes hy dertien rand teruggee. as hy dertig rand geleen het moes hy nege en dertig rand teruggee. as ek hom gebel het eenkeer en dat hy laat betaal het dan het ek hom in die kelder gekry dan het ek en hy het bietjie gepraat. nou wanneer gaan jy betaal? jy het hom heeltemal geterroriseer en geviktimiseer tot hy jou betaal het.

C: *If you hit him nothing would happen because he was, three quarters of the time, if something was wrong, you would shift it onto him. It didn't matter what it was. (6) You abused him. For example, I had a money loaning business at that time. Thirty percent interest. If he borrowed ten rand, he had to pay back thirteen rand. If he borrowed thirty rand, he had to pay back thirty nine rand. I would phone him once if he was late in paying and then I would meet him in the basement and he and I would talk: "When are you going to pay?" You terrorised and victimised him until he paid you.*

In South Africa, during apartheid, racism was presented as nationality. The apartheid government presented the homelands system as a way to have races coexist as separate but equal. The participants confirm that they did not utilise the separate but equal myth. The participants all used the homelands to commit atrocities as they knew that they would not be held accountable:

C: en dan dink jy so daaraan en dan word jy losgelaat in die gebied. dis nie eers ons, dit was 'n tuisland die tyd en haal jy die lang gunne uit soos jy wild sal skiet op 'n plaas. dis hoe dit was.

C: *And you think like this about it and you are let loose in the area. It is not even our, it was a homeland at the time. And you take out the rifles, as if you are shooting game on a farm. That is how it was.*

D: daar was 'n paar aande wat ons bietjie teenkating gekry het van die ouens in die statte wat ons aangerand het. in daai tyd was van die statte in die ou X gewees so ons mag nie daargewees het nie. ons het inteendeel baie in hulle land gaan doen. ander land ander polisie. ons het gehou van die, uitdaging om. catch me if you can. ons is RSA julle is 'n klomp boys of houtkoppe. catch me if you can. en as jy hardegat raak dan skiet ons jou sommer fokken dood ook. verstaan jy? dit was die houding. ons het mos 'n groter sterker wit land en hulle het 'n klein kak swart landjie. en jou baas is in elk geval afhanklik van ons baas en ons baas het jou baas in sy plek gesit. verstaan jy? dis hoe dis hoe ons gedink het. (hhh) (4)

D: *There were some evenings when we had some resistance from the guys in the villages whom we assaulted. At the time some of the villages were in the old X. We were not allowed to be there. We often went and did things in their country. Other country, other police. We liked the challenge of, "Catch me if you can. We are RSA, you are a bunch of boys or blockheads. Catch me if you can, and if you are hard-arsed, then we*

will shoot you fucking dead as well.” Do you understand? That was the attitude. We have a bigger, stronger white country and they have a small, shit, black country. And your boss is in any event dependent on our boss, and our boss put your boss in his place. Do you understand? That is how we thought. {laughs} (4).

In order to dominate a group of people, it is essential that they receive no protection in law (Arendt, 1967). In the sections I have quoted from the participants, it is clear that they understood that they were above the law and that black people had no protection. They interpreted their role as to kill and torture black people and that government required them to do this.

The participants indicate a complete lack of empathy with black people. They are the other; sub-human and not like them. The propaganda obviously worked; it is not difficult to understand why they felt no guilt at committing atrocities and why they thought that they had a divine or patriotic mission to kill black people. As discussed in Chapter 3, racism and the devaluing of others are common reasons given for atrocities (Conroy, 2000; Dorfman, 2004; Dovidio et al., 2004; Keen, 1986; Kelman, 1995; Staub, 1995). In all the above quotations the participants position themselves as frankly racist. Miles (1989, p. 10) comments “if racism brutalises and dehumanises its object, it also brutalises and dehumanises those who articulate it”.

The participants make no pretence at politically correct speech. They know that I do not share their views. The purpose of their comments has to be considered in terms of how they have positioned themselves with their comments. Some researchers comment that racially pejorative comments are used for reasons other than influencing others and promoting racism (Condor, 2006; Feagin, 2008; Guerin, 2003). Racist remarks are often made to sustain social relationships, to strengthen cohesion (Feagin, 2008; Guerin, 2003). The quotes from the participants were generally taken from discussions which had centred on the committing of atrocities. An important

reason for the remarks was to contextualise torture and murder. They take responsibility for their behaviour, as will be discussed in Chapter 11, but by explaining and demonstrating their racist views, they are giving some reason for committing atrocities. In the next section I will discuss some comments the participants made in an attempt to reconstitute themselves as non-racist. The pernicious nature of racism is clearly demonstrated.

Modern Racism

The participants appear not to recognise patronising comments towards other races as racist. They tended to describe traditional racism as racism. Dubow (2006, p. vi) refers to the “pathology of denial” – the denial that racism exists which appears to have been present since the beginning in South Africa. Leach (2005) takes in a position against the idea of a new racism. He makes the point that denial of racism is not new. In the case of South Africa the apartheid government denied that racism underpinned apartheid.

Finchilescu (2005) refers to the work of Dovidio and Gaertner (1998) who argue that the aversive racist has an almost subconscious response to blacks, taken from racist discourses in society, but at the same time they hold values such as egalitarianism and fairness and therefore have to deny their racism.

The non-racist, politically correct discourses which are currently common in South Africa appear to be an attempt to construct ourselves as a nation free of racism. Durrheim (2005) comments that desegregation means achieving the mythology of the rainbow nation by historical amnesia. Racism has been identified as one of the root causes for the problems revealed at forums such as the TRC and we have to distance ourselves from it. Riggs and Augoustinos (2005, p. 467) commenting on racism in Australia suggest that it is necessary for the violence against the indigenous population be denied in order to be able to construct the notion of the “good nation”.

Dawid, in the following excerpt, denies he is racist. We had been talking about the sexual abuse he had experienced and he mentioned that he had seen his uncle sexually abusing their domestic worker:

D: toe kom bly hy by ons in die woonstel. daar het ek gesien hy het met die meid ook gesukkel het. ons bediende J. ek sal haar ook nooit vergeet nie die beste ousie wat ons in ons lewe gehad het. daai vrou het my grootgemaak in 'n groot mate. alhoewel my ma-hulle daar was sy het met ons gespeel dis soos in dis dis waarom ek swart mense nie kan haat nie. ek kan wit mense net soveel haat as wat ek swart mense kan haat. daar is nie vir my 'n rasse onderskeid nie. ek kan met hierdie swart man hier buite net sulke goeie vriende wees soos met enige wit man kan wees. en ek kan 'n swart vrou met net soveel respek hanteer soos ek enige wit vrou kan hanteer. dis vir my vreeslik moeilik om by mense te wees wat hierdie rasisme, permanente rasisme het.

D: He then came to live with us in the flat. There I saw him mess with the maid. Our servant J. I'll never forget her, the best "ousie" (literally sister, meant affectionately by whites and experienced as derogatory by blacks) we had in our lives. That woman largely raised me. Although my mother was there, she played with us. That is why, that is why I can't hate black people. I can hate whites as much as I can hate blacks. There is no distinction between the races. I can be as good friends with this black man outside as with any white man. I can treat a black woman with as much respect as I can treat a white woman. I find it very difficult to be with people who are, who are permanently racist.

He is completely unaware of the derogatory terms he uses in telling this story. He uses the story to demonstrate his freedom from racism, and is unaware that terms such as "meid" and "ousie" are offensive to the people of whom he is talking. Although he denies racism and in fact says he abhors it, he demonstrates the pervasive nature of racism. Dubow (1995a) explains that much of popular racism is based on unstated assumptions and

unthinking responses. Again, it is probably an indication of the centrality of whiteness.

In the following excerpt, Adriaan speaks of the caring he experienced at the hands of black commuters. He, in the telling, indicates his distance from them, while saying he understands them. He acknowledges their kindness, but even in the gesture he makes, they are always the other, separated from him.

A: ja. hulle het so vir my gesorg, dat, my niemand het in my s-sitplek gesit voor nie. ek het hulle leer ken. elke dag, ons hulle versamel vir almal se begrafnisse. elke dag se storie geword. aan die einde van die jaar, toe club almal in om vir die busdrywer om te sê dankie dat hy ons nie verongeluk het nie. ek het uit my eie uit vir hom 'n groot kombes gekoop. hulle was te happy daaroor. want uh hulle wou geld insamel, vir dit, toe sê ek ek sal dit uit my eie saak dit betaal, koop vir hom iets anders. ja en so het ek hulle leer ken. dis die enigste mense met wie ek half kan kommunikeer is die swartes (hhh) jy weet. mettertyd het ek 'n nouer band. dis-s asof ek hulle beter verstaan, beter kan kommunikeer met hulle (9).

A: *Yes. They looked after me. No one was allowed to sit in my seat in front. I learnt to know them. Everyday we, they collected money for everyone's funerals. It happened everyday. At the end of the year, everyone clubbed in to thank the bus driver for not letting us be in an accident. I bought him a big blanket on my own. They were very happy as they had wanted to collect money for it. I said I'd pay for it, they could buy something else. And yes, I learnt to know them. They were the only people with whom I could sort of communicate – the blacks {laughs}. It was as if I had a closer bond, as if I understood them better, could communicate better with them (9).*

The participants were at times completely unaware that black people had very circumscribed rights during apartheid. This while exploiting their lack of rights. Charl comments:

C: ek het al gedink jissie as hulle dit aan my moes doen het ek sou terugbaklei ek sou iemand gebyt het of net seergemaak het. of hulle moet my doodslaan of hulle moet my polisiestatie gaan toesluit. en dan kan ek my sê sê.

E: het jy ooit gedink hoekom hulle dit nie gedoen het nie?

C: nee.

E: dink nou daaraan.

C: want die hof gaan hom nie glo nie. die hof gaan hulle nie glo nie.

E: dis die rede. korrek. hy het geen verweer gehad nie.

C: hy was alleen, julle was vyf ses polisie. (6)

E: en dis die rede.

C: maar dis nie reg nie.

C: *I have previously thought, jeez, if they did that to me, I would have fought back. I would have bitten someone, or just hurt someone. Either they have to beat me to death, or they have to lock me up at the police station. And then I'll say what I want.*

E: *Have you ever thought why they didn't?*

C: *No.*

E: *Think about it now.*

C: *Because the court will not believe him. The court will not believe them.*

E: *That is the reason. Correct. He had no defence.*

C: *He was on his own; you were five or six police officers.*

E: *And that is the reason.*

C: *But it is not right.*

Culture is often used as an alternate way of classifying others, without being overtly racist. Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 137), comment that the "fatal flaw" now lies in culture. Multiculturalism, presents inequality as a problem

of backwardness and individual identity rather than as a problem of resources, social class and the needs of capital. Colonialism is then reconstructed as a story of clashing values, instead of conflicting interests, power relations and exploitation (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Adriaan puts it as follows:

A: wat 'n mens naarmaak, my ou buurman P 'n swart ou. nou sit ek en P en gesels oor werk en so aan en ons gesels oor die storie van 'n Toyoto kontrak wat sê die Japanees sê die ouens sal dit kry maar hulle moet hulle produktiwiteit opknap. dan sê P hy werk by 'n staatsdepartement Adriaan even ek voel skuldig oor hoe dit gaan hoe dit gaan by ons werk. hy sê maar dis ons kultuur ons vat ons tyd no rush môre is nog 'n dag. hy's reg en niemand sê 'n boo of 'n ba nie.

A: *What nauseates me, my old neighbour P, a black guy. Now he and I sit and talk about work and so on. We were talking about a possible Toyota contract, where the Japanese said the guys will get it, but they must improve their productivity. Then P, he works at a government department, says, "Adriaan, even I feel guilty about how it goes at work. But, it is our culture, we take our time. No rush, tomorrow is another day." He's right and no one says boo or bah.*

Adriaan is in some ways proclaiming himself as non-racist. He and his neighbour discuss issues of the day. He ventriloquists his neighbour as claiming the differences between them are cultural. This gives credibility to his statement.

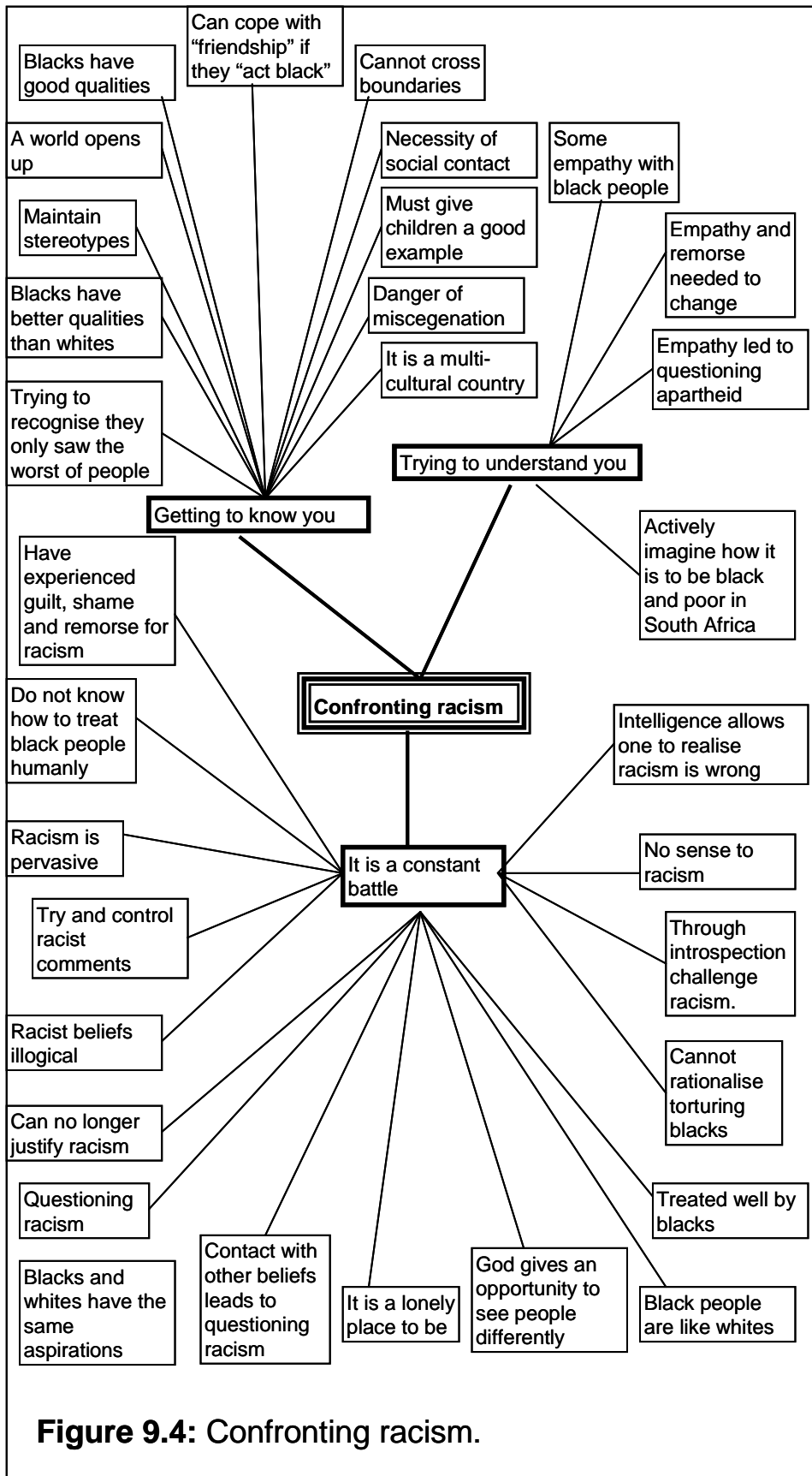
The participants utilise various racial discourses in their interaction with me. They utilise traditional racist discourses to explain their involvement in atrocities. These discourses appear to link very closely to the propaganda to which they were exposed. They use these discourses to explain their involvement in atrocities. At times they attempt to position themselves as

non-racist; as accepting of all people. Very often, they reveal their underlying belief in white superiority in the process.

Confronting Racism

The participants are aware that their racism is unacceptable in the new South Africa. They all explained their attempts at confronting their racism. For the major theme of “Confronting racism” depicted in Figure 9.4 I identified the following organising themes:

- o getting to know you;
- o trying to understand you; and
- o it is a constant battle.



Examining racism as informing everyday activities is an extremely difficult, ongoing problem for the participants as it probably is for every person in a country such as South Africa. Racism is so ubiquitous in South Africa that the participants have immense difficulty in recognising it, as was clear in the previous section.

Riggs and Augoustinos (2005, p. 461) describe racism as “a social phenomenon that structures the lives of all those who live in societies that privilege racialised understandings of subjectivity”. They note that race is central to the ways in which we understand ourselves, particularly in colonial nations. They mention the importance of recognising the hegemonic practices and/or structures of racism. These structures, they claim have impressed themselves upon the subjectivities of whites.

Hook and Howarth (2005, p. 507) consider whiteness to be “an ordering principle of knowledge”. They refer to black writers whose work is always secondary to a racial designation. Whiteness may dissociate itself from its privileged status and ways of knowing, but it remains influenced by and complicit in maintaining the historical and political order, in other words retaining power relations (Green & Sonn, 2005; Hook & Howarth, 2005; Van Dijk, 1993). Riggs and Augoustinos (2005, p. 464) also affirm that it is necessary to examine our own position; our own privilege and complicity with whiteness, otherwise we may perpetuate the notion that there can be a split between “good anti-racists” and “bad racists”. Green and Sonn (2005, p.480) explain that “white enculturation involves both denying the power of whiteness and assuming its universality”. Green and Sonn (2005) note that for change, the influence of whiteness has to be interrogated. This meant that as with torture, discussed in Chapter 8, I could not distance myself from the participants and think that I was not racist or uninfluenced by what I had been born into (Ahmed, 2008). At the very least, I, as all whites in South Africa have benefitted and still benefit from whiteness. Claiming a theoretical position of being reasonably liberal or non-racist, does not mean that we are outside systems of oppression.

The difficulty that the participants have in recognising modern racism compounds their difficulties in confronting racism. Immediately prior to the following quotation, Charl was considering the number of black people involved in crime. He recognised that it may appear that more black people are involved in crime because there are more black than white people in South Africa. He, in an attempt to not be racist is racist:

C: 'n slegte blanke is slegter as 'n slegte swarte. dis nog altyd my siening.

E: Charl mense is mense en dit maak nie saak waar ons kyk nie, mense is mense.

C: *A bad white is worse than a worse black. That has always been my view.*

E: *Charl, people are people and it makes no difference where we look, people are people.*

Boraine (2000) refers to a conversation he had with General Constance Viljoen. Viljoen represented the Freedom Front at the TRC. Viljoen showed no understanding that people were being dehumanised, discriminated against, and oppressed, and therefore bound to resist. He claimed no knowledge of the non-violent resistance against apartheid in South Africa. Boraine comments that it is astonishing how easily the commanders of the SAP and SADF accepted the propaganda of the politicians.

Viljoen's comments above are in some ways not unexpected. South Africa was a white man's country. Black people were in many ways invisible to whites during apartheid. They had very little power and could not ensure their visibility.

Meintjies (1993) in an address to the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation states:

Racism is not merely the manifestation of prejudice and discrimination between people – it is an entire system, entrenched and deep-rooted, working against black people, depriving them of resources, opportunities and dignity. . . . a white person does not only perpetuate racism if he or she consciously or intentionally acts in racist ways. On the contrary, all they have to do is remain blind to the assumptions, norms, expectations and dominant culture and the effect of this on black people who must conform to this on a daily basis. The only way to dismantle this system is by working for increased understanding in the society of the insidious and pervasive ways in which racism functions. It calls for a willingness to re-examine what would be regarded as normal and everyday.

One of the interesting aspects in this study was the participants' willingness to discuss racism openly, once they were no longer attempting to be politically correct. This has not been a common experience for me in psychotherapy. It may have been possible in this study as once the participants had spoken about killing and torturing people, it was probably not that difficult to discuss their racist views. They also explained some of their behaviour as resulting from their racism. Although it was very seldom mentioned directly, it may have also been because I am white (like them) and in a racially mixed marriage. They may see me as having crossed a line which they cannot do.

As I have indicated, the participants acknowledged that their racism was a problem. They recognise it as one of the reasons for the atrocities they committed and repeatedly expressed a need to change

Getting to Know You

Apartheid prevented contact and a sharing of spaces between races (Foster, 2005). Dixon, Tredoux and Clack (2005) note that apartheid not only segregated people on a macro level, as in urban segregation; it also impacted on domestic life. In many thousands of white homes the domestic worker lived (and still lives) in a separate space in the backyard. It was a bizarre situation, where the person who lived in the small space in the back of the garden, with very limited rights, often held the family secrets and confidences. Despite the change to a democracy various studies have

found that informal segregation is continuing (Dixon et al., 2005; Durrheim, 2005; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon & Finchilescu, 2005; Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood, Nunez & Finchilescu, 2005).

One of the common solutions suggested for resolving racism is to increase contact between races. This solution was first mooted by Allport (1954). The contact hypothesis states: "regular interaction between members of different ethnic or racial groups promotes intergroup harmony and must therefore be facilitated" (Dixon & Reicher, 1997, p. 361). Finchilescu (2005) refers to the work of Stephan and Stephan (1985, p.158) who suggest that people avoid contact because of what they term "intergroup anxiety", which relates to anxiety stemming from contact with out-group members. Plant and Devine (2003) and Plant (2004) indicate that intergroup anxiety is often related to a lack of positive experiences with outgroup members. This may encourage further avoidance of contact and entrench the negative stereotypes that groups have of each other. Stephan and Stephan (1985) specify three categories of antecedent factors leading to intergroup anxiety. They are: prior intergroup relations, intergroup cognitions and situational factors. With respect to prior intergroup relations the crucial issues they identify are the amount and nature of contact between the groups. If there has been negligible contact in the past or the contact has been characterised by conflict, or if there is high disparity in status between the groups high anxiety is more likely. In terms of intergroup cognitions, factors such as negative stereotypes, prejudice, lack of knowledge of the out-group's culture, perceptions of dissimilarity between the groups are linked to high anxiety. Situational factors such as no common goal creates more anxiety, the relative ratio of the out-group to the in-group can heighten anxiety and situations in which role expectations are unclear and people have unequal status can also heighten anxiety. Results of empirical studies of the contact hypothesis have been inconsistent, but have confirmed that conditions such as the equal status of the groups, joint goals and the support of institutional authority assist in changing attitudes (Holtman, Louw, Tredoux & Carney, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998; Schrieff et al., 2005).

Finchilescu (2005) notes that a myriad of factors in South Africa suggest that intergroup anxiety may be experienced in many situations of intergroup contact in South Africa. In the interviews the participants described varied contact with black people. At work prior to 1994, most of the contact they had was with the black public who were defined at best as non-citizens and at worst as the enemy. Black colleagues, as Charl has explained were derided and devalued. After 1994 Dawid and Charl have both worked with black colleagues with similar or higher status than they have in the police. Adriaan had extensive contact with black people after working in the townships. After leaving the police, he has had varied contact with blacks; he has had equal status when working as a heavy-duty truck driver and superior status while training. I will discuss how each participant describes the contact he had with blacks and how he constructs himself in that description.

A: selfs waar ek nou is, ek is die enigste wit ou wat permanent daar is, wat bestuur uh. die swartes kan nie glo ek gaan na die townships. hulle sê, elke dag jissie, is jy nie bang nie, jy is nie dit nie, nie dat nie? um ja as 'n ou gaan, dan dink jy aan die bad dinge wat daar was. maar nou probeer ek my instel kom agter dit was nie so bad soos dit was nie, ek was net aan die bad kant gewees.

E: en jy ken dit.

A: ja, soos ek sê, ek kan aanvoel, ek kan ruik, ek kan proe as daar miskien 'n probleem is. ek kan dit werklik aanvoel. (7) maar so dis soos 'n nuwe wêreld wat oopgaan, jy weet. (10) en, nou sien jy dinge raak wat jy nooit vroeër gesien het nie. mense lag, hulle is, deur hel, maar hulle hulle lag hulle lag nog steeds. dis vir my altyd opvallend van hulle. en hoe hulle mekaar ondersteun. hoe hulle mekaar tolerate. fantasties. almal is almal se pel. waar ons, blankes ai ek voel jammer, jy weet.

A: Yes (4) even where I am now, I am the only white guy who is permanently there, who drives. The blacks can't believe I go into the

townships. They say every day, "Jesus, aren't you afraid, you are not this, not that?" Um, yes, when a guy goes, you think of the bad things that took place. Now and try and look at it differently, and find it was not that bad, I was just on the bad side.

E: *And that you know.*

A: *Yes, as I say, I can feel, I can smell, I can taste if there is a problem. I can really feel it. (7) But it is like a new world which opens. You know. (10) And now you notice things which you never saw before. People laugh, they have been through hell, but they laugh, they are still laughing. It amazes me about them. They support one another, they tolerated one another. Fantastic. Everyone is everyone's pal. Whereas we whites, oh I feel sorry for us, you know.*

I indicate my own racist tendencies in this excerpt. My rejoinder implies a dangerous, alien place that has to be known, and joins his comments on the dangers of the black townships.

Adriaan often talks about the shame he experiences, and that he feels that whites judge him for what he did. He never explains that he feels shame with regard to black people, who are the people he wronged. Instead he explains that he is able to communicate with black people. I think it can be explained as follows: He feels extremely alienated from the white Afrikaans community whom he feels has abandoned him. He views black people idealistically, they are everyone's friend. They are also the only people who can forgive him; the people whom he owes something for what he has done. Blacks have suffered. He has also suffered. He therefore allows himself to feel an affiliation with black people. However, by describing black people in stereotypical terms, he will once again be disappointed by them. Interestingly this will eventually confirm his racist views of black people. In other words the continued way in which he relates to people in his daily encounters helps perpetuate racism (Foster, 2005).

Meta-stereotypes refer to “the stereotypes that members of a group believe that members of an out-group hold of them and carry a range of emotional and behavioural consequences” (Finchilescu, 2005, p. 465). I never asked the participants what they thought black people thought of them. This oversight is probably an indication of my own white-centred world. The black people with whom the participants work may also have meta-stereotypes regarding whites, which can raise intergroup anxiety and may impact on the contact they have with them (Finchilescu, 2005).

As discussed in Chapter 6, Charl had a very close relationship with Matome, a black policeman. They regarded themselves as friends. Charl could manage the friendship, because as discussed in Chapter 6, Matome continued to “act black”, knowing his place and not trying to have a friendship based on equal rights. Charl found that, even in fantasy, he could not hug his friend after his death. This was despite his spontaneously expressed desire. Charl, in retrospect would have wanted a different, equal friendship with Matome. However, in his narrative, he explains that that would have only been possible had society been different. Charl, as will be clear in a following section, still struggles to accept that blacks are people.

Dawid has continued to work in the police. This has exposed him to black people with a different status. He works for people whom he respects, many of whom are black. He acknowledges the necessity of social contact with black people.

D: ek wil vir my kinders die regte pad wys. hulle moet weet jy kan met swart mense kuier. jy kan met swart mense vriende wees jy kan met hulle kommunikeer en al daai klas van goed. aan die ander kant weet ek as ek dit toelaat skep ek dalk die die moontlikheid dat my dogters dalk met swart mans deurmekaar raak. maar aan die ander kant ons is in Suid-Afrika. ons is in 'n land wat 'n rainbow nation bestempel word, waar daar multi-cultural goed aan die gang is. as ek hulle nie voorberei op wat in die toekoms gaan gebeur gaan hulle nooit aanpas nie. dan gaan hulle presies

sit waar ek gesit het toe ek uit die skool uit is. baie maklik beïnvloedbaar uh met met gedagtes wat totaal en al ek glo vandag totaal en al, heeltetal wan persepsies was rondom die swartes.

E: dit was propaganda gewees.

D: dit was propaganda gewees. dis hoe ek voel oor dit ek meen. en in 'n groot mate voel ek baie skuldig oor oor goed wat ek gesê het toe ek so deurmekaar was.

***D:** I want to show my children the right way. They must know that you can visit with black people. You can be friends with black people. You can communicate with them and all that sort of thing. On the other hand I know that if I allow it, I am creating the, the, the possibility that my daughters may get involved with black men. But then we are in South Africa. We are labelled a rainbow nation, where multi-cultural things happen. If I don't prepare them for the future, they will never adjust. They will in precisely the same situation I was when I left school. Very easy to influence, with thoughts which I now believe were totally, completely false perceptions around blacks.*

***E:** It was propaganda.*

***D:** It was propaganda. That is what I think about it. I feel very guilty about the things I said when I was so confused.*

Dawid is expressing himself very differently now to how he did in earlier interviews. He blames the period when he had active PTSD symptoms for his racist remarks; in other words he was racist because he was ill. He realises that changing racist views, extends beyond words, but has to be represented in actual contact. He embeds himself in a multi-racial South Africa. He eventually says that he will accept miscegenation, the aspect of confronting racism which he probably finds most difficult. Dawid's fear of miscegenation only appears to extend to his daughters. He does not mention his son. Hoch (1979) notes the pervasiveness of racial imagery in Western discourses of masculinity. White fears of black men's violence, also

towards white women, have a long history in colonial and post-colonial situations.

The participants position themselves very differently in this section. Adriaan tries very hard to not be racist, but is often racist in those attempts. Charl cared very much for his friend, but could only sustain a friendship if his friend acted black. Although he and Adriaan have had extensive contact with black people, they cannot associate with them as equals. To them, black people remain the objects of propaganda, “the other”. Dawid, who is younger, eventually positions himself as someone who has accepted that non-racism is essential in South Africa. He explains the importance of demonstrating non-racist behaviour to his children.

Trying to Understand You

The participants raised the necessity of developing empathy with black people. Durrheim (2005, p. 450) notes that the representations of blacks were of “irrational and violent, stone-throwing and disorganised mobs”. The participants were exposed to exactly that sort of behaviour from the crowds during the political violence. In order to develop empathy, they will have to place the behaviour of protesting black people into a historical and social context. It means that they have to recognise that the history they were told of South Africa was skewed. They have to recognise the ordinariness, the good and bad, the courage of black people. It also means that they have to acknowledge their own problematic behaviour. The participants all expressed some understanding of what black people endured. Adriaan in explaining his anger with whites on occasion says:

A: dan raak ek goed omgekras daaroor. want hulle praat onsin. praat oor hoe swaar kry die blankes. wat van die swartes?

A: *And I get very upset because they talk rubbish. They will talk about how hard the whites have it, what about the blacks?*

Charl, in discussing how he on an occasion instigated violence when people were being evicted, shows some awareness of what people experienced:

C: um. (12) hulle breek huisies af. nou outomaties jissie as jy my huis afbreek gaan ek ook die donder in wees vir jou. gaan ek ook jou gooi met klippe. die staat gee nie vir my grond nie, ek kan nie grond koop nie, want die staat is teen my.

C: *Um, (12) They were breaking down houses. Now automatically, Jesus, if you break down my house I am going to be mad at you. I am going to throw stones at you. The state won't give me land; I can't buy land, because the state is against me.*

They note that empathy is necessary for change. Charl says:

C: as jy die person kan kry om rêrig empatie en berou te toon.

C: *If you can get the person to develop empathy and remorse.*

Adriaan explained in his narrative that recognising the difficulties black men had in getting home caused him to start questioning apartheid.

Dawid, after he decided that racism was wrong, explained that he tried to imagine how it was to be black and poor in South Africa.

D: ek gaan dink myself letterlik in sy skoene in. wil ek in 'n shack bly? wil ek fokken twee drie kilometer loop om water te gaan pomp? wil ek hê my kinders moet sonder kos en klere in 'n huis sit? wil ek elke dag daar sit en wonder wanneer kry ek geld en wanneer kry ek kos? wil ek vir R1000 'n maand werk en jou pisbitter werk. fok dit vrou dink aan wat hulle deurgaan. ek sien dit daagliks met my eie oë.

D: I literally think myself into his shoes. Do I want to live in a shack? Do I want to walk a fucking two or three kilometres to pump water? Do I want my children to sit in a house with no food or clothes? Do I want to sit and worry when am I going to get money and food? Do I want to work for R1000 a month, and that is very hard work? Fuck woman, think of what they go through. I see it daily with my own eyes.

It is a Constant Battle

As the participants have demonstrated they move between traditional, virulent racism to subtle, modern racism sometimes masquerading as cultural differences, to attempts at understanding and having empathy with black people. They are aware of the different positions they take and I will examine how they make sense of these position changes.

Kessarlis (2006, p. 350) refers to “making, unmaking and remaking” the self. For the participants, challenging their racism is a risky endeavour. Charl explains:

C: alles wat ek gedoen het skuif dit uit hou dit daai kant want hy is nie ‘n mens. as ek nou oor baie goed moet gaan dink ja maar kyk hy is ook ‘n mens dink net watse skuldgevoel gaan ek dan hê. wat is die implikasies?

C: *Everything I have done. Push it away, keep it to one side, because he is not human. If I have to think about many things, yes, but he is human, just think what guilt I am going to have, what are the implications?*

This is probably one of the factors which makes it very hard for the participants to challenge their racism. The participants have all endured extreme guilt, shame and remorse for their racist attitudes and the eventual result of dehumanising others. I will discuss shame in more detail in Chapter 11.

Charl, in the following section, indicates the depth of his racism:

C: partydae voel ek hulle ook hulle was net fokken kaffers maar ek kan ook besef nou dat hulle mense is en 'n mens moet hulle menswaardig moet behandel. maar ek is nooit geleer hoe nie.

C: *Some days I think they were just fucking kaffirs, but I can realise now that they are people and one must treat them humanely. But I was never taught how.*

He, in stating that he does not know how to treat black people humanely, implies that they have to be treated differently to the way he would treat whites. Black people remain the other.

Fisher (2007), a coloured (mixed race) journalist in South Africa explains that he is a racist. He explains he was “groomed” (p. 1) to become one as he was born into a deeply racist society. He notes he has preconceived ideas about different racial groups as a result. He states:

But if I am a racist, I am not a passive acceptor of my racism. I am prepared to own up to my racism and I am doing my best to fight against it. Like the people in Alcoholics Anonymous, I believe that one must admit to one's faults before one can start to deal with them. . . . The difference between me and the people who are not prepared to admit to their racism is that I will probably overcome my racism at some point in my life (p. 3).

He discusses racism using the metaphor of alcoholism. It has to be challenged and fought against in himself. This appears very similar to the approach of the participants in this study in confronting their racism, where in particular Charl and Adriaan describe it as a constant battle. In the interviews they indicate that they recognise that racism is wrong, that the correct view and approach is one of non-racism.

In the next excerpt Charl gives an indication of his difficulty in not being racist:

E: en deel van die hele probleem is dat hierdie goed so in mense ingeprent is, dat al baklei jy daarteen daar is tye wat dit opkom en jy besef ek dink nog so.

C: maak nie saak hoe jy probeer nie in sekere situasies gaan jy altyd. as 'n taxi voor jou inry wat is jou eerste woorde ja, jou kaffer. dit is so dis die eerste woorde wat onmiddelik=

E: en mens dink nie dis 'n taxi eienaar wat druk op hom plaas wat sê tensy jy soveel geld inbring nie kry jy nie salaris nie.

C: soveel geld inbring om 'n dag se pay te kry.

E: en kinders wat honger ly as hy dit nie doen nie. (8)

***E:** And part of the problem with these things is that they are so much a part of you. Even when you fight against it, there are times that come up and you realise you still think like that.*

***C:** It doesn't matter how much you try, in some situations you will always. If a taxi drives in front of you, your first words are, "Yes, you kaffir!" That is what it is like. Those are the first words which immediately=*

***E:** And one doesn't think that the taxi owner is putting pressure on him and saying, "Bring in this amount of money, or no salary."*

***C:** Bring in this much money to get a day's wages.*

***E:** And children who starve if he doesn't manage it. (8)*

As Charl indicates above, he tries but repeatedly finds himself falling into racist beliefs and comments. Charl desperately wants his children to be different to him. He often talks about teaching his children different views, but is not able to give examples, apart from teaching them not to use racist language. At this he often fails. The next excerpt indicates Charl's difficulty in not thinking in racist, demeaning terms. We had been talking about removing a decomposing body from a shack and I asked how he had coped:

C: dis maar net nog 'n kaffer, so. dis wat dit is. maar aan die einde het dit jou gepla. jy kan maar sê dis maar nog net 'n kaffer. maar dit kon maar net sowel iemand anders gewees het.

E: of dalk is die kaffer 'n mens.

C: (3) ja dis 'n moontlikheid. {laughing} dis 'n moontlikheid. (4) dis maar {13, interspersed with occasional laughter from him}.

C: *It was just another kaffir, so, that's what it is. But eventually it bothered you; you can say it is just a kaffir, but it could just as easily be someone else.*

E: *Or possibly the kaffir is a person.*

C: (3) *Yes, that is a possibility. {laughing} That is a possibility. (4) It is but {13, interspersed with occasional laughter from him}.*

He explained to me that he could not consider that black people did good things; in his mind black people were only criminals and terrorists. In the following excerpt we were talking about a scene he had been to after an explosion. The people who had tried to prevent the explosion had all died. He had had severe flashbacks relating to this scene for a number of years. The pervasiveness of racism comes through clearly; even dead, charred and dismembered bodies are viewed in racist terms:

E: Charl as jy aan daai toneel weer dink by V, en jy besef daar is swart mense daar dood. (4) hulle het gegaan om te gaan help.

C: ja hulle het ook. hulle het die ou oom gaan help en gekeer dat alles afbrand. eintlik het hulle goedge doen. wat my vang jy kon nie die verskil in die ledemate en goed sien want dit was alles swart basies.

E: *Charl, if you think of the scene at V, and you realise that black people died. (4) They died because they went to help.*

C: *Yes, they did. They went to help the old man (literally old uncle, term of respect) and to prevent everything from burning down. Actually they*

did a good thing. What caught me; you couldn't tell the difference between the limbs and things because it was basically all black.

Charl is extremely aware of the ironies and contradictions in his behaviour and thinking.

C: en tog hulle kleintjies, dit help ek. hulle kry ek jammer. maar die volwassenes hulle is niks. hoe kry jy dit?

E: dit maak mos geen sin nie.

C: hoe sê ek 'n klein kaffertjie beteken iets, maar sodra hy groot is is hy niks. hoe kry jy dit?

E: dis mos belaglik.

C: sit vir my logika daaraan.

E: daar is nie logika aan nie. jy is minstens, op die stadium, bewus dat dit irrasionele goed is om te dink.

C: nee, ek is bewus daarvan maar hoe hoe? sulke goeters wat my as ek sit en dink. want jy kan nie die twee verby mekaar kry of naby mekaar kry nie. daar is nie logika daaraan nie.

C: *And yet, I help their children. I feel sorry for them. But adults are nothing. How do you make sense of that?*

E: *It makes no sense.*

C: *How can I say a small kaffir means something, but as soon as he is an adult he means nothing?*

E: *It is laughable.*

C: *What is the logic?*

E: *There is no logic. At least you are currently aware of the irrationality of your thinking.*

C: *No, I am aware of it, but how, how? Things like this, I sit and think.*

You cannot reconcile the two or even come close. There is no logic in it.

Charl explained that the contradictions in his thinking about race were one of the reasons he eventually decided he needed help:

C: en ek dink dis ook deel van hoekom ek opgehou het. hoekom ek eerder gekom het vir hulp. alles het in opstand gekom teen die hele sisteem binne in my want jy kon. die dubbelsinningheid kon jy nie meer (6)

E: verby kom nie

C: um. jy kon nie meer daarby verby kom nie. daar was nie 'n manier om dit meer 'n manier om dit te regverdig nie.

***C:** And I also think it is in part why I stopped. Why I decided to rather get help. Every in me revolted against the system in me because; I could no longer the contradictions (6)*

***E:** Ignore the*

***C:** Um, you could no longer ignore the contradictions. There was no way to, no way to justify it.*

Charl implies that he was influenced by other thoughts and discourses which meant that those which had made his racism tolerable no longer worked. He was forced into a position of questioning himself. However, as we have seen, Charl struggles to see the humanity of black people.

Charl repeatedly returns to recognising that black and white people have the same needs and aspirations. In the next excerpt he refers to his one brother; an alcoholic layabout and compares him to the illegal immigrants he tortured:

C: dan slaan ons hulle half dood. (2) dan sit my broer by die huis en fokkol doen. 'skuus dat ek dit nou so vergelyk maar

E: ek het nie 'n probleem daarmee nie. baie van daai mense is baie meer werd is as jou broer is.

C: en ek het hulle geskiet daarvoor en half kruppel geslaan want hy wil uitspring. maar dit is maar sy soeke ook na standvastigheid. hy soek werk.

E: hulle kinders gaan dood van die honger.

C: dat hulle is so desperaat is. en die kant sit hulle en worry niks nie. teer op ander mense.

E: jy begin meer en meer anders na goed kyk.

C: ek moet. ek doen selfondersoek. ek moet oplossings kry.

C: *Then we beat them half to death. And my brother sits at home and does fuck all. Sorry that I compare it like that, but ...*

E: *I have no problem with it, many of those people are worth more than your brother.*

C: *And I shot them for it and beat them half to death, when they wanted to jump out. But he was looking for stability. He was looking for work.*

E: *Their children are dying of hunger.*

C: *They are so desperate. And here they sit and worry about nothing. Parasites, using others.*

E: *You are looking at things differently.*

C: *I have to. I do introspection. I have to find solutions.*

Charl cannot allow black and white people to share a common humanity which is approached in the same way. However, he realises his dehumanisation of black people is unacceptable. He struggles to find a discourse with which he is comfortable; his helplessness often indicates that those he can draw on are inadequate for his needs.

Adriaan also explains that he struggles immensely with his racist beliefs. He explains that he started questioning racism while he was still working in townships. One of the things he mentioned is that he had noticed that dying people would call on Jesus. He is a Christian himself, and experienced conflict. He was also exposed to different political groupings in the police and found that he was more attracted to those who at the time voted for the Democratic Party (a more liberal party). He, in discussions with them, found his beliefs challenged. However this has not been an easy road for him. He experiences a struggle on a daily basis. He explains:

A: um soos, Pam het nou 'n kleurling meisie as 'n vriendin, dan sal sy nou, n-nou sy't vanoggend weer gevra of sy kan oorkom vannaand jy weet. um s-sy dink ek het 'n verskriklike haat in hulle, jy weet. wat sy seker opgetel het so in die jare wat sy saam met my grootgeword het, moet maar versigtig wees kan die meisie soontoe kom? in werklikheid wil jy vir haar sê laat die kind kom, voel vry. maar (2) nou het sy seker die anderkant gesien.

***A:** Like now with Pam who has a coloured girl as a friend. She asked this morning if the girl can come over tonight. She thinks I have a terrible hatred for them you know. She probably picked up on it in the years that she grew up with me. Has to be careful. Can the girl come to us? In reality you want to tell her: "Feel free, let the girl come." But she will have seen the other side.*

He describes his conflict; he wants to act non-racially, but his family is familiar with his racist behaviour. He is attempting to change his beliefs, but because of where he has come from it is extremely difficult. He is very lonely in the battle against his racism. In continuing the discussion, he explains that Mary and her children had lived in a racially mixed suburb, and for them it was normal to have friends of different races. They found his attitude difficult to understand:

A: vir hulle was dit strange dat hierdie, ou poephol hy, in die begin het ek dit maar anderste gesien.

E: ons weet waarvandaan jy gekom het.

A: so dis maar die laaste tydjie wat ek maar jy weet (3) die kleurling meisie, dis maar die tweede keer wat sy by ons gaan oorbly. want vroeër (2) sou ek die kind ver-verskree het: jou kafferboetie of so iets. (2)

E: dis 'n stryd né?

A: um, frightening. jou gesê vandag klink alles nice, môre is 'n ander dag. dan donder jy weer aan. alhoewel dit kant weet jy is die regte kant. maar, ja, maar ek sal daar kom. eventually.

A: *For them the strange part was, this old arsehole, in the beginning I saw it differently.*

E: *We know where you came from.*

A: *It is only the last while that I, you know, (3) the coloured girl, it is only the second time that she stays with us. Earlier, I would have shouted at the child and called her a kaffirboetie {derogatory term, equivalent American term would be a nigger lover} or something.*

E: *It's a battle isn't it?*

A: *Um. Frightening. As I say, today everything sounds nice, tomorrow is another day. Then you say things you shouldn't again. Although, you know what the right thing is. Yes, I'll get there. Eventually.*

Adriaan eventually also comments that God perhaps allowed him exposure to blacks in a different way so that he would realise that his beliefs were wrong:

A: dink dis ook dalk wat miskien 'n rol gespeel het, jy weet, dat ek in daai die Hoër Hand my in daardie situasie geplaas jy weet, om te sien hulle is nie um wat 'n mens, gedink het hulle is nie. dit het ek begin experience toe ek in die Transkei was. 'n mens het allehande stories gehoor van die Transkei. en ek kan net goed praat van daai mense. hulle het my net goed behandel. die ou bliksems ons laat glo dis 'n kommunistiese staat daai, jy weet, allerhande dinge gebeur daar jy weet. ek het geleer dis net mense soos ek en jy. ja, dit was 'n ondervinding. (3) en ek het baie respek vir hulle gekry.

A: *Maybe it had a role to play, maybe the Higher Hand put me in that situation so that I would realise that they are not what you think they are. I began to experience that when I was in the Transkei. One had heard all*

sorts of stories about the Transkei. But I can only speak well of those people. They only treated me well. The old bastards let us believe it was a communist state you know. All sorts of things happened there. I learnt they were people like you and me. Yes it was an experience (3) and I got a lot of respect for them.

In this section he positions himself as having discovered that black people are just like whites. He says he received only good from them and has developed respect for blacks.

Adriaan moves between virulent racism and idealistic views of black people. I discussed earlier, that this means that he is doomed to be disappointed in black people.

Dawid in one of the early sessions, in discussing his lack of feeling towards black people, because they are black says:

E: is dit nie vir jou scary nie?

D: dit is seker ja. ek het meer gevoel vir diere as vir mense ek stry nie. dis scary maar (7) dis wat ek geleer is. dis wat ek geleer is. dis 'n ding wat gevorm is en wat deel is van my lewe. dis in my. ek sal 'n mens makliker kan doodmaak as wat ek 'n hond sal doodmaak. en niks daarvoor voel nie. ek is eerlik. (2) dis hoe ek voel. (2)

E: *Don't you find it scary?*

D: *It probably is, yes. I feel more for animals than for people. I'm not arguing. It's scary, but (7) it is what I was taught. It is what I was taught. It is something that was formed and is a part of my life. I can kill a person easier than a dog. I will feel nothing. I'm honest. That is how I feel.*

As he considers his racist attitudes the atrocities he is guilty of he explains his attempts at rationalising his behaviour:

D: alhoewel ek het nooit gesê ek sal, die kaffers beskerm nie. seker nie. ek glo nie. sê mense van Afrika. daai tyd was hulle nie gereken as mense nie. verstaan jy? (3) (hhh) ek kan probeer enige way ek het al baie gedink né. ek kan hoe try en verontskuldig maar ek kan nie want hulle was deel van my samelewing. ek moes hulle beskerm het. en ek het nie. ek het nie. dis die ergste van alles. dis waarvandaan die kak kom. dis waar in 'n groot mate dit my ook klaarmaak. ek dink dis waarom ek die meeste sekerlik die meeste oor daai voorvalle skuldig voel. omdat ek nooit opgestaan het en gefight het vir die mense waarvoor ek eintlik moes fight nie.

E: mense wat eintlik swakker was.

D: exactly. (1) exactly.

***D:** Although I never said that I would protect kaffirs. Surely not. I don't believe I did. Say Africans. That time, they weren't considered to be people. Do you understand? (3) {laughs} I can try any way, I have thought so much. I can try justifications, but I can't; they were part of my community. I had to protect them. I did not. I did not. That is the worst of everything. That is where the shit comes from. That is what destroys me. I think it is what I feel the most, surely the most guilt around those incidents. I never stood up and fought for the people for whom I should have fought.*

***E:** People who were weaker.*

***D:** Exactly. Exactly.*

Here Dawid does not focus much on empathy, or recognising that people are the same. Instead, he focuses on his own lack of professionalism, that he has not lived up to the ideals he set himself.

He explains that like Charl, he has done introspection and racism makes no logical sense:

E: jy is nie so deur die polisie opgelei nie. hoe kom jy verby dit?

D: ek dink dis 'n (3) saak wat jy moet uitklaar. ek dink ek is ek is ek is redelik belese in die eerste plek en in die tweede plek is ek nie stupid nie. ek is redelik intelligent. en ek dink na my toestand het en ek het begin rustiger raak en het ek meer introspeksie gedoen rondom goed soos wat gesê is toe ek opgelei is. en dit maak nie vir my sin nie.

E: dit maak geen sin nie.

D: dit maak op die stadium vir my geen sin nie. dis waarom ek sê ek het dit vir myself uitgemaak. hulle is mense soos ek. ek hanteer hom soos ek moet.

***E:** You weren't trained like that by the police. How do you get past that?*

***D:** I think it's (3) a matter which you have to think about. I think I am, I am firstly reasonably well-read and secondly I am not stupid. I am reasonably intelligent. And I think after my condition, when I became calmer I did more introspection around things that were said like during my training. And it makes no sense.*

***E:** It makes no sense.*

***D:** It makes no sense at this stage to me. That is why I say I had to sort it out for myself. They are people, just like me. I treat him as I must.*

Dawid takes in an interesting position in this excerpt. He explains that because of his intelligence, he could confront the racism into which he was born and trained. He implies that intelligent people will not be racist. He also says that after the worst of the psychiatric symptoms abated, that he could consider things logically. He demonstrates Dubow's (2006) claim that old style racism is diminishing in South Africa, since the demise of apartheid. Dawid, intuitively recognises the need for normalised contact with other races, and explains that he has made the decision that he will encourage his children to socialise with other races.

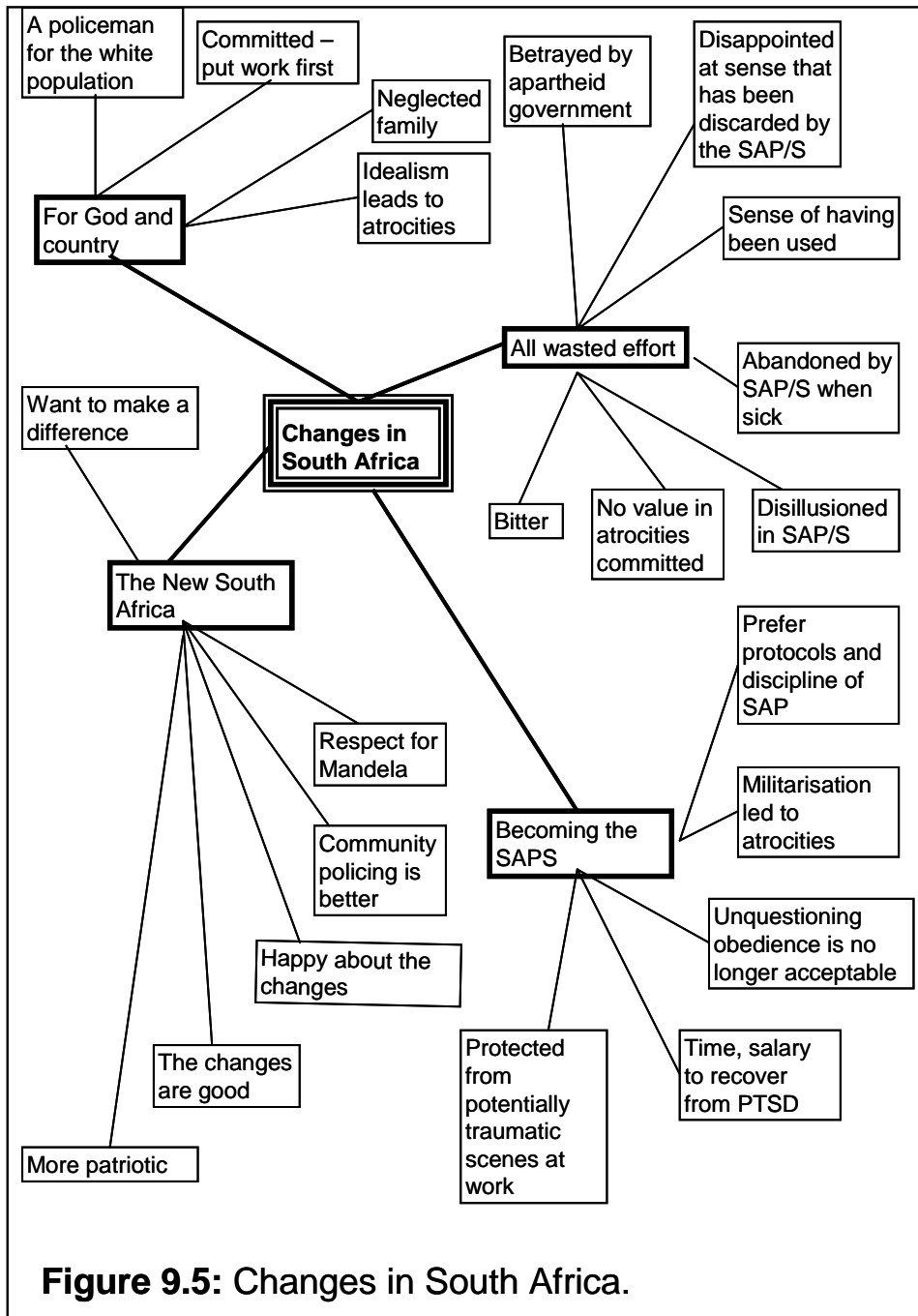
The participants find it extremely difficult to confront their racism. They indicate that it is something that they are constantly fighting against. Their beliefs in white superiority are so deeply entrenched that it is almost

impossible for them to not see blacks as the other from within a white-centred world. Hill and Augoustinos (2001) found that people stopped using traditional racist terms after experiencing a cross-cultural awareness programme, but modern racism was unaffected three months later. Wetherell and Potter (1992) found that modern racism plays an important role in legitimising and justifying social inequities. In this study the participants occasionally justified modern racism, but more often they appeared to be unaware of the discourses they were using. The participants all indicate that they have to challenge their racism for the sake of their children.

Changes in South Africa

For the major theme of “Changes in South Africa” which I depict in Figure 9.5, I identified the following organising themes:

- o for God and country;
- o wasted effort;
- o becoming the SAPS; and
- o the new South Africa.



For God and Country

As I have discussed previously, the police operated under undemocratic administrations. The police under apartheid had to enforce laws of racial segregation, secure a minority government and protect the white population from crime and political disruption. This did not require traditional policing

skills, but instead rewarded political loyalty and allowed power to be abused (Rauch, 2000; Rauch & Storey, 1998).

Brogden and Shearing (1993, p. 46) comment “policing, recruits are taught, is not simply an occupation but a sacred mission, a religious calling, in the life and survival of the Volk.” Dawid agrees:

D: dit was altyd jy doen jou werk vir jou land. jy beskerm. wie beskerm jy? jy beskerm die wit mense en die regering van die dag. dit was die doel van die oefening. um ek was ‘n polisieman gemaak vir ‘n selected few. dis eintlik vir wie ek ‘n polisieman geword het. vir die selected few. ons het daai selected few met hulle politieke beginsels beskerm. dis waarvoor ek opgelei is en waarvoor ek daargeplaas is.

***D:** It was always you are doing your job for your country. You protect. Who did you protect? You protected the white people and the government of the day. That was the objective of the exercise. Um, I was made a policeman for the selected few. That is for whom I became a policeman, for the selected few. We protected that selected few with their political principles. That is what I was trained for and for what I was put there.*

The three participants were idealistic when they joined the police. They all worked extremely long hours and were committed to the police. Charl explains:

C: werk altyd eerste gestel. hoekom? die polisie het ook gesê, jou werk is eerste, jou werk is tweede en dan kom enigiets anders. so is ons geleer.
(11)

***C:** Always put work first. Why? The police said: “Your work is first, your work is second and then anything else.” That is the way we were taught.*
(11)

And it is what he did:

C: dan sê hulle pak vir 'n dag na twee maande (hhh) kom jy eers by die huis. sulke goeters.

C: *Then they say, pack for a day and after two months {laughs} you eventually get home. Things like that.*

C: ek is ek het my werk geniet, ek was trots op my werk, ek het byvoorbeeld sommer drie dae in 'n shack gaan sit en wag dat 'n ou terugkom dat ek 'n gun kry.

C: *I am, I enjoyed my job. I was proud of my work. For example, I sat for three days in a shack waiting for a guy to come back to get a gun.*

C: dis hoekom ek daai oggend my kind saamgevat het werk toe. ander ouers sou [gesê het

E: [ingebel en

C: sorry, ek kan nie inkom nie ek laai my kind in die kar, stel hom bloot aan al die gevaar en alles. maar jy dink nie daaraan nie want jy dink aan die werk, die job moet gedoen word.

C: *That is way I took my child to work that morning. Other guys would have [said*

E: [phoned in

C: *sorry, I can't come in. I loaded my child in the car; exposed him to danger and all that. But you don't think of that, because you think of work. The job must be done.*

The suspect he is referring to here was eventually convicted of a cash-in-transit robbery. Charl made over thirty arrests a week for two years. In the process he neglected his family and exposed them to danger.

Dawid explains that he was idealistic, which on occasion led to committing atrocities:

D: ek gaan daai ou knyp want dis geregverdig want as ek hom knyp gaan hy nie môre 'n vrou verkrag nie. en dan knyp jy bietjie te seer. (6) weet jy die polisie was altyd vir my 'n idealistiese plek gewees. ek het vrede gemaak ek gaan 'n polisieman word. reg. en toe sit ek in my kop en dink weet jy nou gaan een wees so (2) kom ons maak dit die beste daarvan. kom ons verander goed kom ons maak dit beter.

***D:** I am going to pinch him and it is justified because if I pinch him he won't rape a woman tomorrow. And then you pinch a bit too hard. (6) You know, the police was an idealistic place for me. I accepted I was going to become a policeman. Right. And then I thought, "You know, you are going to be one so let us make the best of it. Let us change things, let us improve it."*

He also worked extremely hard and was passionate about what he was doing:

D: ons was die mal fokkers. ons het amper 24 uur 'n dag gewerk. ons wou elke dag werk. ons wou skelms vang. ons was by alles betrokke. ons as iets gebeur ons was eerste daar.

***D:** We were crazy fuckers. We worked almost 24 hours a day. We wanted to work every day. We wanted to catch crooks. We were involved in everything. When something happened we were the first there.*

Adriaan, as I discussed in Chapter 5, was also idealistic about being a policeman:

A: en um die groot ding ek wou mense gehelp het, dis waarom ek in SANAB belangestel het. dit weet ek ook nou al vandag.

A: And the big thing is, I wanted to help people, that is why I was interested in SANAB. I know that today.

Wasted Effort

The government they supported has shared power with the people previously decried as “terrorists”. The former terrorists now rule and have become their boss, their colleague and their neighbour. They have been let down by the apartheid government in a myriad of ways. As discussed in Chapter 3 and earlier in this chapter, very few of the former politicians took any responsibility for what happened.

They, as most of the country, did not expect the changes in South Africa. Adriaan had some idea, as he explained in his narrative he knew that they were losing the “battle”. Charl explained that he felt betrayed when F. W. de Klerk lifted the banning orders on the ANC:

C: nee, soos FW ook. ek sê nog steeds hy is ‘n verraaier gewees, want hy het nie eers die polisie in kennis gestel hy gaan die ANC wettig nie. ons het nog daai aand van die ANC mense geskop daar in die museum. die volgende oggend moes ons hulle laat los want toe is hulle wettig verklaar. hy het nie die polisie geken nie.

C: No, like F. W. as well. I still say he was a traitor, because he didn't even tell the police that he was going to legalise the ANC. We had still been kicking ANC members around in the museum that night. The next morning we had to let them go, because they had been declared legal. He did not consult the police.

The sense of abandonment and betrayal extends to the position they find themselves in because of the PTSD they have developed. This has affected

Adriaan and Charl much more than it has affected Dawid. Dawid has received more support from his employer than either Charl or Adriaan. Charl explains:

C: dalk my haat vir die polisie. sal nie sê haat nie. meer 'n teleurstelling as haat. [...]. rêrig want hulle gooi jou weg. hulle gooi jou weg. daai lewensgedeelte wat jy vir hulle gee terwyl jy in die polisie is gee jy alles. en hulle hier op 'n tyd staan hulle terug en sê face jy die kak dit is jou probleem. hulle het geen verpligting verder teenoor jou. dis eintlik baie lelik. as jy dink hoeveel mense se lewens word so weggegooi. (9)

C: *Maybe my hatred for the police. Maybe not hatred, more disappointment than hate. [...] Really, they discard you. They discard you. Your life, which you gave them. While in the police, you gave them everything. And now they stand back and say, "Face the shit, it is your problem." They have no further responsibility towards you. It is dreadful. If you think of how many people have lost their lives in this way. (9)*

Dawid expresses confusion in the next sections. He finds himself questioning the motives of the SAP in training him. He expresses his difficulty adjusting to the new regime.

D: dit laat my ook, voel ek is oorbodig. maar maar maar ek betwyfel hoekom ek oorspronklik stilgebly het nie? as daar nie vir my 'n nut was nie. ek betwyfel dit. hoekom is ek so degrade en opgefok en al die goed aan my gedoen as daar nie 'n nut daarvoor was nie. [...] en dis wat my irriteer. nou is dit 'n nuwe regering. (2) maar ek is nie opgelei deur hulle nie ek is opgelei deur die ou regering en is opgelei en sekere persepsies en goed waarin ek opgelei is is gevorm punt.

D: *I also feel redundant. But, but, but I wonder why did I originally keep quiet? If there was no need for me. I wonder about it. Why was I degraded and fucked up and all this done to me if there wasn't a*

*purpose? [...] And that is what irritates me. Now it is a new government.
(2) But I was not trained by them. I was trained by the old government.
And certain perceptions and things that I was trained in formed me.*

As discussed in his narrative, he eventually moved from this position to accepting that he was taught unacceptable views during his training.

Adriaan explained in his narrative that he lost all his material possessions; he lost his friends, his health and an enormous amount of time with his family. His first marriage ended in divorce. He lost his job on numerous occasions because of his inability to control his aggressive outbursts. In the following excerpt he indicates his bitterness:

E: maak die houding van jou gemeenskap dit soms vir jou moeiliker?

A: ja. nee ek, stel eintlik nie eers belang nie (13). want hulle want vir hulle beteken wat ookal iemand gedoen het vir hulle bogger all, want hulle weet van bogger all. hy't aangehou met sy werk. hy het bevorderingsmoontlikhede gekry, hy het studiemoontlikhede gehad. sy lewe het aangegaan soos hy aangegaan het. ja, hy was weermag toe, maar dis ook nie vir my te veel nie. sy lewe was nie ontwrig: nie, want ons was daar om te verseker dat dit net in die townships bly, dat dit nie uitsprei nie. en hy het half in 'n kokon so tipe half geleef, jy weet (6).

E: *Does the attitude of your community make it more difficult for you?*

A: *Yes, no I am not actually even interested. Because they, because nothing anyone did for them means a thing. They don't know anything. He carried on with his work, he had promotional possibilities and he had the possibility of studying. His life continued as he went on. Yes, he went to the army, but that was not too much, his life was not disrupted, because we were there to ensure that it stayed in the townships, that it did not spread. He lived in a cocoon, you know.*

E: wat voel jy terwyl jy hierdie goed sê?

A: baie hartseer.

E: ek sien so. hoekom hartseer?

A: ja, ons-s hartseer en bitterheid maar saam. (2) o:mrede omrede, so baie mense sien, doodgaan, en vir niks op die einde van die dag tipe ding jy weet.

E: *What do you feel when you say these things?*

A: *Very sad.*

E: *I see it. Why sad?*

A: *Yes, we sadness and bitterness together. (2) Because, because, I saw so many people die, and for nothing the end of the day, you know.*

A disconnection between policemen on the ground and management is often reported (McNamara, 2002; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). McNamara (2002) also notes that in general police do not believe that they are protected by management who is seen as out of touch with policing. Charl and Adriaan describe more than a sense of disconnection; they are disillusioned and believe they have been abandoned by the police. They believe that they gave their best which was used by the police, and that they were abandoned when they developed problems. Charl explains:

C: dit maak lede negatief want dit breek jou selfbeeld af. daai dat hulle jou net uitskop en los. [...] waarmee sit jy nou? geen ondersteuning. hulle is gou om te sê daai oggend wat ek by die werk ingestap het toe ek vir die TB behandeling gegaan het. ons het klaar jou salaris gestop. nou hoe, ho-o-e? ek is die enigste broodwinner. hulle weet nie wat is die impak van daardie woorde vir my as broodwinner. ek het twee kinders, wie gaan vir hulle kos gee. daaraan dink hulle nie in hulle leeftyd nie, maar hulle sê dit vir jou. (6) en ek het lus gevoel en gryp haar en verwurg haar. doen ek dit, wat dan? ja sien ons het geweet hy gaan.

C: *It makes members negative because it breaks you down. They just kick you out and leave you. [...] What do you now sit with? No support.*

They are quick to say, that morning when I got to work when I went for TB treatment. "We have already stopped your salary!" Now how? I am the only breadwinner. They don't know what the impact of those words are on me as breadwinner. I have two children, who is going to feed them. They don't think of that in their life time. But they say it to you. (6). And I wanted to grab her and throttle her. But if I did, what then? "Yes, we knew he would."

Charl feels damaged by the police. They do not care for the wellbeing of their members and do not support them when they are ill. Adriaan comments:

E: dit klink Adriaan asof jy op 'n manier ook geweldig magteloos gevoel het?

A: ja, hulle druk jou net af heeltyd. daar was niks, daar was gee:n support structure nie. en uh jy weet soos ek gesê het in die begin ek wou iets bewys het bereik het, ek weet nie wat nie maar, en ek sit met hierdie kak en ek weet nie wat met my aangaan nie.

E: *It sounds Adriaan as though you felt completely powerless?*

A: *Yes. They gave no support. And in the beginning I wanted to achieve something. I don't know what. And I sat with all this shit and didn't know what was happening to me.*

Adriaan also complains of lack of support. Dawid realised he was used.

D: en ek kyk ek kyk baie na die TV1 kak wat op die TV is. van van toe hoe ons die mense geslaan het met sambokke en goed. ja: maar no-nou is dit skielik verkeerd. ek is gesê om dit te doen. ek is fokken opgelei om dit te doen man. dis my job daai. en-en-en-en-en no-nou lei ek daar deur. omdat ek wit is en ek 'n ou wit polisieman is. dis fucked up man.

D: I watch, I often watch the shit on TV1 which is on TV. Of, of how we hit the people with whips and things, yes. But no-now it is suddenly wrong. I was told to do it. I was fucking trained to do it man. It is my job. And, and, and, and, and no-now I suffer because I am white and an old white policeman. It is fucked up man.

Adriaan has received minimal support from the police; eventually an injury-on-duty claim was registered and a small payment was made to him for injuries incurred. Charl is still struggling to register an injury-on-duty claim. The lack of support may relate to a number of things. It may not be expedient for the police to acknowledge them and what they have done in the SAP/S; there has traditionally been a lack of support for psychiatric illnesses in the police; and they may be suspected of malingering (Rosen, 2004).

Becoming the SAPS

Protocol was easy to understand in a militarised police force. Dawid explains:

D: en jy het 'n afspraak gemaak om daai man te sien. dan is hy 'n sersant en jy is 'n konstabel. dan moet jy 'n afspraak maak om hom te sien. en dan staan jy op aandag voor daai man. nou suiker hulle so in. daar is geen respek vir hom daar is geen respek vir mekaar nie. verstaan wat ek try sê? dit het 'n grappie geraak deesdae. en dis moeilik om in sulke omstandighede om te werk.

D: And you made an appointment to see that man. Then he was a sergeant and you a constable. You had to make an appointment to see him. And you would stand at attention in front of that man. Now they slouch in. They have no respect for him; there is no respect for one another. Do you understand what I'm saying? It has become a joke. And it is difficult to work in these circumstances.

In a militarised force, rank is respected. The organisation is more important than the individuals. With the change in organisational culture respect is not shown in ways with which Dawid is comfortable. Different rules have started to become important. Unquestioning obedience is no longer encouraged.

Dawid comments:

D: ek dink die way wat ek opgelei is is beter. dis meer militaristies. en as dit militaristies is dit georden. en as dit georden is loop dit soos 'n klok. deesdae se polisie werk nie so nie. jy kan question. met ander woorde die konstabel kan die fokken baas question. en sê fok jou man. wie gaan die job doen?

***D:** I think the way I was trained is better. It is more militaristic. And if it is militaristic it is ordered. And if ordered it runs like clockwork. Today the police do not work like that. You can question. In other words the constable can question the fucking boss. And say: "Fuck you!" Who is going to do the job?*

Nel and Burgers (1998) comment that community policing now demands that the policeman uses his or her own discretion; they are now accountable to the community. Charl, in a section I will quote at the end of this chapter, comments on the damage that was done because it was a militarised force. He links the atrocities committed to the militarisation of the police and notes that if the police had been a community-orientated police force that things would have been much better in South Africa.

Dawid has received extensive support from the SAPS in overcoming his PTSD. Much later when we talked about changes in the police Dawid recognised the assistance he received:

D: ek het baie respek vir die SAPD wat my op die stadium die tyd en die grasie gegun het om deur my probleme te kon werk het as 'n werknemer. en my nog steeds betaal het, my in diens gehou het en my nog op die

stadium steeds beskerm. dit dit is daar is baie mense wat baie kak praat oor die polisie. daar is slegte goed in die polisie maar daar is baie beter goed in die polisie. ek dink die nuwe SAPD is 'n moe:rse verbetering op die ou SAP.

E: ek stem saam. hoekom sê jy dit?

D: weet jy, die ou SAP as ek gesê het ek het PTSV sou hulle my weggejaag. daar bestaan nie so 'n siekte in hulle boeke nie. as ek amper twee jaar van die werk moes bly sonder om 'n steek werk te doen sou ek nie 'n salaris gekry het nie. hulle sou my weggejaag het teen daai tyd. hulle approach ten opsigte van van integrale polisering (3) was totally different. daar was net een groep wat gepoliseer is die ander is onderdruk.

***D:** I have a lot of respect for the SAPS, which has given me the time and space to work through my problems as an employee. They have paid me, they kept me in service and are still protecting me. There, there are many people who speak shit about the police. There are bad things in the police, but there are many better things in the police. I think the SAPS is a huge improvement on the old SAP.*

***E:** I agree, why do you say that?*

***D:** You know, in the old SAP if I had said I had PTSD, they would have chased me away, such an illness did not exist in their books. If I had been off work for almost two years and done no work, I would not have been paid. They would have chased me away by then. Their approach with regard to integral policing (3) was totally different. Only one group was policed, the others were suppressed.*

Nel and Burgers (1998) suggest that the increase in medical discharges for PTSD in the SAPS is partially a result of officers attempting to avoid dealing with the changes in the SAPS. They indicate that in 1991, 7 percent of medical discharges were due to psychological reasons; by 1997, 42 percent of medical discharges were due to psychological reasons.

Of the three participants Dawid has received the most support from his employer. He is in a small station and has known everyone who works there a long time. He is correct in that they are protecting him from demanding scenes, and are always aware of his welfare. The support he has received from the SAPS has contributed to him being able to resume work.

The New South Africa

One of my questions was whether they accepted the changes in South Africa or not? They have been affected directly by the changes; not only is their previous behaviour condemned, but both Adriaan and Charl feel abandoned by the police. Dawid knows that he will probably never receive any further promotions if he should stay in the police due to affirmative action. The costs for their families have been extremely high.

A letter that Adriaan wrote to his dead friend Ed describes some of his conflicts and some of the changes he experienced:

Soos jy, byvoorbeeld sou onthou, hoe die polisie dit in ons gedril het dat swart mense net soos diere was en Mandela die duiwel self was en hoe meer ons van hulle kon doodmaak hoe beter en deur dit te doen ons die “oorlog” tussen hulle sal wen vêr van die waarheid was. [...]

Ons het die sogenaamde oorlog in elk geval verloor en Mandela het ook President geword en ek was bevoorreg gewees om hom te ontmoet het. Ou maat was ek geskok, al woode wat ek het vir die man is dat hy ‘n ongelooflike mens is en alles behalwe wat die polisie en regering ons wou laat glo het en dit het toe baie vrae by my laat ontstaan as ook gevoelens wat ek nie heeltemal kan verklaar nie.

As you will remember the police drilled it into us that black people were just like animals and Mandela the devil. We were told that the more of them we could kill the better and by doing it we would win the “war” between them. It was not true. [...]

In any event we lost the so-called war and Mandela became President. I was privileged to meet him. Old friend, was I shocked! The only way I can describe the man is that he is an amazing person and nothing like what the police and government wanted us to believe. It allowed many questions to arise in me and also emotions that I can't fully explain.

Dawid spoke spontaneously of Nelson Mandela. He said:

D: nee ek is eerlik weet jy, ek dink hy is seker seersekerlik seker die ou wat ek die meeste respekteer op die stadium in die hele wêreld. rêrig. ek meen Elaine fokken as ek hy was ek sou ons fokken in vliegtuie gepop het en in die see gaan drop het né. waar het hy eenkeer omgedraai en iets aan ons gedoen? vir al die kak wat ons hom gegee het. dis amazing, dis amazing. daar is nie 'n ander woord daarvoor.

***D:** No, I'm honest you know. I think he is definitely the man whom I respect most in the entire world. Really. I mean Elaine, fuck if I had been him, I would have loaded us in aeroplanes and dropped us in the sea. Where did he take revenge even once? Considering all the shit we gave him, it's amazing, it's amazing. There is no other word for it.*

Mandela won Adriaan and Dawid's admiration. He appears to have developed almost iconic status with them and they regard him as showing them a different way of being.

Charl's world has been turned upside down. However he recognises the damage that has been done:

E: ek het jou nog nooit gevra hoe voel jy daarvoor om 'n Afrikaner te wees?

C: ek is trots om 'n Afrikaner te wees. ek sal nie daarteen gaan nie maar in beginsel is dit nie reg wat ons gedoen het nie. dink net waar sou ons

gewees het soveel (3) dink net waar sou die land gestaan het as ons twintig jaar terug opgehou het met die goed. toe ek in die kollege gekom het as ek anders opgelei is en ek het anderste gedoen, as jy 'n gemeenskapsgeoriënteered polisieman was en nie 'n militêr georiënteerde polisieman. wat sou die verskil dan gewees het. dink dan net waar was die land vandag gewees het. dinge kon anders gedoen gewees het.

E: I have never asked you, how do you feel about being an Afrikaner?

C: I am proud to be an Afrikaner. That won't change. But, in principle what we did was wrong. Think where we would have been (3) just think where the country would have been if we stopped these things twenty years ago. If I was trained differently when I got to college; if I had acted differently; if I was a community orientated policeman and not a militarised policeman. What a difference it would have made. Where would the country have been today? Things could have been done differently.

Adriaan comments:

E: as jy nou kyk, hoe voel jy oor die veranderings in Suid Afrika?

A: ek persoonlik nee ek is happy.

E: ten spyte daarvan dat dit beteken dat dit wat jy gedoen het het geen waarde nie?

A: ja. nee, want omrede ek vandag weet wat die waarheid was agter die regering die destydse regering en-en-en en sy instrumente. ek het 'n absolute haat teen hulle en wat gebeur vandag is 'n goeie ding.

E: When you look at the changes in South Africa, how do you feel?

A: Personally, no I'm happy.

E: Despite the fact that it means that what you did has no value?

A: Yes. No. Today I know what the truth was behind the government, the previous government and its instruments. I have an absolute hatred for them and what is happening now is good.

Dawid put it like this:

E: as ek tussen die lyne deurlees, is jy bly goed het in Suid Afrika verander?

D: ja ek is definitief bly. ek is baie bly daaroor.

***E:** Reading between the lines, you are glad things changed in South Africa?*

***D:** Yes, I am definitely pleased. I am very glad about it.*

Despite the impact on the participants personally, they are not unhappy about the changes in South Africa. They were remarkably accepting of the changes. Bitterness was generally directed at the previous government and the sense of abandonment by previous leaders.

A: en soos um Mary is nou die een wat my nou aanspoor om te s-sê verlaat die land. maar ek kan nie. ek meen kan=

E: hoekom kan jy nie?

A: nee hierso het ons te diep spore al getrap. en en die groot ding is soos ek sê ek raak gatvol vir hulle maar alhoewel ek baie patrioties is. verskriklik patrioties meer as wat ek voorheen was. hetsy die sleg en die goed. ek glo die bietjie wat ek doen probeer ek nou doen na die beste van my vermoëns om te kyk of ek 'n verskil kan maak.

***A:** And Mary will try and encourage me to leave the country. But I cannot. I mean I can=*

***E:** Why can't you?*

***A:** No, we have too deep roots. And the big thing is, like I have said, I get fed up with them even though I am very patriotic. Extremely patriotic, more than I was previously. Despite the bad and the good. I believe the bit I do, I try to the best of my ability to see if I can't make a difference.*

This is a remarkable statement for someone who has come from where he has and has suffered what he has. On an occasion (not quoted) Adriaan, after getting a job after an extended period of unemployment, explained how happy he was to be a tax payer. Adriaan, despite everything is patriotic and wants to make a difference.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the impact of the political and organisational changes on the participants. They indicated that entering a militarised police force taught them to follow orders without thinking. They learnt to persevere and not to pay attention to what they felt. The training taught them that the task was more important than the person and dehumanising others was normalised. Propaganda was used in training to vilify black people. That which they learnt through training and the apartheid discourses which were circulating clearly indicated to them that their task was to remove black people. They did not need supervision or commands; they knew their role.

They indicate that it is extremely difficult to challenge their racism. They all recognise racism is wrong, but struggle to recognise the centrality of their belief in white superiority. They begin to indicate their thoughts on changing their racist beliefs, and these include social contact and developing empathy with black people.

Despite what they have lost, they indicate that they are accepting and happy about the political and organisational changes in South Africa.

CHAPTER 10

MACHO MEN BECOME SISSIES BECOME FAMILY MEN

Macho: showing aggressive pride in one's masculinity (South African Concise Oxford Dictionary, 2002).

Although the participants all presented with severe psychiatric symptoms, these symptoms cannot be considered separately from the national and specific community context in which they developed. It became clear in the analysis of the text that emanated from the interviews that gendered identity forms a pivotal theme in their training, work and in their subsequent attempts at adjustment. I will discuss gender identity briefly and then discuss the participants' presentation of their masculinities while working and while perpetrating. I will then discuss how developing PTSD and symptoms related to their perpetration changed the way they express their masculinity.

Connell (2006) debates gender as a concept of power and refers to a form of masculinity which is hegemonic. Hegemonic masculinity is described as dominating other masculinities and subordinating women. Hegemonic men are also described as stoical, phallogentric, competitive and heroes. Non-hegemonic masculinities are subordinated and are marginalised (Connell, 2006; Higate & Hopton, 2005).

Morrell (2001) notes masculinity can be expressed in different ways and is constructed in the context of class, race and culture. Connell (2006) emphasises that recognising diversity in masculinities is not enough. It is also important to recognise the relations between masculinities. In and through these relations alliances are formed, domination played out, people subordinated, intimidated and exploited. In the South African context, white men not only dominated women, they also dominated other races. They

were born into a position of superiority, with established discourses of what it meant to be a man.

Expressions of masculinity in South Africa have included: willingness to fight to resolve disputes, independence, resourcefulness, physical and emotional toughness, ability to give and take orders, being moral and God-fearing (Morrell, 2001, p. 15). Du Pisani (2001, p. 158) describes hegemonic Afrikaner masculinity in pre-apartheid times, as puritan and expressed in the image of the “simple, honest, steadfast, religious and hard-working *boer* (farmer)”. He notes that a modernising phase characterised the 1950s and 1960s with the *verligte* (enlightened) section of Afrikaner men slowly losing the inhibiting influence of traditional conservatism.

South Africa was influenced by the conquest by and settlement of colonisers who challenged indigenous masculinities (Connell, 2005). As discussed in Chapter 2, in the white population this resulted in a rugged, frontier masculinity. These men developed masculinities which were violent and individualistic. Connell notes that the colonisers distinguished “more manly” from “less manly” (p. 75). Charl continues this tradition; in his torture of various groups. He comments that Zulus are tougher than other groups.

C: daar het ek gesien ‘n tjoeb werk en ‘n, kat werk. maar toe het ons ook in plaas van dit gebruik om inligting te kry, toe het ons ook later ook begin misbruik. kyk hoe vêr kan jy ‘n ou tjoeb. as hy hom natmaak dan (6) vat ‘n rukkie om hom by te kry, maar hy bly lewe darem. gee ook sy inligting vinnig, veral die Zulus. hulle is gehard, hulle praat nie so maklik soos die ander nie.

C: *There I saw a tube works and electric shocks (literally a cat) work. But instead of using them to get information, we began to abuse them. See how far you can tube someone. If he wets himself then (6) it takes a while to bring him round, but he'll live. He gives information quickly, especially the Zulus. They're tough; they don't speak as quickly as the others.*

As in many other colonised countries, the themes of racism and masculinity were also linked in South Africa (Connell, 2005). During apartheid, race and class were manipulated by the state and this affected gender identity (Morrell, 2001). South Africa was a “man’s country” (Morrell, 2001, p. 18) with men exercising power. It can be added that it was a white man’s country. The hegemony of white males constructed black masculinities negatively (Connell, 2006). Hoch (1979) argues that much of white men’s domination over black men refers to the archetype of the white goddess and the black beast, traceable in numerous stories, fables and myths. He puts it (Hoch, 1979, p. 47): “Defence of manhood demanded, above all, the defence of the white goddess of civilisation against the dark, sex-crazed barbarians at the gates, and such fears provided the most explosive fuel for interracial hatreds, lynching and war.”

In white Afrikaner culture during apartheid male domination at home was scarcely questioned. Calvinist Protestantism endorsed the principles of God’s sovereignty and predestination. Men obeyed higher authority and adhered to the rules. Individual critical thinking was not welcomed; there was only one correct way of thinking and behaving. Personal needs were subjected to the cohesion of the group and its members. Afrikaner authoritarianism stemmed from identification with a group whose identity was intertwined with the social and economic benefits deriving from political dominance. People were classified in groups. Those who were not Afrikaans and male were different; they were the other (Du Pisani, 2001).

Politicians have utilised ideologies of idealised masculinity that applaud strong active males collectively demonstrating a willingness to suffer, die and kill for those they love (Higate & Hopton, 2005; Keen, 1991). Keen (1991, p. 38) refers to the “warrior psyche” which he describes as embedded in the “myth of war” (p. 39). The myth of war includes heroes and villains, brave deeds, winning and losing and violent emotions such as hate and love, loyalty and betrayal, courage and cowardice. McCarthy (1994, p. 106)

identifies “warrior values” as including physical courage, honour, endurance, strength and skill. Goldstein (2001, p. 9) comments “To help overcome soldiers’ reluctance to fight, cultures develop gender roles that equate ‘manhood’ with toughness under fire”. Militarism also feeds into ideologies of masculinity through the eroticisation of stoicism, risk-taking and lethal violence. Passing out parades for successful recruits to the armed forces represent the public endorsement of these values and their institutionalisation in cultures (Higate & Hopton, 2005). Dawid refers to his passing out parade as follows, demonstrating his hegemonic masculinity:

D: dit was die grootste uitpassering ooit uit die polisiegeskiedenis, 7500 polisiemanne op een slag. ek moet eerlik vir jou sê ons is 1800 gewees op Maleoskop was daai tyd. die oorheersende gevoel tussen ons en die kollege was, kyk julle is ‘n klomp fokken, plastiek polisiemanne. ons het ook duidelik vir hulle te kenne gegee julle moenie eers naby ons kom nie man. ons sal julle doodmaak. superfiks supersterk superslim superskiet. ek dink hulle het ons aggressie ook baie verhoog.

***D:** It was the largest passing out parade in the history of the police. 7500 policemen at once. I must say, honestly we were 1800 at Maleoskop that time. The overwhelming feeling between us and the college was, “Look you are a bunch of fucking plastic policemen.” We showed them clearly, “Don’t even come close to us, we will kill you.” Super fit, super strong, super clever, super shooters. I think they heightened our aggression.*

Culture is often used to create unity, also in the armed forces (Connell, 2006). In South Africa, as the participants explained, they did what they did for God and country. They were there, as men, to fight the enemy, defend Christianity, and protect white women and children at home. Religion, in particular Christianity, was also linked to the expression of masculinity. Christianity proclaimed the man as the “head of the household” with submission expected from his wife and children.

Refusing to participate in conscription (or in the case of the participants join the police instead of conscription) would have opened them to the charge that they were not “true men” (Conway, 2005, p. 91). Conway notes that there was also the suggestion that those who refused conscription were possibly homosexual and therefore not real men. In considering the interaction between the military and masculinity in South Africa, Conway (2005, p. 94) comments: “violence, racism, dominance and control were all tied up into the construct of hegemonic masculinity for white men”.

Identifying the theme of masculinities in policing is not new; numerous authors and researchers (e.g. Heidensohn, 1992; McNamara, 2002; Oberweis & Musheno, 1999; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993; Toch, 1996; Waddington, 1999/2005; Whittaker, 2000) have considered its role in police culture.

Police training has an attitudinal component; it socialises officers into their departments and teaches them their employers’ philosophies, values, and expectations (Fyfe, 1996; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). This includes confirming and defining gender expression. Waddington (1999/2005) confirms that a sub-culture exists in the police across nationalities. The common elements he identifies are: subscription to mission, macho behaviour, us versus them and cynicism. He further explains that the police are conservative and authoritarian. They regard themselves as having ownership over an area which they work for their shift. Displaying courage in the face of threat is valued. He describes the celebration of courage in the face of threat as a “cult of masculinity” (Waddington, 1999/2005, p.375). It is the preserve of real men who are willing and able to fight. A test for masculine dominance is confrontations which involve physical, social or intellectual danger. McNamara (2002) notes that training which includes physical conditioning, fighting skills and marksmanship are part of traditional masculine roles. Toughness, courage and physicality are emphasised. He notes that misdemeanours will at times be passed over if couched in masculinity, the idea of “boys will be boys” (McNamara, 2002, p. 54).

In discussing masculinities in Brazilian torturers and murderers Huggins and Haritos-Fatouros (1998) and Huggins et al. (2002) found that there was no one unvarying masculinity among the men they studied. They observed three possible categories, but admit that the classification is somewhat forced. They noted the following presentations of masculinity:

- o Personalistic masculinity. These they described as the “passionate true believer in the cause of bettering society and protecting it from criminals” (Huggins et al., 2002, p. 88). They are driven by internal commitment to their civilian communities, and when talking about police violence, assign responsibility to bad individuals or social or cultural phenomena rather than to organisational conditions or pressures.
- o Institutional functionaries. These men presented their masculinity as an “extension of, and subordinated to, the needs and prerogative of the internal security organization” (Huggins et al., 2002, p. 89). They saw themselves as dispassionate extensions of the police organisation and state.
- o Blended masculinities. The above two masculinities are seen as on the opposite ends of a continuum. In between are the blended masculinities. They “identified fully neither with the communities they policed nor with the police force and the state. They simultaneously carried out violence within, for, and outside the police organisation, with their loyalty shifting according to who was purchasing their services” (Huggins et al., 2002, p. 89). They demonstrated personalistic and physical masculinity when talking about violence outside police organisations, and subordinated their masculinity to police bureaucracy when discussing violence for and within the police organisation.

South Africa came out of isolation after 1994 and has been exposed to discourses from the rest of the world. Connell (2005) notes the following global influences on masculinities: transnational and multinational

corporations; the international state; international media and global markets. Gender arrangement is also challenged by the contestation of sexist organisational culture; the disruptions of sexual identities by gay identities; the shifts in urban intelligentsia which produces pro-feminist politics among heterosexual men; media images of the new sensitive man, and so on. In the transition which is taking place in South Africa, the discourse of white men as victims of measures such as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) has often supplanted the masculinity of hegemony. Morrell (2001, p.27) summarises the crises of white hegemonic masculinity in South Africa as: "In the political sphere, government was being 'taken over' by blacks; in the business world, affirmative action policies were 'giving jobs to blacks'; and in public spaces, gay men were openly flaunting their sexuality."

The masculinities of black men in South Africa also changed immensely during and following apartheid. Biko (2004, pp. 30-31) writing in 1978 spoke of black masculinity as:

But the type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the "inevitable position". Deep inside his anger mounts at the accumulating insult, but he vents it in the wrong direction – on his fellow man in the township, on the property of black people. . . . In the privacy of his toilet his face twists in silent condemnation of white society but brightens up in sheepish obedience as he comes out hurrying in response to his master's impatient call. In the home-bound bus or train he joins the chorus that roundly condemns the white man but is first to praise the government in the presence of the police or his employers. His heart yearns for the comfort of white society and makes him blame himself for not having been "educated" enough to warrant such luxury. . . . All in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity.

Xaba (2001) considered black masculinities after 1994 and notes that the struggle in South Africa produced a generation of militant young men, independent, accustomed to violence and lacking formal education. They are often now marginalised while other men have advantages in the labour market. They have continued to be targeted by the police; some are

involved in criminal activities. This provides numerous opportunities for other men to decry them as uneducated, stupid or dangerous. Obviously other expressions of black masculinities also exist.

McKay, Mikosza and Hutchins (2005, P. 281) note that in the postmodern world that the media has to sell “soft” products, without threatening the traditional hegemonic bases. They created the “new man” (p. 281) who is sensitive and takes care of himself. Television, film and magazine images show images of men “cuddling their babies, playing with their children, grooming themselves, exercising their bodies, and embracing other (heterosexual) men during ‘weekend warrior’ retreats” (McKay et al., 2005, p. 281).

Connell (2005) refers to the work of Wetherell and Edley (1999) who indicate that men are not permanently committed to a particular model of masculinity. They strategically adopt or distance themselves from the hegemonic model, depending on what they are trying to accomplish at the time. The participants in this study are exposed to changing masculinities as discussed above. They also found their expressions of hegemonic masculinity threatened by a number of factors, as will be discussed in the next few sections. They eventually attempt to reconstitute themselves as nurturing, family men. I have identified three major themes:

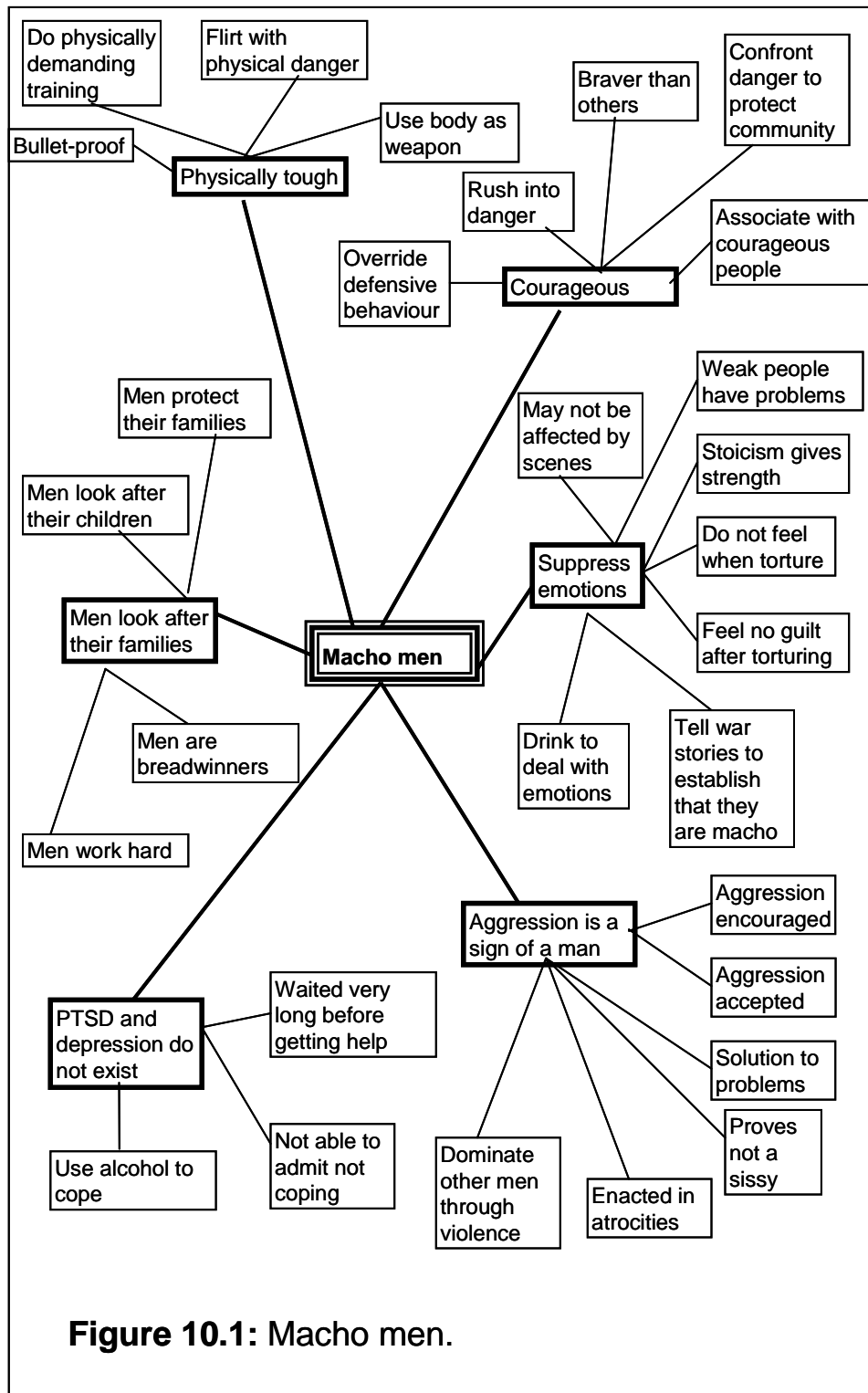
- o macho men;
- o sissies; and
- o macho men become family men.

Macho Men

The major theme of “Macho men” is illustrated in Figure 10.1. I identified the following organising themes:

- o physically tough;
- o courageous;

- o emotionally unaffected;
- o aggression is the sign of a man;
- o PTSD and depression do not exist; and
- o men look after their families.



Physically Tough

All three participants were involved in competitive sport. Sport creates opportunities to construct competitive masculinities which dominate other men (Connell, 1987, 2006). As discussed in the previous chapter, a lot of emphasis was placed on hard physical training, of disciplining the body (Connell, 2002). This, Connell (2002) comments, is a disciplinary practice which is used to create gendered bodies. He explains that the meanings in the bodily sense of masculinity concern the exaltation of hegemonic masculinity over other groups of men and of the superiority of men over women. He notes (Connell, 2002, p. 85) that the “social definition of men as holders of power is translated not only into mental body-images and fantasies, but into muscle tensions, posture, the feel and texture of the body.”

Hazing and harsh training have other functions than those discussed in the previous chapter. They are there to “make men out of boys”. Values, which define a warrior, such as physical courage, endurance, strength, skill and honour are instilled in boys (Goldstein, 2001; McCarthy, 1994).

Conservative Afrikaners regarded themselves as people with a proud military tradition. The heroic warrior is a prominent metaphor of Afrikaner masculinity (Du Pisani, 2001). For white men in the period when the participants entered the police, conscription or joining an organisation such as the police was a rite of passage on the route to manhood (Conway, 2005). Harsh punitive measures were taken against those who resisted conscription (Ancer, 2008).

The three participants all had training beyond the basic police training. Adriaan had Reaction Unit training; both Charl and Dawid did Guard Unit training. The participants are proud of the physically demanding nature of the training. This was also found by Karner (1998) in interviews she conducted with Vietnam veterans. She suggested that they saw it as a way of proving their worthiness as men. Dawid mentions that they started

training when the heat meter went off forbidding physical training as dangerous. This, again, emphasised their toughness as men. Flirting with physical danger and bravado are ways of demonstrating masculinity (Whitaker, 2000).

Adriaan in describing Reaction Unit training indicates that it was extremely demanding:

A: nou is ek al hierdie ons kurses was ses maande gewees. van absolute (hhh) toughheid.

A: *Now I, our course was six months, which demanded extreme {laughs} toughness.*

They casually treated their bodies as weapons. Connell (2006, p. 58) puts it in referring to sport, but it works as well in policing: “The body is virtually assaulted in the name of masculinity and achievement.” They could depend on their bodies, which responded to the demands made on them. Dawid put it:

D: tonele waar waar hy begin moeilik raak. waar hy volgens ons begin moeilik raak en so. daarna het jy hom goed gedonder hom geskop en geslaan en bietjie traangas gespuit. daai tyd was ons nog jonk en fiks en rats gewees. ons het gesoek vir dit. ons wou gehad het hulle moet terugbakei en moet hardegat wees. waar jy verdagtes soek en lekker bliksem en so. want jy ondervra hom mos nou.

D: *Scenes where, where he would become difficult. When according to us he was getting difficult and so on. Then you would thrash him well, would kick and hit him and spray with a bit of teargas. We were still young and fit and agile. We looked for it. We wanted them to fight back and be hard arsed. You would look for suspects and beat them. You're questioning him.*

He connects his violence, often unwarranted, with his agility and command over his body.

D: ek was bullet proof. ons het nie bullet proofs gedra nie maar ons was bullet proof.

***D:** I was bullet proof. We did not wear bullet proofs, but we were bullet proof.*

In this statement, Dawid captures the bravado and confidence in themselves and their bodies. They were unassailable. Keen (1991) comments that in the armed forces willpower, decisiveness and action are emphasised. The soldier (or I may add policeman) lives in the presence of death while denying their mortality and vulnerability. Keen comments that they have to prove they are powerful by their willingness to do and endure violence.

Courageous

Related to expressing their masculinity through physical actions was physical courage. It was essential that they learnt to override normal defensive behaviour and take risks in their work:

D: weet jy wat ek is geleer om, as daardie tyd was dit as student, het ons het ons op goed geleer. jy is in Pick 'n' Pay of in Checkers en daar kom 'n terroris en hy gooi 'n handgranaat in Pick 'n' Pay en jy is naby en wat maak jy? jy duik op hom. dis hoe ek opgelei is.

***D:** You know, I was taught at that time, when I was I student, we learnt certain things. If you were in Pick 'n' Pay or Checkers {supermarkets} and a terrorist threw a hand grenade in Pick 'n' Pay and you were close. What did you do? You dived on it. That is how I was trained.*

And

D: ons is die bliksems wat uitspring as die ander weg hardloop.

D: *We are the fools who jump in when the others run away.*

And talking about riot control:

D: dis waar jy 'n polisieman word. dit is waar jy bond. dis waar jy jou staal wys. dis waar jy jou opleiding wys. dis waar jy, die manne van die kaf skei of die koring van die kaf dit. die manne van die bokke ek weet nie. maar dis waar jy wys wie jy is. dit was lekker. as jy kan operate in so 'n situasie onmiddellik begin jou sersante en goed meer van jou hou: want hulle sien jy weet hoe dit werk en goed. {all with emphasis and excitement}

D: *It is where you become a policeman. It is where you bond. It is where you show what you are made of. It is where you show your training. It is where you separate the men from the chaff the wheat from the chaff the men from the goats. I don't know. But it is where you show who you are. It was fun. If you can operate in a situation like this, immediately your sergeant and others start to like you more. They see you know how to do it {all with emphasis and excitement}.*

Charl gives an idea of the dangers:

C: altyd in die aand, loop jy sonder ligte en goeters, jy is basies b-blind, dan loop jy daar in B in die berge en die goed rond en gaan soek jy. jy weet nie jy kan nou in 'n ambush inloop.

C: *At night you'd walk without light and things. You were essentially blind and you would walk in B in the mountains and things there and search. You never knew, you could walk into ambush at any time.*

And Adriaan describes how they would confront dangers which other men could not:

A: ja ons het die inligting gekry die polisie kon nie naby die gebied kom nie dis hoekom ons ingestuur is. hulle geen polisieman, hulle hulle het geweier om even in daardie area in te gaan. wa:nt u-u-h al die speurders van U polisiestasierearea, S, hulle kon nie hulle werk daar doen nie. in daardie area hulle was net doodgeskiet daar en. niemand kon daar ingaan nie. baie gevaarlik. en dis nou toe hulle ons instuur.

***A:** We received the information; the police couldn't get near the area so we were sent in. They refused to go into the area. The detectives from U and S were shot and killed when they tried. No one could get in. It was very dangerous, and so they sent us in.*

He reveals his pride in what they did; they were better than the Task Force (an elite, specialised unit) at some very dangerous operations:

A: ons het 'n fantastiese rekord. even vandag nog. ons het 'n beter rekord as die Taakmag as dit kom by huispenetrasie om ouens uit te haal. (6) Taakmag het gereeld van hulle nuwe recruits, of selfs ou recruits, um afgestuur na ons toe um net om om net daardie fisiese ondervinding te kry want hierbo was daar bitter min vir hulle om te doen. so hulle stuur die ouens af om lewendige penetrasies te doen. ek weet van ouens wat twee jaar in die Taakmag was en nooit 'n lewendige penetrasie gedoen het nie jy weet.

***A:** We had a fantastic record. Even today. We had a better record than the Task Force. When it came to house penetrations, to remove people. (6) The Task Force would regularly send some of their new recruits, or even old recruits, to us, just so that they would get physical experience. Up here, there was little for them to do. So they sent the guys down to do*

live penetrations. I know of guys who were in the Task Force for two years and had never done a live penetration.

The participants describe themselves as physically courageous. They put themselves in danger to assist the community. Dawid also explained the importance of associating with colleagues who felt the same:

D: jy het ook nie met ouens geassosieer wat 'n jannie jammergat was nie. jy sou onder die dieselfde kam geskeer word selfs toe ek uit die kollege uitgekom het. jy het met die ouens tjommies gemaak wat aggressief en en en macho was.

D: *You did not associate with the pathetic wimps. You would be judged alike. Even after the college, you were pals with the guys who were aggressive and macho.*

Toch (1996) notes that for officers to crystallise their identity as policemen, it is necessary for them to encounter dangerous situations. A willingness and ability to handle physical conflict are necessary for peer acceptance for new officers. Self-esteem and organisational approval can be derived simultaneously in encounters with dangerous suspects. In the above excerpts this is confirmed by the participants' descriptions of their experiences. They all described the dangers in public policing, in riot control. They describe the dangers with pride and excitement. Skolnick (1994) sees the policeman's role as containing two principle variables: danger and authority. He suggests that confining and routine jobs are low on the hierarchy of police preferences. They enjoy the possibility of danger, especially its associated excitement, even though they at times may fear it.

Suppress Emotions

It is also essential for the warrior to suppress his emotions. In spite of fear, the warrior has to remain functional. Bravery and discipline are required for this. The warrior may express anger, if it does not cause uncontrollable

outbursts. Emotions such as fear and grief have to be suppressed. There is no place for gentleness, compassion, tolerance on the battlefield (Goldstein, 2001). These qualities are also important for the policeman, in particular the militarised policeman. Goldstein (2001) contends that society recognises that emotional shutting down comes at a price and that it is better that only half of society pays this price. Most cultures only use men as warriors. He concludes: “Young men then face a dilemma: pay the price of a warrior mentality – anxiety, PTSD, emotional difficulties in relationships – or pay the price in humiliation and shame that faces the sissy as a failed man” (Goldstein, 2001, p. 269).

An important message, already in college, was not to show any sign of weakness. Not showing weakness appears to be associated with hegemonic masculinity and indicates that a man can take anything, he is not affected by any dreadful scene. As it has been seen, weakness would be punished by the trainers or by the trainees themselves. Charl explains how powerful the message of not showing weakness was:

C: ja maar daai pateet en slagatheid is dit is dit is soos ‘n kultuur in die polisie, jy erken nie sulke goed nie, jy praat nie oor sulke goed nie, jy sê nie sulke goed nie want dit is die swakkeling wat erken hy het ‘n probleem. jy moet aangaan, jy kan nie omdraai nie. soos ek dit noem die job moet loop. [...] soos ek vir jou sê ek wil nie daarvoor praat nie, ek wou nie vir jou vertel het daarvan nie want dit is so. (3) jy is al die jare as jy dit erken het en daai dan was jy as ‘n s-swakkeling beskou in die polisie. jy het nie sulke goed erken jy het nie sulke goed gesê. dit is nou maar vir twintig jaar mag jy nie daarvoor praat nie, mag jy dit nie sê nie. nou wat wat is die nagevolge van twintig jaar?

C: *Yes, but being pathetic and weak, it is like a culture in the police. You don't admit to things like that. You don't talk about things like that. You don't say things like that because only a weak person admits he has a problem. You must go on. You can't turn back. As I say, the job goes*

on. [...] As I have told you, I don't want to talk about it. I didn't want to tell you about it because it is like that. (3) You are, all the years if you admit it, you'd be a weakling in the police. You didn't admit to things like that. For twenty years you were not allowed to talk about it, you could not say it. What are the results of twenty years?

Charl explains the importance of not admitting that he had a problem; the focus, as discussed in the previous chapter, was on the task. Admitting emotions around a scene is equated to having a problem and not being able to do the job. Although I have discussed this in terms of police culture not accepting weakness in men, there is some indication that broader culture does not look favourably on traumatised men (Mendelsohn & Sewell, 2004).

There is a positive side to suppressing emotions, as Dawid explains:

D: maar ek moet eerlik sê ek put baie krag uit my opleiding uit. dit hou my aan die lewe. dit hou my aan die lewe. regtig. as ek nie deur die opleiding is nie sou ek al lankal opgepak het. tien teen een al sewe agt jaar terug. sou ek nie die guts en wilskrag gehad het om aan te gaan nie.

D: *I must say that I get a lot of strength from my training. It keeps me alive. Really. If I had not gone through the training I would have given up a long time ago. Probably seven or eight years ago already. I would not have had the guts and willpower to go on.*

Charl explains that he could torture unemotionally:

C: jy dink nie daaraan op daai oomblik wat jy slaan en tekere gaan dink jy nie daaraan nie. na die tyd, dan dink jy miskien daaraan. partykeer het dit jou nie gepla nie, dit het gebeur en klaar. (4) daar is nie gevoel betrokke by nie.

C: *You don't think of it for that moment when you are hitting and going for it, you don't think of it. Afterwards, then you may think of it. Sometimes, it didn't bother you. It happened, it is done. (4) There is no feeling involved.*

C: ek weet nie. in die begin sou dit my miskien gepla het. dit is dit kom weer by daai gevoelloosheid. jy het nie jy het nie dit voel asof jy dit so kan wegstoot. jy staan buite dit. jy is nie betrokke nie. daai onbetrokkenheid. so as jy nie betrokke is daarby hoe kan jy skuldig voel daaroor, hoe kan jy sleg voel daaroor? (4) gevoelloosheid. dis die maklikste wat ek dit kan beskryf. maar tog het jy gevoel maar ek weet nie hoe om dit vir jou te sê nie. dit is dit is. jy sny dit af.

C: *I don't know. In the beginning it would possibly have bothered me. It comes down to not feeling. You didn't, you didn't, it feels as though you can push it away. You are standing outside it, you are uninvolved. That lack of involvement. If you are not involved, how can you feel guilty, how can you feel bad? (4) No feeling. That is the easiest way to describe it. You have feeling, but I don't know how to tell you. It is, it is. You cut it off.*

The culture in the police presumes that policemen are unaffected by the work they do. Toch, Bailey and Floss (2002) conducted a study of how police experience their job in New York. They used a qualitative inquiry (consisting of semi-structured interviews, focus groups and non-participatory observation), the results of which were used to design a survey instrument. They found that police are expected to be in control of events and to appear dispassionate. The participants they interviewed explained difficulty expressing emotions to partners. This was confirmed by the participants, their wives and parents in this study.

An accepted method of dealing with experiences is the telling of war stories. This is often combined with alcohol. The participants in this study all described the practice of telling war stories around a braai. The attitude they portray is that nothing affects them. They can laugh about things which

most people would find disturbing. They are brave, macho men. Toch (1996) confirms that dangerous situations are over-represented in war-stories.

Aggression is a Sign of a Man

As discussed in Chapter 3, one of the prominent symptoms isolated in perpetration is aggression (MacNair, 2002b). Aggressive outbursts are also a symptom of PTSD. Aggression cannot only be viewed as a clinical symptom. It is enacted in a particular context and has a social dimension.

As discussed earlier, violent solutions have often been associated with masculinity in South Africa (Morrell, 2001). Military service, argues Cock (1991, 2001) inculcated aggression which is equated with masculinity.

Aggression is the only emotional expression which was encouraged during training. Aggression was used and linked to the training. Dawid explains:

D: ouens is baie emosioneel oplei. baie goed is emosie aan gekoppel. aggressiwiteit. um ek meen om 'n wapen so in 'n rigting te steek en iemand dood te maak of te skree vrek kaffer vrek vat baie emosie. jy kan nie so skree en nie rêrig kwaad word eventually. jy word kwaad. jy jy jy fokken daai energie is alles as gevolg van die aggressie.

D: *Emotion was linked to many things. Aggression. Um, I mean, to take a weapon and stab it in a direction and to kill someone or to shout: "Die kaffir die!" takes a lot of emotion. You can't shout like that and not eventually really get angry. You become angry. You, you, you, fuck that energy is all as a result of the aggression.*

It is understandable that they had to be trained to overcome the natural reserve to not kill (Goldstein, 2001; Grossman, 1995), but as discussed earlier, the training was militarised and focussed on black people as the

enemy. There appears to have been little attention given to diffusing potentially violent situations.

Aggression is accepted in the police. Skolnick and Fyfe (1993, p. 94) note the centrality of force in policing. They explain: "Every arrest, every handcuffing, involves an imposition of force on an essentially unwilling person, no matter how compliant." In the participants' narratives, aggression and violence play a prominent role. They indicate that violence has to be extremely severe before it is seen as abnormal within the police. Even when Dawid fired off approximately 150 rounds in a built-up area, a false report was submitted and nothing further was done about it. It is a macho world in which power is often enacted in violence and force.

Charl illustrates something of that world in his descriptions of violence directed at other members. Violence is used as a solution to problems:

C: as ons nie tevrede was nie, een oujie by ons hy het sy vrou geslaan. ons het hom een aand kantiën toe gevat en ons het hom half dood geslaan. ons het hom gesê hoekom word hy geslaan. sulke goeters. daar is nie van, jy praat mooi met hom en sê moenie, moenie, ons het hom half doodgeslaan en ons het hom gesê nou weet jy hoe voel jou vrou as jy haar slaan. sulke goeters.

C: *If we were unhappy about something; one guy used to beat his wife. One night we took him to the canteen and beat him half to death. We told him why he was being beaten. Things like that. We didn't speak nicely to him and say don't do this, we almost killed him and then said: "Now you know how your wife feels when you beat her." Things like that.*

C: jy was altyd reg vir 'n ding. jy was altyd reg vir hierdie jy was altyd jy't nooit ontspanne of slaggelê nie. dis hoekom eenkeer my ouens ene nie goed deursoek nie. toe sien ek dit, toe gaan ek toe deursoek ek hom, toe kry ek 'n pistool voor in sy broek. toe het ek een van my lede G toe het ek

hom met die vuig in die gesig geslaan. ek het vir hom gesê hy is 'n kak polisieman ons kon almal doodgeskiet geword het daardeur. en dit het my nie eers gepla om hom in die gesig te slaan nie. want dit was vir my, hy was verkeerd gewees. dit was my manier om hom te leer.

C: *You were always ready for something. You were always ready, you never relaxed or let down your guard. That is why once when my men did not search one properly I saw it. I went and searched him, and found a pistol in the front of his pants. I then, one of my members, G, I hit him in the face with my fist. I told him he was a shit policeman; we could all have been shot. And it did not bother me to hit him in the face. He was wrong. It was my way of teaching him.*

Dawid explains that his aggression at times was directed at proving to himself that he was not a coward. This was the case especially after he did not confront the older policemen following the murders they committed. He explained in his narrative that he is a coward. Toch (1996) confirms that at times fear leads to the use of needless force, partially a compensatory measure to prove that they are not afraid.

D: ek sal nie sê dis bravado nie maar, omdat ek so voel is ek baie meer dit makliker om om 'n ou te gaan bliksem want ek weet ek is in staat daartoe. net om vir myself te kan bewys ek is nie hierdie pissie nie, ek is nie so fucked up soos ek dink ek is.

D: *I wouldn't say it is bravado, but because I feel like this, I am more, it is easier to go and beat up someone, because I know I can. Just to prove to myself I am not a sissy, I'm not as fucked up as I think I am.*

Within the police, not coping, for whatever reason, is not easily accepted. Whitaker (2000, p. 56) in referring to a macho image puts it:

Real men, according to the popular mythology, show "strength" by dominating women and other men, and not showing their emotional

needs except to act out in anger. Their toughness is shown in being able to hold their tobacco, alcohol, and other drugs, and acting as though they are not afraid of killing or dying.

These were the solutions the participants chose when they were no longer able to cope. The environment they come from encourages aggressive acting out of masculinity. This is not a one way street; obviously they are participant in and creators of this environment (Burkitt, 1999). They all got involved in bar fights and other fights with the general public:

A: en uh vir some stupid rede uh, baie aggressief. baie baie °baie°. kon nie twee keer na my kyk nie, dan het ek hom gefloort net een skewe woord of hy floor my maar ek het nie geworry nie.

E: so herhaalde bakleiery?

A: oe vreeslik. ek weet nie of ek myself daardeur wou bewys het nie.

A: *And for some reason, aggressive, very, very, very {quietly}. You couldn't look at me twice, then I would knock him out. Just one word. Or he would knock me out. But I didn't care.*

E: *Repeated fights.*

A: *Oh, terrible. I don't know if I was trying to prove myself.*

Charl explains:

C: klop aan 'n ou se deur en slaan hom half kruppel voor sy kinders.

E: hoekom?

C: want ek het sy vrou gelike en ek was dronk. (hhh) sulke goed. want ek het gaan jol en gaan kak soek. want toe is ek by opleiding ek kon niks meer doen nie. ek kon nie ek het kanse gesoek ek het nie so gereeld gekry soos toe ek seksieleier was nie. toe begin ek sulke goed doen.

C: *Knock on a man's door and thrash him in front of his children.*

E: *Why?*

C: *Because I liked his wife and I was drunk {laughs}. Things like that. I went partying and I was looking for trouble. I was at training and I could no longer do things. I could not. I looked for opportunities. I didn't get as many as when I was section leader. I began doing things like that.*

The macho behaviour extended to committing atrocities. They would look for action, for blood. One of the slogans was: "Hoe meer bloed hoe meer vreugde" (*The more blood there is the more joy we have.*). Torture is acting out of extreme male hegemony. The victim is subjugated and power relations are clearly enacted. At times this includes the symbolic letting of blood, the life force. In the following example Adriaan refers to adult men as boys indicating the masculinity being enacted.

A: die drank, die kak saam met die weermagouens het Sondae gaan mense dan gaan die arme mense kerk toe. om terug te kom na die kerk op Sondae. ons is so gedrink. dan se ons nou wil ons seker nou aksie en bloed sien. dan skiet ons die plek vol traanrook, skiet na die huise dan later raak die boys kwaad, dan sê ons: "ok nou kom hulle vir ons". al sulke, crap.

A: *On Sundays the poor people would go to church. To come back to the people at church on Sundays, we were so inebriated; we would say we want to see action and blood. Then we would shoot the place full of teargas; we'd shoot at the houses, then the boys would get angry and we'd say: 'Now they are coming for us!'* *Crap like that.*

Aggression was part of the culture into which the participants were born. Their training in the police and the work they did encouraged the enactment of masculinity through physical courage and endurance, but also through aggression and violence. .

PTSD and Depression Do Not Exist

As I discussed in Chapter 8 and in their individual narratives it was extremely difficult for the participants to admit that they had problems. The SAP/S has also not always recognised PTSD or depression as illnesses and the impact that they can have on members. This was Adriaan's experience as he explained in his narrative. Charl has essentially had the same experience, in that he has had no support from the police. Dawid has had more support from the police. He is approximately ten years younger than Adriaan and it may be because of the publicity given to PTSD over the last number of years as well as the changes in South Africa and in the police. The police in the country is no longer driven by the presumption of war and or the urgency of preventing a takeover by "terrorists".

Despite the fact that there is greater acceptance by police management of PTSD and depression, there are still enormous problems with reporting. The culture in the police does not encourage members to acknowledge emotional difficulties. The result was that all three participants waited very long before asking for help. They all had extremely severe chronic PTSD and severe major depressive disorders with serious problems in their families before presenting themselves for treatment.

The inability to express emotional difficulties with scenes is also seen in avoidance in discussing these feelings at home. Toch et al. (2002) found the police they interviewed attempted to distract themselves if they were exposed to upsetting scenes such as the death of a child. They did not in general tell their partners of their difficulties. The participants in this study have generally not discussed their experiences with partners. Adriaan explains:

E: jy het dit begin moeilik vind om emosies uit te druk, te wys.

A: ja, dis dinge wat maar, diep onder, jy maar vashou tipe ding. ek kon nie met iemand praat, soos ek byvoorbeeld met jou praat nie. niemand weet nie. ek, ek dink daar kan enigiemand wat my ken sal my kan

opback. as jy hulle sal vra, hulle sal nie weet nie. weet niks van die polisie af nie. ek praat nie. hou alles maar vir jousef.

E: You began to find it difficult to express emotions, to show what you felt.

A: Yes, those are things, which are deep down, you sort of hold on to them. I couldn't speak to anyone, not like I speak to you. No one knows. I, I think anyone who knows me will back me up. If you ask them, they won't know, they know nothing about the police. I don't talk. Keep everything to yourself.

Alcohol was commonly used to cope with emotional experiences. This is a well-known phenomenon; Browning (1998) comments that after the first day of shooting villagers the men of Reserve Police Battalion 101 were given alcohol to cope that night. Various studies link PTSD and alcohol abuse (e.g. Marshall, Panuzio & Taft, 2005; Parrott, Drobles, Saladin, Coffey & Dansky, 2003; Steindl et al., 2003). The three participants in this study are alcoholics. I asked Charl about his alcohol abuse:

E: laat ek tog vir jou vra C, hoekom het jy so gedrink?

C: ek weet nie. dit was net (1) jy was afhanklik daarvan. (5) jy het dit nodig gehad, dit moes daar wees. weet nie, dit was seker maar 'n manier van wegkruip. om nie met die werklike lewe kontak te behou nie. (6) jou skuldgevoelens weg te steek. ek weet nie. daar kan baie goeters wees. (5)

E: Let me ask you C, why did you drink so much?

C: I don't know. It was just, you were dependent on it. (5) You needed it, it had to be there. I don't know. Maybe it was a way of hiding; of not maintaining contact with reality. (6) To hide your guilt. There can be many reasons. (5)

Charl's comment suggests that he used alcohol to suppress his guilt. Adriaan drank extremely heavily. He gives the following example; it is

reflective of a macho attitude of not caring and probably strengthened bonding in the group.

A: ek meen ek het jou vertel van, dan drink ons brandewyn staan ons langs die kanaal met daardie vloed in 87 dan het die begraafplaas weggespoel dan raak ons Coke op dan sê ons ag fok dit. drink sommer water en dan vat ons net Milton, dash dit in jou brandewyn met daai water met die lyke.

A: I told you previously, we would stand and drink brandy next to the canal in 1987 during the floods and the cemetery which had been washed away. Our Coke would be finished and we'd say: "Fuck it, use water" and we'd dash some Milton {a sterilising agent} in our brandy, using the water in which the bodies were.

Their macho attitude is clearly demonstrated in these excerpts, as well as the role alcohol played in dealing with uncomfortable feelings and psychiatric symptoms. Toch et al. (2002) found alcohol was often used to contain symptoms and discomfort with scenes in the New York police officers they studied.

Men Look After Their Families

The participants grew up with the cultural expectation that men will be breadwinners and support their families.

Adriaan noted his admiration for his father in his narrative and indicated that he would have probably made different choices if his father had not died. However, he also described his father as someone with fairly set ideas and as someone who was influenced by the discourses of the day. His father would use corporal punishment, something with which Adriaan does not agree. He learnt from his father that a man looks after his family.

Charl learnt from his father that hard work was essential and part of an expression of masculinity. His father was often not home, and would work long hours. His father was secretive about his work, as he was involved in clandestine military operations. He experienced his father as a provider:

C: ons het hard gewerk maar ons het geweet as ons iets nodig gehad het dan het hy=

E: dit voorsien.

C: hy het dit voorsien. hy het ons nie bederf in die afgrond in nie. ons het baie min goed, ons het nie so baie goed soos die ander kinders nie. maar wat ons gekry het het ons geweet ons het gewerk daarvoor en dit was ons sin, dit was niemand anders sin nie. {speaking very quickly} hy het 'n groot huis vir ons gebou.

C: *We worked hard, but we knew that if we needed something then he=*

E: *Provided it.*

C: *Provided it. He did not spoil us. We did not have much, not as much as the other children, but that which we got, we knew we'd worked for it and it was ours. It was no one else's {speaking very quickly}. He built a big house for us.*

Dawid shows his affection and respect for his father throughout his narrative. He describes his father as emotional, and very giving. His father is extremely hardworking and this meant that they often did not spend enough time with him. Although he claims that his parents were non-racist, he tells the following story which he interprets as a sign of his father's protectiveness towards the family:

D: my ma-hulle het nooit gesê ek moet swartmanse haat, of ek moet (2) fokken aanrand nie. ek het soms bygestaan wat my pa en 'n swartman 'n argument gehad het. twee of drie keer het hulle by ons huis net ingestap of probeer inbreek en ek dink my pa was in 'n mate geregverdig my pa het hulle gebliksem. dit was daardie tyd nog aanvaarbaar. (3) dis sovêr as

wat dit gegaan het wat die haat en die aanranding aan betref het. maar dit was elke keer geregverdig. my pa het ons beskerm teen hulle of teen hom. verstaan jy?

D: My parents never said I must hate black people, or fucking assault them. I was sometimes present when my father and a black man had an argument. Two or three times when someone just walked into our house or tried to break in and I think in a way my father was justified. My father beat them up. It was still acceptable at the time. (3) That is as far as it went with the hatred and assaults, but it was justified every time. My father protected us against them or against him. Do you understand?

The participants grew up with fathers who exemplified the hegemonic masculine role. Adriaan has found it very difficult, when he did not perform the expected male role of family provider. He explained in his narrative that after his father's death he already felt he should step into the role of provider. Charl grew up being taught by his father that hard work was the way a man lived. Dawid had limited contact with his father as his father worked very long hours. His father modelled the role of a man as hard-working and a provider for his family as well as being a protector.

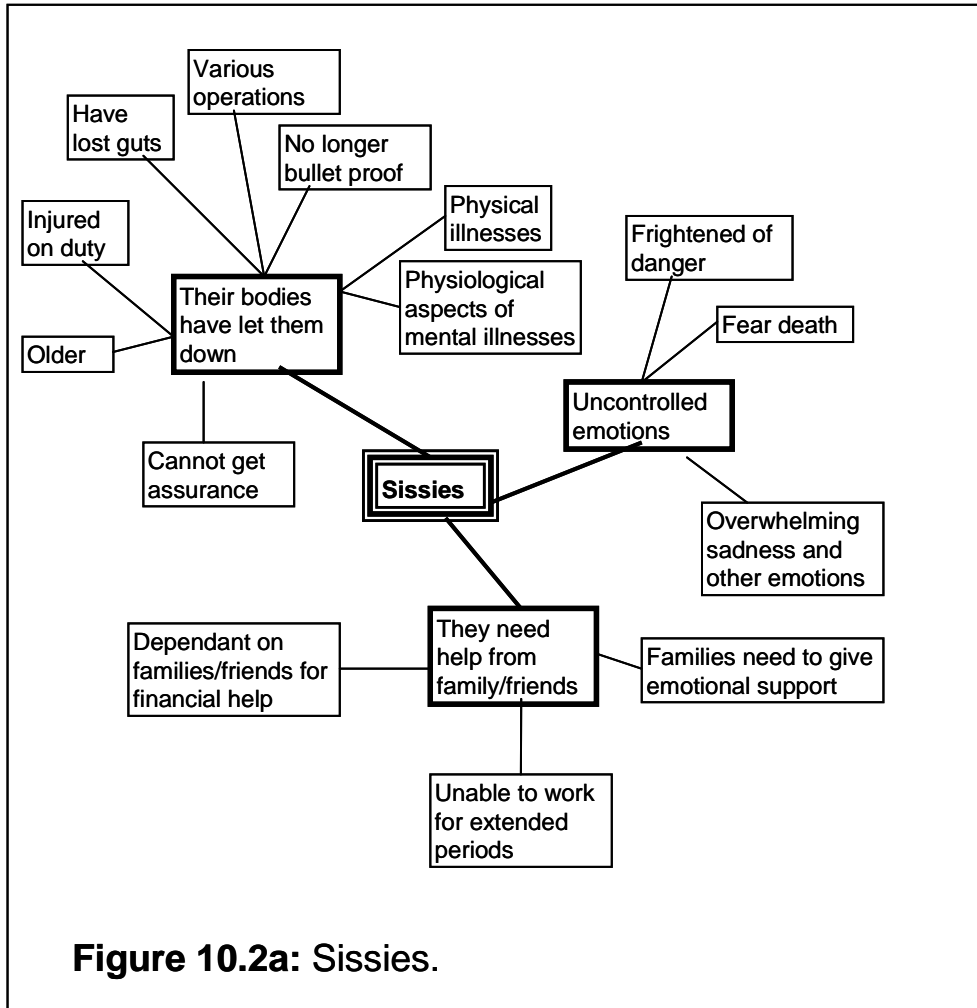
Sissies

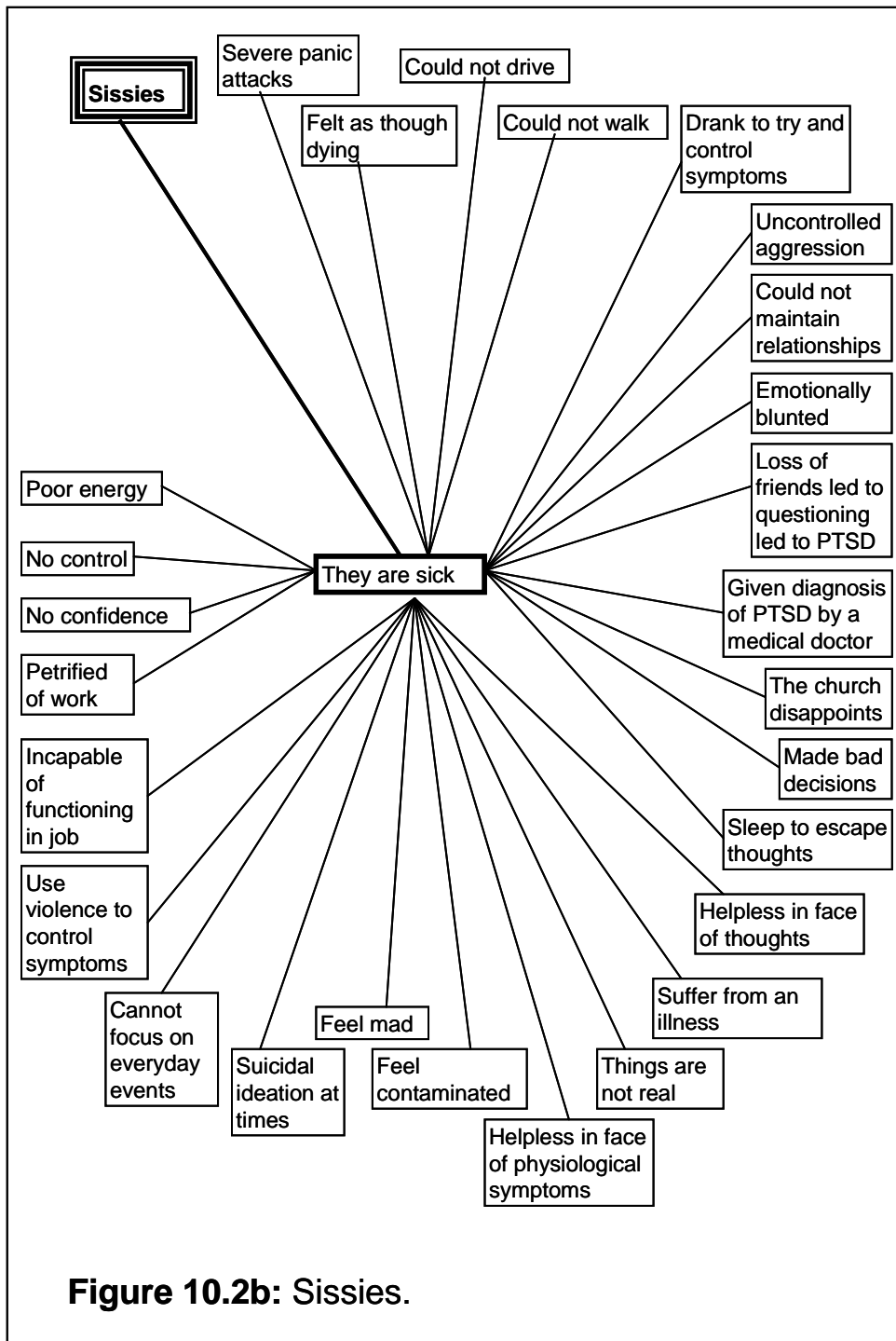
Although many of the issues I will discuss in this section coincide with the symptoms of PTSD and or depression, they all have meaning beyond an illness. It is that meaning I am interested in; how the participants experience the loss of their hegemonic masculinity.

For the major theme of "Sissies", I identified the following organising themes:

- o their bodies have let them down;
- o uncontrolled emotions;
- o they are sick; and
- o they need help from family/friends.

They are represented in Figure 10.2a and Figure 10.2b. I have used two figures for the sake of convenience; the organising themes are all subsumed under the major theme of “Sissies”.





The participants no longer presented themselves as hegemonic men. They became sissies. Developing PTSD has changed their conception of themselves. The participants no longer control their environment and everyone in it. They have entered the world of illness; they are dependent on medication, psychiatrists and psychologists. They often have extremely poor control and are monitored while hospitalised.

Their Bodies Have Let Them Down

They relate very differently to their bodies now as to when they were involved in the atrocities they committed. They have got older; nothing is as easy as it was. Dawid has been shot twice and this has affected him enormously. He is no longer bullet proof. He has lost courage and describes it with a bodily metaphor:

D: na ek geskiet is toe verloor ek guts. [...] dis dis dis dis soos in (2) di-di-di-di-di-di-dit het in my brein ingebrand. di-di-dis asof dit sal nooi:t ooit weer sal weggaan nie. en en die experience wat ek daarmee het dis soos in sjoe dis dis soos in (5) dis net 'n pissie man. dis dinge soos daai wat wat wat wat wat wat

E: gaan aan Dawid.

D: dis moeilik. dis moeilik vir my. ek ken my nie so nie. dis swaar. ek is ernstig. ek ken my nie so nie. [...]

D: *After I was shot I lost my guts. [...] It, it, it, it is like it, it, it, it, it, it, it, it, it burnt into my brain. It, it, it is as if it will never go away again. And the experience I had was, was like (5) it is just a sissy man. It is things like that which, which, which, which, which*

E: *Go on Dawid.*

D: *It is hard. It's hard for me. I don't know myself like this. It is hard. I don't know myself like this.*

Dawid describes the loss of strong physical masculinity. He is a sissy and in the telling, we can see how much he is affected. He had been casual, fearless, rushing into danger, but will never again be as careless in what he expects from his body. Although he also has symptoms of PTSD which relate to the experience of being shot, his experience of expressing his masculinity through his body has been altered.

Dawid has had numerous other operations, including back operations. Charl has had serious tuberculosis which he probably got from contact with

suspects; he has had major operations and has severe gout. Adriaan has found that he cannot get any life assurance due to the severity of his psychiatric illnesses. They also often experience the physical manifestations of mental illnesses, for example heart palpitations, insomnia, disturbed appetite and so on. Their bodies have given in, and can no longer be relied on.

Uncontrolled Emotions

They had expressed their masculinity in physical courage. They have lost courage.

A: gevoel dat ek sal mal word en 'n vreelike vrees vir die dood ontwikkel het.

A: *I felt I would go mad and I developed a terrible fear for death.*

D: dis swaar om te erken ek het nie meer die guts nie. swaar om te erken ek is bang. want want ek raak vreesbevange. dit was nooit so nie. daar was altyd 'n mate van respek. bangheid 'n ou is dom as jy nie bang is om in so 'n plek in te gaan. 'n gekontroleerde bang.

D: *It is hard to admit it, but I no longer have guts. It is hard to admit I am afraid, because, because I become petrified. It was never like that. There was always some respect. Fear, one is stupid if you are not afraid to go into a place like that. A controlled fear. [...]*

Dawid describes his reactions after an automatic teller machine (ATM) was bombed:

D: dit klink stupid maar toe hulle ons banke opgeblaas het. hulle het mos drie van ons tellers opgeblaas. ek het amper van my kop af geraak man. [...] fok dit vrou. ek spring op né. ek hardloop al om die sitkamer en die kombuis. ek soek 'n gun maar voor my heilige siel weet ek ek het nie 'n

gun nie. [...] fok dit man. hier staan ek. ek weet nie wat om te maak nie. toe toe toe soos 'n kleios se gat. ek lieg jou nie 'n woord nie. ek dink ek het groter geskrik as my vrou en my kinders. ek weet nie. ek kan nie vir jou sê nie. maar ja, ek was bewerig gewees vir 'n hele rukkie daarna. en dis normaalweg nie iets wat my sou pla nie.

D: It sounds stupid, but when they blew up our banks, they blew up three of our ATMs, I almost went off my head. [...] Fuck it woman. I jumped up, I ran around the lounge and kitchen. I looked for a gun, but I knew I had no gun. [...] Fuck it man. Here I stand. I didn't know what to do. Shut down. Completely shut down. I am not lying. I think I was more frightened than my wife and my children. I don't know. I can't tell you. But yes, I was shaking for quite a long time afterwards. It is not something which would normally worry me.

The statements by Dawid I quote above contrast dramatically with his earlier comments on risk-taking. He has become a sissy. Adriaan explained in his narrative that he was overwhelmed by panic attacks. He could not skipper his boat out of fear; he could no longer drive, because of fear.

The participants describe a number of emotional experiences. They initially described a voluntary, "cowboys don't cry" attitude to difficult scenes. Summerfield (2004) comments that stoicism, composure, resilience and self-sufficiency were previously valued in Western society. This has changed and people are now thought to undergo permanent damage and the effects of traumatic events are considered to be long-lasting. People are now seen as vulnerable (Summerfield, 2004).

Eventually the participants were no longer able to deal with difficult scenes with equanimity. With the development of PTSD and depression they began to experience a number of emotions. They were all extremely sad and often very tearful as they told their stories. As was clear in their narratives, they could no longer cope in any area of their lives. They were also often

frightened as discussed in the previous section, no longer approaching scenes with equanimity. Dawid explains his reaction when watching movies:

D: selfs as ek TV kyk. ek hou van speurdramas en goed. dis iets wat my fassineer. as daar bietjie blood en gory goed begin raak dit pla my verskriklik. dis iets wat ek nie kan afskud nie. ek is al bang om te kyk. weet jy, my kinders sal sit en kyk saam met ons. hulle sal nog lag oor die goed dan het al begin dan voel hoe alles begin vastrek in my. ek moet begin iets kyk sonder 'n age restriction. (hhh) [dis moeilik

E: [laughing]

D: {laughing} dis moeilik.

E: net nie violent cartoons nie.

D: ja. nee fok. ek meen dis goed soos daai wat my pla. dit pla my ernstig hoor. dit pla my rêrig. dat ek nie eers ordentlik TV kan kyk nie. dat dit my soveel affekteer dat ek soos in rêrig siek raak naar raak moeg raak mal raak. verstaan jy. dis goed wat net nie vir my goed is nie.

E: nee.

D: dit is nie ek nie.

***D:** Even when I watch TV. I like detective dramas and things. They fascinate me. But, whenever there is a bit of blood and it starts to get gory, I am affected very badly, I cannot shake it off. I am afraid to watch. You know, my children will be sitting and watching with us. They will still be laughing about things, when I feel how everything is tightening up in me. I have to watch things without an age restriction (hhh). [It's hard {laughing}, it's hard.*

E: [laughing]

Just not violent cartoons.

D: {laughing} Yes, no fuck. It's things like that that worry me. It badly worries me. It worries me that I cannot even watch TV properly. That it affects me so badly that I really become ill, nauseous, tired, mad. Do you understand? These are things that are not good for me.

E: No.

D: It is not me.

Dawid clearly struggles to incorporate his lack of courage into his self-concept.

They Are Sick

Eventually alcohol, suppression and the macho telling of war stories no longer worked in coping with scenes. They developed PTSD. The concept of and criteria for PTSD have led to considerable debate which I discussed in Chapter 3. In this chapter, my focus will be on the use by the participants of the discourse of illness in positioning themselves as ill men.

Trauma discourse has shaped the way war, atrocity or natural disaster is presented in the mental health industry as well as in popular culture (Bowman & Yehuda, 2004; Summerfield, 2004). In the USA, the estimated lifetime prevalence of PTSD is 7.8 percent. For men, the trauma most often associated with symptoms is combat (Kessler et al., 1995). Current Western society values emotional expression. Not expressing emotions is considered unhealthy. This has not always been the case and Summerfield (2004) cites the work of Furedi who found that citations of “trauma”, “stress”, “syndrome” and “counselling” in British newspapers increased ten to twenty fold during the 1990s.

Summerfield (2004) comments that people who present themselves to a clinic know the medical staff are interested in symptoms. He notes that

there is nothing quintessential about a particular traumatic experience. The attitudes of wider society (which may change over time) shape what individual victims feel has been done to them, and shape the vocabulary they use to describe this, whether or how they seek help, and their expectation of recovery. The more a society sees a traumatic event (rape, for example) as a serious risk to the present or future health and well-being of the victim, the more it may turn out to be (p. 232).

He claims that the mental health industry has promoted the idea that the average citizen can be disabled by trials of life. Professional help is then required to help them overcome the difficulties they are experiencing. He mentions that the effect is so powerful that if the language of trauma is not used when someone has had a bad experience that it appears as though the experience is being minimised. Summerfield (2004) notes that suffering is not psychopathology. He claims that the “culture of therapeutics has demonized silence and stoicism, and invites people to see a widening range of experiences in life as inherently risky and liable to make them ill” (Summerfield, 2004, p. 234).

Shephard (2004, p. 57), a historian examining PTSD as it has been conceptualised through various military conflicts makes the following comments:

Will psychiatrists have the sense to realize that by medicalizing the human response to stressful situations, they have created a culture of trauma and thus undermined the general capacity to resist trauma? They could make a start by dismantling the unitary concept of trauma, an idea that has long outlived its purpose. Any unit of classification that simultaneously encompasses the experience of surviving Auschwitz and that of being told rude jokes at work must, by any reasonable lay standard, be nonsense, a patent absurdity.

The rude jokes research refers to an article by Avina and Donohue (2002) which argued that sexual harassment at work constitutes trauma.

Summerfield (2004) comments that Western psychiatry has tended to objectify its cultural distinctions through empirical data. They are then reified as universal natural science categories. I agree, but this does not only apply to PTSD. Various mental illnesses have been discussed as social constructions (e.g. Hallam, 1994; Ingleby, 1982; Wiener & Marcus, 1994). Wiener (1989) does not attempt to demonstrate the social construction of depression. However his analysis of the ambiguities, inconsistencies and over-generalisations in the symptoms defined in the DSM clearly demonstrates the social construction of the diagnosis. The social

constructed nature of mental illnesses does not make them less painful or less debilitating.

Adriaan positioned himself as sick during much of his narrative, following his joining the authorities in their nefarious deeds. Especially following Ed's death, he explains that he was overwhelmed by panic attacks:

A: maar in elk geval het ek aangegaan aangegaan. al die syptome. °gedink ek gaan dood° paniekaanvalle. ek kon op ek kon nie bestuur nie maar ek kon dit vir niemand vertel of as ek bestuur het as daar verkeer was, al daai goed. alles, ek moes basies myself fisies leer loop. ek ek was uit ja: net gelê. fri:ghtening gewees. en so het ek myself maar gedokter. [...] my huwelik was °daarmee heen, ek het niks gevoel vir iemand nie. mense het onttrek van my. ek het onttrek van mense°. en uh vir some stupid rede uh, baie aggressief. baie baie °baie°. kon nie twee keer na my kyk nie, dan het ek hom gefloop net een skewe woord of hy floop my maar ek het nie geworry nie.

E: so herhaalde bakleiery?

A: oe vreeslik. ek weet nie of ek myself daardeur wou bewys het nie. ek weet nie. ja, en die drank het gevloei. seven days a week. (9)

***A:** I went on and on. All the symptoms! I thought I was dying {quietly}. I had such severe panic attacks. I couldn't drive, especially if there was traffic. I couldn't tell anyone. I had to teach myself to walk; I was totally out of it. I just lay down the whole time, and doctored myself. It was frightening. [...] My marriage was destroyed; I felt nothing for anyone. People withdrew from me and I withdrew from them {quietly}. And for some stupid reason I was extremely aggressive. A person could not look at me twice, and I would knock him out. Or he would knock me out. But I didn't care.*

***E:** So repeated fights?*

***A:** Yes, terrible. I don't know if I wanted to prove myself in some way. And alcohol flowed seven days a week (9).*

He partially expresses his distress somatically; he cannot even walk. He refers to symptoms, it is a medicalised problem. He is sick. He also mentions emotional blunting, loss of his marriage, alcohol abuse and aggression as linked to his illness.

I discussed in his narrative that Adriaan had lost meaning after Ed's death. The development of PTSD is often associated with the loss of meaning (e.g. Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Van der Kolk et al., 2005), as discussed in Chapter 3. Developing symptoms following the death of a buddy in combat is also well-known (Van der Kolk, 2007).

Adriaan went to an emergency centre one night and was diagnosed with PTSD. The solution he is given is medical – he has a psychiatric disorder. The church disappoints him; they do not hear his difficulties and suppose his alcohol abuse is the major problem. He explains:

A: net die kapelaan maar weer gestuur en, hy het in my huis kom krap vir drank en ek het hom net uitgejaag.

A: *Just sent the chaplain again and he came and searched my house for alcohol. I chased him away.*

Summerfield (2004) suggests medicalised ways of seeing things have displaced religion as the source of everyday explanations for the vicissitudes of life, and the vocabulary of distress. Adriaan confirms this in his narrative in which he describes his disappointment in the church.

Adriaan positions himself as ill throughout his narrative. He attributes his bad decisions to his psychiatric symptoms. He explains that intrusive thoughts and images are still a problem:

A: °verskriklik. verskriklik°. (7) en ek weet dis onmoontlik maar. as die gewone ou net weet hoe suffer 'n ou. weet jy watse effort is dit vir my elke dag om uit daai bed te klim (2) en werk toe te gaan. elke minuut of wat ookal wat ek kry slaap ek. by die werk, in die kar. as ek my kop kan neersit dan slaap ek. ek kan nie anders nie. by die werk in die kar.

E: hoekom doen jy dit?

A: want dan sluit jou brein af en jy dink nie meer aan al die kak nie.

A: *Terrible, terrible {quietly}. (7) And I know it is impossible, but if the ordinary person just knew how one suffers. Do you know how much of an effort it is for me to get out of bed every day and go to work. Every minute or whatever I get, I sleep at work, in the car. If I can put my head down I sleep. I can't do otherwise. At work, in the car.*

E: *Why?*

A: *Because then your brain shuts down and you don't think of all this shit.*

He experiences flashbacks:

A: ja ja jy kan dit nie hanteer nie. maar soos ek sê dan kom al daai gevoelens terug. e-ek moes redelik weghardloop buitekant toe.

A: *Yes, yes you can't handle it. But as I said, then all those feelings come back. I had to run outside.*

In the following section, Adriaan explains his daily experiences. Again, he is clearly positioning himself as severely affected by his experiences in the police. He mentions the recurrent images, but also physiological symptoms.

E: as jy dit doen, hoe erg is dit vir jou?

A: wel dis 'n kwessie van, dadelik swee:t jou hande, soos nou. heeldag so 'n proses, jy weet (hhh). 'n proses

E: dis nie net 'n geheue nie? dis baie meer as dit.

A: ja, ek sal nou ek dink elke dag daaraan, elke (3) uur, iets my daaraan laat terugdink, 'n movie in my kop healtyd. wat as, wat as, hoekom, dis maar waarom dit gaan.

E: *And when you do, how bad is it?*

A: *Well it is a question of, immediately your hands sweat, like now. The whole day, a process, you know {laughs}. A process.*

E: *It is not just a memory? It is more than that?*

A: *Yes, I will think about it every day, every (3) hour, if something lets me think back. A movie in my head the whole time. What if, what if, why, that's what it is about.*

Adriaan feels contaminated. He is portraying himself as emotionally sick, noting that I will want to lock him away because of his thoughts and actions.

A: ja soos 'n (2) maak nie saak of die werk wat ek nou doen nie as ek terugkom as ek nie skoon is nie wil myself reinig. jy gaan my laat toesluit. jy wil ontslae raak van die vullis, myself reinig. wil ontslae raak van die bloed.

E: jy sê dit het al daar begin?

A: lyke gedeel wat al ontbind het wurms orals. baie van my uniforms.

A: *Yes like a (2) it doesn't matter what work I now do. When I get home I have to purify myself. You will lock me away. You want to get rid of the dirt, I want to get rid of the blood.*

E: *You say it began there already?*

A: *Bodies which had decomposed, worms everywhere. Many of my uniforms.*

Charl, in his narrative, positions himself as evil. He focuses on perpetration in much of his narrative. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 11. However, he also has PTSD and depression:

C: toe het ek huisdokter toe gegaan en sy het vir my anti-depressante voorgeskryf en kalmeermiddels en goeters tot sy gesien het dit werk nie.

E: Charl hoe was dit vir jou om die eerste keer na haar te gaan?

C: dit was nie lekker nie.

E: ek dink dit was vir jou uiters moeilik want dit was die eerste keer

C: sy het gesê jis Charl jy jy het 'n front voorgehou want sy het nie geglo ek voel soos ek vir haar gesê het toe ek vir haar sê ek voel so. ek het dit goed weggesteek.

E: jy kan dit nog steeds doen. daar's dae wat 'n mens na jou kyk en he looks terrible, en dae wat ek dink he looks good today, I wonder what he's really feeling?

C: {laughs} tot jy sien wat hierbinne aangaan. buite voel ek goed, maar hier binne in fokken krap dit.

C: *Then I went to the general practitioner and she prescribed anti-depressants and tranquilisers and things until she saw it didn't help.*

E: *Charl, how was it for you to go to her the first time?*

C: *Not nice.*

E: *I think it was very hard because it was the first time.*

C: *She said, "Jeez Charl, you, you kept up a façade, because she didn't believe I felt like I said I felt when I told her. I hid it well.*

E: *You still do it. There are days when I look at you and think: "He looks terrible" and days when I think: "He looks good today, I wonder what he is really feeling?"*

C: {laughs} *Until you see what is happening inside. Outside I feel good, but it's fucking disturbing inside.*

He knew, like the other participants, that if he did not cope emotionally that he would have to go to a medical doctor. Also clear in this section is how he and I jointly construct illness. My comment that he may at times look reasonably well, but that he may feel very different, enforces the notion that illness is present, even when he appears well.

In his narrative, I added in a reference to a severe flashback he had, relating to a scene in which there had been a devastating explosion. Through that experience he demonstrated that he has no control over his memories. In the following excerpt, he positions himself as suicidal. He is very ill and is not coping at all:

E: ek het weer die week daardie verklaring van jou deurgegaan.

C: {laughs}

E: ek hou nie van hom nie.

C: ja, maar dis hoe ek op daardie tydstip was ek so despera:at.

E: dis die woord wat ek kry Charl, ek dink jy was desperaat.

C: ek wou wegkom ek wou breek. dis toe ek ook daaraan gedink het eerder jissie skiet myself en kry klaar. maar da:n maar my twee kinders wie gaan vir hulle sorg?

***E:** I went through that statement of yours again this week.*

***C:** {laughs}*

***E:** I don't like it.*

***C:** Yes, but that is how I was at that time. I was desperate.*

***E:** I get the same word Charl, I think it was desperation.*

***C:** I wanted to get away, I wanted to fall apart. That's when I thought about it. Jeez, shoot myself and get it over with. But, my two children, who's going to care for them?*

He is also agitated and cannot focus on mundane activities:

C: en ek hou nie meer daarvan om selfs 7de Laan ek kyk dit nie want ek kan nie lank genoeg stil sit om dit te kyk nie.

E: so jy is nog redelik geagiteerd?

C: ja ek is nog.

***C:** I don't even enjoy watching 7de Laan (a popular Afrikaans soap-opera), I cannot sit still long enough to watch it.*

E: *So you are still quite agitated?*

C: *Yes. I am.*

I will discuss how Charl controls his depressive symptoms in more detail in Chapter 11, as it is related to the torture of suspects. He has severe PTSD, but rarely complains of symptoms, focussing much more on his distress at the perpetration in which he was engaged. For Charl, it appears that although he uses the discourse of illness, that he is more comfortable with the thought of being evil than with the thought of being ill.

Dawid also went for medical help after he could no longer cope at scenes. He describes his experiences:

D: ek was bang vir myself. en ek was bang want ek kan my werk nie onthou nie. ek is 'n opleidingsbeamte. ek lei polisiemanne op en ek kan nie eers 'n fokken klagte se naam onthou nie. huh toe skrik ek myself fokken stupid. ek het my half doodgeskrik. toe begin ek drink aan diens. net om seker te maak weet jy. fok jy miskien stres jy

['n bietjie te veel.

E: [{laughing}]

D: drink 'n bietjie en dan raak jy rustiger. dan onthou jy dalk goed. verstaan jy?

E: {laughing} that will work.

D: genuine. dit het altyd gewerk. [...]

D: *I was afraid of myself. And I was afraid because I couldn't remember my work. I am a training officer. I train policemen and I can't even remember the name of a fucking complaint. I scared myself fucking stupid. I was frightened half to death. I began drinking on duty. Just to make sure, you know. Fuck, maybe you are stressing [a bit too much.*

E: [{laughing}]

D: *Drink a bit and you will calm down. Then you will maybe remember things. Do you understand?*

E: {laughing} That will work.

D: Genuine. It always used to work. [...]

And

D: toe ek nie meer tonele hanteer nie. toe ek nie meer bloed en dooie mense kon hanteer nie. en ek nie meer geweet het wat om te fokken maak nie. ek meen (2) ek was verskriklik bang vir baie goeters. ek was bang vir die lyke. ek was bang vir die bloed. ek was bang vir die aggressie. ek was bang vir die invloed wat dit op my het. ek was bang vir myself. en ek was bang want ek kan my werk nie onthou nie.

D: When I could no longer handle scenes. When I could no longer take blood and dead people. And I didn't know what to fucking do. I mean (2) I was petrified of things. I was afraid of bodies. I was afraid of blood. I was afraid of aggression. I was afraid of the influence it had on me. I was afraid of myself. I was afraid because I could no longer remember my work.

In the above excerpts Dawid is positioning himself as no longer capable. He is petrified and helpless. After experiencing the above, he for the first time went to his general practitioner and asked to be put on sick leave and referred to a psychiatrist. He was not only afraid and helpless, but he was sick. The sense of being ill is overwhelming and life-changing:

D: ek dink ek gaan nooit weer in beheer van my hele lewe voel nie. punt. ek sal nooit weer totaal in beheer van my lewe wees nie. punt. um (4) ek is selfs nou nog te bang om kwaad te word. ek is bang vir wat ek kan en sal doen.

D: I think I will never again feel in control in my life. Full stop. I will never again be in complete control in my life. No. Full stop. Um (4) I am even still too afraid to become angry. I am afraid of what I will say and do.

He has lost confidence in his ability to control his emotions and behaviour. Again he positions himself as helpless and needing assistance. He is incapable of functioning in his job.

D: en dis wat my (4) half bang maak. dis hoekom ek nie in die polisie wil wees nie. in die eerste plek my my my kop is nie meer reg, vir die polisie nie. my temperament is nie meer reg vir die polisie nie. my energievlakke vir my werk is ziltch ziltch ziltch ziltch zero nul op die oomblik. my vertrouwe in myself is verskriklik swak.

***D:** It is what makes me half afraid to be in the police. It is why I don't want to be in the police. Firstly my, my, my head is not right for the police. My temperament is no longer right for the police. My energy levels for work are zilch, zilch, zilch, zilch, zero, null at present. I have no self-confidence.*

He says his head is not right, referring to PTSD and depression. He says his temperament is no longer right, probably referring to his lack of equanimity at scenes. He also notes that his energy is low and importantly that he has low self-confidence. Dawid uses the language of the mental health industry. He knows these complaints are seen as manifestations of psychiatric illnesses.

Numerous parallels can be drawn between the torturer with PTSD and the tortured. The tortured lose all privacy; they are exposed in every possible way (Scarry, 1985). Once the torturer enters the medical arena, they are exposed in every way and they lose all privacy. They lose their right to private thoughts; that which they have done and thought is discussed and shared. They are told that unless they share openly, including exposing the pain and suffering of private thoughts that they will never get better. Charl, as discussed in Chapter 8, recognised the parallels and said I was torturing him.

Scarry (1985) comments that the torturer makes the tortured enter into a world where there is no object, as pain has no object in the physical world. The torturer starts living in a world of flashbacks and nightmares, a world where things are not real. They have created hell for their victims, which they share. I will again consider this theme in the following chapter.

Their Families Help Them

They have all at times been dependent on their extended families and at times friends for financial help. This is not an expression of masculinity they grew up with. No longer self-sufficient men who need no one (Betcher & Pollack, 1993), they have all come to realise that they need help and support.

Adriaan's stepfather regards him as lazy. His only defence is that he is sick, not lazy. But that means he cannot "take it"; he is not a real man. In his narrative he and his wife explained how they had lived from fish he caught, as he was not capable of retaining a job. His family has suffered enormous deprivation because of him. His mother has helped support them financially for long periods when he was unemployed. On occasion Charl has not been able to buy the basic necessities for his children. Dawid lost large sums of money through gambling which meant that his parents have supported them financially on occasion.

The participants' presentation of themselves has changed dramatically. They strove for the ideal of hegemonic masculinity and ended up losing control. They, in following the ideal, lost their control, lost their independence, courage and autonomy. They no longer present themselves as hegemonic males who are stoical, competitive and heroes. They have entered the world of mental illness where they are controlled by the rules of the mental health industry.

Macho Men Become Family Men

For the major theme of “Macho men become family men”, represented in Figure 10.3, I identified two organising themes:

- o masculinities they reject; and
- o masculinities they embrace.

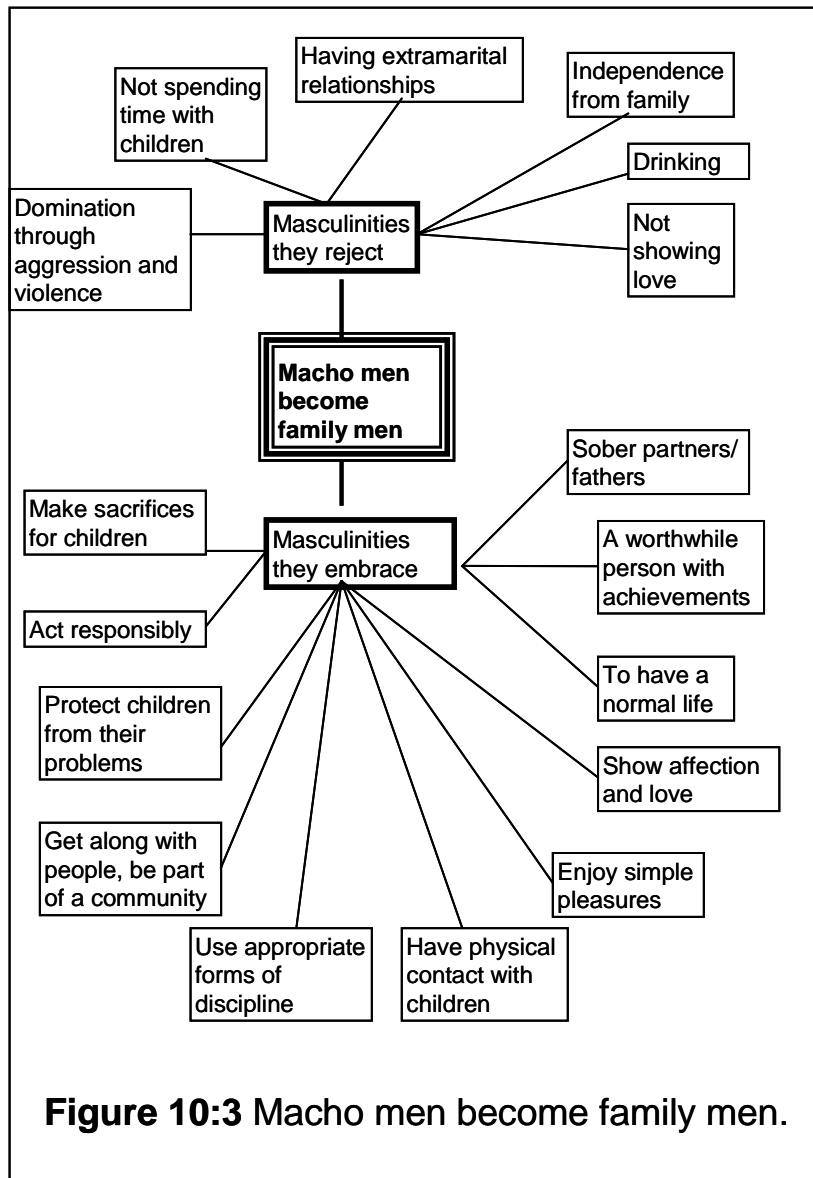


Figure 10:3 Macho men become family men.

Betcher and Pollack (1993) refer to “fallen heroes” (p. 21) explaining falling is an inevitable part of being a real man. They contend the problem of many men is their inability to face their limitations. They see the solution as a

“heroic *inward* [italics in original] journey” (p. 22). Men need to re-evaluate themselves, including their sense of masculinity, their identity and how they relate to others and work. They explain: “it may be possible to recreate masculinity by building on men’s inner callings for self-respect, responsibility, and legitimate authority” (Betcher & Pollack, 1993, p. 22). The masculinity they call for is open to all sorts of emotions, not only anger. Wetherell and Edley (1999) found that men who rejected hegemonic masculinity instead constructed themselves as individualists.

The participants are trying to move away from some of the ways that they were fathered as well as the hegemonic masculinity they enacted. Adriaan describes his father as someone he could not argue with and who used corporal punishment. Adriaan rejects corporal punishment and is very aware of his faults. Charl’s father was often absent, bringing gifts to make up for the lack of his presence. Charl initially acted in the same way, but has attempted to be more available to his children. Dawid’s father was at work, and he had little of him. Dawid explains that he insists that they do things as a family. The importance of fathers is sometimes debated (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005). The participants have no doubt that they matter. They often referred to their fathers and even though they want to father differently, they respect their own fathers immensely.

Interestingly, by developing PTSD and needing help, they are starting to re-establish relationships with their families. They have been dependant on their families, who have generally responded positively to their need. Part of this process has however required them to allow their families to know their emotional difficulties and needs.

At a stage Dawid and I were discussing his acting out. He caricatures the idea of hegemonic macho masculinity:

D: en dis waar die bakleiery vandaan kom. die aggressiwiteit. ek het baklei om te bewys ek is ‘n manly enough is om my job te doen, ‘n man te wees

vir my vrou. hoe bewys mans dit? deur om ander ouens te bliksem. en rond te fok. en om te suip. en om laat by die huis te kom en te sê ek is die baas van die fokken huis en niemand sal my sê vir my hoe laat kom ek by die huis aan nie. en by die werk kak te soek met die base. verstaan jy?

D: And that is where the fighting came from, the aggression. I fought to prove I was manly enough to do my job, to be a husband for my wife. How do men prove it? By thrashing other men. And fucking around. And by drinking. And by getting home late and saying: "I am the head of the fucking house and no one will tell me what time to get home!" And to look for shit at work with the bosses. Do you understand?

He summarises much of his problematic behaviour as an attempt to recapture his hegemonic masculinity. He mocks his previous behaviour; an indication that it will no longer suffice.

The participants all indicate that they want to experience good relationships with their families. They recognise that they neglected the important people in their lives:

A: en ek het die belangrike mense in my lewe het ek opsy gestoot, jy weet, soos my familie, my kind, my vriende. en op die einde van die dag is dit nie die moeite werd nie.

A: I pushed aside the important people in my life, you know, like my family, my child, my friends. At the end of the day it is not worth it.

One of major steps they took in improving their relationships was to stop drinking.

A: um wat moeilik was is toe ek Mary ontmoet het en ek myself gesê het ek moet ophou met die kak.

E: met die drinkery? hoekom het jy daai besluit geneem?

A: want Elaine, {inaudible} in daai sin. nee, ek sou myself vernietig het.

E: want dit het gemaak dat jy nie meer beheer gehad het nie?

A: niks. niks vir niemand gevoel of .(14) sy weet nie waarvoor sy haar inlaat nie nou moet ek die darem die drank laat staan, so op 'n manier.

A: *Um what was difficult was when I met Mary, I told myself I have to stop this shit.*

E: *The drinking? Why did you make that decision?*

A: *Because Elaine, {inaudible} in that way. No I would have destroyed myself.*

E: *Because it meant that you had no control?*

A: *None, felt nothing for anyone. (14) She didn't know what she had let herself in for, now I have to at least leave the alcohol, so in a way.*

He is accurate; she did not know what she had "let herself in for". Adriaan had known Mary for two weeks when they got married.

Charl stopped drinking for the sake of his children:

C: ek moes dink aan my kinders. ek kan nie so aangaan om so te drink en te kere te gaan nie. met my agterstand in my denke in my lewe my kinders voorentoe stuur in die lewe. wat gaan as ek so erg is wat gaan van hulle word. dan begin hulle op my vlak hoe gaan hulle wees in hulle lewens? ses keer erger as wat ek is.

C: *I had to think of my children. I couldn't go on drinking and doing what I was doing. With the handicap in my thoughts in my life send my children into life. What is going, if I am as bad as I am, what is going to happen to them? If they start where I am, how will they be in their lives? Six times worse than I am.*

His love for his children has motivated Charl throughout the process of stopping drinking, re-establishing relationships with his children and confronting his PTSD and his perpetration.

As I explained in his narrative Dawid stopped drinking after he was arrested. He has remained sober since then.

For Adriaan, a driving force in confronting himself has been to prove his worth to his wife and son.

A: vir my seun wys en vir my vrou wys ek kan ook (3) goed regkry jy weet.

A: *To show my son and my wife I can as well (3) I can manage things you know.*

He does not appear to want to recover a hegemonic masculinity, but to reconstitute himself as a man who can show affection and love without violence. He acknowledges that his wife has helped enormously in helping him to start demonstrating love.

A: (5) net 'n normale (2) lewe te lei, sonder geweld, sonder om te dink aan geweld, sonder om te dink dat vandag wil jy jousef (2) van die aardbol af blaa:s, of jy wil ander mense te na: kom. as jy vrede in jousef kry op die einde van die dag sal daardie goed natuurlik kom. want dis hel, elke dag is jy in konflik, is jy in konflik met jousef, met almal wat jy sien, veral as dit kom by wit. vir een of ander rede.

A: *Just to live a normal life, without violence, without thinking of violence, without thinking that you want to shoot yourself, or that you want to harm others. If you have peace in yourself, those things will come naturally. It is hell, everyday you are in conflict; you are in conflict with yourself, with everyone you see, especially whites for some or other reason.*

A: ja en (4) s-sy het my baie dinge geleer, jy weet. soos, byvoorbeeld om ok eerste ding is om, kinders ek kon nie kinders tolerate nie. uh en uh, en um lief te hê, net om vir mekaar te sê I love you en (2) 'n drukkies te gee.

***A:** Yes and (4) she has taught me a lot, you know. For example, to tolerate children, I couldn't do that at first. And to love, to just say to each other I love you and to give a hug.*

A: ja jy weet soos ek gesê het, m-m-met my kleinseun nou um (3) kom ek dinge agter. die eerste woorde wanneer hy begin praat het, wanneer hy begin loop het. ek sal hom vashou. jy weet al daardie tipe dinge wat verlore was vir my jy weet.

***A:** Yes, you know, like I said, with my grandson now, um (3) I discover things. The first words when he started talking, when he started walking. I hold him. You know, all those things that were lost to me.*

Adriaan describes the normal experiences in a family. He has missed all of the normal family rituals. Adriaan explains that his wife has taught him to express love:

A: oeg. dis maar moeilik. ek leer nog sulke dinge nog aan. baie moeilik jy weet um. ek lees nou die dag 'n artikel, hulle sê um liefde is nie net geskenkies dis fisiese kontak met jou kinders en so aan. dis dinge wat moeilik is vir my. even my s-stiefkinders, ek is nou al agt jaar met hulle. dis nie dat ek nie van hulle hou nie of niks nie, ek kan nie eers teenoor my eie kind, gaan hom 'n drukkies gee nie.

***A:** It's so difficult. I'm learning to do these things. It's very difficult. I read an article the other day. They said love is not just giving gifts, it includes physical contact with your children. That's very hard for me. Even with*

my stepchildren, I've been with them for eight years and it's not as though I don't like them or something like that, I can't even hug my own child.

Adriaan is extremely aware of what he lacks in his relationships with his family. He works very hard at attempting to reconstitute himself as a different person, as a family man. He has on occasion been violent towards his wife, and these have been extremely difficult periods for them.

Charl feared his aggression would eventually result in him seriously injuring his children. He also feared that he would eventually kill a suspect and be gaoled. This was an extremely strong motivating factor for him in confronting himself. He knew that his blunted emotions were causing emotional damage to his children. He carries some guilt for his wife's suicide and accepts that he is responsible for his children. He has also spent a lot of time working out appropriate ways of disciplining his children which he can trust himself in implementing.

In particular Adriaan and Charl confirm the opinion of male veterans who identified emotional numbing resulting from PTSD as impacting negatively on their relationship with their children (Ruscio, Weathers, King & King, 2002). Charl comments:

C: kan nie dink ek was so gevoelloos gewees nie. hoe het my kinders daaronder gely? dis my grootste spyt vandag, my kinders. want hoeveel is hulle ontnem? hoeveel moes hulle gesuffer het? hulle het nie eendag gekla nie. hulle was net te bly hulle pa is daar.

C: *I cannot believe I had so little feeling. How much my children have suffered. That is my greatest regret. My children. They were deprived of so much. They never complained; they were always just too glad to see their father.*

Charl describes what he wants; essentially a normal family life embedded in normal relationships with the broader community:

C: ja. (6) wie en wat is ek? ek wil nie daai monster wees nie. {crying} ek wil 'n goeie pa vir my kinders wees. (4) ek wil 'n goeie vriend wees vir iemand buite. ek wil eendag 'n vriendin ontmoet ek wil met haar oor die weg kan kom. ek wil met jou oor die weg kan kom, sonder om te dink jissie ek gaan nou my kop gaan uithaak ek gaan dit doen, ek gaan dat doen. sonder om bang vir myself te wees.

C: *Yes (6) who and what am I? I don't want to be that monster. {crying} I want to be a good father for my children. (4) I want to be a good friend for someone outside. I want to meet a woman and I want to get along with her. I want to get along with you, without thinking, "Jesus, I am going to lose my head, I'm going to do this, I'm going to do that." Without being afraid of myself.*

He attempts to protect his children from exposure to his problems:

C: en Kobus in die aande kom lê so styf teen my, as hulle nou 7de Laan en daai goed kyk. so styf teen my lê maar as die goed my vang, dan moet ek opstaan. hy kan dit nie verstaan nie. dan sê ek vir hom lê net, Pa sal nou by jou wees.

E: want hulle verstaan nie wat in jou kop gebeur nie.

C: en ek kan hulle nie daarmee opsaal nie, hulle is kinders, hulle kan nie die verantwoordelikheid ook nou nog.

C: *And Kobus, in the evenings, he comes and lies right next to me. While they watch 7de Laan and those things. Tightly next to me, but when the things catch me I have to get up. He does not understand. And I say to him, "Continue lying, Dad will be with you now."*

E: *Because they don't understand what is happening in your head.*

C: *And I cannot burden them with it. They are children, they can't still carry that responsibility.*

Dawid not only had caused considerable damage to his relationship with his wife and children through his destructive acting out, but he had limited relationships with his daughters due to the sexual abuse he had experienced. He often avoided touching them and showing affection as he feared it would be misconstrued. He eventually managed to correct this with the help and guidance of his wife. He has emphasised the necessity of spending time with his children in an effort to correct what he did wrong in the past.

D: en en aan die ander kant is, ek wil graag ek het die strewende daarna in my om hierdie (2) nice pa vir my kinders te wees. en 'n goeie man vir my vrou en, kerk toe te gaan, en en net 'n normale lewe te lei.

D: *And on the other hand I want, I have this need to be this nice father for my children. A good husband for my wife, go to church and just live a normal life.*

Again, he wants a normal life with his family. He stated that he tried to change the way his father had done it by spending more time with his family than his father did with them:

E: jy het min van jou pa gehad.

D: ek het. ek het. ek kan op een hand tel hoeveel ons gaan visvang het saam. ek dink dis hoekom dit vir my 'n verskriklike intense ding is om my vrou en kinders te laat saam uitkamp.

E: *You had little of your father.*

D: *I did. I did. I can count on the fingers of one hand how many times we went and caught fish together. I think that is why it is terribly important for me to have my wife and children camp with me.*

Dawid has been badly affected by affirmative action. I discussed in his narrative that he explains that he is willing to experience it if it will lead to a more equitable society for his children.

Conclusions

The participants are confronting and changing the hegemonic masculinity to which they initially subscribed. They have constituted themselves as ill, as out of control. By accepting the discourse of the medicalisation of suffering the participants are exchanging one form of control for another. They are challenging the way in which they constituted themselves in their families and attempting to become men who are responsible and who have loving relationships with their families. They have all engaged in this work for the sake of their families.

CHAPTER 11

ON THE SIDE OF THE ANGELS TO EVIL PERSONIFIED, SHAME AND REMORSE

I challenge you – answer. Imagine that you are creating a fabric of human destiny with the object of making men happy in the end, giving them peace and rest at last, but that it was essential and inevitable to torture to death only one tiny creature- that little child beating its breast with its fist, for instance – and to found that edifice on its unavenged tear, would you consent to be the architect on those conditions? Tell me, and tell the truth (Dostoevski cited by Dorfman, 2004, p. 15).

Torture is extremely common in the world (Kooijmans, 1995; Suedfeld, 1990a) and was reported as ubiquitous in South Africa during apartheid. The goal of this study is not to focus on the forms of torture or atrocities committed in the townships. This has been extensively covered by other researchers (e.g. Dowdall, 1992; Foster, 1987) and by journalists and writers (e.g. Du Preez, 2003; Krog, 1998; Pauw, 1997). I can confirm that the participants all practised various forms of torture and they have all either murdered (Adriaan and Charl) or been an accomplice to murder (Dawid). They have also all killed legitimately. My focus in this study is on their adjustment after working in the townships and after committing atrocities.

Rauch (2000) notes that by the 1990s torture was not only linked to political crimes but that criminal investigation in South Africa was largely reliant on confessions obtained through torture. As noted earlier the line between political violence and criminal behaviour had blurred in the townships in the 1980s and early 1990s (Cawthra, 1997). Bruce (2002b) noted that torture was common in South Africa after 1994. The participants also did not differentiate between torture and atrocities committed as a result of public order policing and those committed in investigating criminal cases.

Charl explored his experiences of torture in more detail than the other two participants. Initially he told me he had records for certain forms of torture; I do not think he underestimated his activity. In certain areas only Charl could answer the questions. For example, he is the only participant who deliberately selected potential torturers with whom to work.

As discussed in Chapter 3, torture is not the work of a few aberrant, sadistic individuals. Torturers are imbedded in a wider community which has established the discourse of torture.

The practice of torture developed informally in South Africa. It was ubiquitous, but never officially condoned (Boraine, 2000; Foster, 1987; Meredith & Rosenberg, 1999, Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, 2003, Volume 6, section 3, chapter 1, paragraphs 43-44). The participants entered a police force in which torture was endemic and they learnt to torture informally from mentors.

I have identified the following major themes:

- o routinisation of torture;
- o it is not just a job;
- o unmaking torture;
- o unmaking the torturer; and
- o metanoia.

Routinisation of Torture

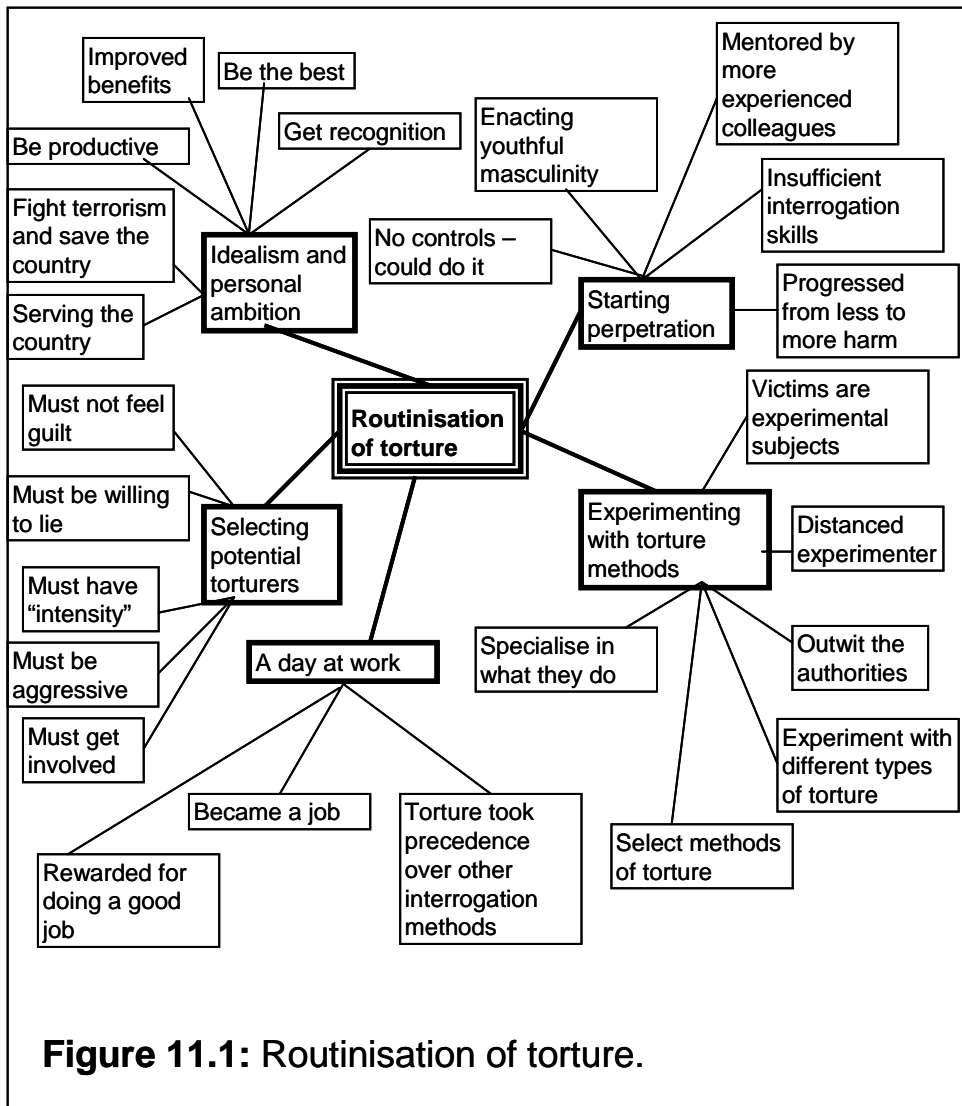
There are suggestions that once the person has unthinkingly taken the first step and started torturing, they experience pressure to continue. Torture also becomes routinised, part of a job (Crelinsten, 1995; Kelman, 1973).

Crelinsten (1995) cites an interrogators' manual from the central prison-execution facility of the Khmer Rouge in which torturers are admonished that

the purpose of torture is to get answers. It also explains that it is not done out of individual anger or for self-satisfaction. The participants in this study also often refer to torture as work. Despite their informal involvement in torture, they had personal ideals and ambitions which motivated their work. They initially engaged in torture in order to obtain information or confessions. The participants indicate that they later tortured for the sense of power and to relieve anxiety.

In Figure 11.1 I illustrate the routinisation of torture as a major theme. The organising themes I identified are:

- o idealism and personal ambition;
- o starting perpetration;
- o experimenting with methods of torture;
- o a day at work; and
- o selecting potential tortures.



Idealism and Personal Ambition

One of the motivating factors for torture mentioned by the participants, which links into the racist propaganda to which they were exposed and which they believed, was an idealistic desire to do their best for the country:

C: my siening was daai tyd dit was vir volk en vaderland. jy het dit nie vir jouself gedoen nie. later het ek dit vir myself gedoen om plesier te kry. maar in die begin het jy dit gedoen vir volk en vaderland.

C: *My view at the time was it was for God and country. You didn't do it for yourself. Later I did it for my own pleasure, but in the beginning it was for God and country.*

A: vir my vir my was dit was dit 'n gevoel dat ek in beheer is van die situasie en um dat ek terroriste van die aarde af weg weg wegvee.

A: *For me, for me it was, it was a feeling that I was in control of the situation and that I wanted to wipe terrorists off from the face of the earth.*

They were personally ambitious and were rewarded for the number of arrests they made. Charl explains:

C: hoe meer arrestasies hoe meer (2) produktief jy was, hoe meer resultate jy gekry het, hoe beter was jou voordele. hoe meer het jy afgekry, jy kon doen wat jy wou. jy't weggekom daarmee. jy is op 'n platformpie gesit. (5)

C: *The more arrests you had, the more (2) productive you were, the more results you got, the better your benefits. You got off more, you could do what you liked. You got away with it. You were put on a platform. (5)*

C: doelgerigte en ywerige werk. dis ook. doelgerigte en ywerige werk dis hoe ek begin het. ek wou altyd die beste wees.

C: *Goal-directed and zealous in work, that is how I started. I always wanted to be the best.*

Dawid also indicated in his narrative that if they could demonstrate their ability to handle public order policing, often using violence, that they would receive acknowledgement from superior officers. As he explained in his narrative, recognition is an extremely powerful motivator for him.

Zimbardo (2004) in analysing Milgram's (1974) obedience to authority experiments describes the necessity of presenting an acceptable justification or rationale for engaging in unacceptable actions. This role of ideology disguises illegal or immoral policies. Bandura (2004) confirms that this sort of cognitive mechanism is necessary in order to morally disengage from destructive conduct. This is also confirmed by Heinz (1995) in interviews with perpetrators from Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. He found that they believed that they served their countries in an exceptional situation, while admitting that some torture had occurred. They referred to excesses and explained them within the context of political violence and terrorism, which they claimed, brought the state close to breakdown and civil war. The rationale was to torture some terrorists to protect the majority of the population.

Starting Perpetration

The participants in this study did not initially join the police or work in a particular unit in order to torture. Adriaan describes the process of starting in the following excerpt:

E: hoe dit begin ontwikkel?

A: dis-s-s 'n kwessie van in die begin, toe: die storie nou begin het, toe het die ouens jy is 'n polisiema:n en jy mag niks verkeerd doen nie. maar later so met tyd u-h-h toe het hulle agter gekom jy is die (2) die judge jury en die executioner altesaam toe het die nonsens begin.

E: *How did it start developing?*

A: *It's-s a question of in the beginning, when the story started, the guys, you are a policeman and you may not do anything wrong. But later, with time, they realised you are the (2) judge, jury and the executioner, all together. Then the nonsense started.*

Adriaan raises a point which I discussed earlier. They committed atrocities because they could and because it was expected of them.

Dawid explains that initially he hoped that people would resist arrest and that this would give him an excuse to assault people. He describes it as an enacting of his youthful masculinity. Later he and his colleagues would form groups and would assault black men, knowing that there would be no repercussions.

Charl explains how it developed for him:

C: ek het altyd arrestasies gehad. toe kom die aanrandingsa:ke, jy leer om te tjoeb, en jy leer om 'n kat te bou. (2) want hy gee nie vir jou die inligting net as jy met hom praat daaroor nie, jy moet bietjie ander metodes gebruik om dit uit hom uit te kry.

E: hoe het dit begin Charl?

C: ag, dit het maar so met die verloop van tyd. dit het begin met die aanrandings agter in die bakkie. die ou manne, die ou hande op die eenheid het jou gewys. soos Y die een swarte, Matome wat saam met my gewerk het. hy het reguit vir my gesê laai my agter in die bakkie saam met hom, as ek klop sal jy weet ek is klaar.

C: *I always had arrests. Then the assault cases started; you learnt to tube, to give electric shocks. (2) He would not give information if you spoke to him. You had to use other methods to get it out of him.*

E: *How did it start Charl?*

C: *It developed over time. It began with assaults in the back of the bakkie. The old hands showed you. Like Y, a black, Matome who worked with me, he said to me: "Put me in the back with him. When I knock, you'll know I have finished."*

Charl was mentored. Older, more experienced policemen taught him the ropes. Adriaan explained in his narrative that he was at first a rookie in committing atrocities in the townships. He would attempt to follow the rules and help people who had been injured. He was soon initiated into

committing atrocities. The participants all indicate that they progressed from doing less harm to doing more harm. Staub (1990) suggests that this is how torturers develop. A process of habituation to harming and killing appears to take place. This confirms the work of Grossman (1995) who explains that he habituates soldiers to killing, by among other tactics, exposing them to very violent computer games.

Experimenting with Torture Methods

Both Adriaan and Charl use scientific metaphors to describe what they did. They were distanced experimenters who observed their dehumanised experimental subjects:

Adriaan explains:

A: toe het hulle die ouens soos ek sê byvoorbeeld dit was baie nuut in Suid Afrika hierdie shock guns. ok toe het die ouens begin shock guns koop privaat. dan sou hulle byvoorbeeld die in die begin shock die ou dan val hy daar later aan broek uit teen sy privaatdele. later aan soos in die movies hang die ou op in die by die boom met sy voete eerste, sit 'n emmer water onder, druk hom daarin. um ouens het ry byvoorbeeld 'n honderd kilos 'n uur, skop die ou agter uit.

A: *Then they, the guys for example, it was new in South Africa, these stun guns. Ok the guys began to buy stun guns privately. Then they would shock the guy and he would fall. Later they would pull off his pants and shock his private parts. Later, like in the movies, hang the guy up in a tree with his feet first. Put a bucket of water under him, push him into it. Um, guys would ride at a hundred kilos for example and kick the guy out the back.*

A: maar met daardie sterk lading ag, jy het simpel goed begin doen, batterye voor ingesit om hom te help (hhh) vir 'n ekstra. ja die ouens het snaakse goed begin doen. die ouens het begin eksperimenteer. haal 'n

haelgeweerpatroon. (1) sit hom vol water, ys hom by die huis bring hom werk toe maak jouself jou eie slug, jy weet. ja hulle sal nooit uitvi:nd nie, dis water, as jy 'n ou plug sal hy smelt. ja, dis absoluut barbaars. ouens platgery met die Casspir uh uh sommer net vir die fun uh.

A: With the strong charge, you started doing stupid things; put batteries in the front to help a bit {laughs}, for an extra. Yes the guys did strange things. They began to experiment. They would fill a shot gun casing with water, ice it at home and bring it to work. That way you could make your own slug. They would never find out, it is water. If you plugged someone, it would melt. Totally barbaric. Drive over people with the Casspir, just for fun.

Charl often experimented with different forms of torture, and with how far he could go before killing someone:

C: want jy het later begin, jy het gekyk hoe vêr kan jy gaan. hoe vêr kan jy gaan voor dat hy doodgaan. en dit met jou hande, jy gebruik net jou hande en jou voete en jou goeters. hoe vêr jy daarmee kan gaan? vat 'n ou en jy verwurg hom met jou twee vingers. net druk sy twee slagare toe. dat hy uitpass, sy brein kry nie suurstof nie. want jy weet wat jy doen. sulke goeters.

C: Later you started, you began to see how far you could go. How far can you go before he dies. And with your hands, you only used your hands and your feet and so on. How far can you go with it? Take a guy and strangle him with two fingers. Just press his arteries, so that he will lose consciousness. His brain gets no oxygen. You know what you are doing. Things like that.

Charl was prepared to talk about how he selected the form of torture he would use:

C: sekeres sou jy verder gaan. jy want jy kan mos 'n mens volgens sy bou en sy goeters kan jy besef kan jy besluit ja daai ou kan meer van dit vat daai kan meer van dit. so jy basies het jy hulle begin opsom jy het geweet hierdie ou kan jy dit mee doen en dan gaan jy dit vir jou gee daai ou moet jy dit mee doen, dan kry jy dit. means to an end. dis die maklikste wat ek dit vir jou kan beskryf. jy't geweet hoe om naderhand geweet watter persoon met sy bou en goeters en daai. het jy geweet kyk die ou kan ek dit met doen dan gaan ek dit kry. of ek moet die ene moet ek bietjie meer van dit gee ek moet bietjie meer dit doen. so jy het begin, jy het daai mensekennis begin opdoen.

C: *Some you went further with. You, you because you can, a person, according to his build and stuff, you realise, you can decide, yes that guy can take more of this, take more of this. So you began to sum them up. You know you can do this with this man and you'll get this out of it. With that guy, you must do that. It's a means to an end. That is the easiest way I can describe it for you. You knew later, a person with his build and so on. You knew, look with this guy I can do this with and I'll get this. With this one, I must give a bit more of this. So you started, you got insight into people.*

Charl extended the scientific metaphor into a medical metaphor:

C: jy begin spesialiseer, kyk of jy kan rêrig. dit is ek het al so daaraan gesit en dink dit is soos 'n dokter. hy word eers 'n huisarts, dan gaan hy verder dan gaan hy verder, dan gaan hy verder en verder en verder. jy is nou net 'n polisieman, nou begin jy met eers bietjie tjoeb, eers bietjie dit eers bietjie dit al hoe verder al hoe verder tot jy dit self nie kan hanteer nie.

C: *You began specialising, look if you really can. It is, I have already sat and thought it is like a doctor. He first qualifies as a general practitioner; then he goes further, then he goes further and further and further. You*

are only a policeman. You begin with a bit of tubing, a bit of this, a bit of that, further and further until you cannot handle it yourself.

Zimbardo (2004) suggests that torture involves a personal relationship, in order to decide what kind and what intensity to use on a person in order to get the required confession. The participants often did not know the people whom they tortured. They were often simply pedestrians who had committed a minor offence (such as drinking in public) and whom they thought may have friends who had committed more serious offences. Charl does confirm how experience led him to develop an ability to determine what form of torture to use.

A Day at Work

Charl also indicates that torture became a job, as noted by Crelinsten (1995).

C: die eerste keer was seker die moeilikste. daarna is dit nie daarna is dit nog 'n dag by die werk. dis nog 'n dag by die werk. later is dit jy voel net so kom ons gaan doen gou die werk. dis nie kom ons praat eers en dis rustig. dit is kom ons maak klaar en dis boem boem klaar. dis oor en dis verby.

E: hoe lank dink jy neem dit om op daai punt te kom?

C: ek weet nie. die aansporings wat jy gekry het en die benefits en goeters. dit raak naderhand vir jou, dis opwindend in die begin en lekker en alles. ek weet nie die: vir my het dit nie lank gevat nie. jy het geweet jy het ingegaan en die job gedoen en jy het uitgekome en dis rustig en dis verby. almal het gesê dis goeie werk dankie. en hulle hoef nie aan te gaan en te sukkel. (5) en later net meer en meer en meer. jy raak verslaaf daaraan.

C: *The first time was probably the most difficult. Not later, later it is just another day at work. It is just a day at work. Later you feel, let's go, let's*

do the job. You don't first talk and it is peaceful, it is let's finish off, and it is done. It is done with and it's over.

E: *How long do you think it took to get to that point.*

C: *I don't know. The rewards you were given, the benefits and things. It later became, it was exciting in the beginning and fun and all of that. I don't know, it didn't take me long. You knew, you went in, and did the job, and came out and it is peaceful and it is done. Everyone said, "That was a good job" and "Thank you." They don't have to continue to struggle. (5) And later more and more and more. You become addicted.*

As Charl explains here, torture took precedence over other interrogation methods. He delivered results, and torture took less time than other methods would have taken. This is a matter-of-fact comment from Charl; it is simply a matter of choosing the most efficient way of doing the job. His victims were fully dehumanised; they were of no importance, they were invisible (Scarry, 1985). Getting results is what counts. Using a term such as "rustig" (peaceful, calm, tranquil) in relation to the aftermath of torture appears peculiar. I presume he is referring to the impact of torture on himself and not on the victim. I will discuss his comments regarding addiction later in this chapter.

Selecting Potential Torturers

Dawid indicated that it was important to choose the right people with whom to work. They had to be willing to be aggressive. He does not indicate that he deliberately mentored anyone in torture methods; it was more a case of choosing to work with people who were willing to engage in violence.

In the following excerpt Charl indicates that when he looked for people who were prepared to torture he looked for what he calls "intensity". This would presumably mean a certain willingness to be aggressive.

E: *hoe het jy dit herken? (4)*

C: daai intensiteit. hy moet (2) jy los hom dat hy eers dat hy byvoorbeeld met die ou praat. as hy begin intens raak bewys hy doen iets

E: hy raak betrokke?

C: hy raak betrokke en alles en goeters ja dan was hy reg.

E: *How did you recognise it(4)*

C: *That intensity. He had, you would leave him and see how he talks to the guy. If he became intense, it proved he did something.*

E: *He gets involved?*

C: *He gets involved and everything and so one. Yes he was ok.*

He also had to be willing to lie and not experience guilt:

C: hy moes geweet het hoe om sy sakboek op te skryf. hy moes geweet het hoe om 'n pligstaat te skryf en daai goeters. hoe om 'n basies hy moes nie hoe kan ek dit noem? hy moes nie 'n skuldgevoel gehad het nie. al is ons in A moes hy kon skryf ons staan in B.

E: nie 'n skuldgevoel nie?

C: dat jy later kan jy jousef kan cover, as jy verklarings en goeters as daar iets gebeur.

C: *He had to know how to write his notebook. He had to know to write a duty sheet and things like that. To do a basic, he must not, how can I put it? He must not feel guilt. Even if we were in A, he had to be able write we were in B.*

E: *No sense of guilt?*

C: *So that you could cover yourself later, if you had to make statements and things. If something happened.*

Perpetrator groups frequently develop a strong differentiation from the rest of the world, an aspect of which is that the group and its members are special (Staub, 1995). Bonds within perpetrator groups are strengthened; individual identity comes to be defined by membership in the group (Huggins et al.,

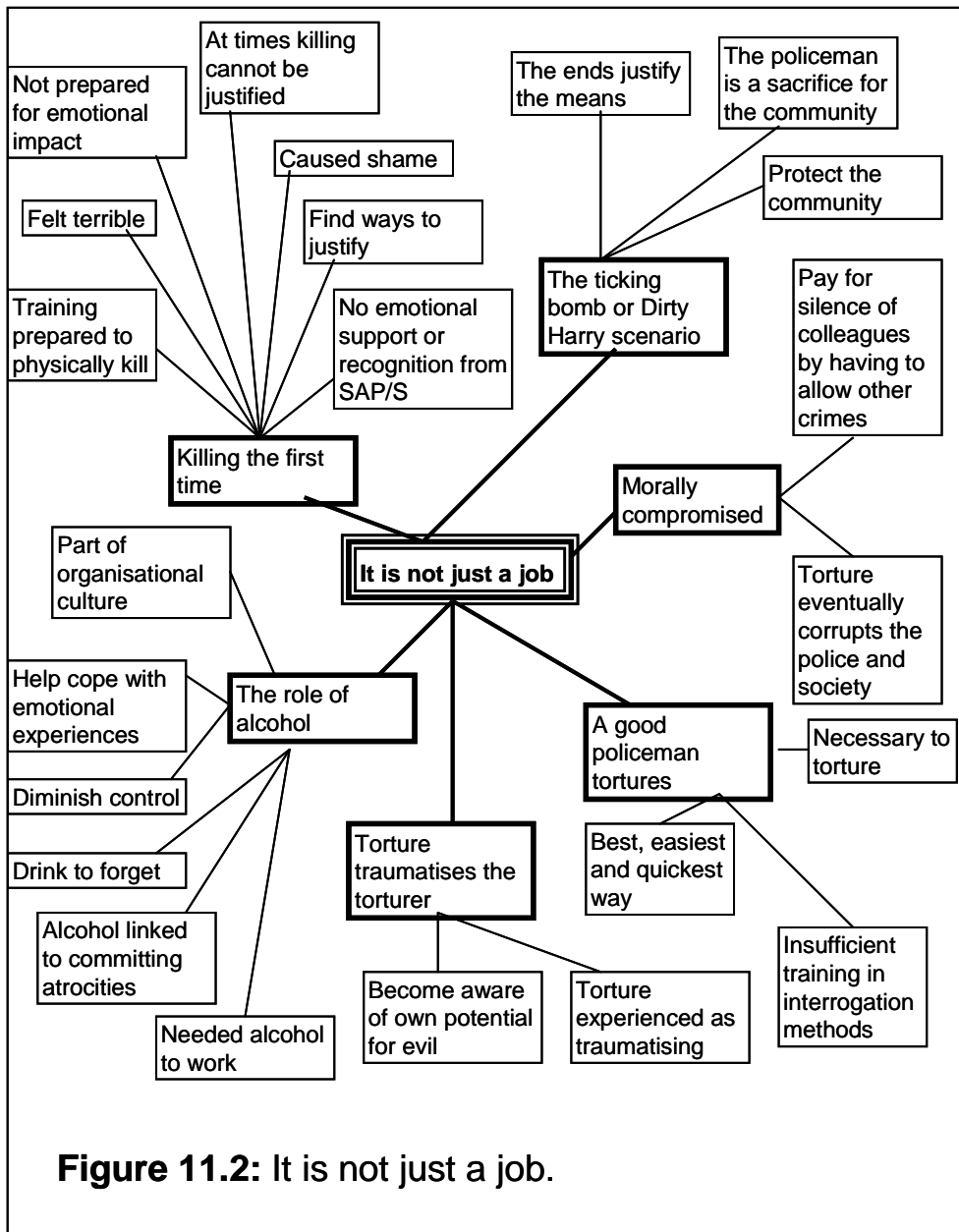
2002). It would appear from Charl's statements that a shared morality also develops.

The participants describe a process which started in public order policing. This process continued for Dawid and Charl into criminal investigations. They found torture to be an efficient method in investigating crimes. Charl describes that torture was the first choice he made when interrogating suspects. He describes that he specialised in forms of torture; he became good at his job.

It is Not Just a Job

But torture is not just a job. In Figure 11.2 I represent the major theme of "It is not just a job". Organising themes I identified are:

- o killing the first time;
- o the ticking bomb or Dirty Harry scenario;
- o morally compromised;
- o a good policeman tortures;
- o torture traumatises the torturer; and
- o the role of alcohol.



Killing the First Time

Research into the effects on someone of killing another person is in its infancy. Buss (2005) claims that most people are capable of killing and that there are strong evolutionary advantages to killing. Grossman (1995) disagrees and comments that there is “a powerful, innate human resistance toward killing one’s own species” (p. xxix). In support of his position, Grossman (1995) refers to a number of studies as well as anecdotal reports which indicate that soldiers avoid killing. He reports that up until and

including World War II, only 15 to 20 percent of soldiers would fire their weapons. This was even if their lives were directly threatened. This increased dramatically, due to different training methods (including classical and operant conditioning) and by the Vietnam War, 90 percent of soldiers would fire. However, resistance was still clear in Vietnam, with 50 000 rounds fired for every enemy soldier killed. Grossman also notes that the difficulty with killing is reflected in the common use of euphemisms for killing.

I quoted the following passage earlier but want to consider it in the light of learning to kill:

D: jy het 'n bajonet aan en en en en jy steek poppe en goeters en jy sê vrek kaffer vrek kaffer. verstaan jy? ek meen (2) jy kan sê maar sê dis 'n pop maar in jou brein verander jy daai ek ek ek ek dink ek het van 'n dag van 'n kind verander in 'n man. van onskuldig na 'n moordenaar toe. want as jy daar klaar is voel jy vuil.

***D:** You would attach a bayonet and would stab dummies and things. And you'd say, "Die kaffir, die kaffir." Do you understand? I mean (2) you can say it is just a dummy, but in your brain you change it and I, I, I, I think that in a day I changed from a child into a man. From innocent to murderer. Because when you finished there you felt dirty.*

The dehumanisation of black people is linked to killing them. Dummies were used for the training, trying to desensitise them to killing humans, by making the training as realistic as possible. Dawid, in his mind had already killed; excellent preparation for actual killing (Grossman, 1995).

Charl who went on to torture extensively took a very long time to tell me of the first time he had killed someone. The first time he killed took place approximately three months after he joined the Riot Units. They had sent in a false radio report of a riot so that they could shoot. He repeatedly spoke of the scene, without disclosing that he had killed someone. He has never

come to terms with what he did, as he knows that they had deliberately provoked a riot. He is deeply ashamed of his actions. It took place in a group which diffuses responsibility, but he was reasonably sure that he had been responsible for the person's death. Charl generally avoided killing. I will discuss the role of shame later in this chapter.

Dawid explains that the first time he shot someone was much more difficult than he thought it would be:

D: die eerste skietvoerval wat ek gehad het die consequences daarna dit was easy. maar die die die die die letsel wat dit in my in my in my gelaat het dis nie iets wat 'n ou vergeet nie. dit is maklik om te doen ek is opgelei daarvoor. bang. geestelik daarna moet jy daardeur werk. hulle het jou nooit vertel dit gaan so sleg wees nie. hulle het nooit gesê dit sal sleg voel nie.

D: *The first shooting incident that I had. The immediate consequences were easy, but it left a, a, a, a, a mark on me, on me, on me, it is not something one forgets. It is easy to do it, I was trained for it. Afraid. Afterwards you have to work through it, they never told you it would be so bad. They never said it would feel so bad.*

Dawid explained that he had to try and find different ways to think of what he had done. He eventually managed to find ways to justify killing someone; the suspect was linked to a crime. Adriaan did not mention the first person he killed, but he repeatedly referred to people for whose deaths he was responsible. The participants reported no psychological support or even recognition that killing someone could have emotional repercussions from the SAP. Peltzer (2001) found that SAPS members reported shooting a suspect in the line of duty as stressful. Karner (1998) comments that veterans she interviewed did not realise that they may have to numb themselves in order to kill. She comments that although the military had created a context which legitimised killing, each individual had to construct

his own meaning and justification for engaging in behaviours which had not previously been part of his life.

Grossman (1995, pp. 209) comments on the soldier's response to killing:

He *must* deny the guilt within him and he *must* assure himself that the world is not mad, that his victims are less than animals, that they are evil vermin, and that what his nation and his leaders have told him to do is right. He *must* believe that not only is this atrocity right, but it is proof that he is morally, socially, and culturally superior to those whom he has killed. It is the ultimate act of denial of their humanity. It is the ultimate act of affirmation of his superiority. And the killer must violently suppress any dissonant thought that he has done anything wrong. . . . His mental health is totally invested in believing that what he has done is good and right [italics in the original].

Grossman (1995, p.160) comments that in order to enable soldiers to kill, cultural, moral and social distance from the enemy are created through propaganda. Mechanical distance (putting machinery between the soldier and the enemy) also enables killing. Although the participants were in the police, the militarisation of the police led to the use of military methods of training.

The changes in South Africa, and the confronting of the atrocities that were committed in South Africa, have narrowed the cultural, social and social distance between people. This was clear in the attempts that the participants are making to change their racist attitudes. The result is that the protection that the participants had of pretending that they killed an enemy who was less than an animal has broken down. Justifying their killing has become much more difficult.

Grossman (1995) comments that psychology is not prepared to deal with the guilt which accompanies killing. I have to agree, as it has proved extremely difficult to find literature dealing with the after effects of killing.

The Ticking Bomb or Dirty Harry Scenario

Evans and Morgan (2007) note that whatever rules the police have to work within, they will exceed their powers whenever it can be morally justified by police culture. In jurisdictions where such tolerance by the authorities is displayed or independent scrutiny of the police is not in place, there is a good possibility that short cuts will be taken and pressure placed on suspects. The police also often have to face situations which are not clear-cut (Herbert, 1996) and often have to make decisions and respond quickly (Herbert, 1996; Minnaar & Mistry, 2006).

Skolnick and Fyfe (1993, p. 90) note the paradox of police who are heroes and who will also assault people. They also explain that every occupational group develops “recognisable and distinctive rules, customs, perceptions, and interpretations of what they see, along with consequent moral judgments” which fit within a broader society.

I noted earlier that the distinction between political and criminal violence had blurred and that the participants made no distinction between them. Charl, on numerous occasions, explained that a suspect will not give information if you offer him cookies and tea. He explains:

C: ek sal van die voorvalle sal ek regverdig vir die res van my lewe. binne in my. binne in my sal ek dit regverdig.

E: ek aanvaar so.

C: maar van hulle sal ek sê kyk ek was verkeerd, kyk in daai opsig daar was ek verkeerd daar was ek verkeerd daar was ek verkeerd. maar as ek byvoorbeeld ‘n ou gemartel het en ek het vuurwapens by hom gekry gaan ek nie sê ek was verkeerd nie. hoekom moet ek dan erken ek was verkeerd? hoekom moet ek dan erken ek was verkeerd? hy het die vuurwapens vir my gaan uitgrou waar hy dit gaan wegsteek het. was ek verkeerd dan? dan sien ek nie dat ek verkeerd was nie. daar het ek my werk gedoen.

C: *I will, some of the incidents I will always justify. Within myself. Within myself I'll justify them.*

E: *I accept that.*

C: *But some of them, I'll say, "I was wrong. Look, in that way I was wrong, I was wrong there, I was wrong there." But if I tortured someone and found firearms he had, I will not say I was wrong. Why must I say I was wrong? Why must I admit I was wrong? He went and dug up his firearms for me where he had hidden them. Was I wrong? I don't think I was wrong. I did my job.*

Charl takes the discussion a bit further:

C: *soos daai een wat ek jou gesê het waar ek nie sal erken ek is verkeerd nie. Waar trek jy die lyn? waar trek jy die lyn? waar kom die regverdigheid nou in? dis verkeerd dat ek hom gemartel het, ja. maar hy het die vuurwapens gehad. hy kon mense gaan dood maak het. ek kan my daardeur kan ek my regverdig. dan kan ek my geweld regverdig.*

C: *Like the one I told you about, where I said I won't say I was wrong. Where do you draw the line? Where do you draw the line? Where do you draw the line? Where does justice come in? It is wrong that I tortured him, yes. But he had the weapons. He could have gone and killed people. I can, through that I can justify, I can justify my violence.*

Charl raises a very important issue. In the torture literature it has been debated since Bentham raised it, probably in the late 1770s (Schulz, 2007). The dilemma is often stated as a variant of the ticking bomb scenario: A suspect has been caught who knows, but will not reveal, the position of a bomb which when detonated will kill thousands. Is it morally justified to torture him in order to save the lives of thousands? In the literature on police brutality, Klockars (1980/2005, p. 581) writes of "the Dirty Harry problem" which refers to the policeman being placed in a situation where he uses unethical or illegal methods to achieve a morally good solution. The Dirty

Harry problem draws its name from the 1971 Warner Brothers film Dirty Harry and its chief protagonist, antihero Inspector Harry "Dirty Harry" Callahan (Klockars, 1980/2005).

Dawid, explained in his narrative that people such as he are necessary and that he protects the community through his actions:

D: maar aan die ander kant voel dit ook (1) vir my voel dit ek doen 'n diens aan die gemeenskap. ek doen die gemeenskap weet nie als wat ek doen nie. hulle het nie nodig om te beseft te weet dat ek dit doen nie. um ek doen dit vir hulle. ek dis hoekom ek sê ek verkoop my siel aan die duiwel. ek doen goed wat verkeerd is {measured tones} in die oë van die gemeenskap as hulle daarvan sal uitvind. of ek sal tronk toe gaan as hulle daarvan sal uitvind. ek doen goed wat verkeerd is in die oë van die Here. wat ek jy sal baie hoor ek praat van die Here. ek kom uit 'n Christelike huis uit. ek het my Christelike beginsels neergelê om die job te doen wat ek doen. en (3) ek dien die gemeenskap op die manier wat ek hom dien. (1) en daar is mense soos ek nodig. uh (3) dis hoe dit vir my sin maak ek maak sin vir my soos ek dit verduidelik. (2) as ek kyk na 'n oorlog en ek vereenselwig dit wat ek doen met oorlog. all is fair in love and war. (1) vir my is dit aanvaarbaar om 'n ou (2) aan die keel te gryp en hom te verwurg tot hy, in sy broek kak en hom bliksem en alles en alles om inligting kry wat ek weet 'n gemeenskap te beskerm of hulle eiendom terug kry. dis mos vir my aanvaarbaar. dis soos in dit dit het wel 'n impak op my maar daardie tyd het ek mos gesweer. en gesê beskerm en dien. om hulle veilig te hou.

D: *But on the other side, it also feels, I feel like I am doing a service for the community. I do, the community does not know everything I do. They do not need to realise to know what I do. Um, I do it for them. I, that is why I say I have sold my soul to the devil. I do things which are wrong {measured tones} in the eyes of the community, if they should find out about it. If they should find out about it I could go to prison. I do things*

which are wrong in the eyes of the Lord. I come from a Christian house. I have lain down my Christian principles in order to do the job I do. And (3) I serve the community in the way in which I serve it. And people like me are necessary. (3) That is how I make sense out of it; I make sense in the way I explain it. (2) If I look at a war and compare what I do to war. All is fair in love and war. I think it is acceptable to grab a guy by the throat and throttle him until he shits himself and thrash him and so on and so on to get information which I know will protect a community or to get their property back. I think it is acceptable. It has an impact on me, but that time I swore and said protect and serve. To keep them safe.

Dawid echoes Dorfman (2004) who notes that torture is justified by those who practice it. We are told that this is the price a suffering few pay in order to guarantee safety for the rest of society. Torturers do not generally think of “themselves as evil, but as guardians of the common good, dedicated patriots who get their hands dirty and endure perhaps some sleepless nights in order to deliver the blind ignorant majority from violence and anxiety” (Dorfman, 2004, p. 16). Dawid in positioning himself as a sacrifice calls on numerous religious traditions in which someone or something is sacrificed to pacify the gods. He comes from a Christian tradition which has the concept of God allowing his son to be killed – the innocent to be tortured and sacrificed for the good of many (Hamman, 2000). In Dawid’s comments, he, the sacrifice sins for the good of the community.

The literature suggests that people who are attracted to policing tend to be upright, virtuous and civic-minded (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Both Adriaan and Dawid expressed an attitude of idealism and joined the police to protect and serve the public. Skolnick and Fyfe (1993, p. 93) eventually conclude:

it may be precisely this sense of mission, this sense of being a “thin blue line” pitted against forces of anarchy and disorder, against an unruly and dangerous underclass, that can account for the most shocking abuses of police power.

Sottas (1998, p.170) comments: “one must not lose sight of the fact that state-controlled violence is sometimes accepted by the general public, which considers it the price to be paid for ensuring security, which is perceived as increasingly threatened.” This is also suggested by Bruce (2002a).

Walzer (2004) argues that overriding a rule may be the least bad thing to do. In discussing the election of officials he explains that we elect those whom we believe to be moral. However, we expect them to have dirty hands if necessary. Essentially we expect them at times to do the immoral thing for the right reason. This does not make the immoral deed moral, it remains immoral. Walzer (2004, p. 65) expresses it as follows:

Now he is a guilty man. His willingness to acknowledge and bear (and perhaps to repent and do penance for) his guilt is evidence, and it is the only evidence he can offer us, both that he is not too good for politics and that he is good enough.

He has become a tragic hero. I suspect that we want the same from police officers.

I discussed in Chapter 3 that the condemnation of torture had developed out of the doctrine of human rights. From that position torture is inherently wrong and can never be justified, as it destroys the victims and corrupts both the torturer and society (Gross, 2004; Sottas, 1998). However, that cannot be assumed to be the only valid perspective. Lindgren (2005) makes a case for the social construction of crime. Distasteful as it may be, torture is currently a crime, not because of intrinsic reasons, but because it is labelled a crime by Western society. Lindgren (2005, pp. 10-11), again in reference to crime in general, states: “We do not disapprove of such acts because they are crimes – they are crimes because we disapprove of them”.

Scarry (2004) comments that the ticking bomb scenario is an “unlikely ‘imaginable’” (Scarry, 2004, p. 282) and implies that it therefore does not need resolution. This is simply not true. The policeman faces this type of choice regularly. I suspect that writers such as Scarry regard it as unlikely

because the literature on police brutality is not generally integrated in the literature on torture. As soon as this is done, it becomes all too common. Gross (2004) arguing from consequentialist position (consequentialists measure the worth of anything by its ultimate consequences) suggests that a magnitude assessment be done in a ticking bomb scenario. Torture is wrong, but may be considered when it would assist the authorities in preventing potentially devastating attacks. Shue (2004) takes in a stand against torture, but eventually says that in a situation just like the ticking bomb scenario, he would have to admit torture is justified.

Dershowitz (2004) in another attempt to resolve the problem has controversially proposed torturers apply for torture warrants. This has leashed a barrage of criticism (e.g. Elshaint, 2004; Scarry, 2004; Shue, 2004), but he makes a number of interesting points. As I read him, he is not approving of torture in any way; he is categorically against torture. He contends that torture happens and will continue even in countries which are signatories to treaties forbidding torture. The USA is a case in point where, following 9/11, laws have been reinterpreted (Greenberg, 2006; Luban, 2006) in an attempt to differentiate torture from what has been called “enhanced interrogation methods” (Mayer, 2008, p. 142). The USA also sends suspects to other countries to be tortured in a practice known as “extraordinary rendition” (Amnesty International, 5 April 2006; Mayer, 2008, p. 102).

Dershowitz (2004) claims that torture warrants would force countries to confront the choice of evil openly. He explains (p. 274):

It is because I believe that we are moving toward the worst of all possible worlds – a smug, self-satisfied willingness to condemn torture openly, while at the same time encouraging its secret use in extreme cases- that I decided to try and force this issue into the public consciousness.

No matter how pragmatic he may be, if we control torture with some form of accountability, we have legitimised torture (Luban, 2006). Scarry (2004)

argues that a judge would not have the ability to judge whether or not torture should be allowed. The policeman on the ground is no better placed to make that decision, but as discussed earlier, he is often the representative of the community who wants results and condones torture as long as they do not have to take responsibility for the decision. Luban (2006) comments that when torture is legitimised the role of the torturer has changed: He is no longer cruel or sadistic or evil, but becomes the saviour of a community.

Essentially the argument comes down to whether or not there are absolute, moral imperatives. As discussed in Chapter 3, postmodernism does not attempt grand narrative theorising (Lyotard, 1984). It accepts that events cannot be encompassed by any neat universal theory. In this it stands against the period of enlightenment from which the theories on human rights doctrine developed. The world cannot be controlled and ordered and we probably cannot even represent it correctly. Postmodernism does not pretend to have the answers to society's problems; each situation has to be considered on its own merits (Lyotard & Thébaud, 1984). Does this imply that there would be situations in which torture could be justified? It does mean that no ultimate reality can be called on to support a position and each situation has to be considered on its merits (Edwards et al., 1995). I do not want to say that there are times when torture is justified, and yet if I am honest, in some situations I would allow it, even demand it.

This subject is important and I have devoted a fair amount of space to it. There are no easy answers to the dilemma a policeman often faces. As I discussed in Chapter 8, as I allowed myself to understand their dilemma, and did not simply side with the human rights arguments, I began to understand the problems the participants experienced. I could no longer condemn them. However, torture does not necessarily solve problems, as will become clear in the rest of this study. At best, committing atrocities has short-term benefits (Grossman, 1995).

Morally Compromised

As discussed in the previous section, the participants describe subscribing to an alternative morality. Their morality was compromised in other ways. Charl explains (he was reading from something that he had written in the first few lines):

C: die dorstige plesier en eie gewin. lede is erger as swartes en steel swartes se goed. en ek kan dit nooit verdra nie van blanke lede nie maar laat dit toe. hoekom? hoekom laat ek dit toe?

E: kan jy dit beantwoord?

C: ek kan dit nie beantwoord nie. ek weet nie hoekom nie. ek moes omdraai en hulle toegesluit het. want hy is nou mos soos daai skelm daar buite. hoekom sluit ek hom nie toe nie? maar hy het te veel houvas seker op my. as ek dit sê dan sê hy dit. dit gaan dit 'n heeltemal boemerangaksie hê. so jy staan by. maak nie saak of moord gepleeg word nie. jy bly by hulle staan. en dit is watter samelewing is dit? watter polisiemag is dit? uhm hier kan ek nou sit en erken ons sou ons het moord gepleeg. en ons het weggekom daarmee. en dis wat my pla vandag.

C: *The thirst for pleasure and my own benefit. Members were worse than blacks and stoles blacks' possessions. I could never tolerate it in white members but I allowed it. Why? Why did I allow it?*

E: *Can you answer that?*

C: *I can't answer that. I don't know why. I should have turned around and locked them up. Because now they're the same as the crook out there. Why don't I lock him up? He probably has too much of a hold over me. If I say this, then he says that. It will be like a boomerang. So you stand by. It doesn't matter if murder is committed. You stand by them. And what sort of society is that? What kind of police force is that? Um, I can sit here and admit we would have, we did commit murder. And we got away with it. That is what worries me today.*

The police are a closed community which protects its members. In focus groups with policemen who had been investigated for the use of force Minnaar and Mistry (2006) found that the police code of silence meant that they would not report on colleagues' misuse of force. Barker (1978) comments that most police brutality results from occupational socialisation and peer group support. Charl indicates that he pays for this silence. Because of his own guilt he could no longer take a stand against other crimes in the police. He is constituting himself as a criminal in this excerpt, a criminal whose actions lead to corruption in the police and society. Torture once allowed, despite the apparent short-term benefits, corrupts society.

A Good Policeman Tortures

Despite knowing what torturing others has done to him and how it has corrupted him and others, Charl explains that in order to be a good policeman it is necessary to torture:

C: jy kry twee soorte polisiemanne. jy kry 'n polisieman en jy kry die ou wat net daar is vir die salaris. ongelukkig was ek 'n polisieman.

E: dink jy dis moontlik om 'n polisieman te wees sonder om die goed te doen?

C: um um. nie as jy 'n goeie polisieman is nie. (2) want ons het nie die tegnieke en maniere. ons het nie opleiding gekry in behoorlike interrogasie en goeters. ons het dit maar op ons eie manier moes jy maar leer wat is die beste en maklikste manier en vinnigste.

C: *You get two types of policemen. You get a policeman and you get the guy who is there for the salary. Unfortunately I was a policeman.*

E: *Do you think it is possible to be a policeman without doing these things.*

C: *Um, um. Not if you are a good policeman. (2) We don't have the techniques and the methods. We were not trained in proper interrogation and so on. We had to on our own, we had to learn what was the best and easiest and quickest way.*

In the remarks Charl makes here, and in the remarks Dawid made regarding being a sacrifice for the community, there is an alternative morality visible. They work from an assumption of guilt; there is no possibility that they are torturing innocent people. They never question that they may be testing someone's endurance rather than their truthfulness (Langbein, 2004). They justify the use of torture, as they do not have any alternative methods of interrogation. As Charl notes, torture gives quick results. Herzog (2000), in a study of suspect Israeli police officers found that 35 percent of them indicated that violence is necessary for police effectiveness.

Torture Traumatizes the Torturer

The participants position themselves as traumatised by the atrocities they perpetrated. It was clear in their narratives that they struggle to come to terms with what they have done. The question is whether it is acceptable to medicalise the effects on the perpetrator of committing atrocities?

MacNair (2001, 2002a, 2002b) claims that perpetrators demonstrate symptoms that differ from PTSD. I discussed this in Chapter 3, but in summary, she identified the following symptoms: severe violent outbursts, survivor guilt, a sense of alienation, hypervigilance, intrusive imagery and nightmares, and a sense of disintegration. She refers to perpetration induced traumatic stress. Fontana et al. (1992) found in a study in which they attempted to isolate the effects of different types of trauma on Vietnam veterans, that those who reported terror of being killed exhibited the typical diagnostic criteria of PTSD. Those who had killed or failed to prevent death and injury demonstrated symptoms that were linked more strongly to general psychiatric distress and suicide attempts.

Huggins et al. (2002) devote a chapter to the effect of committing atrocities on the perpetrators. They focus only on the possibility of job burnout in perpetrators. Under this they mention complaints such as insomnia, problems in relationships, substance abuse, health problems and aggressive

outbursts. Very few of the participants in their study were prepared to admit that they had personally committed atrocities which limited the information they received from them.

I discussed earlier that perpetrators cannot be separated from the societies in which they work. I think there is an argument to be made that they are the nominees of the community for the dirty work that has to be done to ensure its safety. This implies that they are victims as well as perpetrators. Charl notes in the following section that his perpetration had traumatised him:

C: selfs arrestasies, né. julle sal nie nie dink arrestasies is traumaties nie maar 'n arrestasie om daai ou so te slaan en tjoeb en goeters ek het ook trauma daardeur. nie net daai verdagte nie, want dit leer my tot watter volgende keer gaan ek verder. volgende keer gaan ek verder. en elke keer gaan jy verder en verder. eers is dit nee (hhh) shock hom vir twee tellings. later gaan dit na twee drie ure toe. dis lelik.

C: *Even arrests. You won't think arrests are traumatising, but to hit someone during an arrest and to tube him and so on. I am also traumatised by it, not only the suspect. Because it shows me what I can do. Next time I go further. Next time I go further. And every time you take it further and further. At first no, {laughs} shock him for two counts. Later it becomes two, three hours. It's bad.*

He gives an interesting perspective on the damaging effects of perpetration. For him the most traumatising is recognising his potential for evil. This recognition was not initially present; it developed over time. The task teams who determined the symptoms for PTSD in the *DSM-IV*, probably did not intend the "intense helplessness, fear or horror" of criteria A (American Psychological Association, 1994, p. 428) to refer to horror at what you yourself can do, but this is what Charl is describing.

The Role of Alcohol

Alcohol is associated with the perpetration of atrocities (e.g. Browning, 1998; Zimbardo, 2004). Adriaan often referred to alcohol in his narrative:

A: en ja, allerhande goed, die dra:nk het gevloei, die uh (2) ek was nooit nu:gter nie, ons ons was nooit nugter nie. die shebeens was vol, gery, aangegaan.

A: *And yes, all sorts of things. Alcohol flowed. The uh, (2) I was never sober, we were never sober. The shebeens were full. Drove, carried on.*

In the following excerpt he implies that he drank in order to forget what he did:

A: ja. (8) 'n mens is uh ag ek kan nie alles onthou nie maar. dinge wat uitstaan, jy-jy-jy is tydens jou werk was jy so onder die invloed van drank. hoewel niemand omgee het werklik nie. as ek op rusdag gaan is dit vir my 'n verligting ek hoef nie nou te suip nie. maar u-um, daar loop 'n swart man, in die straat, oeps dan ry ons hom oor met die Land Rover. net vir fun.

A: *Yes. (8). One is uh I can't remember everything, but, things which stand out. During your work yo-u-u were so drunk. Although no one really cared. When I was on a rest day, it was a relief, I didn't have to drink. Then a black man walks in the street and we drive over him with the Land Rover. Just for fun.*

Zimbardo (2004) notes that alcohol can alter the drinker's state of consciousness, diminish cognitive controls, arouse strong emotions and create a focused present-time orientation, with no concern for the past or future. Adriaan appears to indicate that he needed alcohol to work in the townships. Charl explained throughout his narrative that he drank excessively. He explains he drank to deal with emotional experiences:

C: ek dink dit was meer ontlading, dit is meer 'n uitlaatklep. jy was so 'n oorlaaide battery. iewers moes jy aflaa, jy kon nie net so. (7) dit is so. gaan kyk na al die ou onluste polisiemanne drink o-oe. dis 'n kultuur wat geskep is. in S was ons nooit nugter as ons gewerk het nie. ons was drie kwart van die tyd gesuip, jy het nie eers geweet waar is jy nie. (5) dit was jou bestaan gewees. Black Label. dis waar dit begin.

C: *I think it was a release. It was a way to release what you felt. You were like an overloaded battery. You had to let go somewhere, you couldn't just. (7) It is like that. Go and see, all the old riot policemen drink. Oh. It is a culture that was created. In S we were never sober when we worked. Three quarters of the time we were drunk. You didn't even know where you were. (5) It was your existence. Black Label {a beer brand}. That is where it started.*

Drinking was associated with committing atrocities, and as Charl explains it was part of the culture in public order policing. As discussed in Chapter 10, alcohol is seen as an appropriately masculine way of coping with unsettling emotions. Dawid, in the following excerpt is referring to the murder he was an accessory to:

D: ek het nooit gedroom dit gaan so eindig nie. verstaan jy. net die feit dat ek daar was en deelgeneem het aan die begin en dat ons lekker gekuier was en wat wat wat was alreeds verkeerd. verstaan jy?

D: *I never dreamt it would end like this. Do you understand? Just the fact that I was there and that I participated in the beginning and that we were drunk and that, that, that, that was already wrong. Do you understand?*

The participants all continued drinking for many years following the atrocities they committed. Adriaan stopped drinking when he married his current wife, Charl and Dawid both stopped drinking after I had seen them for a few

months. There is evidence that trauma related symptoms decline when traumatised people abstain from alcohol use (Coffey, Schumacher, Brady & Cotton, 2007) and their abstinence may have assisted in improving, their control over their behaviour.

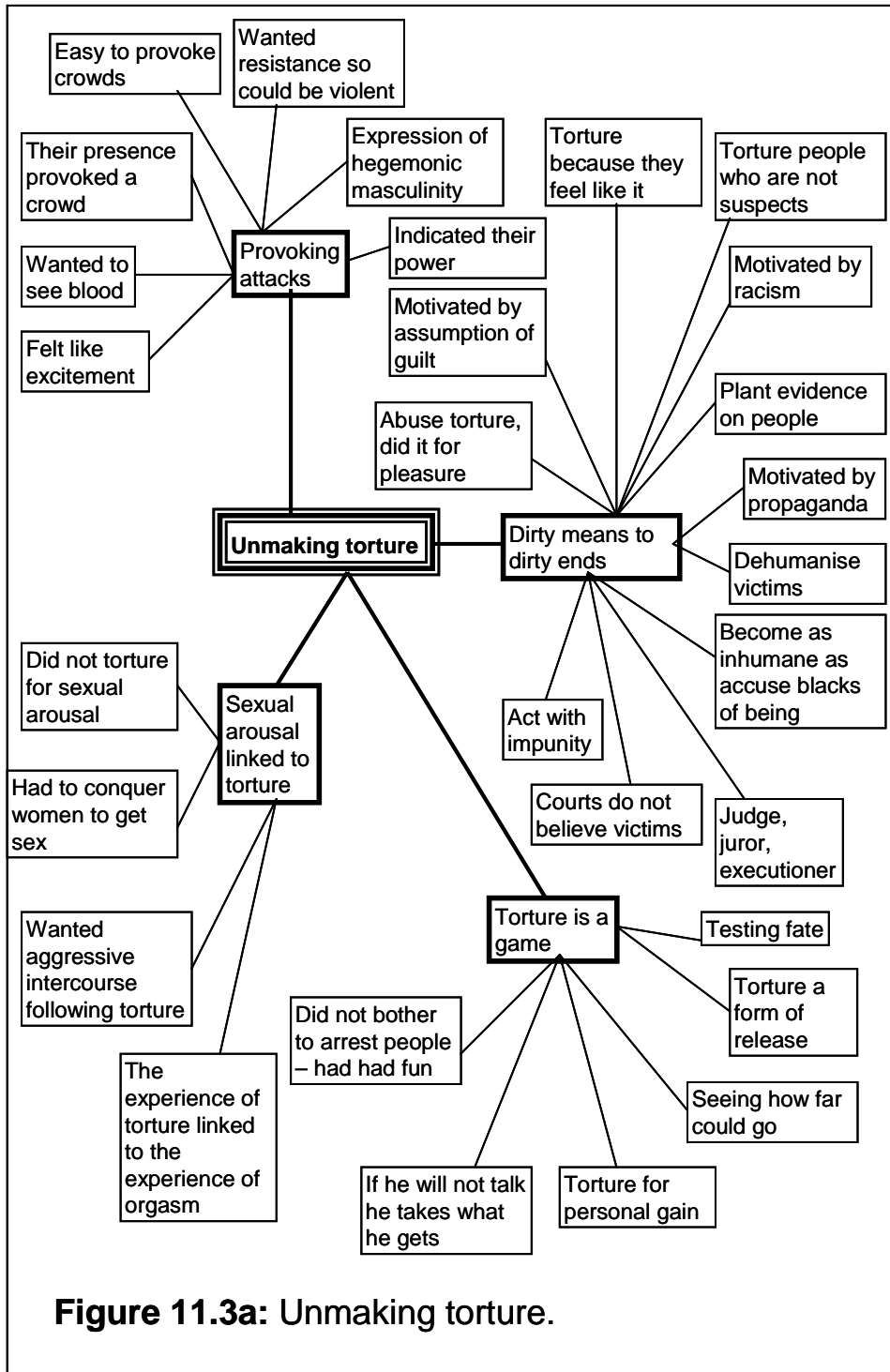
Unmaking Torture

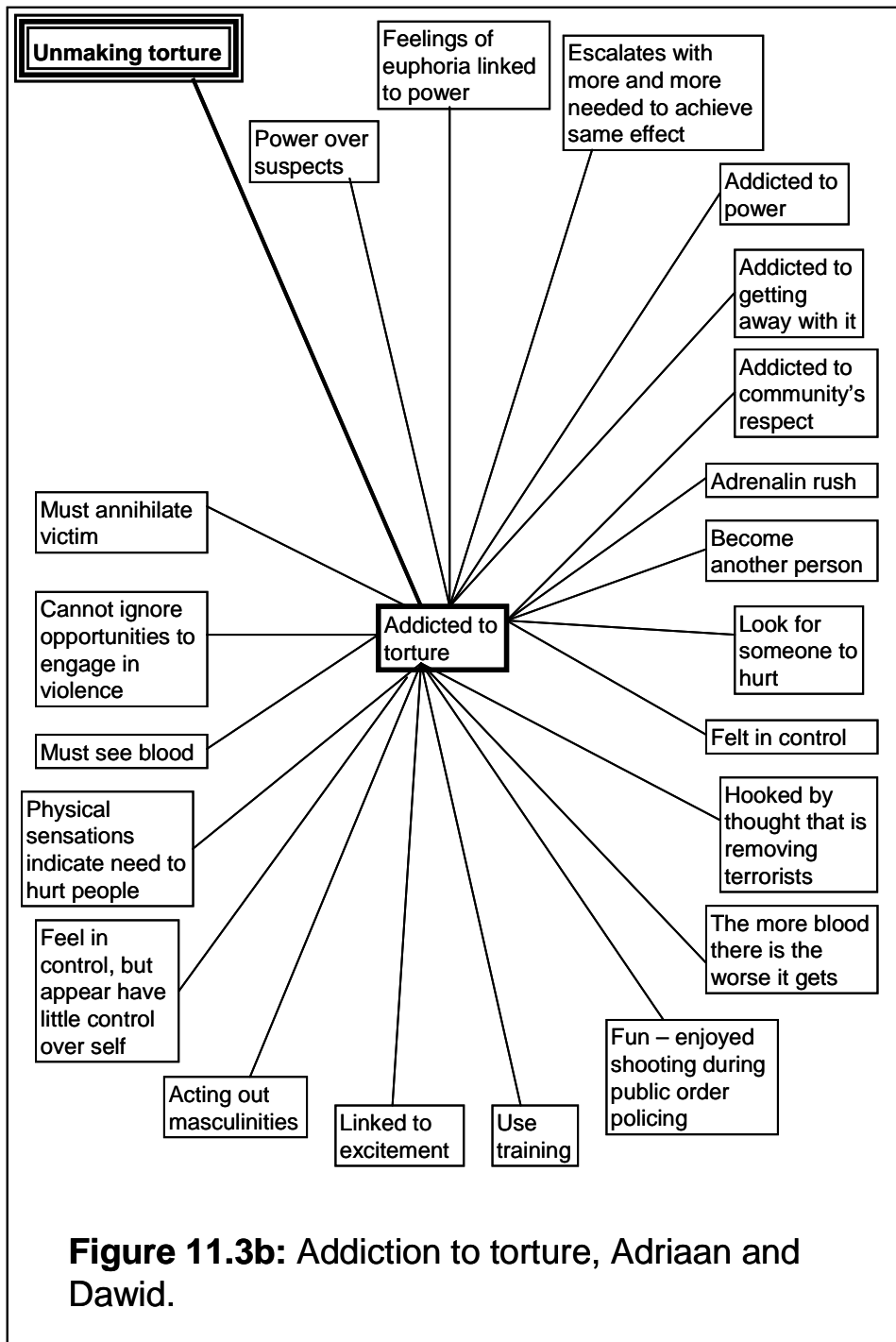
Scarry (1985) comments that the torturer unmakes the world. Domestic objects are used for purposes of torture, not for what they are intended. Institutions are unmade, such as the trial which is inverted. The purpose of a trial is to study evidence which may lead to punishment; torture uses punishment to generate the evidence. The participants initially tortured in order to obtain confessions and information. They indicate they later began to torture for reasons other than obtaining confessions or information.

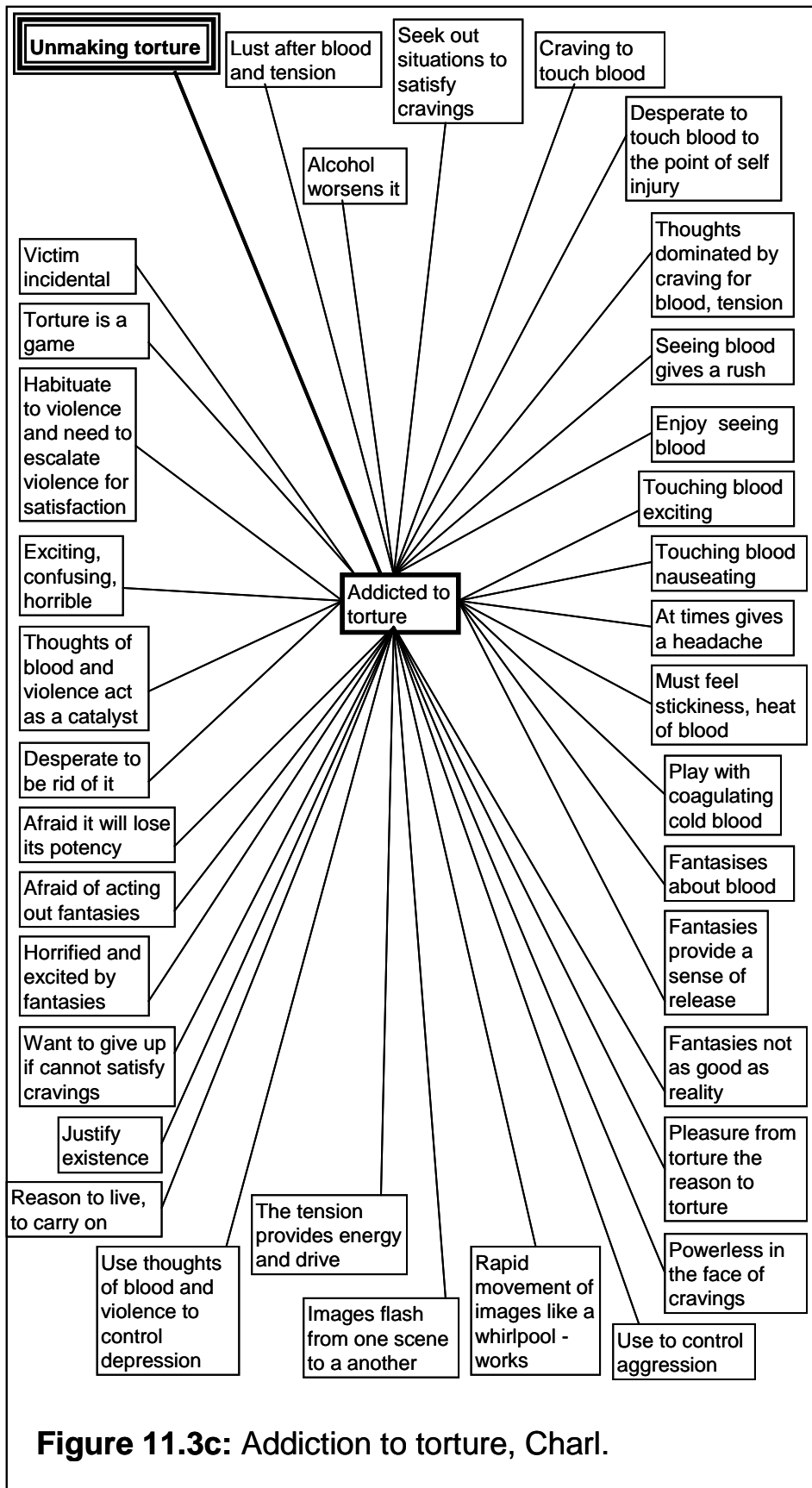
For the major theme of “Unmaking torture” which is represented in Figures 11.3a, 11.3b and 11.3c I identified the following organising themes:

- o provoking attacks;
- o dirty means to dirty ends;
- o torture is a game;
- o addicted to torture;
- o torture is linked to sexual arousal.

I have used three figures to represent “Unmaking torture”, but they are all subsumed under the same major theme.







Provoking Attacks

Although the provocation of attacks during public order policing is not torture, it was where the participants appear to have started committing atrocities.

Dawid indicates how it influenced him:

D: e-ek dink dis waar ek die eerste keer (1) waar dit ek weet nie hoe kan ek dit stel? ek dink dis daar waar ek uh (3) dalk die gedagte gekry het dat (2) a-as jy iemand doodmaak toughies. as jy jou kop sou verloor en dit gebeur ag wel fok. toughies. dis asof dit half normaal was. ons mag dit doen. (5) ek weet nie. uh ek ek dink tog in 'n groot mate het het het het wat ons gedoen het ons het my miskien half voorberei vir wat ek verder in my lewe sou doen of later sou doen. um

E: dit meer aanvaarbaar gemaak?

D: ek dink die feit dat ek nie skuldig gevoel het oor goed wat ek gedoen het nie. verstaan jy? dit het my nooit gepla nie. ek is eerlik Elaine. ek is dood eerlik. ek het nooit ooit na so 'n aanranding of iets sleggevoel vir die perd wat ek gebliksem het.

D: *I-I think it where I for the first time, I don't know, how do I put it? I think that is where I (3) maybe got the thought that (2) if you killed someone, toughies. If you lost your head and it happened, oh well, fuck. Tough luck. It was sort of normal. We could. (5) I think to a large degree, that, that, that which we did, maybe it prepared me for what I did in my life, for what I later did in my life.*

E: *Made it more acceptable?*

D: *I think the fact that I did not feel guilty about what I had done. Do you understand? It never bothered me. I am serious Elaine, I am completely honest. I never felt bad about what I did, I never felt for the person I assaulted.*

He appears to be indicating that once the discourse of committing atrocities was established, it became easier to perpetrate. Assaults during public order policing, could easily be followed by other assaults. Dawid explained

in his narrative, how they would identify people from the riots and then torture them.

The TRC identified the use of excessive force in public order policing:

On the basis of the above and the many hundreds of statements from victims of public order policing, the commission finds that, in respect of public order policing, the SAP, specifically its crowd-control divisions (the riot and internal stability units), displayed a gross disregard for the lives and/or physical well-being of both those engaged in political activity as well as the general public. This was manifested in a tendency, often the result of high-level political pressure, to resort to the use of deadly force in situations where lesser measures would have sufficed for the restoration or maintenance of public order. The consequence was the needless deaths of and injuries to countless civilians. These deaths and injuries constituted a systematic pattern of abuse, and were gross violations of human rights (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 2, 1998, p. 182).

They did not only use deadly force; they provoked attacks so that they could shoot. It appears that this was done because they felt like more excitement. Adriaan explained in his narrative how they would incite churchgoers to attack them by throwing teargas. He explained the reason was their desire to see blood. In the following two excerpts Charl explains how they did it.

C: ons was van dit grootste aanhitters gewees wat daar was. jy kan twee woorde vir 'n skare sê wat rustig is en dan gooi hulle klippe. en ons was meesters daarvan op 'n kol om hulle aan te hits. ons het geweet net die basies net die polisie se teenwoordigheid daar is al klaar vyftig persent is die skare aangehits. en dan gaan jy net, doen net een verkeerde ding dan is daai skare hulle is hulle is waansinnig, hulle sal enigiets doen.

C: *We were some of the biggest provokers that existed. You can say two words to a peaceful crowd and then they'll throw stones. And we were masters at provoking them at a stage. We knew that presence of the police was already fifty percent towards provoking them. And then just do one wrong thing and that crowd; they are mad, they'll do anything.*

C: hulle breek huisies af. nou outomaties, jissie as jy my huis afbreek, gaan ek ook die donder in wees vir jou, gaan ek ook jou gooi met klippe. die staat gee nie vir my grond nie, ek kan nie grond koop nie, want die staat is teen my. nou staan ons daar, M was 'n meer besadigde offisier, hy was 'n kolonel gewees. hy sê kalm boys, kalm boys. want hy het al begin sien. dis hoekom hy ook later 'n oorplasing gevra C se beheerkamer toe gevra, want hy wou polisiewerk doen. hy wou nie onderdruk en forseer. want ons het onderdruk en forseer. dit is wat ons gedoen het. ons het nie polisiewerk gedoen nie. ons het onderdruk en forseer. toe gaan ek en ek sê vir een van die lede gooi sy bakkie met 'n klip. toe het G sy bakkie met 'n klip gegooi. toe sê hy skiet skiet.

C: *They were breaking down houses. Automatically jeez if you break down my house, I am going to be very angry with you. I'm going to try and throw stones at you. The state won't give me ground, I cannot buy ground as the government is against me. We are standing there. M was a more controlled officer. He was a colonel. He said: "Calm down boys, calm down boys" because he already saw. He took a transfer to C's control room because he wanted to do policing. He did not want to suppress and force. We suppressed and forced. We did not do policing. We suppressed and forced. I then went to one of the members and said: "Throw a stone at his bakkie!" G threw a stone at his bakkie and he commanded: "Shoot! Shoot!"*

In all of these stories there is an implication of power and of acting out of hegemonic masculinity. The effect of the arrival of the ISUs on the crowd and the inciting of violence were confirmed by a number of researchers and journalists (e.g. Cawthra, 1997; Pienaar & Willemsse, 1986; Seegers, 1996).

Dirty Means to Dirty Ends

Klockars (1980/2005) notes that police are exposed to a highly selective sample of people and that they tend to accept guilt in subjects as a working

assumption. This was clearly also true for the participants. When the police believe that suspects are guilty, they begin to regard their dirty acts as ends in themselves. They see their acts as the punishment of guilty people whom the police believe should be punished (Klockars, 1980/2005; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). But, as Klockars (1980/2005) notes, the assumption of guilt means that policemen are often wrong in their judgment of a situation. In South Africa, during apartheid, where black people had little protection under the law and where numerous everyday events were criminalised, the problem was compounded. The participants seldom considered the possibility that the people they tortured were not guilty. Often it appears it did not matter that they were innocent. Charl explains that they began to torture people who were not suspects in the hope that they would get information or confessions. At times they would ensure that “evidence” was present so that they had a reason to torture:

C: dit word misbruik. want ek het dit self misbruik. partykeer het ons mense opgelaai, twee, drie ure gemartel. hy kon jou niks gee nie dan gooi hom uit die kar uit en jy ry weg. waar is regverdigheid daaraan? daar is ook nie regverdigheid daaraan nie. daar is nie is regverdigheid daaraan. [...] partykeer het jy jouself geregverdig. ek het lede gehad dan hou hy 'n pakkie dagga so in sy hand vas, dan visenteer hy 'n man dan sê hy vir hom wat is die wat is die?

E: en dis die eerste keer wat die verdagte die dagga sien.

C: dan sê hy nee dis sy boetie se baadjie, dan sê nee jy lieg. {laughing} jy het mos die baadjie aangetrek, jy weet wat is in die sakke. en so het ons begin. en baie keer het ons goed uitgehaal. maar drie kwart van die tyd het ons niks gekry nie.

C: *It gets abused. I abused it myself. Sometimes we would load up people, torture them for two, three hours. He could give you nothing, and then you threw him out of the car and rode off. What justice is in that? There is no justice in that. [...] sometimes you would justify yourself. I*

had members, he would hold a packet of dagga in his hand, and search someone. Then he would say, "What is this? What is this?"

E: *And it would be the first time the suspect saw the dagga.*

C: *Then he would say it was his brother's jacket. You'd say, "You are lying." {laughing} "You put on the jacket, you know what is in the pockets." And so we'd begin. Many times we got stuff, but three quarters of the time we got nothing.*

And

C: um um. maar tog van hulle wat ons opgelaai het, hy was miskien net bietjie dronk gewees.

E: um um.

C: dan het jy begin om hom te slaan en te martel, dat jy dat jy kyk of jy nie mee:r goed uit hom kry. want hy moet 'n vriend hê wat 'n vuurwapen het hy moet 'n vriend hê wat dagga het hy moet 'n vriend hê wat gesteelde goed het.

C: *Um, um. But some of those we picked up, he may have just been a bit inebriated.*

E: *Um, um.*

C: *Then you started assaulting and torturing him that you could see if you could get more out of him. He must have a friend with a firearm, he must have a friend with dagga, he must have a friend with stolen goods.*

Charl bizarrely speaks of "abusing" torture which indicates something of how he conceptualises morality. Charl justifies torture done for confessions or information. He sees torture done for his pleasure as immoral.

In the following excerpt Charl demonstrates the coming together of racist discourses, propaganda, the assumption of guilt and their response of punishment of "offenders." He takes it a step further and explains that in acting as he did that he became as inhumane as he thought the people he

was torturing were. He recognises that he acted beyond his authority with impunity:

C: dis verkeerd wat ons gedoen het. dis nie reg nie. (11) kyk hulle het nie menslikheid nie. jy sien hom soos 'n dier. dis hoekom ek hom so behandel het. ek sien hom as 'n dier, hy is nie 'n mens nie. (3) rêrig dis dis hoe ek dit sien. (6) maar dan raak jy ook so, soos daai met M want jissie 'n mens sal nie dit doen aan 'n ander mens nie. [...] ons is nie hy moet hof toe gaan. ons is nie die judge nie, maar ons het so geraak. judge juror en executioner klaar. niemand het ons gekeer nie. niemand het ons gestop nie.

C: *What we did is wrong. It is not right. (11) Look, they were not human. You regarded him as an animal. That is why I treated him like that. I saw him as an animal, he was not human. (3) Really that, that is how I see it. (6) But then you become like that as well, like with M, because one would not do that to another person. [...] We were not, he had to go to court. We were not the judge, but we became like that. Judge, juror and executioner, finished. No one stopped us. No one stopped us.*

The M, to whom Charl refers in the above excerpt, was a fifteen year old child whom they assaulted extremely severely and loaded off at the closest police station. I will quote the section in which he tells the story later in this chapter.

Charl explains how he abused the courts. He knew that his victims would not be heard in court.

C: hulle doen dit nog steeds vandag. en die howe weet dit. hoekom is daar 'n verhoor binne in 'n verhoor? en dan sê daai verdagte dit en dit en dit met my gebeur. maar daai landros en regter glo dit nooit in sy lewe nie. selfs swart regters. hulle glo nie in hulle lewe 'n polisieman sal dit doen nie. ek weet dit gebeur. ek weet dit gebeur. nou hoe?

C: *They still do it today. And the courts know they do. Why is there a trial within a trial? And then the suspect says this and that and this was done to me. But the magistrate and judge will never believe it. Even black judges. They don't believe a policeman will do it. I know it happens. I know it happens. Now what?*

Charl explained in his narrative, he was rewarded instead of punished. He was doing what his superiors wanted him to do. He acted with impunity, knowing that there were no consequences. Jeffery (1991) confirms the difficulty in bringing policemen to book during apartheid. Charl comments that torture still continues. I do not doubt that he is right.

Torture is a Game

In the following excerpt, Charl is very clear on what the torture had become for him. Whereas earlier in his career he justified what he was doing by saying he was doing it in order to get information or confessions, at this point that pretence had fallen away completely. He was torturing for personal rewards. In this excerpt, Charl acknowledges that he has damaged many lives through what he has done. In discussing it he ventriloquists the person he was; we hear him saying that the suspect caused the torture which he will now experience:

C: ek weet nie. ek het al baie daaraan gedink. vir my gaan dit die marteling het 'n speelproses geword. dit is asof ek die noodlot getoets het. jy wil kyk hoe verder jy kan gaan hoe verder jy kan gaan hoe verder jy dan gaan. dit het 'n vorm van ontlading geword. baie van die wat ons later gemartel het het ons nie toegesluit nie. jy het hom gemartel tot op 'n punt en jy het die vuurwapen gekry en gevat en jy het hom gelos. dit het nie meer gegaan oor die werk nie. as ek jou eerlik eerlik moet antwoord. dit het nie gegaan oor kom ons doen die werk en dis klaar nie. kry die vuurwapens kry 'n sak dagga en gaan gee die in. hoekom moet jy 'n verdagte gaan inboek? ons het klaar met hom gespeel dit was lekker en

dis nou klaar. ek was die seksieleier ek het die goed beïnvloed en goeters. dit was ook seker verkeerd van my. kyk hoeveel lewens het ek beïnvloed deur my optrede. hoeveel skade het ek daar berokken deur my optrede? ek het gesê praat met hom as hy nie wil praat nie dan vat ek oor en klaar en dan moet hy vat wat sy kant toe kom.

C: I don't know. I have often thought about it. For me, it is about, the torture became a game. It was as if I was testing fate. You want to see how far you can go, how far you can go, how far you can go. It became a form of release. Later we didn't lock up many of those we tortured. You tortured him to a point and you got the firearm and took that and let him go. It was no longer about work. If I must be honest, it was not about let us do the job and get it over with. Get the firearms, get a bag of dagga and hand it in. Why charge a suspect? We had finished our game, it was fun and it is done with. I was the section leader and I influenced things and so on. It was probably wrong of me. Look how many lives I influenced through my actions. How much damage did I do through my actions? I said, "Talk to him and if he will not talk, I will take over." And that's it. And then he takes what comes his way.

Karner (1998) in discussing the effect of committing atrocities during the Vietnam War on soldiers found her participants often referred to perpetration as a game. Charl justifies his torture of suspects by explaining that if they would not talk they had essentially chosen torture. This reminds of Learner's (1980) description of just-world reasoning, in which the victim is blamed for his or her suffering. He avoids guilt, as the victim has caused his own suffering. I will discuss Charl's comment of torture becoming a release in the next section.

Addicted to Torture

As hegemonic men, the participants had control over themselves. They also had power and control over suspects and people they were policing. Dawid explains:

D: weet jy dit was altyd die lekkerste as ons 'n huis penetreer né. ek was altyd heelvoor. ek wou altyd die deur afskop en ek wou altyd eerste ingaan want dit was vir my verskriklik lekker as jy die komberse van die ou afruk en hy lê daar met sulke groot fokken oë. daai eerste skok op sy sy gesig. dit was vir my 'n (2) dit is dit is soos soos-s ek het nog nooit drugs gebruik nie maar ek dink dis dieselfde invloed. dieselfde dit dit dit laat jou weet jy jy is in euforie. veral as jy die ou kry en dit is hy. en hy lê fokken so geskrik in daai bed. jy druk daai gun teen sy kop en jy kan sien in sy oë hy weet, een mistake en hy gaan dood. of daai skok van waar die bliksem kom jy vandaan? figure wat ek try sê? ek dink dis daai (4) gevoel wat 'n ou probeer soos om 'n alkohol verslaafde te wees. in die begin is dit baie lekker en dis maklik om dit te kry. en daar na moet jy meer doen om dit te kry of daar te hou. verstaan jy.

E: dit eskaleer?

D: exactly. dit raak van ses biere tot twintig biere na 'n moord toe om dronk te raak. ek dink dis waar dis verslawend. dit is letterlik verslawend. jy raak verslaaf aan jou mag en gesag. jy raak verslaaf aan waarmee jy kan wegkom.

***D:** Do you know, it was always the best if we penetrated a house. I was always first. I wanted to kick down the door and I wanted to go in first because it felt so good when you tugged the blankets off the guy and he lay there with these big fucking eyes. That first shock on his, his face. For me (2) but it is, it is like, like I have never used drugs, but I think it feels the same. It makes you, you feel euphoric. Especially if you find the guy and it is him. And he lies there so fucking frightened in that bed. You press that gun against his head and you can see in his eyes, he knows, one mistake and he is dead. Or that shock of, "Where the hell did you come from?" Understand what I am saying? I think it is that (4) feeling which one it is like being addicted to alcohol. In the beginning it is very good and easy to get there. And then you have to do more and more to get it or to keep it there. Do you understand?*

E: *It escalates?*

D: *Exactly. It starts at six beers, then twenty beers and then a murder to get drunk. I think it's true. It is addictive. It is literally addictive. You become addicted to your power and authority. You become addicted to what you can get away with.*

In this excerpt Dawid links the possibility of escalating violence, in order to get the feeling of power that he had initially. Staub (1999) recognises that violence escalates, that people develop characteristics which increase the probability of doing further harm. Dawid indicates that the emotional experience of power is extremely intense. He also comments that the addiction is related to illicit acts they could conceal from the authorities.

Adriaan refers to dictators in history to explain the addiction to power:

A: ja. ja jy raak verslaaf daaraan. as ek nou terugdink, diktatorskap, Hitlers, Mussolinis. ja jy kan verslaaf daaraan. die magsposisie wat jy het. (7) en dis nie net en natuurlik respek. wat nou simpel klink klink simpel maar respek wat jy van alle oorde gekry het. nie net tussen jou kolle:gas nie maar buite ook die gewone man op straat ook jy weet.

A: *Yes, yes you become addicted. If I think back, dictatorships, Hilters, Mussolinis. Yes you can become addicted, the position of power that you have. (7) And it is not only and naturally respect. That sounds stupid, sounds stupid, but respect from all sides. Not just from your colleagues, but also from outside, from the normal man on the street, you know.*

He explains his need for recognition and respect from the man in the street. Idealism is a powerful motivator for torture. Adriaan explains the process of entering the townships and experiencing the need to harm people. He was motivated by the propaganda and his role was to remove terrorists. Also of interest in the following excerpt is his subjective feeling of being in control, while describing what sounds like behaviour which was out of control:

A: um um ja ja dis absoluut 'n adrenalien, as jy daar in in ry dan (4) is jy 'n totaal totale ander mens dan begin die adrenalien adrenalien te pomp en. jy wil net kyk wie kan jy nou seermaak, hoe kan jy julle seermaak.

E: ek weet dis 'n moeilike vraag, wat is die aspek daaraan wat 'n mens so gehook hou

A: vir my vir my was dit was dit 'n gevoel dat ek in beheer is van die situasie en um dat ek terroriste van die aarde af weg weg wegvee

E: dit was van die redes wat gegee is vir die goed.

A: ja nee dis absoluut jy raak verslaaf daaraan. soos ek al voorheen gesê het as jy 'n ou begin slaan, hoe meer bloed hoe erger raak dit jy weet. ek het ouens gesien dat ouens 'n ou begin slaa:n en later dat 'n polisieman self 'n mes gegryp en die ouens begin steek.

***A:** Um, um. Yes, yes. It is absolutely an adrenalin, when you drive in (4) you are a totally, totally different person, and the adrenalin, adrenalin starts pumping and you just want to see who you can hurt, how can you hurt them.*

***E:** I know it is a difficult question, what keeps one so hooked?*

***A:** For me, for me it was a feeling of being in control of a situation and um that I want to sweep terrorists off the earth.*

***E:** That was one of the reasons which were given for the stuff.*

***A:** Yes, no, absolutely you get addicted to it. Like I have said previously, when you hit a guy, the more blood, the worse it gets, you know. I saw guys a guy would start hitting someone and a policeman grabs a knife and starts to stab them.*

Both Adriaan and Dawid emphasise the experience of power in committing atrocities.

Karner (1998) found that the men she interviewed were not prepared for the enjoyment they experienced from the power they had. They explained that they enjoyed killing, especially in retribution after a buddy died.

The participants in this study describe other sensations, such as those Dawid describes in the following passage:

D: ek is ernstig. en en en soos ek jou sê ek baie keer kry ek die urge. ek doen. ek kry hierdie genuine urge om om om iemand seer te maak. ek kry. genuine. ek is ernstig. ek ek ek weet nie hoekom nie. ek weet nie waarvoor nie. my hele (1) lyf kry so (2) so so so jeuk en. en my dit voel as of 'n tingeling onder my vingernaels is. my kakebene begin somer so ek sien al hoe byt ek die ou. dis dis dis moeilik om dit aan jou te verduidelik. dit voel asof ek mal raak van hierdie hierdie hierdie hierdie en dit is nie, net een twee drie keer wat dit voorkom dit kom gereeld voor. ek het regtig die urge om iemand seer te maak. om fisiese te, byt of dis 'n verskriklike gevoel wat my bang maak. maar ook wat ek al baie ervaar het.

***D:** I'm serious. And, and, and as I tell you, I often get the urge. I do. I have this genuine urge to hurt someone. I get it. Genuine. I'm serious. I don't know why. I don't know the reason. My whole body gets this itch and it feels as though something is tingling under my finger nails. My jaw begins, I see how I bite the guy. It, it, it is difficult to explain it to you. It feels as though I am going mad from this, this, this, this and it isn't only once, twice or tree times when I experience it. It comes up regularly. I really have the urge to hurt someone, to bite them. It is a terrible feeling, which frightens me. But I have often experienced it.*

Dawid describes an urge which sounds insistent and hard to resist. Buss (2005) conducted surveys on homicidal fantasies and found that 91 percent of men and 84 percent of women have had at least one vivid fantasy of killing someone. Charl described the experiences he had with regard to the feeling of addiction in the most detail. He describes a sensation of craving in the following excerpt:

C: ja, want hoekom was ek so? hoekom hunker ek na daai gevoel, hoekom wil ek dit hê? (9) daar moet mos iets fout wees. hoekom smag ek na daai bloedlus en daai spanning en daai goeters? dis partydae is dit erg.

E: is dit sommige dae erger?

C: ja, dan soek jy dit. dan veral as ek gedrink het.

E: um um.

C: dan sal ek met alles en almal moeilikheid soek. net om

E: nou dat jy nie drink nie?

C: dan is dit nog steeds daar, maar ek kan dit beheer nou. maar ek, jy is soos 'n verslaafde, jy is verslaaf aan daai gevoel. dis hoe dit vir my voel, want

E: Charl hoeveel sal jy sê gebeur dit op hierdie stadium?

C: jis, dis baie.

C: *Why was I like that? Why do I long for that feeling, why do I want it? (9) There must be something wrong. Why do I lust after blood and tension and things like that? Some days it is very bad.*

E: *Is it worse some days?*

C: *Yes, then you look for it. Especially when I have been drinking.*

E: *Um, um.*

C: *Then I look for trouble with everyone and everything so that ...*

E: *Now that you don't drink?*

C: *It is still there, but I can control it. But, I, you are like an addict, you are addicted to the feeling. That is how it feels to me, because ...*

E: *Charl, how much does it happen at this stage?*

C: *Jeez, it's a lot.*

Charl says he needs to see blood. He does not mean this metaphorically:

C: ek het eendag net besluit kom, ons was verveeld, en toe ry ek na B dam toe, toe sê ek net kom en toe sien ek jis hier is baie geelbekeende toe sê ek nee toe skiet ek hulle toe sê ek kom julle is die blougatte P en J

toe sê ek julle is die blougatte, gaan haal gaan haal. [...] maar dit was ook tog jy wou as hulle die eende gaan haal het het jy aan die eend gevat om daai bloed te voel, daai jy moes daaraan vat.

E: so dit het eintlik veralgemeen na enige bloed?

C: ja ja jy moes dit net voel en (6) dis hoe dit was.

C: *One day we were bored and I just decided, I drove to B dam. I just said, "Come." And I saw Jeez there were a lot of yellow-billed ducks and I said: "No". I shot them and I said: "P and J, you are the rookies, go and fetch, go and fetch. [...] You wanted them to fetch them, so that when they fetched the ducks that you could touch them to feel the blood. That, you had to touch it.*

E: *It generalised to any blood.*

C: *Yes, yes, you just had to feel and (6) that is how it was.*

The need to touch and feel blood became extremely intense. He on a few occasions told me that he was desperate to touch blood:

E: as jy nie daarmee besig was nie, hoeveel het jy daaraan gedink?

C: baie. want jy het daai craving, jy het dit gesoek. dit raak so intens dat jy naderhand jousef iets wil aandoen. om daai bloed net te kry.

E: jousef beseer?

C: dink van slaan jou gesig in die spieël vas of sulke goeters dat jy daai bloed.

E: jy het ook daaraan geraak in V, daai behoefte, en dit gaan oor die bloed?

C: dit gaan net oor die bloed. jy het daai craving. dis hoekom ek vir jou sê. nou hoe?

E: *When you were not busy with it, how much did you think of it?*

C: *A lot. Because you were craving, you looked for it. It became so intense that you afterwards wanted to harm yourself in order to get blood.*

E: *Hurt yourself?*

C: *You think of hitting your face in the mirror, or things like that just to get blood.*

E: *You mentioned that in V, that need. It goes about the blood?*

C: *It just goes about the blood. You crave it. That is why I tell you. What now?*

In the next two excerpts he links seeing and touching blood to a “rush”, a sense of adrenalin release and to pleasure.

E: *jy sê dit was vir jou ‘n rush om die bloed te sien?*

C: *dit was. dit was vir jou ‘n plesier om daar bloed te sien. jy het dit geniet. dis wat my ook pla, hoekom het ek dit so geniet?*

E: *You say it gave you a rush to see blood?*

C: *It was. It was a pleasure to see blood there. You enjoyed it. It is part of what worries me, why did I enjoy it so much?*

C: *hoekom geniet ek dit so, om daai bloed te sien? (4) dis asof jy gaan en jy wil dit voel, jy wil dit belewe. dit voel.*

E: *want by tye wou jy daaraan raak ook?*

C: *jy moet dit voel partykeer, anders het jy nie daai plesier.*

C: *Why do I enjoy it so much, to see that blood? (4) It is as if you go and you want to touch it, you want to experience it, to feel it.*

E: *At times, you wanted to touch it?*

C: *You have to sometimes feel it, otherwise you don't get as much pleasure.*

He wrote down the next section which he brought to me and read:

C: *die skiettonele. vat aan die bloed, druk op hulle dat nog bloed uitkom. partykeer maak dit my naar maar dit is opwindend. ‘n gevoel van genot of plesier. as ek naar word hou ek op. partykeer kry ek hoofpyn weet nie of*

dit opwinding of stres is nie. verskillende woonbuurte verskillende maniere om plesier te kry. om die verskillende voorvalle soos dit dan in jou kop opkom. daai flashes wat jy sien. soos die een in die bussie wat in sy maag geskop is tot hy homself bevuil het dan gooi jy hom uit die bussie. as hy op die pad val en dit is nog bloed. hierdie is vieslik. (hhh) ek weet nie dat ek aan sulke goed moet dink om my plesier in die lewe te gee nie. moet dit voel. klewerigheid. die hitte. of as dit lank gelê besig om te stol stukke en koud.

E: as jy daaraan dink, dis net die bloed waaraan jy dink?

C: op daai slag jy wil die klewerigheid voel, daai hitte. of as dit daar lank gelê het dan speel jy. dis altyd 'n spelery. nooit wil ek die dood veroorsaak nie behalwe waar hulle reeds dood is. maar as ek dit kan verhelp dan wil ek nie die dood veroorsaak nie dit is. maar soos in T waar hulle geskiet was en jy kom daar. jy skop hom en jy trap op hom daai lug wat by die skietgate kom en daai goeters.

C: *The shooting scenes. Touch the blood, press them so that more blood comes out. Sometimes it nauseates me, but it is exciting. A feeling of enjoyment or pleasure. If I become nauseous I stop. Sometimes I get a headache, I don't know whether it is from excitement or stress. Different areas, different ways to get pleasure. The different events that come up in your head. The flashes you see. Like the one in the minibus who was kicked in his stomach until he lost bowel control. Then you threw him out of the minibus. There was more blood when he fell on the road. This is awful {laughs}. I don't know why I have to think about things like this to get pleasure in life. Must feel it, the stickiness, the heat or if it had been there a while beginning to coagulate into clots and it's cold.*

E: *When you think of this, you are only thinking of the blood?*

C: *At that stage, you want to feel the stickiness, the heat. If it had lain there a long time, you can play with it. It is always a game. I never wanted to cause death, except when they were already dead. But like in T when they were already dead, you'd get there, kick him and stand on him so that the air comes out of the bullet wounds and that sort of thing.*

A classical conditioning model may explain his linking of excitement and pleasure to blood (Klein & Mowrer, 1989). Charl had described, as had the other participants, that he had experienced excitement during public order policing. It was also clear in his narrative that he enjoyed the power he had, especially when working in the townships. His descriptions of driving around in his microbus, and people stopping trade for fear of being targeted by him clearly indicated the power he had. He would often torture people during these trips. The excitement and pleasure he experienced appear to have become linked to the sensations of touching blood. Despite his belief that there is something wrong with him, he cannot satisfy his needs in other ways and deliberately fantasises about blood:

C: soos nou. as jy daai bloed so sien spat as jy hom, eers slat jy hom met die pistool dat die bloed loop, dan klap jy hom met die plat hand dat daai bloed die bussie vol spat, dis teen die ruite, dis teen die dak, dis orals. dis so dink ek daaraan. dan

E: um. dan gee dit jou?

C: dis intens, jy dink intens daaraan. jy sit jou in daai situasie in, om daai bloed te sien. dan dan is dit asof dis 'n demper. {the above all said with obvious enjoyment.}

E: 'n demper?

C: dit vat bietjie daai lus weg. maar hy sal nooit daai, vir die ware gevoel, sal hy nooit hy sal nie genoegsaam. ek weet nie of dit was omdat ons vir so lank dit gedoen het of wat nie. dit was omtrent elke dag in die begin was dit sê een maal 'n week, maar hoe langer jy daar was, hoe meer het dit opgebou. ek het vir twee jaar elke week dertig arrestasies gehandhaaf.

C: *Like now. If you see the blood splatter as you, first you hit him with a pistol so that the blood runs, then you hit him with your open hand so that the blood splatters over the entire minibus. It is on the windows, on the roof, it's everywhere. That is how I think about it. Then*

E: *Um, and it gives you?*

C: *It is intense, you think of it with intensity. You place yourself in the situation, so that you can see the blood. Then, then, it suppresses {the above all said with obvious enjoyment}.*

E: *Suppresses?*

C: *It takes away some of the craving. But it will never, the real feeling, it will never be enough. I don't know if it was because we did it for so long or what else. It was almost daily, in the beginning it was about once a week, but the longer you were there, the more it built. I maintained thirty arrests a week for two years.*

Much of what Charl describes could refer to an impulse control disorder (American Psychological Association, 1994, pp. 422-423; Menzies & de Silva, 2003). Giving in to the compulsion (even in his fantasies), reduces his anxiety and gives him pleasure. Important in this study is the way he positions himself; he is helpless in the face of his urges. He uses the metaphor of addiction. His lust for blood is more powerful than he is. He became ill through torture, but his addiction to blood is responsible for him continuing to torture people.

Intrusive images are well-known as a symptom of PTSD (Birrer, Michael & Munsch, 2007), but Charl deliberately recalls images of blood and violence to control his aggression and he will explain later, to control his depression. He fears that the images he revisits will not be sufficient to prevent him from acting out his aggression. He has previously acted out his fantasies in order to satisfy his cravings and fears that he may do so again.

C: *jy onderdruk dit maar om met jou gedagtes te speel dit help nog, maar hoe lank gaan dit help?*

E: *jy is baie bang, né*

C: *um. jy sou ook gewees het.*

E: *um. ek dink ek is soms. [...] daai beelde wat jy revisit is hulle so powerful soos hulle was of is hulle minder powerful?*

C: ja, van hulle is so powerful. wat goed is onthou dis daai maalkolk beweging. dit is toe toe toe vinnig. soos die ou flieks, skyfie skyfie skyfie skyfie. dit werk.

C: *You suppress it but, it still helps to play with your thoughts, but how long will it still help?*

E: *You are very scared aren't you?*

C: *Um. You'd also be.*

E: *I am sometimes. [...] these images which you revisit, are they as powerful as they were, or are they less powerful?*

C: *Yes, some of them are as powerful. Remember, what works is the whirlpool. It is quick. Like in old movies, slide, slide, slide, slide. It works.*

He does not habituate to the images because they change all the time. He uses these images to calm himself down.

E: as jy vir my dink, as jy daai spanning het kan jy vir my bietjie meer omskryf hoe daai gevoel voel, hoe die lewe vir jou voel, hoe dit is om jy te wees op daai stadium?

C: dis amper soos 'n high. dit voel asof jy op 'n high is. want dis rêrig, dis hoe ek voel, so asof jy op 'n high is. so asof jy (2) of jy lus (3) jy (2) dis jou lus om voort te gaan daai. dan jy raak soos stoomroller jy wil net vorentoe vorentoe vorentoe vorentoe. dan.

E: so dit gee vir jou energie.

C: ja, ek weet nie hoekom nie.

E: maar dit gee dit.

C: ja dit jaag my energie. so dan kan ek werk. ek kan vir 'n hele dag aaneen en ek gee nie om nie. (5) maar dan moet ek fisieke werk doen. jy kan nie net gaan sit en met 'n boek werk of lees dit-t-t. jy moet fisiek, jy moet hard, dit moet swaar wees.

E: en as jy dit doen, kom die spanning bietjie af.

C: dan kom die spanning weer 'n bietjie af, dan voel jy jis nou het ek iets gedoen.

E: *Think for me, when you have that tension, can you describe a bit more how you experience it, how life feels, how it feels to be you at that stage?*

C: *It is almost like a high. It feels as though you are on a high. It is really, it is how I feel, like you are on a high. As if (2) if you crave (3) you (2) you crave to go on. Then you become like a steam roller, you will go forward, forward, forward, forward. Then*

E: *It gives you energy.*

C: *Yes, I don't know why.*

E: *But it does.*

C: *Yes, it pushes up my energy. Then I can work. I can work for an entire day and not mind. (5) But I have to do physical work. You can't just sit and work with a book or read it. You must do a physical job. It must be hard. It must be hard.*

E: *And then your tension drops a bit.*

C: *The tension drops, and you feel like you have done something.*

Charl explains in the following excerpt how he uses violent thoughts and images to control his depression.

C: dit is ook meer, die een veroorsaak meer die depressie as wat die een. die kant is 'n upper, die kant is 'n downer.

E: depressie vererger, angsigheid?

C: ja, want dis 'n downer.

E: meer in beheer.

C: meer in beheer, dan kan jy aangaan.

E: want hier is daar nie beheer nie (4) want jy verloor dit.

C: dan is jy huilerig en al daai goeters. (4) dis soos jy die boedel oorgee. (3) hier-hierdie kant kry die jy kan die beelde skommel soos jy dit wil hê jy kan dit geniet, jy kan aangaan.(6) jy kan jou eie fliet maak. (hhh) 'skuus maar dit is so. om jou bestaan te regverdig. daai bestaansreg te gee. die upper te gee. (5) dan kry jy die upper die kant maar onmiddelik vat dit jou

terug na die kant en jy dink dit kan nie so wees nie. dis onmoontlik ho:oe?
mens kan nie so wees nie.

C: *It is also more, this side causes the depression more than this side.*

This side gives me a lift. This side makes me down.

E: *Depression, anxiety worse?*

C: *Yes, it makes me down.*

E: *More in control.*

C: *More in control, they you can go on.*

E: *Because there is no control here. (4) You lose it.*

C: *Then you are tearful, and all those things. (4) It is like giving up. (3)*

This, this side you can shuffle the images like you want them to be. You can enjoy it. You can carry on. (6) You can make your own movie {laughs}. Sorry, but it is like that. You can justify your existence; it gives you the reason to live. It gives you a high. (5) Then you get a high this side, but it takes you back to this side and you think it can't be like this. It's impossible, how? A person can't be like this.

In the following excerpt, Charl again mentions the scene of the child whom they had almost killed by assaulting him. He is horrified when he thinks of what he did to this child. However, it also excites him:

E: jy raak wat is die woord jy is half ontsteld as jy hieroor praat.

C: en tog dit gee ook 'n opgewinding. want jy dink aan die tonele, jy sien dit. soos klein M wat ons geskop en geslaan het. ek dink onmiddelik aan hom.

E: jy kom baie terug na hom.

C: ons het hom al. ek dink hy was twee klappe van die dood af. dis hoekom.

E: dis baie erg.

E: *You become, what is the word, half distressed when you talk of this.*

C: *And at the same time it is also exciting. Because you think of scenes, you see it. Like with small M, whom we kicked and beat up. I immediately think of him.*

E: *You often mention him.*

C: *We had already, I think he was two slaps from death. That's why.*

E: *That is terrible.*

Repetition compulsion is well-known in trauma (Briere & Scott, 2006; Herman, 2001; Van der Kolk, 1996c). However, Charl appears to be describing a different mechanism. He appears to be utilising very stressful incidents and fantasies of those and similar incidents to control his anxiety and his depression. Very little work has been done on possible addiction to trauma. Van der Kolk (1994a) and Van der Kolk, Greenberg, Boyd and Krystal (1985) suggest that highly traumatic situations can lead to the release of endogenous opioids. This could associate feelings of relaxation with apparently traumatic situations. Charl appears to be describing a similar process in these excerpts. He, however, does not describe the initial incidents as traumatic; instead he describes enjoying what he did. He only later developed a sense of horror at his behaviour. The work on which Van der Kolk (1994a) and Van der Kolk et al. (1985) based their comments was done on Vietnam veterans. They did not investigate whether or not they had perpetrated.

Solursh (1989) conducted interviews with 100 Vietnam veterans and found that 94 per cent of them gave descriptions of flashbacks as exciting, powerful, and a "high" (Solursh, 1989, p. 456), even if considerable fear was also reexperienced. "Down" (Solursh, 1989, p. 456) feelings, a relative paucity of feeling, and sometimes guilt followed the reexperiencing and continued until the next reexperiencing. These periods were experienced as undesirable and unpleasant. He summarises his findings as: "a series of mutually reinforcing excitatory behaviors emanating from repeated combat exposures in a very youthful population may be a common and significant feature of the chronicity and tenacity of symptoms of post-traumatic stress

disorder in Vietnam combat veterans” (Solursh, 1989, p. 457). Again, he did not investigate whether or not his participants had perpetrated.

MacNair (2002b) refers to the work of Nadelson (1992) who reports five case studies of combat veterans who explain that they got a high from killing. Wikler (1980) reports that he was told by veterans that there were soldiers who enjoyed killing. Foster et al. (2005) relate the story of John Deegan who testified at the TRC. Deegan describes his addiction to the excitement in life and death situations. Grossman (1995) gives a number of brief narratives of combat veterans who also refer to the addiction in combat, in killing. He contends that there are five stages in killing (pp. 232-237):

- o the concern stage - the fear of being a coward and the fear of death;
- o the killing stage - finding that they can kill automatically, that training takes over;
- o the exhilaration stage - sometimes referred to as a combat high;
- o the remorse stage - revulsion and remorse at a close kill;
- o the rationalisation and acceptance stage - a life-long process of trying to come to terms with what he has done.

Grossman (1995) suggests that exhilaration is an expected stage in killing. Rejali (2007) refers to the stories of rank-and-file French soldiers who tortured Algerians and who referred to torture becoming a drug. They reported that torture became sadism, long after valuable information was retrieved. The work by Solursh (1989) and the mainly anecdotal reports of enjoyment of and possible addiction to torture and other atrocities are confirmed by the participants in this study. It may be a useful area for further research.

Earlier, I explained that the participants can be seen as victims as well as perpetrators. Even though he may have been regarded as a victim, the question still arises, with regard to Charl’s comments, whether or not he has PTSD since he enjoys violence as much as he does. The injuries he has

caused generally appear to give him pleasure. Some of descriptions he gives, for example making air blow out of gunshot wounds, may be indicative of black humour in order to cope with scenes. It must also be kept in mind that as he demonstrated earlier, he did not see black people as human. This may also play a role in his pleasure in blood at some of the scenes he described. In terms of PTSD he had extreme debilitating symptoms relating to some scenes. He never used these scenes to calm himself; he avoided thinking of them. He was disorientated and very distressed by flashbacks that related to those scenes.

PTSD refers to symptoms which have developed in victims, not perpetrators. The few studies which refer to the effects of perpetration make no distinction between symptoms related to exposure to trauma and those related to possible perpetration (e.g. Beckham et al., 1998; King et al., 1995; Fontana & Rosenheck, 1999). Very few studies attempt to distinguish between symptoms relating to experienced trauma and symptoms referring to perpetration (e.g. Fontana et al, 1992; MacNair, 2002b).

The participants in this study report enjoying torture; they do not report any negative emotions while torturing. Eventually, they report horror and shame at what they have done and who they have become. Charl explains:

E: is dit soms baie werklik?

C: dis wat my so bang maak. die besef dat ek weet ek sal dit doen. en ek kan dit doen. (6) soe {laughs, discomfort} lelik né? [...] ek het al gedink ek moet 'n stuk van my brein laat uitsny, dalk sny hulle die regte stuk uit. [...]

E: is jy so desperaat.

C: {nods} (18) {crying} 'skuus [...]

E: hoeveel gebeur dit? (7)

C: redelik. ek soek 'n katalisator. dit help jou ontlaai. dan dink ek ek doen dit dan voel ek beter. 'skuus, maar dit is so.

E: *Is it very real?*

C: *That is what frightens me so much. I realise I will do it. And I can do it. (6) Shoo. {laughs, discomfort}. Bad uh? [...] I have thought I must have a part of my brain cut out, maybe they'll cut out the right part. [...]*

E: *Are you so desperate?*

C: *{nods} (18) {crying} Sorry. [...]*

E: *How often does it happen? (7)*

C: *Quite a bit. I look for catalyst. It helps relieve you. Then I think I'm doing it and I feel better. Sorry, but that is how it is.*

This knowledge appears to be one of the major results of perpetration. The participants can never again live with the illusion that they are people who would not choose evil. They know that they have chosen evil and could enact it again with no control. They would also enjoy it. Charl's use of the term "catalyst" appears to indicate that the images he recalls initiate an internal process which helps him feel better. Dawid acknowledged pleasure in thinking of scenes in which he had had power, often scenes in which he had shot a lot or had tortured people. He explained he enjoyed the adrenalin rush and the sense of power. He does not have the addiction to blood which Charl describes. Part of Adriaan's distress is that they killed people for fun.

Charl describes his emotions in more detail:

C: *ek weet nie. dis intens dis opwindend dis sleg dis alles alles. maar op dit einde is dit opwindend. ek weet nie hoekom is dit opwindend nie. as ek daai antwoord kan kry. hoe kan iets wat nie lekker is nie wat deurmekaar hoe kan dit my op om uitsien om daaraan te dink. dit verskaf my die grootste genot om daaraan te dink. h-oe-oe? dis nie logies nie.*

C: *I don't know. It's intense, it's exciting, it's bad, it is everything, everything. But eventually it is exciting. I don't know why it is exciting. If I could get that answer. How can something which is horrible, which is*

confusing, how can I look forward to thinking about it. It gives me the greatest pleasure to think about it. How? It is not logical.

For Charl, there was no pretence left of using torture to get confessions or information. It had become a game, a game in which he satisfied his need to exert power over another person. The victim has become invisible (Scarry, 1985) coincidental to him satisfying his needs:

E: Wat het jy vir jouself gesê oor die mense aan wie jy dit gedoen die geweld, die torture, die whatever?

C: ek het nie omgee nie want jy het geweet môre gaan jy weer môre kan jy weer daai opwinding jy kan dit weer kry.

E: die opw=

C: dis hoekom jy jou kon afsluit daarvan, want jy het nou die opwinding gehad, nou gaan jy huistoe.

***E:** What did you tell yourself about the people to whom you did this, the violence, the torture, the whatever?*

***C:** I didn't care, because you knew that tomorrow you are going to again, tomorrow you can get that excitement again.*

***E:** The excit=*

***C:** That is why you could cut of, because you had excitement now and now you are going home.*

After the death of his wife Charl started working at training. He then missed the experience of excitement and controlled his cravings by assaulting civilians in pubs or illegal immigrants on the trains. Both Adriaan and Dawid have assaulted civilians, generally in pubs. Solursh (1989) in one of the very few studies that examined addiction to combat found that 59 per cent of the veterans he interviewed admitted to engaging in physical fights after they left the military in order to regain a feeling of excitement. Solursh, as I previously mentioned, made no attempt to identify which of his participants

had been involved in perpetration. As his participants were veterans, a large number may have killed, or at least have attempted to kill.

Adriaan explains he cannot ignore an opportunity to engage in violence. He explains he has to see blood.

A: die woonstelle, hoeveel ek al mense gedonder het, is ek gedonder. byvoorbeeld die mans wat die vrouens half dood donder ek is daar.

E: en Adriaan=

A: wil half donder, ek moet bloed sien.

A: *The flats, how often have I thrashed people and have they thrashed me. For example, the men who beat their wives, I am there.*

E: *And Adriaan=*

A: *Want to beat up, I have to see blood.*

He will not stop until the person cannot get up:

A: daai ou byvoorbeeld nou as jy iemand gryp. hy gaan lê of hy gaan hospitaal toe maar bloed sal daar vloei. dis nie net van 'n klap nie. vir my is dit daar sal bloed wees. hy sal fokken nie opstaan nie. (3) jy weet jy sal hom annihilate. daar is nie 'n kwessie van een houtjie twee hou nie.

A: *For example that man, when you grab someone, he is either out or he goes to hospital. Blood will flow. I am not just going to slap him, there will be blood. He won't fucking get up. (3) You know you will annihilate him. There is no question of one or two blows.*

The three participants are alcoholics. Solursh (1989) reports that 72 per cent of those who indicated an addiction to combat, reported a history of substance abuse. He suggests that the substance abuse and addiction to combat may be related in some way, possibly with similar biological processes.

One of the difficulties the addiction to and pleasure in torture creates is that it is difficult to confront them therapeutically. Any discussion and recollection of scenes such as those described by the participants can reinforce their pleasure in what they have done.

Torture Linked to Sexual Arousal

In the following excerpt Dawid uses a sexual metaphor to explain what torture did for him.

D: 'n ou begin jousef question. want want want vir die geringste oortreding sal jy die ou aanrand. iets simpels iets baie kleins. dan overreact ons of ek overreact dis moer toe bliksem vir 'n baie geringe oortreding. dis nie genuine dat dit dat dit geregverdig is nie. ek slaan in 'n mate omdat dit vir my lekker is. ek wil uiting ek wil ek wil liggaamlike orgasme brein orgasme.

E: {sighs} [yes

D: [die tipe van dinge. ek weet nie waar kom die genuine rondloop en die en die daai genuine bevrediging waar kom dit en die genuine rondloop die die orgasme die twee is baie naby aan mekaar gekoppel. die twee is

E: ook na jy al verduidelik het

D: en ek verskriklik opgewerk is en ek wil net gaan spyker en speel.

D: *You start to question yourself. Because you will assault someone for the smallest infringement. Something stupid, something very small. Then we overreact, or I overreact. You thrash someone within an inch of his life for a small infringement. It is not justified. In a way, I hit because I enjoy it. I want to express, I want a physical orgasm, I want a brain orgasm.*

E: {sigh} [Yes

D: *[The type of things. I don't know where to put the genuine wandering and the genuine satisfaction, where to put it and the genuine wandering. The orgasm. The two are very closely joined. The two are ...*

E: You have explained afterwards ...

D: And I am very aroused and I just want to screw around and play.

For Dawid, it became more than a metaphor. He linked sexual arousal to torture. He found that torturing suspects was sexually arousing and he would look for someone to use sexually following such an incident. He would engage in aggressive sexual intercourse following torture. There is some anecdotal evidence that for some men killing is linked to sexuality (Grossman, 1995, 2004). Sexuality and death are at times combined in work such as that of Bataille (1962/1986, 1961/1989). Millett (1994) comments that Bataille calls upon the tradition of religious sacrifice to explain the identity of these perfect contraries, divine ecstasy and its opposite, extreme horror. The best-known work on the topic is probably that of the Marquis de Sade (Bataille, 1962/1986; Marshall & Kennedy, 2003), from whose name the term sadism was derived.

Grossman (1995) reports that in advertisements for weapons sex and death are often linked. He points out numerous symbolic links to shooting and killing and coitus. He also notes that in Greek mythology sex and war are linked in the affaire of Aphrodite and Ares.

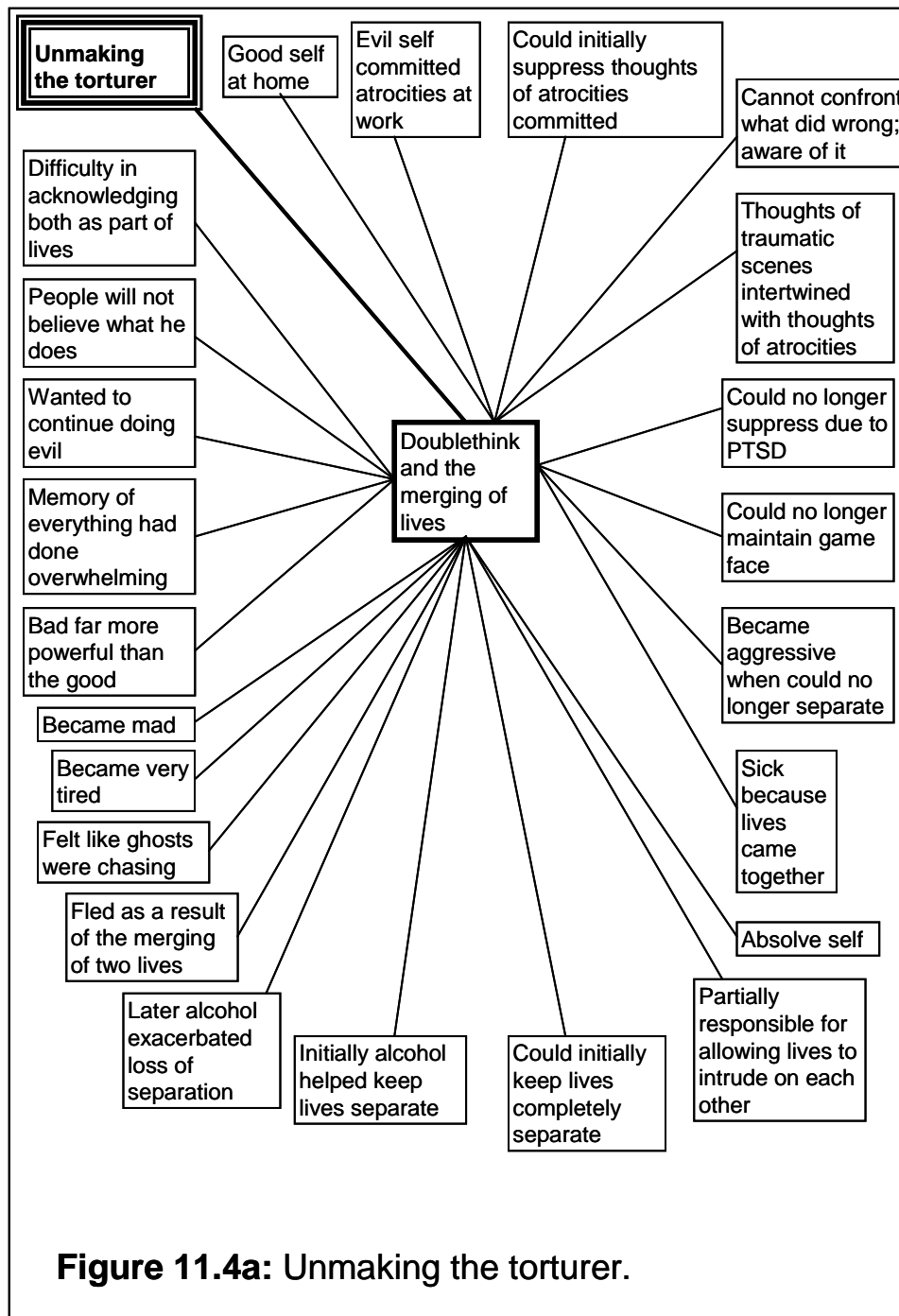
As revealed in his narrative (Chapter 7) Dawid as a result of the sexual abuse he experienced as a child fears he may be homosexual. He would get involved sexually with women to prove that he could have any woman he wanted. He may have used sexual intercourse and the pursuit and domination of a woman to reassure himself after committing some atrocity.

Unmaking the Torturer

Within the major theme of “Unmaking the torturer” depicted in Figures 11.4a, 11.4b and 11.4c I have identified the following organising themes:

- o doublethink and merging of lives;
- o rage;

- o they harm those they love;
- o emotional blunting;
- o evil, a monster and “tampered” goods;
- o isolated from other people; and
- o separated from God.



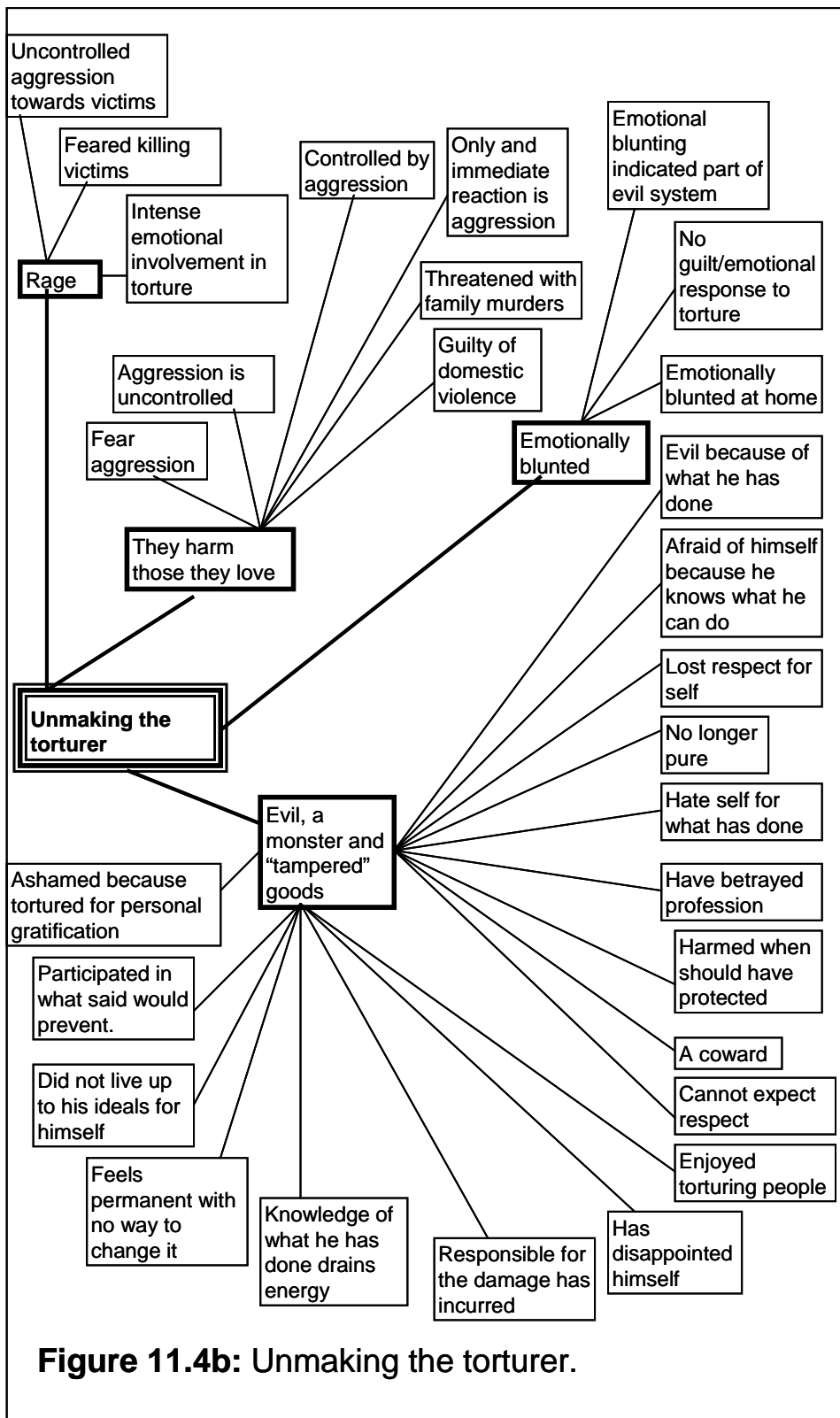


Figure 11.4b: Unmaking the torturer.

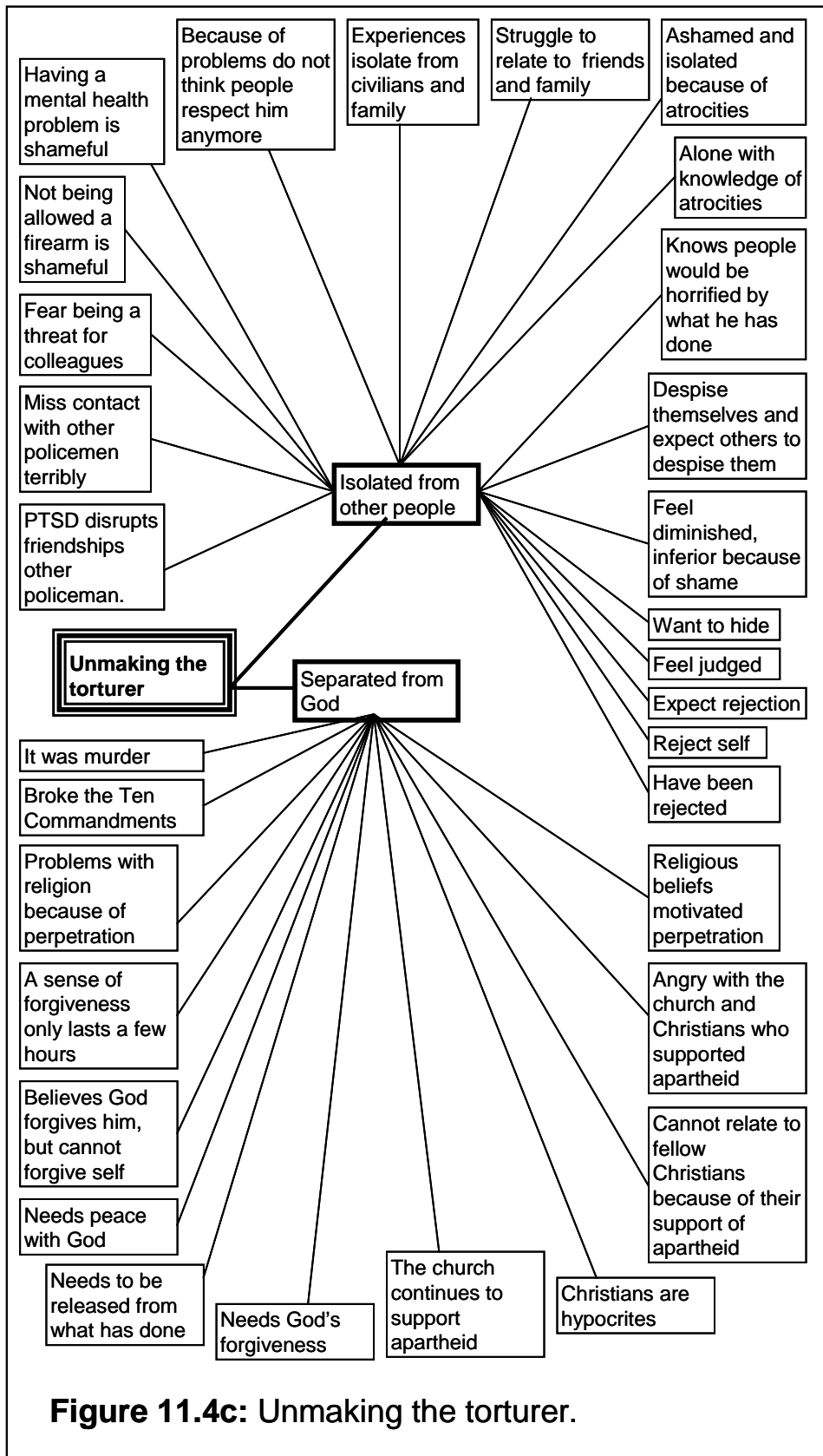


Figure 11.4c: Unmaking the torturer.

Doublethink and the Merging of Lives

I quoted Orwell's (1950) definition of doublethink in Chapter 8. The participants often referred to the belief that they were more than one person. They could initially maintain separate lives, but eventually found that these separate lives were intruding on each other. They appear to connect the inability to keep their lives separate with the development of symptoms of PTSD.

There is some recognition in the conventional and clinical psychological literature that the concept of a unified personality is not always useful (e.g. Campbell, Assanand & Di Paula, 2000; Hilgard, 1977; Kluff & Fine, 1993; Pervin, 2002; Philips & Frederick, 1995). This is not a new idea; Janet recognised the difficulties with the concept of a unified personality already in the beginning of the twentieth century (Philips & Frederick, 1995).

Gergen (1995), from a social constructionist perspective, suggests that too much attention has been given to central tendencies and not enough to the range and complexity of being. A person receives various messages from different people in his life and as relations change, so do the messages. He sees the need for coherence as burdening us, causing us to ask questions such as: "How can I be X if I am really Y?" It would be more useful to ask what in the situation is causing me to act in a particular way.

Van der Hart et al. (2005) regard dissociation as central in trauma. They believe that certain parts of the personality are dissociated from one another and are fixed in maladaptive behaviours. Lifton (1986, 1997) refers to doubling as a principle that the Nazi doctors used in order to do the work they did. Doubling refers to "the division of the self into two functioning wholes, so that a part-self acts as an entire self" (Lifton, 1997, p. 30).

Lifton (1986, 1997) notes that there was a dialectic between the Auschwitz self which had to function in the camp and the doctor's prior self in which he saw himself as a humane physician, husband and father. The Auschwitz

self succeeded because it was fully part of the Auschwitz environment. The Auschwitz self was necessary for the perpetrator who had to create a killing self for his own survival. It also helped to have a separate self that could be seen as doing the killing, leaving the prior self innocent. The process of doubling took place outside conscious awareness and included a significant change in moral consciousness.

Lifton (1997) differentiates doubling from the more common concept of dissociation. He sees splitting or dissociation as referring to a sequestered part of the self which does not respond to the environment, reminiscent of psychic numbing. Lifton (1997) uses the concept of doubling because it refers to a part which functioned for a period of years and therefore must refer to an entire, functioning self. He explains:

In sum, doubling is the psychological means by which one invokes the evil potential of the self. That evil is neither inherent in the self nor foreign to it. To live out the doubling and call for the evil is a moral choice for which one is responsible, whatever the level of consciousness involved. By means of doubling, Nazi doctors made a Faustian choice for evil: in the process of doubling, in fact, lies an overall key to human evil (Lifton, 1997, p. 35).

Crelinsten (2005) also notes that during the training of torturers reality, as described in conventional morality, is deconstructed and replaced with a new reality defined by the ideological dictates of whoever holds power. In order to cope with the new reality as well as conventional reality, doubling is essential. Skolnick and Fyfe (1993, p. 92) confirm that the policeman or woman develops a “working personality”.

The discourse of duality is common in Western society. People will commonly use phrases such as: “I don’t know what came over me ...” and “A part of me wants to” It is a common discourse used to deny responsibility for behaviour. Some religions, in particular Christianity to which the participants were extensively exposed, have a powerful theme of good versus evil. Paul in Rom. 7:15 (Good News Bible) put it: I do not

understand what I do; for I don't do what I like to do, but instead I do what I hate."

I follow Lifton (1986) in regarding the participants' ability to double as protective of themselves. It also supports the social constructionist concept of people not possessing an inherent personality, but utilising the discourses of the environment in which they are to constitute themselves. However, the participants explain that their ability to maintain separate lives broke down. They then started experiencing discomfort. Dawid explains the process in some detail in the following excerpts:

D: {laughs} ja fok dis baie moeilik. ek dink my sondes het my van agteraf ingehaal. nieteenstande die feit dat ek baie goed verkeerd gedoen het (2) het ek dink my normale werk in die polisie het 'n baie groot invloed gehad in hoekom dit eventually uitgekome het in sense van, as ek nie al die ander goed gedoen het van tonele en verkragings en regte polisiewerk nie sou ek dalk hierdie goed kon onderdruk het. verstaan jy? ek sou dit altyd vir 'n rukkie onderdruk het. dit was nie omdat ek nie daarvoor geworry het nie was dit nie moerse issue nie. maar toe die goed te veel begin raak het die goed outomaties opgekom.

E: dit het op 'n manier grense afgebreek in jou?

D: ja. fok dit. toe toe my werk my normale werk. my my my die die die die tonele en die moorde en die dooie mense en die bloed en en en daai goeters toe dit te veel begin raak het. toe ek begin besef ek kan nie meer met dit nie toe kom die goed ook uit. en toe raak dit so {demonstrates} verstrengel in mekaar. ek kan nie aan die een dink sonder om aan die ander te dink nie. maar die het nie vir my regtig 'n skuldgevoel aan nie. verstaan jy. daai het. die skuldgevoel is aan daai spesifieke hopie gekoppel. maar die het daai het die ingetrek. verstaan jy?

D: {laughs} Yes, fuck it's difficult. I think my sins caught me from behind. Despite the fact that I did a lot wrong, (2) I think my normal work in the police had a very large role in why it eventually had to come out, in that if I

had not had all the scenes and rapes and real police work, I may have been able to suppress this stuff. Do you understand? I would have always been able to suppress it for a while. It wasn't that I didn't worry about it, it wasn't a major issue, but when the stuff got too much, it began coming up automatically.

E: *In a way it began to break down boundaries in you?*

D: *Yes, fuck it. When my work, my normal work. My, my, my, the, the, the, the, scenes and the murders and the dead people and the blood and, and, and those things, when it began to get too much, then I began to realise I can't cope with it anymore, then this stuff also came out. And it became {demonstrates} intertwined with each other. I could not think of the one without thinking of the other. But, this did not really have guilt attached to it, do you understand? But that, the guilt is attached to that pile and that pulled the other in. Do you understand?*

He explains referring to a sense of internal division to explain his experiences.

D: ek weet nie ek weet nie of ek 'n gesplete persoonlikheid het nie. ek is eerlik.

E: verduidelik vir my.

D: aan die een kant ek weet ek het my bewuste en ek weet ek het baie goed gedoen wat nie reg is nie. wat ek wel bevraagteken.

E: en wanneer jy daar gaan?

D: wil ek nie daar gaan nie. ek kan nie daarentoe gaan nie. ek weet daarvan. (2) dis amper soos ek verontskuldig myself. dis 'n deel van my lewe wat ek nie maklik betree nie. ek weet hy is daar. ek weet hy bestaan. maar wat daaraan verbonde is

E: dan kan jy nie met jousef saamleef nie?

D: nee:. ek wil nie daar gaan krap nie. dit jeuk nie daar nie. verstaan wat ek try sê. die ander deel van my is (2) ek is ek weet ek is hierdie ni:ce rustige godsvresende vaderlike figuur en en ek het baie goeie kwaliteite. dis in my eie mind bitter moeilik om die twee bymekaar uit te bring. hoe

kan ek eendag hoe kan ek so wees maar ook 'n ander lewe lei? dis asof ek 'n dubbellewe lei. en op 'n stadium het my dubbellewe bymekaar uitgekom en dis waarom ek siek geword het. ek kon die twee nie van mekaar onderskei nie.

D: I don't know, I don't know if I have a split personality. I'm honest.

E: Explain to me.

D: On the one side, I know I'm aware and I know I have done a lot which is not right. Things I question.

E: And when you go there?

D: I don't want to go there. I can't go there. I know about it. (2) It is almost as though I absolve myself. It is a part of my life which I do not visit. I know it is there, but that which is connected to it.

E: Then you cannot live with yourself?

D: No. I don't want to scratch there. It doesn't bother me. Try and understand what I am saying. The other side of me; (2) I know I am this nice, peaceful, god-fearing father figure and I have very good qualities. It is very difficult in my mind to reconcile the two. How can I one day how can I be like this but also lead another life? It is as though I have a double life. And at a stage my double life came together and that is why I became sick. I could no longer separate the two.

I ask him to explain further:

E: ek weet nie of jy kan nie maar toe die twee goed bymekaar begin kom het wat [was die

D: [ek was aggressief die hele tyd. ek was kwaad. want want op 'n stadium kon ek die twee goed uitmekaar hou. ek praat van 'n game face. ek sou ek sou maklik kon afskakel van my een lewe, na my huwelikslewe toe. en met die uh een lewe het goed half klaar begin deurmekaar raak toe ek begin rondloop het. ek het eintlik basies in 'n groot mate die een lewe in die ander lewe in gebring. myself.

E: ja.

D: die tyd wat ek promisku opgetreë het en as gevolg van die van die van die van die aanrandings en die seermaak met die seksueel aktief begin raak het seksueel opgewek begin raak het het ek dit basies in een lewe ingebring. net om dit te besef. en dis daar waar ek nie meer kon, afsny nie. ek kon op 'n stadium van die werk af huis toe stap en tota:l tota:l soos in doef.

E: dit wat by die werk gebeur het daar gelos het.

D: daar gelos. dit het niks invloed op my huwelik gehad nie. ek was, vir die vier dae wat ek by die huis was sy kon nie moan nie. op 'n stadium het daardie gap al hoe kleiner begin raak al hoe kleiner begin raak. en veral met die alkohol gebruik het dit net um soveel vinniger kleiner geraak. op 'n stadium kon ek onderdruk met die alkohol.

E: ja

D: en toe die alkohol nie meer werk nie. toe ek my oë uitvee toe is die gap about sparkplug breedte.

E: en toe die twee bymekaar uitgekom het, verduidelik?

D: um. ek het sommer net gevlug. (2) nie spesifiek teen my vrou gemik nie. maar ek het mal geword. dit het my persoonlik mal gemaak. ek kon nie ek kon nie in die oë staar wat ek gedoen het. dis dis dis soos 'n {inaudible} dis soos in soos soos in spoke wat heeltyd jaag. ek het moeg begin raak. die slegte het baie oorheers oor die goeie. en ek het gedink aan al die vrouens wat ek gehad ek het gedink aan al die kak wat ek al drooggemaak het ek het gedink aan al die mense wat ek gejaag het ek het gedink aan al die goed wat ek oor gelieg het en.

E: en dan saam met die die behoefte om dit nog te doen.

D: heeltemal. dit het my, dit was sleg. ek het dit baie sleg ervaar. maar ek wou dit nog doen. ek dink dit was skrikwekkend was vir my in 'n groot mate ek sien al die goed ek dis half simpel om daarvan te hou maar ek wou dit nog steeds doen. dit di-dis 'n verskriklike snaakse manier om te beskryf dis baie moeilik om vir jou te verduidelik. [...] ek is eerlik ek sê reguit vir jou ek dink ek het 'n gesplete persoonlikheid. ek ek, ek kan nie alles wat in my lewe gebeur het bymekaar sit en een lewe lei nie. en wees wie ek is nie. ek is twee identiteite. eerste plek ek is 'n polisieman. dis 'n

identiteit op sy eie. intendeel my vrou weet nie eers, in watter matte ek 'n polisieman is nie. dis 'n als oorheersende drang in my. dit is. ek is eerlik dis 'n als oorheersende drang. en en aan die ander kant is, ek wil graag ek het die strewe daarna in my om hierdie (2) nice pa vir my kinders te wees. en 'n goeie man vir my vrou en, kerk toe te gaan, en en net 'n normale lewe te lei. wat ek seker vir 'n baie lang tyd seker moontlik dalk kon regkry. um nie regkry in die sense dat dit rêrig alles reg was nie maar ek kon die smoke screen op hou dat dit alles nice is. ek het baie vir myself gelieg ook. dat ek het gewet dinge is nie reg is nie. maar ek weet jy as ek die goeters vir iemand moet vertel wat my ken. hulle sal dink ek is fokken mal. hulle sal nie dink ek het ooit so iets gedoen nie.

E: dis gedeeltelik wat dit so moeilik maak nie.

D: dit is. want ek is die perfekte mens buitekant die polisie. intendeel in die polisie. daar is nie 'n ou in die polisie in my area wat my nie ken en my nie respekteer nie. maar hulle weet nie wat agter die skerms gebeur as ek 'n verdagte vat nie. hulle kry eventually hulle eiendom terug maar hulle weet nie wat ek doen om dit te kry nie.

***E:** I don't know if you can, but when the two things came together what [was the*

***D:** [I was aggressive the whole time. I was angry. Because at a stage I could keep the things separate. I speak of a game face. I could easily switch off my one life to my marriage life. And when things started getting confused with me wandering in the one life. To a large extent, I pulled one life into the other life myself.*

***E:** Yes.*

***D:** The time I acted promiscuously because of the assaults and the injuring with sexual activity, being sexually aroused, I brought it all into one life. Just to realise it. And I could no longer cut it off. I could, at a stage, walk home from work and totally, totally like in doof.*

***E:** And leave what happened at work there.*

***D:** Left it there. It had no impact on my marriage. The four days I was at home, she could not complain. At a stage that gap got smaller and*

smaller, much smaller. And especially the alcohol made it get smaller even faster. At a stage I could suppress it with alcohol.

E: *Yes.*

D: *And when the alcohol would no longer work, and I looked again and the gap was as big as with as sparkplug.*

E: *And when the two came together, explain?*

D: *Um, I fled. (2) Not directed at my wife, but I became mad. It made me mad. I could not, I could not look at what I had done. It, it, it was like a {inaudible} it was like ghosts chasing me the whole time. I became tired. The bad was much more powerful than the good. And I thought of all the women I had, I thought of all the shit I had done, and I thought of all the people I had chased and I thought of all the things I had lied about and*

E: *And the need to continue doing it.*

D: *Completely. It had, it was bad. I experienced it very badly, but I wanted to continue doing it. I think it frightened me to a large degree. I see all the this, I am half stupid to like it, but I still want to do it. It is a very strange way to explain it, it is very difficult to explain. [...] I am honest I tell you straight forwardly, I think I have a split personality. I, I, I can't put everything in my life and make one life of it. I can't be who I am. I have two identities. In the first instance I am a policeman. That is an identity on its own. My wife, does not even know to what extent I am a policeman, it is an all absorbing drive in me. It is. I am honest, it is an overwhelming drive. And, and on the other side, I badly want, I really want to be this nice father for my children, a good husband for my wife, and to go to church and live a normal life. For a long time I could do it. Not manage in that everything was really ok, but I could keep up the idea that it was ok. I often lied to myself as well. I knew things were not right, but I also know that if you told someone who knows me these things, they will think I am fucking crazy. They will not think I did these things.*

E: *That is part of what makes it difficult.*

D: *It is. I am the perfect person outside the police. In fact in the police. No one in the police in my area does not know and respect me. But they*

don't know what happens behind the scenes when I take a suspect. They get their property back, but they don't know what I do in order to get it.

Dawid takes some responsibility for allowing his two separate lives to intrude upon each other. He explained earlier that developing PTSD was one of the reasons he could no longer separate his lives. He indicates in the above section, that when he started having sexual relationships with various women after assaulting people that he brought his two lives together. He endangered his marriage and in so doing broke the separation between his two lives. The memories of the evil he had done intruded and overwhelmed him.

Charl also struggles with the sense of duality.

C: ja, maar kan jy jou menslikheid op daai oomblik verloor en en direk op 'n ander oomblik is jou menslikheid weer terug? hoe ho-o-e hoe kom dit bymekaar?

C: *Yes, but can you lose your humanity at that moment and at another stage, your humanity is back? How? How does it come together?*

Adriaan did not discuss the topic in detail, but explained that he became another person when entering the townships. The person he became looked for opportunities to harm people.

Scarry (1985, p. 48) comments that torture “split[s] the human being in two”; he becomes me and my body. The irony that the participants in this study have demonstrated is that the torturer, who initially was motivated by idealism, is also unmade. He has to reconstitute himself as evil me and good me.

Rage

The participants lost control of their aggression with suspects. This was one of the reasons that Charl decided he needed help. MacNair (2002b) noted that aggression appears to be one of the factors which typify perpetration induced traumatic stress.

E: op daai stadium het jy ook hierdie woede ervaar (4).

C: j-a-a, jou woede want anderste het jy mos nie so kwaad geword nie. hoe gaan jy? (2) partykeer het dit seker net gekom sommer om die werk klaar te kry soos met die werk. maar met die aanrandings en goeters.

E: was die woede deel daarvan?

C: ja dit moet daarby wees. selfs met die as hy nie wou jy het so kwaad geword vir hom. dat rêrig dat ek nie met my hande doodgemaak het nie, dis 'n wonderwerk {laughing}.

E: dit is.

C: rêrig. {laughing} ek het al baie daaraan gedink. as ek dink wat ek aan hulle gedoen het. jissie van hulle kon doodgegaan het.

E: daar is geen twyfel nie. dit was touch en go met van hulle {very seriously} (8).

C: {seriously} daarvoor sal ek altyd wonder. party van hulle het jy sommer uit die bussie gegooi. jy weet nie wat het verder met hom gebeur nie.

E: *At that stage, you also experienced rage? (4)*

C: *Yes. Rage, otherwise you wouldn't get so angry. How are you going to? (2) Sometimes it was there, probably just to finish the work, like with the work. But with the assaults and things.*

E: *Was rage part of that?*

C: *Yes, it had to be. Even with them, if he wouldn't, you wanted to, you got so angry with him. Really, that I did not kill someone with my bare hands, it is a miracle {laughing}.*

E: *It is.*

C: *Really {laughing}. I have often thought of it. When I think of what I did to them. Jeez, some of them could have died.*

E: *There is no doubt. With some of them it was touch and go {very seriously}. (8)*

C: *{seriously} I'll always wonder about it. Some of them you just threw out of the minibus. You don't know what happened to him.*

These comments of Charl are interesting. He does not fit the stereotype of a torturer who is unemotional in what he does (Crelinsten, 1995). Although he approached torture as a job, he did his job with considerable emotional investment. In fact, he fears that he will lose control of his rage and kill a suspect. As discussed earlier, the participants were and are often very aggressive.

They Harm Those They Love

The aggression and violence that was part of their enactment of hegemonic masculinity eventually became a problem. Charl began to crave violence and started looking for people to assault to satisfy his cravings. Adriaan explains that violence accompanies everything he does. Dawid found that he was more and more aggressive and violent to prove his worth as a man. The aggression they had engaged in, in order to dominate others began to dominate their lives. They all found that they could not trust themselves and realised that they could enact violent, uncontrolled behaviour.

D: dit pla my. ek is bang ek, raak een of ander, mo:nster. ek is bang ek raak hierdie, gesinsmoordenaar.

E: en dis omdat jy beheer verloor by tye of baie naby daaraan is.

D: exactly. ek wil dit, deurwerk en oor en uit en verby kry. want ek, is bewus daarvan baie kan doen as ek dit nie gaan deurwerk nie. dis my hartseer. ek is bang ek stap eendag in die straat en ek skiet 'n klomp mense dood. (2) verstaan wat ek try sê.

D: *It worries me. I am afraid I become some or other monster. I am afraid I become a family murderer.*

E: *And that is because you lose control at times, or very close to it.*

D: *Exactly. I want to work through it and get it over and done with. Because, I am aware much can happen if I don't work through it. It makes me sad. I am afraid I could walk down the street and shoot dead a lot of people. Understand what I am trying to say.*

E: Charl as jy dit vir my sê, dit klink vir my op 'n stadium het jy gevoel jy het nie meer beheer gehad nie?

C: partydae het ek nie beheer nie. want van die goed het ek heeltemal, ek black out. jy word so kwaad jy as jy reeds sien dan lê die ou en dis net bloed en goeters. en dit het gebeur, nie een keer nie. dis wat my bang gemaak het want jy gaan op op so 'n punt laat as jy wakker word dan lê daai ou daar, dis dit net bloed en dis net dan dink jy het ek dit gedoen? nou waar? dit maak my bang. want waar? wanneer gaan jy ophou? sê nou jy kan nie ophou nie.

E: *Charl when you say that, it sounds as though at a stage that you felt you no longer had control?*

C: *Sometimes I have no control. Some of the things, I fully, I blacked out. You get so angry and when you look again, the guy is already lying on the ground and there is just blood and stuff. And it didn't happen only once. That is what frightens me. At some stage you get to a point when you wake up and it is just blood. And you think, "Did I do that? What now?" It frightens me. What then? When will you stop? Say you can't stop.*

A: dis al manier wat ek ken om my. ek moet vuisslaan, of ek moet geslaan word, of dis die eerste ding wat opkom is die (2) en dat ek nie soos 'n normale mens miskien kan redeneer of iets nie (13). {very sad}

A: *The only thing I know, I must either hit someone or I must be hit. It is the first thing which comes up. I can't reason like a normal person. (13)*
{very sad}

A: ek het aangehou oor kak. ek wou die familie doodmaak. (11)

A: I carried on about shit. I wanted to kill the family. (11)

The participants all indicate that they lost control over their aggression. Both Adriaan and Dawid threatened to kill their families. Adriaan has hit his wife on a number of occasions. Charl says he was abusive towards his children. Various studies have indicated that substance abuse and PTSD are associated with increased domestic violence (e.g. Marshall et al., 2005; Parrott et al., 2003). Intimate partner violence has been linked to PTSD in military veterans and active duty servicemen (Marshall et al., 2005; Orcutt, King & King, 2003). It is with good reason that the participants fear themselves. They know what they are capable of; they have all tortured, they have all killed. They know they are capable of killing their families. Copelon (1994) suggests parallels between domestic violence and torture. Domestic violence is obviously not officially motivated and cannot comply with the formal definitions of torture (Sottas, 1998; United Nations High Commission for Human Rights, 1984). However, in terms of behaviour, there is often very little difference between torture and domestic violence.

Connell (2006) comments that male perpetrators of domestic violence often do not see their behaviour as deviant. Interestingly the participants in this study do not justify their behaviour, instead they take in a position that they do not have control, that their aggression “takes over”. They previously enjoyed the expression of aggression and the sense it gave of control over other people. They have moved from a position where they used aggression to solve problems, to one where they have no control over the aggression and they define themselves as controlled by aggression. In defining themselves as without control, they have medicalised their problem, they are sick. Charl explained that one of the reasons he went to see his general practitioner the first time was because he feared he would lose control of his aggression. Summerfield (2001) links the development of the diagnosis of PTSD with the discomfort of Vietnam veterans who accused of atrocities. They did what they did because they were sick, not bad.

Emotional Blunting

Whitaker (2000) suggests that suppressing emotional responses leads to suppressing empathy and leads to unquestioning obedience. The participants eventually describe an involuntary sense of emotional blunting. They found that they were unable to show emotion towards those they loved. Emotional blunting is a symptom of PTSD, but important in this study is how they position themselves in terms of it.

Kopel and Friedman (1997) in a study on the prevalence and nature of PTSD in policemen in the ISD found that almost 50 percent of officers could be diagnosed as having PTSD based on their scores on the Impact of Event Scale (Horowitz, Wilner & Alvarez, 1979). They found that the participants endorsed items on the avoidance subscale more frequently than intrusive symptoms. They postulated that their participants' macho image and acceptance of police culture which expects them to cope may have influenced the high endorsement of the avoidance subscale. They speculated that their participants' unwillingness to acknowledge intrusive imagery may also have been related to feelings of shame. Kopel and Friedman (1997) did not ask their participants about complicity in atrocities. They, however, suggested that because of the high Avoidance Scale results as well as high suicide rates in police at the time the results may have reflected complicity in atrocities.

The participants in this study explain that eventually they could deal with horrendous scenes, or torture people with no emotional reaction.

D: afgestomp gemaak. ek dink dis die regte woord. ek meen hoe kan jy iemand so ernstig aanrand en absoluut niks skuldig voel daarna nie?

E: dis mos nie normaal nie D.

D: daai tyd was dit normaal vir my gewees. ek is eerlik. ek het nie een nag slaaplose nagte gehad oor die kak wat ek gedoen het nie. nooit nooit hoor my lied nooit. my tonele het my nooit gepla nie.

D: *blunted me. I think that is the correct word. I mean, how can you assault someone so seriously and feel absolutely no guilt afterwards?*

E: *It is not normal, Dawid.*

D: *At the time it was normal for me. I am honest. I never lost one night's sleep because of the shit I did. Never, never, hear me, never. My scenes never bothered me.*

A: ek glo ek het deelgeword van die sisteem op die einde van die dag, want ek het niks gevoel vir nie:mand nie.

A: *I believe I became a part of the system eventually because I felt nothing for anyone.*

Adriaan connects his emotional blunting to becoming part of the apartheid security forces.

Charl spent considerable time exploring his emotional blunting which affected him at home:

C: en dit was ons elke dag se lewe. (4) nou kan jy so gevoelloos daar wees nou kom jy die aand by die huis en nou moet jy gevoel wys.

E: hoe?

C: jy kan nie. (8) jy stomp af. (8) {crying}.

C: *That is the way it was everyday. (4) Now you showed no feeling there, and then you'd get home in the evening and have to show emotion.*

E: How?

C: *You can't. (8) You are blunted. (8) {crying}*

C: ek weet nie. ek sit soos vanoggend ek sit en dink, ek is lief vir my kinders en daai en so aan maar partydae voel dit asof ek nie daai gevoel het nie. asof ek my heeltemal kan afsny né en sê ja jissie gee my nou net

'n breek dat ek nou net my gedagtes vir myself het. dan sny ek my heeltetal van alles af. daai gevoelloosheid. en ek wil dit nie voel nie.

C: I don't know. Like this morning, I was sitting and thinking, I love my children and so on, but sometimes it feels as though I don't experience it. As though I can cut myself off completely say, "Jeez, just give me a break, so that I can have my thoughts to myself." That lack of feeling. I don't want to feel it.

Charl is distressed because he cannot experience emotions at home. Adriaan explained how he struggled to demonstrate love to his mother or his wife.

Evil, a Monster and "Tampered Goods"

There are various views in the literature on shame and guilt and whether or not they refer to the same issues or not (Harder, 1995; Wicker, Payne & Morgan, 1983). Guilt and shame are both self-referent emotions. With both shame and guilt people believe that their behaviour does not measure up to the ideals they have set themselves (Fischer & Tangney, 1995; Tangney, 1995). These beliefs are formed in interpersonal relationships and relate to a cultural context (Fischer & Tangney, 1995; Tangney, 1995; Tangney & Mashek, 2004; Wallbott & Scherer, 1995).

The writers and researchers, who regard shame and guilt to be different, but related emotions, tend to regard shame as primarily concerned with how we have come to view ourselves, as people. Shame regulates human contact by using values and ideals, which include the state of someone's character. When ashamed, people feel the transgression is a reflection of a defective, objectionable self. People often report feeling diminished and unworthy; they feel exposed. Although there may not be an observing audience, there is often an imaginary audience observing how one appears. A single action is seen as the whole of the person's identity (Boonin, 1983; Fischer & Tangney, 1995; Lindsay-Hartz, de Rivera & Mascolo, 1995; Tangney, 1995).

Shame tends to sever interpersonal contact, because the shamed individual attempts to hide from others, and escape from the situation. Shamed people feel worthless and want to hide and get out of the interpersonal realm. Suicide can be interpreted as the final enacting of shame (Lindsay-Hartz et al., 1995).

Tangney (1995) describes guilt as less painful and devastating than shame, because it generally refers to a particular behaviour. Guilt does not affect the person's core identity, the self remains unified and intact. Lindsay-Hartz et al., (1995, p. 278) explain that in guilt "there is a violation of the moral order for which we take responsibility with our conviction that we could and should have done otherwise and that there then would have been no violation".

Human conduct is regulated by norms and rules (Boonin, 1983). Guilt tends to keep people actively engaged in the situation and attempt corrective action. The person feels alone, and needs forgiveness and attempts to right things (Lindsay-Hartz et al., 1995; Tangney, 1995). Baumeister, Stillwell and Heatherton (1995) contend that guilt serves to protect and strengthen interpersonal relationships. One of the functions they believe guilt has is to redistribute emotional distress by reducing the benefit of the transgressor. The transgressor's guilt may also make the victim feel better, partially because the transgressor is suffering for his misdeed and because it may indicate that the transgressor cares about the relationship. Baumeister et al. (1995) indicate that derogating a victim tends to minimise guilt. They found that people tended to feel guilty about offenses against esteemed others.

In the interviews with the participants it was often clear that they initially felt very little empathy for their victims. They were often, however, ashamed of their behaviour. Lindsay-Hartz et al. (1995) note that empathy is reduced when someone experiences shame. When ashamed one is focussed on the painful experience of a negative self and may not be thinking of others. Empathy is more common in people who feel guilty. Tangney (1995, p. 129)

refers to the difference between “other-orientated” and “self-orientated” empathy. Other-orientated empathy feels some of the other person’s experience and is accompanied by feelings of sympathy and concern for the other. The person is focussed on the other, not on his or her own empathetic experience. Self-orientated empathy has as a primary focus the experience of the empathiser. Other-orientated empathy is more related to altruistic behaviour than self-orientated empathy. The tendency in shame to avoid painful experiences moves the person away from other-orientated empathy. She links shame and self-orientated empathy and guilt and other-orientated empathy empirically.

Wicker et al. (1983) found that naïve subjects described shame as more incapacitating than guilt. They felt more control and more active when referring to guilt. Shame left them feeling weaker, helpless and under the control and scrutiny of others. They felt more like hiding than making restitution. They felt more alienated from others when ashamed and were as a result more competitive and had a greater need to punish others.

Articles or research focussing on shame or guilt developing from combat PTSD generally do not refer to perpetration as a possible cause for these emotions. The focus tends to be on survivor guilt (Creamer, & Forbes, 2004; Leskela et al., 2002; Wong & Cook, 1992). Henning and Frueh (1997) found that veterans mainly indicated that they felt guilt with regard to acts of commission and omission. They indicated less survivor guilt and guilt about thoughts and feelings during combat. Schnurr, Lunney and Sengupta (2004) in a multivariate analysis of risk factors for the development and maintenance of PTSD conclude that atrocity exposure predicts the maintenance, but not the development of PTSD. They suggest chronicity may be associated with shame.

The participants in this study experience both shame and guilt. They often refer to specific behaviours that they feel bad about. However, it goes further than guilt. They are ashamed of themselves. Adriaan on one

occasion told me that people such as McBride (convicted for the bombing of Magoos bar in 1986) were evil. Adriaan had been involved in the immediate aftermath of the bombing. He went on to say that he was also evil. This he supported by saying that he had loaded off ANC supporters in Inkatha areas; had fastened people to trees and lowered them into water; had used a stun gun to shock people genitally; drove around shooting people indiscriminately; shot people on a ridge as target practice; drove over people; experimented on how to kill people; taunted people in order to get a reaction, so that the police had reason to shoot, threw people off bridges (bungee without a rope). His horror was palpable when he told the stories. He clearly was ashamed of himself; he was evil because of what he had done.

Charl describes himself as a monster:

E: dit het so baie gebeur.

C: ja. (6) wie en wat is ek? ek wil nie daai monster wees nie. {crying} ek wil 'n goeie pa vir my kinders wees. (4) ek wil 'n goeie vriend wees vir iemand buite. ek wil eendag 'n vriendin ontmoet ek wil met haar oor die weg kan kom. ek wil met jou oor die weg kan kom, sonder om te dink, jissie ek gaan nou my kop gaan uithaak ek gaan dit doen, ek gaan dat doen. sonder om bang vir myself te wees.

E: want jy is.

C: ek weet wat ek kan doen. dis hoekom.

E: It happened so often.

C: Yes. (6). Who and what am I? I don't want to be that monster. {crying} I want to be a good father for my children. (4) I want to be a good friend for someone outside. I want to meet a woman one day and I want to get along with her. I want to get along with you, without thinking, Jeez I am going to lose my head and I am going to do this. I am going to do that. Without being afraid of myself.

E: Because you are.

C: *I know what I can do. That's why.*

We saw in Dawid's narrative, that he lost respect for himself after complicity in murders. I quote some of that exchange again:

D: ek het respek vir myself verloor. [...] ek is nie meer (3) rein nie. [...] weet jy ek haat myself. kom ek is eerlik met jou. ek haat my vir die dinge wat ek gedoen het. (2) ek kan myself nie vereenselwig met wat ek gedoen het nie. ek kan myself nie in die oë kyk en sê ok jy het fouteer vergewe jouself en gaan aan met jou lewe nie. ek kan myself vergewe. die Here het my vergewe. maar ek het my nie vergewe in die sense dat ek kan sê ek is nog veronderstel om 'n polisieman te wees nie. dis so goed jy maak 'n wolf skaapwagter. dis wat ek is. hoe kan ek mense gaan help as ek fokken hoeveel mense al leed aangedoen het? uit my eie vrye wil uit. omdat ek te sleg was om op te staan daarvoor. verstaan jy? hoe kan ek verwag mense moet my respekteer as ek eintlik myself nie meer respekteer nie? hoe kan jy my in 'n werk plaas waar ek mense moet oppas as ek hulle fokken aanrand? verstaan jy? {all said with sadness and difficulty} hoe kan ek myself in daai posisie plaas en sê ek is 'n goeie polisieman of ek is 'n professionel polisieman? 'n dokter gaan nie sy pasiente fokken skade doen vir die plesier daarvan nie. verstaan jy? dis die ergste.

E: dat

D: dit was plesierig. dit was vir my lekker. die ergste is dat ek sit nou self en vertel jou ek antwoord myself en sê ek kan nie meer 'n polisieman wees nie. nie na ek berou begin kry het oor wat ek gedoen het nie. as ek nog geen berou getoon het of niks geworry het of nie PTSV gekry het nie sou dit my nie gepla het nie. ek sou gesê het ek wil 'n polisieman wees. verstaan jy? ek dis wat my dis wat my dis wat eintlik my my my lus of my my energie om vir die polisie te werk wegvat.

E: because you spoilt it.

D: I've spoilt it. ek is nou tampered goods.

D: *I have lost respect for myself. [...] I am no longer pure. [...] You know, I hate myself. Let me be honest with you. I hate myself for what I have done. (2) I cannot reconcile myself to what I have done. I cannot look myself in the eye and say: "Ok, you have made a mistake, forgive yourself and go on with your life." I can forgive myself, God has forgiven me, but I cannot forgive myself in the sense of saying I am still meant to be a policeman. It is as good as making a wolf the shepherd. That is what I am. How can I go and help people if I have fucking harmed how many people? Out of my free choice because I was too fucking useless to stand up and be counted. Do you understand? How can I expect people to respect me if I no longer have respect for myself? How can I be placed in a job where I must protect people, if I fucking assault them? Do you understand? {all said with sadness and difficulty} How can I place myself in that position and say I am a good policeman or a professional policeman? A doctor doesn't fucking harm his patients for the pleasure of it. Do you understand? That is the worst.*

E: *That?*

D: *It was fun. I enjoyed it. The worst is that as I tell you I answer myself and say I cannot be a policeman any longer. Not after developing remorse around what I did. If I had shown no remorse, or didn't worry, or didn't develop PTSD, it would not have worried me. I would have said I still want to be a policeman. Do you understand? I think it's that which, it is actually that which drains my, my, my desire or energy to work for the police.*

E: *Because you spoilt it.*

D: *I've spoilt it. I am tampered goods.*

Dawid's English is generally good. He probably means damaged goods, but his use of tampered is much more descriptive than damaged would have been. Tampered implies that someone without authority has damaged something (South African Concise Oxford Dictionary, 2002). This often appears true to me, as they tell their stories; they were damaged and they

have damaged, without authority. He also, in this comment, indicates his responsibility in the damage he has incurred.

Dawid sees himself as fatally flawed. He has betrayed his profession. Recognising what he had done and what it says about him has drained his energy (Wicker et al., 1983) and makes it impossible to work as a policeman. His disappointment in himself is overwhelming; he is deeply ashamed of himself because he did not live up to his ideals. This, as discussed earlier, is one of the definitions of shame (Fischer & Tangney, 1995; Tangney, 1995). He describes a sense of being permanently damaged; it is not just behaviour that can be changed. He also feels guilty as he explains in the following section, but the real problem lies in what it reveals about him.

D: dit waarvoor ek en ek dink dis waaroor ek die skuldigste voel dit waarvoor ek gesê het ek sal opstaan en veg het ek toegelaat om te gebeur en ek het dit saamgedoen. en dis daar waar die fokop van daan kom.

***D:** That which I, and I think that is what I feel the most guilty about. I allowed that which I said I will stand up against and fight to happen and I participated. That is the fuck up.*

Charl has previously indicated that he does not always see torture as immoral. However, when he has tortured in order to gratify his own needs, he regards his behaviour as immoral. In these instances, and when he had enjoyed killing people, he is ashamed of himself. In this he draws from moral discourses on using others to satisfy oneself. Zimbardo (2007, p. 4) refers to “cupiditas” which means avarice, greed or power over others. It refers in part to the use of others in order to gratify the self, such as in rape or as Charl has explained in torture. Zimbardo refers to the work of Dante (1954) in the *Inferno*, where those guilty of cupiditas were frozen in Lake of Ice in the ninth circle for eternity. Kant (Smith, 2008) also emphasised the immorality of using someone else for one’s pleasure. This is known as the

Formula of Humanity and states: “Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of another, always at the same time as an end and never as a means” (Smith, 2008, pp. 173-174).

Charl is not immoral. He does, however, have an unconventional moral code. Dawid has also on occasion justified the use of torture. In the above excerpts Dawid also gives an indication that one of the aspects he is ashamed of is that he enjoyed torture. Charl at times expressed it as a loss of his humanity. Adriaan demonstrated extreme shame for who he became. On an occasion, unfortunately not recorded, I asked him why he cried all the time. He said it was because of what he had done, because of who he had become.

Isolated From Other People

Policemen do a job which is often isolating (Skolnick, 1994; Waddington, 1999/2005). They have to confront fellow citizens, not an enemy as the military does. Waddington (1999/2005) comments that the police in their everyday work routinely violate the normal rules of conduct in society. They have to act in a way that would be seen as an invasion of privacy and have to use force which a normal citizen may not use. This partially accounts for the closed community police form.

I previously discussed the solidarity in the police and the difficulties the participants had in talking about their experiences in the police to someone who does not share the police culture.

Their PTSD and their sense of disillusionment have often made it very difficult, if not impossible, for them to have contact with policemen. Adriaan explains in a letter to Ed (his friend who died):

Al wat die polisie gedoen het was om alles van ons weg te neem (bv. ons selfrespek) al wat ek vandag oor het in my is 'n bietjie hoop waaraan ek vas klou met 'n ongelooflike haat en wraak teen die polisie. Ek raak

skoon naar as ek naby 'n plek of persoon kom waarmee ek hulle dan identifiseer. Dit klink seker heeltemal bisar want jy weet dat ek geleef het vir my werk en om my medemens te kan dien en beskerm, maar glo my dit is alles waar.

All the police did was take away everything from us (e.g. our self respect) and all I have left today is a little bit of hope to which I clutch with an unbelievable hatred and sense of revenge against the police. I become nauseous whenever I am close to a place or person that I associate with the police. It probably sounds totally bizarre, because you know that I lived for my work and in order to serve and protect my fellow humans, but believe me, it is true.

With the development of PTSD, the camaraderie of being one of the boys has also been lost. Adriaan misses the contact terribly. He was contacted by mercenaries and considered joining them. He explains:

A: wat my bang maak is dat ek net wil oppak en fokkof en soontoe gaan. [...] net voel hoe dit voel om ja dis die ergste ding om weer te voel hoe is dit om saam met die familie te wees. (4)

A: *What frightens me, is I just want to pack it in, fuck off and go there. [...] Just to feel, to feel, yes that is the worst, to feel again how it is to be with the family. (4)*

Dawid explains he regards himself a threat for his colleagues as he does not know when he may run away out of fear instead of confronting a scene. This is an extremely shameful thought. He mentions the shame he experiences in the community:

D: ek voel skaam om by die werk te wees. ek is eerlik. ek voel skaam om in my uniform kafee toe te gaan. almal ken my. ek het nie 'n vuurwapen nie. almal weet ek was in die malhuis gewees. verstaan jy? dis 'n klein

gemeenskap. almal ken my. almal weet van my probleme. almal weet van alles wat in my lewe gebeur het. verstaan jy? in so 'n mate ek dink nie ek het meer ek dwing nie meer daai respek af by die mense nie. ek het nie meer daai respek nie.

D: I'm ashamed to be at work. I'm honest. I'm ashamed to go to the café in my uniform. Everyone knows me. I don't have a firearm. Everyone knows I was in the madhouse. Do you understand? Everyone knows about my problems. Everyone knows about everything that has happened in my life. Do you understand? I don't think I command respect from people. I don't have their respect.

Not being allowed a firearm when in uniform is degrading. It represents the loss of his autonomy. He knows, and his colleagues know, that he is not allowed a firearm because he has threatened with suicide and could harm others.

Adriaan explains how his experiences, which he cannot share, isolate him and prevent him from making friends with civilians.

A: ja um dit sal baie jy weet dit sal baie moeilik wees vir my om vir mense werklik want hulle was nie daar nie. mense sal dink dat ek strooi praat en ja daar is dinge wat ek nie graag oor wil praat nie. dis net hartseer.

A: Yes, um it will be very, you know it will be very difficult for me to tell people. They were not there. People will think I am talking rubbish. And there are things I don't want to talk about. It is just sad.

He struggles to relate to family and friends:

A: niemand kom kuier vir my nie. ek uh .ja. die enigste ou na wie ek toe gaan is my swaer. een swaer.

A: *No one visits me. I uh, yes, the only person I go to is my brother-in-law, one brother-in-law.*

I discussed the isolating nature of shame in the previous section. The participants experience isolation from family and friends as a result of their experiences. Their aggression has also alienated them from friends and family. In the following excerpt Charl indicated his awareness that if others knew what he had done, they would fear for his family's safety. His sense of shame is clear:

C: ja want die familie wou altyd hê ek moet vir hulle vertel. maar ek het want daar is nie 'n manier nie. hoe kan jy iemand vertel jy doen sulke goeters en nou sit jy by hulle. het twee pap babatjies nou doen jy sulke goed aan ander mense. joe dan haak jou kop by die huis uit dink hulle dalk jissie nou gaan jy dit met jou kinders doen of met iemand.

C: Yes, the family always wanted me to tell them, but I wouldn't. How can you tell someone what kind of things you are doing and now you are sitting with them. You have two small babies and you are doing things like this to other people. Then you lose it at home, and they think, jeez, you are going to do it to your children or to someone.

In the following excerpts Charl again indicates his shame and how it isolates him from other people.

C: jy moet jou afsny. jy kan nie meer inpas by ander mense. jy voel heeltemal eenkant. jy voel soos 'n uitgeworpene jy kan nie jou gedagtes deel met ander mense. hoe kan ek daar sit en vir iemand sê ek het vandag iemand in sy kop geskiet en dit en dit en ek het gelag daaroor. wat gaan ander mense van jou dink? jy kan dit nie met iemand deel nie. dis jouné en jy moet daarmee saam lewe.

C: *You have to cut off. You cannot fit in with other people. You feel completely isolated. You feel like an outcast. You cannot share your thoughts with other people. How can I sit there and tell someone I shot someone in his head today and this and that and I laughed about it. What will other people think of you? You cannot share it with anyone. It's yours and you have to live with it.*

E: hierdie gedagtes is vir jou baie ongemaklik.

C: ja dis nie ek meen hoe? nou moet ek weer op straat gaan loop. ek moet interaksie met mense hê. as hulle kon sien wat ek daar gedoen het. hulle sou saam met my op straat geloop het nie. geen mens sou met my op straat wou loop nie.

E: *These are very uncomfortable thoughts.*

C: *Yes, it's not, I mean, how? I must go on the street. I have to interact with people. If they could see what I had done there, they would not appear on the street with me. No one would appear on street with me.*

Charl has on occasion said that he did what he did for God and country, but in these excerpts he attempts no justification of his actions. He indicates clearly that he has, through his actions, made it impossible for him to relate to other people. He despises what he has become and believes that others will also despise him. Adriaan indicates the same sense of knowing that he will be judged:

A: ek vermy om 'n mens in die oë te kyk. (2) as ek praat dan kyk ek hier. en uh, ek weet nie hoekom nie. (6) en uh (2) ek weet nie, miskien minderwaardig, aan 'n minderwaardigheidskompleks ly. (2) as jy iemand ontmoet, dis asof jy dadelik dink die ou gaan jou veroordeel oor iets jy weet en dan deins jy weg van dit af.

A: *I avoid looking at people in the eye. When I talk I look away. And, uh, I don't know why. (6) And uh I don't know, maybe I feel inferior, have an*

inferiority complex. When you meet someone, it is as though you immediately feel the guy is going to judge you about something you know and then you shy away.

The need to hide and the feeling of being diminished described in the literature on shame (e.g. Boonin, 1983; Fischer & Tangney, 1995; Lindsay-Hartz et al., 1995; Tangney, 1995) is echoed by the participants. Charl and Dawid explain in the following two excerpts that they feared rejection by people:

C: so daar was tog so in 'n mate het ek gedink daaraan jissie hulle gaan jou verwerp oor wat hier in jou kop aangaan. die manier hoe jy optree. en daai goeters.

C: *So there in a way I thought about it jeez they are going to reject you about what is happening in your head. The way you act. And things like that.*

D: dis die fokop. is moeilik om te verduidelik hoe ek goed bymekaar sit in my kop. ek verwag ok bo en behalwe dat ek my self verwerp in 'n groot mate het ek verwag dat iemand soos jy wat my hele lewensverhaal luister
E: dat ek jou gaan verwerp.

D: ja. en dat iemand soos my ma-hulle of iemand soos my vrou wat die nou die werklike toedrag van sake ken sal my verwerp en dit gebeur nie.

D: *That is the fuck up. It is difficult to explain how I put it together in my head. I expect, ok, apart from the fact that I reject myself I expected someone like you who has listened to my whole life story*

E: *That I will reject you?*

D: *Yes, and that my parents and my wife who know what happened will reject me. It has not happened.*

On occasion the participants have experienced rejection. Adriaan, in particular, has been rejected by his step-father who believed that he was lazy and did not want to work.

Tangney (1995) suggests that because shame involves the sense of exposure and disapproval from others self-directed hostility may be directed towards others. This can result in defensive and retaliatory anger. She cites Lewis (1971) who suggests that other-directed hostility may be an attempt at regaining agency and control. Karner (1998) with reference to Vietnam veterans comments that some men felt that they were cowards and unmanly for not being able to shoot. The sense of shame they experienced appears to have played a role in their raising their level of brutality. Adriaan never relates his aggression to the shame he experiences, but in the light of research relating aggression to shame it is possible that his shame plays a role in his aggression. Dawid confirmed that once he was an accessory to murder that he became much more violent in an effort to prove he was a good policeman. I am not aware of any research that examines the effect of an initial experience of shame and its role in the committing of atrocities. It may be a useful area to explore in future research.

Separated From God

I discussed the fact that the Afrikaans churches supported apartheid in Chapter 2. They recanted their support of apartheid towards the end of the TRC (Downes, 1997, November 19). Wallbott and Scherer (1995) investigated the experiences of shame and guilt in 37 countries. They found that people in collectivist cultures had fewer negative influences on their self-esteem and on relationships than in individualistic cultures. They found that respondents in countries which they described as subscribing to a “white, Anglo-Saxon/Nordic” way of living or sharing the “Protestant ethic” appeared to “mingle each self-reflexive emotion with guilt” (Wallbott & Scherer, 1995, p. 482). This would appear to imply that the discourses circulating in these religious communities increase the risk for experiencing guilt. The participants come from white, Protestant backgrounds and in particular

Adriaan devoted considerable time in his narrative to the effect on him of the Afrikaans churches' support and later recanting of apartheid.

The sense of isolation that the participants in this study experience has extended to a belief that they are separated from God. Adriaan's Christian beliefs and involvement in the church has to a large extent defined him; it was a reason for his involvement in the police and a motivating reason for committing atrocities. He is very angry with his fellow Christians who supported apartheid and apparently now decry it. He expresses his anger and disappointment in the following two excerpts:

A: ek vind dit baie moeilik om myself, om met hulle te kan praat daaroor. en uh dis seker waarom ek moeilik vind met die kerk die kerk met die ou fuck dit.

A: I find it very difficult to, to talk to them about it. And that is probably why I find it difficult with the church, the church with the old fuck it.

A: ek sê hulle vandag verwag julle van my ek moet in 'n kerk gaan sit waar julle sit. waar julle nie honderd jaar gelede apartheid goedgepraat het in die kerk. vandag sing julle 'n ander psalm. hoe de hel nou? (9) ek verlang na die kerk. ek wil die Here dien, maar dis 'n kwessie, van uh ek ek kan nie hom dien as ek tussen sulke mense sit. klomp huigelaars. [...] maar daar is nog veral in die kerk, al probeer hulle dit wegsteek, is daar nog steeds apartheid. hulle wil nog steeds, aan daai ou bietjie wat nog oor is hang en dit tolerate ek sal ek nooit tolerate nie.

A: I said to them, you expect that I will sit in a church with you in a church today. Not a hundred years ago, you defended apartheid in the church. Today you sing from a different hymn sheet. What the hell does this mean? I long for the church, I want to serve the Lord, but it is a question of how can I serve him between such a bunch of hypocrites? [...] There are those that are for it, but especially in the church, even if they try and

hide it apartheid still exists. They want to preserve that bit that is left over and I won't tolerate it.

Both Adriaan and Dawid grew up as Christians and align themselves with Christianity. Adriaan feels that he can never be forgiven for what he has done. Dawid believes God has possibly forgiven him, but his sense of guilt overwhelms that belief:

A: die groot ding is om {crying} (9) ek word verlos van hierdie crap, en word vergewe deur die Here, natuurlik. {sobbing} (36) dis goed waarmee ons elke dag moet saamleef. dit sal nie weggaan, weet jy? (4) maar ek dink 'n ou wat met hierdie probleem sit, as hy (5) vrede, kan kry by die Here in sy geestelike lewe gaan dit 'n groot plus wees want 'n ou smag daarna.

A: *The big thing is to {crying} be released from this crap and forgiven by God. {Sobbing} (36). This we have to live with every day. You know it will not go away? But I think that a person with the problem, if he can get peace with God, it would help enormously, one longs for it.*

D: dis bitter swaar. ek is eerlik. dis maklik ek staan op my knieë en ek sê vir die Here vergewe my. en hy vergewe my. en ek weet hy vergewe my. maar om jousef te vergewe.

D: *It is extremely difficult. I am honest. It's easy. I get on my knees and I say: "Forgive me Lord." And he forgives me. I know he forgives me. But to forgive yourself.*

D: ek het (2) weereens vergifnis gaan vra. want ek het daar is tog 'n salwing asof iets iets bonatuurliks jou aan die kop gevryf het en vir jou sê weet jy wat jy is nie rêrig alleen nie. ek is by jou. maar dit hou net tot Sondagaand toe of tot Maandagoggend.

D: I went and asked for forgiveness again. Because I, there is an anointing, as though something supernatural rubs you on your head and says, "You know you are not really alone. I'm with you." But that only lasts to Sunday evening or Monday morning.

Charl talks very little about religion. One of the very few statements he made was the following:

E: dis ongelooflik moeilik om vrede met die goed te kry.

C: dit is. ek dink dis hoekom ek probleme met my godsdiens en goeters het. dit is nie (5) hoe gaan ek ooit daarmee vrede maak? hoe gaan ek ooit vir my hoe kan ek dit vir my regverdig? dis waarom ek dink dis waarom dit vir my gaan.

E: Charl ek dink nie 'n mens kan dit ooit regverdig nie.

C: maar hoekom het ek dit gedoen? [...] ek dink ek sou meer emosie getoon het as ek 'n rooibok of 'n koedoe geskiet het. op daai tydstip. (4) slegter gevoel het daarvoor as toe ek hulle geskiet het.

E: It is extremely difficult to make peace with this stuff.

C: It is. I think that is why I have problems with religion and so on. It is not (5) how am I ever going to make peace with it? How am I ever going to, how am I going to justify it? I think that is what it is about for me.

E: Charl, I don't think it can ever be justified.

C: But why did I do it? [...] I think I would have shown more emotion if I had shot an impala or a kudu. At that time. (4) Felt worse than when I shot them.

I took it a bit further and he indicates his shame:

E: jy het netnou van godsdiens gepraat. kom ons veronderstel God is daar. hoe sal hy oor jou voel?

C: nee dis-s ek meen dis-s moord. dis een van die oortredings van die tien gebooie daai. jy mag nie iemand se lewe neem nie. daar is nie

regverdigingsgrond laat dit-t-t daai daai d-d-dit was plein weg vir die plesier gewees. dis-s-s

E: dis ongelooflik moeillik né?

***E:** You spoke of religion earlier. Let us assume God exists. How do you think he feels about you?*

***C:** No, that's-s, I mean that's-s murder. It goes against the ten commandments. You may not take someone's life. There is no justification. Let it-t-t, that that it-t-t was only done for the pleasure of it. It's-s...*

***E:** It is very difficult isn't it?*

Charl is again indicating that he views the torture and killing he engaged in for pleasure as immoral.

As is clear from the above and from their narratives, various reasons underlie the alienation they experience. Adriaan describes intense disappointment, in Afrikaners, the church and the police, which have led to him withdrawing from others. He has also explained that he feels shame with regard to whites for his involvement in the atrocities committed in the townships. His questioning of motives and different views on politics has increased his sense of alienation. Charl explains how his involvement in torture and murder, as well as his overwhelming craving for blood has resulted in alienation. Dawid's feeling of isolation has mainly been as a result of his disappointment in himself. They have all experienced the shame of developing PTSD and not being able to cope with the work (Stone, 1992). Scarry (1985, p. 35) comments that for the victim of torture "word, self, and voice are lost, through the intense pain of torture". For the torturer, it would appear the same is lost. He cannot join others who do not torture; he has through his actions isolated himself from humanity. He has lost the self he knew and his language is often fragmented, lost through trauma.

Metanoia

The South African Concise Oxford Dictionary (2002) defines metanoia as a: “change in one’s way of life resulting from penitence or spiritual conversion.”

Subsumed in the major theme of “Metanoia”, represented in Figure 11.5, I identified the following organising themes:

- o responsible for atrocities;
- o questioning committing atrocities; and
- o confession.

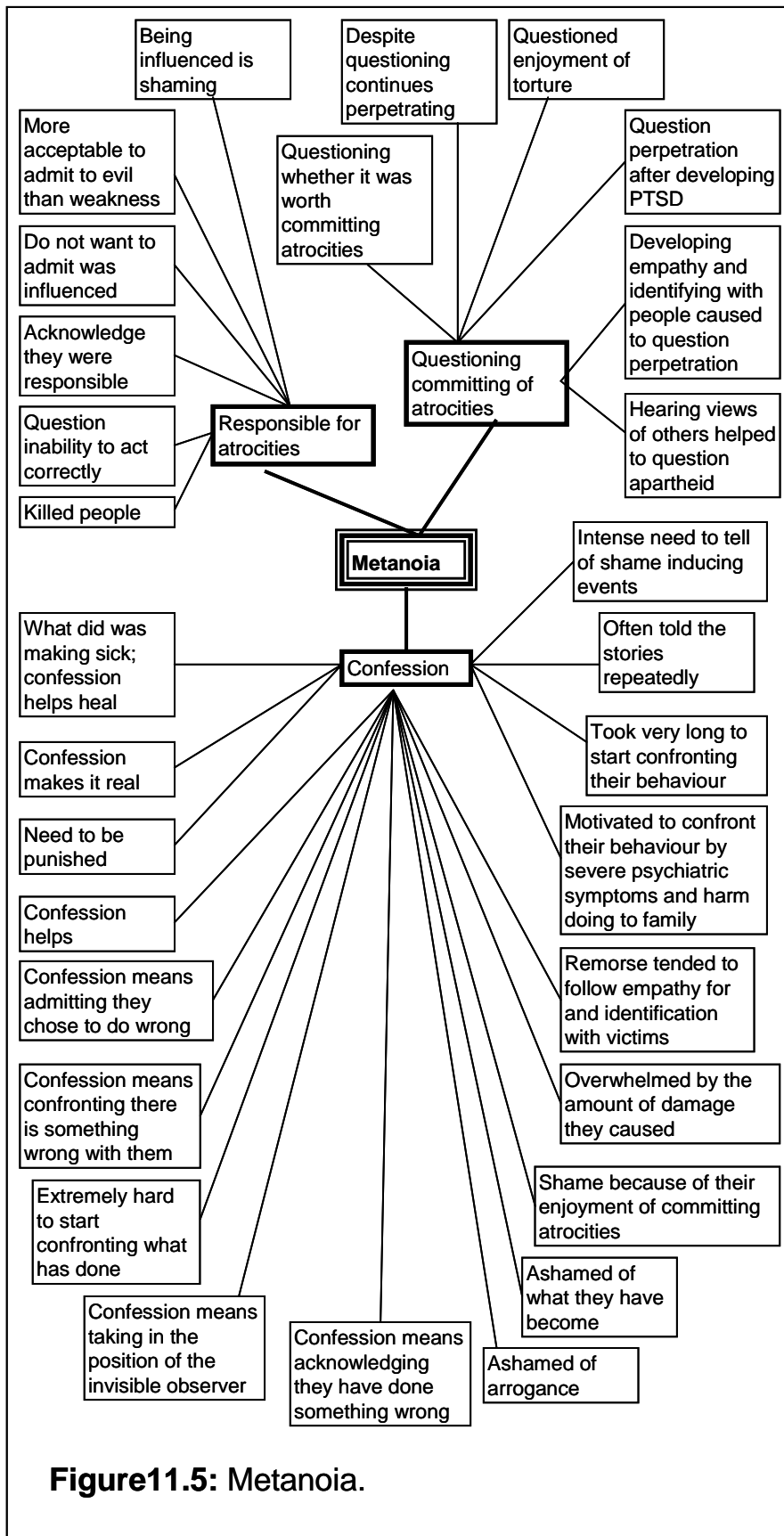


Figure11.5: Metanoia.

Responsible For Atrocities

The participants never denied that they tortured. In this, as I discussed in Chapter 3, they differed from their political leaders and the management of the police. I also noted that it is difficult to obtain perpetrator accounts. Huggins et al. (2002) found although they had evidence that their participants had tortured or killed, that only one out of twenty three admitted having committed atrocities himself. In this study the participants chose not to deny their responsibility for torture and murder. As I have noted they also never claimed that they had been ordered to commit atrocities, which has been a common defence (Arendt, 1964). Adriaan believes the apartheid government, the church and society influenced him, but he still accepts that he is responsible for atrocities he committed. Charl and David recognise the impact their training and the propaganda they were exposed to had on them, but they are careful not to blame the previous government or the police for what they did.

They describe themselves as responsible for torture and murder. Adriaan puts it:

A: ah Elaine jy weet um (4) omrede ons het sekere goed gaan doen, ek meen ons het mense ek kan sê ek het mense doodgemaak. en hoekom kon ek nie my kop volg daai tyd nie? dis mos verkeerd jy weet. jy sal nie ongestraf bly nie.

A: *Oh Elaine, you know, because we did certain things. I mean we, I can say I killed people. Why could I not follow my own head at that time? It was wrong, you know this. You will not remain unpunished.*

Charl says it directly in the following excerpt, refusing any option of not taking responsibility.

C: hulle was nie die probleem nie, ons was die probleem, ek was die probleem.

E: Charl, ja, maar ek wil sê dit was wyer as dit, ek dink ons almal in Suid Afrika was die probleem.

C: ja, maar julle het nie gedoen wat ek gedoen het nie.

C: *They weren't the problem, we were the problem. I was the problem.*

E: *Charl, yes, but I want to add it was wider than that, I think all of us in South Africa were the problem.*

C: *Yes, but you did not do what I did.*

Adriaan holds himself responsible for not standing up against the authority figures of the time. Charl blames himself for using and manipulating the system in order to commit atrocities. A question I had to consider was why they positioned themselves as torturers and murderers and did not deny their involvement. Dawid explains in the following excerpt why he has to accept responsibility for what he has done:

D: ek kan dit nie regverdig nie.

E: ek gaan nie met jou daaroor baklei nie. jy sit met die gemors. of jy gaan sê ek is verantwoordelik vir wat ek gedoen het of jy sê ek het my (3)
[ek het

D: [dis die probleem ek dink dis waar ek vashaak.

E: [oorgegee en ek is beïnvloed deur ander mense.

D: jy sien ek wil nie sê ek is beïnvloed nie.

D: *I cannot justify it.*

E: *I can't argue with you about that. You have the mess; either you say, "I am responsible for what I did" or you say (3) ["I gave*

D: *[that is the problem. I think this is where I am getting stuck.*

E: *in and I was influenced by other people."*

D: *You see, I don't want to say I was influenced.*

For Dawid, it is more acceptable to say he did evil things than it is to say he was weak. For Adriaan, the thought that he could not stand up against that which was morally wrong, but went along with the expectations of the authorities is perpetually shaming. Charl finds it extremely difficult to accept that he may be a product of a society, and would rather say he is solely responsible for what he has done.

The dialogue of being influenced, weak and a coward, does not fit in with proud cultural beliefs of autonomy and bravely fighting for those you love. The role of a soldier or a policeman is so infused with physical bravery, hegemonic masculinity and the cause is greater than the person, that in particular Charl and Dawid were not able to see that they were obedient, non-thinking servants of the apartheid state. Adriaan, in his narrative, indicates his realisation of how they were used and his intense disappointment and disillusionment in authority figures and himself.

Zimbardo (2004) comments that when torturers are tried, generally after the collapse of the torturing system they focus on the external consequences of disobedience. The participants in this study did indicate that there was much pressure on them to participate in atrocities. They took responsibility for what they did, and were angry with and disappointed in themselves for not taking a stand against the authorities. Bowman and Yehuda (2004) note various factors which provide buffers against PTSD. One of the most important appears to be locus of control (Rotter, 1966). The participants' tendency to take responsibility for their behaviour may indicate a good prognosis.

A psychotherapeutic discourse which is embedded in Western culture insists that it is necessary to talk openly in order to overcome emotional problems (Harrington, 2008; Summerfield, 2002, 2004). Summerfield (2004) also notes that the medicalisation of life uses ideas about illness and disease to make sense of everyday experience. A well-known discourse as every alcoholic knows (and the participants are all alcoholics) is that admitting you

have a problem is the first step on the road to recovery. A cultural discourse informs them that if they want to recover they have to speak openly and take responsibility for what they have done.

In the social constructionist view of the joint creation of discourses, I am partially responsible for the participants' willingness to tell their stories as they have (Murray, 2000). There are a number of factors in our relationships which I think have made it possible for them to tell their stories. They recognise that I do not judge them. I and they have developed relationships over a long period of time and I have not come in solely as a curious researcher who studies them as some aberration. I think my being in a mixed race marriage also plays a role. They are all remorseful and in need of absolution. In some ways I probably represent someone who has managed to find ways of co-existing with other races. But, in sharing a white culture with them, they may presume that I can identify with them.

Questioning Committing Atrocities

Although the participants sound confident of their motivation for torture at times, they indicate that they sometimes questioned their behaviour. Charl explains:

C: maar party dae het ek gedink is dit die moeite werd? hoekom doen ek dit? (4) maar dan môre het ek dieselfde weer gaan doen. (5) ek dink ons was skape, soos 'n skaap weet waar is die drinkgat hy loop elke dag terug. as jy daardie drinkgat tien meter skuif sal hy nie die drinkgat kry nie. dit is hoe ons is. soos 'n donkie, dommer as donkies. 'n donkie stamp sy kop eenkeer. hoeveel keer het ek my kop gestamp?

C: *But some days I questioned it. I wondered, "Is it worth it? Why am I doing it?" (4) But then, tomorrow, I do the same thing again. (5) I think we were like sheep; a sheep knows where the drinking hole is, he walks to it everyday. He won't find it if you move it ten metres. That is what we are*

like. Like donkeys, more stupid than donkeys. A donkey bumps his head once. How many times did I bump my head?

Charl indicated that for him the questioning was centred on his enjoyment of torture and his fear that he would lose all remnants of control he still had. Dawid indicated that he only started questioning torture when he developed PTSD. He does acknowledge that he always knew it was wrong but chose not to think about what he was doing. He suppressed knowledge of the murders until he almost forgot they had taken place. Adriaan explained that numerous experiences caused him to start questioning his behaviour. Adriaan explained that he had spoken to people from different parties and found that he agreed more with more liberal parties:

A: was dat (2) um politiek het begin 'n groot rol speel in die sin dat jy eintlik het 'n DA groep gekry het wat op 'n sekere skof gewerk het. hulle het en uh-uh anderste was daar onmin tussen die ouens, mekaar vuisslaan. later is ons so uitgespaseer (hhh) dat jy AWB groepe gehad, die DA groepe gehad wat nou heeltemal heeltemal nou links was, en natuurlik die NP. en uh en ek het ook begin agterkom die DA, ek het meer begin, ek kon meer met die ouens praat want hulle was eintlik um ouens-s wat geweet het waarvan hulle praat.

A: *And politics began to play a large role. You began to find a DA (he probably means DP) group which worked a particular shift. Otherwise there was conflict between the guys, they would hit one another. Later we were separated {laughs} that you had AWB groups, the DA groups who were leftist and the NP. I began to realise that the DA, I began to, I could speak more to the them, they knew what they were talking about.*

Confession

Fischer and Tangney (1995) refer to the work of Shaver, Wu and Schwartz (1992) who asked people in the USA, China and Italy to group emotion words according to similarities and differences. When the categorisations for

each country were analysed by hierarchical cluster analysis it was found that the Italian and USA samples did not have a separate cluster for shame (including guilt, embarrassment, regret) whereas the Chinese group did. Five basic families of emotions (anger, sadness, fear, love and happiness) were common across all three countries. It appears that Western countries do not place these emotions on the same level as the other emotional groups.

Boonin (1983) comments that there are socially prescribed rituals for overcoming guilt, for example: confession, forgiveness, restitution and punishment. In shame one has failed one's self, one's innermost valuation of one's own being, and there are no socially prescribed rituals for overcoming shame. Shame is linked to various pathologies (Harder, 1995; Tangney et al., 1995) including PTSD (Leskela et al., 2002; Wong & Cook, 1992). Tangney et al. (1995) note that guilt becomes maladaptive when it becomes fused with shame. In Western society, shame appears to be an uncomfortable emotion to confront. Tangney et al. (1995) suggest that verbalisations may help clients to re-evaluate the global nature of the shame-eliciting episode. The acceptance and understanding by the therapist can also help, as does evaluating irrational beliefs.

Harrington (2008) traces the discourse of confession in Western society. Christian tradition emphasizes that the first step in healing is confession: "So then, confess your sins to one another and pray for one another, so that you will be healed" (James 5:16). Confession, absolution and penance are established rituals in the Roman Catholic Church. Harrington also discusses the story of Breuer's patient Anna O. She reports that the case study was falsified to disguise the fact that she did not recover under Breuer. But, critically, the discourse was established: Bad memories cause symptoms in the body, which can only be resolved by remembering, telling the story and acknowledging the feelings associated with the memory. After that has happened, the body no longer needs function as a "mute narrator" (Harrington, 2008, p. 75).

The participants eventually made contact with me through confession. They all indicated an intense need, once the possibility was created, to talk about what they had done. As I have previously indicated, they would often return to the same incident or the shame provoking thought.

I noted in Chapter 8 that it took the participants very long before they could confront their shame in themselves. This confirms the views of Tangney (1995) that shamed people want to withdraw and hide. They were motivated to start confronting their behaviour because of severe psychiatric symptoms and because of the harm they were doing to their families. This was an area in which it was relatively easy to have empathy with them, and they were willing to discuss their shame openly. Charl especially, was extremely aware of the damage his alcohol abuse had on his children.

C: dit gaan vir my daaroor ek en my twee kinders ons moet ook 'n lewe kan hê, ons moet rustig kan aangaan, pa moenie altyd gesuip wees nie. {crying} ek is so spyt daaroor ook. (11)

C: *For me, it is about me and my two children, we must be able to live. We must be able to continue in peace. Dad must not always be drunk. {crying} I am so sorry. (11)*

The participants could all eventually admit that they felt remorse for the harm they had done others. Charl explains:

C: ek voel sleg oor wat ek gedoen het want hoeveel van daai mense het jy eintlik te nagekom. hoe het hulle hulle lewens herstel nadat jy met hulle klaar is? wat doen hulle wat het hulle gedoen as na alles wat jy aan hulle gedoen het?

E: ons weet nie op die stadium nie.

C: ja ek sal nooit weet nie. drie kwart van die goed sal ek nie by kan uitkom nie.

C: *I feel bad about what I did because how many of those people did you harm? How did they put their lives together again once you had finished with them? What do they do, what did they do after everything you did to them?*

E: *We don't know at this stage.*

C: *Yes, I'll never know. I won't get to three quarters of the stuff.*

In this excerpt Charl indicates empathy with his victims. He experiences the harm he has done as overwhelming. This is very different when contrasted with his initial pleasure in the efficiency of his minibus as discussed in Chapter 5.

For Charl, guilt about incidents is also often interwoven with shame for how he acted, and what it says about him. The following incident is one he often mentions and I have previously quoted sections in which he referred to the incident. The child concerned was extremely severely injured by Charl and his colleagues and was close to death when they dumped him at the closest police station.

E: oor watter ander goed het jy berou?

C: ag ek weet nie. as ek praat so sal ek daaraan dink. die manier hoe ek partykeer hulle behandel het. want dit is tog nie goed nie. jissie 'n vyftienjarige ok hy was verkeerd hy dra twee pistole dis my regverdiging. dit vang my ook. laat 'n hond hom in die gesig byt hy is toe klaar gearrester sy hande is geboei alles laat 'n hond hom in die gesig byt en sulke goeters. dit was 'n grap daai tyd gewees. maar op die einde as jy daaroor sit en dink jissie as iemand dit met my kind doen ek sal van my kop afraak ek sal hulle vrek maak. rêrig ek sal hulle vrek maak. maak nie saak hoe verkeerd my kind ook al was.

E: mens weet dis verkeerd om dit te doen.

C: dit regverdig nie wat ons daar gedoen het nie hom rondskop daar tot hy half dood was en dan laai jy hom net af en sê vir swart polisiemanne

laat hulle hom dokter en jy ry en jy ry en jy gaan aan asof niks gebeur het nie. maar later moet jy tog gaan sit en jy moet tog dink want jissie dis nie menslik daai nie.

E: *For what things do you have remorse?*

C: *Oh I don't know. When I talk like this I think about it. The way I sometimes treated them. Because it was not good. Jeez, a fifteen year old. Ok, he was wrong, he carried two pistols; that was how I justified it. It caught me as well. Let a dog bite him in the face. He was arrested already, his hands were cuffed, all that, let a dog bite him in the face, and things like that. It was a joke at the time. But, eventually if you think about it and think, "Jeez, if someone did that to my child, I would have gone off my head. I would have killed them." Really I would kill them. It did not matter how wrong my child was.*

E: *One knows it is wrong to do it.*

C: *What we did is not justified. We kicked him around until he was almost dead and then you just load him off and say to black policemen, "Let them doctor him." And you drive and drive and you go on as if nothing has happened. But later you have to go and sit and think because it was not humane.*

Confession means acknowledging that you have done something wrong. It means that the participants had to take in the position of the imagined other and observe and comment on their behaviour. They had to confront their shame. In the following excerpt Dawid starts confronting how he feels about himself:

D: weet jy ek kan vir jou sê hoe ek voel. ek kan nie vir ander polisieman sê ek voel sleg daaroor nie. ek dink in 'n groot mate ek is eerlik met jou ek dink na dat 'n ou dit doen voel jy tog sleg. jy is net te bang om dit even aan jouself te erken. want want erken jy dit dan beteken dit jy het iets verkeerd gedoen.

E: °en?°

D: en erken jy dit maak dit van jou 'n kakker slegter polisieman want jy is nie meer hierdie ou wat goed doen soos jy moet nie. jy wil nie erken hoekom jy sleg voel nie want dan weet jy jy het iets verkeerd gedoen. mens voel net sleg oor goed wat jy verkeerd doen. {laughs} dit maak nogal sin né?

E: ja.

D: hoekom dink jy bêre 'n ou dit?

E: ek dink dit is waarom 'n mens dit doen. en dit vat geweldig guts om die dag te sit en te sê=

D: jy het dit gedoen en jy voel sleg daarvoor. ja. {laughs} dit doen. dis nie 'n maklike ding om te vertel.

E: dis vrek moeilik.

***D:** I can tell you how I feel. I cannot tell other policemen I feel bad about it. I think I am honest with you to a large extent, and I think one feels bad when you do it. You are just too afraid to admit it to yourself. Because you admit that it means that you did something wrong.*

***E:** And {quietly}?*

***D:** And admit that it makes you a shit, bad policeman, because you are no longer this man who does good like you should. You don't want to admit why you feel bad, because then you know you have done something wrong. One only feels bad about things you have done wrong. {laughs} It makes sense, doesn't it?*

***E:** Yes.*

***D:** Why do you think you bury it?*

***E:** I think because of what you have said. And it takes enormous guts the day to sit and say=*

***D:** you have done it and you feel terrible about it. Yes. {laughs} It does. It is not an easy thing to tell.*

***E:** it is extremely hard.*

Confession eventually results in not only recognising that they may have done something wrong, but that there is something wrong with them. Charl explains how hard it is to start confronting his pleasure in torture:

C: ek voel nie lekker nie. want ho-oe nou moet ek erken jissie iets is nie lekker hier binne in my nie. ek wil dit nie erken nie, want dis nie die norm in die lewe om so te reageer nie. daai, ek wil dit nie erken nie want dis nie normaal nie. dit voel vir my asof dit nie normaal is nie. hoekom hoekom is ek so? wat het dit veroorsaak? waar kom dit vandaan? hoekom? iewers moet daar 'n rede wees tog. want in die begin was was dit was werk gewees, hoe kan werk verander in 'n plesier?

***C:** I don't feel good. Because I have to admit jeez, something is not healthy in me. I don't want to admit it. It isn't normal to react like this. I don't want to admit it because it is not normal. It feels as though something is not normal. Why, why am I like this? What caused it? Where does it come from? Why? Somewhere there must be a reason. In the beginning it was work. How can work become pleasurable?*

As the participants told their stories they could eventually confront what their behaviour said about them; who they had become. Confronting who they had become is extremely difficult. In the following excerpt Charl withdraws and I have to insist that he makes contact with me. He does not focus on the images related to scene which give him pleasure, or his guilt in what he has caused, but instead he focuses on what it means about him. He had written his thoughts down, prior to this exchange and is referring to those thoughts:

E: ek sien jy het baie swaar. dit is vir jou baie swaar. (18) dis vir jou baie moeilik. ek het die gevoel dwarsdeur jy kry swaar.

C: {nods, crying, 8}

E: wat voel jy? (13)

C: {crying}

E: Charl wat voel jy? (10)

C: {crying} sleg. watse mens het ek geword? dis wat my pla. (4) ek was tog nie altyd so nie. (6)

E: dit het baie uit jou gevat om die goed neer te skryf het dit nie? (8)

C: {nods, crying} om te sê jy het so 'n mens geword, dit vat baie. (2) want dit laat jou dink aan al die tot wat is jy in staat? wat kan jy doen? wat gaan jy doen? hoe:? dit maak jou negatief oor jousef.

E: dat jy nie van jousef hou nie.

C: watter mens sal van jousef hou as jy so is? (5) dat jy aan sulke goed moet dink om jousef plesier in die lewe te verskaf.

E: dan weet jy daar is groot fout.

C: {nods} hoekom moet ek daaraan dink?

E: vanoggend se gesprek is op 'n manier 'n bietjie anders. help my dit verstaan. baie keer as jy van sulke goed praat, gee dit jou plesier, maar vanoggend ontstel dit jou.

C: ja ek wil weet hoekom het ek so geword. watse mens is ek? hoekom?

E: so jy kom verby die toneel waaraan jy dink.

C: ek kom verby die toneel. ek kyk na myself. dit dit. rêrig ek voel nie goed oor myself nie.

E: jy hou nie van jousef nie. jy weet jy het baie guts, né?

C: {crying} ek weet nie of dit guts is nie. (7) watse bestaansreg het ek? omdat ek so is. (5)

E: Charl as jy net dit was, sou ek ook gewonder het, maar jy is nie net dit nie. jy is baie meer as dit. (11)

C: laat ek net my emosies agter mekaar kry.

***E:** I see you are having a hard time. It is hard for you. (18) It is very hard for you, I have the feeling throughout that you are having a hard time.*

C: {nods, crying, 8}

E: What do you feel? (13)

C: {crying}

E: Charl, what do you feel?

C: {crying} *Bad. What sort of person have I become? That is what worries me. (4) I was not always like this. (6)*

E: *It took a lot out of you to write this down didn't it? (8)*

C: {nods, crying} *To say you have become a person like this. It takes a lot. (2) Because it lets you think about everything you are capable of. What can you do? What are you going to do? It makes you negative about yourself.*

E: *That you don't like yourself.*

C: *Who would like himself if he is like this? (5) That you must think of things like this in order to give yourself pleasure in life.*

E: *Then you know something is very wrong.*

C: {nods} *Why must I think of it?*

E: *Today's discussion is a bit different in a way. Help me understand it. Often when you talk about these things, it gives you pleasure. But this morning it is upsetting you.*

C: *Yes, I want to know why I became like this. What person am I? Why?*

E: *So you have got past the scene you are thinking of?*

C: *I have got past the scene. I look at myself. This, this. Really, I don't feel good about myself.*

E: *You don't like yourself, but you know you have guts, don't you?*

C: {crying} *I don't know if it is guts. (7) What right do I have to exist? Because I am like this. (5)*

E: *Charl, if you were only like that, I would also wonder, but you are not only that. You are much more than that. (11)*

C: *Let me just pull myself together.*

Dawid in the following excerpt reflects his thought processes in confronting himself:

D: dit is een van die aspekte in my lewe waarvoor ek die meeste voor bang is. as jy eerlik raak met jouself dan moet jy uitkom by die punt was dit groepsdruk? was dit dat ek nie beginselvas genoeg was nie? of wou

ek dit regtig doen. en die een wat my die bangste maak is die feit dat ek vir myself gaan sê ek wou dit regtig doen.

E: dis 'n verskriklike ding om te sê is dit nie?

D: ja:. {exhaling} (3)

E: wat sê dit dan van jou? (14)

D: ek weet nie. ek is bang om dit te sê. (2) dan is ek ontstabiel in die eerste plek. dis hoe ek voel. dat ek 'n fokken psigopatiese moordenaar is. (3) het ek dit willens en wetens gedoen? het ek dit gesoek? het ek dit toegelaat? was dit groepsdruk? is ek gebreinspoel daartoe? was dit vooruit beplan? en wat my die bangste maak is om te sê ek wou dit doen. verstaan jy?

***D:** This is one of the aspects in my life that I am most afraid of. If you are honest with yourself, then you must question yourself: "Was it group pressure?" "Couldn't I stick to my principles?" "Or did I really want to do it?" That is the one that frightens me the most. The fear that I am going to say to myself I wanted to do it.*

***E:** It is a terrible thing to say, isn't it?*

***D:** Yes. {exhaling} (3)*

***E:** What would it say of you? (14)*

***D:** I don't know. I'm afraid to say it. (2) It would first mean that I am unstable. That is how I feel. That I am a fucking psychopathic murderer. (3) Did I do it deliberately? Did I seek it out? Did I allow it? Was it group pressure? Was I brainwashed? Was it planned? And the most frightening is to say that I wanted to do it. Do you understand? [...]*

He explains further:

D: ek het nooit gedroom dit gaan so eindig nie. verstaan jy? net die feit dat ek daar was en deelgeneem het aan die begin en dat ons lekker gekuier was en wat wat wat was alreeds verkeerd. verstaan jy? uh dis moeilik, mens. (5) dit vreet aan mens. dis genuine dis diep. dis daar waar dit pla waar jy nie kan krap nie. {exhaling} maar die praat help. al is ek na

die tyd lekker nie. dit help. [...] daar was 'n ander pad. en ek bly by die ander pad. hoekom het ek nie die pad gevat toe ek moes nie? hoekom het ek nie die beuel gaan blaas en sê dis wat gebeur het nie? fok dit ek is 'n polisieman ek moes die job gedoen het. ek moes die kak daarna gehandle het. ek moes iets wegsteek. dit was heeltemal teen my natuur gewees. dis lynreg teen my opleiding teen my persoonlike gevoelens my persepsies alles wat ek geglo het.

D: I never dreamt it was going to end like this. Do you understand? Just the fact that I was there and participated in the beginning and that we had been drinking was already wrong. Do you understand? Oh, it is hard. (5) It eats at you. Genuinely, it goes deep. There, where it worries, you cannot scratch. {exhaling} But talking helps. Even though I have it hard afterwards. It helps. [...] There was another road. And I think of the other road. Why did I not choose that road when I should have? Why didn't I blow the whistle and say what happened. Fuck it, I am a policeman, I should have done the job. I should have handled the shit afterwards. I had to hide something. That is totally against my nature. It was totally against my training, against my personal feelings, my perceptions, everything I believed.

Dawid's shame is for not acting as his idealised image of a policeman would have acted:

E: you see the problem you have I think you are inherently quite good. met die ouers wat jy het hulle het jou grootgemaak om 'n goeie mens te wees.

D: ja e:n toe gaan draai ek uit soos 'n fokop. (2) let's face it ek het goeie dis juis die probleem. ek probeer die heelyd (3) die een ding het na die volgende ding gelei. ek het kak aangejaag maar ek het ook baie goeie goed gedoen. ek het baie mense se lewens gered en verander ten goede en (2) maar die een weeg nie op teen die ander ene nie.

E: *You see the problem you have I think you are inherently quite good. Your parents raised you to be a good person.*

D: *Yes, and then I turned out a fuck up. (2) Let's face it, I have good, that is the problem. I try the whole time (3) the one thing led to another. I caused shit, but I also did good. I saved and changed many people's lives for the better and (2) but the one doesn't measure up to the other.*

The other participants appear to have the same sense of shame at not living up to their idealised image of a policeman. Charl would not have been concerned about torturing suspects if he had not started doing it for the pleasure he got out of it. Adriaan knows he was wrong and that he tortured and killed people for a cause that was a non-cause.

Adriaan struggles to get beyond his shame and guilt. He is aware of the harm done to people, and believes he should be punished:

E: 'n mens kan dit omtrent nie glo as 'n mens nou teruggaan nie.

A: nee, dis dis onwerklikheid jy weet. soos ek hier met jou praat, en die sessie oor is is dit asof ek dan eers bykom. asof dit 'n ander wêreld is. ja, kan nie glo nie ag Elaine. {laughs in apparent disbelief} ja nee jy kan nie glo wat jy gedoen het nie. (8) en natuurlik kan jy nie ongestraf bly nie. die Here jou straf. maar, asof ek smag daarna om voor my dood om vrede te kry {crying}, of vergifnis. (8) en ja jy sit met 'n absolute haat gevoel.

E: *One can almost not believe it when you think back now.*

A: *No, it is unreal. Like when you and I talk, and the session is over, it is as if I come to. It is as if it is a different world. Yes, cannot believe it. Oh Elaine, {laughs in apparent disbelief} yes, no, you cannot believe what you did. (8) And naturally you cannot remain unpunished. God will punish you. But, I long for peace before I die {crying}, or forgiveness. (8) And yes I have so much hatred.*

In the following excerpt Charl links his guilt for an incident with the symptoms he experiences. Although he does not give the religious overlay which Adriaan does, he appears to accept that he is being punished because of what he has done.

E: as jy sê jy breek jousef af, jy sê jousef sleg, wat presies sê jy vir jousef?

C: ag die hele verloop. dis my skuld dat my vrou gedoen het wat sy gedoen het. al daai goed.

E: ek wil dit hoor.

C: dis my skuld dat ek nie met die lewe kan cope nie. {crying} as ek nie aangerand het daai goed gedoen het dan sou dit anders gewees het. as ek nie getjoeb het nie. as ek nie geskiet het nie. hier is een voorval. rêrig dis vieslik. ek wou dit nie vir jou skryf nie, maar ek het. 'n kleurling N voor die hekke gestaan, hulle is besig om te {inaudible} toe vat ek die haelgeweer toe skiet ek hom. met die rubberpatroon. sy hele wang so want die rubber het ingegaan. sulke goeters. dan vra ek myself hoekom het ek dit gedoen? dis my eie skuld dat ek is soos ek is.

E: ok.

C: {crying} daar's so baie goed. rêrig dit voel asof ek net moet oorgee.

E: ok. so as jy daai punt bereik wat jy al die goed vir jousef sê, dan gebeur dit dat jy net wil oorgee. opgee.

C: los alles. loop voor 'n bus in. sulke goeters. maar ek weet ek sal dit nie doen nie want

E: want jy het kinders.

C: {sighs}

E: op daai punt is jou gevoel van selfvernietiging oorweldigend.

C: {nods, crying} jy lê daar. jy dink aan niks. jy voel niks. jy wil niks weet nie. dis amper so ek weet nie hoe om daai gevoel vir jou te beskryf nie. dis niks. jy wil nie dit nie. jy wil niks.

E: *When you say you break yourself down, or malign yourself, what exactly do you say to yourself?*

C: *All of it. It is my fault that my wife did what she did, all that stuff.*

E: *I want to hear it.*

C: *It is my fault that I can no longer cope with life. {crying}. If I had not assaulted people and that stuff, if I had done things differently. If I didn't tube, if I didn't shoot. Here is one instance, really it is terrible. I didn't want to write it down for you, but I did. A coloured in N. They were standing in front of the gates. They were busy {inaudible} then I took the shotgun and shot him with rubber rounds. His entire cheek was, because the rubber penetrated. Things like that. Then I ask myself why did I do it? It is my own fault that I did it.*

E: *Ok.*

C: *{crying} There are so many things. Really, it feels as though I just must give up.*

E: *Ok, and when you reach that point when you say these things to yourself, then it just happens that you want to give in, give up.*

C: *Leave everything. Walk in front of a bus, things like that. But I know I won't do it because ...*

E: *Because you have children.*

C: *{sighs}*

E: *At that time your need to destroy yourself is over-whelming.*

C: *{nods, crying} You lie there and think of nothing. You feel nothing. You don't want to hear anything. It is almost as though you, I don't know how to describe that feeling for you. It's nothing. You don't want to. You don't want to do anything.*

Society may not know what they are guilty of and is not punishing them, but the participants through their intense feelings of shame and the need to hide and remove themselves from society, enact being punished.

Dawid commented on the role of confessing after telling me about the murders he had gone along with and not reported. I quoted this section in Chapter 7 when I discussed his narrative, but it is probably worth quoting again in the light of the value he gives confession:

D: weet jy dis moeilik om (2) om vir iets verskoning te vra, wat net jy van weet. jy kan dit nie hardop sê nie. weet jy die eerste keer toe ek dit vir jou vertel die ander dag die werklike storie. toe dit, eventually in woorde uitgekóm het. toe is dit tasbaar. toe kon ek aanvaar dis tasbaar. dis rêrig iets wat gebeur het. toe kon ek verskoning vra daarvoor. oor dit eventually uit my mond gekóm het. dis moeilik om iets wat net in jou brein is wat jy wat jy nog nooit vir iemand vertel het om verskoning te vra voor die Here. ek weet hy verstaan. ek weet hy is daar. maar hoe kan ek dit sê dit moet eers uit. dit moet werklik fisies daar staa:n. jy moet dit sien. en dan moet ek kan kan sê ok. dit is waarvoor ek om verskoning vra. sien jy Here dis waarvoor ek om verskoning vra. kan jy my nou vergewe en dit wegvat.

E: it became real.

D: dit het werklik geword. dit het eers werklik geword na ek jou vertel het. dit was altyd in my brein. maar maar dit het nooit vir my werklik werklik gevoel nie omdat ek dit nooit gesê het nie. dis iets wat jy saamdra wat jy vir niemand kan vertel nie. [...] dat ek jou vertel. dat ons teruggaan en dat ons daaroor praat. dit maak dit net vir my soveel makliker om te aanvaar ek was regtig daar. en ek het regtig opgefok. en ek kan regtig vergewe word. verstaan jy.

E: dit was absoluut noodsaaklik om dit te sê.

D: ek moes dit sê. ek moes dit op een of ander manier sê. en en ek dink dit was een van die belangrikste goed wat ek nog ooit gesê het vir jou. vir myself.

E: ek twyfel nie daaroor nie.

D: ek dink dit was die belangrikste ding wat ek gesê het. spesifiek met die doel om beter te word. ek het geweet as ek wil gesond word sal ek dit moet sê. want dit maak my siek binne in. dit doen. dit het my siek gemaak.

***D:** You know, it is difficult (2) to ask for forgiveness, which only you know about. You cannot say it out loud. You know, the first time when I told you the real story the other day, when it finally was verbalised, It became*

tangible. I could accept it was tangible. It really happened. I could ask for forgiveness, because I eventually verbalised it. It is difficult to ask for forgiveness for something that is just in your brain, which you have never told anyone about before God. I know he understands. I know he is there. But how do I express it, it has to be said. It has to stand there, physically; you have to see it. I then have to be able to say, "Ok, that is what I am asking to be pardoned for. Do you see Lord, that is what I am asking pardon for. Can you forgive me now and remove it?"

E: *It became real.*

D: *It became real. It only became real after I told you. It was always in my brain, but, but it never felt real, because I never said it. It is something you carry with you which you can never tell someone. [...] That I told you. That we could go back and talk about it. It makes it so much easier to accept I was really there; I really fucked up and I can really be forgiven. Do you understand?*

E: *It was absolutely essential to say it.*

D: *I had to say it. I had to somehow say it. I think it was one of the most important things I have yet told you. Told myself.*

E: *I don't doubt it.*

D: *I think it was the most important thing I said. Specifically with the goal of getting better. I knew if I want to get better, I will have to say it. It was making me sick inside. It did. It made me sick.*

Charl concurs, that saying it helps:

E: as jy en ek nou so praat, hoe sal jy netnou wees? later vanoggend?

C: ek dink ek gaan beter voel as ek. omdat ek nou weer vir jou goed gesê, wat ek nooit voorheen sou gesê het nie. laat ek dit uitkry dat ek=

E: al is dit vir jou hoe swaar om, is dit vir jou beter om dit te sê?

C: ja, ek voel beter na die tyd. (7) ek weet nie, dit is dalk die erkenning daarvan dat ek so is. (4) dat ek dit nie meer in my binneste dit hoef rond te dra nie. dat ek probeer iets daaraan doen. probeer dit verbeter. soek 'n oplossing. (9)

E: When you and I talk like this, how will you be later? Later this morning?

C: I think I will feel better if I, because I have told you things again, things I would never have said. Let me get it out that I=

E: Even though it is how hard for you, it is better for you to say it?

C: Yes, I feel better afterwards. (7) I don't know, it is possible admitting this is what I am like. (4) That I don't have to carry it around in myself. I am trying to do something about it, I am trying to improve, I am looking for a solution. (9)

Conclusions

The participants in this study started perpetration during public order policing. They were idealistic and serving their communities. They describe a police force which encouraged and rewarded torture. They complied with the demands and in particular Charl and Adriaan describe zealously torturing and killing people.

Were perpetrators during apartheid victims? Borraine (2000) comes to that conclusion, when listening to their stories. He recognises that they joined the police force and army at a very young age, were subjected to constant propaganda from their superior officers and influenced by militant speeches of politicians. They believed the propaganda. And "in the course of carrying out their duties as the situation deteriorated, their own consciences seemed to be deadened and dulled, allowing them to participate in the worst atrocities" (Borraine, 2000, p.128). He emphasises that thinking of them as victims does not condone their actions.

Dawid and Charl on occasion defend torture. They clearly believe that a good policeman tortures. In this they construct themselves as protectors of the community. These discourses are obviously common in the police, but there is possibly a case to be made that the broader community does not expect policemen to have too clean hands.

The participants present themselves as having paid the price for committing atrocities. They have unmade their victims and in the process been unmade themselves (Scarry, 1985). They have become ill. Society appears to be medicalising life problems (Summerfield, 2004) and the participants accept a medicalisation of evil deeds. They position themselves as addicted to perpetration. They present themselves as controlled and consumed by their intense need for blood and violence. They are no longer hegemonic, controlling men, but sick patients who need help in controlling their thoughts and behaviour.

They experience intense shame at what they have done. This alienates them from their communities. Although the structure of the TRC was available to deal with perpetration, Charl and Adriaan explain in their narratives that at that stage they thought that people who approached the TRC were traitors.

The participants and I relate to each other through their confessions. This is jointly produced (Shotter, 1997) and carries numerous implications. Confession is seen in Western society as a valued technique for producing truth (Foucault, 1976/1990). It means that the participants have to submit to the culturally prescribed ritual of confessing their shame. They indicated that they felt “tortured” for their confessions. Through confession, they expose their shame and weakness.

Inevitably this places me in a position of power; I have to decide what to do with their confessions. The only level I can meet with the participants is as another human being, with no particular right to forgive them. I can begin to understand why they perpetrated.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY OF RESULTS, QUESTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH, EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH

Showers of your crimson blood
seep into a nation calling up a flood
of narrow minds who legislate
thinly veiled intolerance
bigotry and hate

but they tortured you and burned you
they beat you and they tied you
they left you cold and breathing
for love they crucified you . . .

we all gasp this can't happen here
we're all much too civilized
where can these monsters hide

but they are knocking on our front
door

they're rocking in our cradles
they're preaching in our churches
and eating at our tables . . .

(Melissa Etheridge, 1999)

The question I addressed in this study was the way in which the participants re-established meaning and identity after torturing and committing other atrocities. Their involvement in atrocities started while working in the townships in which there was extreme political violence at the time. The violence took place against extensive suppression of any challenges to the apartheid government. South Africa has changed; apartheid has crumbled and the people they persecuted now govern the country. This meant that any value the participants could have given to their perpetration has been destroyed. I was interested in how they came to terms with the changes and how they now define themselves.

The participants and I entered this study from a shared background of white racist communities. We have all benefitted from our whiteness. In other ways we were and are very different. They enacted the, at times unspoken, policies of the apartheid government and tortured and killed black people. I

align myself broadly with a human rights philosophy and married a man of a different race. They came from a largely militarised background; I have never worked in the police or in a militarised environment. They are male, and come from a background of hegemonic masculinity, I am female. They were sick and I was their therapist, and therefore in a position of power with regard to them. I was researching an area I did not know. They were experts in the field of torture and killing.

I chose to approach the topic of committing atrocities, from a postmodern and social constructionist perspective, not from a human rights perspective. This implied that I had to open myself to the loss of grand narratives. I had to be open to points of view and interpretations which differed from mine (Anderson, 1995; Lyotard, 1984).

I asked the participants for narratives of their lives. I encouraged them to give more information on topics which I regarded as important. I analysed the narratives using the method suggested by Wortham (2001a, 2001b), which is largely based on the work of Bakhtin (1981a, 1986a, 1986b). I analysed various themes raised by the participants using the method suggested by Attride-Stirling (2001).

In this chapter I will briefly:

- o summarise the themes the participants raised;
- o indicate the commonalities in the dialogic analyses;
- o discuss questions and conclusions which arose from the research;
- o evaluate the research;
- o give a brief update on the participants.

The Global and Major Themes

I distilled three global themes which each became the focus of a chapter (Chapters 9 to 11). The global themes and the major themes subsumed under them are the following:

The way it was to total change:

- o obeying the command
- o entrenched racism;
- o confronting racism; and
- o changes in South Africa.

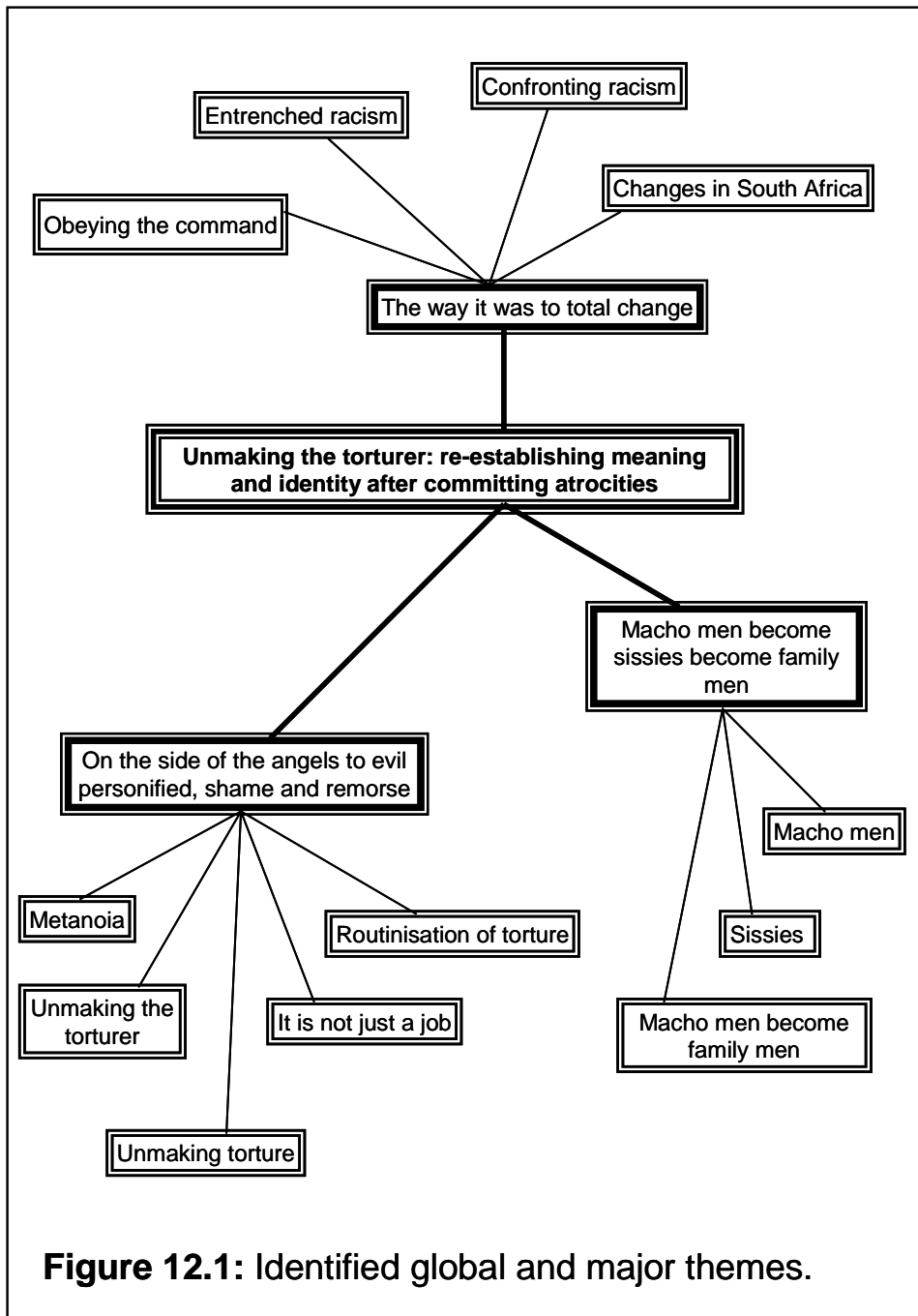
Macho men become sissies become family men

- o macho men;
- o sissies; and
- o macho men become family men.

On the side of the angels to evil personified, shame and remorse

- o routinisation of torture;
- o it is not just a job;
- o unmaking torture;
- o unmaking the torturer; and
- o metanoia.

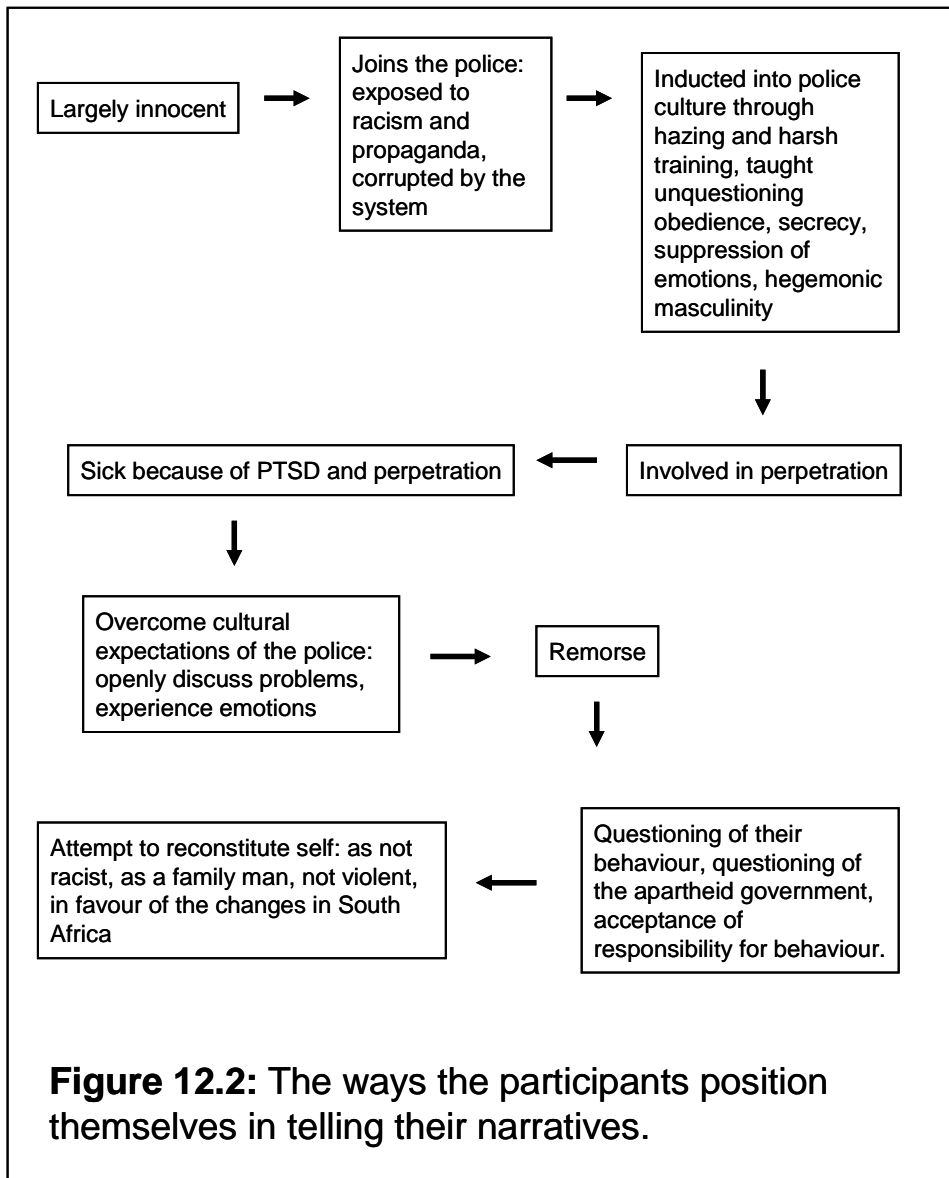
I represent these themes in Figure 12.1:



Commonalities in the Dialogic Analyses

In the dialogic analyses, my focus was often on the interaction between the participants and me, and how they positioned themselves in the telling of their stories and by so doing created identity and meaning.

In Figure 12.2 I condense the general ways in which the participants positioned themselves during the telling of their narratives.



I think there is a strong case to be made for the participants in this study not being aberrant members of society. I argue that they were inordinately sensitive to the demands of the society in which they worked. Idealism and a willingness to serve the community or to comply with the demands of the SAP on them, appear to have motivated them in committing atrocities. Although the participants never claimed that they were following orders, I argue that they in fact did follow orders. These were generally unspoken, but they could reasonably interpret the behaviour of senior officers as demanding that they torture and commit other atrocities. They were often exposed to atrocities committed by officers and they were rewarded for arrests and convictions when it was obvious that torture was used to achieve

those arrests and convictions. The participants were not aberrant officers but obedient members of the SAP.

In our interaction the participants continue to position themselves as obedient. They are good psychotherapy clients and good research subjects. They answer questions, they do introspection and they present themselves as sick men who need help. Their obedience extends to criticising their previous behaviour and beliefs. They recognise that to be acceptable members of current South African society they have to be non-racist. They struggle, but repeatedly attempt to find non-racist discourses they are comfortable using. At times, they indicate that they are struggling with finding those discourses and need help. They indicate that despite the personal cost to themselves they are happy about the changes in South Africa.

The need to be obedient and an accepted member of society is powerful enough for them to confront their shame of being ill and of having committed atrocities. They also break the silence that the police demanded from them. They accept that in order to be healed they have to reveal their secrets.

The participants position themselves as sick men. Perpetration, they inform us, was the wrong way to go and has made them sick. They do not claim they committed atrocities because they had PTSD. This was a common defence during the TRC (Nicholas, & Coleridge, 2000). In this study the participants never used that defence; instead they took responsibility for what they did. They take in a stance against the policies they previously supported. In doing this, they are reconstituting themselves as good members of society.

Questions and Conclusions Arising from the Research

At the end of this study I ask myself what I have learnt through the participants about perpetration and how they are attempting to come to

terms with the atrocities they have committed. I found myself struggling to write this chapter, and eventually realised it was because I had far more questions than conclusions as a result of the research. In terms of social constructionism's aim of disrupting the conventional (Gergen, 1994) this probably means that the research has been successful. I certainly feel as though many personal points of view have been disrupted and overturned. Readers will have to judge for themselves whether their reading of this study has disrupted their ways of thinking and points of view.

It is typical of constructionist research to be incomplete (Denzin, 2002; Lincoln & Denzin, 2003). I will discuss some of my conclusions, but have placed them within the questions which arise for me through this research. Some of these deserve further research.

Should Perpetrators and Perpetration be Studied?

Osiel (2004) states legal scholars and the courts have virtually nothing to say about the minds of torturers. The problem appears to be the presumption that certain actions carry their wrongfulness on their face, so that a culpable mental state – knowledge of the evil of one's conduct may be inferred on the part of the perpetrator of the action. The presumption is conclusive, which means that the defendant cannot introduce evidence that may overcome it. The possibility that someone may commit the most heinous deeds without any awareness of doing wrong becomes unthinkable. The only possible defence is insanity, which confirms that the behaviour is not normal. This appears to reflect a position taken in society which has unfortunately had the impact of restricting research into torture and other forms of perpetration.

The entire field of the effect of torture and killing on perpetrators is under-researched in psychology. I support Nell's (2006) call for research into this field. One of the major problems appears to be the difficulty in persuading torturers and other perpetrators to tell their stories or become involved in research. I suggest that we cannot reasonably expect perpetrators to tell

their stories if we view them as aberrant members of society and a phenomenon to be studied. Different research methodologies have to be employed in order to gain an understanding of perpetration. I had long-term therapeutic relationships with the participants in this study. It complicated the research, as discussed in Chapter 8, but I think it made it possible for the participants to tell their stories. I also think our long-term relationships made it possible for the participants to explore the impact of committing atrocities on them.

Popular discourses on torture may also be hampering research. In the media, the word “torture” often appears to be used to refer to brutal methods employed during robberies (Rank & Khupiso, 2008; South African Press Association, 2008). The lyrics of the song which I used to preface this chapter also uses “torture” to refer to a purely criminal act – the assault and death of a homosexual man (Etheridge, 1999). Official sanction is not given to these crimes and they do not involve torture. The participants in this study appear to be influenced by the discourse that torture refers to particular methods and not power relationships. They did not appear to regard violent assaults on suspects for information or a confession to be torture unless specific methods such as suffocation or electric shocks were used.

The artificial separation between research into police brutality and torture has probably also created the illusion that torture is rare, not part of our lives and does not need research. It is not rare; the possibility is that it takes place within our neighbourhood police station. Torture will never be stopped, unless we actually understand how a torturer develops and what sustains his or her behaviour.

Is it Dangerous to Form Relationships with Torturers?

This was one of the most challenging aspects of this study. I did not expect to develop compassion for men who tortured, and yet I found that once I related to them as human beings and was open to them, I did develop

compassion. Gobodo-Madikizela (2004) was surprised by the compassion she felt after interviewing Eugene de Kock. I was more surprised to find that I came to like the participants.

I indicated in Chapter 1, that understanding the reasons for perpetration may make us more condoning of it (Miller et al., 1999). I have on occasion found myself understanding why the participants tortured. This was frightening. It may be wise to have support from colleagues when doing qualitative research with torturers to ensure that the researcher retains the vividness of the horror of torture.

An aspect I had not considered before starting the research was whether I was in any physical danger. On one occasion a client (not one of the current participants, although he gave me permission to use the material), admitted tearfully that he had planned to abduct me. He wanted to torture me, in order to determine whether or not I had any ulterior motives in seeing him. Adriaan once tearfully explained that he had spent some time during a session, to work out how he could kill me. Although I generally felt safe in the company of the participants, the old spy joke: "I can tell you, but then I will have to kill you!" may be worth keeping in mind. It is wise not to be naïve when doing research with perpetrators.

Does Perpetration make People Sick?

The participants indicate that it does. In this they are reflecting a current discourse in society. I suggest that this may become a common way for society to deal with members who have broken its rules. If this is true, then research is required into concepts that the participants raised.

The participants all described an addiction to power and harming others. At least in Charl's case, it was probably severe enough to be described as sadistic (Stone, 1998). Our language reflects the possibility with terms such as "bloodthirsty". The problem is poorly defined at this stage, possibly referring to an impulse control disorder or an obsessive compulsive disorder.

It is unclear how prevalent it is or how it develops. Anecdotal reports suggest that it may not be uncommon (MacNair, 2002b; Rejali, 2007; Wikler, 1980). It is important that there is a greater understanding of the role of fantasies such as those described by Charl in controlling anxiety, depression and possible violent acting out.

Dawid linked sexual arousal to torture. Again, this is an area which needs more research. I have had one other similar complaint from a client in my practice. When I take into account how sexuality is linked to weapons and war (Grossman, 1995), as well as to power over another person such as in rape, this may be a fairly common response.

Treatment of possible symptoms which arise as a result of perpetration needs research. Various forms of exposure are generally used in treating PTSD (Foa & Rothbaum, 1998; Shapiro, 1995). This is unsuitable if exposure is pleasurable. In my opinion, techniques such as response inhibition (Menzies & de Silva, 2003) could be dangerous if the role of fantasies in controlling possible violence is not understood.

What is the Role of Shame in Committing Atrocities?

The sense of shame the participants describe may be linked to continued perpetration (Lewis, 1971; Tangney, 1995). Schnurr et al. (2004) suggest chronicity of PTSD symptoms may be associated with shame. Shame may be a central emotion in perpetration. Research is required in order to understand the role shame plays in maintaining and possibly exacerbating perpetration. The participants indicated that shame was one of the reasons for feeling alienated from others. A sense of alienation may well increase the future risk for perpetration. This makes it imperative that we understand the impact on someone who kills in the line of duty the first time. If shame is part of their experience, it would be important that they receive suitable support in coming to terms with what they have done.

Is Intimate Partner Violence Linked to Perpetration?

Marshall et al. (2005) mention the high rate of intimate partner violence among military veterans and active duty servicemen. The role of exposure to atrocities and perpetration is not routinely noted in studies relating to veterans and may well play a role in intimate partner violence. In this study, Dawid and Adriaan had both threatened with family murders and Adriaan has beaten his wife on a number of occasions. Charl reports that he has abused his children.

The concept of doubling raised by Lifton (1986) needs more research. Dawid indicated that initially he could keep work and family separate. Eventually he could no longer. Charl indicates that he was a different person when torturing, but he and Adriaan do not indicate that they could maintain a separation between work and family. In fact, they indicate that their work impacted very badly on their families from the beginning. Dawid's experience of early sexual abuse may have led to him developing dissociative skills which the other participants did not have. It is important not to assume that perpetration has no impact on the perpetrator's family. The norm may well be that it has a negative impact.

How Likely is Perpetration?

Browning (1998) asked that if the men of Reserve Police Battalion 101 could murder thousands of people, who could not? I agree with him. The participants in this study are not bad people. They are largely unremarkable and if met socially no one would guess of what they are guilty. There is nothing remarkable in their early histories which predisposed them to become torturers. In many ways their history resembles my own and that of millions of people in South Africa. This implies that if torture is to be stopped, it is essential that we realise how easy it is for it to develop. We cannot assume that anyone is immune to becoming a torturer. Various environmental factors, such as those indicated by Charl, raise the risk for torture. He specifically mentioned insufficient training and the need to demonstrate good arrest and conviction figures.

What is the Role of the Community in Torture?

I do not doubt that communities make torture possible. It is an incredibly difficult moral dilemma. I do not think Dershowitz's (2004) call for torture warrants is practical or moral. I have visions of judges being asked to approve three electric shocks to a suspect's genitals. However, Dershowitz highlights the need for communities to be aware of what is done in their name and for them. A starting point in dealing with torture is probably to ensure that more research takes place, so that we understand the problem better.

What is the Link between PTSD and Possible Symptoms Related to Perpetration?

The participants in this study all had PTSD. The discomfort they experienced was one of the reasons they presented for treatment. Studies which have considered exposure to atrocities tend to express results in terms of exacerbation in symptoms of PTSD. In general, studies do not consider that different symptom profiles may be present (e. g. Beckham et al., 1998; Fontana & Rosenheck, 1999). They also do not consider that PTSD, as currently conceptualised, refers to the experience of victims and not perpetrators.

Perpetrators without PTSD may tell very different stories to those told by the participants in this study. Research into their experience of perpetrating is necessary.

How do we Relate to People with Very Different Value Systems to our Own?

I did not really regard this to be a problem before starting this study. I discussed in Chapter 8 that I had to become aware of my ability to harm others in order to develop empathy with the participants.

I realised that I have never had an open discussion with colleagues on the impact of working with clients who have opposing value systems to me. This may be an area which needs attention in the training of psychologists.

What is the Role of the Mental Health Professional in Dealing with Perpetration?

This study raised numerous ethical dilemmas. They are a problem both from a research perspective and from a therapeutic perspective. The therapist or researcher does not necessarily represent someone or a community which has been wronged. I could only document what the participants told me, I had no power to forgive them. The nature of what the participants did makes it impossible to identify most of the people whom they wronged. They are faceless people, whose names are often not known or remembered. Therapists may have to be more actively involved in assisting perpetrators to make some form of reparation. Only Adriaan, in this study, indicated a need to attempt to make up for what he had done to harm black people.

The therapist or researcher has to consider the risks that a perpetrator may again engage in torture or killing. I do not think we can absolve ourselves of this responsibility which includes appropriate reporting, if necessary. This has to be clarified with participants or clients prior to engagement. I did not do it in this study, which in retrospect was a mistake.

As I have discussed, the participants in this study, wanted to reconstitute themselves as good men who renounced their previous behaviour. There is clearly a role in this process for psychologists.

Evaluation of the Research

Safety of the Participants

In Chapter 4, I noted that I took various precautions to ensure the participants' safety. I will briefly discuss how adequate they were:

- o Ensuring that they had my contact numbers, and would phone me whenever necessary.

This generally worked well. At periods when Dawid was acting out, he and his family telephoned fairly often. It was expected and necessary. As mentioned on one occasion, Dawid called to warn me that he was going to kill his family. He made the call so that his family could leave safely. I was never contacted between sessions by any of the participants unless it was an emergency.

- o Meeting their family members as far as was feasible. They knew that they were welcome to contact me if they were concerned (the participants agreed to the arrangement).

I met both Dawid and Adriaan's family members, including their wives, children and parents. I met Charl's children, but not his mother or brothers. He has only recently started a romantic relationship. I found the contact very helpful, especially with their partners as it often added new perspectives. With Dawid it increased safety through a very difficult period. Both his wife and parents contacted me a number of times; Adriaan's wife contacted me on various occasions.

- o Keeping regular contact with their psychiatrist – he was informed of the research I was conducting and also contacted me regularly.

We have regular contact; at some of the crisis periods it was a number of times a day.

- o Only asking them to consider the possibility of research once I knew we had confronted difficult issues and had managed to negotiate them successfully. This implied that there was some trust between them and

me, and that they had developed some resilience for dealing with difficult problems and the emotions and memories they evoked.

This worked well. Without an established relationship, I do not think this type of research is feasible. I had some idea of what I could do safely before starting the interviews. When necessary I delayed difficult topics until the participant was stable or in a safe environment. For example I chose to speak about very difficult topics for the first time when Charl was hospitalised. It gave him and me greater safety.

- o Being as transparent as I could – about therapeutic techniques, research methodology and my reactions to their stories.

I am always open about therapeutic techniques. Traumatized people have lost too much control already, and the last thing they need is psychotherapy which is uncontrolled, unexpected or unexplained (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). The research methodology was not difficult to explain. The participants appeared to enjoy receiving the completed chapter on their story to read, and were happy to comment on it. It was important to ensure that they understood and accepted the reasons for the research. I was asking a lot from them, and they had to feel that there was value in it.

- o Often asking about their experiences; sometimes referring to material I would use in research, sometimes during or after a difficult therapeutic session. This ensured as far as possible that I and they knew what their reactions were. This made it possible to deal with problems as they arose. They also knew that their reactions were important and would be taken seriously.

This is critically important. They often commented (frequently informally at the end of sessions) that it had been helpful, or difficult. It provided safety and has a strong therapeutic function.

The Bricolage

I discussed the concept of making changes during research in Chapter 4, using the metaphor of a bricoleur (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003b). I made numerous changes as the research progressed. In some ways it was messy. I do not think this is unusual, just not generally reported (Price, 1996).

The Interviews

I started the interviews with predetermined questions. I did not plan on using them unthinkingly, but presumed they would guide the research. Eventually they were only useful to suggest broad areas I wanted to explore. I had to be more flexible and allow the conversation with the participants to develop into the areas they determined. This implied that the questions I asked differed from participant to participant. As the goal of the study was not to generalise the results, but to gain a broader understanding, this often did not matter. An advantage was that I probably obtained more detailed descriptions than set questions would have allowed. There were commonalities in the participants' stories and descriptions, but there were many aspects which were unique to the participant telling the story. I think the lack of set questions gave the participants freedom to position themselves in the telling of the story. They often raised topics or returned to areas we had already discussed. The negative aspect of this was that on occasion I realised later that I had not asked questions which I should have. I, for example, forgot to ask Dawid his impressions of the TRC. Sometimes, I could return and ask more of what I wanted to know, at other times it was not possible. I, on occasion, was told something by one participant, which I wanted to check with the other participants. Charl's craving for blood was such an example. Dawid immediately said he had never experienced such cravings, but he did enjoy the power implicit in torture. I already knew he linked sexual arousal and torture. Adriaan recognised what Charl described. He did not experience the same need to touch blood, but the thought was clearly not alien to him.

The participants' lack of emotional stability impacted on the research. Crises in their lives had to be accommodated. Their safety was always more important than the research I was doing. I have again considered whether it would have improved the research to have first completed a therapeutic engagement with the participants before engaging in research. I think that part of what kept them engaged in the research process was their own need for answers. I do not know whether they would have been interested in telling their stories, once they had achieved some resolution of their problems. During the research the participants needed to talk about what they thought had led to the problems they had. Once someone has somehow come to terms with perpetration I suspect that they will be very hesitant to talk about or revisit it.

My Experiences

In the beginning I did not consider painting my experiences. I resorted to painting as I struggled to express what I was feeling and realised that the work was having an intense emotional impact on me. I eventually decided that the paintings were a useful way of discussing my countertransference to the participants and their stories. I often struggle to verbally express what I am experiencing and this was a useful technique to overcome my own shortcomings.

Research Quality

Many of the aspects relating to research quality such as rigour and whether or not the study resonates with readers will have to be judged by readers of this study.

I can, however, make some limited comments. All narratives are "located in discourses" (Riessman, 2002, p. 256). The participants would tell different life stories to another interviewer or to a different listener. They told me the stories they did because I was their therapist, because I shared their whiteness, because I was South African as they are and lived through the same history as they did.

The participants did not give me single all-embracing explanations for their behaviour. Instead they often constructed their stories differently at different times. An obvious example was that of racism. Initially they all positioned themselves as non-racist. They later presented themselves as racist, which they used to explain their reasons for torture. Later, as they decried their perpetration, they indicated that racism was wrong and indicated that they were attempting to be non-racist. This does not detract from the study; instead it confirms the socially constructed nature of identity.

Although it is not possible to generalise from the results, the participants often reported similar processes (Richardson, 2003; Stake, 1994). For example, they all indicated the role of racism in perpetration and they all indicated that there was a lack of supervision in public order policing. Dawid and Charl gave an indication of how torture is justified in police culture and Adriaan and Charl indicate how hard it is to accept alternative discourses. Although there is little research into the effect of torture or other forms of perpetration on the perpetrator, it was possible to relate what the participants reported to other areas of research such as shame and racism.

Despite some bizarre stories, I experienced a sense of underlying coherence in the participants' stories. An example is Charl's story of shooting ducks in order to satisfy his craving to touch blood. People with PTSD (and Charl has PTSD) often avoid blood. He often became distressed when thinking of blood, such as in the murder of a child and her mother in taxi violence. His distress at what he also experiences as bizarre, helped the stories to be believable and to have an underlying coherence. Readers will have to judge for themselves whether I have presented the participants' stories in such a way that they are believable and coherent.

The Participants

With regard to the participants in this research, at the time of writing, Adriaan has a job with good prospects. He gets very good feedback on his

performance. He has a strong need to make some form of reparation by putting back something into the country. He has been able to buy property. He still struggles emotionally at times. He always has to be aware of his potential for acting violently. Charl, it appears may get a medical discharge. He will start a small business, totally removed from the security industry. He is in a romantic relationship and is more emotionally stable. Dawid has continued working in the police. He has worked operationally for approximately a year and has been off all medication for approximately eight months. He is still dealing with insecurity in his children which was caused by his acting out. Dawid engaged in torture once following this study. He made an emergency appointment and shamefacedly told me what he had done. He was immediately aware of the deleterious effect it had on him and he took steps to safeguard himself from the temptation in future.

Conclusion

This study illustrates that it is possible to do qualitative research with torturers. The participants were often more willing to tell their stories than I was willing to listen to them. I have not heard all their secrets, but they have been willing to confront very difficult material.

The participants in this study indicate their immense difficulty in re-establishing meaning and identity after committing atrocities. They present themselves as ill men who were made ill by their perpetration. They were unmade by torture. They demonstrated immense courage in facing what they have done throughout the interviews with me. In the process, they reconstruct themselves as attempting to confront their racism and as decrying violence and aggression. They all indicate that they welcome the changes in South Africa. They often position themselves as remorseful and begin to develop empathy with their victims. Throughout the interviews, the participants attempted to reconstitute themselves as good men.

At times they still justify torture and I believe they reflect society's demands on them to not have too clean hands. The participants always took

responsibility for what they did, but I believe they enacted what was expected from them by their communities. Torture has not disappeared in the world or in South Africa. It is important that torturers not be viewed as deviant members of society. Instead I contend, they partially reflect the society we have created.

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APPENDIX A

Weapons used by the riot police

The R1 rifle: has an effective range of 150 m and is capable of killing the target and anyone standing behind;

The R5 rifle: has an effective range of 150 m and a hypervelocity (tumbling) bullet capable of killing the target, but causing little harm to any one else;

Uzi hand machine-carbine (9 mm): with single shot and automatic capacity, an effective range of 100 m;

The light machine gun (LMG): vehicle mounted with the same penetrative capacity as the R1 but more lethal because of its faster firing;

12 bore Musler shotguns: with the following ammunition:

- o **Training ammunition;**
- o **Lessened 12 bore double ball rubber** - reduced to enable firing at close range during unrest situations;
- o **Standard 12 bore double bore rubber** - potentially lethal at close range but used to inflict bruising and pain during dispersals;
- o **No 5 ammunition** - containing between 270 and 280 grains per round. The pellets have little penetrative capacity over 40 m, but can cause severe injury at short range;
- o **AAA (Triple A) shotgun (buckshot)** - ammunition containing approximately 40 grains per round. May be lethal at 25 m;
- o **SSG shotgun ammunition** - containing approximately 18 grains per round is a full strength shotgun round that is lethal up to 70 m.

The baton: a plastic rod, approximately 50 cm long and 30 mm in diameter, with no steel core, sometimes known as the TONFA;

Teargas: fired from an aerosol can with an effective range of 5-10 metres, and capable of incapacitating up to 8 people. It is either expelled from an aerosol can at short range or fired in the form of a 37mm round from a special gun, or by a 12 bore grenade launching round from a Musler shotgun;

The stopper: a short, stubby, pipe-like 37 mm gun used for firing teargas rounds or large rubber bullets. It has a variable charge, allowing the gunner to adjust his/her range. The 37 mm stopper rounds can cause severe injury at short range;

Mortars: not carried by the police, but the ISD units held them as part of their arsenal;

Razor wire: used to prevent access by a crowd across a police line or key-point;

Personal safety apparel: including bulletproof vest, fire extinguisher, gas mask and helmet;

Grenades: explosive, smoke and stun grenades were carried by the ISD members. Mainly used for house penetrations but stun grenades can be thrown or shot at crowds;

Mine resistant armoured vehicles: the Casspir and Nyala armoured vehicles were used carry and protect personnel, move or remove obstructions and barricades and carry and store equipment (Jeffrey, 1991; Rauch & Storey, 1998).

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH WITH ELAINE BING

Nature of the research

I am interested in the adjustment of men who were in the South African Police and served in the black townships during mainly the 1980's and 1990's in South Africa. Your experiences (including perpetration) and the impact you think they had on you are important in this regard.

The research will consist of interviews with you that will

- explore your general life experiences (including before you joined the SAP)
- your experiences in the townships when working there as a police member, and
- your adjustment afterwards.

These will be extensive interviews that will probably take place over a number of hours. A number of sessions will probably have to be arranged. The interviews will be recorded, transcribed and analysed by me. The transcriptions may be checked with you if anything has to be clarified. You may be asked for comment on the interpretations. Your name and any identifying details will not be used in the thesis, unless you request otherwise.

Possible effects

Because I will be focusing on material that you might find upsetting, I will be available for psychotherapy at no cost to you, if necessary. If at any time you decide not to participate further, it will be accepted.

Costs incurred

You cannot be reimbursed for participation in research, but any transport cost incurred will be covered by me.

I am willing to participate in the research that is being conducted by Elaine Bing. I understand the nature of the research and I do this on a voluntary basis. I will not be paid for my participation but my travel costs will be paid by Elaine Bing.

I realise that some of the material covered may be upsetting, and that I will be entitled to psychotherapy from Elaine Bing, at no cost to me, if necessary.

Any identifying details will be disguised, unless I specifically request that I be identified. I give permission for my story, or parts of my story to be quoted in an unpublished thesis. I also give permission for publication of the information in professional journals and other publications. I will not be entitled to any reimbursement for the use of my information.

Signed..... at on this day of

.....

APPENDIX C

Transcription Conventions

-	abrupt breaks or stops (if several, stammering)
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
_____	(underline) stress
(1)	silences, timed to the nearest second
[simultaneous talk by two speakers, with one utterance represented on top of the other and the moment of overlap marked by left brackets
=	interruption or next utterance following immediately, or continuous talk represented on separate lines because of need to represent overlapping comment on intervening line
{.....}	transcriber comment
:	elongated vowel
°...°	segment quieter than surrounding talk
,	pause or breath without marked intonation
(hhh)	laughter breaking into words while speaking

(adapted from Wortham, 2001b, p. 26)

APPENDIX D

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
1	1-7	Very abbreviated description of growing up.	Adriaan (1-18 years); police station at H.
2	8-12	Parent's church activities	Mother; father; church;
3	12-40	Father's death	Adriaan (14 years); incompetent surgeon; father; mother; church elder
4	40-94	Effects of father's death; potential for playing rugby.	Adriaan (approximately 16 years); father; brother; mother; coloureds; non-whites; headmaster; teachers; Stellenbosch university; Wanderer's club; Gerald Bosch.
5	95-114	Choosing Biblical studies above cadets.	Adriaan (approximately 17 years); other pupils; headmaster; SADF
6	115-160	Choosing the SAP above playing rugby	Adriaan (18/19 years); father; Wanderer's club; police; malevolent authorities.
7	161-186	Brother and his relationship; father and discipline; father's sporting achievements.	Adriaan (before 14 years; 18/19 years; adult); father (as disciplinarian; as good sportsman); brother; brother's children; malevolent authorities.
8	187-232	Description of mother; protecting her honour; her remarriage.	Adriaan (child; two periods as a man in 20s; and after being in SAP); church; father; brother; step-father; deacon; minister; tea club.
9	233-276	Father fighting for blacks to be allowed at	Adriaan (as child); father; church board; black domestic workers;

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		H. NG church.	church members; God; government.
10	277-282	Relationships; sportsman.	Adriaan (around 18 years); girls; first wife
11	283-339	Mother's attitude to him joining the SAP	Adriaan (18 /19 years); police; mother; father; (unmentioned; but mimicked authorities).
12	339-374	College; difficulty adjusting; roadblocks; hearing propaganda; being militarised; wanting to join Task Force.	Adriaan (approximately 19 years); x-wife's father; his friends; SADF; criminals; lax fellow trainees; lax trainers; Captain P.; black people; terrorists; Task Force; SANAB.
13	374-418	Avoiding Unit 19 and being sent to the townships.	Adriaan (approximately 19/20 years); Task Force; Unit 19; blacks (derogatory); authority; minister; magistrate; mother.
14	419-454	U. police station; SANAB; revealing top cops as corrupt; vindication; moving to mobile unit.	Adriaan (early 20s); criminals; corrupt policemen (S); incompetent authority; x-father in law.
15	454-468	Hating militarisation; questioning authority; friends with other racial groups; developing empathy for prostitutes; addicts.	Adriaan (early 20s); coloured workers and their children; brother; prostitutes; drug addicts; I. R.; church; God; SANAB; S.
16	469-500	Wanting to go overseas; mother crying. Selling	Adriaan (early 20s); friend (J.M. and his father); mother.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		possessions	
17	500-572	Not speaking out; a sergeant's disappearance; reports of possible death; drinking; wave skiing; avoiding police.	Adriaan (early 20s); sergeant and family; Security Branch; mother.
18	572-608	Mobile unit to Stability Unit; chaotic rushing around attending complaints; trying to be a good cop; committing of atrocities; alcohol; experimenting in ways to kill people; people going to church; becoming part of the system; deciding has to get out; children being shot; floods and drinking; taunting people going to church so that can shoot; everything falling apart; no help from chaplain.	Adriaan (twenties; unseasoned trying to be a policeman; 27 years seasoned; without feeling); colleagues; rioters; shot person; blackjack officers; officers; commissions; church in townships; NG church; shot child; bodies; SADF; chaplain
19	608-656	Wife refuses to go to Pretoria; deciding to join the Reaction Unit; calls on witnesses to testify that tried to get out of police; pride in	Adriaan (27 years); family witnesses; wife; Reaction Unit; Task Force; Security Branch.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		Reaction Unit; makes course; useful work; used by Security Branch.	
20	656-739	Develops panic attacks; chaplain saying he was just an alcoholic; Ed and Adriaan friendship; shooting at a kraal; Ed shot by reaction unit member; attempts to save him; his death.	Adriaan (28 years); Ed; third force; chaplain; armed people; Reaction Unit; policeman who shot Ed; dying Ed.
21	594-669	Development of severe panic attacks; PTSD; punished by being put in ops room; back to townships; repeated hospitalisations; police do not arrange treatment; self-medicates; very frightened; back in PS; starting Reaction Unit there; aggressive.	Adriaan (late 20s); dead Ed; terrorists; Security Branch; doctor at N. hospital; police; chaplain; GP.
22	740-758	Protecting askaris; finding a dead family; using KwaZulu police; being checked by opposition parties; getting away with	Adriaan (late 20s); authorities; askaris; KwaZulu police; Helen Susman; dead family;

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		things.	
23	758-797	Assaults bank clerk; aggressive with family (C)	Adriaan (40s); bank clerk; people; Mary; Mary's family members.
24	797-805	Brief overview many incidents after leaving police; being very ill; losing everything; drinking on the beach.	Adriaan (over various ages); police; brother.
25	806-881	Children and men in the mountains that suffered (at times killed as informants) during the struggle; effects on his children of his problems; children attempting to necklace a friend.	Adriaan (late 20s; 40s); his children; children; men; police; employers.
26	882-936	Wearing camos; Ed and other troops who died; confronting Gen. W; beginning to get sympathy with black people; dying people calling on Jesus.	Adriaan; Ed; dead troops; Gen. W; various black people; black people who died; Jesus.
27	937-965	More in common members DP. Need to get out of townships.	Adriaan; DP troops; AWB troops; Reaction Unit; Security Branch.
28	966-997	Brother asks him to join in business. Gives house away; sells	Adriaan (late 20s); brother; crime victim who gave him ground; friend.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		some stuff.	
29	998-1022	Generals call everyone to Pretoria.	Adriaan; Generals; Task Force; Reaction Units; operational officers; whites; blacks.
30	1023-1064	Starts business with brother; assaults brother and sister-in-law; attempts to continue on own with some help; PTSD symptoms worsen; loses nerve; loses everything.	Adriaan; brother; sister-in-law; some woman involved with; businessman in town; fishermen.
31	1064-1109	Not able to settle; drives out rest of money; living at P off crayfish he sells; drinking heavily.	Adriaan; friend; outies.
32	1109-1135	Difficulty adapting to B when mother fetches him; living at a friend's parents in O; until they phone his mother to remove him; mother settles him in B; gets a job as training officer.	Adriaan; mother; step-father; D; friend's parents.
33	1135-1154	Running to work.	Adriaan; black man.
34	1155-1172	Being looked after by black women on bus; still drinking;	Adriaan; black women; bus driver; various women.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		promiscuous; keeping job.	
35	1173-1229	Disillusioned with regard to security firms; having to commit fraud; training security guards; fights with management and resigns.	Adriaan (30s); security guards; management; Mary; clients.
36	1229-1244	Moving back and forth between Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal; various security firms.	Adriaan; Mary; her children.
37	1245-1267	Standing in for the underdog; aggressive; not wanting to be a failure (C) .	Adriaan (42 years); Mary; her children; his son; the underdog.
38	1268-1286	Meeting Mary; threatening her X-husband; marrying Mary.	Adriaan (approximately 30 years); Mary. Mary's x-husband; family.
39	1286-1308	Her X-husband beating her; Adriaan beating her; he more controlled on meds; still verbally abusive; feels guilty (C) .	Adriaan (30s; 40s); Mary; x-husband.
40	1309-1350	Perfectionism at home; equates to military training; difficulty in relating to family;	Adriaan; Mary; her children; his mother.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		learning to tolerate children; blunted and withdrawing; difficulty expressing emotions (C) .	
41	1350-1367	Breakdown of first marriage; extreme difficulty relating to children; cannot relate to other parents.	Adriaan; x-wife; Mary; children; other parents at school.
42	1367-1384	Speaking his mind at a rugby braai; coming up for the underdog (C) .	Adriaan (40s); two children; parents.
43	1385-1413	Alienating friends and not contact brother (C) .	Adriaan (at school; 30s); friends; mother; best friend; brother.
44	1414-1434	Mother's support; Mary's support; learning to express love (C) .	Adriaan (30s; 40 years); mother; Mary.
45	1435-1460	Describes what is necessary for change. (C)	Adriaan (30s; 40s); fellow sufferers; those who stick by you.
46	1461-1491	Exposure to blacks following the townships; current exposure; exposure to propaganda (C) .	Adriaan (30s; 40s); black people; on bus; in taxis; in townships; apartheid authorities.
47	1492-1509	Anger at parents; family that allowed things to happen; idealistic about blacks	Adriaan (40s); parents; family members; previous government.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		(C).	
48	1509- 1521	Church hypocrisy (C) .	Adriaan (40s); parents; church members; God.
49	1522- 1571	Sense of being punished; alcohol; need for forgiveness; hatred; afraid to speak to church; disillusionment (C) .	Adriaan (late 20s/early 30s; 42 years); God; generals; previous government; church; J.; minister.
50	1572- 1598	By what will measure forgiveness; effects on friendships (C) .	Adriaan; friends; work; family
51	1599- 1616	Need to help (C) .	Adriaan; friends; other sufferers.
52	1616- 1651	His son and neglect; attempts to restore relationships (C) .	Adriaan. (30s; 42 years); his son; x-wife; Mary's son; Mary.
53	1651- 1684	Difficulty dealing with racist attitudes; difficulties socialising; loneliness. (C)	Adriaan (42 years); Pam; Pam's friend; own community.
54	1685- 1695	Suicidal ideation. (C)	Adriaan (various periods); son; mother; Mary.
55	1695- 1729	Meeting Mary; uses of alcohol; giving up of alcohol; admissions and meds.	Adriaan (last few years); Mary; mental health system.
56	1730- 1771	Meeting security policeman; reconsidering value TRC.	Adriaan (few years ago); colleague who testified; Mary; activist; policemen; authorities.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Adriaan's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
57	1772- 1817	Symptoms better controlled; arguing with people who are racist; Mary's children growing up exposure other races; changing (C)	Adriaan (42 years; a few years ago); older people; Pam's friend; Mary's children; God.
58	1818- 1836	Overview of what has lost and wants (C)	Adriaan (many periods); family; son; friends.
59	1837- 1881	Relationship with son; how grew up; difficult expressing emotion and learning to (C) .	Adriaan (past and now); son; grandson; people; mother; father.
60	1882- 1909	Difficulty expressing emotions; talking about experiences; looking after themselves; civilians unaffected (C) .	Adriaan (20s; 30s); colleagues; civilians
61	1910- 1920	Changes in SA (C) .	Adriaan (42 years); previous government; blacks.
62	1921- 1977	Attitude towards Afrikaners; feeling of isolation; shame (C) .	Adriaan (42 years); fellow Afrikaners
63	1978- 1995	Future (C) .	Adriaan (42 years).

Note. **(C)** refers to current events and experiences.

Table 2**Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear**

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
Family	Mother	2;3;4;8;11;13;16;17;32;40;43;44;54;59
	Father	2;3;6;7;8;9;11;59
	Mary (his wife)	23;35;36;37;38;39;40;41;44;52;54;55;56
	Brother; his children	4;7;8;15;24;28;30;43
	Sister-in-law	30
	Step-father	8;32
	Parents (mother/step-father)	47;48
	x-father-in-law	12;14
	x-wife	10;19;41;52
	Mary's family	23
	Their children	25;41
	His son	37;52;54;58;59
	Her children	36;37;40;52;53;56
	Mary's x-husband	39
	Family	19;38;47;50;58
Grandson	59	
Referring to God or the church	Church (broad concept)	2;8;15
	Church elder (NG)	3
	Church board (NG)	9
	Church (NG)	9;18;48
	Deacon	8
	God	9;15;48;49;58
	Minister	8;13;49
	Church (townships)	18;

Table 2**Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear**

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	Chaplain	18;20;21
	Jesus	26
	J	49
Police	Police station at H.	1
	Police (as organisation)	6;11;21;22;24;25
	X-wife's father; his friends	12;14
	College (lax trainers; trainees)	12
	Captain P.	12
	Task Force	12;13;19;29
	SANAB	12;14;15
	Unit 19	13
	Corrupt policemen (S)	14;15
	Incompetent authority (Brigadier H.); General W.	14;26
	Friend (J.M.); Ed; colleagues; dead troops	16;18;20;21;26;27;28;57;60
	Sergeant and his family	17
	Security Branch	17;19;21;27;56
	Blackjack officers	18
	Officers	18
	Reaction Unit	19;20;27;29
	Chaplain	18;20;21

<p style="text-align: center;">Table 2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear</p>		
Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	KwaZulu Police	22
	Askaris	22
	Generals	29;49
	Operational officers	29
	Colleague who testified	56
	Malevolent authorities	56
	Commissions	18
	Helen Susman	22
	Third force	20
Authorities	Incompetent authorities	3;14
	Malevolent authorities	6;7;8;11;12;13;14;22;35;46;47;49;56;61
	Headmaster	4;5
	Teachers	4
	Government	9
Friends	Other pupils	5
	Girls	10
	Friend (JM); (D);others	16;28;31;32;43;50;51
	Ed.	20;21;26
Black and coloured people	Coloured people	4;15;53;57
	Black people	4;12;13;26;29;35;61
	Black domestic workers	9
	Black people who	26

Table 2**Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear**

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	died	
	Black man	33
	Black women	34;46
	Bus driver	34
	Black people in taxi	46
	Black people in townships	46
	Rioters	18
People he saw as outside the law.	Criminals	12;14
	Terrorists	12;21
	Armed people	20
	Activists	56
	Rioters	18
Victims; fellow sufferers and the underdog.	Prostitutes	15
	Drug addicts	15
	Shot person	18
	Shot child	18
	Bodies	18
	Dead family	22
	Black children	25
	Black men	25
	Dead troops	26
	Ed	20;26
	Fellow outies	31
	The underdog	37
	Two children	42
	Fellow sufferers	45;51
	Colleague who testified	56

<p style="text-align: center;">Table 2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear</p>		
Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	Activist	56
	Black people	12;26
	Black security guard	35
Mental health system.	Doctor at N hospital	21
	GP Dr B.	21
	V Clinic	55
Own community	People	23;59
	Whites	29
	Parents at school	41;42
	Friends	43;58
	Best friend	43
	Family members	47
	Own community	53
	Older people	57
	Civilians	60;28
	Fellow Afrikaners	62
	Friend's parents	32
Supportive people	Mother	8;44
	Ed	20
	Mary	36;44;55
	GP Dr B.	21
	Black women on bus	34
	Those who stick by you	45
Minor characters	Stellenbosch University	4
	Wanderers club	4;6
	Gerald Bosch	4
	SADF	4;18

Table 2

**Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in
which They Appear**

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	Tea club	8
	Employers	25
	Various women	30;34
	Businessman in PS	30
	Fishermen	30
	Clients	35

Table 3		
Adriaan's Narrated Selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Victim	3	Father's death; told the news.
Poor decision-maker; anti-racism; protector; dutiful son; rebellious; vain.	4	Effects of father's death; leaving and returning to school; playing rugby.
Anti-military; religious; escaping; manipulative; highly regarded.	5	Doing Biblical studies instead of cadets.
Poor decision-maker; dutiful son; empathetic.	6	Following dead father's wishes; joining the police instead of playing rugby.
Anti-authoritarianism; critical; rejected; admiring; empathetic.	7	Adriaan's rejection of brother and father's ways of disciplining children; Adriaan's understanding of it; brother's rejection of Adriaan; father's sporting achievements.
Protector; dutiful son; loved son; flexible; understanding; critical.	8	Protecting mother's honour; mothers remarriage.
Anti-racism.	9	Father's battle to have other racial groups allowed in church.
All-rounder; active.	10	Participated in most activities; no girlfriend.
Dutiful son; dutiful citizen.	11	Mother's pleasure in his joining the SAP.
Idealistic student; action-loving; anti-racism; struggling to adjust; critical; dissatisfied; militarised.	12	College; exposed to some police methods; exposure to propaganda.
Fit; manipulative. Escaping.	13	Avoiding militarisation; Unit 19.
Idealistic; has integrity;	14	Exposing corruption and punished by

Table 3**Adriaan's Narrated Selves**

Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
good cop; victim.		being sent to mobile unit.
Anti-racism; rebellious; empathetic.	15	Friendships with other racial groups; sympathy and understanding for prostitutes.
Trying to escape.	16	Wanting to go overseas; selling everything.
Intimidated; guilty; rebellious; good cop; shocked; escaping; dutiful son.	17	A sergeant's disappearance; drinking; wave-skiing; staying in South Africa.
Good cop; perpetrator; losing all empathy; escaping.	18	Extreme chaos of the township violence. Mobile unit to stability unit; chaotic rushing around attending complaints; trying to be a good cop committing of atrocities; drinking constantly; experimenting in ways to kill people; people going to church; becoming part of the system; deciding has to get out; children being shot; floods and drinking; taunting people going to church so that can shoot; no help from chaplain.
Proud policeman; justifying.	19	Joins the Reaction Unit; explains tried anything to leave SAP.
Sick; victim; premonition; incapable of saving friend.	20	Developing panic attacks; told alcoholic; Ed's death.
Victim; speaking out; inebriated; disappointed; blunted; isolated;	21	Punished for not coping; transferred; diagnosed with PTSD; untreated; starts Reaction Unit in PS.

Table 3		
Adriaan's Narrated Selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
rejected		
Used; perpetrating	22	Family killed by askaris; acting deceitfully.
Poor decision-maker; isolated; aggressive; shamed; hurt; speaking out; loss.	23	Assaulting bank clerk; sister-in-law; on own; unable to socialise.
Sick; loss; drinking.	24	Not coping in business; in J on beach and drinking; lost everything.
Perpetrator; empathetic; unemployed.	25	People; children harmed in struggle; children trying to necklace a friend.
Perpetrator; empathetic; confrontational; aggressive; violent; bitter; remorseful; sad; against SAP.	26	Ed's and other troops death; confronting Gen. W.; wearing camos; perpetrating; black people being shot; recognition that they serve whites; dying people calling on Jesus.
Liberal; bad decision-making	27	Siding with the DP; used by Security Branch.
Poor decision-maker; competent policeman.	28	Received ground for helping a crime victim; giving away house; selling stuff; joining brother.
Distancing from generals.	29	Disgruntled generals possibly planning a coup.
Violent; failure; lost nerve.	30	Assaults brother and loses everything.
Fleeing; totally incapacitated; hobo; drugging; alcoholic; communicating.	31	Loses everything after driving until no money left; lives on beach.
Supported; rejected;	32	Cannot adapt to J; moves to O; lives with

Table 3**Adriaan's Narrated Selves**

Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
incapacitated; training officer.		friend's parents until they get his mother to remove him; mother gets him a job; place to stay.
Determined; unaware; fit.	33	Running to work; not realising there was a bus.
Working; protected; paternalistic; alienated; communicating; drinking; promiscuous.	34	Women looking after him; maintaining job; drinking; promiscuous.
Empathetic; disillusioned; naïve; integrity; committing fraud; aggressive; impulsive.	35	Training security guards; having to commit fraud; fighting with management; resigning.
Sick; unable to keep a job; feeling chased.	36	Moving back and forth between Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal; various jobs for short periods; until does not cope.
Empathetic; standing up for underdog; driven.	37	Standing in for underdog; being part of a family; learning from Mary.
Protector; aggressive; threatening.	38	Protecting Mary against husband; marrying her.
Loving; protective; appreciative; physically and emotionally abusive; guilty; perseverance.	39	Marrying Mary; beating and verbally abusing Mary; taking meds.
Irritated; demanding; perfectionist; militaristic; expressing love; alexithymic; critical; angry; perseverance.	40	Nagging on housework; saying "I love you."
Selfish; dislikes others; alienation.	41	Breakdown in first marriage; inability to relate to children or other parents.

Table 3		
Adriaan's Narrated Selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Socially inept; standing up for the underdog; rejected; aggressive.	42	Speaking mind at rugby braai.
Popular; rejected; rejecting; aggressive; angry; loss.	43	Popular at school; aggressive and rejecting towards previous friends.
Loved; supported; expressing love.	44	Mother's and Mary's support; learning to express love.
Expert; humble.	45	What to give up; relearning to drive.
Paternalistic; respectful; receiving; providence; unafraid; anger.	46	Learning to know and at times admire black people; anger at previous government.
Accusing.	47	Told parents of anger about apartheid; overly idealistic about blacks.
Accusing; anti-apartheid.	48	Anger at church.
Punished; remorseful; angry; self-hatred; hating; condemned; isolated; drinking; killer.	49	Perpetration in townships; intense need for forgiveness.
What wants to be: contrasts good Adriaan and bad Adriaan.	50	Explains the changes he wants to see in himself.
Loss; helper.	51	Loss of friends; using his experience to help other sufferers.
Negligent father; attempts to change; loss; sad; fearing conflict; trying to prove self.	52	Often not having had contact with his son; sense of missing out; attempts to restore relationship.

Table 3**Adriaan's Narrated Selves**

Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Alienation; racist; perseverance; anti-racism.	53	Difficulty in accepting P's friend; unable to meet friends.
Courageous.	54	Suicidal ideation.
Choosing to live.	55	Meeting Mary; giving up alcohol; taking meds.
Remorseful; hopeful; empathetic; accusing.	56	TRC; butcher friend.
Challenging self; changing; distancing self; anger; accusing.	57	Pam's friend; challenging old people; changing his attitudes to other races.
Damaged person; loss; sadness; guilt; rejecting.	58	Many people have rejected him; he had rejected them; damage incurred.
Missed opportunities; lost opportunities; drive; learning.	59	Difficulties showing affection; learning to.
Isolated; used.	60	Difficulty explaining self to anyone apart from police colleagues.
Welcoming changes; hatred.	61	Welcoming changes; irritation at blacks.
Isolated; alienated; angry; shame; disappointed; disillusioned.	62	Not fitting in with Afrikaners; feeling used.
Struggling; depression; perseverance.	63	His lack of motivation; hope for future.

Table 4	
Divisions in Adriaan's Narrative	
Episodes	Period
1-11	Growing up and before joining the police.
12-17	Avoiding the townships.
18-30	Working in the townships.
31-63	After leaving the SAP.

APPENDIX E

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
1	1-20	Brief synopsis of growing up until joining the SAP.	Charl to 18 years; father; mother; maternal grandparents.
2	21-39	Father's clandestine work.	Charl various ages as a child; father; SADF
3	40-50	Father as disciplined; as perfectionist.	Father; domestic worker.
4	50-89	Working on smallholding; slaughtering chickens.	Charl from about 14 years; his two younger brothers; black labourers; mother.
5	90-95	Outwitting father; selling gibbets for extra money; father finding out and taking over.	Charl (high school); father; brothers; black labourers.
6	95-104	Father providing for them.	Charl; brothers; father.
7	105-115	Attitudes towards black people in family.	Father; mother; black labourers; neighbours.
8	115-135	Beating up black people for fun.	Charl (high school); friends; father; black people.
9	136-142	Parent's divorce.	Charl high school; father; mother; paternal grandmother.
10	142-179	Describing mother and his early relationship; they did not get on well; current relationship is better. (C)	Charl (high school); Charl currently; mother.
11	180-248	Discusses relationship	Charl (growing up and

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story			
		with brothers; disappointed in both.	current); brothers.
12	249-253	His father's further two marriages.	Father; 2 nd wife; 3 rd wife (E).
13	253-263	E's poor relationship with him and his brothers; her son assaults his father; who forbids him the house.	Charl (adult); brothers; E; her son; his father.
14	263-279	Father and his continued relationship despite E's disapproval; treating father until his death.	Charl (last few years); E; father.
15	279-299	Maintaining contact with E; his children's inheritance. (C)	Charl (current); his children (J and K); E; his mother.
16	300-314	Joining the SAP.	Charl (19 years); mother; father.
17	315-352	Training at the college; Sergeant from Koevoet who gave them a hard time.	Charl (19 years); his fellow trainees; sergeant.
18	352-419	Training at the Guard Unit; Sergeant D; getting own back; intense training; effect on them; trainee killed by accident by trainer; injuries to trainee.	Charl (approximately 19 years); killed trainee; injured trainee; Sergeant D.
19	419-442	Working at PW's house and getting revenge.	Charl (early 20s); RB's son; PW; M.
20	442-477	Drinking and drunk	Charl (early 20s); colleagues;

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story			
		exploits.	girls.
21	478-486	Transferred to Head Office.	Charl (early 20s); Lieutenant L
22	486-497	Playing ruby.	Charl (early 20s); rugby players.
23	498-520	Women at Head Office; fooling around; deciding on a transfer for sake of marriage.	Charl (mid 20s); women at Head Office.
24	521-533	Not getting transfers; soul-destroying work; suicides.	Charl (mid 20s); colleagues.
25	533-560	Approaching Minister Vlok in order to get a transfer.	Charl (mid 20s); Minister Vlok; Colonel B; Lieutenant C; C (his son); Commissioner E; black people (derogatory terms).
26	561-567	Decision to go the Riot Squad.	Charl (mid 20s); friends.
27	568-632	Extreme boredom in Guard Unit; difficulty staying awake; finding ways to bypass the system.	Charl (mid 20s); various members.
28	632-650	Messing around.	Charl (early to mid 20s); friends; Major R.
29	651-663	Assaulting people at bars; protecting one another.	Charl (early to mid 20s); friends; public at bars.
30	664-703	Protected when killed someone in MVA; playing rugby.	Charl (early to mid 20s); Portuguese man; Major R; Colonel MK; BC.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story			
31	703-731	Joining Riot Unit; operation to shoulder; ops room; training.	Charl (mid 20s).
32	732-759	Starting in the Riot Units; playing rugby; learning to torture.	Charl (mid 20s); suspects.
33	760-791	Outwitting the system.	Charl (mid 20s); suspects; colleagues; Matome.
34	791-812	Inciting violence; killing people; trapping people so that they burn to death.	Charl (mid 20s; 29); people in townships; killed people; colleagues.
35	813-857	Effects on them; rules do not count; drinking.	Charl (mid to late 20s); colleagues; Major P.
36	857-874	Effects on them; alienated from own community; more comfortable in black townships.	Charl (late 20s); own community; black townships.
37	874-889	Work he and Matome did together; torture; arresting hit squads; good arrests.	Charl (late 20s); Matome; suspects; hit squads.
38	889-893	Rewarded for arrests.	Charl (mid to late 20s); white colleagues.
39	893-933	His minibus; reign of terror in townships.	Charl (late 20s); people in townships.
40	934-948	Neglect of family; drinking.	Charl (late 20s); children.
41	948-972	Preferring work in townships; describing tubing; suspect with heart	Charl (late 20s); suspects; black policemen; BS; suspect

<p style="text-align: center;">Table 1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story</p>			
		attack.	with heart attack.
42	972-988	Going over to training; needing violence and visiting bars to get it; drinking.	Charl (mid 30s); public at bars.
43	989-1015	Guilt about children (C) ; reasons for drinking; assaulting people.	Charl (mid 30s); public at bars; children.
44	1016-1071	Police rewarding him; now not supporting him (C) ; sense of betrayal; sense of being forced to work in townships; later doing it voluntarily; making sacrifices; fear that children may imitate him (C) .	Charl (mid 20s to present); SAP; Colonel N; colleagues who no longer wanted to work in townships; his children.
45	1072-1076	Importance of children (C) .	Charl (current); children.
46	1077-1098	Remembering different things as we continue to talking; nightmares (C) .	Charl (current).
47	1099-1184	Wife's suicide attempts and death.	Charl (mid 30s); wife; children; Brigadier; brother-in-law.
48	1184-1213	Coping with her death; drinking.	Charl (mid 30s); wife; family; brother-in-law.
49	1214-1225	Relationships not working.	Charl (30s); girlfriend; children.
50	1226-1248	Wife persuading him to have children.	Charl (20s); wife; children.
51	1248-1264	Conflict her children.	Charl (30s); his children; her children from a previous

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story			
			marriage.
52	1265-1302	Impact of work on relationship; called out to crimes; drinking.	Charl (20s and 30s); wife; suspects.
53	1303-1325-	Effects of work on him; drinking; endangering child; sense of betrayal.	Charl (30s); R (his child).
54	1326-1361	Difficulties in marriage; doing extra work; Brigadier taking advantage of her.	Charl (30s); Wife; Brigadier; SAP.
55	1362-1384	Showing empathy; harming people.	Charl (30s); suspects.
56	1385-1399	Re-spraying minibus after MVA and assaulting victim; getting away with things; equipment in bus.	Charl (20s and 30s). J of J's upholstery; man assaulted; colleagues.
57	1400-1417	Harming suspects; surprise that they did not retaliate; emotional blunting.	Charl (20s and 30s); suspects; black colleagues.
58	1418-1447	Trying to make peace with what he has done; not getting angry child (C) .	Charl (current); R.
59	1448-1545	Explosion at V; flashback at end of interview (C) .	Charl (late 30); current; JD; GL; old lady; dead white man; dead black men.
60	1546-1560	Not coping at training; bored; symptoms of PTSD problematic.	Charl (late 30s).
61	1561-1577	Going on the trains in	Charl (later 30s); illegal

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story			
		order to assault detainees.	immigrants.
62	1578-1608	Reasons for deciding to stop going on trains; fearing total loss of control.	Charl (later 30s); illegal immigrants; children; prisoners.
63	1609-1628	Friends saying he is inhumane; police laughing about it; getting ill; afraid of killing someone.	Charl (30s); friend; fellow policemen; illegal immigrants.
64	1629-1638	Inciting violence.	Charl (20s and 30s); rioters; policemen.
65	1638-1674	Harming children; killing people; children dying or injured; baby and mother killed in taxi violence.	Charl (20s -30s); men killed; child affected by teargas; child and mother killed in taxi violence.
66	1675-1712	Killing and harming; saying abused torture; at times feeling sadness.	Charl (20s and 30s); suspects/victims.
67	1713-1727	Experience talking of this (C) ; allowing people to get away with murder.	(Charl (20s and 30s); Charl (current); colleagues; victims.
68	1728-1788	Racism in the SAP (college; Guard Unit; Head Office; Riot Unit).	Charl (early 20s to late 30s); SAP; black people (both in SAP and civilians).
69	1789-1812	Remorse around what he has done; blame for SAP. (C)	Charl (current); SAP.
70	1813-1824	Racism grew up with; attempts to challenge it in self. (C)	Charl (as child; in SAP; current); father.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story			
71	1825-1839	Fear may still kill someone in order to be punished; awareness and remorse for what he has done. (C)	Charl (current; SAP); victims.
72	1839-1857	Recognition of what he could have done. (C)	Charl (current looking back).
73	1857-1854	Disappointment in the SAPS. (C)	Charl (current); SAPS
74	1855-1872	Need to help.	Charl (late 30s); old lady; her dead husband.
75	1873-1930	Disappointed in SAPS; recognition that may have had false confessions; says he was the problem. (C)	Charl (current).
76	1931-1960	Amount of ammunitions shot out; remorse; false information in order to shoot. (C)	Charl (current; period in SAP); colleagues; victims.
77	1961-2004	Used by ANC to suppress Zulus; people against torture; torture. (C)	Charl (late 30s; current); Popcru member; Zulus; ANC.
78	2005-2016	Writing of false reports; lying.	Charl (late 30s; current).
79	2017-2041	Dismantling of apartheid; legalisation of the ANC.	Charl (late 30s); FW; ANC.
80	2042-2067	Death of Matome. (C)	Charl (current); Matome; Supt H.
81	2068-2078	Current impact on his children. (C)	Charl (current); C; R (his children).

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Charl's Life Story			
82	2079-2101	Upset about corrupt white policemen. (C)	Charl (current); corrupt white policemen.
83	2102-2114	Planning to injure people on trains.	Charl (late 30s); illegal immigrants.
84	2115-2154	Giving up alcohol. (C)	Charl (current).
85	2155-2198	Alienation; thoughts. (C)	Charl (current); family.
86	2199-2073	Psychotherapy; goals. (C)	Charl (current); Elaine.

Note: **(C)** refers to current events or experiences.

<p align="center">Table 2</p> <p align="center">Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear</p>		
Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
Family	Father	1;2;3;5;6;7;8;9;12;13;14;16;70
	Mother	1;4;7;9;10;15;16
	Wife	47;48;50;52;54
	Maternal grandparents	1
	Brothers	4;5;6;11;13
	Paternal grandmother	9
	Father 2 nd wife	12
	Father 3 rd wife (E)	12;13;14;15
	E's son	13
	Charl's children (C & R)	15;40;43;44;45;47;49;50;51;62;81;85
	His son (C)	25
	His son (R)	53;58
	Brother-in-law	47;48
	Family	48
	Girlfriend	49
Step-children	51	
Organisations	SADF	2
	Popcru	77
	ANC	77
	Zulus	77
	ANC	79
	FW	79
Black people	Domestic worker	3
	Black labourers	4;5

Table 2
Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	Workers	8
	General (civilians and in SAP)	68
Community	Neighbours	7
	Friends (at school)	8
	Girls	20
	Public at bars	29;42;43
	Portuguese man	30
	People in townships	34;36;39
	Dead black men	59
	Old woman	59
	White community	36
	J of J's Upholstery	55
	Friend not in SAPS	63
	Men killed	65
	Children in townships	65
	Baby and mother killed in taxi violence	65
Dead white man	59	
Suspects/ those seen as criminal/ those acted against/ criminals	Suspects	31;33;37;41;52;55;57
	Suspect with heart attack	41
	Suspects/victims	67;71;72;76
	Rioters	64
	Hit squads	37
	Assaulted man	56

Table 2
**Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in
which They Appear**

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	Illegal immigrants	61;62;63;83
	Prisoners	62
SAP/S	SAP/S as organisation	44;54;68;69;70;74
	College – fellow trainees	17;18
	College – sergeant from Koevoet	17
	College – Sergeant D	18
	Guard Unit - PW	19
	Guard Unit – RB's son	19
	Guard Unit - M	19
	Colleagues/friends	20;24;26;27;28;29;33;34;35;44;56;63;64;67;76
	Matome	33;37;80
	BS	41
	White colleagues	38
	Black colleagues	41;57
	Women	23
	Rugby players	22
	Corrupt white policemen	82
JD; GL	59	
Various superiors	Lieutenant L; Lieutenant C; Commissioner E; Colonel B; Colonel N;	21;25;44;80

<p style="text-align: center;">Table 2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear</p>		
Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	Supt H.	
	Brigadier	47;54
	Minister Vlok	25
	Major R	28;30
	Colonel MK; Colonel BC	30
	Major P	35
Therapist	Elaine	86

Table 3
Charl's narrated selves

Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Matter of fact.	1	Growing up
Politically conservative family.	2	Father's clandestine activities.
Matter of fact.	3	Father disciplined.
Hardworking; able to habituate to bad things.	4	Working; slaughtering chickens
Outwitting authority.	5	Selling gibbets for extra money.
Grateful; appreciative.	6	Father providing for them.
Apologist.	7	Growing up in racist family.
Aggressor; racist; violent.	8	Beating up black people for fun.
Coping with emotional challenges.	9	Parent's divorce.
Critical.	10	Changes in his and mother's relationship.
	11	Disappointed in brothers.
Matter-of-fact.	12	Father's 2 nd and 3 rd marriages.
Supportive of family.	13	Maintaining relationship father
	14	
Supportive; family important; responsible for children.	15	Maintaining relationship E (father's 3 rd wife).
Making own decisions.	16	Joins SAP.
Perseverance.	17	Training.
Perseverance; outwitting authority.	18	Training; effects of injured and killed trainees; getting own back.
Getting revenge; resentful.	19	Working in Guard Unit; PW's house; RB's son.

Table 3		
Charl's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Abusing alcohol; risky behaviour.	20	Drinking in Guard Unit.
Matter-of-fact.	21	Getting a transfer.
Exploitive; playing rugby for benefits.	22	Playing rugby.
Has integrity; playing games; not serious.	23	Working at Head Office.
Perseverance.	24	Working at Guard Unit.
	25	Approaching Vlok to get a transfer.
Bored.	26	Choosing to join Riot Unit.
Bypassing the system; irritated by irrational rules.	27	Boredom in Guard Unit.
Playing games.	28	At work; target shooting; high jinks.
	29	Assaulting people at bars; often for the fun of it; protecting one another.
Protected by superior officers.	30	Killing someone in MVA; playing rugby.
Matter-of –fact.	31	Working in ops room; shoulder op.
Overwhelmed; rushing; attempting to be efficient; devil-may-care; loss of caring.	32	Starting to work in townships; starting to torture; drinking.
Outwitting the system; untouchable.	33	Protected by and protecting of colleagues.
Brutal.	34	Inciting violence; trapping people so that they burn to death.
Emotionally blunted;	35	Loss of emotions also privately;

Table 3		
Charl's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
aggressive; powerful.		drinking; lying to spouses; beating up colleagues and the public.
Alienated.	36	More comfortable in black townships; uncomfortable with family.
Secretive; beating the system; efficient; hard-working.	37	He and Matome locking up hit squads; working hard; torturing.
Untouchable.	38	Rewarded with equipment for arrests.
Powerful; terrorising.	39	His minibus; reign of terror in townships; torture.
Loss of feeling; neglectful.	40	Neglecting children; drinking.
Some remorse; outwitting the system.	41	Tubing; ensuring that officers did not know what he was doing.
Dependent on violence.	42	Visiting bars to fight.
Guilty; remorseful; violent.	43	Not good to children; drinking; violence.
Betrayed; remorseful.	44	No support from SAPS; colleagues forced to work; children neglected; given bad example.
Father.	45	Importance of children.
Sick.	46	Symptoms of PTSD.
Angry; betrayed; understanding; empathy.	47	Wife's suicide attempt and death; supporting her.
Strength.	48	Grieving; deciding to get up and continue.
Father; integrity.	49	Deciding against relationships for

Table 3
Charl's narrated selves

Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
		children's sake and as unfair to possible partner.
Reluctant father; grieving; understanding.	50	Loss of wife; having children.
Integrity; self-sacrificing.	51	Conflict her children; allowing his children to maintain contact.
Work first.	52	Put work before relationship.
	53	Put work before children; to point of exposing them to danger.
Committed; responsible.	54	Difficulties in marriage; repeated attempts to save marriage.
Empathetic; brutal; does introspection.	55	Contrasts between harming people and showing empathy.
Untouchable.	56	Respraying minibus; assaulting people; torture.
Lack of empathy; emotional blunting.	57	Surprised that suspects did not retaliate.
Does introspection.	58	Trying to understand; make peace.
Overwhelmed.	59	Talking about explosion at V.
Sick.	60	At training; arousal problematic.
Brutal.	61	Assaulting illegal immigrants.
Fearful; loss of control; remorse.	62	Assaulting illegal immigrants.
Ashamed; fears self.	63	Friend not in SAPS expressing shock; fearing he may kill someone.
Incites violence.	64	Inciting violence so that can shoot.
Remorseful	65	Children injured; killed; innocent

Table 3		
Charl's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
		people.
Questioning; remorseful; helpless.	66	Questioning killing and harming people.
Remorseful.	67	Talking about what did; allowing colleagues to get away with murder.
Racist; brutal; violent.	68	Recognising racism in family; SAP; etc.
Remorseful; blaming; does introspection.	69	Questioning beliefs; exploring attitudes.
Challenging racism.	70	Questioning beliefs in self.
Fears self; remorseful; need for punishment.	71	Awareness of what has done; needs punishment.
Confused.	72	Wants to help and to destroy.
Remorseful.	73	Recognition of what could have done.
Disappointed.	74	Disappointment in the SAPS; feels abandoned.
Responsible.	75	Could have false confessions; acknowledges he a part of the problem.
Remorseful; horror; confessing.	76	Quantities of ammunition.
Questioning.	77	Used by ANC; people without principles.
Confessing; liar.	78	Writing false reports; covering up for people.
Betrayed.	79	FW legalising ANC.

Table 3**Charl's narrated selves**

Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Grieving.	80	Death of Matome.
Alcoholic; sick.	81	Children's response to his stopping drinking; crying at home.
Shocked; naïve.	82	Corruption among white policemen.
Evil; shock; horror.	83	Planning how to harm illegal immigrants.
Remorseful; courageous.	84	Giving up alcohol; facing himself.
Dreaming.	85	Dreams for a normal existence.
Openness; needy.	86	Psychotherapy; goals.

Table 4	
Divisions in narrative	
Episodes	Period
1-15	Growing up and joining SAP. Also includes some current or recent family issues that are unrelated to the SAP/S.
16-30	Training in SAP and period of almost eight years in the Guard Unit.
31-59	Period in townships; wife's death..
60-63	Period in training.
64-87	After going off sick; often looking back on incidents.
64;65;66;75;76;77;78	Relate back to the township period.
83	Period in training and on trains.

APPENDIX F

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
1	1-11	Birth; position in family; general characteristics of family.	D (at birth); extended maternal and paternal family.
2	12-25	Spoilt by extended maternal family; paternal grandmother did not accept mother; hatred for paternal grandmother (C) .	D (as child; current); extended maternal family; paternal grandmother; father; mother; other girl.
3	25-45	First birthday; extended family.	D (one year old; current); father; extended family.
4	45-60	Birth of sister who dies within a few hours; his parents' grief.	D (2 or 3 years old; current); sister who died; father; mother; hospitals.
5	60-71	Love and admiration for father (C) .	D (current); father.
6	72-94	Father leaves school early to help support the family; hatred for paternal grandmother; identification with father (C) .	D (current); paternal grandmother; paternal aunts and uncles; father; paternal grandfather.
7	94-99	Lack of appreciation for father from his family (C) ; his need to prove himself.	D (current); paternal aunts and uncles; father.
8	99-106	Father a sportsman; working hard; often away from home.	D (child); father.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
9	106-114	Staying with maternal grandmother; maternal grandmother's death.	D (child up to age of approximately 11); maternal grandmother.
10	115-158	Staying with paternal grandparents; paternal grandfather strict with a temper and strong; paternal grandmother gave him hidings; anger towards her (C) ; he does things differently (C) .	D (approximately 2 or 3 years old; older); paternal grandfather; paternal grandmother; extended family; his son.
11	159-173	Hatred of being dominated (C) .	D (current); Hester (wife); paternal grandmother; paternal grandfather.
12	174-198	Sense of disappointing father; inability to show love to father.	D (current); father.
13	199-209	Arranging watching a rugby match with son and father.	D (34 years); father; son.
14	210-226	Father work; strong religious background; seeing little of father; seeing his own family.	D (current); father; visitors; father's employees; Hester; children.
15	227-253	Need for acknowledgement.	D (current); colleagues.
16	254-271	Relationship with mother; taking colleagues to mother; mother not racist.	D (current); mother; colleagues (black and white).

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
17	271-307	Mother's mood swings; helping mother; looking after brother and sister.	D (child); brother; sister; mother; domestic workers.
18	308-333	Sexually abused; encouraged to engage in sexual acts with cousin.	D (from about 4/5 years old); cousin; uncle; paternal grandmother.
19	333-348	Uncle lives them and abuses domestic worker; proclaims himself to be non-racist.	D (about 7 years); paternal grandmother; mother; domestic worker; uncle; racists; black people.
20	348-355	Nature of the sexual abuse.	D (between 4/5 and late childhood); uncle; cousin.
21	355-359	Anger at abuse.	D (current); uncle.
22	359-383	Revenge on uncle by having sex with his wife.	D (approximately 17 years old); cousin; uncle's wife.
23	384-411	Attempts to avoid sexual abuse; sick; hiding; clothes.	D (in primary school); uncle; parents; father.
24	412-419	Told parents recently; their reaction; uncle's threats.	D (child; current); uncle; mother; father.
25	420-426	Anger at sexual abuse.	D (current); uncle.
26	427-476	Results of sexual abuse; promiscuity; fear of homosexuality.	D (current); women.
27	477-497	Ways coped as a child and later; links aggression.	D (as child; current); father; people.
28	443-517	Attempted penetration; sexual relationship	D (as child; standard 6/7); cousin; male cousin;

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		between him and cousin.	uncle.
29	518-531	Going to school at five; not adjusting; being taken out of school again; humiliated by cousin; going to school following year.	D (5 years); cousin; parents.
30	532-548	Enjoying school; liked teachers; participated in broad range of activities; made friends.	D (primary and high school); grade one teacher; other teachers; friends.
31	548-558	Being part of the special drill squad at school; pride at winning the national trophy.	D (high school); fellow pupils.
32	558-587	Disciplined behaviour at school.	D (high school; some time following school); son.
33	588-575	Started drinking instead of exercising; explains bad habits started after joining the police.	D (high school; after joining the police).
34	576-588	Tells more of disciplined behaviour before the police.	D (high school).
35	589-619	Reasons for joining the police.	D (small child; current); uncle (maternal); colleagues; public.
36	619-623	Realisation that the dream and the reality differ.	D (after joining the police).
37	623-632	Working at a station as a	D (approximately 18

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		student before training.	years).
38	632-648	Arrival at Maleoskop.	D (18 /19 years); trainers; mother.
39	648-653	Athletic record at school.	D (18 years; current).
40	654-664	Proving self at Maleoskop.	D (18 years); lance sergeant; fellow students.
41	664-677	Having a matric girlfriend in standard six; having an affaire with a teacher; wanting the best; accepting challenges.	D (13 years; 18 years); matric girlfriend; teacher with whom an affaire; other male and female teachers.
42	678-682	Not really rebellious at school.	D (high school; matric).
43	683-713	Current relationships teachers; need to win; need for recognition.	D (high school; current); teachers; son.
44	714-743	Need for recognition; approval at Maleoskop; willing to change..	D (at school; 18/19 years); teachers; trainers.
45	744-696	Difficulty with morality of being told had to kill black people.	D (18/ 19 years); trainers; black people.
46	696-720	Training at Maleoskop; focus on terrorism; normal policing ignored.	D (18/19 years; later in SAP/S); trainers; 'terrorists'.
47	721-794	Difficulty with racist attitudes at Maleoskop; father teaching him to respect all people.	D (18/19 years; at school); father; trainers; black people.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
48	795-803	Uncertainty in the country; during their training.	D (18/19 years); authorities.
49	804-817	Being trained to kill black people; effect on him.	D (18/19 years); trainers; black people.
50	817-824	Ambivalence around training (C) .	D (18/19 years; current).
51	825-842	Suppressing emotions; sensations.	D (18/19 years); trainers.
52	843-857	Deployed in riot control before their training was complete.	D (18/19 years); rioting black people.
53	858-873	Shooting someone the first time; unprepared for feeling so bad; told for country.	D (18/19 years); trainers.
54	874-833	Need for approval and recognition during training.	D (18/19 years); trainers.
55	833-892	Aggression encouraged and developed during training; the world of policing a macho environment.	D (18/19 years); trainers; black people; a shot trainee; assault of a weak trainee.
56	893-922	Dependency on buddy; authority structures; life-saving.	D (18/19 years); trainers; buddy.
57	923-950	No training in normal policing; taught to disregard the law; no questioning; indoctrination;	D (18/19 years; few years into the police); lance sergeant.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		not knowing that could refuse to obey orders.	
58	950-969	Differences in current and past training; changes in the police; he and I different viewpoints (C) .	D (18/19 years; as trainer); Elaine; trainees.
59	970-993	Acknowledges some orders questionable; frustration with demilitarisation of the police.	D (police career; current); senior members.
60	994-1023	Internal conflicts with regard to training.	D (18/19 years); trainers.
61	1024-1034	Unsure what the ultimate reason for the training was; passing out parade; pride in training.	D (18/19 years); fellow trainees; college trained trainees.
62	1035-1055	Becoming someone he did not want to be; becoming racist and aggressive.	D (18/19 years); black people; trainers; Lieutenant A.
63	1055-1067	Harshness of training; secrecy in the SAP.	D (18/19 years); trainers; buddies.
64	1068-1108	Being forced to swim through sewerage dams.	D (18/19 years); trainers.
65	1109-1119	Difficulty talking about these things; reacting to me; sense of isolation (C) .	D (current); E; H; trainers.
66	1120-1223	Trained to kill black people; not deployed;	D (18/19 years; current); antelope; dogs; black

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		racist; blunted; sense of not having value.	people; apartheid government; current government.
67	1224-1262	Craving to harm others (C) .	D (current).
68	1263-1272	Hating administrative work (C) .	D (current).
69	1272-1327	Reactions due to PTSD (C) .	D (current). colleagues; wife; children.
70	1327-1334	Despair because of symptoms (C)	D (current).
71	1334-1360	Struggling to adjust to administrative work (C) .	D (current); colleagues.
72	1361-1386	Shame; loss of identity (C) .	D (current); colleagues; public.
73	1386-1405	Physical injuries and impact on work (C) .	D (current); wife; children.
74	1406-1420	Disgust at duties at guard unit.	D (19 years).
75	1421-1450	Running away from some apparition.	D (19 years); W; W's body guard; Major.
76	1450-1353	Applying for a transfer to parents' town.	D (19 years).
77	1454-1469	Meeting wife (Hester); drinking heavily; getting married; applying for a transfer.	D (20 years); Hester; her parents; his parents.
78	1469-1477	Sees general to get transfer; moves to A.	D (20 years); General; Hester.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
79	1478-1492	Starts work at A; is initiated into work of station.	D (20 years); older members.
80	1492-1503	Socially good; many scenes; happy.	D (early 20s); colleagues.
81	1503-1511	Working in crime intelligence.	D (early 20s); colleagues; criminals; Oom G.
82	1511-1523	He and colleagues involved in crime prevention; working as many hours as could; riots in nearby township; assaults; shootings.	D (early 20s); T; P; criminals; whole station; rioters.
83	1523-1578	A miraculous escape.	D (early 20s); V; perpetrators; rioters.
84	1578-1613	A mob trying to kill people.	D (early 20s); T; P; M; fat black woman; officers; rioters.
85	1613-1633	Burning a bakkie; enjoying but not enjoying; assaulting people.	D (early 20s); colleagues; instigators.
86	1633-1644	Dealing with numerous riots; sense of being bullet proof; justified shootings.	D (early 20s); colleagues; rioters.
87	1644-1657	Enjoying shooting and assaulting black people.	D (early 20s); parents; trainers; rioters; colleagues.
88	1657-1678	Sense of proving himself; getting recognition and	D (early 20s); senior policemen; colleagues.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		approval from senior colleagues.	
89	1679-1693	Admits some of more serious assaults bother him; says developed a conscience.	D (early 20s; current); people assaulted.
90	1694-1725	Development of assaults; assaulting innocent people because they can; abusing the situation of the independent homelands.	D (early 20s); colleagues; pedestrians.
91	1725-1760	Not being bothered by what has done; avoiding thinking about it.	D (current).
92	1761-1795	Defences against thinking about perpetration; too difficult to think about.	D (current); the Holy Spirit.
93	1761-1906	Process of disintegration; two separate lives; inability to keep work separate from rest of life; overwhelmed by guilt around perpetration.	D (last few years); wife; children; women; suspects.
94	1907-1958	Rationalisations for assaults; sacrifice for the community.	D (last few years; current); community; suspects; Maleoskop trainers; God.
95	1958-1970	Sexually stimulating.	D (last few years); suspects; women.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
96	1971-1991	First commander boasts about war wounds; wanting to prove himself; wondering if that is why he allowed what he did.	D (18 19 years); first commander.
97	1992-2033	Designated roles in SAP/S; training kicking in; explosion.	D (from 18/19 years to present); policemen; Elaine; those who don't measure up; criminals.
98	2033-2038	Unhappiness at being away from the action (C) .	D (current); Elaine.
99	2038-2077	The development of assaults on innocent people; power.	D (early 20s); T; P; other colleagues; black people.
100	2077-2087	Overview guard unit and first period station where not too much aggression.	D (early 20s).
101	2087-2108	Getting involved with the commanders; going overboard; Colonel B visits and is presented with black bags of gas canisters; rubber bullets; etc by the people of M.	D (early 20s); his colleagues; commanders; Colonel B; people of M.
102	2108-2133	Following suspects into townships; shooting; development of serious assaults.	D (early 20s); colleagues; people of M.
103	2133-2139	Abusing the independent	D (early 20s; current);

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		homelands to assault people; people still recognising him and afraid of him (C) .	black people.
104	2139-2160	Starts being worried; feeling bad about what he has done (C) ; that it did not bother him; links to development of PTSD.	D (current); victims; women.
105	2160-2170	Enjoyment in house penetrations.	D (from early 20s to recent).
106	2170-2181	Addiction to power; relates to addiction to alcohol (C) .	D (current).
107	2181-2208	Difficulty talking about perpetration (C) .	D (current).
108	2208-2245	Assaulting black people at school; possibly murder.	D (17 years); cousins; 2 black men; teacher; parents.
109	2245-2269	Attempts to understand or justify behaviour; father assaulting people who broke in; military camp at school; I challenge gently.	D (high school; as wise policeman; current); father; black people; army; Elaine.
110	2269-2296	He mentions ways of looking at what he has done; knows it is wrong; did not do what he vowed to do; no rationalisations work; disappointment in	D (18 19 years; throughout period of being a policeman; current); black people.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		self (C) . .	
111	2296-2370	Disappointment in self; not the courage to stand up for what was right; cannot see self continuing as policemen; got pleasure from harming people (C)	D (career as policeman; current); people he has harmed.
112	2371-2216	Sense of being damaged goods; explains the PTSD brought in the concerns around perpetration (C) .	D (last few years; current); parents.
113	2216-2390	Idealistic goals; Maleoskop training; taught to hate.	D (18 19 years; years as a policeman; current); trainers; 'terrorists'.
114	2390-2408	First time shot someone; from fear of going to be hanged to euphoria.	D (early 20s); suspect; authorities.
115	2409-2442	Unable to forgive or trust self (C) .	D (current); Elaine.
116	2442-2459	Petrified at scenes; unable to remember what to do; alcohol abuse.	D (few months before going off); trainees; victims.
117	2460-2471	Fear of losing control; of going on a rampage (C) .	D (last few months before going off; current).
118	2472-2526	Connects guilt around perpetration to development of PTSD; fear of losing control; self-destruction; fear of being	D (last four years); wife; colleagues; victims.

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
		caught.	
119	2526-2583	After being shot and almost dying; he lost his guts.	D (last few years); wife; children.
120	2584-2599	Working out why he perpetrated (C) .	D (current)
121	2600-2618	Fearing rejection; confusion at not being rejected (C) .	D (current); Elaine; parents; wife.
122	2619-2648	Having perpetrated without group pressure; fantasies about perpetration; not following through (C) .	D (a few years ago; ongoing).
123	2648-2657	Despite bad effects; knows will continue to perpetrate (C) .	D (a few years ago; current).
124	2657-2670	Sense of no control (C) .	D (last number of years; current).
125	2671-2678	Realises was unrealistic in hoping things would change (C) .	D (current).
126	2679-2691	Ambivalence about talking about perpetration (C) .	D (current).
127	2692-2727	Loss of his dreams (C) .	D (as a child; current).
128	2727-2778	Cannot forgive himself; attempts to get forgiveness from God (C) .	D (current); God.
129	2779-2785	Changes in himself (C) .	D (current)
130	2786-2805	Disappointment in self (C) .	D (current; about 8 years)

Table 1			
Episodes and Characters in Dawid's Life Story			
No	Lines	Events	Characters
			ago); E.
131	2806-2817	Hiding murder from himself.	D (last number of years).
132	2818-2847	Speaking about it and making it real (C) .	D (current; approximately eight years ago); E; God.
133	2848-2876	Questioning self.	D (last number of years).
134	2876-2887	Reasons for acting out.	D (last number of years).
135	2888-2951	Reassessing racist comments (C) .	D (overview)
136	2951-2979	Happy with SAPS (C) .	D (current); SAPS
137	2980-3004	Changes in SA (C) .	D (current); children.

Note: **(C)** refers to current events and experiences.

Table 2**Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear**

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
Family	Extended maternal family.	1;2;3;10
	Extended paternal family.	1;3;10
	Paternal grandmother	2;6;10;11;18;19
	Father.	2;3;4;5;6;7;8;12;13;14;23;24;27;47;108
	Mother.	2;4;16;17;19;24;38
	Sister who died.	4
	Paternal aunts and uncles.	6;7
	Paternal grandfather.	6;10;11
	Maternal grandmother.	9
	His son	10;13;32;43
	Hester (wife)	11;14;69;73;77;78;92;117;118;120
	Children.	14;69;73;92;118
	Brother.	17
	Sister.	17
	Uncle.	18;19;20;21;23;24;25;28
	Cousin (molested).	18;20;22;28
	Uncle's wife.	22
Parents.	23;29;77;87;107;111;120	

<p style="text-align: center;">Table 2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear</p>		
Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	Male cousin.	28
	Female cousin.	29
	Maternal uncle.	35
	Hester's parents.	77
	Cousins.	107
School.	Grade one teacher.	30
	Teachers.	30;41;43;44;107
	School friends.	30;31
	Matric girlfriend.	41
	Teacher with whom affaire.	41
Police	Colleagues.	15;16;35;69;71;72;80;81;82;85;86;87;88;90;96;98;100;101;117
	Public.	35;72
	Trainers.	38;44;45;46;47;49;51;53;54;55;56;60;62;63;64;65;87;93;112
	Lance sergeant.	40;57
	Fellow trainees.	40;61
	Shot trainee.	55
Police	Weak trainee	55
	Buddy.	56;63
	His trainees.	59;115
	College trained trainees.	61
	Lieutenant A	62
	E; H (trainers)	65

Table 2**Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear**

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	Major.	75
	General	78
	Older members	79;88
	Criminals.	81;82;96
	Oom G.	81
	T (friend)	82;84;98
	P (friend)	82;84;98
	V (colleague)	83
	M (colleague)	84
	Officers/ commanders.	84;100;113
	Victims.	89;90;103;110;113;117
	Suspects.	92;93;94;113
	Community.	93
	First commander.	95
	Those who do not measure up.	96
	Colonel B.	100
Black people	Black people.	19;45;47;49;55;62;66;98;102;108; 109
	Terrorists.	46;112
	Rioting black people	52;82;83;84;86;87
	Perpetrators.	83
	Fat black woman.	84
	Instigators.	85

Table 2**Character Groupings, Characters and the Episodes in which They Appear**

Character groupings	Characters	Episodes
	People of M.	100;101
	2 black men.	107
Miscellaneous.	Women.	26;92;94;103
	People.	27
	Authorities.	48
	Elaine	59;96;97;108;114;120; 129
	Antelope.	66
	Dogs.	66
	Apartheid government.	66
	Current government.	66
	The Holy Spirit.	91
	God.	93; 127; 129
	Army.	108
Minor characters.	Other girl.	2
	Hospital visitors	4
	Father's employees	14
	Racists	19
	W	75
	W's bodyguard	75

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Loved.	1	His birth.
Loved; hating.	2	Loved by maternal extended family; hatred of paternal grandmother.
Loved.	3	First birthday.
Empathetic.	4	Death of sister.
Loving; respectful.	5	Loves and respects father.
Understanding and respectful.	6	Father's sacrifices.
Driven.	7	Father's sacrifices not recognised by family.
Respectful.	8	Father's sporting skills; works hard; often away from home.
Loved.	9	Loved by maternal grandmother.
Hating; wise.	10	Staying with paternal grandparents.
Damaged by early experiences.	11	Will not be dominated or controlled. Relates to experiences paternal grandparents.
Emotionally inhibited.	12	Fears disappoints father; admiration for father.
Emotionally needy.	13	Arranges that he; father and son watch a rugby match.
Respectful; religious.	14	Respect for father who works very hard; not always seeing him.

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Needs acknowledgement; rebellious.	15	Links in an earlier session to need for acknowledgement from father; rebellion when reprimanded.
Loving; spontaneous.	16	Can approach mother easily.
Loving; supportive.	17	Mother's health problems.
Sexually abused.	18	Sexually abused by uncle who lived with paternal grandparents; forced to abuse cousin.
Sexually abused; non-racist; understanding.	19	Uncle abuses domestic worker.
Sexually abused	20	Explains nature of sexual abuse.
Damaged child.	21	Angry uncle because of sexual abuse.
Vengeful; damaged.	22	Takes revenge on uncle by having sex with his wife.
Sexually abused	23	Attempts to avoid sexual abuse.
Sexually abused.	24	Told parents of sexual abuse recently.
Sexually abused.	25	Hatred for uncle for sexual abuse.
Sexually abused; damaged.	26	Uncertainty around sexual identity; promiscuous.
Sexually abused; damaged	27	Links sexual abuse to aggression; earlier seen in

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
		contact sport.
Sexually abused; damaged	28	Attempted penetration.
Not coping; bullied.	29	Being sent to school too young.
Popular.	30	Going to school a year later.
Disciplined; militarised; competitive.	31	Special drill squad.
Disciplined.	32	Sticking to routines.
Alcoholic.	33	Joins the police; starts drinking.
Disciplined.	34	Sticking to routines.
Needs admiration.	35	Reasons for joining police.
Shocked.	36	Reality differs from the dream.
Hardworking; willing.	37	Works at a station as student before training.
Takes up the challenge; admiring.	38	Arrival at Maleoskop.
Competitive; takes up challenges.	39	Athletic record at school.
Proving self.	40	Refuses to be beaten.
Competitive; proving self.	41	Matric girlfriend in standard six; affaire with teacher; admired by teachers.
Accepting.	42	Not rebellious.
Need for admiration; competitive.	43	Wanting the starring role at school.
Needs recognition.	44	Working for recognition at

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
		school and at Maleoskop. Changing to fit in with requirements.
Corrupted; racist.	45	Difficulty with morality of killing black people; accepting the rationale.
Proud; loyal.	46	Trained to deal with riots; crowds; terror.
Racist.	47	Difficulty with racist attitudes at Maleoskop.
Questioning.	48	Uncertainty of why trained.
Lost innocence; murderer.	49	Aggression used in training.
Ambivalent.	50	Not wanting to blame training for everything he has done.
Wearing a mask.	51	Suppressing emotions; sensations.
Frightened.	52	Deployed in riot control before training complete.
Sensitive; shocked.	53	Told killing done for country; unprepared for how bad it felt.
Need for approval; recognition.	54	Shooting someone; doing more than expected.
Macho; aggressive.	55	Training; world of policing macho; assault of weak trainee.
Obedient.	56	Authority structures; dependant on buddy.

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Obedient.	57	Not given training in policing laws; total obedience demanded; not realising can refuse to follow illegal commands.
Challenging.	58	Having to obey orders; I have not been there.
Difficulty adjusting.	59	Changes in the police.
Conflicted.	60	Conflicts with regard to training.
Pride.	61	Passing out parade; pride in training.
Keeping secrets.	62	Told not to talk out.
Racist; aggressive	63	Effects of training.
Questioning.	64	Swimming through sewerage dams.
Guilt.	65	Betraying the police talking about these things.
Blunted.	66	Does not feel anything when harming others; feels more towards animals.
Sadistic.	67	Craving to harm others.
Sick.	68	Developing symptoms doing administrative work.
Sick	69	PTSD symptoms.
Despairing.	70	Despair at PTSD symptoms.
Despairing.	71	Difficulty doing administrative work.
Shame; loss of identity.	72	Doing administrative work;

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
		having PTSD.
Injured.	73	Impact on choices.
Unchallenged.	74	Duties at Guard Unit.
Frightened.	75	Running away from an apparition.
Family important.	76	Applying for a transfer to parents' town.
Family and traditions important; alcoholic.	77	Marrying at 20 years old; drinking.
Family important; determined.	78	Sees General to get transfer.
Initiate.	79	Starts work at station.
Happy; coping well.	80	Socially close at station; many scenes.
Intelligent; responsible.	81	Crime intelligence.
Hard working; perpetrator.	82	Working hard; many assaults; shootings.
Protected by God.	83	Miraculous escape.
Courageous.	84	Working in riot areas; life endangered.
Courageous; perpetrating.	85	Working riot areas; life endangered.
Bullet proof.	86	Working in numerous riot areas.
Macho.	87	Dealing with rioter.
Need for approval.	88	Getting approval from senior members for dealing with riots.

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Guilty.	89	Says developed a conscience.
Perpetrates.	90	Development of assaults; abusing situation in 'independent' homelands.
Suppressing.	91	Not bothered by what has done.
Blunted.	92	Taping shut the Holy Spirit's mouth.
Disintegrating.	93	Unable to keep work separate from rest of life.
Rationalising.	94	Attempts to explain why perpetrated.
Promiscuous.	95	Sexually stimulated by aggression; perpetration.
Thoughtful; introspective.	96	Wonders whether allowed training to prove self to first commander.
Macho.	97	Choosing the role of macho over that of weakling.
Hates me.	98	Difficulty being away from the action.
Powerful.	99	Development of assaults on people.
Frustrated.	100	No outlet for aggression in first postings.
Pleasing; perpetration; untouchable.	101	Getting involved senior policemen; extreme perpetration; complaints

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
		against them; untouchable.
Caught up in excitement; perpetrator.	102	Following suspects into townships.
Perpetrator.	103	Abusing the 'independent' homelands; people still afraid of him.
Guilt; blunted; introspective; cooperative.	104	Worries that did not bother him; links guilt to the development of PTSD.
Powerful.	105	Pleasure in house penetration.
Introspective; cooperative; addicted.	106	Related perpetration to alcohol addiction.
Cooperative; guilt; exposed.	107	Difficulty talking about perpetration.
Perpetrator.	108	Assaulting; possible accessory to murder at school.
Rationalising; justifying.	109	Father assaults people; military camp.
Disappointment in self; guilt; introspective; cooperative.	110	Mentions attempts to understand behaviour; no justification.
Disappointment in self; cowardly; guilty.	111	Did not stand up for what was right; acknowledges pleasure in harming others.
Damaged.	112	PTSD; disappointed in self.
Introspective; idealistic; hating.	113	Propaganda led to him harming people.

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
Response to approval.	114	Reaction to first killing.
Guilt; introspective.	115	Unable to forgive or trust self.
Petrified; alcoholic; introspective.	116	Petrified at scenes; attempts at coping.
Fear of self.	117	Fears going on a rampage.
Introspective; perpetrator; sick; criminal; petrified..	118	Connects guilt around perpetration to development of PTSD; fear of loss of control; fear of being caught.
Afraid.	119	Lost courage after being shot.
Introspective.	120	Trying to understand why perpetrated.
Frightened; confused.	121	Fear of rejected; confusion of not being rejected.
Introspective.	122	Trying to understand perpetration.
Perpetrator.	123	Will continue to perpetrate.
Out of control	124	No control over self last number of years.
Disappointed.	125	Thought that talking about things would mean everything would go back to how it was.
Ambivalent.	126	Uncertainty around disclosure.
Disappointed in self;	127	Not lived up to his dreams.

Table 3		
Dawid's narrated selves		
Narrated self	Episode	Narrated event
disillusioned.		
Guilt.	128	Cannot forgive himself; cannot accept God's forgiveness.
Lost innocence; introspective.	129	Describes changes in himself.
Disappointed; introspective.	130	Disappointed in self.
Avoidant; introspective.	131	Hiding things from self.
Courageous.	132	Speaking to make it real.
Questioning self; introspective.	133	Why did not report murders.
Explaining; introspective.	134	Reasons for acting out.
Non-racist.	135	Reassesses views.
Accepting.	136	Reassessing.
Accepting; sacrificing.	137	Reassessing.

Table 4	
Divisions in narrative	
Episodes	Period
1-4; 6-10; 17-20; 22-24; 27-32; 34; 39; 41-42; 107-108.	Growing up – part of an extended family; sexual abuse; school.
33; 35-38; 40; 43-58; 60-65; 95; 112.	Training at Maleoskop.
59; 66; 74-82; 106; 109-111; 113-118; 121.	Period at Guard Unit; station.
52; 83-90; 98; 100-102.	Working in townships; riot control.
5; 11-16; 21; 25-26; 59; 33; 67- 73; 91-120; 122-137.	Current and introspection.