

**A NARRATIVE EXPOSITION OF SERIAL MURDER IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the phenomenon of serial murder from the perspective of narrative psychology. Using a case study approach and a grounded theory analytical process this qualitative study utilised the narrative concept of the imago to explore the motivation and development of those who commit serial murder in South Africa. The aim is increase our theoretical understanding of serial murder in directions that support offender profiling.

Semi-structured interviews with two South African men who committed serial murder were undertaken and analysed alongside archival data. Their imagoes formed the focus of the analysis. This analysis included a consideration of how the individual's motivations and developmental patterns were reflected in their crime scenes. This study demonstrated that imagoes play a significant role in the motives for offending, and development of offence behaviours, in men who commit serial murder. The imagoes help create motives; then embody these motives by encouraging and justifying certain types of behaviour in the individual. Interactions between imagoes were particularly significant in this regard. The dominant imago associated with the individual's self was also associated with the development of a behavioural template for offending, and was thus especially significant in embodying motive. The development of offending was further encouraged by the separation between imagoes involved in offending and those that are not. However differences between the case studies were also observed, such as the extent to which imagoes develop in interaction

with others and the roles played by their imagoes in the developmental narrative of their offending.

These findings shed novel theoretical light on the study of serial murder in South Africa. It suggests directions for research into the role of narrative and culture in offending, and for the study of the imago as an embodied mode of interpersonal interaction. It also offers opportunities for research aiming to support offender profiling, and proposes a possible synthesis of competing conceptions of serial murder.

10 KEY PHRASES: serial murder; narrative psychology; imago; offender profiling; development of offending; motivation for offending; behavioural template; culture and crime; interpersonal interaction; violent crime.

OPSOMMING

‘n Narratiewe uiteensetting van reeksmoorde in Suid-Afrika

Die fenomeen van reeksmoorde word vanuit die teoretiese perspektief van die narratiewe sielkunde ondersoek. ‘n Gevallestudie benadering tesame met die analitiese proses van begrondingsteorie is gebruik om die narratiewe konsep imago te benut om motivering ten opsigte van reeksmoorde asook die ontwikkeling van diegene wat hul skuldig maak aan reeksmoorde in Suid-Afrika, te ondersoek. Die doel was om die teoretiese begrip van reeksmoorde uit te brei en om die proses van profilering van oortreders te ondersteun.

Semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude is met twee Suid-Afrikaanse mans wat reeksmoorde gepleeg het, gevoer. Analises van die onderhoude is uitgevoer waarby inligting uit argiewe ingesluit is. In die analises is oorweeg hoe die individu se motiverings en sy ontwikkelingspatrone in die misdaadtonele gereflekteer is. Die studie het aangetoon dat die imago ‘n betekenisvolle rol speel in die motiewe vir oortreding, en in die ontwikkeling van oortredingsgedrag. Die imago het bygedra om motief te skep wat dan beliggaam word in die gedrag van die individu deur die versterking van sekere tipes gedrag. Die interaksies tussen imagoes is ook betekenisvol in hierdie verband. Die dominante imago wat met die individu se self geassosieer was, hou ook verband met die ontwikkelingsproses van die gedragstemplaat van die oortredings, en was dus spesifiek betekenisvol vir motief.

Die ontwikkeling van die oortredingsgedrag is verder bevorder deur ‘n skeiding wat tussen imagoes was wat betrokke is in die oortreding en die wat nie betrokke is nie. Verskille tussen die gevallestudies is waargeneem, soos die mate waartoe imagoes ontwikkel in interaksie met van die ander en die rolle wat deur die imagoes gespeel word in die ontwikkelingsnarratief van hul oortredings.

Hierdie bevindinge werp nuwe teoretiese lig op die bestudering van reeksmoorde in Suid-Afrika. Navorsing ten opsigte van die rol van narratief en kultuur in oortredings word deur die studie gesuggereer, asook vir die bestudering van die imago soos dit beliggaam word in interpersoonlike interaksie. Die studie bied ook geleentheid vir navorsing ten opsigte van die profilering van oortreders, en stel ‘n moontlike sintese



van vergelykende konseptualiserings voor ten opsigte van die fenomeen van reeksmoorde.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The study of crime and criminal behaviour is not new, spanning more than two centuries (Stephenson, 1992). The nature of crime and those who commit it has been researched across fields as diverse as medicine, philosophy, penology, sociology, psychiatry, criminology and psychology. This research often sought to identify and classify the most salient aspects of the phenomenon to increase our understanding and to develop theory (Canter, 2004). More recently, psychological research aiming to directly assist criminal investigations has become increasingly popular (Canter & Heritage, 1990; Salfati & Canter, 1999). This is particularly true of serial murder, which has received an inordinate amount of interest from academics, investigators, and the media (Hickey, 2002; Hodge, 2000; Holmes & Holmes, 1998). For this reason the study of serial murder, perhaps more than any other field of research into crime, is characterised by competing narratives. Research into serial murder is also unique in the degree to which it is influenced by and entwined with the investigation of serial murder, particularly the practice of offender profiling (Labuschagne, 2003). The narratives of serial murder and offender profiling are thus inextricably linked. This study takes this understanding as one of its starting points, and using the theory of narrative psychology, will identify new insights into serial murder in South Africa.

Narrative psychology is part of the movement in social science research towards postmodern perspectives on human experience. Being a social constructivist theory, it adopts the stance that language is central in the formation and structuring of the self (Crossley, 2000). This is an expansion of the traditional modernist perspectives on research. As shall be shown, narrative psychology's emphasis on meaning and the creation thereof is particularly applicable to the study of serial murder. By exploring the role narratives play in the motivation and development of a person who commits serial murder this study has thus chosen to acknowledge the social construction of meaning and the entwined narratives of serial murder. The main sources of these narratives will be interviews with the person who committed serial murder. The narrative concept of the imago (McAdams, 1988, 1993; Parkinson, 1999) will be focused on, which should also assist in creating theory applicable to offender profiling.

1.1 SERIAL MURDER AS A PHENOMENON

Serial murder is a site of competing narratives, and each narrative brings competing definitions of the phenomenon and so defining serial murder remains difficult (Del Fabbro, 2006). Mostly simply, serial murder can be defined as a form of multiple murder (Holmes & Holmes, 1998, 2001) where a person acting alone or with another commits two or more separate acts of murder (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Geberth, 1996; Egger, 1990). This definition avoids much of the confusion of categorisation and description noted in the study of serial murder, along with some of the conceptual, practical, and moral shortcomings of the label 'serial murderer' (Ferguson, White, Cherry, Lorenz & Bhimani, 2003). These will be explored in the chapters to come.

Serial murder appears to have become increasingly prevalent in the latter half of the twentieth century (Hickey, 2002). This trend is mirrored in the developing world, including South Africa (Gorby, 2000; Hodgskiss, 2004; Labuschagne, 2001). Serial murder is thus a popular topic for research enquiry, and authors in this field have proposed a number of competing narratives of cause, motivation, and classification. Amidst the competing narratives some consensus appears to have emerged. This consensus finds that serial murder is characterised by structured variations in behaviour; is dynamic; and is underpinned by cognitions and meaning structures (Arndt, Hietpas & Kim, 2004; Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas & McCormack, 1986; Canter, 1994; Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004; Hickey, 2002; Hodge, 2000; Hodgskiss, 2001; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Labuschagne, 2001; Pakhomou, 2004; Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman & D'Agostino, 1986; Wright, Pratt & DeLisi, 2008). Despite this apparent consensus, some of the basic questions that research into serial murder sets out to answer remain unanswered, particularly those that ask what the nature of the links between motivation and development are, and how these are expressed in offender behaviours. As will be explored in more depth in the following chapters, answering some of these basic questions will help not only the investigation of serial murder, but will highlight directions that research in this field could productively follow.

1.2. MOTIVATION FOR RESEARCH

1.2.1 The particular applicability of narrative psychology to serial murder

Narrative psychology can accommodate the consensus that has emerged in the study of serial murder, and is thus particularly suited to the study of the motivation and development of serial murder. Narrative, as pointed out by Canter (1994) and Maruna (2001), can account for dynamic behaviours. Similarly, narrative is primarily concerned with meaning and the cognitive structures of the individual (Crossley, 2000; Giddens, 1991; Maruna, 2001; McAdams, 1993) and can so maintain the focus on meaning structures desirable for an adequate understanding of serial murder. Narratives can thus be considered a credulous approach to understanding how someone who has committed extreme violence comes to do so (Winter, Feixas, Dalton, Laso, Mallindine & Patient, 2007). These narrative understandings could be applicable in both the investigative (Canter, 1994) and therapeutic (Winter *et al.*, 2007) settings. Despite the benefits of a narrative understanding being highlighted, no research on serial murder has made explicit use of both the epistemology and methodology of narrative psychology.

1.2.2 The need for research on offending that uses the narratives of the offenders themselves

Research studying serial murder by interviewing those who commit serial murder is rare. A large proportion of previous studies into serial murder have either not conducted interviews with those who commit serial murder (relying on media reports instead), or it is not clear whether the interview material they use was collected by themselves or a third party (e.g. Arndt, *et al.*, 2004; Canter *et al.*, 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004; Gorby, 2000; Hodge, 2000; Holmes & Holmes, 2001; Hickey, 2002; Leyton, 1989; Wentink, 2001; Winter *et al.*, 2007; Wright, Pratt & DeLisi, 2008). Furthermore, previous research into crime drawing on narrative psychology has either not used interviews with offenders (e.g. Canter, 1994; Hodge, 2000; Winter *et al.*, 2007) or when interviews have been conducted, these have not been with serial murderers (e.g. Athens, 1997; Parkinson, 1999; Schultz, 2005). This study aims to fill

this gap by conducting interview based research, from the perspective of narrative psychology, with people who have committed serial murder.

1.2.3 The need for research on serial murder and offender profiling in South

Africa

Research into serial murder in South Africa has become more popular over the last two decades and an increasingly large body of research is being accrued (e.g. Barkhuizen, 2005; De Wet, 2005; Del Fabbro, 2006; Du Plessis, 1998; Hook, 2003; Hodgskiss, 2001, 2004; Labuschagne, 2001; Pistorius, 1996). South African research suggests that local serial murderers' behaviours may be different from those found in the United States or United Kingdom (Hodgskiss, 2001, 2004; Labuschagne, 2001). These findings echo those from elsewhere calling attention to the possible variations in serial murder across cultures (Gorby, 2000; Hickey, 2002). This suggests that international research on serial murder may be less relevant in the different social, demographic and perceptual landscape of South Africa. Narrative psychology proceeds from a social constructivist paradigm, and so presumes that behaviour is socially and environmentally mediated. Thus narrative can help account for the ways serial murderers' behaviours may change in response to social and environmental factors. Research drawing on this understanding would also not be dependant on research findings from elsewhere, and could help future comparisons with similar offenders from overseas.

There is also little research in South Africa that attempts to directly assist in the offender profiling of serial murder. While this is in part of reflection of the international research situation (Canter, 2004), the need for this research is even more pressing in South Africa, where not only is there an extremely high number of serial murders compared with other countries (Hodgskiss, 2004; G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, July 2009) but offender profiling has proven particularly useful in serial murder investigations (Labuschagne, 2003) and the typologies of serial murder used to support offender profiling in other countries may be less relevant in the social and cultural context of South Africa (Hodgskiss, 2004). Although not the main aim of the study, by acknowledging the needs of offender profiling and how

these influence our understanding of serial murder, this study aims to help fill this gap.

1.2.4 The competing narratives of serial murder and offender profiling

Both serial murder and offender profiling are characterised by competing narratives. This study will focus more on those in serial murder, but it is worth highlighting how these narratives affect both fields. Serial murder and offender profiling both receive inordinate amount of media attention. To illustrate this Hickey (2002) lists 69 North American films with serial murder themes produced in a five year period. The narrative propagated by the media appears to influence and compete with academic perceptions of serial murder (Hickey, 2002) and offender profiling (Canter, 2004). This media narrative can distract the researcher from the most relevant aspects of a phenomenon (Canter, 2004), fictionalise the role of the ‘ profiler’ in the mind of the public, and limit their credibility with colleagues in law enforcement (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, 2002). Media-propagated images of serial murder can also affect investigations, and court cases, by influencing peoples’ perceptions of what it constitutes (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, July 2009). The media narrative can also exacerbate the competing narratives seen in the academic literature by making knowledge claims with little or no basis in evidence. The heterogeneity of academic narratives for serial murder will be explored further depth in Chapter 2.

Being situated in a narrative perspective this study should be better placed to acknowledge and delineate these narratives. This study will also meet the requirement for research able to challenge media-propagated misconceptions and lend support to those academic narratives which could yield the most theoretical insight and practical benefit.

1.2.5 Applications to investigations and offender profiling

Offender profiling first came to attention in the context of serial murder investigations and the growth of theory around offender profiling has tended to be linked to serial murder (e.g. Burgess *et al.* 1986; Douglas, Ressler, Burgess & Hartman, 1986; Ressler *et al.*, 1986). Serial murder investigations have continued to make use of offender profiling (Labuschagne, 2003; Pistorius, 2002). This study acknowledges this relationship and aims to produce insights into serial murder that could be applicable to offender profiling.

There is a lack of systematic research exploring empirically the relationships between an offender's crime scene actions and their overt characteristics and so being capable of adequately supporting offender profiling (Canter, 2004). Interpersonal narrative models have been shown as potentially valuable in establishing linkage between offence and offender characteristics because narrative can articulate the interpersonal, thematic concerns advantageous to offender profiling (Canter, 1994; Hodge, 2000; Salfati and Canter 1999; Wentink, 2001; Youngs, 2004). By drawing on these findings and using the perspective of narrative psychology to illuminate the links between an offender's motivation, development and offence behaviours; this study could yield results that are applicable to investigations.

The narrative concept that best meets the interpersonal requirement highlighted in this previous research is that of the 'imago' (McAdams, 1988, 1993). Drawing on McAdams' (1993) understanding, the epistemology of narrative psychology (Crossley, 2000), and origins of the concept in psychological literature; this study defines the imago as the characterisation of a mode of interpersonal interaction. These imagoes function as characters in an individual's narrative (McAdams, 1993) and have been used previously in research into crime (e.g. Athens, 1997; Parkinson, 1999; Schultz, 2005). This study will be the first to focus explicitly on the content, interactions and development of the imagoes of people who commit serial murder.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study will explore the phenomenon of serial murder in South Africa from the perspective of narrative psychology. It will collect the narratives of those who have committed serial murder and analyse these using the narrative concept of the imago. This will help determine the role played by narratives in the motivation and development of those who commit serial murder.

1.4 NARRATIVE INQUIRY AND DESIGN

To meet the above aims, two narrative inquiries need to be made:

1. What role do imagoes play in the motivation of a person who commits serial murder?
2. What role do imagoes play in the development of the offending behaviour?

These inquiries will be answered with reference to the narratives of those who commit serial murder. This exploration will include a consideration of how the individual's motivations and developmental patterns are reflected in their crime scenes. Although not the main objective of the study, answering these inquiries may also assist in demonstrating the extent to which the concept of imago can be applied to offender profiling.

1.4.1 Research design

The design of this study is qualitative, adopting a descriptive-dialogic case study method (Edwards, 1993) to describe the phenomenon of serial murder in terms of the theory of narrative psychology. Given the novelty of this approach in South Africa, the design aims to be exploratory. A grounded theory method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) will be used to analyse the data collected. In line with grounded theory, the analysis of the data and validation of the findings are not limited to a single stage of the research process, rather being concerns that pervade the study (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Kvale, 1996). The primary data source to be analysed in terms of the concept of the imago will be semi-structured interviews with people who have committed serial murder. These interviews will be the main source of the narratives presented. These data will then be combined with the narratives offered by

archival sources and my own experience of the participants and the research process, to meet the narrative inquiries. By doing this I also meet the requirements of narrative psychology, and grounded theory, that the researcher acknowledges their role in the creation of meaning and validity in the study (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lieblich, Tuval-Maschiach & Zilber, 1998). I will thus refer to myself in the first person throughout this study.

1.5 NOTE ON THE NARRATIVES PRESENTED

A wide range of theories, models, and causal explanations for serial murder have been proposed, as have a number of methods for offender profiling. Similarly, there is a wide range of methods and studies that could conceivably be called ‘narrative psychology’. By not discussing all of these in detail, this study may appear to overlook portions of the literature. There were three reasons for not presenting all of these. Firstly, the study did not aim to test the applicability of all the possible theories, explanations and models in this field of enquiry. Thus only the most frequently referenced were presented. Secondly, given this study’s focus on narrative I aimed to identify narratives in the literature, with each narrative representing a particular perspective on the phenomenon. This allowed for a more consistent appreciation of the fundamental themes and tensions in the literature this study is situated in. Thirdly, the social constructivist position of narrative psychology encouraged this study to illuminate previous research that is consistent with social constructivism in more detail. Thus less space was given to previous research which considers serial murder as the result of individual pathology only (such as organic brain damage or hormonal imbalance), with this study asserting that serial murder is the result of interpersonal constructions of meaning and the relationship these have with external events.

1.6 RESEARCH OUTLINE

This introductory chapter of this thesis will be followed by, in Chapter 2, a discussion of the literature, delineating the narratives of serial murder and offender profiling. Chapter 3 will explore the ways in which narrative psychology has been applied to research into crime, included how the narrative concept of imago has been defined and used. Chapter 4 will describe the method used in the narrative inquiry. The

validation, sampling, data collection, and analytical processes will all be described. The presentation of the data and the ethical implications of undertaking this study will also be considered. Chapter 5 presents the results of the imago analyses, and Chapter 6 is a discussion of the results. Chapter 7 presents the conclusions of this study, an evaluation of its validity, and possible critiques of it. Chapter 7 will include recommendations for future research.

1.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has briefly outlined the topic of this study: serial murder in South Africa. It has given the study's motivation, what it aims to achieve, and the methodology of the narrative inquiries that will be carried out to achieve these aims. The layout of the thesis has also been given alongside a brief note on what narratives were prioritised for presentation in this thesis. This exploration will draw on interviews with those who commit serial murder. This exploration will hopefully lead to a better understanding of this phenomenon, and assist in the construction of more valid and reliable offender profiles.

CHAPTER 2

THE NARRATIVES OF OFFENDER PROFILING AND SERIAL MURDER

Serial murder and offender profiling have attracted much attention in psychological theory and research, with psychology in turn largely being accepted as valuable to these fields. As the psychological literature into serial murder and offender profiling has grown it has become characterised by competing narratives. Each narrative is championed by the investigator, academic, or psychologist who first articulated it, so there is no dominant explanation for serial murder or most valid methodology for offender profiling. This literature review is thus faced with the challenge of presenting a heterogeneous selection of narratives, in a field where the areas of expertise between serial murder, psychology, and offender profiling are not clearly demarcated.

This study takes a narrative approach to navigating a way through the literature. Firstly, it acknowledges how the systematic study of serial murder developed: the first large scale attempts to study serial murder were conducted as part of research to support offender profiling, with offender profiling consequently coming to widespread attention with reference to serial murder (Burgess *et al.* 1986; Douglas *et al.*, 1986; Ressler *et al.*, 1986). This acknowledgement is used to focus the study's inquiry. Secondly, as stated in the previous chapter, the literature review looked to appreciate the fundamental themes and tensions in the literature by identifying narratives within it, with each narrative articulating a particular perspective on the phenomenon. This allowed the third measure implemented to negotiate the literature: focusing on the most established and oft-cited narratives in the respective fields. This literature review is thus not exhaustive, preferring brevity and relevance. Fourthly, also as mentioned in the opening chapter, the social constructivist position of this study meant that the previous research that was more consistent with this epistemology was delineated in more detail. Finally, by adopting a social constructivist stance this study requires that the researcher's role in the creation of meaning is acknowledged (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lieblich *et al.* 1998). Thus the perceptions, concerns, and narratives I bring to the study contributed to its focus. In the main, my concerns pertain to offender profiling and the application of research to

criminal investigations. This review thus represents my narrative as I lead the reader through the literature

This review will primarily address the contributions made by psychological theory and psychological research to serial murder and offender profiling, outlining challenges for research that aims to support serial murder investigations and the practice of offender profiling. It will start by briefly discussing the entwined narratives of serial murder and offender profiling which inform this study's focus, offender profiling, the competing methodological narratives within offender profiling, and the commonalities between them. This chapter will then discuss serial murder, how it is defined, and the various narratives of cause, development, and classification. It will focus particularly on the research into serial murder of most use to, or most often used in, offender profiling. This will demonstrate how narrative psychology can be productive in advancing our understanding of serial murder in a way that can be applied to offender profiling. Given this study's focus on offender profiling, an exhaustive review of the literature is not relevant (for a more detailed review see Del Fabbro, 2006).

As the previous section illustrates, research into serial murder has often been subject to conceptual confusion (Canter, 1994; Del Fabbro, 2006; Ferguson *et al.*, 2003). In an effort to avoid this, in this chapter I will explicitly divide the discussion by cause (section, 2.3); development of offending (section 2.4, discussing motivational models of serial murder); and the relationship between offence and offender characteristics (section 2.5, discussing typologies of serial murder). While each of these sections present different narratives around serial murder, it should be remembered that this separation does not reflect a division within the literature, and has only been used to avoid conceptual confusion.

2.1 THE ENTWINED NARRATIVES OF SERIAL MURDER AND OFFENDER PROFILING

Psychology is often thought of as an obvious aid to understanding the behaviour of a person who has committed serial murder, perhaps due to their actions suggesting a psychological motive. Furthermore, with offender profiling having its origins in psychiatry (Innes, 2003), the processes of compiling an offender profile can frequently be comparable to making a psychological diagnosis in a clinical setting (Blau, 1994). Thus the practical application of psychology is involved with both serial murder and offender profiling. This is a result of the history and development of offender profiling, and contributed to the narratives of serial murder and offender profiling being linked to one another.

The exact origin of offender profiling is vague but it has its earliest precedents in the specialist advice, usually of a psychological nature, given to police by civilian professionals. Canter (2004) suggests that probably the first recorded offender profile was in Dr Thomas Bond's 1888 list of the characteristics of the offender who came to be known as Jack the Ripper, based on a victim's autopsy. Practices that would now likely be termed 'offender profiling' appear regularly in the earlier half of the twentieth century. They come to prominence again in psychiatrist Dr. James Brussel's (1968) advice to police in New York City tracking the 'Mad Bomber' George Metesky, and those investigating the murders of the 'Boston Strangler' (Brussel, 1968; Innes, 2003). These practitioners created the first, psychological and psychiatric, narrative of offender profiling.

Offender profiling came to widespread notice following its use by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the 1970's and 1980's (Innes, 2003); especially in the context of serial murder investigations. The first concerted attempt to formalise the procedures of offender profiling came from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the USA, when Special Agents at Quantico published reports on the procedures they used, and began lecturing to FBI trainees and police departments (e.g. Hazelwood, Ressler, DePue & Douglas, 1987). These attempts gave rise to proposed methods of offender profiling (Douglas *et al.*, 1986), while simultaneously creating one of the most well-known typologies of serial murder (Ressler *et al.*, 1986) and one

of the most frequently cited motivational models of serial murder (Burgess *et al.*, 1986). The narrative proposed by the FBI has had a lasting influence on the study of serial murder and the practice of offender profiling (Canter *et al.*, 2004; Canter & Youngs, 2003; Wentink, 2001). This FBI narrative further strengthened the link between offender profiling and serial murder.

Subsequent discussions and representations of offender profiling and serial murder in academia and the media have increased the intertwining of their narratives. While this has occasionally been the result of the myths these fields attract (Canter, 2004; Hickey, 2002; Innes, 2003; Pistorius, 2005) this has also been result of serial murder investigations continuing to make use of offender profiling (Labuschagne, 2003; Pistorius, 2002). Offender profiling has been one of the tools most commonly used to overcome the investigative challenges of serial murder cases and has been used for a number of years in South Africa (Labuschagne, 2003). Accurate offender profiles have been found to be especially useful in serial murder enquiries, where the success of the case can rest on effective investigative techniques (Hodgskiss, 2004; Labuschagne, 2003). This study acknowledges this inextricable linking of serial murder and offender profiling and uses it to guide the enquiry, so potentially creating research that can be used by investigative practitioners.

2.1.1 Defining offender profiling and its uses

Offender profiling is a relatively new investigative tool. However, there is little unanimity as to what ‘offender profiling’ is. Various professions, organisations and practitioners have introduced their own definitions, such as criminal personality profiling (Pinizzotto, 1984), crime scene profiling (Hickey, 2002), and behavioural investigative analysis (Richards, 2005); often creating more confusion than clarity for scholars in this field. There is thus no universally accepted definition of profiling (Ainsworth, 2001; McGrath, 2000) and the term ‘offender profiling’ has itself become problematic (Richards, 2005). Furthermore, the methods and processes employed to construct an offender profile in a country depends on factors such as the legal system, the status of offender profiling, and whether the ‘ profiler’ is employed within the police or is an external consultant (G. N. Labuschagne, personal communication, 15 May 2005).

Notwithstanding this confusion, offender profiling can be defined as any activity undertaken to determine the most likely type of individual to have committed a crime (Labuschagne, 2003). The term ‘offender profiling’ has been applied to a range of methods used to develop advice for investigators based on inferences drawn from observations and clues at the crime scene (Davies & Dale, 1995). Offender profiling therefore aims to extrapolate the major behavioural and personality characteristics of an individual based upon an analysis of the crimes they have committed (Douglas *et al.*, 1986). It is based on the assumption that offenders differ in their actions during a crime, and these differences reflect characteristics of the offender (Hodge, 2000).

This research accepts Labuschagne’s (2003) statement that the primary aim of offender profiling is assisting the investigating officer by indicating the characteristics of a person who could have committed the offence. That is, offender profiling assists by providing them with specialist knowledge (such as inferences around the possible psychological traits and behavioural patterns of an offender) that they would not otherwise have had access to. An offender profile could also help in:

- Establishing whether a crime is part of a series (linkage analysis);
- providing investigative advice to investigators (guidance);
- predicting the future behaviour of an offender (prediction);
- educating investigators about the phenomenon they are investigating (education).

(Copson, 1995; Davies & Dale, 1995; Labuschagne, 2003; Richards, 2005)

While there are a number of different definitions of offender profiling, which tend to reflect the narrative and methodological assumptions of their authors, the above description distils the aims of offender profiling. For the purposes of this study, offender profiling will therefore be defined as any activity aims to assist an investigating officer by indicating the most likely characteristics of the person who committed the offence. The competing narratives on how this is achieved, and the commonalities between them, will now be discussed.

2.1.2 The competing narratives of offender profiling and their commonalities

Increased research into offender profiling brought with it increased criticism of the FBI's findings from social science researchers (Alison & Canter, 1999; Holmes & Holmes, 1998; Muller, 2000) and later practitioners of offender profiling (Turvey, 1999). Most of these criticisms drew attention to the lack of methodological rigour in the early studies, the absence of empirical evidence for these authors' claims, and the dependence of the FBI's offender profiles on detective experience. In addition to criticising the FBI's findings, these researchers and practitioners proposed their own methods of offender profiling (e.g., Canter, 1994; Turvey, 1999). These criticisms voiced two further narratives of offender profiling: the inductive versus deductive narrative, and the empirical and statistical narrative. There thus grew up a number of competing narratives of offender profiling (a conception some practitioners seem to actively encourage), each articulating a different approach.

The various narratives have advantages and disadvantages. This study does not aim to assess the various methods, and will mention them only briefly. The earliest, psychiatric and psychological, narrative tends to emphasise clinical and diagnostic knowledge (Britton, 1997; Brussel, 1968; Innes, 2003), while the FBI narrative favours investigative experience (Douglas *et al.*, 1986). Turvey's (1999) narrative of deductive offender profiling (which he proposes in opposition to inductive profiling) relies on interpretive skill, whilst the empirical and statistical narrative uses formal research methodology and statistics (Alison & Canter, 1999; Canter 1994, 1995, 2004). No method or narrative has become dominant, or been proven to yield more accurate and useful results (Richards, 2005).

While often quite different in theory, in practice these approaches tend to overlap (Innes, 2003; Labuschagne, 2003; Petherick, 1999), with practitioners employing helpful constructs or processes from an 'opposing' narrative. There are a number of common 'tasks' that persons compiling offender profiles undertake, and a high degree of consistency in the material requested by practitioners compiling an offender profile (Gudjonsson & Copson, 1997). Offender profilers therefore tend to have similar approaches and generate similar inferences about the offender (Innes, 2003; Richards,

2005) and so these narratives seem to represent differences in conceptual emphasis rather than independent approaches.

All the proposed methods of offender profiling share two fundamental similarities: all are processes of interpretation and meaning generation, and all make use of research. The degree of emphasis on either interpretative skill or research depends on the theoretical background and working environment of the practitioner. A hypothetical continuum can be constructed with interpretatively-oriented profilers such as Britton and Turvey on one end, research-oriented profilers such as Canter on the other, and the FBI roughly in the middle. Ultimately the skill, knowledge and experience of the offender profiler in applying a system effectively, and in combining aspects of the methods, is as important as ever. In an investigative setting those on the 'interpretative' end of the continuum risk a lack of validity and credibility, not aided by the media's influence (Canter, 2004). In turn the 'researchers' are hampered by limitations in their data, risking inaccuracy and irrelevance (Turvey, 1999). Similarly, there is currently a lack of suitable, systematic, research capable of adequately supporting offender profiling (Canter, 1994).

2.2 INTRODUCING AND DEFINING SERIAL MURDER

Serial murder has consistently attracted inordinate amounts of attention from the law enforcement and psychological communities, as well as from society at large (Fisher 1997). This is despite serial murder representing a relatively small proportion of all homicides (Hodge, 2000). This interest seems generated by the unusual features of serial murder: serial murder is repetitive, appears 'motiveless', and often involves a combination of sexual and violent acts. Serial murders also pose investigative problems not traditionally found in other homicide cases (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). The fascination these factors have engendered in popular culture appears to have combined with academic and investigative enquiries to produce a plethora of theoretical and historical explorations on the subject (Del Fabbro, 2006).

While serial murder is by no means a major contributor to South Africa's crime problem in financial terms or even in terms of the number of lives lost (Hodgskiss, 2004), it has the potential for great social disruption (Davis, 1998) and can impact

on political agendas. The failure to successfully resolve a high profile case may lead to a lessening of faith in the police services and an increase in the public's fear of crime (Hickey, 2002; Holmes & Holmes, 1998). This is primarily due to the inordinate community and media attention that a murder series (or even a suspected murder series) attracts, which in turn places great pressure on law enforcement to resolve it. Greater investigative efficiency can thus be very beneficial to these potentially media-saturated investigations.

The media is an unavoidable part of the ideological and social context of serial murder but this chapter will not explicitly discuss or contradict the misrepresentations of serial murderers in film, fiction and news reports (as discussed by, for example, Canter, 1994; Hickey, 2002 and Keppel & Birnes, 1998). This chapter will remain focused on published research findings on serial murder. This discussion is however situated within an awareness of the biases that the media have introduced into the study of serial murder.

This section has two aims. Firstly, to outline the main defining features proposed for serial murder. Secondly, to give the definition of serial murder used in this study. Serial murder, like offender profiling, has attracted a number of competing labels and definitions and is characterised by competing narratives. This is likely to be the result of different authors taking different approaches to defining the phenomenon. Serial murder has been defined according to behavioural, temporal and motivational criteria. The resulting conceptual confusion is exacerbated by the heterogeneity of offence behaviours, backgrounds, personal characteristics and motives observed in those who commit serial murder. This will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2.2, but before the concept of serial murder can be defined we need to distinguish it from others acts of multiple murder (Douglas & Olshaker, 2000; Lane & Gregg, 1992).

2.2.1 Definition of multiple murderers

Not all perpetrators of multiple murder can be termed ‘serial murderers’ (Holmes & Holmes, 1998). There are a number of frameworks for the categorisation of individuals who commit multiple murders. The primary differentiation that needs to be made is between mass, spree, and serial murderers.

Mass murder has been defined as a single person killing a large number of people, in the same approximate location, over a short period of time (Lane & Gregg, 1992). The murders thus appear to occur in “one explosive event” (Leyton, 1986, p.18). A hypothetical example of mass murder would be a person entered his former place of work, and shooting everyone he comes across. Examples of mass murder include the 1999 Columbine High School shootings in the USA, the 1996 Dunblane school massacre in the UK, or the nine murders committed by Sibusiso Madubela on the Tempe military base in Bloemfontein on the 16th September 1999

Spree murders are committed over a longer period of time: “hours or days” (Lane & Gregg, 1992, p.1). Holmes and Holmes (1998, 2001) further differentiate between the categories of spree and mass murderers by asserting that spree murderers commit their murders in at least three locations, in separate events, with other offences also being committed in the course of the ‘spree’. A hypothetical example of spree murder would be a person going on the run across the country, committing robberies and killing those he comes across. A possible example of spree murder in South Africa would be the four murders committed by Peter Grundling and Charmaine Philips in Durban, Melmoth, Secunda and Bloemfontein over three weeks in 1981. Del Fabbro (2006) notes that the differentiation between mass, spree and serial murders, as given in Table 1, is based primarily on differences in the spatial and temporal dimensions. That is, how many locations murder was committed at and the amount of time passing between offences. On the basis of this, she observes that all three forms of multiple murder could “be seen as lying on a continuum with respect to distance in space and time” (p.15). There is ongoing debate around the nature and function of the time between murders, and on the number of murders required before a person can be deemed a ‘multiple murder’ (Fox & Levin, 2005; Hodge, 2000). These will be discussed more as we discuss the third form of multiple murder, serial murder.

Table 1: *Classification of multiple murderers*

	Mass Murder	Spree Murder	Serial Murder
Victims	At least three	At least three	At least three
Events	One event	At least three events	At least three events
Location	One location	At least three locations	At least three locations
Cooling-off period	No	No	Yes

Note: Adapted from Holmes and Holmes (1998), *Serial Murder* (2nd Ed.), p. 11-18

2.2.2 Serial murder

As stated, there are a range of suggested definitions for serial murder. Keeney and Heide (1994) find that definitions of serial murder in the research literature lack uniformity and agreement. Without a reliable and valid definition of serial murder, there is a risk that researchers will be “comparing apples and oranges” (Ferguson *et al.*, 2004). A selection of definitions for serial murder will be presented below, alongside a brief discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of each. The background of each researcher will be given since, as in offender profiling, their definition often reflects the narrative in which they are situated. International definitions will be presented alongside those from South African research. The commonalities between these, as well as significant differences between them, will then be discussed.

2.2.2.1 Definitions of serial murder

Ressler *et al.* (1986), drawing on their experience within the Behavioural Science Unit of the FBI and around the same time as the FBI began publicising and formalising their use of offender profiling, defined serial murder as:

- Three or more separate murders;
- occurring at different locations;
- with an emotional cooling off period between offences.

The above definition reflects the differentiations made between mass, spree and serial murder. It does not specify the number of suspects, the motives of the offender, or the relationship between victim and offender. It is also notable that no reference is made to gender, with both males and females thus being deemed capable of serial murder.

Holmes and De Burger (1988), coming from an academic background and providing consultant services to the police, proposed a different definition of serial murder. In addition to those aspects included from the Ressler *et al.*'s (1986) definition, they state that serial murders usually occur between slight acquaintances or strangers, the motives originate within the individual murder (that is, the murders are not committed for profit or due to provocation), and they strengthen the notion that the majority of serial murders are a sexual. This definition was updated by Holmes and Holmes (1998), who stated that serial murder is:

- Repetitive homicide that will not stop unless prevented.
- Usually one on one murders.
- Usually stranger murders, seldom occurring between relatives or intimates.
- No extrinsic motive, and seldom victim precipitated

These definitions are notable in that they, by offering alternative definitions, introduce a number of factors that are still debated by practitioners and academics over 20 years later, particularly that the serial murderer commits their offences alone, preferably against strangers, has intrinsic motives (especially sexual) for their crimes, and will keep killing unless they are stopped.

The sexual element of the serial murderer's offences was picked up by Pistorius (1996) in her psychoanalytical study of South African serial murderers, where she defined the serial murderer as:

- A person or persons who murder/s several victims;
- the victims are usually strangers;
- the murders occur at different times, not necessarily in the same location;
- there is usually a cooling-off period between murders; and
- the motive for serial murder is intrinsic and consists of an irresistible compulsion, fuelled by fantasy, that may lead to torture, and/or sexual abuse, necrophilia and mutilation.

Pistorius (1996), former offender profiler for the South African Police Service and now author on crime, appears to have drawn on elements of the previous two definitions, and made the psychodynamic assumptions within them (as will be discussed in section 2.2.2.2) more explicit. While useful in that it allows for more than one perpetrator, as well as temporal and geographical distinctness, its insistence on specific paraphilias and definite characteristics to the motive is limiting. That is, by stating that a serial murderer must be motivated by fantasy / irresistible compulsion and must carry out specific sexual acts, Pistorius (1996) excludes any offenders who do not display these characteristics. Apart from limiting the sample size of serial murderers, this perception potentially reduces our understanding of the person who commits serial murder by conceiving of them as consisting only of their criminal activities (Del Fabbro, 2006), so ignoring their relationships to others and suggesting they are completely isolated.

Hickey (2002), an academic researcher from the USA, offers a less exclusive definition of serial murder. He finds that serial murderers should include:

- Any offenders that murder three or four victims over time;
- they can be male or female;
- they usually display a pattern to their offending; be it victims selected, method of murder, or motive for offending;
- they can display a variety of motives;
- some are known to their victims and others are not;
- they can be geographically mobile, or commit all their offences in the same location.

This definition is less prescriptive, while still acknowledging the factors highlighted in previous definitions. By stating that serial murderers can be male or female, this definition highlights the implicit assumption in research into serial murder that most,

if not all, serial murderers are male. This assumption is increasingly being challenged (Ferguson *et al.*, 2003; Hickey, 2002), and will be discussed in section 2.2.2.2. Hickey's (2002) definition also highlights the multiplicity of motives that a person who commits serial murder may have, although Hickey (2002) goes on to state that the desire for control (rather than sexual motivations) is a fundamental motivation in male serial murderers.

Turning once more to South African research into serial murder, Labuschagne (2004) current head of the Investigative Psychology Unit of the South African Police Service, proposes that in serial murder:

- The person(s) are intrinsically / psychologically motivated to kill.
- They murder two or more victims.
- The murders occur at different time.
- The murders appear unconnected, and tend to be committed against strangers.
- The murders are not motivated primarily by material gain, elimination of witnesses, or revenge.

This definition gives a similar requirement as previous definitions. Once again, the importance of an intrinsic motivation in serial murder is emphasised. Labuschagne (2004) however adopts a less prescriptive stance than Pistorius (1996) by avoiding stating what the motive for serial murder should be, emphasising instead what it is not.

Ferguson *et al.* (2003) explicitly set out to define serial murder in terms of motivation. They state that any definition of serial murder should include the following elements:

- Three or more victims.
- Killed in multiple and discrete events.
- The offender considered the killing of the victim to be pleasurable, stress relieving, or otherwise consistent with their internal set of values. The murders did not serve any functional purpose (e.g. profit, or witness-elimination).
- The murders which did not occur under the direction of any political or criminal organisation.

This definition, like Labuschagne's (2004), does not mention geographical factors, focusing rather on the temporal. Similarly, both definitions emphasise the necessity of an intrinsic motive. However, Ferguson *et al.*'s (2003) requirement that the murders

should bring the offender pleasure, consistent with their internal values, or stress relieving could be difficult to assess in an investigation. For example, if a number of victims have been found beaten to death and abandoned on waste ground; could one say with confidence that this murders were consistent with the offender's values (and thus be committed by a serial murderer)?

The fact that this criticism could affect many definitions of serial murder appears to have been acknowledged by the Federal Bureau of Investigation who, in 2005, hosted a symposium on serial murder, one of the purposes of which was to define serial murder in a manner useful to investigations. The symposium acknowledged the multiplicity of definitions proposed for serial murder and proposed the following definition "serial murder: the unlawful killing of two or more victims by the same offender(s), in separate events" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005, p.9). Considerations of motive were excluded, as they would make any definition "overly complex" (p.8). The need in investigations for a simple, flexible definition to assist in resource allocation reveals a tension between academics and investigators in defining serial murder. This, and other definitional issues raised in the symposium, will be discussed in more detail in sections 2.2.2.2 and 2.2.2.3.

2.2.2.2 Similarities and differences in definitions

The previous section shows that all the definitions, despite obvious differences, appear to have areas of overlap. However the areas of overlap are not shared by all definitions, and considerable debate remains (particularly in relation to the motives for serial murder). These similarities and differences will now be discussed.

- **Number of murders**

The debate around the number of murders usually carried out by a person who commits serial murder continues, with estimations of the number of victims for the average serial murderer ranging from three to thirteen (Arndt, Hietpas & Kim, 2004). Turning to defining serial murder, the number of victims is sometimes not specified (Holmes & De Burger, 1998; Lane & Gregg, 1992; Pistorius, 1996), with the main dichotomy being between those who require three or more victims (Ferguson *et al.*,

2003; Fox and Levin, 2005; Hickey, 2002; Holmes and Holmes, 1998; Ressler *et al.*, 1986) and those requiring two or more (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Labuschagne, 2004)

Although the academic debate around this issue continues, there is growing consensus amongst practitioners that it is acceptable to set the minimum number of murder victims required for an offender to be classified as a serial murderer as two (Egger, 2002; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Geberth, 2003; Geberth & Turco, 1997; G. N. Labuschagne, personal communication, April 2008; Myers, 2004; Rossmo, 2000). This is because the minimum requirement of two or more murders allows for the inclusion of offenders who, although responsible for only two known murders before being caught, exhibit the traits of offenders who have committed murder more than twice (Hodge, 2000; Labuschagne, 2004). This in turn allows for the most appropriate resource allocation to any suspected case of serial murder (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005).

This study, since it is aiming to be as inclusive as possible, will adopt the ‘two murders’ minimum as part of its definition serial murder (as given in section 2.2.2.4). This avoids excluding individuals who have been arrested before they could commit further murders. It is acknowledged that this argument could equally be applied to cases where the offender who may have gone on to murder again was apprehended after the first murder (Del Fabbro, 2006).

- **Number of offenders and relationship to victim**

While serial murders normally occur ‘one-on-one’ (that is, involving only the offender and the victim) it is not unknown for these murders to be committed in tandem, or with an accomplice (Arndt *et al.*, 2004; Hickey, 2002). There are a number of examples of this phenomenon in South Africa (Pistorius, 2002). Thus definitions that specify a specific number of perpetrators (Harbort & Mokros, 2001; Holmes & De Burger, 1998; Pistorius, 1996) risk limiting the applicability of the definition, as well as avoiding conceptual questions such as whether gangs of people who commit murder should be considered ‘serial murderers’ (Del Fabbro, 2006). Thus, in keeping with the bulk of definitions discussed in the previous section, this study will not

specify whether a person needs to operate alone or with another to be defined as a serial murderer.

A number of the definitions given previously also comment on the relationship between victim and offender, with a number finding that victim and offender are usually strangers (e.g. Holmes and Holmes, 1998; Labuschagne, 2004; Pistorius, 1996). In fact, Hickey (2002) found that offences where the victim was known to the offender were a very small minority. This is in contrast to Gorby's (2000) and Hodgskiss' (2004) findings around non-North American and South African serial murderers respectively. Hodgskiss (2004) found that up to 25% of South African serial murderers, in amongst the strangers that formed the bulk of their victims, target someone with whom they are acquainted. Pakhomou (2004) found that approximately 27% of North American serial murderers' victims were either acquainted with, or in an established relationship with, their murderer. Del Fabbro (2006) thus finds that definitions seeking to describe the relationship between victim and offender too explicitly risk failing to recognise certain cases as serial murder when they actually are. For example, a definition which insists that serial murderers only target strangers may fail to link all the cases attributed to South African serial murderer Stewart Wilken who murdered his own stepdaughter, a child he was acquainted with, as well as prostitutes and street children who were strangers to him (Pistorius, 2002). For these reasons the requirement that serial murder usually be stranger murder has been excluded from this study's definition of serial murder.

- **Gender of offenders**

None of definitions given above explicitly state whether serial murderers can only be male or female. Hickey (2002) found that 17% of North American offenders who commit serial murder were female, while 25% of Gorby's (2000) international sample was female. However, in a review of South African serial murder, Hodgskiss (2004) found no recent female serial murderers in South Africa, and only three historical examples of female offenders that could possibly be termed 'serial murderers'. It is not clear whether this lack of female serial murderers is due to limitations in the definition of serial murder and reluctance to acknowledge females as capable of these offences, or whether social norms mean that females are less likely to commit this sort

of crime (Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2004). There is also inconsistency in classifying whether females who commit multiple murders are classified ‘serial murderers’ (Del Fabbro, 2006). This assumption of male offenders is perhaps linked to the assumption that serial murderers are sexually motivated, with the implicit assumption that females are not capable of or predisposed towards sexually aggressive violence (Ferguson *et al.*, 2003). Research also suggests that the aetiology and nature of female serial murderers differs markedly from that of their male counterparts (Hickey, 2002). Given these limiting factors, and the possibility of significant differences noted between male and female offenders, only male murderers will be referred to in this thesis, and the masculine form will be used in reference to them.

- **Temporal factors**

The timing of serial murders appears one their defining features, setting them apart from spree / mass murders. Serial murders are committed over a protracted period, and spree/mass murders occur over a far shorter time (Leyton, 1986; Holmes & Holmes, 1998). The latter two categories refer to individuals who kill two or more people in one event, with no emotional ‘cooling-off’ period in between killings (Ressler *et al.*, 1986). To be defined as a serial murder, therefore, there should be a ‘cooling off’ period between offences.

The concept of a cooling off period is however problematic for purposes of a definition (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005). How long this cooling off period needs to be is not clearly defined in the literature; with authors stating that it can be days, weeks, months, or even years long (Ferguson *et al.*, 2003; Hickey, 2002; Salfati & Bateman, 2005). Del Fabbro (2006) further problematises the concept of the cooling off period, stating that if this period is defined too narrowly, the definition would not be able to account for individual nuances arising from the offenders’ emotional and psychological processing of the offences. Allied to this, she observes, is the lack of research into the qualitative aspects of this phenomenon. This means that the influence of demography, personality and context on this ‘cooling off’ period cannot be accurately measured. Finally, Del Fabbro observes that the term ‘cooling off period’ implies that the offence was the result of an intense emotional outburst which overwhelmed the individual’s self-control. This implication not only ignores

the role played by context in causing the offence; but also has an implicitly Freudian and psychodynamic theoretical perspective. This therefore risks adding to the conceptual confusion around defining serial murder. For these reasons the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2005) have stated that it is sufficient, for investigative purposes, to say that the murders need only to have been committed in separate events at different times for them to be defined as serial.

- **Geographical distribution**

Holmes and Holmes' (1998) insistence that a serial murderer commit their murders in at least three locations immediately excludes those serial murderers who kill all their victims in the same location (e.g. Jeffrey Dahmer in the USA, and Samuel Sidyno in South Africa). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (2005) assert that the common perception that serial murderers travel extensively is a "myth" (p. 5). In fact, Leibman (1989) asserts that serial murderers usually murder all their victims in the same area. At the very least, it is clear that a proportion of people who commit serial murder commit a number of their offences in the same location, referred to as a comfort zone (Hickey, 2002). This observation is a cornerstone of geographical profiling (Rossmo, 2000). Therefore, this study will allow either geographical mobility or stasis in the definition of a serial murderer.

- **Motive**

Many of the definitions given in the previous section share the insistence that the motive of a person who commits serial murder should not be immediately apparent, that is, extrinsic. This means these people do not kill for monetary gain, jealousy, or revenge, or with the blessing of any political or criminal organisation. Rather, their motivation is intrinsic (Ferguson *et al.*, 2003; Holmes and De Burger, 1988; Labuschagne, 2004; Pistorius, 1996).

The requirement that serial murderers be typically intrinsically motivated and are killing for "psychological gain" (Holmes, Hickey & Holmes, 1991, p.61) appears to have been introduced to differentiate between those who commit serial murder and

others, such as contract killers, who murder for payment (Del Fabbro, 2006). However even this requirement is subject to debate, with some stating that paid assassins and hitmen are a variation of serial murderer (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Holmes and Holmes, 2001) and others, rejecting this and proposing that, to be defined as 'serial murder', the offences must not have been carried out under the auspices, or with the blessing, of any political or criminal organisation (Ferguson *et al.*, 2003; Wilson, 2000). This is particularly relevant in the South African context where previously politically motivated murders were common, and now criminal enterprise murders (such as shooting killing a person in the course of a vehicle hijacking) are rife. Thus for the purposes of this research the presence of an obvious external motive for murder (such as politics, payment, or spiritual beliefs of the sort found in *muti* murder), in the absence of a simultaneous psychological motive, will preclude the individual from being classified a serial murderer. Other crimes committed in the course of a serial murderer's offences must therefore be secondary to the murder of the victim, which was the primary intent of the offence. Defining the serial murders as intrinsically, psychologically motivated (Labuschagne, 2003) has implications for how these cases are handled, and makes issues such as predicting future criminal activity problematic (Del Fabbro, 2006).

Beyond this, a number of definitions are more prescriptive and specify what these internal motives are, such as lust (Holmes & De Burger, 1988), compulsion (Pistorius, 1996; Schlesinger, 2004), pleasure or stress relief (Ferguson *et al.*, 2003), or aberrant hedonism and the complete sense of power of another person (Holmes, Hickey & Holmes, 1991). While individuals who kill due to hallucinations do exist, these are rare in comparison with most serial murderers, who are found to fit to strand trial (Holmes, 1997; Hickey, 2002; Pakhomou, 2004). Many motives for serial murder have been suggested (Hickey, 2002), but the debate around the exact nature of the intrinsic motive behind serial murder and what psychological function it fulfils (Kurtz & Hunter, 2004; Schlesinger, 2004) goes on.

The problematic relationship between the numerous authors and theories on serial murder mirrors that around offender profiling with a number of competing narratives, each with its proponents. Here, this situation is best demonstrated by the issue of sexual elements in defining serial murder.

Early writings on serial murder stated these offenders were fundamentally sex offenders (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1993). Building on this, the serial murderer's sexual fantasies were posited as a pivotal factor in the definition, aetiology, planning, and continuation of their murders (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Geberth, 1996; Myers, Burgess & Nelson, 1998). Johnson and Becker (1997) state that sexually sadistic fantasies are indicators of future homicidal pathology; while interviews with people who have committed serial murder in the USA found that up to 80% report violent sexual fantasies (Warren, Hazelwood & Dietz, 1996). In this perspective serial murder is treated as a subtype of compulsive, sexual offending (Schlesinger, 2004).

While this view still predominates, there is still no consensus around whether all serial murderers are fundamentally sex offenders. This is due to the definition of sexual murder not being clear cut (Schlesinger, 2004). Firstly, it is unclear whether reference is being made to the motive for the crime, or the behaviour on the crime scene. For example, if a serial murderer targets couples and shoots them because his wife cheated on him, but does nothing with the bodies after shooting them, is it an example of a sexual motive? Or is a crime scene where the victim is found naked with a bottle inserted in her vagina an example of sexually-motivated murder? Secondly, it is not made explicit what behaviours, or criminal actions, these definitions regard as 'sexual' or 'fantasy-driven'. Schlesinger (2004) points out that many seemingly sexual murders are not sexually motivated, sexual murders are not always overtly sexual, and the distinction between sexual murder and murder associated with sexual behaviour is blurred. It is thus difficult to assess what these definitions are referring to, and so apply them reliably in investigations or research. Del Fabbro (2006) states that a further problem with defining serial murderers as primarily sexually motivated is that such a definition would risk omitting genuine cases of serial murder where sexual elements appear absent, as well as those series of murders where there is not consistency in the sexual elements displayed across the series. She cites the example of Samuel Sidyno, who raped some of his female victims, yet only strangled his male victims. It thus appears that to define serial murder as sexual murder, that is, a murder during which there is sexual behaviour by the offender (Meloy, 2000) would be reductionistic, and that it would be more appropriate to assert only that some serial murderers are sexually motivated (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005).

Consequently, for the purposes of this study, no assumptions will be made as to the role played by sexual, or any other, motives for serial murder. The aim of this is to avoid defining serial murder too narrowly and thus excluding cases of serial murder where motives may differ (Del Fabbro, 2006). It also avoids defining the problem in such a way so as merely tautologically confirm the initial elements of the definition (Turvey, 1999).

At this point it is worth addressing a common perception that appears to have arisen from the implication that, by being sexually motivated, a serial murderer will continue murdering until prevented (Holmes & Holmes, 1998). That is, they will not stop murdering until apprehended, institutionalised, or dead (Lane & Gregg, 1992). While this assumption is present in much theory on serial murder, it is irrelevant when defining whether a person can be labelled a 'serial murderer'. That is because it is not possible to prove whether an apprehended serial murderer would have continued offending indefinitely, or whether a series of unsolved murders stopped due to the offender being institutionalised or dying. Furthermore while it may appear that a person who commits serial murder is not likely to desist from offending of their own accord, assuming that it is always so risks excluding the possibility of their behaviours changing as the series progresses. By excluding this possibility, it excludes a deeper understanding of the dynamic phenomenon of serial murder, and excludes a possibility that may have direct benefit to the investigation of these offences. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (2005) symposium appears to support this perspective by citing examples of where serial murderers have stopped committing murder altogether before being caught. They consign the perception that serial murderers will not stop killing to the ranks of myth, along with other common perceptions, such as that serial murderers 'want to be caught' (Pistorius, 2002).

2.2.2.3 Concluding remarks on definitions

As shown, there are however a number of competing and contradictory definitions of serial murderers. In light of this, Ferguson *et al.* (2003) find it unlikely that the established categories in any proposed definition will match all of those to whom the label ‘serial murderer’ is applied. Wolf and Lavezzi (2007) call attention to the heterogeneity of serial murderers’ motives, characteristics, and behaviours that can be shown by serial murderers, thus showing the dangers of basing definitions on assumed generalities about these offenders.

Del Fabbro (2006) calls attention to “an underlying tension with regards to definitions of serial murder, between psychological and investigative perspectives” (p.37). This echoes the tension between various narratives in the practice of offender profiling, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The need to define serial murder as a separate category of offending appears to have sprung from investigative need, that is, the need to ensure resources are allocated appropriately (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005) rather than from the need to create an accurate medical or psychological picture of the individual who commits serial murder, where it would be sufficient to define the person according to the compulsion or addiction that caused them to commit serial murder (Del Fabbro, 2006; Schlesinger, 2004). This interplay between these two fields and their different requirements has created confusion, which is especially counterproductive in investigations, when clarity is needed (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005).

A solution to this may lie in separating the criteria used to define serial murder, from characteristics noted in serial murderers (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, July 2009). For example, a research project may set the criteria for someone to be defined as a serial murderer as they have committed two or murders in separate incidents. Within the resultant sample it was found that the individuals’ motives were often sexual, they often committed their offences alone, and usually selected powerless victims. However if these observed characteristics were subsequently adopted as definitional criteria, it could be unnecessarily limiting, particularly in the context of an ongoing investigation (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Wolf &

Lavezzi, 2007). This is exacerbated by some definitions defining the concept (serial murder) and others the person (serial murderer) (Labuschagne, 2006, cited in Del Fabbro, 2006). Thus it may be useful to keep criteria for defining the concept separate from observed characteristics of the person; the former being more useful for investigators, the latter being more helpful for researchers and psychologists (Del Fabbro, 2006; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005).

For the purposes of psychological research, it may therefore be more helpful to avoid conceptualising of those who commit serial murder as an exclusive category of offenders, and more accurate to treat ‘serial murder’ as an umbrella term for a group of behaviours on a continuum (Hodgskiss, 2004; G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, June 2002). The behaviours falling beneath this umbrella can vary greatly. Theorists such as Hickey (2002) and Holmes and Holmes (2001) implicitly support this perspective in their models of North American serial murderers, which allow for a multiplicity of motives and behaviours. It also avoids the risks of incorrectly creating inaccurate profiles of these individuals, based on generalisations (Wolf & Lavezzi, 2007). In this perspective serial murder is seen as part of the continuum of human behaviour, not a cluster of mutually exclusive legal categories. This perspective draws on Canter’s (2000) ‘radex’ model of criminal behaviour. The radex model proposes that criminal behaviour occurs on a continuum consisting of dominant themes. This model discourages rigid categorisation (of the sort implied in the term ‘serial murder’) and asserts that criminal behaviour is subject to the same influences as ‘normal’ human behaviours. It thus avoids defining and studying offenders solely in terms of their offences or pathologies. This perspective also tallies well with the more recent emphasis in criminology on determining the developmental pathways of offenders, and how these affect the offences they specialise in. An increasing body of literature suggests this is a more insightful and useful way of looking at criminal behaviour than traditional approaches, which have focused on classification only (Francis, Soothill & Fligelstone, 2004; Wright, Pratt & DeLisi, 2008). This may allow for a more dynamic understanding of how the prospective serial murderer may develop.

In light of this, this study acknowledges that applying the label ‘serial murderer’ to someone is problematic. This due to the competing narratives around defining and categorising those people who commit serial murder, the resultant conceptual confusion, and the inevitable limitations of any definition applied. These problems are added to by the pejorative and sensationalistic connotations of the label ‘serial murderer’, partly due to these terms being overused by the media and entertainment industry (Fisher, 1997; G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, April 2008; Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2004; R.D. Keppel, personal communication, June 2002). The term ‘serial killer’ is even more sensationalistic, but is not accurate: as ‘killing’ refers only to taking a life (for example, during a war, or in an abattoir) while ‘murder’ makes particular reference to the fact that this was an illegal act (Del Fabbro, 2004). Adopting labels as loaded with meaning as ‘serial murderer’ and ‘serial killer’ thus not only risks running counter to this study’s phenomenological orientation, but also contradicts psychology’s general avoidance of labelling.

This study will not use the term ‘serial killer’. However this study is situated in an area of research – at the confluence between criminal investigations, applied psychology, criminology, and the media – where the term ‘serial murderer’ is used as a matter of course, and is a term shared by all the competing narratives. In fact, this label has proven useful in the context of investigations (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 2005). To not use it therefore risks confusing the study’s aims and findings. An effort will be made to use a more accurate and less negative label for people who have committed such offences, such phrase such as ‘a person who has committed serial murder’, but this can be clumsy and so impair understanding. Thus while an effort will be made to avoid unnecessarily labelling of this often disparate group of offenders, occasionally the term ‘serial murderer’ will be used as a shorthand, and in full cognisance of this label’s conceptual, practical, and moral shortcomings. Using this label does not suggest that I feel that serial murderers are necessarily an exclusive category of offenders, as asserted by Ferguson *et al.* (2003).

2.2.2.4 Definition of serial murder for use in this study

Therefore this study, adapting Geberth (1996), Egger (1990), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2005) will define serial murder as:

- Two or more separate acts of murder;
- occurring at different times, in separate events;
- committed by an individual acting alone or with another.

This avoids the confusion of criteria with characteristics that has limited previous definitions, and provides a working definition which can then be elaborated on. It is also able to take the central conceptual issues in defining serial murder into account, and is therefore consistent with the aims of this study.

2.3 CAUSES OF SERIAL MURDER

Research into serial murder usually sets out to answer three questions:

1. What motivates the person who commits serial murder?
2. Why do they continue murdering? That is, how does their offending develop?
3. How do the characteristics of the offender and those of the offence interrelate?

That is, how is serial murder best investigated? (Burgess, *et al.*, 1986; Canter, 1994; Douglas *et al.*, 1986; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Hickey, 2002; Holmes & Holmes, 1998; Kurtz & Hunter, 2004; Pakhomou, 2004; Ressler *et al.*, 1986; Whitman & Akutagawa, 2003; Wolf & Lavezzi, 2007).

As discussed, previous studies have tended to combine their proposed answers to these questions which sometimes lead to these concepts becoming confused (Canter, 1994). ‘Cause’ and ‘motive’ tend to be treated together in studies of serial murder, despite the terms referring to slightly different concepts. This reflects the combining of aetiological and investigative concerns that have historically occurred in this field of research. These issues will be considered together here.

We are beginning to learn that serial offenders are influenced by a multitude of factors that inevitably lead them to kill. It is unlikely that any one factor is directly responsible for homicidal behaviour...

Unfortunately, in serial murder research everyone wants to be the first to predict causation. Whether the explanation is excessive television viewing, head traumas, biogenics, childhood victimisation, or a host of other ‘causes’, it has been offered too quickly, without the support of sufficient and valid data (Hickey, 2002, p.106 – 107).

There is consensus that serial murder has multiple, overlapping and combinatorial causes (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Fox & Levin, 2005; Hickey, 2002; Keppel & Birnes, 1998; Kurtz & Hunter, 2004; Leyton, 1989). In fact, Hickey (2002) warns against drawing aetiological assumptions too hastily in what is still a young field of research. Thus the aetiological factors and models given below should be treated as tentative. This review will also avoid the simplistic explanations given for violent sexual behaviour in the media narratives of serial murder; such as alcohol, drugs or pornography. While these may be contributing factors, to blame them for a serial murderer’s behaviour would be fallacious (Hickey, 2002). Accurately describing the aetiology of serial murder is an immensely complex and may even be, according to Holmes and Holmes (1998), an “impossible task” (p.47). Serious research on the aetiology of serial murder is universal in its acknowledgement that the creation of a serial murderer is a *process* (some examples are given in Canter, 1994; Hickey, 2002; Holmes & Holmes, 2001; Kurtz & Hunter, 2004; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993). The major models proposed for this process (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002), and the narratives they express, will be returned to later.

The narratives around the causes of serial murder will not be discussed extensively in this literature review. This is because causal narratives and explanations are only relevant to offender profiling insofar as they can explain behaviour on a crime scene. This is also the reason why, in reviewing the proposed causes of serial murder, this review will concentrate more on environmental and socio-cultural explanations for serial murder. Unlike other causal explanations, environmental narratives of explanation have been consistently applied to offender profiling and investigations via the motivational models that have grown out of them. Environmental explanations are furthermore the most widely cited, and most developed, narratives of cause in serial

murder. However, an overview of the various proposed causes of serial murder is still necessary for an adequate understanding of this field.

2.3.1 Medical and psychiatric narratives of cause

This narrative's central thesis is that a serial murderer's actions can be explained through medical or psychiatric perspectives and diagnoses but, as Carlisle (1993) observes, psychiatric and medical explanations for serial murder tend to be inadequate and contradictory.

2.3.1.1 Organic and biogenic causes

Biological, neurological, and genetic disorders (as well as head injury) have been cited as possible causes for the behaviour of someone who commits serial murder (Jeffers, 1993; Money, 1990; Norris, 1990) but they cannot be universally applied to all these offenders. Similarly, it is not possible to reliably say whether the propensity for murder is a genetically inherited trait (Hickey, 2002). It has also not been possible to identify the potentially relevant biological markers for serial murder (Silva, Leong & Ferrari, 2004). While organic factors such as epilepsy can explain the repetitive nature of serial murder (Norris, 1990) they fail to explain a number of observed behaviours such as changes in offence behaviours, avoiding capture, and reporting on their offences (Ressler & Shachtman, 1993; Hickey, 2002). They also fail to clarify why all people with genetic or organic vulnerabilities do not commit crime, let alone serial murder.

Thus while some serial murderers and other violent offenders do occasionally display abnormalities in their genetic make-up, and there some promising findings around the biological contributors to violent crime, it is unlikely that biological factors will be established as the primary causal factor in violent behaviour in the near future. Similarly while there is a persistent correlation of head trauma in the life histories of serial murderers, this cannot reliably be given a causative role (Hickey, 2002). Physical explanations for serial murderers are also of limited utility in offender profiling. Holmes and De Burger's (1988) observation that biogenic factors, with rare

exceptions, can never be regarded as the cause of serial homicide thus still holds. The cause, they therefore insist, is psychogenic.

2.3.1.2 Schizophrenia and psychotic disorders

This explanation proposes that a person who commits serial murder is not in touch with reality at the time of his offence, and this psychotic break motivates his killings. This perspective is obviously linked to the ‘disorganised’, ‘visionary’, and ‘psychotic’ categories of murderers proposed by various theorists (Holmes & Holmes, 2001; Leibman, 1989; Ressler *et al*, 1986). There is evidence that a number of serial murderers do suffer from schizophrenia or a psychosis at the time of their offences (Geberth, 1996; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993). However a relatively small number of serial murderers are criminally insane or psychotic at the time of their offence (Carlisle, 1993; Meloy, 2000). In South Africa, only one serial murderer out of at least 73, over the past 70 years, has ever been judged unfit to stand trial due to mental illness (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, September 2006). Furthermore most serial murderers do not exhibit the general lowering in global functioning typical of these types of mental illness. Ultimately it seems likely that the majority of serial murderers do not suffer from psychoses, nor are they sufficiently psychologically disordered to render them unfit for trial (Hickey, 2002; Wilson, 1988).

Godwin’s (2000) research suggested that approximately one in five serial murderers had been treated for some mental health problem. He does not however state what these mental health problems were. Pakhomou (2004) found that 52.4% of his sample of serial murderers had some form of psychiatric diagnoses (although all were found fit to stand trial). In South Africa a person accused of serial murder is sent to a psychiatric hospital for evaluation of their competency to stand trial (G. N. Labuschagne, personal communication, July 2009) but given that this process is likely to vary between countries, evidence of the presence or absence of psychotic illness in those who are convicted of serial murder is inconsistent, tending to be limited to either case studies or anecdotal evidence. The explanatory power of ‘madness’ with reference to serial murder is therefore limited. The fact remains that the average psychotic or schizophrenic patient is more risk to themselves than to others (Hickey, 2002).

2.3.1.3 Anti-social personality disorder and sexual sadism

Anti-social personality disorder and sadism are psychiatric concepts frequently utilised in the narratives around causes of serial murder. They are linked to the categories of ‘organised’, ‘comfort’, ‘hedonistic’, and ‘power-oriented’ serial murderers (Geberth, 1996; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Ressler *et al*, 1986). There has been some confusion between the labels ‘anti-social personality disorder’ (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) and ‘psychopath’. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (*DSM*)-IV-TR (2004) of the American Psychiatric Association (APA) states that the term ‘psychopath’ is a synonym for the term anti-social behaviour. However they appear to have slightly different emphases, with the term psychopath seemingly preferred in some circles (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005).

Dr. Robert Hare (1993) developed the most widely-cited measure of psychopathy, a checklist which aims to provide the clinician with an assessment of the degree of psychopathy possessed by an individual. This tool assesses factors of personality traits and dysfunctional behaviour. Factor one, called ‘aggressive narcissism’ refers to personality factors such as

- Glibness/superficial charm;
- grandiose sense of self-worth;
- pathological lying and being manipulative;
- lack of remorse or guilt;
- shallow affect and lack of empathy;
- failure to accept responsibility for own actions.

Factor two refers to ‘socially deviant lifestyle’, as defined by the offenders’ case history, referring to his or her

- Need for stimulation (or being prone to boredom);
- parasitic lifestyle;
- poor behavioural control (including promiscuous sexual behavior);
- lack of realistic, long-term goals;
- impulsivity and irresponsibility;
- early behavior problems and juvenile delinquency;
- revocation of conditional release.

Additional traits, such as having many short-term marital relationships and being criminally versatile, are not associated with either factor (Hare, 1993). These characteristics translate into the pervasive egocentricity, disregard for others, and anti-social behaviour observed in the psychopathic personality (Geberth, 1996). Carlisle (1993) summarises the psychopath in more dramatic terms “a person who has no conscience” (p.87).

In contrast, the criteria diagnoses of anti-social personality disorder (excluding requirements around the age of the offender, and precursor disorders in youth) are that since the age of 15 years the individual must display a pattern of violation of and disregard for the rights of others, as indicated by at least three of the below:

1. Failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviours as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest;
 2. deceitfulness, as indicated by repeated lying, use of aliases, or conning others for personal profit or pleasure;
 3. impulsivity and failure to plan ahead;
 4. irritability or aggressiveness, as indicated by repeated physical fights or assaults;
 5. reckless disregard for the safety of self or others;
 6. consistent irresponsibility, as indicated by repeated failure to sustain consistent work behaviour or honour financial obligations;
 7. lack of remorse, as indicated by being indifferent to or rationalising having hurt, mistreated or stolen from another
- (American Psychiatric Association, 2004, p.706)

The anti-social behaviour should also not only occur in the course of a manic episode or schizophrenia (American Psychiatric Association, 2004). Four of Pakhomou’s

(2004) sample of 22 serial murderers were diagnosed with anti-social personality disorder. This suggests that anti-social personality disorder, and by implication psychopathy, cannot be proposed as the sole cause of serial murder. This is not least because neither syndrome can explain why an individual murders repeatedly, or why some psychopaths commit murder and others do not (Carlisle, 1993; Pistorius, 1996).

The anti-social, or psychopathic, personality is often linked with the paraphilic diagnosis of 'sexual sadism' in the study of serial homicide offenders (Geberth & Turco, 1997; Schlesinger, 2004), particularly in the causal and psychiatric research linked to the FBI's narrative of offender profiling. Sexual sadism refers in part to:

recurrent, intense, sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours involving acts (real, not simulated) in which the psychological or physical suffering of the victim is sexually exciting to the person (American Psychiatric Association, 2004; p.530)

These fantasies, urges and behaviours must intrude on, and interfere with, the psychological and social functioning of the individual. This category, with the element of fantasy it implies, has clear correlations with psychodynamic or psychoanalytical theories (Schlesinger, 2004) and Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) motivational model of serial murder, which will be outlined in Section 2.6. Significantly, as the DSM-IV-TR (2004) notes, when sadism is 'coupled' with anti-social personality disorder the victim may be seriously injured or even killed. Furthermore sadistic murderers display distinct crime scene patterns (Warren, Hazelwood & Dietz, 1996) often with high levels of violence and aggression (Fedora, Reddon, Morrison, Fedora, Pascoe, & Yeudall, 1992). Sadism, and the sexual pleasure gained from aggressive acts, also offers an explanation for the repetitive nature of serial murder.

Diagnostically, 'sexual sadism' only relates to sexually oriented and motivated crimes and, as discussed, not all serial murderers display sexual foci either in their life-styles or in their offences (Pistorius, 1996), and not all sexual murderers are sadists. It is therefore difficult to assess whether a crime is sexually motivated or not, as there

needn't be overtly 'sexual' behaviour at the scene of a sexually motivated offence (Schlesinger, 2004). Schlesinger, departing from the formal diagnostic criteria for sexual sadism, goes on to suggest that sadism is not primarily about inflicting pain but rather about having total control over a person, with pain just an expression of that control. Schlesinger appears to make the assumption that having total control over another person would be sexually arousing to the offender, and thus the label of 'sexually sadistic' could be applied to him. However, as Schlesinger himself states, sexually motivated murders may not display overtly sexual elements at the crime scene. Thus although Schlesinger's observations are interesting on a theoretical level they would be extremely difficult to apply in the practice of offender profiling, where the investigator has to depend on the behavioural traces left at the crime scene.

It is likely that a serial murderer's offences would, by their very nature, warrant him being labelled 'sexually sadistic' and / or 'anti-social'. Despite this, studies on the most common psychiatric features in serial murderers do not find anti-social personality disorder or sadism (Labuschagne, 2001). Rather, studies in North America have found these offenders to be suffering from personality disorders, mood disorders, anxiety, substance abuse, psychotic features not serious enough to warrant a diagnosis of psychotic disorder, paranoid and schizoid traits (Hickey, 2002; Myers, 2000; Pakhomou, 2004; Wolff, 1995) as well as hypothesising links between serial murder and autistic spectrum disorders (Silva, Leong & Ferrari, 2004). A number of these findings have been reflected in South Africa (Labuschagne, 2001). However none of these features have been proposed as likely 'causes' of serial murder.

There are therefore clear limits to the explanatory power of diagnostic categories such as sexual sadism and anti-social personality disorder, as proposed by the proponents of this causal narrative. While a number of deviant sexual behaviours and disorders of personality have been offered as explanations for serial murder (Carlisle, 1993; Lane & Gregg, 1992; Schwartz, 1992), none have proved to be universally applicable or sufficiently explanatory (Carlisle, 1993; Pistorius, 1996). Thus, overall, a majority of serial murderers are neither clinically insane nor do they differ significantly from the norm in terms of their psychological traits (Carlisle, 1993; Wilson, 1988). Given that large-scale descriptive studies of the occurrence of mental disorders in serial murderers are unavailable, it is best to view serial murder not having a single cause

(Pakhomou, 2004) rather being the result of a number of overlapping syndromes (Money, 1990).

Finally, it is necessary to acknowledge that the application of causal explanations in investigations is limited by the fact that identifying the “fatal personality flaws” (Hickey, 2002, p.73) of the serial murderer remains easier in hindsight, that is, after they are arrested and the facts about their offences discovered. This further implies that the accurate prediction of serial murder continues to elude clinicians and researchers (Hickey, 2002). Therefore, as previously suggested, causal explanations of serial murder are currently of limited use in investigation and so offender profiling.

2.3.2 Environmental narratives of cause

Environmental narratives of cause contend that criminal behaviour is a function of socialisation processes, that is, the interaction between the individual and their environment. Fundamental to this narrative is the proposition that crime is a social learning process (Bandura, 1973; Hickey, 2002). With reference to research into serial murder, the role played by social interaction and environment in creating the serial murderer is universally acknowledged. Social and environmental factors are seen as primary causal factors in the major motivational models of serial murder (Burgess, *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002). These environmental influences may be the reason it is difficult to accurately assess the salient causal features in serial murder, since each person who commits serial murder has been exposed to different influences and responded to them differently (Hickey, 2002).

Research has focused on two major spheres of social and environmental influence in serial murder: the influence of others on the development of the individual serial murderer, and the relationship between serial murder and the society it occurs in. These spheres overlap. Given the focus of this study discussion of the latter sphere, represented in the various criminological and sociological explanations, will be limited. This review will not consider those theories which focus only on the role played by, or the representation of, serial murder in a certain socio-cultural context, without considering how this context may cause serial murder (e.g. Hook, 2003; Jenkins, 1994; Seltzer, 1998).

2.3.2.1 The social environment of the individual serial murderer

Some researchers have described childhood of a person who goes on to commit serial murder as characterised by abuse, rejection, cruelty, violence, and dysfunction (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Douglas & Olshaker, 2000; Hickey, 2002; Kurtz & Hunter, 2004; Leibman, 1989; Ressler *et al.*, 1986; Whitman & Akutagawa, 2003). Burgess and colleagues' (1986) seminal study of 36 sexual murderers set the tone for subsequent findings in this area. They found a majority of these offenders' families had criminal, psychiatric, substance abuse, and sexual problems in their histories. While the majority of these families were not particularly poverty-stricken, many were unstable, nomadic, or broke up during the offender's childhood. Most offenders reported psychological abuse, while a third reported physical and/or sexual abuse. A violent, abusive home has been reported as a particularly potent form of rejection (Hickey, 2002). Similar dysfunctional upbringings and developmental patterns have been observed by other theorists (Lane & Gregg, 1992; Leibman, 1989; Whitman & Akutagawa, 2003; Wright & Hensley, 2003). Ressler and Shachtman (1993) expand on Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) results, stating that relationships with parental figures were cold or distant (in a half of cases due to an absent parent) with parental discipline usually "slack, inconsistent, alien, and abusive" (p.116). They hypothesise that these traumas lead to ineffective, weak, and superficial interpersonal relationships, with defective or absent role models exacerbating this problem. In Ressler and Shachtman's (1993) conceptualisation, the serial murderers thus grew up lonely and isolated, lacking close emotional bonds.

These early findings are strongly supported by subsequent studies which showed that while there is a wide range of trauma, abandonment and rejection being the most common (Hickey, 2002). These findings chime with initial indications from studies of South Africans who have committed serial murder. Del Fabbro's (2006) study of the family systems of two South Africans convicted of serial murder, and their families, found clear similarities in the organisation and functioning of their family systems which could be hypothesised to contribute to their offending. In Hodgskiss' (2001) study, the offenders all expressed profound, chronic loneliness and isolation. Similarly Labuschagne (2001) found South African serial murderers characteristically expressed feelings of interpersonal inadequacy and helplessness.

Much research suggests that social and environmental trauma in the development of people who commit serial murder compromises their ability to form effective interpersonal bounds, which contributes to their eventual offending. The above findings have been incorporated into explanatory models of serial murder (e.g. Burgess, *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002). These findings around serial murder reflect studies on the social causes of other types of crime, which found that rejection, emotional neglect and abuse correlated with increased incidents of delinquency and maladjustment (Bandura & Waters, 1963; Brown, 1984). Being abused has also been strongly correlated with future violent behaviour (Inglis, 1978; Lloyd, 1995), and up to 57% of sex offenders report being sexually abused in childhood themselves (Jehu, 1991). This suggests that the correlation between childhood abuse and neglect is not unique to serial murder. All these findings lend support to this causal narrative's hypothesis that the process of social learning is significant in all crime.

Taken in isolation there are however limits to the explanatory power of childhood abuse. Firstly, not all people who suffer abusive childhoods become serial murderers (Pistorius, 1996), or indeed criminals in any form. For example, these explanations cannot explain why siblings of serial murderers, brought up in the same household, do not become serial murderers themselves (Mitchell, 1997). Secondly, the terms used (such as 'emotional abuse' or 'isolation') have been insufficiently defined. This means that they could be used to refer to an individual or situation where they are not applicable, or could be so inclusive as to be rendered meaningless. Del Fabbro (2006) also points out that although these theories can explain how people come to commit violence or sex offences, there is nothing to specifically link these results to serial murder. Thirdly, while certain characteristics and dysfunctions (be they familial, developmental, or behavioural) are consistently found in a sample of those convicted of serial murder, these cannot be generalised to apply to all such individuals. Serial murderers are a more heterogeneous group than these listings would lead us to believe. Finally, no normative information on the prevalence of such characteristics, or life-events, is given for the community from which the sample of serial murderers is drawn. This means it cannot be said with any certainty whether these background characteristics are prevalent in certain segments of society, or unique only to those who become murderers, or are also seen in a significant number of offenders generally. Thus the hostile social environment of childhood cannot sufficiently

explain serial murder. A more dynamic explanation, emphasising the offender's ongoing development, is needed (Canter, 1994).

2.3.2.2 The relationship between the society and serial murder

The social environment of the individual will be influenced by the society in which he lives. The other strand of social and environmental research into serial murder looks at the potential relationships between the characteristics of society and serial murder. These are mainly concerned with societies where serial murder seems more prevalent. What is it about these countries that appear to make them vulnerable to serial murder (Leyton, 1989)? Holmes and DeBurger (1988) proposed a list of features of North American society that correlate to an increase in violence in general:

- Normalising of interpersonal violence;
- extensive violence;
- excessively violent role models;
- unmotivated hostility and blaming of others;
- normalising of impulsiveness;
- emphasis on thrills and personal comfort;
- emphasis on immediate and fast gratification of needs;
- anonymity and depersonalisation in over-crowded areas;
- extensive and accelerating geographic mobility.

Many of these factors are applicable in the South African context with its widespread poverty, population migration, violence and its history of disruption (Labuschagne, 2001; Ndabandaba, 1987).

As far as can be assessed, South Africa is in the top five countries in terms of numbers of serial murderers (Gorby 2000; Pistorius 2002; G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, June 2002). Between 1936 and 2006, there were 73 confirmed serial murder series in South Africa (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, September 2006). However it is not merely the presence of certain features in a society that make it more susceptible to violent crime and serial murder. Labuschagne (2001), drawing on Durkheim's (1897/1952) insights, states that the increased diversity and broadening of parameters as occurs in, for example, situations of rapid social change, makes a society more susceptible to crime. This is evidenced in South

Africa's shift from apartheid to post-apartheid society, and subsequent influx of illegal immigrants from across Africa:

The overall increase in crime and possible ineffectiveness of government services to manage the problem had made boundaries become blurred. This helps create a sense of anonymity, which makes a ripe playing field for serial murder. Thus a change in the ecosystem leads to new phenomenon appearing or mutating (Labuschagne, 2001, p.270)

This perspective calls attention to the possibility that serial murder functions as a systemic symptom of highly disruptive or badly managed social change. Marsh (1999) found that societies in transition are more vulnerable to crime and serial murder due to their having weakened support structures, with Leyton (1989) suggesting that serial murder is a reflection of the central tensions in that society. The increasing percentage of serial murderers from the developing world (Gorby, 2000) may offer support for the above perspectives. These developing states tend to have less extensive infrastructure, less robust economies, and could be seen as being more susceptible to socio-economic disruption than their European or North American counterparts. The rising number of serial murders in these states could be a symptom of their inability to effectively manage social change.

Significantly, the number of detected serial murders in South Africa increased significantly during the 1990s, a time of unprecedented violence and disruption. The highest recorded annual murder rates occurred between 1994 and 1997, the same years in which the highest number of serial murder series began. The formation of the Investigative Psychology Unit of the South African Police Service in 1996, specifically to deal with crimes such as serial murder, may however have contributed to this apparent rise due to the better recognition of serial murder it engendered (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, July 2009). Perhaps more interestingly, both murder and serial murder rates fell between their respective peaks in 1994 and 1997 and 2004 (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, June 2002; Hodgskiss, 2004; Pistorius, 2002; SAPS Crime Information Analysis Centre, 2002) although South

African serial murder rates have subsequently risen again (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, July 2009). Hickey (2002) observed a similar parallel rise in the USA, with male serial murder beginning to accelerate sharply in the late 1960s and early 1970s, while murder and manslaughter rates, at around the same time, began a 20-year rise which saw them increase by 300%.

While the limited number of serial murder cases and variations in crime recording practices make it difficult to accurately predict trends in serial murder, this observation would seem to indicate that murder and serial murder rates are subject to the same influences. These findings suggest that situations of rapid social change and disruption are coupled with an increase in the violent crime, murder and serial murder rates. There are a number of potential reasons for the correlation. With reference to South Africa, a turbulent past may mean that a large proportion of the population have been exposed to, and possibly traumatised by, interpersonal violence. For example, Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson and Zak (1986) found that witnessing parental violence can have just as much an affect on future adjustment difficulties as being physically abused by parental figures. As stated, being exposed to interpersonal violence has been correlated with increased violent acts (Inglis, 1978).

Neutralisation theory is another aspect of social learning theory that may further help explain the relationship between a violent society and individual violence. According to Sykes and Matza (1957), offenders make use of justifications and excuses to rationalise their criminal actions. By doing so they neutralise their personal values, validate the offending behaviour, and so increase the likelihood of their re-offending. This shifting of blame and the accompanying guilt allows the offender to move comfortably between the criminal and 'conventional' arenas of their lives (Bandura, 1974). Current research suggests that serial murderers frequently dehumanise their victims (Hickey, 2002). These techniques of neutralisation could be seen to operate on a broader social level. As Charney (1980) notes, subtly dehumanising others can become a routine part of everyday life. We can hypothesise that these dehumanising neutralisations will be especially commonplace in violent societies. This is particularly relevant to the history of South Africa, which is characterised by widespread cultural conflict and the subsequent dehumanisation of groups (Hodgskiss, 2004). Neutralisation techniques could therefore be influenced by societal

norms. The pervasive dehumanisation of others could in turn be reflected in increased incidents of violent crime and serial murder.

Thus social learning influences the development of serial murder through the individual's personal history, societal norms, or both. However the literature suggests these theories cannot account directly for the appearance of serial murder. For example, they have not been considered able to account for idiosyncratic offence behaviours and while they demonstrate societal influences on crime, they cannot convincingly explain increases in specific types of crime such as serial murder (Del Fabbro, 2006). Rather, social and environmental influences have been most productively applied to serial murder as part of motivational models of behaviour.

2.4 MOTIVATIONAL MODELS OF SERIAL MURDER

A number of motivational models of serial murder have been proposed in academic literature. These models attempt to synthesise various causal explanations, with particular emphasis on social and environmental factors, into systems that explain how serial murder is created, maintained and develops. They therefore combine discussions of motive, with models of development. In so doing they offer a more holistic view of the aetiology and maintenance of serial murder than any other proposed 'cause' does, in isolation. This holistic view can better demonstrate what aspects of serial murder would benefit from further research.

A differentiation should be made between the motives for an action, and the causes thereof. Motive refers specifically to the reasons a person gives for behaving in a certain way, while cause may not originate from within the individual and may be something they are unaware of (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, July 2009). This study considered the reasons the participants gave for having committing the offences their motives. However in these models this differentiation between cause and motive overlaps is not always made.

This section will focus on two of the best known models: Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas, and McCormack's (1986) Motivational Model and Hickey's (2002) Trauma-Control Model. These two models were selected for discussion here because they

were based primarily on research on serial murder. This is unlike other suggested models, such as Kurtz and Hunter's (2004) 'offence cycle theory', which is a merely a model used in the treatment of sexual offenders applied to serial murder. Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) and Hickey's (2002) models were also selected to demonstrate the way in which models with different theoretical underpinnings reach similar conclusions around the fundamental nature of serial murder. Both models find serial murder is motivated by an interaction of various factors and aim to synthesise the various influences on serial murderers' development in an explanatory system. Both aim to illuminate the aetiology, process, and maintenance of serial murder. Both models emphasise that serial murder is influenced by social learning (although the degree of this influence varies between models). They thus offer a thorough summary of how the literature conceptualises and articulates the process of serial murder.

2.4.1 Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas, and McCormack's motivational model of serial sexual homicide

Burgess, *et al.*'s (1986) model was the first theoretical model offered for serial homicide. It conceptualised of these offenders as primarily sexual offenders. This model grew out of the FBI's research project into sexual murder (Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman & D'Agostino, 1986; Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1993), and is entwined with the FBI's narrative of offender profiling. This FBI research project was extremely influential, giving rise to a number of well known publications in serial murder and offender profiling (e.g. Douglas *et al.*, 1986; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993; Ressler *et al.*, 1986) and laying out the terms in which serial murder has been discussed since. It also gave rise to the well-known 'organised-disorganised' typology of serial murder.

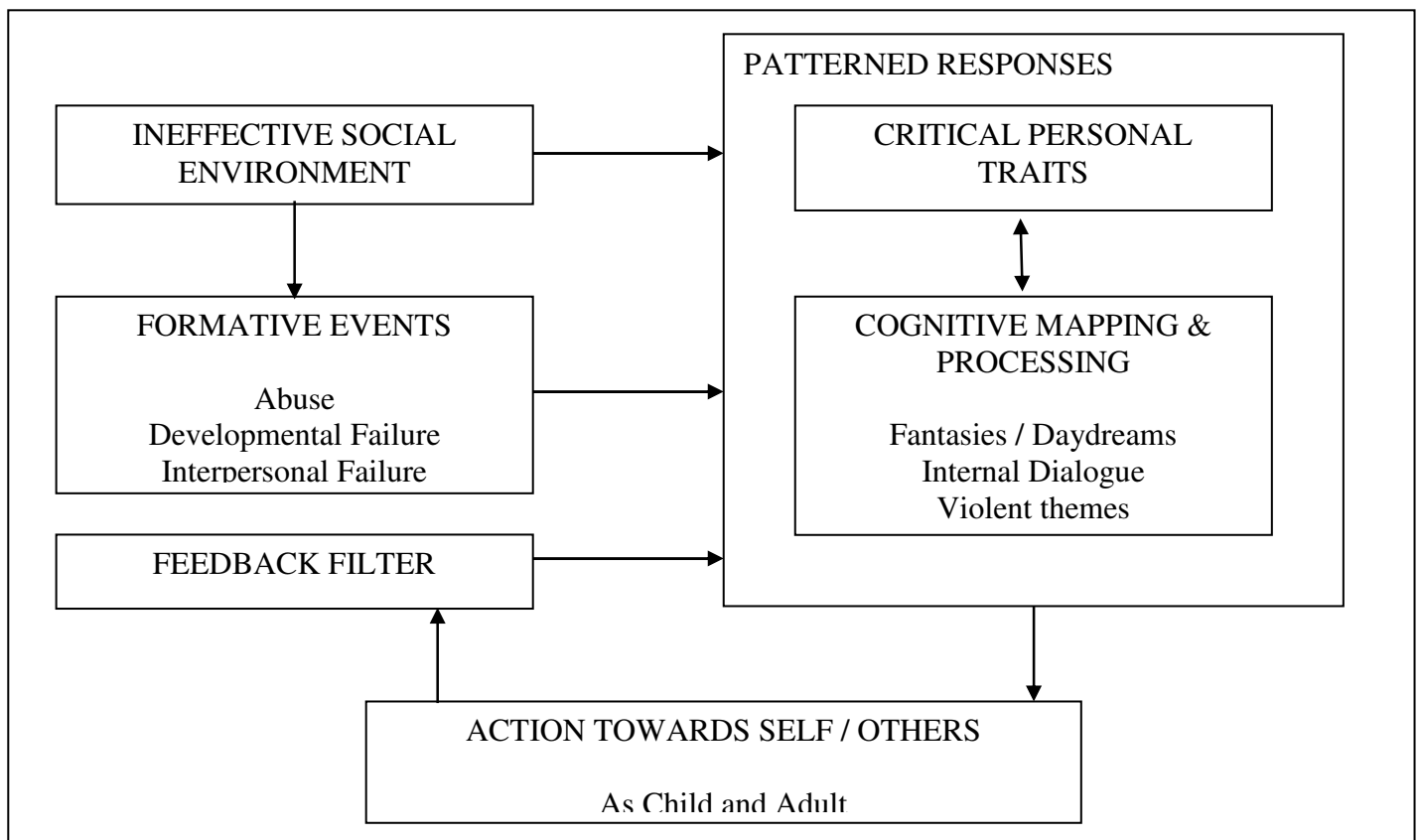
Burgess *et al.* (1986) analysed the background characteristics of 36 sexual murderers. They analysed these characteristics in terms of the offender's developmental stages, and the central role played by cognitive structures (here, sadistic fantasy) in motivating sexual murder. They proposed a five phase model consisting of:

1. Ineffective social environment.
2. Formative events.
3. Patterned responses (critical personal traits and cognitive structures).

4. Actions towards others and self.
5. Feedback filter.

The development of active aggressive fantasies and daydreams, sexually reinforced by subsequent masturbation and increasing social isolation (that is, detachment from the social rules of conduct) provide the framework within which subsequent violent behaviour is reinforced. The five components of the model interact, forming a cycle of motivation and offending.

Figure 1: *Motivational model of sexual homicide*



Note: Adapted from Burgess *et al.* (1986), *Sexual homicide: a motivational model.*

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2.4.1.1 Ineffective social environment

‘Ineffective social environment’ refers to the quality and structure of the child’s family and social interactions, especially how the child perceives these. Burgess *et al.* (1986) use this term to refer to a number of overlapping negative social processes. Most notable of these negative social processes is the use of neutralisations (Sykes & Matza, 1957) by the child’s family or caretakers to justify the child’s, or their own, dysfunctional or criminal behaviour. Using neutralisations also encourages the child to employ them in future. The development of these neutralisations occurs alongside a situation where adults and others do not nurture, protect, or intervene on behalf of the developing boy. Burgess *et al.* (1986) state that ineffective social environments compromise the quality of the child’s bonding with their parents and family. These negative or failed bonding experiences then translate into a “blueprint of how the child will perceive situations outside the family” (p. 261). This ineffective social environment thus eventually expands to include other members of the community who come into contact with the child (such as social workers or the police).

2.4.1.2 Formative events

‘Formative events’ interact with this environment. Burgess *et al.* (1986) identify three formative factors. The first, ‘Abuse’ refers to the previously discussed findings that the childhoods of a majority of serial murderers are characterised by rejection, abuse, and dysfunction. This abuse results in structured, patterned types of thinking. That is, the child fixates on the abuse he has suffered. These fixated thoughts help generate compensatory daydreams and fantasies of domination and control (Schlesinger, 2004). Burgess *et al.* (1986) state these fixated thoughts are supported by the other two factors in the ‘formative events’ phase: developmental failure and interpersonal failure. Developmental failure refers to the child’s failure to bond with an adult caretaker, mentioned above. This failure leads to a diminishing in the child’s capacity to react emotionally to others. The third factor, interpersonal failure, refers to the failure of the child’s caretakers to provide consistent care and be positive role models. These formative events and ineffective social environments then help create and maintain ‘patterned responses’.

2.4.1.3 Patterned responses

Patterned responses refer to the critical personal traits and cognitive structures in the developing offender. That is the developing serial murderer cultivates negative traits that interfere with the development of social relationships with others. These traits include lying, aggression, rebelliousness, a sense of entitlement, and a preference for auto-erotic activities. These underscore the individual's pervasive mistrust of others. As a result, the individual becomes increasingly isolated. An integral part of their stage of patterned responses is 'cognitive mapping and processing'. This term refers to the structure and development of thinking patterns, which function to generate meaning for the individual. In those who go on to commit murder, this mapping is "repetitive and lacking socially enhancing cognitions, moving the individual to an antisocial position and view of the world. What emerges is a primary sense of entitlement to express oneself regardless of its impact on others" (Burgess *et al.*, 1986, p.264). These persistent and repetitive cognitive maps take the form of daydreams, fantasies, nightmares or thoughts with strong visual components. They act as a substitute for positive social interaction and control over the environment. They are characterised by themes of dominance, power, control, revenge and violence (including rape and torture). These thoughts are accompanied by high levels of arousal. This leads to the developing murderer coming to prefer fantasy to social interactions.

Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) proposals around the role of fantasy in the development of serial murder have been taken up by a number of subsequent theorists. These theorists concur that sexual and sadistic fantasies play a strong role in serial murder (Anderson, 1994; Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Myers, Burgess & Nelson, 1998; Whitman & Akutagawa, 2003) with these fantasies considered an indicator of future tendency towards homicidal behaviour (Johnson & Becker, 1997), and being present in a significant proportion of persons who committed serial murder in the USA (Prentky *et al.*, 1989).

2.4.1.4 Actions towards self and others

This disturbed cognition is then expressed in ‘Actions towards self and others’, the fourth phase of the model: “the preoccupation with aggressive themes, the detailed cognitive activity, and elevated kinaesthetic arousal state eventually move the person into actions” (Burgess *et al.*, 1986, p. 265). They offer an extensive list of behaviours that the individual may engage in. As a child they may engage in behaviours such as negative play patterns, cruelty towards animals and other children, fire setting and destruction of property. As an adult the behaviours are more severe and may include assault, burglary, rape, nonsexual murder, and finally sexual murder involving torture, mutilation and necrophilia. These violent actions reinforce the murderer’s social isolation, and thus their orientation towards fantasy. This reinforcement occurs in the last phase of the model ‘feedback filter’.

2.4.1.5 Feedback filter

Through this ‘filter’ the person who commits serial murder evaluates their actions, and feeds the evaluations back into their patterned responses (see Figure 1).

Through the feedback filter, the murderer’s earlier actions are justified, errors are sorted out, and corrections are made to preserve and protect the internal fantasy world and avoid restrictions from the external environment. The murderer experiences increased arousal states via fantasy variations on the violent actions. Feelings of dominance, power, and control are increased... All this feeds back into the patterned responses and enhances the details of the fantasy life (Burgess *et al.*, 1986, p.266)

This model thus does not emphasise any specific event, rather emphasising the individual’s response to events. The five stages are cumulative. Their motivational model “suggests that traumatic and early damaging experiences to the murderers as

children” (p. 270) underpin the subsequent development of the cognitive schemas that lead to serial murder. Prentky, Burgess and Carter (1986) expand on these findings. They found fantasies common amongst serial sex murderers, and hypothesised that these offenders attempt to replicate their fantasies in their offences. However since the offender inevitably has incomplete control of their offence, the actions will never live up to the fantasy. Thus in a system analogous to Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) model, a further attempt to recreate the fantasy is needed, with each new murder providing ‘fuel’ for future homicides.

2.4.1.6 Limitations of the motivational model of serial sexual homicide

While they acknowledge that the proposed phases interact, Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) model tends to be repetitive. That is, a number of stages seem to have the same function. For example, most stages (‘formative events’, ‘patterned responses’, ‘action towards others’ and ‘feedback filter’) make reference to the murderer’s hostile and fantasy-obsessed thought patterns. It is not clear whether this is reiteration or refers to different phases in the thought-development. Perhaps more revealingly, ‘formative events’, ‘patterned responses’ and ‘action towards others’ all refer to and dictate the quality of the person’s interaction with others. These three phases could thus be regarded as tautological. This seeming repetition is perhaps a function of the model trying to apply psychoanalytical and social learning theories simultaneously and so placing the formative event *both* in early childhood *and* in the developing and ongoing social interactions. This confusion impairs the model’s clarity, and possibly its validity.

By adopting aspects of psychodynamic theory to explain serial murder, this model also opens itself to criticisms of psychodynamic theories of serial murder. Cooper (1996) comments that psychodynamic explanations adopt tautological arguments, and are thus not falsifiable. They can also characterise cause too broadly, matching offending patterns to psychosexual fixations after the event, which is not helpful to investigations (Del Fabbro, 2006).

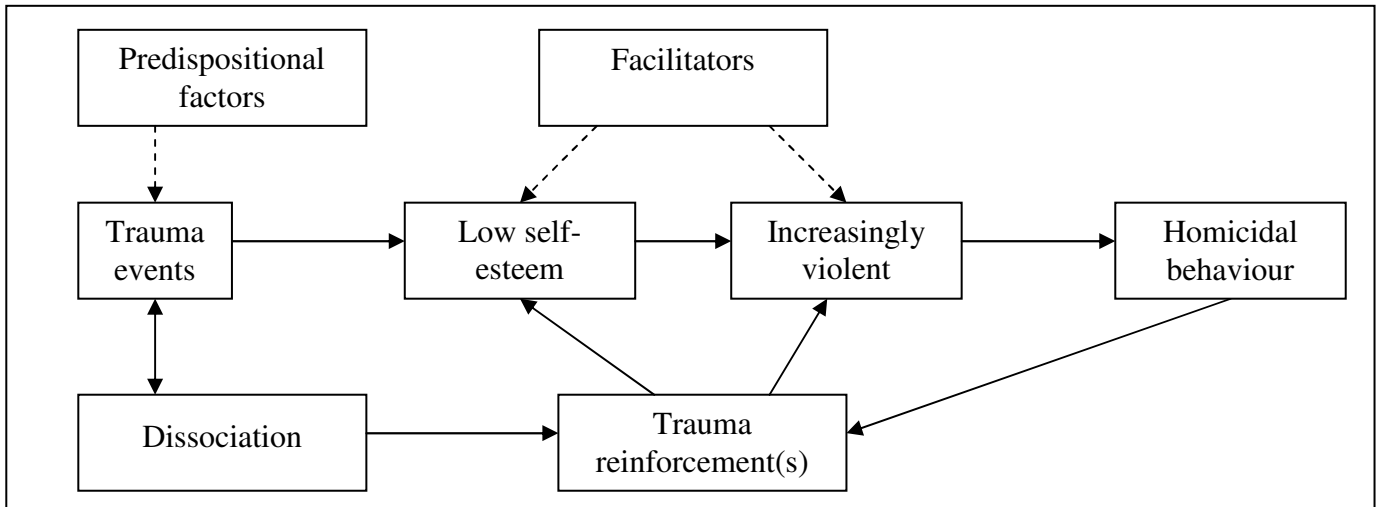
This model also tends to define social and interpersonal interaction narrowly. For example, with reference to ‘patterned responses’ Burgess *et al.* (1986) state that the

serial offender increasingly develops in social isolation, that is, without interaction from others. It does not appear to consider the proposition that as the developing offender increasingly develops and expresses their negative cognitions, social and interpersonal interaction is still occurring. 'Social isolation' thus more likely refers to extremely limited or negative forms of interaction with others, rather than the near-impossible absence of all interaction implied by the model. This reflects the criticism that psychodynamic theories ignore the influence of the context in mediating the behaviours of individuals (Labuschagne, 2001). Again, the underlying psychodynamic assumptions of the model sit uncomfortably with the elements of social learning it incorporates.

2.4.2 Hickey's trauma-control model

Like Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) proposal, Hickey's (2002) "Trauma-Control Model of the Serial Murderer" (p.106) emphasises the destabilising affect of traumatic events in the childhoods of developing offenders. As in the previous model, the developing offender fails to deal adequately with this combinatorial and exponential trauma. This failure leads to the development of "low self-esteem", and increasingly violent fantasies (p. 107). These fantasies contribute to and maintain serial murder. There are however important differences between the models. The process of Hickey's (2002) model is represented in Figure 2.

Figure 2: *Trauma-control model of serial murder*



Note. Adapted from Hickey (2002), *Serial Murderers and their victims* (3rd Ed.), p. 107.

2.4.2.1 Predispositional factors and traumatisations

As with the previous model Hickey (2002) finds that multiple interacting factors cause serial murder, with the most important of these factors being the combinations of trauma suffered. The combinations of these trauma exponentially increase their effects. Hickey adds that the developing offender’s inability to deal adequately with this trauma may be the result of “predispositional factors” (p. 107). These factors could include elements proposed in other studies on violent crime, such as head trauma, biological vulnerabilities, and sociological or psychological dysfunction. Traumatic life events, which Hickey terms ‘traumatisations’, then act together with these predispositional factors to destabilise the developing offender. Traumatisations can include physical and sexual abuse, unstable home life, and the absence of caretakers. The child reacts to these traumatisations by a combination of dissociation and fantasy development. That is, they will respond to the feelings of powerlessness that these traumatisations invoke by dissociating themselves from the trauma (e.g. by repressing the memory, or the negative emotions associated with it) and developing fantasies of power and control. As shown in Figure 2, this process is reinforced and exacerbated by further trauma (‘trauma reinforcements’).

2.4.2.2 Facilitators

Hickey (2002) adds that the process of fantasy development has a relationship with various ‘facilitators’. These include pornography as well as the use of drugs and/or alcohol. He finds these facilitators are present in most of the case-histories of serial murderers. Hickey states the role of these facilitators is unclear. While they have been correlated with violent offending and serial murder, Hickey discourages the assumption that they necessarily encourage offending. For example, while he cites research linking pornography and violence, he states that this apparent linkage does not account for the type of pornography viewed, or acknowledge that pornography may act as a safe release for certain offenders and so prevent them from becoming violent. Hickey therefore concludes that these facilitators are not mandatory elements in the construction of a serial murderer. Rather, they are expressions of the serial murderer’s growing rage and he contends that “without alcohol or pornography the offender in all likelihood would kill anyway” (p.111).

2.4.2.3 Increasingly violent fantasies

As with Burgess *et al.* (1986), fantasy plays a critical role in Hickey’s (2002) model. Like Burgess and colleagues, Hickey includes daydreams and repetitive thoughts in his definition of ‘fantasy’ and these fantasies lead to offending. However, unlike the previous model, Hickey does not see these fantasies as fundamentally a combination of strong violent and sexual content. Rather, the fantasies focus on control. Thus it is not the attempt to re-create a sexually gratifying violent fantasy that maintains offending (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Prentky, *et al.*, 1986) but rather the attempt to regain and retain a sense of control which is otherwise absent from the offender’s life. As in the previous model, these fantasies cannot be satisfactorily enacted, and control and self-esteem can never be adequately restored. As in Prentky *et al.*’s (1986) hypothesis, Hickey sees these failures then feeding back into future offences but he goes further in explaining how fantasy may maintain offending. Future offences may not merely be further attempts to re-create fantasy. They may also be precipitated by events that threaten the offender’s tenuous sense of control, such as being made unemployed, or being rejected by a woman. These events would cause an increase in fantasies of control, and eventually a further offence. Hickey adds that these control fantasies can

also be sexual, but that sexual behaviours at the crime scene always remain primarily a method of control.

2.4.2.4 Dissociation

Hickey (2002) adds that the dissociative strategies used by offenders in an attempt to deal with traumatisations may break down in the course of the offence. For example, memories of the offender's own trauma, which he has attempted to repress and dissociate from, may return. The offender may then attempt to recreate their trauma and thereby control it. This phenomenon is used by Hickey to explain such examples as the serial murderer who, as a child, had been beaten, sexually abused, bound, and locked in dark cupboards. As an adult, the offender began torturing boys by beating them, tying them in heavy cords, and holding them captive in dark places.

2.4.2.5 Comments on the trauma control model

Hickey's (2002) model draws on many of the basic findings of Burgess *et al.* (1986). However he simplifies the process and removes the repetition that made Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) model difficult to understand. Perhaps more valuably, Hickey avoids the conceptual confusion of his predecessors by avoiding their dependence on psychodynamic theory and assumptions. Rather, Hickey sees serial murder as a result of social learning. Unlike Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) finding that serial murder is sexually motivated, Hickey finds that control is fundamental to serial murder. Hickey's conclusion has been supported by statistical research on a sample of North American serial murderers, which found that power and control appear to be at the heart of their offences (Canter & Wentink, 2004). Research on South African serial murderers also partially supports Hickey's (2002) hypothesis, finding that rather than being fundamentally sexual, South African serial murderers' offences centre on the act-focused murder of a depersonalised and passive object (Hodgskiss, 2001). Notwithstanding this, subsequent research has found the trauma control model a useful and appropriate conceptual model to understand serial sexual murder as well (Arndt *et al.*, 2004).

Finally, Hickey (2002) takes a less prescriptive stance on the role of fantasy in serial murder than Burgess *et al.* (1986). Hickey states “fantasy becomes a critical *component* [italics added] in the psychological development of the serial murderer...Although fantasies are generally associated with sexual homicides, they are likely to be found the minds of most, if not all, serial murderers” (p.114). In this statement, Hickey entertains the possibility that fantasy may not necessarily cause all serial murderers. In this, he also introduces the possibility that fantasy may be a concurrent symptom of serial murder, or even a coping strategy employed by the offender (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, 3rd March 2007), rather than the primary motivator. Hickey thus presents a more cautious assessment on the role of fantasy, in contrast to Ressler, Burgess and Douglas’s (1993) statement that “sexual murder is based on fantasy” (p.33). His findings reflect South African research results, which note that South African serial murderers seem to consistently lack sexually violent conscious fantasy (Hodgskiss, 2004; G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, 2002).

2.4.3 Summary and critique of motivational models of serial murder

What do these models tell us about the aetiology and motivation of serial murderers? They find that serial murder is the product of numerous, combinatory and overlapping causes. Serial murder is a process, seemingly cyclical. Most importantly, as articulated by Hickey (2002), these models demonstrate that serial murder is comprised of multiple and interacting factors. Where factors interact, no single factor can be attributed as cause. It is then the interplay between factors, and the intensity of these interactions, that determines the resultant behaviour. This interplay compels one to accept that while behaviour in general is complex, it is even more so where extreme forms of behaviour, such as serial murder, are concerned. Thus offender profiling is an inevitably difficult creative, albeit informed and knowledgeable, endeavour (D. Beyers, personal communication, September 2006).

Both models presented here emphasise that an understanding of the offender’s perceptions and meaning structures are crucial in understanding his offences. They refer to these meaning structures as ‘fantasy’. Yet ‘fantasy’ is defined very broadly. Fantasy is taken to refer to fixed and repetitive thoughts, which can include

daydreams and nightmares (Burgess, *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002). The models differ on the content of the fantasies; Burgess *et al.* (1986) emphasising a merging of violent and sexual material, whilst Hickey (2002) emphasises control. Burgess *et al.* (1986) state these fantasies are attached to strong emotional content and high levels of arousal. It should be noted that both models treat the offenders' fantasies as conscious, implicitly supporting the assumption that serial murderers are not motivated by compulsion or unconscious fantasy, and so retain some control over their offending.

Both models find that serial murder develops, and is maintained, through a process of social learning, although the emphasis on social learning and the environment differs between the two. They thus concur with findings by Toch (1969) and Huesman and Eron (1989) who postulate that violence and its expression are learned patterns of behaviour that develop young, remaining consistent and resistant to change across time and life contexts. Salfati and Canter (1999) suggest that these learned strategies could provide a linkage between the interpersonal, thematic characteristics of an offence and those of an offender. However neither model describes the mechanisms by which the social environment influences the individual in detail. This reflects a general bias in the research into the cause and motives of serial murder. Research has tended to assume the cause of serial murder is pathology or dysfunction within the psyche of the offender. As Schlesinger (2004), who prefers the term 'compulsive' to 'serial' murder, explains: "the compulsive offender lies on the extreme endogenous end...of the motivational spectrum and is (thus) least influenced by external or sociogenic factors" (p.195). This view, that the serial murderer is primarily motivated by psychogenic and internal factors, is pervasive in the narrative around, and study of, serial murder. There is a tendency to minimise the role played by the social environment, while simultaneously treating social interaction as important in causing serial murder (as seen particularly in Burgess *et al.*, 1986). Thus the influence of social and environmental factors is acknowledged, but not discussed in any depth, or with much subtlety (Del Fabbro, 2006; Labuschagne, 2001)

While Hickey's (2002) and Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) models emphasise the dynamic and cyclical nature of serial murder, they both seem focused almost solely on an analysis of the offender's childhood. Although they state that the offender's development is an ongoing process, they do not discuss the ways in which the

offender's fantasies and offences develop and change, or the role played by environment and context at the time of the offence. Furthermore the models do not sufficiently explain the offender's development in adulthood. They are thus not able to explain findings that emphasise the behavioural changes that occur within a these offenders' series of murders (Hodgskiss, 2001; Wentink, 2001). Like personality trait theories (Canter, 1994; Maruna, 2001) they may lack the developmental focus, and not be dynamic enough, to analyse criminal behaviour satisfactorily.

It should be remembered that these are models of causal factors in serial murder, and not investigative tools. Both models regard violent fantasy as fundamental to the generation and continuation serial murder, but neither aims to discern how the offender's fantasy is expressed in his crime scenes. Given that it was not necessarily their goal, the models do not provide a reliable framework for linking the fantasy expressed in the crime scene with the offender responsible for it. These models thus have limited utility in supporting offender profiling.

2.5 TYPOLOGIES OF SERIAL MURDER

Typologies have been a common method for studying the diverse behaviours and backgrounds of those who have been classified as serial murderers. These typologies aim to clarify the nature of those who commit serial murder by dividing them into different categories on the basis of a variety of background and offence characteristics (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Holmes & Holmes, 1998; Douglas, Burgess, Burgess & Ressler, 1992; Wentink, 2001). Holmes and DeBurger (1988) highlight the need for classification of these offenders:

Careful study and classification of pertinent data is one of the most fundamental steps in developing adequate knowledge about criminal behaviour patterns such as serial murder...The purpose of a 'model' is to list and demonstrate how major components of a specific phenomenon - serial murder, in this case - are interrelated. The intent of a 'typology' is to

provide an inclusive set of categories for describing a particular behaviour or phenomenon (p 46-47).

Typologies have traditionally been used in the study of criminal behaviour to create theory. By determining the ways in which various ‘types’ of offender differ from one another, we can identify the factors that contribute to their particular developmental and offence patterns. These factors then form the basis for theory (Canter, 2004; Hodge, 2000). While some view the construction of serial murder typologies as purely a theoretical exercise (Keppel & Birnes, 1998), typologies have been used in offender profiling to link offender’s characteristics with those of an offence (Hodge, 2000). This is an especially prevalent use of the typologies offered for serial murder (e.g. Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1993), and so they have tended to be associated with narratives of offender profiling. Therefore the following typologies will be discussed in terms of both their theoretical and investigative value. This discussion aims to address whether these typologies satisfactorily link offence and offender characteristics, and how they contribute to ongoing research. This section will also try to assess the suitability of these typologies in the South African context.

The most widely cited typologies of serial murder are Ressler, Burgess and Douglas’s (1993) organised-disorganised classification, and Holmes and DeBurger’s (1988) four-fold differentiation between Visionary, Mission, Hedonistic, and Power / control types of serial murderer. These typologies attempt to classify serial murderers according to a number of personal and behavioural factors evident in the history and criminal behaviour of the murderer. These typologies imply a range of historical, behavioural, and personal characteristics (such as marital status, employment history, education, and criminal histories) specific to each category of serial murderer (Canter & Heritage, 1990; Geberth, 1996; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). The categories suggested by these theorists are, however, the source of much debate. This is due to each author, in the construction of their typological system, having different emphases and areas of concern which means the factors taken into account in each typology vary. Whilst there are differences between them, they also exhibit significant similarities. This will be demonstrated below.

2.5.1 Ressler, Burgess and Douglas's organised – disorganised typology

Ressler, Burgess and Douglas (1993) propose a typology whereby serial murderers are categorised according to whether they are 'organised' or 'disorganised' in their crimes and personal lives. The crime scene itself is the primary focus of this typological system, with the characteristics of the offender being extrapolated from this (Holmes & Holmes, 1998). They therefore assume that an individual who commits a crime exhibiting 'organised' characteristics exhibits a similarly 'organised' life-style and behavioural qualities. This approach has the primary objective of using typologies to aid law enforcement in apprehending offenders, rather than developing theory. This typology has been widely used by, and associated with, the FBI and their narrative around offender profiling.

Salfati and Canter (1999) point out that this typology was the first proposal to draw attention to the thematic links between an offender's criminal behaviour and their background characteristics. That is, it demonstrated that offenders displaying certain behavioural themes in their offence behaviour display similar behavioural traits in their backgrounds. This, taken alongside the FBI's narrative of offender profiling and the FBI's association with narratives of the cause of serial murder, explains why the initial research by the FBI has had such a lasting influence: it established many of the terms of reference used to articulate the key concerns in this field.

This typology was first introduced in an examination of lust and sexual murders (Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman and D'Agostino, 1986), but then put forward to differentiate all serial murders and arsons in subsequent publications by the same FBI authors (Burgess, Burgess, Douglas, & Ressler, 1997; Ressler *et al.*, 1986; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993). The synthesis of sexual and serial murder was also enshrined in the motivational model of serial sexual murder associated with the FBI narrative (Burgess *et al.*, 1986). This combining of the categories of sexual and serial murder has persisted and has resulted in the widely held belief, within both policing and clinical environments, that a majority of serial murders are sexual in nature (Anderson, 1994; Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Lunde, 1976; Myers, Burgess & Nelson, 1998; Ressler *et al.*, 1986; Schlesinger, 2004; Whitman & Akutagawa, 2003). Due to this belief this typological system has since been widely applied to all 'types' of serial

murder, both in theory construction and investigations (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Geberth, 1996; Pistorius, 1996). This study does not share the assumption that serial murder is necessarily fundamentally sexual in nature, but the ubiquity of the organised-disorganised typology in the study of serial murder means that it will be reviewed here.

Based on an investigation of 36 incarcerated sexual offenders, Ressler *et al.* (1986) divided serial murderers into two categories: 'organised' and 'disorganised'. Burgess *et al.*, (1997) subsequently warned that in some cases offenders may present as a mixture of these categories. A key differentiating factor is that the murders of organised offenders are reminiscent of psychopathy, while those of disorganised murderers tend to display psychotic characteristics (Geberth, 1996; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993). That is, organised serial murderers reveal the pervasive lack of regard for others and guiltless nature associated with an anti-social or psychopathic personality (Davis, 1998; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). Meanwhile, disorganised murderers display characteristics that demonstrate a loss of contact with reality and an attendant deterioration in intellectual, cognitive, psychological, and social functioning (Douglas & Burgess, 1986; Hickey, 2002; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). Thus the organised offender's murders speak of a calculated act, engineered for maximum psychological gain for the murderer, while those of the disorganised offender demonstrate the content, and compromised functioning, of a psychotic disorder such as schizophrenia.

2.5.1.1 The organised serial murderer

According to Geberth (1996), the organised serial murderer is most likely to possess normal to superior intelligence, and have completed high school with perhaps some tertiary education. Ressler and Shachtman (1993) note however that these offenders may have been considered disciplinary problems at school with a tendency towards senseless acts of aggression, and may be academic underachievers. The organised serial murderer is likely to be a middle class individual with no mental health record (Geberth, 1996; Ressler *et al.*, 1986). His work record will be unsatisfactory and erratic. Furthermore, the organised serial murderer would possibly have a criminal record for violent or sexual crimes, and a reputation for a violent and uncontrollable

temper (Geberth, 1996). These factors will be masked by a socially acceptable facade. He will present as a socially competent, outgoing, and gregarious individual with good interpersonal skills. He dresses well, generally ‘looking after himself’. He owns a well-maintained, reasonably new model vehicle and is therefore mobile. He is also sexually competent and will either be married, be in an intimate relationship with someone, or have multiple sexual partners (Geberth, 1996; Ressler *et al.*, 1986). He is a consummate actor and utilises this to hide his deep narcissism. He is ultimately “irresponsible, indifferent to the welfare of society, only cares about himself and...(he) feels no guilt or remorse for his actions. He is an amoral person” (Geberth, 1996, p.734).

This offender thus tends to be more skilled, educated and intelligent. With reference to their behaviour around the time of their offences, Ressler *et al.* (1986) found that an organised murderer is more likely to:

- Think about and plan the crime;
- be angry or depressed at the time of the murder;
- have a precipitating stress;
- follow crime events in the media;
- change job or leave town following the offence.

The offences of the organised serial murderer are planned and the fantasy is considered the blueprint for the murder. As proposed in Burgess *et al.*’s (1986) motivational model he fantasises about the murders prior to the event, and will plan the offence and select victims to conform to this fantasy (Geberth, 1996; Ressler *et al.*, 1986). Also consistent with Burgess *et al.*’s (1986) theory, the organised serial murderer goes over details of the offence repeatedly and will correct previous mistakes in order to create the ‘ultimate fantasy’. His modus operandi is thus adaptable, and he will bring the necessary props, such as weapons or restraints, to the scene with him. He may also collect a trophy from the victim, such as the victim’s jewellery or some other personal item that will heighten subsequent fantasies (Ressler & Shachtman, 1993).

Ressler *et al.* (1986) also found that, in their offences, organised murderers would be more apt to commit sexual acts with live victims, show or display their control over

victim, and use a vehicle. Sexual acts and torture on the victim are usually committed pre-mortem, and the victim is not depersonalised by the murderer. The victim's body will usually be hidden, destroyed, or transported by the offender to avoid arrest (Geberth, 1996; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993). Overall the planning and conducting of murders by the organised murderer reveals his need to control and dominate. He will plan his crime, select the site, stalk his victim, correct previous mistakes, and generally 'get better at what he does' (Geberth, 1996).

2.5.1.2 The disorganised serial murder

In contrast to the organised serial murderer, the disorganised serial murderer shows evidence of psychotic disturbance and generally lowered functioning in his crimes (Douglas *et al.*, 1986). He is generally of below average intelligence and a high school dropout. It is unlikely that he attended a tertiary educational institution, and he is probably from a middle to lower socio-economic class (Geberth, 1996). He may have a history of mental disorders, especially psychotic or schizoid-type behaviours (Ressler *et al.*, 1986). He is not likely to be employed, or if he is, this employment is unskilled. Furthermore (in marked contrast to the organised offender) he has a societal aversion, and is a withdrawn loner with no close personal friends. Interpersonal interactions are difficult for this offender. He is likely to be single and sexually incompetent. He may seem strange and unkempt in both appearance and behaviour (Geberth, 1996). This offender is 'asocial', while the organised offender is 'non-social' (Holmes & Holmes, 1998). In the background of the disorganized offender, Ressler *et al.* (1986) found that they were more likely to:

- Be low in the birth order;
- come from a home where the father's work is unstable;
- have been treated in a hostile manner as a child;
- be sexually inhibited and ignorant, and to have sexual aversions;
- have parents with a history of sexual problems;
- live alone.

With reference to their offences, Ressler *et al.* (1986) found that the disorganised murderer is more likely to know the victim and be frightened or confused at the time of their offences. The murder scene of the disorganised offender is likely to be

chaotic. Unlike those of the organised individual, the murders are usually committed opportunistically, in a frenzy, with the victim being killed quickly. There is little regard by the offender for the clues left behind, and the crime scene is ‘sloppy’ (Geberth, 1996; Ressler *et al.* 1986). This offender does not bring a murder weapon to the scene; rather he finds it there (Douglas *et al.* 1986; Hickey, 2002; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Ressler *et al.* 1986). Ressler and colleagues (1986) found these offenders are likely to leave the weapon on the scene and engage in post-mortem behaviours with the victim, such as depersonalising or mutilating the body, positioning it, or performing sexual acts with it. They are also more likely to cannibalise the victim (Geberth, 1996). The victim’s body is likely to be left where the murder occurred. The offender may also take souvenirs from the crime scene: some object, article, or even a body part as a remembrance of the victim (Geberth, 1996).

Finally, the disorganised offender is more likely to commit his crimes close to his home or place of employment, thus operating within his comfort zone (Ressler *et al.* 1986). He does not share the mobile characteristics of the organised murderer. He is less likely to use a vehicle in his offences. He, also unlike the organised murderer, has little interest in the police investigation (Geberth, 1996). Tables 2 and 3 summarise the differences between organised and disorganised serial murderers.



Table 2: Comparison of personality characteristics between organised and disorganised serial murderers

Organised	Disorganised
Average or high intelligence	Below average intelligence
Socially competent	Socially incompetent
Prefers schooled labour	Unschoolled labour or unemployed
High order of birth	Low order of birth
Father: stable employment	Father: unstable employment
Inconsistent discipline	Strict discipline
Controlled mood during murder	Anxious mood during murder
Uses alcohol during murder	Minimum use of alcohol
Precipitating stress	Minimal stress
Abides with partner	Lives alone
Reads news on case	Minimum interest in news coverage

Note: From Ressler et al.(1986) Sexual homicide: patterns and motives (p.123)

Table 3: *Comparison of crime scenes between organised and disorganised serial murderers*

Organised	Disorganised
Offence planned	Spontaneous offence
Victim is a targeted stranger	Victim taken from location known to offender
Personalises victim	Depersonalises victim
Controlled conversation	Minimal conversation
Crime scene reflects overall control	Crime scene random and sloppy
Demands submissive victim	Sudden violence to victim
Restraints used	Minimal use of restraints
Aggressive acts prior to death	Sexual acts after death
Body hidden	Body left in view
Weapon or evidence absent	Weapon or evidence often present
Transports victim or body	Body left at death scene

Note: From Ressler et al. (1986) Sexual homicide: patterns and motives (p.123)

2.5.1.3 Limitations of the organised-disorganised typology

While developing this typology Ressler *et al.* (1986) found that there were no situations where organised and disorganised offenders were mutually exclusive. Burgess, *et al.* (1997) state that the majority of crime scenes and offenders will present somewhere on a continuum between the two extreme classifications of ‘organised’ and ‘disorganised’, not as simply one or the other. However, as Hodge (2000) points out, if there are no examples of a ‘pure’ organised or disorganised offender, then it can be argued that this typology does not distinguish between the two types. This implies that these two proposed types of offender do not in fact exist. This is supported by a statistical analysis carried out by Canter *et al.* (2004), operating from within the empirical and statistical narrative of offender profiling, which found

that the organised-disorganised dichotomy was untenable. Their analysis of crime scene variables found that organised and disorganised variables did not co-occur as Ressler *et al*'s (1986) model would predict. Rather, there seemed to be a sub-set of organised behaviours common to most serial murders.

In order to accommodate this sort of critique, Burgess *et al.* (1997) added a third category to the original dichotomy for those offenders that did not fit in either category – the 'mixed' offender. It was suggested that these offenders would display characteristics that are a combination of those found in the first two categories. The necessity for the addition of a third category to the original two due to some offenders not fitting into the existing categories clearly illustrates the problems of using rigid systems of categorisation (Hodge, 2000). Similarly, rigid classifications may fail to take into account the evolution of criminal behaviour over time.

Beyond these limitations in classification, this typology ignores the socio-economic aspects that may be the cause of, for example, the offender's lack of employment, schooling, or a vehicle. This may explain Hodgskiss's (2001) research findings that the characteristics proffered for these categories are less applicable in the South African context, with offence and offender characteristics not matching as the typology would suggest. Finally, Holmes and Holmes (1998) argue that this typology's failure to take the aetiology of serial murderers into account makes it inadequate. They feel that the terms 'organised' and 'disorganised' should be applied to the crime scene only, and not to the personalities and characteristics of the offenders themselves.

2.5.2 Holmes and DeBurger's four category typology

Holmes and DeBurger (1988) propose a further descriptive model of serial murderers based on their analysis of sample of 44 serial murderers. Unlike the previous typology this classification system is not limited to sexual murderers and the motives and anticipated gains of the offender are taken into account. It aims to combine these motivational factors with an analysis of the crime scene. This typology is thus more focused on the generation of theory than utility in investigations. It is therefore also

not clearly associated with any narrative of offender profiling or narrative of cause for serial murder.

Holmes and DeBurger's (1988) typology uses four interdependent classification factors to generate four categories of serial murderer. The four classification factors are:

- Psychological, sociogenic, and biological aetiology of serial murder.
- Characteristics of the victim ('victimology'): their characteristics, habits, and relationship to the offender.
- Pattern and method of the murder (including planning versus spontaneity, organised versus disorganised, and process versus act focused).
- Location of the murders: whether they are concentrated or dispersed with reference to one another, as well as whether the murderer is geographically stable or transient (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988).

The last point refers to whether a murderer kills in the general region in which he lives ('geographically stable'), or whether he travels continually throughout his series of murders ('geographically transient') (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). They believe that most serial murderers belong to the latter category. The third point in the above list, referring to the pattern and method of the murder, includes a differentiation between an 'act' and a 'process' focused murder. An act focused murder is one in which the act of killing the victim is of central to the offence. The offence is thus directed toward accomplishing this goal as quickly as possible. On the other hand a process focused murder is one in which the actions occurring prior to the victim's death are the focus of the offence. The process of the killing, rather than the murder itself, becomes central. According to Holmes and DeBurger sadistic torture and actions such as pre-mortem sodomy and rape are expected in this category. The scene itself will reflect great planning and attention to detail, so that the offender's pre-crime fantasies are fulfilled. Actions such as mutilation and dismemberment also reflect a process-focused murder (Holmes, DeBurger & Holmes, 1988). Using these categories as a basis, Holmes and DeBurger (1988) offer a typology of four types of serial murderers: 'visionary'; 'mission'; 'hedonistic' and 'power / control' types. Table 4 summarises Holmes & DeBurger's (1988) classification of serial murderers.

Table 4: *Four category typology of serial murderers*

	Visionary	Mission	Hedonist	Power
Victim Selection				
Specific		✓	✓	✓
Non-specific	✓			
Random	✓		✓	✓
Non-random		✓		
Affiliative				
Strangers	✓	✓	✓	✓
Methods				
Act-focused	✓	✓		
Process-focused			✓	✓
Planned		✓	✓	✓
Spontaneous	✓			
Organised		✓	✓	✓
Disorganised	✓			
Spatial Locations				
Concentrated	✓	✓		
Nomadic			✓	✓

Note: Adapted from Holmes and DeBurger (1988). *Serial murder*. p. 255

2.5.2.2 The visionary serial murder

The visionary type of serial murderer kills because they hear voices, see visions, or believes that they have received instructions from a supernatural force to do so (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Holmes & Holmes, 1998). The visionary type of serial murderer has typically very little involvement in the selection of his victims and commits act-focused murders that tend to be spontaneous. This type of murderer can therefore be seen, atypically for serial murderers, as psychotic (Holmes & Holmes,

1998). He has little conception of the criminality of his act due to this mental illness, and would usually be considered unfit to stand trial (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988).

2.5.2.3 The missionary serial murderer

The motive for the ‘missionary’ type of serial murderer is the elimination of a certain identifiable group of people (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). He does not commit murder due to visions, voices, or supernatural mandates, as the visionary murderer would, and is neither psychotic nor criminally insane (Holmes, 1997). Rather, he has taken a decision to eliminate all those members of a group that he deems to be unworthy, undesirable, or dangerous (Holmes *et al.*, 1988). He therefore selects victims according to strict criteria, non-randomly, and the killings are act-focused (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988).

2.5.2.4 The hedonist serial murderer

The ‘hedonist’ type of serial murderer offends for the personal pleasure that they gain from the murders (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). They are not psychotic. There are three sub-categories to the hedonistic type of serial murderer: ‘lust’, ‘thrill’ and ‘comfort’ murderers. The lust murderer is motivated by the sexual enjoyment experienced in the homicidal act (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Cannibalism, dismemberment, necrophilia and other forms of paraphilia are prevalent in this form of serial murder (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). The second subcategory of hedonistic serial murderer is the ‘thrill’ murderer. Holmes and DeBurger (1985) have bluntly expressed the motive of this type of murderer: “They kill because they enjoy it” (p.13). Here, the thrill of committing the murder becomes an end in itself. Since it is the murder, rather than the victim’s death, that brings them pleasure, these two sub-categories of serial murderer tend to commit process focused offences.

The final sub-category of ‘hedonist’ serial murderers is the ‘comfort’ murderer. Such individuals kill because it enhances their personal or social status (Holmes *et al.*, 1988). The motive for the murder is the material benefit that can be gained as a result. The murder committed by a comfort murderer is thus act focused. This contrasts with the process focused killings of the lust and thrill sub-types. An example of a comfort-

oriented serial murderer would be someone who kills relatives in order to make on claim on the victim's life insurance policy. Holmes and Holmes (1998) also place the paid assassin, or organised crime hit-man, in this category.

As discussed in section 2.2.2.2, this contention has been criticised on the grounds that these individuals have a clear extrinsic motive for their murders, and so the act or process of the murder becomes secondary to the material gain that results from it (Ferguson *et al.*, 2003; Holmes and De Burger, 1988; Labuschagne, 2004; Pistorius, 1996; Wilson, 2000). As previously mentioned, this would be a problematic category in South Africa, given the number of murders that occur in the course of materially motivated crimes (such as during robbery or vehicle hi-jacking). This author therefore agrees with the stance that the offender whose *primary* motive is financial gain should not be classified as a serial murderer.

Holmes and DeBurger (1988) find that that the hedonistic serial murderer is typically intelligent, or at least cunning. The pleasure afforded to the murderer by these offences ensures that they will try avoid capture for as long as possible. This makes the investigation of a case involving these serial murderers particularly difficult, especially if the offender is geographically transient.

2.5.2.5 The power/control serial murderer

The 'power/control' serial murderer is motivated by the gratification they receive in holding complete power over another individual (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985):

By exerting complete control over the life of his victim, the murderer experiences pleasure and excitement, not from sexual excitation or the rape, but from his belief that he does indeed have the power to do to whatever he wishes to another human being who is completely helpless and within his total control (p.13-14).

Similarly to the hedonist type, the power/control oriented murderer exhibits psychopathic rather than psychotic characteristics. While most hedonist murderers (apart from the 'comfort' sub-type) receive sexual pleasure from the murder of the victim, this sub-type gains his pleasure from the total subjugation of the victim (Holmes *et al.*, 1988). The murder is clearly process focused, and the murderer is not psychotic (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988).

2.5.2.6 Limitations of Holmes and DeBurger's typology

Holmes and DeBurger (1988) suggest that there are clear differences between the various categories, and propose that these differences have implications for serial murderer investigations and theory. However no attempt is made to quantify the occurrence of the traits outlined above in each group (a weakness this typology shares with the organised – disorganised typology). Furthermore, no indication is given of the number of characteristics needed for an offender to be categorised as one type or the other (Hodge, 2000). Neither Holmes and DeBurger's (1988) or Ressler *et al.*'s (1986) typology takes the frequencies of the different crime scene behaviours into account, and frequency affects the inherent ability of behaviours to differentiate between types of offender (Salfati & Canter, 1999). Put simply, any behaviour that occurs in a majority of cases is unlikely to help differentiate between offenders. This is not taken into account in the construction of the above typologies.

These shortcomings, as Hodge (2000) indicates, are exacerbated by the absence of any statistical analysis between the groups. She finds that this makes it unclear how different the types of serial murder proposed are. This is especially pertinent given that a number of the characteristics suggested by Holmes and DeBurger (1988) are shared by many of the types, as shown in Table 4. Similarly, many of the factors listed above are merely opposites of one another, and thus unnecessary additions to a typology (Hodge, 2000). Canter and Wentink (2004), in a statistical analysis of North American serial murderers, found limited support for the 'lust', 'mission' and 'thrill' styles of murder proposed. Rather, they found that the characteristics described in 'power/control' murders were typical of the sample as a whole. South African statistical research tends to support this, finding that serial murders in this country were focused primarily on the act-focused killing of a depersonalised victim

(Hodgskiss, 2001). This act-focused murder could be interpreted as the ultimate expression of control.

A further critique is that many of the variables used in these typologies (such as stated motive in Holmes and DeBurger's (1988) typology) come from the offender's testimony and so cannot be used in an investigation since they are not visible at the crime scene (Salfati & Canter, 1999) or accessible through police enquiries. Holmes and DeBurger's typology also tends to emphasise motive, rather than what actions actually occur in the offence (Canter & Heritage, 1990; Hodge, 2000). These factors limit the utility of this research, in the offender profiling and investigation of serial murder.

2.5.3 Summary and critique of typologies

The above typologies, although not the only ones proffered for serial murders, have been the most widely used within both investigations and formal academic study. They share two common features. First, they are both linked, in varying degrees, to the causal narratives offered for serial murderers with aetiological perspectives influencing therefore typological assumptions. Second, the typologies given here are interrelated and, to an extent, interdependent. For example: Holmes and DeBurger's (1988) 'visionary' is virtually interchangeable with Ressler *et al.*'s (1986) 'disorganised' category of serial murder. Similarly, Holmes and DeBurger (1988) make use of the organised/disorganised dichotomy in describing crime scenes, basing an important aspect of their typology on that of Ressler *et al.* (1986). These typologies, and the characteristics they imply, should thus be viewed together in the study of serial murderers; which implies that the shortcomings of one can potentially affect, or apply to, the others.

The above typologies have been subject to a number of critiques. The critiques have focused on their validity (Alison & Canter, 1999; Canter, *et al.*, 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004), their use in offender profiling (Turvey, 1999), and their fundamental structure (Canter, 1994; Hodge, 2000). These criticisms will be discussed in turn. Primarily, and perhaps unavoidably in the case of serial murder, any typology is limited in applicability by the sample from which it is drawn. It seems unlikely that a

sample of, for example, 36 sexual murderers can adequately represent all serial murderers across all cultures.

Another critique is that typologies are rigid systems of classification. An offender whose behaviours or characteristics fell across the boundaries between types, or who changed from one type to another for any reason, would be unclassifiable using these systems (Hodge, 2000). This problem is exacerbated by these typologies giving no indication of the number of characteristics needed for an offender to be categorised as one type or another (Gresswell & Hollin, 1994; Hodge, 2000). This limits these typologies' practical usefulness (Salfati & Canter, 1999). In light of these factors, Hodge (2000) asserts that any system of classification must not make use of mutually exclusive categories, rather "any system of classification generated, then, must allow for...classification on the basis of dominant themes of behaviour...More than one theme may be present, but one may be significantly more so than others" (p.252).

Typologies are also criticised for being static constructs. The criticisms aimed at personality traits and aetiological theories can therefore equally apply to them (Canter, 1994; Maruna, 2004). That is, they are not able to sufficiently explain the dynamic nature of evolving criminal behaviour. This criticism is especially relevant to serial murder, which is fundamentally temporal and evolving.

Thus, overall, typologies of serial murder tend to be contradictory and problematic. There is limited consensus around the characteristics of offenders who commit serial murder and the relationship between these factors and their offences (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Canter *et al.*, 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004; Ferguson *et al.*, 2003; Wolf & Lavezzi, 2007). This situation is contributed to by the fact that the construction of typologies tends to be based on vague and untested theoretical premises rather than the empirical rules of evidence (Canter, 1994). As Burgess, *et al.* (1997) themselves admit, in reference to the organised-disorganised classification they proposed a decade earlier: "at present there have been no systematic efforts to validate these profile-derived classifications" (p.22) and the research that subsequently sought to validate these typologies has shown that they are problematic (Canter *et al.*, 2004).

The limitations of typologies have implications for the study and successful investigation of serial murderers, especially as it relates to the practice of offender profiling (Canter & Heritage, 1990). Canter and Heritage (1990), voicing the empirical and statistical narrative of offender profiling, find that the above typologies make little distinction between the actions that occur in the course of an offence and the explanations that are given for them. Thus when used in investigations, the offender's motives and life style are confused with his "offending behaviour" (p. 187-188). This implies that each classification cannot be separated from the explanatory framework underlying it and the links between characteristics of the offender and his offence remain unverified by empirical evidence (Canter, 1995). These typologies are thus dependant on the theoretical presuppositions of the researchers concerned and are therefore risky to apply in investigations. This is even more pertinent in the South African context, where the theoretical assumptions underpinning the typologies may be inapplicable or irrelevant when applied to non-North American serial murderers (Hodgskiss, 2004). None of these typologies have been tested for their empirical validity in the South African setting (Labuschagne, 2003). Typologies leave the central investigative and psychological questions in offender profiling only partially answered.

2.6 THEMATIC MODELS OF SERIAL MURDER

An emerging body of research advocates a thematic analysis of offence behaviours to overcome the disadvantages of typologies (Hodge, 2000; Salfati & Canter, 1999). This research proposes that identifying themes of behaviour will help establish relationships between offence and offender behaviours, thereby aiding offender profiling (Hodge, 2000). With reference to narratives of offender profiling, where typologies tend to be associated with the FBI narrative these thematic models tend to be associated with the empirical and statistical narrative. This thematic approach has focused on the classification of behaviours and characteristics using Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) techniques. These techniques have been applied to studies of rapists, arsonists, child molesters, and serial sexual murderers, amongst others (Canter, 1994; Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Canter & Heritage, 1990; Canter, Hughes & Kirby, 1998; Hodge, 2000; Salfati & Canter, 1999). Such studies have begun to demonstrate a correlation between the characteristics of an offender and their

offence, with the offender typically operating within a distinctive sub-set of actions (Hodge, 2000).

These MDS techniques have been applied to serial murder through their being used to test the validity of Holmes and DeBurger's (1988) and Ressler *et al.*'s (1986) models of serial murder (Canter *et al.*, 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004). They have also been used to confirm, and generate, insights into serial murderers' behaviours.

2.6.1 Interpersonal thematic models of serial murder

Hodge (2000) found an interpersonal perspective valuable in thematically analysing serial murder. This perspective proposes that the offence is an interpersonal transaction involving characteristic ways of interacting with others. These characteristic styles of interaction will be present in both offence behaviours and other aspects of the offender's lifestyle. They can thus be a means to link an offence to an offender (Canter, 1994; Canter & Heritage, 1990). Hodge (2000) also demonstrated that serial murderers who commit crimes with one style of interpersonal interaction are thematically distinct from those that commit offences with other interpersonal styles. She divided serial murderers into those that treat their victims as an object, those where the victim is a vehicle for their emotional state (such as anger or frustration) and those where the victim is a person. In the last category, offenders attempt some rapport or pseudo-intimacy with the victim (from Canter, 1994). Similarly, Salfati and Canter's (1999) study of stranger murder demonstrated that offenders and offences can be divided into sub-sets on the basis of the role aggression plays in their offences. They revealed a fundamental distinction between 'instrumental' (or functional) and 'expressive' aggression in defining offence and offender themes. The former uses violence to facilitate the successful commission of the offence (e.g. by controlling the victim). In contrast, 'expressive' aggression is used to express the offender's emotional state.

Drawing on these findings, Hodgskiss (2001) analysed the offence behaviours of a sample of 13 male South Africans who had committed serial murder. His research found it is possible to differentiate distinct themes in their offences. These themes centred on the use of violence in the offences. He found South African serial

murderers' offences divided into 'aggressive-expressive', 'sexual-expressive' and 'criminal-instrumental' themes. The aggressive-expressive theme consisted of behaviours involving the infliction of extreme, often excessive, violence to the victim. The sexual-expressive theme referred to offences which demonstrate the offender investing the crime with a certain sexual, emotional or psychological significance. This is expressed in the offender displaying a greater level of psychological involvement with the victim (or offence), including more sexual interaction. Finally, in the criminal-instrumental theme, instrumental actions take precedence over expressive needs, with offences being act rather than process focused. However Hodgskiss made no attempt to correlate these themes with the background characteristics of the offenders. The definition for 'instrumental' and 'expressive' used in his study also varied from that used by Salfati and Canter (1999). This renders reliable comparisons across findings almost impossible.

2.6.1.1 Developmental implications of interpersonal thematic models

Wentink (2001) studied the first three offences of 100 North American serial murderers in order to investigate the patterns of serial murder behaviour across a series of offences. Using Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), she demonstrated that the serial murderer's offences evolve thematically as the series progresses, with the offences become increasingly differentiated into various themes. The offences also tend to become more expressive. Her study calls attention to the evolutionary and developmental nature of serial murder. It is also an empirical confirmation, albeit partial, of the patterns of offence evolution hypothesised by Burgess *et al.* (1986) and Ressler *et al.* (1986). Wentink (2001) concluded that any model for classifying serial murder must be developed through a thorough, systematic analysis and an understanding of the ways patterns of behaviour develop over time and across offences. She suggests the insights of developmental psychology can contribute to the understanding of increasingly complex thematic changes across serial murder offences, and improve our understanding of serial murder as a whole. This agrees with recent criminological literature stating that developmental pathways, rather than typological classifications, are more useful and insightful way to understand criminal behaviour (Francis *et al.*, 2004; Wright *et al.*, 2008).

Increasing thematic differentiation does not mean that the characteristic themes of an individual offender's crimes change as the series progresses. That is, those who commit serial murder tend to remain thematically consistent across their offences (Salfati & Bateman, 2005). Hodgskiss (2001) found analogous processes in South African serial murderers. He found that an offender's behaviour evolves as the series of murders progress, with a distinct mode of operation developing. As with Wentink's (2001) sample, the offences became more thematically distinct as the series progresses. Hodgskiss's (2001) results lent support for an interpersonal perspective on serial murder, finding that offence behaviour can alter markedly in response to external factors, such as victim response. However Hodgskiss (2001), unlike Wentink (2001), did not base these conclusions on formal, statistical analyses. Notwithstanding this, the thematic approach to modelling the behaviour of serial murder has potential for assisting offender profiling in South Africa and this potential, as shall be shown, could be realised through the application of narrative psychology.

2.7 RESEARCH ON SERIAL MURDER IN SOUTH AFRICA

Hickey (2002) identifies three key issues in the study of serial murder from an international perspective: (a) serial murder is defined or considered differently in different cultures, (b) cultural differences influence the motives and methods for serial murder, and (c) offender profiles produced outside the USA are contradicted by those compiled within the USA. While geographical, socio-economic and cultural differences are assumed to affect the behaviours and aetiologies of serial murderers (Hickey, 2002), there is little research stating what these affects actually are, or how they occur. All these points are represented in South Africa. While there is a growing body of systematic studies of serial murder in South Africa; for the most part those involved in researching and investigating serial murder have been obliged to rely on findings from the USA and UK (Hodgskiss, 2004). South African research findings have been incorporated into the preceding discussion of the literature, and this section will summarise the similarities and differences between South African and North American or British serial murderers. By doing so, it will also draw attention to the South African research requirements. This is especially needed, as the influence of the media and popular representations of serial murder have already been seen to skew the way serial murder is construed in South Africa (Hook, 2003).

2.7.1 Introduction to South African research into serial murder

It is not clear how similar or different South African serial murderers are from their counterparts elsewhere, likely due to a lack of research attention (Hodgskiss, 2004). While South African research into serial murder is unique in the degree to which offender interviews have been used (e.g. Del Fabbro, 2006; De Wet, 2005; Du Plessis, 1998; Hodgskiss, 2001; Labuschagne, 2001), the potentially distinctive features of South African serial murderers and their behaviours have seldom been explicitly explored in formal research (Hodgskiss, 2004).

In a similar vein, while a number of South African studies of serial murder make piecemeal contributions to the process of offender profiling in cases of serial murder (Hodgskiss, 2001; Labuschagne, 2001; Pistorius, 1996), none focus primarily on the issues surrounding this practice. Pistorius (1996) undertook a psychodynamic exploration of the aetiology of serial murder. Labuschagne (2001) adopted a systemic interactionist perspective in his analysis of serial murderers. He emphasised that interpreting the individual's interpersonal styles and strategies can enrich and broaden our conceptions of serial murder. Both studies illuminate aspects of the development and characteristics of South African serial murderers, and may be of use in offender profiling (Pistorius's 1996 findings being used explicitly to this end), but neither analyse the crime scene directly as an entity separate from the explanations for the murderer's behaviour. Hodgskiss (2001) focused on the offences of South African serial murderers and identified behavioural themes in their crime scene actions. Yet he made no attempt to explore the connections between offence and offender characteristics or formally analyse the evolution of crime scene behaviours. This limits his study's applicability to offender profiling. Perhaps more tellingly, there is an assumption that the coding framework used in Hodgskiss' (2001) quantitative study adequately accounts for the salient crime scene behaviours.

2.7.2 Offender profiling in South African serial murder investigations

Offender profiling is extensively used in serial murder investigations in South Africa. This is due to the Investigative Psychology Unit of the South African Police Service (SAPS). The Investigative Psychology Unit was established in 1994 to provide detective training in the recognition and investigation of serial murder and 'psychologically motivated' crimes (Labuschagne, 2002). The Investigative Psychology Unit also actively advises ongoing investigations using investigative support activities such as offender profiling.

This combination of detective training and expertise, supported by offender profiling, has achieved some remarkable results. The SAPS is one of few police services that have never had an ongoing case of serial murder remaining unsolved (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, 2002). The speed at which serial murder cases have been solved is also impressive. To give some examples: one offender was apprehended three months and two days after the investigation team was put together; a man shooting courting couples, claiming ten lives, was captured a week after the investigation team began their enquiries; another was captured within six weeks of his first murder; and the perpetrator of a series of prostitute murders was captured within 22 days of the Unit's first meeting with the detectives in charge of the case. These figures are all the more remarkable given that the international average for capturing a serial murderer is two years (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, 2002; M. Pistorius, personal communication, 2000). The SAPS has had a 100% conviction rate for all persons charged with serial murder brought to court (G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, 2003). The study of serial murder in South Africa is largely a result of the Investigative Psychology Unit's existence. So while there is not yet a distinctly South African narrative of offender profiling or serial murder; it is highly likely that South African research into serial murder, especially that supporting offender profiling, will be applied in ongoing investigations.

2.7.3 Historical context of serial murder in South Africa

Although it is difficult to assess the historical incidence of serial murder in South Africa, it is likely a relatively modern phenomenon. 72% of documented serial murders in South Africa occur after 1990, with more between 1990 and 1994 than in the preceding 70 years (Hodgskiss, 2004; Pistorius, 2002). The elevated number of serial murderers in South Africa in the early to mid-1990's may in part be a function of the SAPS detecting serial murder cases more efficiently. As discussed, the collapse of apartheid, and the subsequent rapid and badly managed social change, is also likely to have played a role in this rise (Labuschagne, 2001). There is also evidence to suggest that a history of violence, cultural conflict and forced urbanisation may have contributed to the severity of serial murder problem in South Africa (Hodgskiss, 2004). These findings are echoed by research into the rise of serial murder in the USA (Hickey, 2002; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Leyton, 1989; Marsh, 1999), and by the previously discussed application of neutralisation theory (Bandura, 1972; Sykes & Matza, 1957) as part of social narratives of cause; although research has failed to establish definite causal links between sociological factors and the incidence and features of serial murder. This study does not aim to resolve this failure. However, all the evidence suggests that an understanding of the social and cultural environment is essential to fully understand serial murder (Leyton, 1989).

2.7.4 Comparisons between South African and foreign serial murderers

A comparison between South African and foreign serial murderers reveals a number of differences in characteristics and behaviour. The most marked differences are the higher incidences of cross-ethnic offending, with 40% of South Africans who commit serial murder offending across ethnic groups; a lower rate of 'team killers' in South Africa; the lack of female serial murderers in South Africa; and the fact that 34% of South African serial murderers are either the same gender as their victims, or murder victims of both genders (Gorby, 2000; G.N. Labuschagne, personal communication, September 2006; Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2004; Pakhomou, 2004). Hodgskiss (2004) found that the offender characteristics proposed in the USA, as well as the proposed relationships between them and offence behaviour, were less relevant and reliable in the South African context. Similarly, some developmental features

associated with North American offenders (e.g. sexual fetishes and the triad of fire setting, cruelty to animals and enuresis) were not consistently found in South African serial murderers (Hodgskiss, 2004; Labuschagne, 2001). Finally, as already discussed, research noted a lack of sexually violent conscious fantasy in South African serial murderers. This is potentially significant given the causal and motivational role ascribed to fantasy in models such as Burgess *et al.*'s (1986). Overall, South Africans who commit serial murder display more behaviour in common with their counterparts from the developing world than with serial murderers from the USA (Gorby, 2000; Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2004). Here, the 'developing world' refers to South and Central America, Africa, the middle-East, Asia, and Oceania (Gorby, 2000). While the increased cross-ethnic offending may be an obvious function of the demographics of South Africa, neither this or the other observations have been fully explained.

These differences occur alongside some notable similarities. Firstly, as with these offenders elsewhere, South African research found coherent and structured variations in serial murderer's offence behaviours (Hodgskiss, 2001; Pistorius, 1996), suggesting it is possible to construct a model of the behaviours involved in serial murder in South Africa. Secondly, in common with North American offenders, South African serial murderers all reported profound, chronic loneliness and isolation. This was often allied with a sense of interpersonal inadequacy and helplessness (Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2001; Labuschagne, 2001). Labuschagne's (2001) qualitative study noted similar psychiatric features in South African and North American offenders convicted of serial murder. Finally studies by Hodgskiss (2001), Labuschagne (2001) and Du Plessis (1989) also found that a vast majority of South African offenders suffered significant childhood trauma, rejection and violent abuse. Again, similar findings were made with reference to males who committed serial murder in the USA (Hickey, 2002; Pakhomou, 2004; Wolf & Lavezzi, 2007) and Germany (Harbort & Mokros, 2001).

Turning to offence behaviours, while South African findings are still not entirely clear, there is a suggestion that the desire to exert control over others may be a fundamental motivating factor (Hodgskiss, 2001). This chimes with Hickey's (2002) trauma-control model and findings around the 'core' behaviours of North American serial murderers (Canter & Wentink, 2004). South African and North American

offenders also seem to follow a similar behavioural evolution in their crime scenes, gradually progressing towards more distinct, unusual and expressive behaviours (Hodgskiss, 2001; Wentink, 2001). External factors and interpersonal interaction can significantly alter both South African and North American offender's offence behaviours (Hodgskiss, 2001; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993; Schlesinger, 2004). Geographical behaviours are also similar (Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2004). Furthermore, the absence of completely thematically consistent offence behaviours in Hodgskiss's (2001) study of South African serial murders lends support to international criticisms of rigid offender typologies (Canter *et al.*, 2004; Hodge, 2000; Salfati & Canter, 1999). Given this mixed picture of similarity and difference it remains unclear how similar South African serial murderers are to those who commit these offences elsewhere, and whether the processes of offending are similar or different between groups.

2.7.5 Summary and current situation of South African research into serial murder

Research into South Africans who commit serial murder has begun to illuminate their salient features and can potentially contribute to a better understanding of serial murder globally. Notwithstanding this, marked ambiguities were found in comparisons between South African serial murderers and their counterparts elsewhere, making it unclear how applicable foreign research findings are in the South African context. This is particularly relevant with reference to research supporting the offender profiling of these offenders. This may affect the applicability of both the narratives around offender profiling, and the causal narratives of serial murder in South Africa. There are thus very significant research requirements around South African serial murder. Research has also shown that dynamic interpersonal, social, and cultural factors are significant in understanding serial murder. This is especially relevant in South Africa, where the socio-cultural context is markedly different from the nations where most of the research into serial murder comes from, namely the USA and UK.. Given these ambiguities and gaps in understanding, a study with a phenomenological and social constructivist orientation may help increase our understanding of South African serial murder.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This literature review addressed the major contributions made by theory and research to the fields of serial murder and offender profiling, as well as the competing and interrelated narratives that characterise them. A thematic and developmental approach to analysing crime has been proposed to overcome the limitations of traditional typologies in linking offence and offender in serial murder (Canter *et al.*, 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004; Canter, 2000, 2004; Francis *et al.*, 2004; Hodge, 2000; Salfati & Bateman, 2005; Salfati & Canter, 1999; Wright *et al.*, 2008). This thematic approach accords well with the fundamental findings that serial murder is a dynamic and evolving activity, displaying structured variations in behaviours which are underpinned by the offender's cognitive and meaning structures (Arndt, *et al.*, 2004, Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Canter, 1994; Canter *et al.*, 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004; Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2001; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Labuschagne, 2001; Pakhomou, 2004; Ressler *et al.*, 1986; Wright *et al.*, 2008). The thematic approach to analysing crime has been articulated best in interpersonal narrative models of crime, which propose that crimes reveal an offender's characteristic style of interpersonal interaction (Canter, 1994). Their style of interaction, or personal narrative, will be consistent over time and reflected in everyday behaviour (Hodge, 2000).

These characteristic interpersonal narratives may thus be the most productive basis for inferring offender characteristics from offence details, that is, for offender profiling (Youngs, 2004). Interpersonal perspectives acknowledge the emphasis on environmental influence that is an implicit part of a number of the explanatory narratives applied to serial murder: such as neutralisation theory (Sykes & Matza, 1957) as a causal narrative; the influence of others and the environment in the motivational models (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002); and the societal influences on serial murder globally and in South Africa (Hickey, 2002; Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Labuschagne, 2001; Leyton, 1989). This emphasis on the relationship between the environment and the individual's evolving systems of meaning reflects the key concerns of a social constructivist approach. Narrative modes of understanding crime may therefore be particularly suited to the study of serial murder, as well as having advantages for offender profiling. This will be explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

EXPLORING NARRATIVE PSYCHOLOGY'S APPLICATION TO RESEARCH INTO CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

The term 'narrative' is often used in qualitative research, but is seldom explicitly defined (Lieblich, Tuval-Maschiach & Zilber, 1998). The Webster's Dictionary defines narrative as a "discourse...designed to represent a connected series of happenings" (1966, p. 1503). Lieblich *et al.* (1998) thus define 'narrative research' as any study that aims to analyse narratives in whatever form they may occur, for example, interviews or field notes. They note that narrative research has become an increasingly popular addition to the inventory of research methods over the last 15 years. This 'narrative revolution' has seen narrative concepts embedded in the theory, research, and application of disciplines as diverse as history, education and psychotherapy (Lieblich *et al.* 1998; Polkinghorne, 1988). This chapter will outline the theory of narrative psychology, before focusing on how narrative psychology and narrative research methods have been applied to the study of crime. It will also introduce narrative concepts that show particular potential to assist in the investigation of crime.

3.1 INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS NARRATIVE PSYCHOLOGY?

Narrative is one of the forms used to make human experience meaningful (Polkinghorne, 1988; Ricouer, 1988). It is therefore fundamentally concerned with the study of the self and identity, seeking to gain insight into ourselves, others, and the human condition (Crossley, 2000). Before we can address how narrative psychology has sought to explore these issues in research, we need to gain an understanding of the epistemological and theoretical assumptions that inform a narrative approach and provide the reason for its existence.

3.1.1 Approaches to the study of self

Crossley's (2000) four-fold division of the previous approaches taken by the discipline of psychology in studying the self helps to delineate the theory of narrative psychology. The four major approaches to the study of the self are experimentally based social psychology, humanistic psychology, psychoanalytic/psychodynamic psychology and social constructivist approaches.

3.1.1.1 Experimental social psychology

Experimental social psychology studies the development of the self by studying the development and expression of behaviours which suggest that the person is able to identify themselves as a unique processor of information, that is, as possessing a unique self (Crossley, 2000). Kvale (1996) criticises this type of approach, which has its roots in J. B. Watson's experiments in the 1920's, on the grounds that it depends on observable behaviours in an experimental setting. This, he states, draws too heavily on the ideals of behaviourism which assume not only that universal laws of human behaviour can be discerned, but that these are best discovered in controlled laboratory conditions. Crossley (2000) continues that this encourages a 'shallow' definition of self as only that which can be observed, and so is unable to capture how people experience their identities and selves.

3.1.1.2 Humanistic psychology

Humanistic psychology avoids similar criticisms by focusing on the individual and the unique meanings they attribute to events and lives. This is reflected in the qualitative methods used by the humanist psychologists such as Abraham Maslow, George Kelly, and Carl Rogers (Crossley, 2000). The humanist and narrative perspectives share a belief in the importance of the individual's uniqueness and agency. They also share origins in the philosophy of phenomenology, which emphasises the experience and uniqueness of the individual. In particular, phenomenology calls attention to the role of an individual's meaning and experience in the self, and how this relates to behaviour. Phenomenological research seeks detailed qualitative descriptive accounts from individuals, aiming to represent the

essence of their experience as a wholeness, or *gestalt* (Moustakas, 1994). These philosophical roots are reflected in the ongoing debates around narrative research methodology. Humanistic psychology's emphasis on individual choice and agency in studying the self is however limited, as psychodynamic and social constructivist approaches point out.

3.1.1.3 Psychoanalytic/psychodynamic psychology

From the perspective of psychoanalytic/psychodynamic psychology, humanistic psychology places too much emphasis on conscious choice. There are a vast range of psychoanalytic/psychodynamic approaches, originating with practitioners such as Sigmund Freud and Melanie Klein, but all share the emphasis on 'depth'. That is, psychodynamic perspectives place great store in the idea that a majority of our activities and behaviours are unconsciously motivated by hidden layers of our self (Crossley, 2000). While this model of the psyche is not shared by the narrative approach, this perspective shares narrative psychology's concern with the individual and with qualitative descriptions of their experience.

3.1.1.4 Social constructivist approaches

Crossley (2000) explains that social constructivist approaches to the study of the self arose as a challenge to many of the implicit assumptions of the above approaches. In particular, social constructivist approaches emphasise the interrelations between the self and social structures, especially between the self and language. Narrative psychology shares the label 'social constructivist' with approaches such as discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) and postmodern research (Kvale, 1996).

In emphasising the role played by language and society in the creation of the individual self, social constructivist approaches challenge traditional 'realist' assumptions inherited from the natural sciences. These realist assumptions are contained in the other approaches to studying the self and assume that a single, objective, and universally valid reality can be discovered (Kvale, 1996; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998; Polkinghorne, 1988). This implies that the self exists as an objective entity independent of language (Crossley, 2000; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Kvale (1996)

likens these assumptions to the perception that researchers can ‘mine’ out an objective nugget of meaning in the individual’s accounts that can be called their true self. Social constructivist approaches generally oppose this perception (although aspects of this philosophical debate are still reflected in philosophical and methodological tensions within narrative psychology). Instead, social constructivist approaches emphasise that language is crucial in the formation and structuring of the self (Del Fabbro, 2006; Crossley 2000; Hook, 2003). Social constructivist perspectives’ greater emphasis on the role played by language in creating and structuring the self is reflected in the central assumptions of the narrative approach.

3.1.2 The narrative approach to the study of the self

Narrative psychology proceeds from the assumption that human experience and behaviour are meaningful and thus understanding ourselves and others requires that we explore the systems and structures of meaning that make up our world. Narrative psychology states that one of the vehicles that we use to make our experience meaningful is language (Polkinghorne, 1988). Narrative psychology adopts the social constructivist stance that language is central in the formation and structuring of the self (Crossley, 2000). This stance opposes the ‘traditional’ natural scientific and empirical perspective that language is either irrelevant to our perception of reality, or is capable of objectively reflecting a universally valid external reality. Rather, this stance asserts that the operation of narrative organises our reality into meaningful wholes (Ricoeur, 1988), that is, language shapes our reality.

By claiming that when individuals use language they are constantly engaged in the process of self-creation, narrative psychology emphasises meaning and interpretation. By emphasising meaning and interpretation narrative psychology seeks to acknowledge some of fundamental features of the “order of meaning” that characterises human consciousness (Polkinghorne, 1988, p.4).

Polkinghorne (1988) finds that the human order of meaning is an activity, and thus fundamentally different to the orders of meaning employed by the natural sciences in the study of an object or substances. We create this uniquely human order of meaning by constantly engaging in the activity of interpreting, understanding, and reflecting on

our environment (Crossley, 2000). A personal narrative is part of this order a meaning; a story used by a person to synthesise the various parts of their lives into a coherent whole defined by the development of plot and character (Crossley, 2000). Individuals create themselves through narrative so that “our lives, and the lives of others will make sense” (McAdams, 1993, p.92).

Another implication of the human order of meaning that narrative psychology seeks to acknowledge is the relationship between time and identity (Ricoeur, 1988). That is, since our order of meaning is an ongoing activity, it inevitably has a temporal dimension (Polkinghorne, 1988). Attempts to quantify human experience (as experimental social psychology does in studying the self) cannot take this temporal dimension into account, and this “results in a loss of attention... to the very nature of human reality and identity” (Crossley, 2000, p. 11). This emphasis on time means that narrative psychology has a clear developmental orientation, acknowledging dynamism and change. Self-narratives are therefore dynamic and constantly evolving (Maruna, 2001).

The final relevant feature of the human order of meaning is relationships and connections (Polkinghorne, 1988). Put simply, Polkinghorne (1988) finds that we engage in the activity of making meaning by seeking to acknowledge the relationships and connections between things. As Crossley (2000) summarises “When we ask ourselves the question ‘what does it mean’ we are asking...*how* something is related or connected to something or someone else” (p.11). The relationships and connections between objects thus determine their meaningfulness. The narratives we inherit from our families and culture that assist us in establishing these relationships and connections are another aspect of this interrelatedness (McAdams, 1993). This implies that attempts to understand the individual’s self in isolation from his or her context (as psychodynamic / psychoanalytical approaches to the study of the self risk doing) is to under-appreciate the interrelatedness of human experience (Crossley, 2000).

The human order of meaning’s emphasis of relationships / connections further implies that the self is created and maintained in interaction with others (Crossley, 2000). George Herbert Mead’s (1967) well-known differentiation between the ‘I’ and the ‘me’ calls attention to how we only come to know ourselves through the processes of

interaction with society and self-reflection, in the form of both specific and generalised others. Narrative psychology emphasises interaction and interrelationships between the individual, others, and their culture as fundamental in the creation of the self (Crossley, 2000). Mead's (1967) emphasis on how the different images of self that we hold may affect our behaviours is also picked up by narrative psychology's use of the concept of the imago (McAdams, 1988; 1993).

This acknowledgement of the importance of the relationships and connections in the creation of self is echoed in findings which find that self-narratives are shaped by experience and then reflected in behaviour (Maruna, 2001). Self-narratives are thus not merely individual perceptions. Rather they are systems of meaning created in relationship with others and our environments which fundamentally affect the way we behave. Maruna (2004), citing the Thomas Theorem, reminds us that "If (persons) define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas & Thomas, 1928, p.572). The self-narrative is increasingly understood as a critical part of person's inner self and personality (Giddens, 1991; Maruna, 2001), providing continuity, coherence, and playing a central role in our communications with others (Lieblich *et al.* 1998).

3.1.2.1 The advantages of a narrative understanding for research.

As the above suggests, narrative psychology is well-suited to areas of research interested in the individual's structures of meaning; temporal or developmental factors; the interaction between the self and others in the creation of self; and how the individual's meaning structures are reflected in behaviour (Crossley, 2000; Maruna, 2001; McAdams, 1993; Polkinghorne, 1988; Ricouer, 1988). However there are additional advantages which narrative psychology has over both 'realist' and other social constructivist approaches to studying the self.

As discussed, narrative research differs significantly from 'realist' research in its assumption that there is no absolute, single, truth in human reality (Crossley, 2000; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). Rather than a single truth, or a 'correct' reading of a text, there are a number of possible interpretations. Polkinghorne (1988) finds a generic advantage of narrative forms is their ability to acknowledge many potential meanings.

In any given situation, narrative schemes are often layered, even contradictory, with certain schemes only being revealed under certain conditions. Consistent with a phenomenological paradigm, these narrative schemes do not necessarily represent objective reality. Rather, they demonstrate the personal perspectives and theories of reality held by an individual. This does not however mean that these narratives do not affect that individual's behaviour. Narrative research aims to describe the collection of narrative schemes held by a person, and the situations that draw these narratives into expression (Polkinghorne, 1988).

It is narrative psychology's greater commitment to a phenomenological orientation that sets it apart from other social constructivist approaches, such as discourse analysis (Crossley, 2000). While both share an emphasis on the importance of meaning and language, discourse analysis considers people's statements about themselves to be behaviours in their own right, bearing little relationship to their cognitions and experience, to be analysed only with reference to their function in a certain setting. In contrast narrative psychology reflects phenomenology's particular emphasis on the experience and uniqueness of the individual. It gives primacy to the individual's inner experience, assuming a link between what they say about themselves, and their cognitions and behaviours (Crossley, 2000; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Smith, 1996). Narrative psychology thus appears to have a stronger tendency towards a 'realist' epistemology than other social constructivist approaches, and echoes of this tension are still found within 'postmodern' and 'historical' approaches to narrative (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). Notwithstanding the limitations of a tendency towards realism, it helps ensure that narrative psychology remains an effective research method for those seeking an understanding of human experience as it is lived and interpreted (Bickman & Rog, 1998; Crossley, 2000).

3.1.3 Research from the perspective of narrative psychology

There is a wealth of material that can be classified as ‘narrative research’ (Hevern, 1997). This material can be divided into three categories:

1. Studies that employ narrative as part of a wider discussion on the methodology and philosophy of qualitative research.
2. Studies that have narratives as their research object.
3. Studies where narrative is used to investigate any research question (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998).

The first category focuses on discussing the philosophical perspectives represented in narrative research. This encompasses studies advocating the use of narrative methodologies as part of a qualitative, or anti-realist, paradigm (Polkinghorne, 1988; Sarbin, 1986). The second category refers to studies that investigate the formal qualities of narrative itself, such as structure, development of plot, and linguistic features (Gergen & Gergen, 1988). The final category uses narrative as a means to study other questions. This category is the largest and most varied. Here, narrative is chosen as the research method that best suits the phenomenon being investigated, and narrative has been employed in this capacity in fields such as psychology, psychiatry, sociology, education and medicine (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). Bickman and Rog (1998) assert narrative is a ‘real life’ measure, suited to investigating ‘real life’ problems: “when researchers...address real-life problems...it may be advisable to approach people whose lives are relevant to the issue in an open manner, exploring their subjective, inner experience on the matter at hand” (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998, p.5). This study falls in this category.

As implied by the above, there is a wide range of theoretical emphases within narrative research. Most fundamental is the tension between ‘postmodern’ and ‘historical’ perspectives on narrative. This echoes the philosophical tensions between social constructivist and other more ‘realist’ approaches to studying the self, as well as between discourse analysis and narrative psychology (Crossley, 2000; Smith, 1996), outlined earlier. The postmodern approaches assert that narrative *is* reality (implying there is no objective reality), while the historical perspective claims that narrative is a representation of an outer, objective, reality (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998;

McAdams, 1993). The study presented here adopts a middle position between these poles in assuming that personal subjective narratives are fundamental to the individual's identity, but bear some relation to external, 'objective' events. That is, it assumes that an individual's narrative was not created in complete isolation from external events, while simultaneously assuming that the way in which a person thinks about external objects determines how they behave in relation to these objects.

Beyond these broad categorisations and theoretical stances, the use of narrative concepts in research has outpaced the formalisation of narrative research methodologies (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). There is therefore no clear 'narrative methodology', and narrative concepts have been used to investigate a wide range of phenomena in various disciplines. Within this heterogeneity Lieblich *et al.* (1998) identify some basic features of narrative research in the social sciences. Narrative research tends to use qualitative studies of small samples, necessarily making use of interviews and seeking rich data. There is also a great emphasis in narrative research on interpretation. This interpretative process is personal, ongoing and dynamic (Kvale, 1996; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). In this process, hypotheses are generated whilst analysing the narratives, and then tested in further reading. This circular process, as proposed in Glaser and Strauss's (1967) concept of *grounded theory*, leads to a constant refinement and development of hypotheses. This process requires the interpreter remain sensitive to the interviewee's text and the theoretical position informing the analysis, while simultaneously being reflexive about the decisions made in the process of interpretation. Meaning and hypotheses are generated through this process of 'dialogic listening' (Bakhtin, 1981).

3.1.3.1 Lieblich, Tuval – Maschiach and Zilbers' (1998) classification of narrative research

Lieblich *et al.* (1998), in their review of narrative research in the social sciences, identified two fundamental and independent dimensions in narrative research. These dimensions are useful in explaining the theoretical and methodological positioning of this study in the heterogeneous field of narrative research.

The dimensions they propose are (a) holistic versus categorical approaches and (b) content versus form approaches. The first dimension (a) “refers to the unit of analysis, whether an utterance or section abstracted from a complete text or the narrative as a whole” (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998, p.12). As they explain, in a holistic perspective the subject of the analysis is the entire life story of the individual being studied, with sections of the text interpreted with reference to the narrative as a whole. By contrast, the categorical approach dissects the original story (or stories), taking sections or single words belonging to a defined category as the subject of the analysis. Holistic approaches are preferred when the object of exploration in the study is the “person as a whole, that is, his or her development to the current position” (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998, p.12). By contrast, categorical perspectives are best suited when studying a phenomenon or problem shared by a group of people.

The other dimension (b), content versus form, reflects the traditional dichotomy made in the literary reading of texts (Lieblich *et al.* 1998). Those readings of the text that focus on content pay attention to the explicit or implicit content of the text from the perspective of the narrator, that is:

What happened, or why, who participated in the event... (or) what the meaning of the story, or a certain section of it, conveys, what traits or motives of the individual are displayed, or what a certain image used by the narrator symbolises (Lieblich *et al.* 1998, p.12).

On the other hand, readings that focus on form ignore the content of the life story. These readings focus on aspects such as the structure of the plot, its complexity and coherence, the feelings it evokes, the narrative style and metaphorical language it adopts, the sequencing of events, and so on. Structure can also include comments on the key influences in the creation of the narrative. An investigation of the form of the story may reveal the deeper layers of the narrator’s identity missed by content approaches (Lieblich *et al.* 1998, Wengraf, 2001). However Lieblich and colleagues make the point that these dimensions are continuums. That is, while there are clear differentiations between the polar ends of the holistic-category and content-form

continuums, “many possibilities for reading a text represent middle points along these dimensions” (Lieblich *et al.* 1998, p.12).

This study is not positioned at the polar end of either continuum. As will be explained further in coming chapters, while this study is interested in the whole narrative of the participants (a holistic approach), given its focus on those aspects of the narrative that express an offender’s imagoes it also contains elements of a categorical approach to the narrative study of texts. The risk in adopting a categorically-oriented method is that the data becomes fragmented (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). That is, it becomes difficult to understand the categories we wish to study if we ignore the narrative as a whole. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) draw attention to the need to have an understanding of the whole meaning (or *gestalt*) of a narrative if one wishes to have a deeper understanding of any of its parts. Bearing this in mind, this study has adopted certain methodological measures to mitigate fragmenting the data and in so doing limiting the meanings that can be created from the data. These measures will be discussed further in the following chapter, on the narrative inquiry.

Since the primary focus of this research is the content of the offenders’ life narratives, that is, their imagoes and the roles played by them, this study tends towards the ‘content’ end of the content-form dimension. As alluded to above this lack of attention to the form of the narrative risks neglecting deeper layers of meaning in the narrative, particularly those that are expressed indirectly or unconsciously. Similarly, focusing on the content rather than the form or structure of the offenders’ overall narratives and imagoes may limit the understandings we can draw from this study. To mitigate this risk, certain elements of the narratives’ overall form or structure will be considered; because they forms the framework within which the content of the narrative (in this case, the imagoes) should be considered. Given the developmental focus of this study those elements of form that reveal the participant’s conception of their evolving life experience will be most appropriate. Gergen and Gergen (1988) propose three basic formats for the development of narrative over time: the progressive, regressive, and stable narratives. In the progressive narrative the story advances steadily, in the stable narrative the plot is marked by a lack of change, and in the regressive narrative there is a course of deterioration and decline. While these

authors have combined these basic forms to construct more complex plots, this study will only consider the narratives presented in the context of these three forms.

The form of the narrative is also concerned with how well constructed a narrative is. Bruner (1991) defines a well constructed narrative as one with an ongoing plot and a clearly defined objective with a series of events progressing towards it. These events should be also related by sequence and causality (Bruner, 1991). Bruner's (1991) definition accords well with the criteria adopted in this study for evaluating and validating narrative research, as will be discussed below and in the following chapter on the narrative inquiry. These elements of the narratives' form and structure will be discussed in the sixth chapter, when the results of the narrative enquiry are considered.

3.1.3.2 Validating narrative research

Narrative psychological research is fundamentally interpretative, and these processes have implications for assessing validity. In the past, social science research has tended to limit the evaluation of research to discussions of reliability, generalisability, and validity (Kvale, 1996). However these terms, with their origins in quantitative research methods, are extremely difficult to apply to qualitative research (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). While some qualitative researchers have rejected discussion of reliability, validity, and generalisability as a positivist relic, this study will adopt the more moderate postmodernism of Kvale (1996), who rather than rejecting these concepts, "reconceptualises them in forms relevant to interview research" (p.231). As will be shown, considerations of validity are the most relevant in evaluating qualitative and narrative case study research.

Kvale (1996) notes that historically, social science research has tended to adopt a correspondence criterion of truth to determine validity. That is, research is considered valid if it corresponds with objective reality. Postmodern perspectives, by challenging the assumption that there is one objective 'truth', have called this perception of validity into question. Postmodern explanations, such as narrative psychology, replace a single objective reality with a multiplicity of socially constructed and subjective interpretations. Validation therefore becomes the issue of examining,

providing arguments for the credibility of, and choosing between, competing interpretations (Polkinghorne, 1988). Based on this understanding, Kvale (1996) goes on to propose three alternative forms of validation: communicative validity, pragmatic validation, and validity as quality of craftsmanship.

Communicative validity acknowledges the ways in which knowledge is socially constructed. Here, the validity of the research is decided in dialogue and argumentations with others, be they research participants, other specialists in the field, or the general public. However the circumstances of this study (which precludes verification with the research participants), and its scope (where validation of the results with specialists, or the public, is not included amongst its aims), means this form of validity is less relevant. Furthermore, as Kvale observes, a dependence on communicative validation may imply that the researcher is not confident in their findings or is unwilling to take responsibility for them. Alternatively, pragmatic validation asserts that validity is determined by whether the results assist us in taking actions that produce the desired results. For example, given this study's aims the findings would be considered pragmatically valid if they assisted in compiling offender profiles that were helpful to serial murder investigations. Nevertheless, as for communicative validity, considerations of pragmatic validity (applying the findings to ongoing investigations) fall outside the scope of this study.

Validity as quality of craftsmanship depends on “continually checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting the findings” (Kvale, 1996, p.241). At the simplest level, this requirement demands that all interpretations and conclusions follow a trail of evidence that originates in the text being researched in order for them to be valid (Rogers, Casey, Ekert, Holland, Nakkula & Sheinberg, 2001). However this process needs to go further, with validation being built into the research process and with continual explicit checks on the credibility, plausibility and trustworthiness of the findings. In this approach to validation

the researcher adopts a critical outlook on the analysis, states explicitly his or her perspective on the subject matter studied and the controls applied to counter selective perceptions and biased interpretations, and in general

plays the devil's advocate toward his or her own findings (Kvale, 1996, p.242)

The four criteria offered by Lieblich *et al.* (1998) for assessing narrative research make aspects of validation through the quality of craftsmanship more explicit, and show how quality is reflected in the final research product. The criteria for good narrative research products are: (a) width, referring to the comprehensiveness of the evidence, (b) coherence, asking whether the different parts of the interpretation create a complete and meaningful picture, (c) insightfulness, whether the study presents its findings in an innovative or original manner and (d) parsimony, requiring that the analysis is based on a small number of concepts, and presented in an aesthetically pleasing manner. These criteria have similarities to those offered in relation to grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and will be discussed more in Chapter 4. Parsimony highlights an implicit consideration in the discussion of validity as quality of craftsmanship. As Kvale (1996) puts it, validity as quality of craftsmanship should ideally result in products that “are so powerful and convincing in their own right that they...carry their validation with them, like a strong piece of art” (p.252). Kvale continues that such research should have transparent procedures, evident results, and intrinsically convincing conclusions. A clear communication of the overall meaning, or *Gestalt*, of this research is thus essential (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Such research would make appeals to external sources of validity a secondary concern. In this sense “valid research would...be research that makes questions of validity superfluous” (Kvale, 1996, p.252). While this study can obviously not adopt this ideal as a criterion for validity, it will be acknowledged as one this work accepts and strives towards in contributing to research in narrative psychology.

3.2 NARRATIVE AND CRIME

3.2.1 Advantages of narrative in the study of crime

Research into the psychology of crime has focused on distinguishing the specific personality traits that differentiate offenders from non-offenders. By definition, ‘trait’ research has considered criminal behaviour to be a stable phenomenon, unchanged by time or context (Maruna, 2001), much like the personality itself. Trait research has therefore focused on the study of stable dispositional traits (Caspi & Moffitt, 1995), assuming criminality, and by implication criminal behaviour, is a continuous trait innate in a small minority of individuals (Eysenck, 1977). Research supports these conclusions: personality trait scores, including those for criminality, remain relatively stable throughout an individual’s life (Sampson & Laub, 1995; Stevens & Trauss, 1985). The evolution of criminal behaviour is thus an ongoing process beginning in the offender’s childhood years (Block, 1971; Dannefer, 1984; Farrington, Coid, Hartnett, Jolliffe, Soteriou, Turner & West, 2006). Loeber (1982) states the finding that criminal behaviour is continuous feature of some individual’s life course is a ‘consensus’ of research into criminal psychology.

However ‘trait’ studies of crime cannot explain all the observed aspects of criminal behaviour. By assuming criminal behaviour is constant, trait theory ignores certain established features of criminal behaviour. By assuming constancy, trait theory cannot address social and developmental influences on offending (Maruna, 2001). Nor can trait theories address the changes that occur in an offender’s criminal career, such as desistance from offending (Maruna, 2004), change in type of offence committed (Farrington, Coid, Harnett, Jolliffe, Soteriou, Turner & West, 2006) or behavioural changes in the offence behaviour itself (Canter, 1994; Hodgskiss, 2001; Wentink, 2001). Evidence also suggests that contemporary personality trait measures are not sufficient to establish correlation between the offender’s personality and the characteristics of their offence (Youngs, 2004). These factors limit the utility of trait theory to the practice of offender profiling, where the explicit focus is deriving the likely personality traits of an offender from information about their crime (Canter, 2004; Davies & Dale, 1995; Douglas *et al.*, 1986; Labuschagne, 2003; Richards, 2005; Rossmo, 2000). Canter (1994, 2004) and Maruna (2001, 2004) have advocated

narrative psychology as a more dynamic framework for understanding the personality and offences of those involved in crime. Other authors have similarly found that research into offenders' personal constructions of meaning may allow greater insight into the motivation for their offending, and is a credulous approach to predicting violence (Skrapec, 2001; Winter *et al.*, 2007).

Overall, narrative research into crime proceeds from the assumption that while they may appear irrational, deviant acts have their own internal logic (Canter, 1994; Maruna, 2004). Being social constructivist in orientation this perspective is similar to social learning perspectives (Bandura, 1973, 1974). Maruna (2004) finds narratives of offenders are of particular interest for three reasons. First, a growing amount of research suggests that internal self narratives assist in organising and guiding individuals' behaviours. He cites Scott and Lyman's (1968) insistence that the study of criminal behaviour and the study of peoples' accounts of their behaviour are intrinsically related and "the clarification of accounts will constitute a clarification of deviant phenomena" (p.62). This exploration of the offenders' constructions of meaning is particularly relevant to serial murder. Meaning is deemed central to the understanding of serial murder, with the meaning attributed to their offences by those who commit serial murder considered to be an important determinant of the offences' characteristics (Canter, 1994; Holmes & Holmes, 1998; Labuschagne, 2001; Pakhomou, 2004; Ressler *et al.*, 1986; Wright *et al.*, 2008). Second, narratives are dynamic and constantly evolving (Maruna, 2001). Narrative theorists reject strict stages of development, stating that a person's self-narrative is continuously restructured in light of new experiences, with narrative development a life-long process (McAdams, 1993). While the various other potential motivators of human behaviour (such as genetics, personal history, age or personality traits) cannot be altered, narrative can (Maruna, 2001). Third and finally, narratives are explicitly contextual. They thus offer an ideal way to understand the stories of group at a certain time. Of particular relevance to this study of South African offenders, narratives can give insight into the societal views on crime, at a given moment in history. This is supported by Hook's (2003) study of a South African serial murderer which, while not investigative in orientation, found that social constructivist work could add considerable qualitative richness to our understanding of serial murder.

Narrative descriptions allow the researcher to study offending behaviour as experienced by the offender him or herself (Rhodes, 1999, Winter *et al.*, 2007). This overcomes the inadequacy of previous approaches to studying violent crime, where the offenders' view of the phenomenon is ignored (Nee, 2004). In most cases, narrative research into crime has used interviews with offenders (for example, Maruna, 2004; Parkinson, 1999; Schultz, 2005), although other narrative studies have primarily analysed crime scene and case file data (Canter, 1994; Hodge, 2000; Winter *et al.*, 2007). Like narrative research generally, narrative research into crime is not homogenous. However the research is sufficient to allow us to hypothesise features of a 'criminal narrative', and how this narrative may be reflected in crime scene behaviour.

3.2.2 The use of narrative in the study of crime

In the study of crime, narrative theory has been used in various ways. Maruna (2004) finds that the best-developed narrative theory in criminology is Sykes and Matza's (1957) theory of neutralisation techniques. This theory, and the very substantial body of research it inspired, has proved that people who commit all types of crimes rely on rationalisations for their socially unacceptable behaviours (Wolfgang, Figlio & Thornberry, 1978). They use these accounts to justify their actions to themselves and others. The role these rationalisations play is still debated by criminologists. Do they 'precede' the offending behaviour and make it possible (Sykes & Matza, 1957)? Or are they merely rationalisations offered by the offender after the crime (Hindelang, 1970)? Both perspectives may be valid (Hirschi, 1969). That is, when an individual commits an offence, their retrospective justification for this act may facilitate and even encourage further offending (Maruna, 2004). Thus an initial offence can occur without any "definition favourable to them" (Akers, 1985, p.60) and the subsequent development of a "definition" (or 'rationalisation', or 'narrative') to excuse this act may lead to the offender becoming 'hardened' to offending (Hirschi, 1969), which could in turn lead to the offence being repeated (Akers, 1985). Therefore while a person's actions may be inexplicable and senseless to observers, they are rational in terms of that individual's self-narrative (Canter, 1994). This conception has obvious implications for the study of serial murder, where not only is the initial offence perceived as 'motiveless', but this offence is repeated in an often-characteristic

manner (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005; Hickey, 2002; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Keppel & Birnes, 1998; Labuschagne, 2004).

Maruna (2004) demonstrated the influences that self-narratives can have on offending behaviours. He analysed the roles played by narratives in desistance from crime. He found significant differences between the self-narratives held by offenders who continue committing crime, and those who do not. Desisting offenders followed a “generative script” (p.99), characterised by the sense that the individual is capable of making a positive contribution to society, is in control of their destiny, and is not “essentially tainted” (p.43) by their previous misdemeanours. By contrast, offenders holding a “condemnation script” (p.73) saw themselves as powerless victims of an inhospitable environment, and so continued offending (Maruna, 2004). The distinctive narratives offenders held thus illuminated the evolution of their criminal careers. Again, these findings suggest characteristics that may be observed in chronic recidivists, such as those who commit serial murder. In fact, the finding that South African serial murderers characteristically feel helpless and inadequate (Labuschagne, 2001), may suggest a similar ‘condemnation’ script exists for these offenders.

While Maruna (2004) focused on the content of offenders’ narratives, Parkinson (1999) studied the structure. She analysed interviews with 15 offenders, each convicted of a single murder, and found support for a developmental model of narrative structure. The offenders in her study could be divided into five groups. Each group represented a discrete stage of narrative and identity development: from those with little self-knowledge and identity development to those possessing nuanced, mature identities capable of making sense of their lives. Parkinson (1999) found that the less developed and well-formed a narrative was, the more likely it would be that the murder would occur. She suggests that dysfunctional self-narratives are more likely the cause of offending, than the result of it. This she based on observations that offenders with more developed narratives were more able to cope with adverse circumstance and so avoid re-offending. Parkinson (1999) also made some suggestions around how features of the individuals’ self-narratives may have influenced features of the murder they committed. This has implications for the investigative applications of narrative theory and will be discussed further in following sections. Parkinson (1999) concluded that a “dysfunctional narrative”

(p.283) can have a far more profound affect on an individual's functioning than most narrative theorists have realised. That is, a dysfunctional narrative may not merely result in a crisis of the sort that would require therapy (as implied by, for example, Crossley, 2000 and McAdams, 1993), but may be a contributory factor in a crime as severe as murder.

3.2.2.1 Summary of the benefits in using narrative psychology to study crime

Narrative psychology has therefore been proposed as useful in explaining features of criminal behaviour that are interpersonally and socially constructed, dynamic and changeable, and that acknowledge the offender's agency and self concept (Canter, 1994, 2004; Canter & Heritage, 1990; Maruna 2001, 2004). Research into crime using narrative has reflected, and supported, these proposals. Narrative theory has been used to explain how criminal behaviour is generated and maintained (Sykes & Matza, 1957) and what factors influence a criminal career's change and development (Maruna, 2001), both of which are areas where conventional personality or trait theory has proven inadequate (Canter, 1994; Maruna, 2004; Youngs, 2004). These findings in narrative theory and research deepen our understanding of repetitive, 'motiveless', serial murder. Based on the above findings, we would expect serial murderer's self-narratives to be poorly structured (Parkinson, 1999), and characterised by condemnatory scripts (Maruna, 2004) that serve to justify their actions and allow them to continue offending (Sykes & Matza, 1957).

3.2.3 Narrative and offender profiling

These hypotheses around the narrative structures of those who commit serial murder are interesting from an academic and rehabilitative point of view, but they cannot contribute to offender profiling. Offender profiling aims to establish characteristics of an offender based on their crime scene behaviours prior to arrest. Offender profiling, like narrative psychology, deals with highly variable behaviours and considers the offender's personality and meaning structures to be a core concern (Canter, 2004; Davies & Dale, 1995; Douglas *et al.*, 1986; Labuschagne, 2003; Richards, 2005; Rossmo, 2000). These similarities suggest that narrative psychology can assist in generating hypotheses around criminal behaviour, directly applicable to offender

profiling. Furthermore, narrative has been proposed as an important element in understanding offence and offender behaviours (Maruna, 2004; Parkinson, 1999). Thus the characteristics of a crime scene are fundamentally affected, even created, by the personal narratives of the offender who committed the offence (Canter, 1994).

As discussed in the previous chapter, Canter and his colleagues draw on narrative psychology to propose that offenders possess distinct interpersonal narratives, and their offence behaviours are expressions of these interpersonal narratives and strategies. These narratives will be evident in their offence behaviours and their everyday life, thus potentially providing the most productive basis for establishing linkage between crime scene behaviour and features of the offender's personality (Canter, 1994; Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Canter & Heritage, 1990; Youngs, 2004). Canter (1994) hypothesises that if the narratives expressed in crime scene behaviours can be deciphered, potentially valuable information on the background characteristics, criminal history, and future behaviour of the offender responsible could be obtained. This interpersonal narrative perspective has proven particularly useful in identifying behavioural themes of criminal behaviour (Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Hodge, 2000). This approach has been applied to studies of serial and stranger murder (Hodge, 2000; Salfati & Canter, 1999) as an aspect of the empirical and statistical narrative of offender profiling.

Notwithstanding this the research conducted by Canter and his colleagues uses narrative as a guiding metaphor and not as a methodological orientation. That is, they use narrative psychology primarily to articulate their concern with interpersonal strategies in criminal behaviours. They do not adopt many of the basic features of narrative research in the social sciences: qualitative studies of small samples that emphasise interpretation of the data and treat it as a dynamic process (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). Rather, Canter and his colleagues' research is usually rigorously quantitative and empirical, asserting that law-like interpretations of offender behaviours are possible and desirable (Canter, 2004). Although this partial adoption of narrative psychology does not lessen the utility of their results, it does mean that Canter and colleagues have not paid sufficient attention to those aspects of narrative theory that may be particularly useful to offender profiling. Given the potential utility of Canter's (1994) 'interpersonal' perspective in relation to offender profiling, it may be those

elements of a self-narrative that reveal the offender's interpersonal concerns which are the most useful. The most relevant narrative concept here is that of the imago (McAdams, 1993).

3.3 IMAGOS

3.3.1 Defining the narrative concept of the imago

In the self-narrative, the main character is the person who the narrative is about. However, the main character can appear in different roles. Each of these roles personify particular aspects of the self. These 'personified roles' function as characters in the self-narratives, and are known as imagoes (Parkinson, 1999). McAdams (1993) states the imago is a key part of narrative identity and defines an imago as a "personified and idealised conception of the self" (p.122). By 'personified' McAdams means that, in self-narratives, the imago functions as if it were an active person. 'Idealised' simply refers to the simplified, exaggerated nature of an imago. McAdams (1993) goes on to propose eight principles of the imago:

- The self is composed of personified and idealised internalised images, or imagoes, that are laden with affect.
- The origins of a particular imago lie in the internalisation of loved (and hated) 'objects' in the person's world.
- A person's most significant personal relationships are profoundly affected by his or her imagoes.
- Imagoes are often arranged in the self as dialectical opposites.
- The synthesis of opposing imagoes is a hallmark of the mature self.
- Imagoes are superordinate schema for organising and evaluating information about the self.
- Imagoes specify recurrent behavioural plans.
- Imagoes give cognitive form to personal goals, fears, and desires.

The third, sixth, seventh and eighth points are of particular interest to this study.

The third point chimes with recent research into offender profiling, which advocates an interpersonal narrative approach. The seventh and eighth points correlate with the research concerns around the development of, and motivation for, serial murder.

Together these three features of the imago link with the questions research into serial murder generally aims to answer: what motivates the person who commits serial murder? How does their offending develop? How are these factors reflected in their offences? (see sections 2.3 to 2.5). However, using McAdam's term 'behavioural plans' in this context suggests that the offender is always aware of this motivations and intentions. Given that this may not be the case, this study will rather use the term 'behavioural patterns'; which makes no presumptions as to the offender's intent, or his insight into his motivations.

McAdams (1988) acknowledges that the concept of imago, encompassing a large part of self-narrative in a diffuse manner, is difficult to define. Despite this, he insists the imago can potentially reveal the most about the individual's identity. The imago resembles a number of related concepts in social and psychoanalytic psychology, such as the Jungian 'archetypes' or Fairbairn's 'internalised objects' (McAdams, 1988, 1993). These conceptual relationships will not be discussed here, but it is worth clarifying a seeming difference between McAdam's (1993) definition of the imago as 'a personified and idealised conception of the self' and the dictionary definition of an imago as "an elaborated representation of an important or influential person in an individual's life, persisting in the unconscious" (The Chambers Dictionary, 2003, p.737), which reflects the term's origins in object relations and psychoanalysis. These two definitions, 'imago as idealised conception of self' versus 'imago as personification of others', demonstrate a conceptual ambiguity in narrative research. It may be possible to reconcile these different definitions. McAdams (1988, 1993), who fused Jungian and object relations theory in his definition of imago, makes it clear that imagoes are the internalisation of emotionally significant 'objects', and that these 'objects' can often be other people. Narrative theory also asserts that human identity is constructed through social processes (Crossley, 2000). Thus from the narrative perspective it would be inaccurate to assert that the self-concept a person holds is unrelated to the interpersonal processes that create it. Rather "imagoes are often built around significant others... (and) forged from interpersonal relationships" (McAdams, 1993, p.130). For these reasons, this study's definition of the imago will explicitly be expanded to incorporate both definitions, along with McAdam's (1993) eight principles. This study will thus define an iamgo as a dynamic, evolving,

characterisation of a mode of interpersonal interaction. This characterisation forms an important part of that individual's self-concept.

3.3.2 Negative and dysfunctional imagoes

Since imagoes personify an individual's "profound identity truths" (McAdams, 1988, p.101), we can expect differences between the imagoes of dysfunctional individuals and those possessed by healthy people. While the bulk of narrative research has focused on well-adjusted individuals, and McAdams (1988) states that he largely ignored negative imagoes in his research, it is possible to identify some ways in which imagoes can contribute to, or even embody, an individual's pathology. McAdams (1993) draws on object relations theory to explain how imagoes may result in pathology. Pathology results from excessive conflict between internalised objects, or from certain objects leaving the healthy confederation of the self ('splitting') and becoming "inner mischiefmakers" (p.131). Imagoes may also represent a fundamental conflict in an individual's life. McAdams (1993) hypothesises that one of the most common tensions are between 'agentic' and 'communal' characters. That is, between the imagoes striving for control and independence, and those seeking relationships with others.

However McAdams (1993) emphasises that conflict between imagoes does not necessarily cause pathology. Rather, growing dialogue between these 'inner voices' is the hallmark of healthy psychological development (Watkins, 1986), with the mature psyche aiming to integrate opposing aspects of the psyche (such as conflicting agentic and communal imagoes) into more complex structures (McAdams, 1988). Evidence suggests that a diverse and complex self-concept reduces stress (Linville, 1985). Linville (1985) found that a greater number of identities implied that any negative event is less likely to have an affect on all aspects of the self, and so it is less likely that that event will be traumatic. For example, if a man thinks of himself only as an accountant, the loss of his job would be a devastating blow to his self. In contrast, if he thinks of himself as an accountant, father, badminton player and confidante, the loss of employment is less likely to directly undermine all aspects of his self. Research supports this hypothesis, finding that individuals with more complex self-concepts are less prone to illness, depression, and severe mood swings following

success or failure in one part of their lives (Linville, 1985; McAdams, 1993; Watkins, 1986). For this reason McAdams (1993) found that speaking as if inhabited by multiple selves is a characteristic of the absence of pathology. Well-adjusted individuals were not characterised by having only one, simple, imago (McAdams, 1988).

3.3.3 Imagoes and crime

Parkinson (1999), drawing on McAdam's (1988) research, suggests two areas where the imagoes held by offenders may differ from those of non-offenders. First, in regard to the number or complexity of imagoes held. This relates to the structure of the self-narrative. Second, in regard to the type of imagoes held, that is, the content of the self-narrative. She further proposes that the organisation and content of the imagoes may highlight unique aspects of the offender's identity. Given the focus of this study, the proposed content of offenders' imagoes will be discussed in more detail.

3.3.3.1 Findings on the number and structure of offenders' imagoes

Parkinson's (1999) research emphasised the number of imagoes held, and how well they were structured. As discussed previously, evidence suggests that multiple and / or complex imagoes reduce stress (Linville, 1985; McAdams, 1988; Watkins, 1986), and 'dialogue' between these multiple self-concepts is healthy (McAdams, 1993). Parkinson (1999) thus hypothesised that offenders will have fewer imagoes, resulting in them having a narrower choice of behaviours when problem solving. Her study of murderers' narratives found that less developed and less well-formed narratives were associated with an increased likelihood of offending, supporting her hypothesis around the imagoes of offenders. She found that an extremely limited range of imagoes could contribute to offending in two ways. In one group, their extremely under-developed (or even non-existent) imagoes lead them to live chaotic lives with no clear sense of self or of direction in their lives. Members of the second group seemed to have a single, highly inflexible imago. The lack of alternative imagoes limits this group's ability to develop appropriate, or alternative, coping strategies. This will mean they, like those offenders with under-developed imagoes, are likely to

continue with the dysfunctional patterns of behaviour that lead them to offend in the first place (Parkinson, 1999).

3.3.3.2 Findings on the content of offenders' imagoes

The structure of imagoes overlaps with their content. This overlap between content and structure, between 'what the narrative says' and 'the form the narrative takes', can be observed in narrative research as a whole (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). In this case, content refers to the characteristics of an imago. Few narrative research projects have sought to explicitly analyse the content of offenders' imagoes but the work that has been done allows us to suggest hypotheses. McAdams' (1993) study of imagoes addresses them from a therapeutic angle, and so he focused more on the imagoes of highly functional people. He arranged his imagoes according to how strongly 'agentic' or 'communal' they are. That is, how much they embodied the individual's desire for power and love, respectively. McAdams (1993) also identifies imagoes where the individual is motivated neither by power (agency) nor love (communion). Examples he gives of these "Low in Agency, Low in Communion" imagoes include "The Survivor" and "The Escapist" (p.124). People displaying these imagoes, McAdams (1993) states, tend to avoid influencing the direction of their lives, or creating lasting bonds with others. These imagoes resemble the condemnation scripts Maruna (2004) identified in chronic offenders. In these scripts, offenders asserted that they continued offending because they were at the mercy of a hostile environment. South African research has identified a similar imago "The Martyr". This imago

Embodies a sense of unending hardship and travail with no hope of relief...The martyr sees no active manner in which he or she can end his or her hardship and has resigned himself or herself to pain as an inevitable part of life (Laubscher & Klinger, 1997, p.172)

These imagoes represent an individual's sense that they are powerless. In relation to offending, the presence of these imagoes may suggest that a person feels unable to take control of their life. They are thus doomed to continue with their maladaptive

behaviour and so continue offending. This has obvious relevance to serial offenders. Furthermore, in line with McAdam's (1993) observations, the presence of these imagoes may suggest that the individual underemphasises or disregards meaningful interpersonal interaction, which could also be relevant in violent offenders.

a) Parkinson's findings on the content of offenders' imagoes

Parkinson (1999) hypothesised that there are likely to be obvious differences in the content of offenders' and non-offenders' imagoes. She suggested that these differences could potentially be very obvious, such as persons stating their primary self-concept was that of a burglar or murderer. Alternatively, these differences can be more subtle, such as an individual who sees themselves as someone to be feared, or as a deviant outcast. While Parkinson's (1999) project found some support for these hypotheses, Athens (1997) addresses them more directly in his study of violent offenders.

b) Athens' findings on the content of violent offenders' imagoes

To help explain violent offences, Athens (1997) proposed a concept analogous to that of imagoes, "phantom others" (p.82). As with imagoes, these 'phantom others' consist of the internalised attitudes of the offender's significant others, providing the individual with continuity in their perception of self and assisting them in making sense of their varied social experiences. The phantom others interact with one another, together forming an internalised "phantom community" (p.83) that the individual constantly interacts with, often being unaware of doing so. Athens (1997) asserts that phantom communities are the source of an offender's violent responses to others. His research found that the self-concepts, or imagoes, of violent offenders are consistent with the offences they commit. More specifically:

The types of self-image that the offenders held at the time of their offences were always congruent with the types of interpretation that they formed of the situations in which they committed the violent criminal acts (p.87)

Offenders holding non-violent self images, or imagoes, only resorted to violence in situations they interpreted as directly physically threatening. Those with “incipiently violent” (p.87) imagoes resorted to violence in response to situations interpreted as physically threatening, or situations where the victim evoked deep-seated frustration and hostility in the offender. Offenders who held violent imagoes used violence in response to the widest range of interpretations, whether the offender felt threatened, frustrated, hostile, or a combination of these. This is because their imagoes provide them with a “pronounced and categorical *moral* support for acting violently towards other people” (Athens, 1997, p.93)

Perhaps more significantly, Athens (1997) found that offenders’ imagoes change across their criminal career, in response to interpersonal interaction. This lends support to narrative psychology’s causal theories, which emphasise social processes. It is also in marked contrast to Parkinson (1999), who ignored interpersonal interaction in her explanatory model. Athens (1997) further noted that changes in the individual’s imagoes were reflected in the offences they commit: the violence of the imago correlated with the degree of violence used in the offence. For example, offenders in a period where they held substantially violent imagoes commit offences involving “substantial physical harm or sexual violation” (p.91). By contrast, offenders in a period where they held incipiently violent imagoes committed less violent acts, employing physical threats and only inflicting substantial violence when the offence was victim-precipitated. These findings have two investigative applications. Firstly, they find a correlation between the characteristics of an individual’s imagoes and characteristics of the offences they commit. Secondly, they find that the type and degree of violence an offender employs may vary substantially between different stages of that offenders’ criminal career. Both findings have obvious potential usefulness in offender profiling, and in linking cases together.

c) Summary, comparison and critique of Parkinson’s and Athen’s findings

Athens (1997) found links between violent crime and imago content, with changes in imago content reflected in the offender’s offence behaviours and criminal career. He also found that interpersonal interaction was important in the development of the content of imagoes. Unlike Parkinson (1999), by considering the developmental

aspect of an offender's imagoes he begins to address the concerns researchers into serial murder have with the motivation and development of offending. However, Athens' (1997) findings do not go into enough detail on the features of his sample's imagoes, and how these correlate with features of their offences. This limits the applicability of Athens' (1997) findings to offender profiling (Canter, 2000), also limiting its ability to address research into serial murder's concern with how motivation and development is reflected in offences. Furthermore while Athens (1997) establishes broad categories of offenders, he does not suggest ways to differentiate between the crimes committed by offenders in the same group. This is especially of concern as he proposes extremely broad categories of offenders (violent, incipiently violent, and non-violent), which would suggest that any one category would contain a diverse range of offenders. This further limits his model's investigative applicability.

Parkinson's (1999) study makes more detailed hypotheses than Athens (1997) about the relationship between characteristics of an offender's imago and those of their offence, but Parkinson's (1999) study suggests ways in which the structure, rather than the content, of the imago relates to offending behaviour. Referring to murder, she found that offenders with very under-developed imagoes tended to commit impulsive offences, mirroring the chaos and lack of direction in their lives. She also found that offenders with few, rigid, imagoes (that is, a limited self-concept) tended to murder victims who reflected the offenders' central personal concerns. For example, a subject who had been abused as a child murdered a man who tried to force him into sexual relations. While under-developed imagoes were associated with indiscriminate violence; few, rigid, imagoes tended to be associated with 'personalised' victims. In both cases, the structural dysfunctions in the individuals' imagoes would lead them to continue offending, as they are less able to develop alternative self-concepts and so ways of interacting with others.

While valuable, Parkinson's (1999) study has limitations. She does not account for how the offender's imagoes may develop, and thus cannot address a key concern of research into serial murder. She also did not address the role played by interpersonal interaction in imago development or expression, and so proposes a closed intrapsychic system, which contradicts fundamental assumptions of narrative psychology,

and limits her findings' applicability to investigations. In her model Parkinson implies that an offender can either fall into the category of having underdeveloped imagoes, or they can have few imagoes. She does not discuss the possibility that these categories overlap, and what implications this may have for offending. That is, would an offender with a single, rigid, underdeveloped imago commit indiscriminate or highly personalised offences? This oversight in her study may be a function of her only briefly discussing imagoes (usually using the term 'self-concept') and not discussing the content of these imagoes in much depth. Parkinson's (1999) focus on creating exclusive categories of offenders means that, like typologies of serial murder, her model may be too rigid to adequately account for the variation observed in offence behaviours.

d) Schultz's findings on the content of child molesters' imagoes

Schultz's (2005) study of child molesters attempts to discern the imagoes of offenders in greater depth than either Athens (1997) or Parkinson (1999). Schultz (2005) sees the "mythic persona" (p.190) that is, their imago, as fundamental in the aetiology of offending. She attempts to differentiate the various aspects of their imago, and suggests how these aspects relate it to the situation in which they offend. Schultz (2005), like Athens (1997), explicitly emphasises the role of interpersonal interaction in shaping these imagoes and so influencing offence behaviours. She states that imagoes represent

(The offenders') attempt to show how the events of their lives and their understanding of the social world help them create a mythic persona, an identity they adapt that communicates the roles they perceive for themselves. These roles, and the scripts they enact as the result of environmental pressures, form the basis for determining sources of attribution, motivation, and accountability for their crimes (p. 189 - 190).

Where Athens (1997) emphasises the imago as a representation of others, Schultz (2005) emphasises the imago as an idealised perception of the self. As discussed,

these positions are not contradictory, since both share the same basic position: that the imago is a fundamentally interpersonal construct shaped by, and influencing how, the individual interacts with others.

The themes in child molesters' narratives represent the roles they perceive themselves as playing. These roles, the contents of their imagoes, help shape their offending (Schultz, 2005). An example Schultz (2005) gives is of an offender who views himself as a well-meaning man who tries to help other people, but who is constantly thwarted by his environment. He considered himself to be a long-suffering saviour, possessing greater understanding than those around him, and constantly struggling to bring them "up to his level of moral development" (p.191). He explains his offending as the result of children making themselves available to him when he was weary of his struggle to improve others and "because (he) wanted to make other people happy, he went along with their desires" (Schultz, 2005, p.191). Similarly, another offender described himself as a "great big animal...an ape" (p.192) and his offending reflected this. His first offence occurred because his niece happened to be available when he was extremely angry, and wanted to commit violence. He raped her as "a substitute for more heinous crimes, such as murder" (p.192). He committed an impulsive offence, without introspection or consideration for morality, as if he was an animal reacting by instinct (Schultz, 2005). In both cases, features of the offence are congruent with features of the respective offenders' imagoes. Schultz's (2005) findings support both Parkinson's (1999) and Athens' (1997) hypotheses around the relationship between imagoes and offending. However they go further, giving evidence to suggest that the various features of an individual's imagoes will be reflected in crime scene behaviour. While Athens (1997) and Parkinson (1999) found similarities between categories of imagoes and categories of offence behaviours, Schultz (2005) draws attention to similarities between specific, single, imagoes and that offender's specific offence behaviours. Her findings suggest that the study of the content of imagoes may be particularly productive for offender profiling, where there is a need to differentiate between offenders, link offences and infer characteristics of the offender from their crime scene behaviour alone.

Schultz (2005) linked features of the imago to offence behaviours, but she did not study this relationship in detail. Her study is also limited by her presupposition that

the individual has a single imago with various contradictory aspects. This acknowledges narrative theory's assumption that imagoes can be complex and multi-faceted, but does not acknowledge the other possibility proposed by narrative theory: multiple imagoes, with each imago representing a facet of the individual's conceptions of the relationship between themselves and others (Athens, 1997; McAdams, 1988, 1993; Parkinson, 1999). By assuming the imago is a single entity, Schultz's (2005) conception has less explanatory power. It cannot, for example, address in detail how offending may emerge as a result of a clash between imagoes, as proposed by McAdams (1993), or as a result of certain imagoes failing to adapt to changing circumstance. Finally, like Parkinson (1999), Schultz (2005) considered the motivations embodied in her sample's imagoes, but did not consider how these imagoes may develop, and thus cannot meet the key requirements for research into serial murder.

e) Potential for research into the content of offenders' imagoes in South Africa

The relationship that Schultz (2005) highlights between imago content and offence behaviours may be a promising avenue of research in the South African context. An individual's self-narrative is shaped by the culture in which they live (Crossley, 2000; Schultz, 2005). The political upheaval and violence that has characterised South African culture will thus most likely be expressed in the narratives created by South Africans (Laubscher & Klinger, 1997). In addition to the generic 'types' of imago proposed by McAdams (1993), such as "The Warrior" or "The Sage" (p.124), Laubscher and Klinger (1997) identified a number of additional, uniquely South African imagoes. One whose content could be hypothesised to be congruent with the individual committing violent crime is "uTokoloshe" (p.172). As its name, drawn from African mythology, suggests, this imago is vengeful, powerful, and over-confident.

uTokoloshe... moves swiftly to strike fear into its enemies (of which it has many)...This character lives by retaliation and retribution, and seems to believe that only with such action can his or her importance and

existence be acknowledged. Invariably distrustful and alone, uTokoloshe also has a false sense on invincibility and omnipotence (p.172)

On the basis of this, and studies into the object relations of South Africans who commit serial murder (Hodgskiss, Pistorius & Welman, 2004; Pistorius, 1996), it is possible to hypothesise that the content of South African offenders' imagoes may bear some relationship to their offences. The differences between the offence behaviours of South African serial murderers and those from the developed world (Hodgskiss, 2004) may be a product of these differing imagoes. In spite of this, no narrative research has yet addressed these issues in South Africa. Such research could address the central concerns of research into serial murder: motivation, development, and the reflection of these in offences.

3.4 CONCLUSION

Narrative theory offers the study of criminal behaviour the dynamic, flexible framework lacking in conventional personality and trait theory (Canter, 2004) with much research to suggest that the structure and content of offender's narratives affects their criminal behaviours (Canter, 1994; Maruna, 2004). However previous research into the narratives of offenders has not paid sufficient attention to those aspects of narrative particularly applicable to offender profiling. Canter (1994) advocates an interpersonal thematic approach to research aiming to support offender profiling, which suggests the narrative concept of imago (McAdams, 1993) would be the most useful to progress this. Furthermore narrative psychology's highlighting the importance of activity, relationships, and time in creating the human order of meaning (Crossley, 2000; Polkinghorne, 1988; Ricouer, 1988) accords well with the research on serial murder which finds it is similarly dynamic and evolving (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Hodgskiss, 2001; Wentink, 2001), can be seen as caused by social and environmental influence (Hickey, 2002; Kurtz & Hunter, 2004; Labschagne, 2001; Whitman & Akutagawa, 2003) and is frequently defined by temporal factors (Leyton, 1986; Holmes & Holmes, 1998). The concept of imago is thus suitable to investigate serial murder in a manner which may yield results that capable of supporting offender profiling.

Imagoes provide an individual's life with a coherent sense of self, specifying recurrent behavioural patterns and giving cognitive form to fears, aims, and desires (Crossley, 2000; McAdams, 1988, 1993). This makes them particularly suitable to address the motivation and development of offending behaviour. Previous research suggests a correlation between the characteristic content of an offender's imagoes and the characteristics of the offences they commit, with changes in imagoes reflected in crime scene behaviour (Athens, 1997; Parkinson, 1999; Schultz, 2005). As yet no narrative inquiry has specifically addressed the role played by imagoes in the motivation of the offender, and how this affects the development of their offending behaviour. This is particularly true of research into serial murder. Thus more research needs to be done if the narrative concept of imago can be used to address the main concerns of research into serial murder, particularly in the South African context, and in an investigative setting. A detailed analysis of the content of a person who commits serial murder's imagoes may yield valuable insight into the interpersonal processes that generate offending, and also be helpful to offender profiling.

CHAPTER 4

A NARRATIVE INQUIRY

In this chapter the method of the study is discussed. Firstly, the aims of the study are presented and the narrative inquiries given. Secondly, key concepts are defined. Finally, the research processes used to answer these inquiries, including the methods used to collect and analyse the data, are explained.

4.1 AIM OF THE RESEARCH

This study aims to explore the phenomenon of serial murder from the perspective of narrative psychology, in particular using the narrative concept of the imago, to explore two of the central concerns in research into serial murder: the motivation and development of those who commit serial murder. Furthermore it is hoped that this exposition of serial murder in South Africa will increase our understanding in directions that support offender profiling.

In this study, the motivation of those who commit serial murder is expressed by the reasons they give for having committed the offences; including their personal goals, fears and desires. The analysis of the development of offending behaviour will include a consideration of how the individual's motivations and developmental patterns are reflected in their crime scenes. While in the literature concerns of motivation and development tend to be addressed together, linked by the cognitions and meaning structures of the offender, this study will endeavour to address them separately and in interaction with each other. This approach may also yield results useful to offender profiling, although this is not a specific aim of the study.

4.1.1 Narrative inquiry

In terms of the concept of imago, and with reference to the narratives of those who commit serial murder, the narrative inquiries being made are:

1. What role do imagoes play in the motivation of a person who commits serial murder?
2. What role do imagoes play in the development of the offending behaviour?

4.2 METHODOLOGY

This study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research takes a post-modern view, placing greater emphasis on the subjective meanings of experience from the participant's point of view, prior to scientific explanations (Kvale, 1996). Qualitative research is also sensitive to how the researcher's interpretations, and their relationship with the participants, affect the creation of meaning (Harre & Secord, 1972). The fundamental assumptions of qualitative research require a different approach to evaluation and validation. The approach taken to evaluation in this study needs to be discussed in detail, given that there are no clear criteria for evaluating qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

4.2.1 Evaluation and validation in qualitative research

The traditional quantitatively-oriented measures for evaluating social science research – reliability, generalisability, and validity – are difficult to apply to qualitative research (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). As suggested in the previous chapter, considerations of validity are the most relevant in evaluating qualitative case study research. The measures put in place to support the validity of this study's findings will thus form the bulk of this section. The reasons why considerations of generalisability and reliability are less relevant to this study, and how the relevant issues they raise will be accounted for, will first be briefly discussed.

Generalisability asks to what extent the research sample reflects the population from which it is drawn. This has tended to be measured in statistical terms (Stake, 1994). This evaluative measure is less relevant in qualitative research, which intends to gain rich and nuanced descriptions of the phenomenon at hand (Kvale, 1996). This is particularly true of this study where the aim is to describe the narratives of the two participants in detail, not make statistical claims as to the applicability of these two narratives to the whole population of South African serial murderers. However Stake (1994) argues that generalisability can also take on an 'analytical' form. This refers to a reasoned judgement of the extent to which the results from one study can be used as a guide to what may occur in another situation. This generalisation is based on the soundness of a researcher's analysis, rather than on statistics. Therefore, by making

the supporting evidence and analyses explicit, the researcher allows the readers to judge the soundness of their claim to generalisation. While this study makes no claims to generalisation, the measures put in place to ensure the validity of the findings could also support analytical generalisation.

Reliability refers to the consistency of the research findings (Kvale, 1996). In this study, reliability refers to issues such as whether the interviews were carried out consistently or introduced biases into the data; whether the interviews are transcribed using the same method; and the degree to which the analysis of the interviews is consistent. In this study it is acknowledged that having a single researcher may have meant that there are fewer measures to check systematic errors or bias in the study. On the other hand since a single researcher completed all aspects of this study there is perhaps less chance of the “haphazard subjectivity” (Kvale, 1996, p.236) that measures of reliability in research aim to counteract. These concerns will be addressed in more detail in the following section where measures instigated to ensure the validity of the findings are discussed.

4.2.1.1 Validity

This study adopts the post-modern and narrative position that validity is a concern that pervades all stages of the research enquiry, from conceptualisation to final writing up (Kvale, 1996; Lieblich *et al.* 1998). Put simply, validity refers to “the extent to which our observations...reflect the phenomena or variables of interest to us” (Pervin, 1984, p.48) that is, whether the research results are true or correct. Yet this definition masks a more complex set of concerns. As Flick (2002) observes, the problem of how to assess qualitative research has yet to be solved. This study agrees with Rolfe’s (2006) finding that the same judgement criteria cannot be used across qualitative methodologies, with each method deserving its own judgement criteria.

Historically, social science research has tended to consider research valid if it corresponds with objective reality. This is challenged by post-modern explanations, which assert that validation is rather an issue of choosing between competing interpretations. Based on this understanding, Kvale (1996) goes on to propose three alternative forms of validation: communicative validity, pragmatic validation, and

validity as quality of craftsmanship. The most appropriate measure for this study, given its aims and scope, is validity as quality of craftsmanship.

a) Validity as quality of craftsmanship in Grounded Theory and narrative research

Validity as quality of craftsmanship depends on “continually checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting the findings” (Kvale, 1996, p.241), ensuring that all interpretations and conclusions follow a trail of evidence that originates in the text being researched, in order for them to be valid (Rogers, Casey, Ekert, Holland, Nakkula, & Sheinberg, 2001). This process needs to ensure that validation is built into the research process, with continual explicit checks on the credibility, plausibility and trustworthiness of the findings. This approach requires the researcher take action throughout the research process to attain validity (Morse, Barret, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002).

This approach to validation is inherent in *grounded theory* (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which provides the analytical methodology for this work. That is, this study uses the procedures associated with grounded theory to analyse serial murder from the theoretical perspective of narrative psychology. The constant process of checking and questioning the findings required by grounded theory was the primary validation technique used in the study. This has already been implied previously, where validation is considered an issue that impacts on all stages of the research process.

Lieblich *et al.*'s (1998) four criteria for assessing narrative research support this type of validation, and were thus also adopted in this study. These criteria were mentioned briefly in Chapter 3. In more detail, they are:

- *Width*: This refers to the comprehensiveness of the evidence. This criterion requires the researcher supply the reader with sufficient evidence to judge the validity of the study's findings. This evidence should include the quality of the interview(s), the extensiveness of the supporting evidence for the conclusions, the presence of clear support for interpretations, and the offering of alternative explanations.

- *Coherence*: Defined as whether the different parts of the interpretation create a complete and meaningful picture. This can refer to how the various aspects of the research product’s findings fit together, as well as how well this study fits with previous research and existing theory. Given this study’s aims, the former will be emphasised.
- *Insightfulness*: Whether the study presents its findings in an innovative or original manner, allowing for a greater insight into the phenomenon being studied.
- *Parsimony*: This refers to the ability to provide an analysis based on a small number of concepts. It requires that the “elegance or aesthetic appeal” (p.173) of the narrative research also be considered.

These criteria are consistent with those of “credibility” and “applicability” proposed to evaluate grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This consistency helps ensure that the methodological orientation of the study (grounded theory) is not inconsistent with its theoretical orientation (narrative psychology). It also helps clarify the criteria by which the quality of this study’s craftsmanship will be evaluated. This will now be discussed in greater detail.

i) *Evaluating ‘credibility’, ‘width’ and ‘coherence’*

‘Credibility’ incorporates Lieblich *et al.*’s (1998) criterion of ‘width’. That is, the researcher supplies the reader with sufficient evidence to judge the validity of the study’s findings. This evidence should include how the data was gathered (in this study, chiefly the interviews) the extensiveness of the supporting evidence for the conclusions, the presence of a clear analytical process and support for interpretations (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). By supplying this information the researcher allows the reader to contextualise the concepts proposed. This contextualisation allows the reader to judge why certain meanings are ascribed to events and not others, or why certain events occurred. Without this contextualisation, the findings of the research are incomplete (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and validity thus lessened. Corbin and Strauss’s (2008) ‘credibility’ also includes Lieblich *et al.*’s (1998) and Bruner’s (1991) criteria of ‘coherence’, which asks how well the research product’s findings fit together, how well constructed a narrative is, as well as how

well this study fits with previous research and exiting theory. Expanding on this, Corbin and Strauss (2008) further specify that a credible / coherent research product should show logic, depth, and variation. ‘Logic’ refers to the need for a logical flow of ideas, that the ideas makes sense to the reader, and that methodological decisions are sufficiently clear for the reader to decide their appropriateness. ‘Depth’ requires that there is sufficient descriptive detail and richness to the findings to make them have an impact on the reader. ‘Variation’ requires that the researcher demonstrates the complexity of the phenomenon being studied and showing, for example, how cases don’t fit the expected pattern or show differences in certain dimensions or properties. The measures this study takes to evidence its coherence, width, and so its credibility (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998) are described later in this chapter.

ii) Evaluating ‘applicability’, ‘insightfulness’ and ‘parsimony’

Corbin and Strauss’s (2008) criterion of ‘applicability’ incorporates Lieblich *et al.*’s (1998) criteria of ‘insightfulness’ and ‘parsimony’ in evaluating qualitative research. This criterion asks whether the findings provide insight, are readily understandable, are suited to the area from which they are derived, and will provide the user with a sufficient understanding of the phenomenon to bring about change in the situation (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). To these criteria we can add Corbin and Strauss’s (2008) requirement that applicable / insightful / parsimonious research be ‘creative’ or, to use Charmaz’s (2006) term “original”. That is, the research needs to add offer new insights and fresh understanding, as well as presenting the findings in a creative or innovative manner. This is consistent with Kvale’s (1996) finding that validity as quality of craftsmanship is indicated by the ability of the research to generate theoretical insights into the phenomenon being studied. Therefore part of the validation in this study will rest on its ability to generate readily understandable and well-presented insights into narrative psychology and serial murder.

By requiring as part of both ‘coherence’ and ‘insightfulness’ that valid narrative research consider how it fits with previous theory, Lieblich *et al.* (1998) also address grounded theory’s requirement that applicable, valid research ‘fit’ and resonate with the experience of the professionals for whom the research was intended, and the participants themselves (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). While the ‘fit’ between this study’s

results and previous literature will be discussed, directly testing the applicability of these findings to the participants themselves and to the profiling an unknown offender in a serial murder investigation, is beyond its remit.

iii) Other aspects of validation in grounded theory

In addition to the above there are a number of other proposed criteria for evaluating grounded theory research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967); however only the additional criteria which are helpful in evaluating this study's 'quality of craftsmanship' will be discussed here.

Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggest that research should also be evaluated according to how sensitive it was to the participants and to the data, that is, how much the researcher let the analysis drive the research, not only imposing pre-determined concepts and questions on the data. The last mentioned requirement cannot be fully met given this study's focus on the narrative concept of the imago, but it will still be considered as part of the discussion of results.

Hall and Callery (2001) also require that the qualitative researcher needs to be able to evidence self-awareness, as a condition of their producing valuable qualitative research, a proposition which fits with grounded theory's requirement for clear analytical process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This study takes a number of measures to evidence this and so support its claim to validity through quality of craftsmanship. These include theoretical memo's kept throughout the research process, and in reflections on interview process provided in the final case studies. Further details will be given later in the chapter.

iv) Summary of method of validation

To conclude, the study presented here adopts quality of craftsmanship (Kvale, 1996) as its primary source of validation. The craftsmanship will be evaluated using Corbin and Strauss (2008) criteria of 'credibility' and 'applicability'. These criteria incorporate those proffered for the evaluation of narrative research by Lieblich *et al.* (1998). Thus this study aims to generate findings that are comprehensively and clearly

evidenced, coherent, insightful and original, as well as parsimonious. This criteria should also help indicate that the studies' findings are trustworthy, believable, and presented in an innovative and understandable manner that reflects the experience of the phenomenon (for reader, researcher, and participant) while simultaneously acknowledging that the explanation proffered is but one of many plausible interpretations of the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). To ensure it is able to meet these criteria for validation, this study accepts the requirement that I, as the researcher, make my decisions and analytical processes explicit throughout. It also accepts that there should be clear evidence of a constant and ongoing process of checking and questioning the findings (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Kvale, 1996; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998).

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research can be described as ‘descriptive-dialogic’ (Edwards, 1993) in that it aims to describe the data in terms of a theory, and test the degree to which that theory could describe the phenomenon being observed. In this case, the theory is narrative theory, and the phenomenon is serial murder.

The descriptive aspect of this approach, being more exploratory in orientation, is suited to the study of serial murder in South Africa. Descriptive approaches such as grounded theory can be particularly useful due to their seeking to explain the world view of the research participant from their perspective (Del Fabbro, 2006). This approach is suited to the South African context given the lack of research into the potentially distinctive features of South African serial murderers and their behaviours (Hodgskiss, 2004).

The dialogic aspect of this approach is appropriate because the research method suits the phenomenon being investigated (Bickman & Rog, 1997). Here, this means that narrative psychology is well suited to researching serial murder in a way that is applicable to offender profiling. This is because all three (narrative psychology, serial murder and offender profiling) share central concerns. As described in Chapters 2 and 3, all emphasise the active and ongoing creation and expression of meaning and the importance of environmental and interpersonal influences. Serial murder and narrative psychology also share an interest in temporal factors. An emphasis on the active creation of meaning also makes qualitative research methods particularly appropriate. Given that research into those who commit serial murder is usually obliged to use small samples, qualitative research becomes even more appropriate.

4.4 SAMPLING

The sample for this study was drawn from a previous study which undertook a quantitative analysis of South African serial murderers' offence behaviours (Hodgskiss, 2001). The current study is markedly different from, and does not rely on, the results of this previous study.

The current study made use of a non-random purposive sample, drawn from the population of individuals who have committed serial murder and who are incarcerated in prisons in South Africa. The small sample of offenders used in this study was selected on the basis of availability, the sampling strategy is thus a non-probability, or non-random, strategy. Such non-random samples are limited in respect of how representative they can be said to be of a particular population (Trochim, 2002). However given that validity has been established as the primary means to evaluate the study; that in qualitative research generalisability is defined as making reasoned judgements based on the soundness of the researcher's analyses (Kennedy, 1979; Stake, 1994), and as the sample population is limited, non-random sampling is suitable for this study.

Of the two types of non-random sampling, accidental and purposive, this study made use of purposive sampling. This sampling strategy is ideal when the proportionality of the sample is not of concern and when a certain predefined group is sought. The current study meets both of these criteria, being concerned with qualitative analysis and focused on the predefined group of those who committed serial murder. Patton (1990) would further classify the purposive sampling strategy used in this study as being criterion based, given that the cases were selected on the basis of their meeting some criteria. These criteria are given below.

4.4.1 Criteria for selection

The definition of serial murder used in the study is the first criterion for selecting participants. In this study serial murder is defined as two or more separate acts of murder occurring at different times, in separate events and committed by an individual

acting alone or with another (Egger, 1990; Geberth, 1996; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005)

The second criterion is that the participants be male. This criterion was used due to the overwhelming prevalence of male serial murderers in South Africa (Hodgskiss, 2004). The masculine form is therefore used when referring to the participants.

The third criterion is that the participants had to be convicted and sentenced offenders. Awaiting trial offenders or those appealing their sentences were not included since they may be motivated to avoid discussing their criminal behaviour. Similarly, no offenders who had been found unfit to stand trial were included in the sample. Thus no psychotic offenders were included.

The fourth criterion is that the participants could speak English or Afrikaans, since this allowed the interviews to be conducted without using an interpreter. It was deemed that working via an interpreter would inhibit the interview process excessively, limit the fullness and richness of the responses given, and possibly discourage the participants from giving full and frank responses to the interview questions.

The fifth criterion adopted was that participants' interview response had to be complete and detailed. 'Detailed' refers to the complexity and richness of the interview material, and is congruent with this study's qualitative orientation and the tacit criteria for selecting participants in life story research: select those participants who are a 'good find' and who can supply an interesting and valuable narrative (Plummer, 1996). 'Complete' refers to the offender discussing some or all of their offences and offending behaviours. This is essential given the focus of the study. This requirement does not mean that an offender was required to disclose *all* aspects of the offences he was convicted of to be selected. Where an offender denied all knowledge of or responsibility for their offences, they were excluded from the sample. While this fifth criterion may have created a bias in favour of talkative participants, it complemented the aims of this study. Of the 13 participant interviews originally collected for Hodgskiss (2001), six were deemed suitable for the present study. Of

these two were randomly selected for use in this study. The below table (Table 5) gives the characteristics of the sample used for this study.

Table 5: *Characteristics of the research sample*

	Simon Mandlenkosi*	Jacques Eksteen*
Race	Black	White
First Language	Xhosa	Afrikaans
Number of Victims**	3	5
Race of Victims	Black	White, Black
Gender of Victims	Female	Female
Age at time of first murder	29	22
Age at time of last murder	29	25
Age at time of interview	31	33
Language interview was conducted in	English	Afrikaans

* The names here are the pseudonyms assigned to the participants in the study.

**Refers to murders for which the participants were convicted only.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION

The data collection focused on three sources, namely:

1. clinical observations of the participants(s);
2. semi-structured interviews with the participants;
3. archival records in the form of:
 - police case files for the individuals involved
 - informal interview with the Senior Investigating Officer (SIO)
 - documents from legal proceedings
 - media reports of their offences

There was a single difference between the case studies in terms of the data used. This is shown in Table 6. While the semi-structured interviews represent the narrative of the participant the clinical observations and archival records can be conceptualised as

‘narratives of others’ which may have an impact on the findings. How this was dealt with, and the three sources of data, will now be discussed in more detail.

Table 6: *Data sources used for each case study*

	Simon Mandlenkosi	Jacques Eksteen
Clinical observations	✓	✓
Semi-structured interviews	✓	✓
Archival records:		
police case files	✓	✓
informal interview Senior Investigating Officer (SIO)		✓
documents from legal proceedings	✓	✓
media reports of their offences	✓	✓

4.5.1 Clinical observations

Clinical observation refers to learning more about an individual’s behaviour, mental health, or psychological functioning through direct observation (Sadock & Sadock, 2003). Aspects focused on in these observations can include appearance, body size, hygiene, eye contact, speech, mood, ability to interact with others, memory and repetitive behaviours (such as tics) (Del Fabbro, 2006).

In this study, clinical observations occurred in the context of the semi-structured interviews. These observations thus provide information regarding the behaviour of the participants during the interview and their interaction with their surroundings, which includes aspects such as tone of voice, posture, body language, and use of affect. This information was used as an additional data source to inform the analysis. These observations can be conceptualised as part of the researcher’s narrative of the interview process, impacting on and informing the analysis of the participant’s narrative. This will be discussed further in sections 4.5.2, 4.7 and 4.8.

4.5.2 Semi-structured interviews

The main data source is semi-structured focused interviews. Given the descriptive-dialogical orientation of this qualitative research, the semi-structured interview method used here was required to tread a middle line between the minimal structure of the narrative interview and the strict structure of the IMAGO format. Semi-structured interviewing gives greater access into the psychological and social world of the respondent (Smith, 1995). I, having had previous experience in interviewing offenders using the IMAGO as a guide to a semi-structured interview, found that this approach allows for better rapport.

The IMAGO Autobiographical Questionnaire was used as an interview guide (see Appendix F). The IMAGO was created by the Criminological and Psychological Services in Austria for use in interviewing apprehended homicide offenders (M. Pistorius, personal communication, 2000). To avoid confusion with the narrative concept of imago, and the various methods used to analyse it, when the IMAGO Autobiographical Questionnaire is being referred to, the word 'imago' will be written in capital letters. While in its original form the IMAGO is a form of highly structured clinical history-taking spanning the offender's life from childhood to incarceration, in these interviews it was only used to encourage adequate coverage of the significant episodes in the participant's criminal career. The IMAGO structure was therefore subordinate to the construction of the participant's autobiographical narrative.

Typically narrative research interviews only use a few set questions, with the content of the narrative being decided by the participant (Lieblich *et al.* 1998). The semi-structured interview format used in this study has more questions than required by conventional narrative interviews (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Wengraf, 2001). Given that the aim of the interview was to elicit information about the participants' offences, it was necessary for the sake of clarity that direct questions be asked. Since the interviews aimed to elicit information on specific events, they could be termed 'focused interviews' (Mishler, 1986). This focus on specific events is consistent with the aims of this study. The cultural and linguistic differences between the researcher (being South African English-speaking) and the participants in this study also made it necessary for me to ask further interpretative, clarification and potentially leading,

questions. The possible implications of such a focused, semi-structured style will be discussed in later chapters.

Although the semi-structured interview process used is consistent with a narrative approach, the interviews were not carried out with narrative analysis in mind. I did however encourage the construction of the interviewees' narratives with statements such as "I would like to hear your story" and by seeking to clarify the interviews' temporal structure. Thus the administration of the interviews was congruent with a narrative approach. Despite this, not conducting the interviews from a narrative perspective may have meant that opportunities for encouraging the creation of narratives in the interview process were missed (Wengraf, 2001). Conversely by not expressly stating the research aims to the participant there is less risk of introducing prejudice into the research by signalling what the researcher wants or expects to hear (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). This is particularly relevant with the current participants as their situation (being imprisoned, and being interviewed) could have possibly made them feel vulnerable and 'at the mercy' of the researcher, which could in turn have lead to them being anxious to please me and so introduce bias into the data. The procedure and interview process will be described in more detail in Section 4.6.

4.5.3 Archival and other sources

Archival records generically refer to the ongoing and continuous records of society (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Examples of archival records include records of births, deaths and marriages; political and industrial records; governmental records (such as crime reports); judicial records; as well as the types of mass media. This archival data used in this study falls into the last three records, consisting of the police case files for the individuals interviewed (supplemented by, in one case, an informal interview with the Senior Investigating Officer), documents from legal proceedings, and media reports of their offences.

The researcher viewed the police case file for each participant. Permission to view these case files was given by the Head of the Investigative Psychology Unit of SAPS (see Appendix G). I then compiled notes of the content of these case files, particularly previous convictions, details of the crime scene, offence behaviours and victim

characteristics. These case files typically also contained crime scene photographs and the results of the victims' autopsy. In the case of Jacques Eksteen, I was able to discuss the participant with the Senior Investigating Officer (SIO) who investigated the participant's offences. This informal interview aimed to gather more information on the circumstances of the offences, and on how the participant may present in interview. Documents from legal proceedings usually consisted of the State prosecutor's summary of charges against the participant at their trial, or the judge's summary of the case.

Media reports of the participants were a further source of useful summaries of their offences. The media used were newspaper reports, internet articles, and books about the participants written for the mass media audience (e.g. Micki Pistorius' *Strangers on the Street*, 2002). However given that the source and veracity of these media are not always clear they were used with caution, and only if not contradicted by police or other data.

Using multiple sources of data in this study would, it is hoped, create a more rich and complex interpretation of the topic being studied (Patton, 1990). Using multiple sources would also support the post-modern approach to validation taken by this study, which places emphasis on obtaining deep and detailed descriptions of the phenomenon being studied, and making the process by which conclusions are reached explicit (Kvale, 1996).

As stated, archival sources and clinical observations represent 'narratives of others'. These narratives may not be entirely consistent with the narrative presented by the participant. These 'narratives of others' were not given precedence over or allowed to overwhelm those of the participant, instead being used as points for comparison with omissions or discrepancies between the various narratives adding a further layer to the analysis. This is consistent with a post-modern approach (Richardson, 1994) where it is not essential that the various data sources used correlate precisely. The role played by these narratives of others in the collection, analysis and presentation of the data will be described in more detail in subsequent sections.

4.6 PROCEDURE

The procedure followed by this research study consisted of a number of steps. These steps are arranged chronologically

- Obtain permission from the Department of Correctional Services;
- identify possible participants and where they are being held;
- review case files and archival data;
- interview SIO (in one case);
- approach prospective participants for permission;
- interview participants who have committed serial murder;
- review literature;
- obtain further archival records, legal documents and media reports;
- choose research design appropriate for data held and phenomenon being studied;
- transcribe and analyse interviews in light of narrative theory;
- compile case studies.

The process used to analyse the interviews and compile the case studies will be discussed in Section 4.8.

4.6.1 Administration

I carried out all the interviews and am fluent in English and Afrikaans. The administration of the IMAGO in a semi-structured format was informed by the case files and archival data reviewed before the interview (this data was then again used in the compilation of the case studies). The additional data informed my responses in interview. This technique fulfils a dual purpose. Firstly, to demonstrate the researcher's knowledge of, interest in, and non-judgemental attitude towards, the participants' offences. This has been found useful in previous interview studies of violent offenders, including those convicted of serial murder, to establish rapport and deepen the interview enquiry (Athens, 1997; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993). Secondly, to allow the researcher to make an assessment of the factual accuracy of the participants' accounts (Athens, 1997). This is useful because, as Athens points out,

It is much more difficult than it may seem to falsify in a detailed and consistent manner the so-called subjective side of a situation, that is, one's perceptions and evaluations, while at the same time not falsifying any of its material, or objective, details (p.61)

Therefore these additional data sources were used to inform the interview and to help assess the validity of the interviews. Interview accounts consistently at odds with the material facts of the offence would not have been useful to this study. As discussed, interview accounts that bore no relation to the case material were excluded from this sample.

There was a risk that my prior knowledge of the participants may have created biases within the interview material, a bias exacerbated by my desire to discuss the offences and offence behaviours. This may have lead to the narratives discussed in the interview being merely a function of the interview context, rather than an accurate reflection of those held by the participant. This risk is partly ameliorated by the semi-structured interview format, but will be taken into account in the transcription and analysis of the interviews, as well as in the discussion.

The participant was allowed to guide the avenue of enquiry taken, with me remaining sensitive to their responses and adapting my approach accordingly. This allowed elements excluded from the IMAGO format to be discussed, while avoiding those IMAGO items that take a prescriptive stance (some IMAGO items have clear psychodynamic assumptions). This flexibility also allowed me to take the cultural differences between myself and the participant, and the sensitivity of the topics being discussed in the interview, into account. It was also sometimes necessary to divert from the IMAGO format in order to ask more leading and explanatory questions, or clarify developing interpretations, both of which were needed in order to ensure adequate coverage of the topics being discussed.

The interviews used in this study lasted between four and eight hours each, and were recorded on audio tape. The length of the interview was dictated by the amount of

time necessary to establish rapport and reach saturation with regard to the questions posed in the IMAGO format. In one case, the interview took place over two consecutive days. An effort was made to spend as much time as possible with the participant, to take the suspicion of others resulting from incarceration into account, and to allow for the building of better rapport (L. Bergh, personal communication, 2000). The participants were not interviewed on same day. This was done to minimise the possibility of the interviewer transferring issues from one participant to another.

After each interview I compiled brief field notes recording how the participant presented himself in interview, clinical observations, and if the interview was the first of two, highlighting aspects that needed to be brought up or touched on in next interview session. Post-interview note taking avoids losing impressions and useful information; useful when transcribing and analysing the interviews and when compiling the case studies (Wengraf, 2001). In this study these notes were particularly helpful given the time delay between when the interviews took place and when they were transcribed and analysed. After each interview was concluded, the interview audio tapes, consent forms, and field notes were kept together. This further prevented confusion between participants.

There are inevitable imbalances of power in the interview context, and these need to be acknowledged and mitigated in qualitative interview research (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Kvale, 1996). The imbalances most relevant in the interviews presented here pertain to the participants being imprisoned, and so my having perceived power over them. This was mitigated by my clear explanation of the interview consent form and my ethical obligations, alongside clear communication that participation in the research would not affect prison privileges. Additionally, the efforts I made to express my understanding of the participants' situations and maintain a non-judgemental attitude during interviews may also have helped to ease the effects of this particular power imbalance.

There are other issues within the interview context that may have affected the narratives expressed. These include, but are not limited to, issues such as:

- How did the researcher's characteristics (demographic, personality or other) affect the participants' responses?

- How did the interviewing style, the environment the interview was conducted in, or the interview method chosen, affect the narratives produced in that interview?
- In what ways did each researcher's characteristics affect the participants' reactions and perceptions?

These issues will be discussed during the analysis of each case study, and in the discussion section.

4.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Once the data was collected using the various methods outlined above, the analysis of the data in this study occurs in two ways:

- A case study method and.
- A grounded theory method.

These two processes are not mutually exclusive, and occurred simultaneously.

4.7.1 Discussion of case study method

I selected a case study methodology to obtain a descriptive, in-depth, account of the narrative given by the participant. Given that the literature into serial murder suggests that concepts used in narrative psychology may encourage a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, a descriptive-dialogic case study (Edwards, 1993) was deemed most appropriate. This type of case study aims to describe the data in terms of a theory, and test the degree to which that theory (in this case the narrative concept of imago) can describe the phenomenon being observed. This study is qualitative, does not aim to make causal attributions about serial murder or act as a critical test of a previous theory, and so quasi-experimental design and control groups are not necessary (Edwards, 1993; Nachmias & Nachmias, 1981).

This study also adopts the basic features of narrative research in the social sciences, being the qualitative analysis of a small interview sample, emphasising rich data and the process of data interpretation (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). The case study approach is thus amendable to the epistemology, theory, and grounded theory analytical method of the study.

4.7.1.1 Defining a case study

Yin (1994) has two main criteria for defining a case study. A case study must be (a) an empirical enquiry into a contemporary phenomenon in its “real-life” (p.13) context; and (b) the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clear. The investigation of serial murder in South Africa meets both these criteria. Serial murder is an issue of contemporary concern in South Africa, increasing markedly over the past two decades, with an incidence that is still amongst the highest in the world (Hodgskiss, 2004; Pistorius, 1996). In a similar vein the increased incidence of serial murder during a period of increased political instability and violence in South Africa (Hodgskiss, 2004); and the linkages made in the literature between serial murder and the wider familial, social and cultural context (Del Fabbro, 2006); it would appear to suggest that both of Yin’s criteria are met. It would thus appear that a case study methodology is appropriate for the topic and aims of this study.

4.7.1.2 Defining the unit of analysis

It is further necessary to define what constitutes a case and what the time boundaries of the case are, in order to clearly separate what is inside a case from what is outside (Yin, 1994). In this study, a case refers to an individual who has committed serial murder and who meets the sampling criteria. The time boundaries of the cases are defined in two ways: (a) according to the period of the time covered in the narrative presented by the participants; and (b) according to the time I took to engage with them to access their narratives. In the cases presented, (a) stretched from their earliest memories up until they were interviewed in 2000. The aims of the study mean there was less emphasis on their narratives after their incarceration. In turn, (b) was defined according to the length of the semi-structured interview. Each case study was analysed separately. While comparative analysis between case studies is beyond the remit of this study, comparisons between the cases will be made in Chapter 6 when discussing the results.

4.7.2 Grounded theory

This study used a grounded theory method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to analyse the data collected. As discussed, Lieblich *et al.* (1998) found that there is no single ‘narrative’ methodology for analysing data, with narrative psychology rather providing a theoretical orientation. Conversely, grounded theory has been conceptualised as a set of methodologies for analysing data, concerned more with building theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). A grounded theory approach has been used previously to investigate serial murder in South Africa (Du Plessis, 1998).

Grounded theory advocates a circular process of analysis when dealing with qualitative data such as interview narratives. In this analytical process, hypotheses are generated whilst analysing the narratives, and then tested in further reading. This circular process of hypothesis generation and testing continues throughout the analytical process. Grounded theory is an interactive approach, involving the interplay between interview data, field studies, analysis and conceptualisation; and not a linear set of steps (Kvale, 1996). The data is thus continuously coded and recoded as the researcher’s insight increases during the analysis, and as they work towards a theoretical interpretation of what was seen or heard (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The dynamic, personal and ongoing process of interpretation advocated by grounded theory is shared by narrative research (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). Therefore in this study the analytical process advocated by grounded theory was used to empirically test the applicability of the narrative concept of imago. The following section will describe how this analytical process was implemented.

4.7.3 The analytical process

This section gives details of the process followed to compile the descriptive-dialogic case studies. The analyses aim to undertake the narrative enquiry by:

1. Analysing the content of participants' imagoes in more detail.
2. Analysing the interactions and relationships between the various imagoes held by the participants.
3. Analysing how the characteristics and interactions of the imagoes develop throughout the narrative. This analysis will include how the characteristic imago content, and their stated motives, may change in the course of the participants' criminal careers.
4. Analysing how the characteristics of, and the relationships between, imagoes correlate with characteristics of offence behaviours.

The analytical process runs from the transcription of the interview tapes to the drawing together of the various sources in case study form. This process entails the weaving together of the narrative of self presented by the participant's interview with the 'narratives of other' presented in the archival material and the researcher's observations of the participant and the interview process. How this is done will be discussed later. Although grounded theory eschews the use of strict stages in research, the analytical process has been divided into sections for the sake of clarity. These sections are: defining the imago, transcription, ordering and evaluating, and compiling the case study.

Each section will include a discussion of the various measures implemented to ensure that the circular process of hypothesis testing was supported, interpretations were recorded and tested, and the overall meaning (*Gestalt*) of the interview was not lost. These measures include the use of, in each case, a transcription matrix, imago identification forms; and an overall theoretical memo. These research tools will be defined when their use is described. These tools also allow the study to take into account narrative research's requirement that I consider the impact of my own perspectives on the interview process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Kvale, 1996).

4.7.3.1 Defining the imago

Before the analytical process can commence, the theoretical concept being used to describe the data needs to be clearly defined. The definition used for the imago is given in Chapter 3, and imagoes in the interview data had to meet this criterion in order to be acknowledged as imagoes. To support this, this study drew on McAdams' (1988) proposed seven features for identifying an ideal or prototypical imago in interview data. These are:

1. *An origin myth.* The person should describe the biographical events or series of events which gave birth to the imago, functioning as a biographical explanation for the genesis of a particular self-image.
2. *A significant other.* The imago should be incarnate in at least one other significant person in the individual's life.
3. *Associated personality traits.* The imago should be characterised by a set of personality traits which it exemplifies.
4. *Associated wishes, aspirations, goals, occupational or personal strivings.* The imago should be reflected in what the person would like to accomplish during his or her life; who the person would like to become.
5. *Associated behaviours.* The imago should be reflected in numerous incidents in which the person behaves in a way that is commensurate with the imago.
6. *Philosophy of life.* The imago should be consistent with some part of the person's expressed philosophy of life.
7. *An anti imago.* The imago should be diametrically connected to an opposite image of the self.

In order to separate the less relevant characters in the participants' narratives from imagoes, and drawing on McAdam's (1988) findings, this study required that a character display at least two of the above characteristics. In addition, I required that a character be mentioned on at least five occasions in the narrative in order for it to be defined as an imago. This study accepted that an imago's characteristics, motivations, and associated behaviours may change as the narrative progresses, and that an imago may only be noted in a certain part of the narrative. This was required given the study's focus on the development. Given this possibility of change an imago's name was changed during the analytical process when its existing name no longer

accurately reflected the mode of interpersonal transaction it embodied. The above points were incorporated into the imago identification forms compiled during the interview analysis, and acted as an *aide memoire* for identifying features associated with the imago.

This study does not adopt McAdams' (1988, 1993) proposed taxonomy for naming imagoes for four reasons. Firstly, he was not studying criminal behaviour and thus emphasised mainly positive imagoes. By contrast this study aims to analyse negative and maladaptive imagoes. Secondly, his use of Greek mythological characters to name imagoes risks being incongruent in the African context, and so potentially clashes with narrative psychology's phenomenological orientation (Crossley, 2000). Thirdly, his taxonomy does not consider the possibility that imagoes may change as the narrative progresses or may only be noted in certain parts of the narrative. Finally, his taxonomy was developed to facilitate comparison across his research samples. This study does not intend to make similar comparisons. Rather, in naming imagoes this study seeks to describe them in a way that reflects the mode of interpersonal interaction they represent. The names of the imagoes thus need to describe the emotional character of the interaction, the role the imago plays, and the person it is associated with in the narrative. The emotional character was expressed as an adjective (e.g. Vengeful, Adventurous). The role the imago plays was expressed as simply as possible, with emphasis given to the role in relation to others (e.g. Suitor, Thief). Finally, the person with whom it is associated in the narrative was reflected in the gender assigned to the imago.

4.7.3.2 Transcription

This stage involved filling out the transcription matrix. Wengraf (2001) proposes the use of a transcription matrix to facilitate interview transcription and analysis. This research adapts the format he proposed to better suit transcription from audio tapes (see Appendix C for a blank template of the transcription matrix used). The transcription matrices used in this study were spreadsheets divided into columns. The first four columns refer to the interview audio tape number and the counter on the tape recorder. The text of the interview is transcribed in the 'Content' column. The 'Associations' column records the tone of the participant's or interviewer's speech, or

the emotional tone in that section of interview. The ‘Category’ column records whether that excerpt falls into any identifiable category drawn from the interview (examples include ‘participants significant others’ or ‘discussion of offence’). The column ‘Notes Ideas’ is included to record the developing theoretical insights that occur during the process of transcription and comments on the interview process. The final column, ‘Imago sheet’ was used to record when an interview excerpt may be relevant to a certain imago identification form or the theoretical memo. In this study, a transcription matrix makes the process of data analysis more clear and consistent, records my impression of the interview process, and tracks my developing understandings. The notes in the transcription matrix also proved valuable when compiling the imago identification forms and theoretical memo.

The transcription matrix was completed as the researcher listened to the audio tapes of the interview. The sections of the interview relating to the participants’ significant others; interpersonal relationships; victims and offending behaviours were recorded verbatim in the transcription matrix. These are the sections most likely to be relevant in light of this study’s aims. The remainder of the interview was recorded in the transcription matrix in summarised form. This method ensured that no interview data was excluded from the transcription matrix. The verbatim transcriptions had the following characteristics:

- Alongside the words used, the transcriptions noted the exclamations, hesitations, repetitions, difficulties in expression, and changes in tone and volume that enhanced the meaning of the interview.
- On some occasions it was also necessary to clarify the meaning of a word or exclamation in context. In the transcriptions these notes are given in square brackets.
- Where a passage was inaudible it was excluded and a note made in the transcript.

The contents of the transcription matrix (both verbatim and summarised data) were revisited when compiling the case study and, if needed, more detailed transcriptions were completed. The presentation of the transcriptions used in this study will be discussed in section 4.9.

a) Drafts of imago identification forms and theoretical memo

Initial drafts of the imago identification forms were completed during transcription, drawing on interview content and the notes made in the transcription matrix. McAdams (1988) used an “imago description sheet” (p.191, 303) in his research to facilitate the identification of imagoes within the interview data and to provide a format for organising the evidence supporting a particular imago interpretation. This study makes use of these sheets, incorporating features of the prototypical imago to act as an *aide memoire* for identifying features associated with the imago, as proposed by McAdams (1988). See Appendix D for a blank template of the imago identification form used in this study. These draft forms were constantly updated as my understanding of the imago developed in the course of the transcription. All notes made in the imago identification forms were referenced to the source in the interview material.

The theoretical memo was also started during transcription. A single overall theoretical memo was kept for each interview transcription / case study. Wengraf (2001) defines theoretical memos as notes of the interpretations, impressions, and insights that occur during the process of transcription. Whereas imago identification forms are only concerned with a single imago, this study uses theoretical memos to record aspects of the interview as a whole. The aspects considered in each memo are:

1. Narrative tone, imagery and themes.
2. Developing ideas and understandings.
3. The imagoes being recorded and how they developed; including their changing characteristics, motives, and relationships between them. This includes how they relate to significant people and behaviours.
4. How the participant reacted to others, the interviewer, and expressed themselves.
5. Process notes on the interview itself.

See Appendix E for a blank template of the theoretical memo used in this study. In this study these memos were used to record the above issues as they arise, as well as helping remind me to pay attention to them. The information captured in the ‘Associations’ and ‘Notes Ideas’ columns of the transcription matrix assisted in populating the theoretical memos. This memo drew on the contents of the imago

identification forms, the interview, and the notes made in the transcription matrix. These memos not only served as a record of supporting evidence (McAdams, 1988) but could also highlight weaknesses in the methodology followed by the researcher (Wengraf, 2000).

4.7.3.3 Ordering and evaluating

In this stage the interview data is ordered to deepen understanding and further develop my interpretations of the imagos. This stage allows for a better consideration of the structure of the interview, and helps draw out the underlying patterns and meanings that may not be apparent when proceeding directly to analysing the verbatim transcripts of the interview. It also helps address discrepancies between the guiding narrative metaphor and the administration of the original interview (including the limitations of the IMAGO questionnaire and possible biases its use may have introduced). This stage involved the creation of a chronology, and finalising the contents of the imago identification forms.

These steps required that I revisit the interview transcriptions to confirm or amend the interim analyses. This is consistent with the circular analytical process proposed in grounded theory, and consistent with narrative psychology (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lieblich *et al*, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

a) Creating a chronology

A chronology was created whereby the key events discussed in the interview were arranged in point form from the earliest to the most recent. That is, from the participants' earliest memories up until their offences and incarceration. This was necessary given the narrative inquiry's developmental focus. The chronology referenced the relevant parts of the transcription matrix, and of the interview. Use of the 'Category' column on the transcription matrix supported the process of compiling a chronology of events. This chronology helped clarify the patterns, structure, and changes in the participants' narrative. It also helped suggest causal relationships that the participant may not have been willing to discuss overtly. This chronology also assisted when it came to writing up the final case study.

b) Finalising the contents of the imago identification forms.

The process of ordering and re-visiting the contents of the interview allowed for the completion of the imago identification forms. This study did not require that all the suggested fields in these forms be completed. Rather, it attempted to capture as much data as was available on each imago to facilitate the presentation of the imago in the narrative of the case study. The names given to each imago; and their relationships to the other imagoes present in the participant's narrative; were not finalised at this stage.

4.7.3.4 Compiling the case study

This study followed Lieblich *et al.*'s (1998) and Plummer's (1996) recommendation to present narrative psychological studies in chronological form. Compiling the case study was the last step in the analytical process. The names given to each imago; and their relationships to the other imagoes present in the participant's narrative; were finalised at this stage.

In final form, each case study consists of a prologue, the participant's story, and an epilogue. The structure and presentation of the case study, what each part of the case study consists of, and what each part addresses; will be discussed further in Section 4.8. Here this will be only briefly mentioned, with the focus of discussion being the function of the various parts of the case study in the analytical process, and the sources they draw on. In this process the narrative of the participant was analysed on its own and alongside the 'narratives of other' mentioned earlier (archival material and the researcher's observations). As discussed, these narratives of others were used to enrich our narrative inquiry and our understanding of the participant's narrative, and did not take precedence over it.

a) Creating the prologue

The prologue was compiled from the transcribed notes of the interview process recorded in the transcription matrix, and the comments captured in the theoretical memo. The prologue helped me take the interview process into account when drafting the participant's story. The prologue was confirmed, and in some cases amended, by referring to the contemporaneous process notes made during the interview (in 2000). These notes were not used earlier in the analytical process because I sought to avoid unintentionally confirming any biases or misconceptions I may have had immediately following the original interview. Rather they are used to confirm and contrast the conclusions drawn during transcription and drafting the case study. This further adds to the analysis and helps ensure my observations of the interview process and interpretations are valid. These notes also helped paint a more detailed picture of the participant, and how he presented in the interview. This adds to the richness and descriptiveness of the case study, and so the narrative. The prologue represents my narrative of the interview process and presentation of the participant; so adding to our understanding of the participant's narratives.

b) Creating the story

The participant's story drew primarily on the narrative they gave in the semi-structured interview. The chronology created in the previous stage was elaborated using the interview content to create a rich and detailed chronological presentation of the participant's narrative. The use of categories in the transcription matrix allowed relevant segments of the interview to be quickly re-visited and compared if necessary. The contents of the imago identification forms and the theoretical memo were drawn on to assist in this process. By re-visiting the earlier stages of the analysis, the recommended circular analytical process proposed by grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Kvale, 1996) was maintained.

The imagoes were given their names, and the relationships between imagoes were clarified, in the process of compiling the story. While the contents of the imago identification forms had already been finalised, the theoretical memo was added to

and amended as interpretation continued in the process of drafting the case study. This ensured that analysis continued.

As this stage the ‘narrative of other’ represented by the archival data was incorporated with the participant’s narrative of self expressed in the interview material. The archival data used is given in section 4.5.3. The above data, particularly crime scene data, was woven into the narrative. This comparison between the narratives presented in the interview and non-interview data, in the process of telling the story, is the means by which the case studies test the extent to which the concept of imago is useful in explaining crime scene behaviour. That is the imagoes presented in the participant’s narrative of self were compared with the non-interview material’s narrative of crime scene behaviours. The narrative inquiry is thus answered in the process of creating the participant’s story.

As mentioned, it was not essential that the imagoes presented in the participant’s narrative correlate precisely with the descriptions of crime scene behaviours recorded in the archival data’s narrative. This study’s theoretical orientation requires it not make a judgement over which account is ‘true’. This study considers the two accounts as equally valid, and analyses the relationships and discrepancies between them accordingly. This allows for a more nuanced and complete answer to the narrative inquiries. In light of the range of possible investigative applications of offender profiling (Copson, 1995; Labuschagne, 2003), a partial match between narratives of the imago-content and crime scene behaviour can still yield useful observations, with divergence between imago-content and crime scene behaviour potentially having investigative and theoretical importance.

c) Creating the epilogue

The epilogue presented the conclusions of the case study, reflections on the process, and summarised the answers it gave to the narrative inquiries. The epilogue drew strongly on the theoretical memo. Apart from clarifying the findings, the epilogue helped ensure the *Gestalt* of the interview was not lost. The epilogue will be discussed further below.

4.8 DATA PRESENTATION

This section describes how the interview transcriptions will be presented (in Appendix A), and how the imago analyses and case studies will be presented and discussed (in Chapter 5). In describing the latter this section will further demonstrate how the participants' narratives of self were woven together with the 'narratives of other' in the presentation of the case study.

4.8.1 Presentation of transcriptions

The transcriptions included in Appendix A present all the interview material that was used to construct the case study, identify the imagoes in the interview narrative, and support the imago interpretations made. These transcriptions are not necessarily presented in chronological order, rather presenting the narrative as it occurred in interview. This narrative is placed in a chronological order in Chapter 5.

The various notes I made in the transcription matrix were excluded from the transcriptions presented in Appendix A. They were rather presented as part of the case study, with inclusion in the Appendix thus being unnecessary repetition. How these transcriptions were referenced in the case studies is discussed in section 4.8.2.

When required, I translated the interviews from the original Afrikaans. When a word can be translated in multiple ways or when English does not convey the nuances present in Afrikaans, the Afrikaans word is given, italicised, in square brackets afterwards. My notes on the interviewee's tone, facial expression, gestures, or vocal volume, where relevant, are also given in square brackets in the text of the transcription.

All the interview material that was not used has been excluded from the transcripts. All interview material was used unless saturation on that topic had already been reached, or using it would mean excessive repetition of points already made. The complete interview tapes will be kept at the Department of Psychology at the University of Pretoria. All transcriptions have been made anonymous, with

individuals (i.e. the participants, their victims and any other people named in the narrative) given pseudonyms, and location names changed.

4.8.2 Presentation of case studies

This section describes how the descriptive dialogical case studies are presented in Chapter 5. Each of the three parts of the case study (prologue, participant's story, and epilogue) performs a different function in presenting the results of the analysis. In presenting the case studies the researcher refers to himself in the first person ("I"). This was done so as to acknowledge my role in creating the meaning in the interview, and in the case study. This supports the criteria proposed for evaluating this study (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Kvale, 1996; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). The case studies focus more on the content than on the form of the narratives; and while they primarily aim to analyse the category of imago, they do take the holistic aspects, the *Gestalt*, of the narrative into account (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998).

4.8.2.1 The prologue

A prologue is inserted at the start of the case study to give a brief overview of the process of the interview. It consists of three sections: clinical observation, responses in the interview process, and reflections on the interview process. Clinical observations (as defined in section 4.5.1) commented on how the participant presented in the interview. The 'responses in the interview process' section states how the participant habitually expressed himself, his characteristic modes of expression, and his tone. 'Reflections on the interview process' consisted of my comments on the interview. This includes whether the interview flowed or was interviewer-led; initial comments on the overall structure and tone of the narrative; and how the researcher responded to, and felt about, the participant. It closes with an initial assessment on the reliability and validity of the interview narrative, in light of the other sections of the prologue.

As mentioned, the prologue is my narrative of the interview process and the participants' presentation during it. The prologue serves three purposes: to 'set the scene' for the participant's story by giving background to the participant; to help the

reader of the case study understand the interview dynamics that underlie its production; and to make the reader aware of possible impacts I had on the creation of meaning in the case study. Accounting for the affect of the researcher on the creating of meanings is a fundamental requirement of both narrative psychology (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Kvale, 1996) and grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Presenting these factors in the prologue enables the reader, when reading the participant's narrative and the findings contained within it, to have a better understanding of the interview's *Gestalt*.

4.8.2.2 The participant's story

This is the narrative of the participant, presented chronologically, with the narratives contained in archival sources woven around their offence descriptions. This story covers the life span of the offender, from youth to incarceration. Telling the whole narrative of the offender, not just selected periods of life, ensures the overall sense of the story is not missed. This also supports the focus of the narrative inquiry on how the participants' imagoes developed. For the sake of brevity and clarity it was occasionally necessary to summarise what was said, or explain the meaning of a statement when it was not apparent from the interview transcript (e.g. when the meaning was implied, or given by the participant's tone of voice). This narrative was illustrated with quotes drawn from the transcription matrix. To support the aim of this study, direct quotations from the interview were given when discussing his relationship with others, his offences, or his motivation for offending. Where the interview was conducted in Afrikaans, the quotes were translated into English. Where an Afrikaans word had a double meaning that may not translate accurately, the original word is given after the translation in square brackets and italicised.

In line with recommendations from narrative and life story research, the participant's stories are arranged in chronological order with the content split into chapters denoted by a bold heading. The same chapter structure was used for each case study: 'Childhood'; 'Adolescence'; 'Adult life (Pre-murder series)'; their offences, each of which was given a separate chapter; and then 'Arrest and reflection'.

‘Childhood’ deals with the participant’s upbringing and schooling up until the last year of primary school (age approximately 12). ‘Adolescence’ deals with the narrative of their teenage years up until the last year of high school (age approximately 18), and ‘adult life (pre-murder series)’ covers their life from their leaving school up until the first murder they committed. Those chapters devoted to the murders were named according to how the participants referred to them (i.e. by victim name; or by number of offence). The victims themselves were referred to by the pseudonyms I gave them, first name and surname in the first instance, then first name only in subsequent mentions (unless both name and surname would aid understanding). Although using their names does not always reflect how the participants referred to them, it avoids confusion between victims and aids understanding. The final chapter, ‘arrest and reflection’ covers their narrative after their arrest.

The use of common chapter names for both case studies facilitated the construction of a clear chronology and comparison between the cases. The use of common chapter names also allowed for a separation to be made between the development of the participant’s imagoes up to the first murder, and imago development after that. This separation allows the applicability of these findings to offender profiling to be tested more easily. The possible implications of using common chapter names, especially as it is not consistent with the phenomenological orientation of narrative psychology, will be discussed in the final chapter.

Each chapter ended with an ‘imago analysis’ section. These explain how the imago(s) developed in that stage and interpret the episode in terms of the overall narrative. This includes a discussion of how the imago evolved, how it stayed the same, and what characterised this evolution. It also states what motivated and facilitated this evolution and what the limits of the imago’s influence on the participants’ narrative and behaviour are. Where relevant, comments on the interactions between imagoes, the narrative features which form the background to the imago, and some links to the narrative inquiries will be given. Subheadings are inserted in these sections to highlight the key developments in the imagoes and the interactions between them.

The imago analysis sections will also help in understanding how the participant’s imagoes developed before they committed their first murder, and how they developed

after that. This will allow for a nuanced response to the narrative inquires. It will also help answer whether the imago is a facilitator or motive of serial murder; and whether imagoes are motives for the offences, post-offence justifications, or a combination of both. These issues are fundamental in the narrative study of crime.

Unlike the rest of the story, which is based directly on the narratives presented by the participant and archival material, the imago analysis sections are my interpretation of that chapter. These analyses may highlight patterns and correlations in the participant's narrative that the participant himself may not have called attention to. For example, it may become apparent that the participant consistently avoids discussing his emotional state in his narrative; and his refusal to acknowledge emotional states may subsequently have a clear bearing on his offending. I will call attention to this pattern in the narrative, despite the fact that the participant himself may not be aware of it, or may not acknowledge it. While this approach is at variance with the phenomenological orientation of narrative psychology it was adopted to allow more insight into the participant's offending, and was necessary to meet the needs of the narrative enquiry.

To assist the reader's understanding of the imago analysis sections, reference will be made to which parts of the transcription presented in Appendix A provided were particularly drawn on in compiling that imago analysis section. This will be done using footnotes. The transcriptions have been divided into sequentially numbered segments to support this referencing. The length of these segments differ, being based on the length of my comments in the original transcription matrix. It should be noted that a single segment of interview material may contain reference to a number of different imagoes. This intertwining can make it difficult to separate various imagoes from one another (the implications of this will be discussed in the final Chapter). It should be remembered that the various imago analysis sections were not drawn up exclusively from the parts of the transcription highlighted in this way, as to do so would ignore grounded theory's requirement that one remain aware of whole meaning and the context, or *Gestalt*, of the text being analysed (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

4.8.2.3 The epilogue

The epilogue is provided after the story, at the end of each case study, summarising the structure of the story and the imago interpretations given. The epilogue then summarises the answers to the narrative inquiries each story gives. By reflecting on and summarising the narrative inquiries' assessments of the role played by imagoes in the motivation and development of serial murder, the epilogue ensures the inquiry's answers are clear and provides an assessment of the degree to which the concept of imago is useful to offender profiling, in this case study (although the latter is not a main aim of the study).

The epilogue also ensures that the *Gestalt* of the case study is clear to the reader, and not lost in the presentation of the narrative. In helping create this *Gestalt*, the epilogue also helps synthesise our understandings of the 'narratives of other' presented in the case study with our understanding of the participant's narrative of self. Finally, in presenting this *Gestalt* in the epilogue, I am again meeting narrative research's requirement that he take the impact of his own perspectives on the interview process is taken into account.

4.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Permission to conduct the interviews was obtained from the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), and the interviews were conducted in the East Cape and Gauteng provinces of South Africa. Each prospective participant was approached and informed of what the research interview entailed. They were also informed that participation in the research, and the results obtained, would not influence parole, prison privileges, or sentence length. The prospective participants' voluntary co-operation was sought and no inducements were offered. If a prospective participant refused to give his permission for an interview then no interview was conducted, and they were not included in the sample for this research.

Each participant was guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality. They were assured that their name, the victims' names, the names of family and friends, and location names would be changed in the case studies. These assurances were included in the

initial approach to the participants and in the pre-interview briefing. I changed any information which could serve to identify the participant, his relatives, or his victims during the transcription and analysis of the interviews. All persons were assigned pseudonyms, while place names and geographical locations were changed (for example, a town was given the name of another, similar sized, settlement). However given the demographic diversity of South Africa and the degree to which ethnicity in South Africa could affect a person's narrative (especially under apartheid), the population and ethnic group of the original participant was left unchanged. I kept a list of all changes made to the data to anonymise it, to ensure it was sufficiently and consistently altered.

The participants were also assured that they had the opportunity to ask questions or withdraw from the study at any time. Ethical concerns around the participants feeling exploited, suffering stress or trauma as a result of the interviews, or making legally compromising disclosures; were all addressed in the initial approach to the participants and in the pre-interview briefing. My ethical and legal obligations were also explained. This helped ensure that the interviewees did not have unrealistic expectations of the interview or make statements that could be harmful to them.

In relation to the possibility of the offender making legally compromising disclosures, it was expressly explained that should they admit to an offence for which they had not been convicted, I would be obliged to inform the Department of Correctional Services. The possibility of a participant being put in this position was minimised by the criteria used to select the sample. In relation to the participants feeling stressed or exploited, all participants were given the opportunity to ask questions or withdraw from the study at any time. Each interview ended with me offering the participant an opportunity to address any concerns that may have arisen during the interview.

Interview consent forms were supplied to the participants making all the above clear, and stated that the data could be used in future research studies. Both participants consented to this. Consent forms were supplied in both English and Afrikaans to ensure the participants understood the conditions of the interview. These conditions were also explained verbally to the participant, and the researcher checked that the participants fully understood the consent form before the interview began. The

interview consent forms were signed, along with an additional consent form agreeing to the audio tape recording of the interview (see Appendix B). Consent forms were signed, dated, and stored with the interview audio tapes. All audio tapes were labelled with the interviewee's name, date of interview, and the name of the prison where the interview was conducted. This avoided confusion between tapes or between interviews on different days with the same participants.

Permission to conduct this study is granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria, and the Department of Correctional Services, after carefully scrutinising the conditions and nature of the research. For full particulars on the ethical aspects of the research, refer to Appendix B.

4.10 CONCLUSION

This study investigates the role of the narrative concept of imago in the motivation and development of those who commit serial murder. This will assist in demonstrating the usefulness of the narrative concept of imago to offender profiling. This investigation takes the form of qualitative, dialogical-descriptive, case studies. The criteria for evaluating these case studies have been given, and will be again referred to when the limitations of the study are discussed in Chapter 7.

This study uses the methods of grounded theory approach to analyse the narratives presented in each case study. Each case study was analysed separately, which allowed for the imagoes and behavioural patterns for each participant to be fully explored. Given that the aim of the study was to gain a rich and detailed picture of the applicability of the concept of imago in each case, rather than obtain results that could be generalised to all South African serial murders, comparative analysis between case studies is beyond the remit of this study. Similarities and differences between the cases will however be discussed as part of Chapter 6. This should facilitate future research undertaking further explorations of the narrative patterns revealed by testing particular findings, adding more case studies, or undertaking formal analysis of the patterns between the case studies.

CHAPTER 5

IMAGO ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION OF CASE STUDIES

This chapter will present the information obtained for the two case studies, namely Simon Mandlenkosi and Jacques Eksteen. These will be presented in accordance with the format proposed for the narrative inquiry in Chapter 4. The prologue presents my clinical observations, observations of the participant's characteristic modes of expression, and comments on the interview process. The story presents the participant's semi-structured interview, alongside archival data in the discussion of his offences. The prologue represents the researcher's narrative of the interview process, while the story presents the participant's narrative alongside the 'narratives of others' contained in the archival material. Given this study's focus on the interviewee's narrative, the semi-structured interview data is considered the most psychologically important data.

As discussed in the previous chapter the interview data will be presented in chronological narrative form with imago analysis sections interspersed within it. Imago analysis sections were included to ensure that the rationale behind the analysis was made clear, as required by grounded theory. These sections also help ensure some separation between the presentation of the data and the analysis thereof. Neither narrative theory nor grounded theory insists on a strict separation between data presentation and analysis, rather emphasising that data presentation be considered part of the analytical process. Footnotes in the imago analysis sections will refer to which the parts of the transcriptions (see Appendix A) support the analyses being made. It should be remembered that a single segment of interview material may contain reference to a number of different imagoes, or different stages of development in a single imago; and this can make it difficult to separate various imagoes from one another. The interview for the second case study was conducted in Afrikaans and translated into English for the purposes of this study. Where translations were problematic, the original Afrikaans words is given, italicised and in square brackets.

The last section of each case study is the epilogue, which summarises the structure of the narrative presented, the imago analyses, and the answers to the narrative inquiries.

5.1 CASE STUDY ONE: SIMON MANDLENKOSI

5.1.1 Bibliographical detail

Born in 1968, Simon Mandlenkosi was 31 when I interviewed him. He was a black South African Xhosa-speaking male, who was also fluent in English. He was convicted of three counts of murder, two of rape (one of which occurred in the course of a murder), and one of attempted rape. Two charges of robbery and one of theft relate to offences he committed in the course of the murders.

He committed all these offences over a two year period. The three murders Simon was convicted of all occurred in 1997. All his victims were black females. He was interviewed at his place of imprisonment, for approximately four hours, on the 6th April 2000.

5.1.2 Prologue to Simon Mandlenkosi's story

5.1.2.1 Clinical observations

Simon Mandlenkosi was a tall shaven-headed man, of medium build. He appeared slightly fuller in figure than he had in the police photos taken at the time of his arrest. Apart from missing his front two teeth, he had no visible marks or scars. Simon was neatly dressed in green prison fatigues, with a red and white Aids awareness badge on the left pocket of his shirt.

Simon was a confident English speaker. He had completed high school and achieved a professional qualification. He presented as reasonably intelligent, and had no apparent memory disturbance. His mood and vocal tone were congruent with the content of his interview.

Simon was quiet, calm, and came across as soft-spoken and reticent. He presented as friendly and non-confrontational, although not particularly confident. Simon was liable to appear hurt when a line of questioning became too threatening. For example when the subject of his murders was first broached, Simon was visibly upset, and

tears came to his eyes. When he didn't understand a question, Simon would be silent and stare at me.

5.1.2.2 Responses in the interview process

Simon was capable of disarming honesty and self-deprecation. Repeatedly describing himself as someone who likes a joke, Simon often describes episodes in his life in humorous terms. He did not appear overly concerned with portraying himself as a socially acceptable or admirable figure. Rather, he painted a believable picture of himself as a flawed and human figure.

However it later became apparent that Simon appeared either unwilling or unable to fully reflect on himself, his emotions, and his motivations. This was most obviously and frequently manifested in Simon hesitating before expressing anything associated with strong negative emotion. This 'emotional pause' became an index of how emotive a topic was for Simon, and was often coupled with the volume of his voice dropping, and even with Simon lapsing into silence or curt answers when a question provoked particularly strong emotions. When asked a difficult question he would break eye contact and look at door or floor, 'staring into nothing'. With less threatening questions Simon would sit back in his chair with his head resting on the rear of the seat, half-close his eyes and look at me out the bottom of them. In both responses he would appear to stop and 'think through' his answer before eventually replying. The most obvious consequence of this is that most of his offences are described briefly and without detailed descriptions.

Associated with this was Simon's reluctance to openly state when he perceived something as negative. For example, when asked to describe a person he repeatedly implied had a detrimental affect on his life, he initially refuses, then relents and says they are "not a bad person as such". It took some probing to illicit a full response.

Notwithstanding the above the most problematic consequence of Simon's lack of self-reflection for his narrative was that it meant he often failed to articulate causality. Simon could narrate events, but when asked to discuss what caused the events he appeared less able, or less willing. While this did not mean his narrative was

superficial, it made creating a clear chronology of causal events, and consistently discerning Simon's attitude and motives, difficult. However in replying to my questions Simon would often shift the narrative back to a certain anecdote, event, or observation, thus offering a valuable insight into those aspects of his narrative that were important to him. This helped highlight the patterns in Simon's story.

5.1.2.3 Reflections on the interview process

Simon appeared to need the prompting of my questions to begin talking. He would answer a question and then stop, waiting for the next one. In this scenario the semi-structured IMAGO interview format was helpful, although it may have meant I led the interview more than would have been ideal. I initially had to work hard in the interview to establish and maintain rapport. Notwithstanding these challenges Simon later 'warmed' to the interview and, as mentioned, I found him likeable.

While Simon would readily disagree with me he would seldom challenge the questions I was asking. I thus controlled the interview and, more often than not, the direction of Simon's story-telling. Given Simon's reluctance to discuss negative issues I was obliged to frequently, often rather insensitively, probe Simon for this information at regular intervals throughout the interview. Simon did not appear to take offence at this, but it no doubt contributed to him finding the interview emotionally draining. I, similarly, felt that the interview had represented a genuinely emotional exchange.

On reflection I felt that Simon's reluctance or inability to fully reflect on himself or discuss anything associated with strong negative emotions led to a more disjointed narrative, with a lack of associations made between various aspects of the story. This does not appear to have limited the creation of meaning in his narrative, but did make it more difficult to establish connections between the various aspects of his life, and thereby ensure all aspects of the narrative were in their correct chronological order. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the chapter structure was imposed in order to give a clear chronology to the narrative, support the interpretation of imagoes, and allow comparisons between case studies.

Overall Simon gave the impression he was giving an honest account of his life, and even though his seeming unwillingness or inability to reflect on himself meant his emotions and motivations only became apparent in the process of transcription, this did not render his narrative incoherent or meaningless.

5.1.3 Simon Mandlenkosi's story

This consists of the Simon's narrative of self gained from the semi-structured interview, presented alongside archival information when discussing the offences.

5.1.3.1 Childhood

Simon Mandlenkosi was born in 1968, the youngest of four brothers and four sisters, in Pedi, a semi-rural Eastern Cape township. Both his parents were alive when he was born, but his eldest brother and sister were his primary caregivers. He describes his eldest sister as the "mother figure". Simon idolised and attempted to emulate his eldest brother, and Simon introduces his brother almost immediately in telling his story:

BH: What did you want to be in your life?

SM: A church minister...My brother was a minister...

BH: So he was the one who took care of you.

SM: Yes.

BH: Was he the one you looked up to as a father?

SM: Yes...

BH: Did you get along with him?

SM: What I can say is, he was the most important. I wanted to be what he was.

BH: What is it about him that you wanted to be?

SM: He was good with his hands, he could fix anything. So most of the time I would help him when he was fixing his car, or something else. So that's why I took up electricity [*i.e.* became an electrician]. Because he was good with his hands, so I wanted to be good also.

BH: And what sort of person was he?

SM: Uh, [appeared not to understand]

BH: Oh [stammers]...What emotions would you say he had, when you thought of him?

SM: He was very, he was calm and quiet sometimes. Even if he was hurt he was not the kind of person who would show that he was hurt...

BH: Do you think your brother was a strong man? Not just physically, but in spirit?

SM: He was clever... My brother was the kind of person who, for him, it was not difficult for him to solve a problem, like a medical problem. So, to me, I couldn't compare him to anyone else. I put him in a higher place to other people. Maybe because he was my brother, I don't know.

In elaborating on the skills his brother had, Simon sets them up as the standards to which he aspires. By presenting these aspirations fluently and enthusiastically in the first minutes of his story-telling Simon claims them as a constant from his earliest days. However Simon does not readily refer to the internal or emotional life of his brother, or what his brother thought or felt. His eldest brother is consistently presented as always positive, and thus essentially one-dimensional.

The character of his eldest brother sets the stage for Simon's perceptions of his family as a source of good. Simon says he really loved his family, and repeatedly insists that he never fought with them. His mother and his eldest sister were "very strict" and the latter would hit him when he was asleep, but he points out that "I wouldn't say today

what she did was abuse” and never suggests that this discipline was unreasonable. Notwithstanding this “strict” discipline Simon describes his family as “very close” and says he “got along well with them.” Simon makes a point of mentioning that his sisters are still in touch with him in prison. Simon also appears to have felt very responsible for his family. When asked whether he suffered from nightmares when young Simon recounts feeling responsible for the welfare of a sleep-walking brother,

SM: I took it is my duty. I did not sleep very much because I was afraid that maybe he was going to get lost...just to make sure that I was so lucky that, if at any time he was to walk, I would be awake then. I took that as a nightmare, because I was afraid what if he would get lost. What if he goes somewhere we would never find him again?

BH: So you felt very responsible for your brother...How long did this goes on for, you not sleeping very much?

SM: It went on for a period of two to three years, until I had to leave East London.

Overall, his family is presented as the only source of solace and friendship for Simon growing up, so much so that Simon states his first friend from outside the family was when he was 24.

Although his family was such a clear source of support and aspiration to Simon, and despite his insistence that he had a “nice” and “very good” childhood, he does not recount many pleasant memories from his youth. His first notable memories were of the unrest that swept the townships in July 1976, when Simon was eight years old: “Schools got burnt, family members harassed, things like that”. Simon is slow to describe these negative memories, shying away from them and avoiding any detail. His first description of his parents’ deaths three years later is similarly brief, with Simon saying he was not sad as they were “not so close”.

However Simon later admits that he twice attempted suicide around this time, when he was around “10 or 11” years old. In a quiet, hesitant tone Simon recounts:

SM: I never told my family. I took gas. Instead of killing me it made my tummy run [laughs].

BH: What made you want to kill yourself?

SM: I was lonely... I felt lonely, there.

BH: Ja... Did you feel like your parents had sort of, rejected you by dying?

SM: I felt that God gave it, God was horrible to me, God gave this thing to me, that I was behind him. It didn't feel like God was there. ...I had to be angry at God. He was rejecting me, God was pushing me away from him.

BH: Did you always believe you God?

SM: Yes.

BH: Was your family religious?

SM: My mother was very religious.

The death of his parents represents a significant event in Simon's narrative, as will be shown. Despite his positive attitude his family, Simon did not have a constant family home. He describes a youth “kind of rotating between family members”, with his best friends being his brother and his sister's son. Simon's relationships with his peers seemed to consist solely of getting in fights with them. Reflecting on this, Simon says

SM: To me, having a fight is nothing... Then, I can say something to you, then you get angry, then I would not apologise. I would just push you, or hit you, for the wrong that I have done to you...I used to be like that.

BH: Did you get in lots of fights?

SM: Yes. Fighting for me was like a hobby. [laughs]

Simon puts these fights down to anger, and his ungovernable anger is a constant theme in his story:

BH: What do [you do] when angry?

SM: When I'm angry...If you made me angry, to me, for that anger to go away I have to get hold of you. I have to touch you, to hit you once or you hit me. I hate it when someone makes me angry then goes away without me having to touch him or having a fight with him. For that anger to go away, I have to do something.

Simon repeatedly asserts, as if stating the obvious, that his anger will not ease unless he takes physical revenge on the person who caused that anger.

Simon claims he was lonely when growing up and says with a sigh “even today...I feel lonely”. Simon’s descriptions of the idyllic family life of his youth appear at odds with the death, violence, and sense of loneliness and rejection he also describes in his childhood. When asked to describe how this loneliness felt, Simon instead describes the loneliness in terms of what caused it:

SM: To me, to be lonely, it’s like, when it seems as if people put you away from them. When they don’t want to come near you, they don’t want to talk to you... Maybe the other person has nothing against me, but when I see them I think maybe they don’t want to talk to me. That makes me feel lonely. Especially if I would like to say something to you, and you are pushing me away. That makes me feel lonely.

BH: Has that happened a lot to you?

SM: Yes.

BH: Is loneliness close to rejection for you?

SM: Ja.

BH: Do you get angry with that?

SM: [sighs] A lot.

BH: It's like loneliness is similar to rejection and it makes you feel angry?

SM: Ja.

Rejection, in Simon's story, is emotionally synonymous with loneliness; and when lonely and rejected, he gets angry. Thus just as revenge is an inevitable consequence of his anger, so is anger the consequence of rejection and loneliness. This pattern of emotion and response is bound to Simon's thwarted desire for acceptance. Paradoxically, Simon insists that in his childhood he did not mind being alone and often preferred it:

BH: Did you have lots of friends at school?

SM: [pause] Friends, that's something I can never [inaudible]. I liked to be myself, I liked to be by myself...

BH: So you say you like being on your own, were you often lonely?

SM: I can't say I was lonely. I won't say I was lonely. But, at the same time, to me, it was the best thing.

BH: It felt nice for you.

SM: It felt nice for me, and I liked it, to be at home, in the yard.

BH: So it wasn't that you were lonely, you just weren't interested in other people.

SM: Ja.

These comments are supported by Simon's comments that child was more content with his own company, and his characterising himself a "shy" person.

a) Imago analysis: Childhood

The narrative of Simon's childhood reveals three imagoes. Two, the Happy Family imago and Eldest Brother imago, are associated with other people. These are established earliest in his narrative. The other, the Lonely Child imago, is associated with Simon's self and appears to arise slightly later in the narrative. In Simon's narrative the imagoes established in childhood stage personify the themes that pervade his story. This supports McAdams' (1993) proposal that childhood is where the tone and main ideological themes of the personal narrative are created.

i) The origin of the Happy Family imago¹

This imago is established first in Simon's narrative, alongside the character of Simon's eldest brother. This imago personifies Simon's experience of his family, not an individual family member. As the name implies Simon explicitly associates this imago with the positive aspects of his family. These positive associations exist alongside a number of negative associations which Simon does not acknowledge openly. The Happy Family imago is an ambivalent imago. An example of the ambivalence of this imago is shown in his perceptions of his parents. He describes his mother as both a "very lovely" and a "very strict" person, who hit him. Similarly, his father was both a "very loving person" and a drinker. The positive aspects of the Happy Family imago will be discussed first, followed by the negative aspects and results of Simon's unacknowledged ambivalence on his narrative and imagoes.

The Happy Family imago has a strong communal orientation and Simon associates closeness, lack of conflict, and acceptance with it. This acceptance is emphasised by Simon's statements that he is still in touch with his sisters, in prison. The family is also established as Simon's primary source of friendship and companionship in childhood (and beyond, with Simon stating he acquired his first friend outside the family in his 20's). The Happy Family imago is also associated with religion, and with God. The positive aspects of the Happy Family imago suggest a warm, nurturing communal bond, and one which Simon feels a strong sense duty towards. This is

¹ See transcription references: 3, 4, 15 – 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 40, 52, 53, 62, 101

illustrated by his being afraid to sleep for fear of his sleepwalking brother being hurt. Simon is very protective of his perception of the Happy Family imago as the source of closeness, warmth and acceptance. This is demonstrated in his persistent reluctance throughout his narrative to associate anything negative with this imago or allow members of the Happy Family imago to be aware of any wrongdoing on his part (even to the extent of his not telling them about his suicide attempts in childhood).

Alongside these positive perceptions are the unacknowledged negative aspects of the Happy Family imago: Simon's upbringing was very strict, he was often hit, his childhood appears to have been nomadic, and most importantly, the impact of the death of his parents. The death of his parents evoked strong feelings of rejection in Simon, led to his attempting suicide, and left him particularly vulnerable to rejection. This rejection is couched in terms of "anger at God", and could be a hypothetical cause of the anger and loneliness which are constants of Simon's narrative from this point on. Although Simon insists his family life was very good, his narrative creates the impression that he was isolated, even lonely, growing up. This forms the basis for Simon's earliest imago of self.

However, Simon's adoration of his family (and the imago of his eldest brother) ensures that he does not focus the anger, rejection, and loneliness evoked by the death of his parents on the Happy Family imago. By not acknowledging his own ambivalence towards the Happy Family imago – that it is simultaneously a source of, and relief from, rejection, isolation and loneliness – Simon is able to retain the Happy Family imago as a source of solace in his childhood narrative. This lack of acknowledgement also sets the scene for, and contributes towards the development of, his later imagoes.

The Happy Family imago clearly displays two of McAdams' seven (1988) proposed features of the prototypical imago: it is associated with significant others; and has associated personality traits. It could also be said display some elements of a further three proposed prototypical features: associated wishes, aspirations, goals, occupational or personal strivings; associated behaviours; and some consistency with Simon's expressed philosophy of life. These latter three are more implied than explicit. The Happy Family imago does not however persist beyond his childhood.

Rather its influence and its associations are incorporated into later imagoes. Many of Simon's imagoes after his childhood appear preoccupied with reclaiming the acceptance and solace, and overcoming the rejection, of the Happy Family imago. The ambivalent Happy Family imago is the foundation for many of the subsequent imagoes in Simon's narrative.

ii) The origin of the Eldest Brother imago²

Simon's eldest brother is immediately established in Simon's narrative as his role model and the source of his aspirations. Simon seeks to emulate his brother in vocation, physical skill, emotional temperament and intellect. The Eldest Brother imago is an idealised representation of Simon's brother, personifying the positive traits and aspirations that Simon attributes to him: a "practical", "clever", "calm" man, for whom nothing was too difficult.

The Eldest Brother imago shares a number of features with the Happy Family imago. They both have a strong communal orientation. The church is also associated with the idolised Eldest Brother imago, just as religion was associated with the Happy Family imago. Like the Happy Family imago, Simon's narrative presents the Eldest Brother as unequivocally and unambiguously good, and does not acknowledge any ambivalence in this understanding. The idealised imagoes of the Happy Family and Eldest Brother ensure that Simon does not associate anything negative with either of them, or acknowledge the feelings of rejection created by early family experience. The main difference between the Happy Family and Eldest Brother imagoes in Simon's childhood is that the Eldest Brother acts as a source of aspiration for Simon; while the Happy Family is a source of acceptance and solace. While the Happy Family is a source of unacknowledged ambiguity, in Simon's childhood the Eldest Brother imago is entirely positive. The entirely positive perception of his brother is maintained throughout his narrative and forms an important part of his narrative and imagoes of self.

² See transcription references: 4, 18, 20, 21, 44.

The Eldest Brother thus displays four of McAdam's (1988) seven features of the prototypical imago: it is associated with a person; has associated wishes, aspirations, goals, occupational or personal strivings; as well as having has associated personality traits and associated behaviours. Like the Happy Family imago, it displays some elements of a further proposed prototypical feature, having an association with some aspects of Simon's expressed philosophy of life.

iii) The origin myth of the Lonely Child imago³

Unlike Simon's other two childhood imagoes, this imago has a clear origin myth: the death of Simon's parents and the powerful feelings of rejection, anger and loneliness this engendered in him. Simon's Happy Family and Eldest Brother imagoes discourage him from associating these negative emotions with members of his family. The Lonely Child imago appears to arise as a personification of these emotions and a means to handle them in the narrative. The Lonely Child therefore becomes a repository for the feelings of rejection, loneliness, and anger. Being associated with Simon himself, this imago becomes one of his dominant ways of interacting with the world.

The characteristics of the Lonely Child reflect Simon's efforts to overcome the emotions created by his parent's death. These feeling of loneliness and anger at rejection are established as early features of the Lonely Child imago. Simon's narrative clearly explains the motivations of the Lonely Child: rejection leads to loneliness, which is then handled through anger at the rejecting person(s) and violence against them. Simon asserts that his anger will not fade unless he has acted against the rejecting person. This suggests the Lonely Child imago achieved emotional release through violence. It also suggests that the Lonely Child imago did not have any means other than violence to handle its emotions and, given that the consequential fights seem to have been a dominant feature of his interactions with Simon's peers in childhood, it would appear that the Lonely Child imago considered a wide range of behaviours as 'rejection' evoking loneliness and justifying violence. This pattern of rejection, loneliness, anger and violence becomes a constant in his narrative. Finally it

³ See transcription references: 5, 18, 19, 25, 26, 37 – 39, 51, 61, 63, 100, 102.

appears that the Lonely Child, as the imago of Simon's lonely youth, has little control over his circumstances; particularly the death of his parents. It thus relies on violence to assert self and attempt to control his environment.

Alongside this violent reaction to rejection, the Lonely Child imago also encapsulates Simon's desire to be alone and his seeking of isolation and separation from others. While seemingly contradicting his violent reaction to rejection, this can be explained by Simon's reluctance to associate anything that could be perceived as negative (in this case, loneliness and isolation) with the Happy Family or Eldest Brother imagoes. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that his statements of how in childhood he sought isolation and was not interested in interacting with peers often occur during discussions involving his family or his brother. This re-iterates that the Lonely Child imago is used as a repository for negative emotions that Simon is reluctant to associate with his family, but willing to associate with his self.

The above suggests the Lonely Child imago does not have a communal orientation. On the contrary, it characterises Simon's isolation from others. This is supported by the observation that, unlike the Happy Family and Eldest Brother imagoes, the Lonely Child imago does not interact with the Simon's other childhood imagoes. The Lonely Child is also Simon's means to assert his desires for agency and control over his life. In childhood, these agentic desires appear to be mainly expressed in violence. This emphasises the link between loneliness and violence in the character of the Lonely Child imago.

The Lonely Child displays five of McAdam's (1988) proposed features of the prototypical imago. It has an origin myth, is associated with a significant other (Simon himself), and has associated personality traits and behaviours (anger, violence, alongside a paradoxical 'shyness' and desire for isolation). It also exhibits associated wishes, aspirations, or goals. Unlike the vocational aspirations of the Eldest Brother imago, the Lonely Child imago's goals are implied in its role: to handle the loneliness, anger and rejection present in Simon's narrative of childhood; and overcome his thwarted desire for acceptance. By handling these negative emotions the Lonely Child protects the Happy Family and Eldest Brother imagoes and allows them to continue to act as sources of acceptance and aspiration in the narrative of his childhood.

5.1.3.2 Adolescence

The township uprisings of the early 1980's first affected Simon in 1981, when he was 13. He describes the uprising starting when he and his classmates in Standard 6 (Grade 8), were taken from their class. Simon asked why they, and not the older children, were being taken: "That was the question I asked. Then I received a big stone on my head." Simon laughs at this, casually discussing how he was unconscious for four hours as a result. Simon differentiates himself from his peers in adolescence, and resumes many of the themes of his childhood narrative in his description of his adolescent self:

What I can say is that I developed late, you see...Other boys, they started doing things, smoking and having girls, at the age of 13, 14. But I liked to play, just play alone, doing wire cars and all that stuff. So I developed late. Maybe I developed after 17 years then I started to have a friend then, you see.

At around this time, Simon was sent to live with his brother in the Transvaal province. With disarming candour, Simon puts this down to his increasing hate of school, due to his own laziness. In the tentative and hesitant tone he reserves for discussing emotional events, Simon narrates how, once there, "everything changed", and not only did his school work improve, but he describes himself as being "happy with people".

His elder brother appears to have been the only controlling influence in Simon's tumultuous teenage years. So when Simon returned to the streets of Pedi in the East Cape province, he reports that he simply reverted to how he had been before: "the same problems I had before...I got lazy... Maybe problems here...I don't know". Simon played truant often; preferring to "sit at home and do nothing". Again coming into conflict with teachers Simon failed maths, an experience he found very embarrassing, and one which served to engrain his hate of school.

Simon was soon embroiled in the township fighting of the mid-1980's as part of the ANC-affiliated Comrades, but disliked it, stating there was lots of fighting with sticks and guns. Simon hated guns in particular. 15 years old at the time, Simon's role was that of a political advisor and he differentiates himself from other, more violent members of the Comrades:

SM: Some of them, they were stupid, who did bad things. They didn't follow the politics. They didn't read books and all that stuff. I like to read in books.

BH: You did it for the politics, they did it because they liked to break things.

SM: Breaks things and all that stuff, ja.

Simon shuns the indiscriminate violence of some of his contemporaries, stating he would only follow orders to commit violence if there were a good reason, and it could be proven that their target was part of "the System". Simon is proud of his intellectualism when compared with his peers in the Struggle, and this interest in learning and studying further stayed with him and is returned to repeatedly in his story.

It is notable that Simon still insists that, amidst his seeming constant fights with his peers, he never fought or stole from his family. In contrast to the Simon's stories of a lonely, conflict-marked and semi-nomadic youth; his narrative also tells of a warm, strict but close family, around whom Simon can be his joking and helpful self.

Simon says he "developed late", particularly when it came to girls. He comically describes his shock at being approached by a girl when he was 15:

I didn't know what to do, what you do with a girl... I would say it was just a waste of time, I didn't know what to do with a girlfriend. I didn't

talk to her... I didn't sit down and have discussions; it was just a child affair.

Simon is amused by his own naïveté during this, his first relationship, saying he had no time for girls then. This changed when he first had sex aged 18. Simon describes sex as “the nicest thing I ever had”. The older woman who taught him about sex, Sweetie, “changed everything”. Sweetie was the first woman that was “important to his heart”. Their relationship lasted for 3 years. Then, says Simon, she “broke my heart. She fell for another man.” He insists that she should have told me she didn't love him, rather than have an affair.

BH: How did that make you feel?

SM: [long pause] To me, I wanted to revenge. I wanted to do something to her for what she had done to me, but I didn't have the guts to do it. There was something, there was a way of getting her, of hurting her; but then I didn't have the guts to do...

BH: What way would have you got revenge, if you had the guts?

SM: You know I wanted to hurt her. Hurt her. Whether it was going to be physically or any other way I could try...just to lay my hands on her. To make her feel that she hurt me, so I must do the same...

BH: Do you find rejection quite hard?

SM: I hate, I don't like to be rejected.

BH: Is that your worst thing?

SM: [quietly] Ja.

According to Simon, Sweetie was his “first big rejection”. Simon is unambiguous in how he should respond to this rejection.

It's like what I said. If I am angry with you I must do something to you. But not to kill you, but I must do something with you, you see? At least enough to make me feel alright, it's going to take away the pain. That's the problem.

In describing his break up with Sweetie, Simon does not debate whether it is right or wrong to take revenge on her. It is obvious to him that he would be justified in taking revenge. The only issue is that he didn't have the courage.

Crucially, whereas before this event this Simon appears to avenge himself on anyone who rejected him, his anger and vengeance now has a focus. This focus is any woman he desires or is in a relationship with. The lonely boy who felt rejected and lashed out has grown up and become the jealous and violent man, assaulting women who reject him.

Simon says that he promptly got another girlfriend after Sweetie, and claims to have moved on, but he does not forget the wrong hurt it did to him: "I won't say I forget. I don't forget, that stays with me... you've got to let go, but it's difficult to let go". From this point on, around the time Simon left school (1987), Simon remains extremely sensitive to rejection from women, reporting that although he was only subsequently rejected three times, and although each relationship lasted less than a year, he states: "I felt that rejection. I hated it." "BH: 'Would you say that's the thing you hated most?' S: 'Yes'." He repeats the names of the girls who rejected him, pausing emotionally between each.

a) Imago analysis: Adolescence

Simon's childhood imagoes persist into adolescence, before evolving and being incorporated into the imagoes that will carry him into adulthood. This section will first discuss the persistent aspects before discussing how they change.

i) Persistence of the Lonely Child imago⁴

It appears that the Lonely Child imago remained the dominant imago of self in Simon's early adolescence, and its role remains largely unchanged. This is demonstrated by his adolescent behaviours displaying the interpersonal interactions that denoted the Lonely Child imago in childhood. Examples of this include his desire to be alone and his insistence on his separateness from his peers; be they more 'mature' boys or his peers in the Struggle. Simon's adolescence also displays the anger and violent reaction towards rejection associated with the Lonely Child imago.

This anger, alongside the other features of the Lonely Child, was progressively channelled into an emergent imago of self. The process of change began around the age of 15, with his involvement in the Struggle against apartheid (as will be discussed below with reference to the Eldest Brother imago). It accelerated most markedly with his first serious sexual relationship, at age 18, with Sweetie. This relationship supplied the origin myth for two of the dominant imagoes of Simon's narrative: the Vengeful Suitor and the Rejecting Woman.

ii) The origin of the Vengeful Suitor imago⁵

Before Simon's mid-teens, relationships with the opposite sex are not associated with his imagoes, particularly not with the Lonely Child's desire to overcome his isolation and sense of rejection. The idealised Happy Family remains unattainable because his parents are dead, and because Simon does not acknowledge the strong sense of abandonment and rejection his family, his only apparent source of solace, appears to have invoked in him.

⁴ See transcription references: 40, 96, 97.

⁵ See transcription references: 26, 34 – 36, 38, 87, 99.

Sweetie was Simon's first significant intimate relationship, he felt close to her emotionally, and she introduced him to sex: "the nicest thing I ever had". On the basis of these strong positive associations we can hypothesise that this relationship gave Simon a means to access the acceptance that the Lonely Child craved and so lessened the isolation and rejection associated with the Lonely Child imago. We can hypothesise that this relationship allowed him to reclaim the acceptance and sense of communion associated with the idealised Happy Family imago, which had been undermined by the death of his parents. This relationship thus encouraged a change in Simon's imagoes; with relationships with women, rather than violence, beginning to be established as the preferred means to address his loneliness. This relationship marks the point at which the Lonely Child imago begins to wane, with its roles and characteristics being taken on by other imagoes.

This waning of the Lonely Child imago was accelerated sharply when Sweetie rejected Simon. Simon's short-lived role as a loved suitor came to an abrupt end. This end evoked the rejection, loneliness and anger of the Lonely Child imago and supplies the origin myth for the Vengeful Suitor imago. As the name implies, the Vengeful Suitor has two motives: to overcome rejection through violence; and to reclaim the lost communion of the family and the Happy Family imago. The former is inherited from the Lonely Child imago, and springs from Simon's life long fear of rejection and anger at those who reject him. The latter, as suggested above, is now particularly achieved through relationships with the opposite sex. While these motives overlap, the origin myth illustrates how these motives are aspects of a single mode of interpersonal interaction (rather than two separate imagoes); and how one comes to cause the other: Simon tries to reclaim the family via an intimate relationship and when this fails, tries to overcome the rejection through anger and violence.

The manner in which this anger is expressed, who it is focused on, and what Simon is trying to achieve through it clearly marks the evolution from the Lonely Child to the Vengeful Suitor. Firstly, this anger is now more specifically articulated as taking revenge. Secondly, where previously it appeared less discriminate this anger is now focused on a single group of people. The Vengeful Suitor offers Simon clear and unambiguous behavioural plans to take physical revenge on any woman who rejects

him. This also suggests that the Vengeful Suitor imago, unlike the Lonely Child, is partly defined by its relationships to other imagoes. Thirdly, the Vengeful Suitor refines the function served by violence that it inherited from the Lonely Child imago. Where the Lonely Child used violence as a means to achieve emotional release and so manage loneliness, now the Vengeful Suitor uses it as a means to *overcome* loneliness and rejection by directly attacking the person who evokes it. These defining factors also set the characteristics for the Vengeful Suitor: hot-headed, unable to tolerate rejection, and violent.

Where previously the Lonely Child was unable to overcome the loneliness and rejection it feared, the Vengeful Suitor provides Simon two means to do this: intimate relationships which evoke the acceptance of the Happy Family imago, and revenge to overcome any subsequent rejection. These factors are the motives for the Vengeful Suitor. The characteristics and functions of the Lonely Child imago are thus subsumed into the Vengeful Suitor imago and its relationships with other imagoes. The Vengeful Suitor imago becomes Simon's dominant imago of self and displays the same proposed features of the prototypical imago as the Lonely Child imago: an origin myth, an association with a significant other, associated personality traits; associated behaviours; and associated wishes, aspirations, or goals (McAdams, 1988).

iii) The origin of the Rejecting Woman imago⁶

This imago has an identical origin myth to the Vengeful Suitor: Simon's relationship with Sweetie. The Rejecting Woman imago arises alongside the Vengeful Suitor and provides a focus for the Vengeful Suitor imago's anger and vengeance. The origin myth also sets the template for interactions between these imagoes, whereby the Rejecting Woman's rejection provokes the Vengeful Suitor's anger. This interaction not only helps define the role of these imagoes, as will become increasingly clear, it also comes to play an important part in Simon's narrative.

By becoming a focus for the Vengeful Suitor's negative perceptions and hatred of rejection, the Rejecting Woman refines a role previously associated with the Lonely Child imago: it ensures no negative associations are made with Eldest Brother imago

⁶ See transcription references: 26, 34 - 36

or idealised Happy Family imago of childhood. These imagoes are therefore free to continue to act as sources of aspiration for Simon.

At this stage, the characteristics of the Rejecting Woman imago are vague and, as shall be shown, the Rejecting Woman is associated with any woman who rejects Simon. At this point this imago displays two of the seven proposed features of the prototypical imago (McAdams, 1988): an origin myth; and associations with a significant other. The Rejecting Women will change in years to come but from her origin around the time Simon left school in 1987, she is a repeated influence in his narrative.

iv) The role of the Eldest Brother imago and the beginning of the Good Family Man imago⁷

The role of the Eldest Brother imago changes during the narrative of Simon's adolescence. In Simon's childhood the Happy Family imago was a shelter for him, and the Eldest Brother imago an idol. In Simon's early adolescence the Eldest Brother imago takes on a stronger role as the only source of control over the Lonely Child imago. Simon is adamant that when he was with his brother both his school work and his interactions with his peers improved. Initially, however, these positive affects were only seen when Simon was in direct contact with the person of his eldest brother.

This begins to change as Simon ages. He states he stopped running away from school. Furthermore, as demonstrated by Simon's pride in his intellectual status during Struggle, it appears that Simon is increasingly adopting the intellectual and educational aspirations of the Eldest Brother imago as his own. This marks the point at which the Eldest Brother imago begins to be associated with both Simon's self and the person of his brother. The influence of the Eldest Brother imago is further strengthened with the transformation of the Lonely Child into the Vengeful Suitor imago, as now Simon's anger and rejection is clearly focused on the Rejecting Woman and no longer risks undermining the Eldest Brother imago. The increasing

⁷ See transcription references: 21 – 23, 47, 62, 103 – 105

association of the Eldest Brother imago with Simon's self is the start of the development of Simon's most positive imago of self, the Good Family Man imago. At this stage of the narrative, the Eldest Brother retains the four proposed features of the prototypical imago (McAdams, 1988) seen in childhood.

The above suggests that the direct influence of the Happy Family imago over Simon fades as the controlling influence it had in his childhood is subsumed by the influence and aspirations of the Eldest Brother and embryonic Good Family Man. However the solace and acceptance offered by the idealised Happy Family imago of Simon's childhood remains a goal in his narrative, and one he tries to achieve via the Good Family Man (adopting the Eldest Brother's aspirations) and the Vengeful Suitor (overcoming rejection). This will be shown later in the narrative.

5.1.3.3 Adult life (Pre-murder series)

After he left school and moved into the working world of adulthood Simon's loathing of rejection did not slow his love life down. The love of sex that he had discovered with Sweetie appeared to grow over the subsequent years. Simon estimates that he has had sex with over fifty women, and says he has come to prefer women 10 to 15 years older than him. Simon reports being sexually adventurous and enjoying experimentation. However these experiments never appeared to have been violent or involved bondage. He seems to frequently "propose" to women he is acquainted with, a term Simon uses when he is referring to propositioning a women for sex. He enjoyed visiting prostitutes, as he could experiment more with them than he could with women he was in a relationship with. Simon enjoyed pornography, and kept a collection of books and videos. He reports having a girlfriend who worked in a sex shop, and on being asked whether he enjoyed visiting the sex shop replied: "[I] had no choice...she worked there, I had better like it" and laughs.

For a man who casually and openly admits his many girlfriends and varied sex interests, he appears to have taken pains to hide these activities from his family: "I didn't want them to know me as a person who liked funny things about that stuff". Just as with his suicide attempts as a child, he appears try to keep his family segregated from anything that could be perceived as negative.

Even though he was promiscuous, Simon is still jealous towards the many women he is involved with, a fact he admits is not logical:

SM: For me, it's easier to be in love with a number of girls. But I hate it when a girl does the same thing to me, to share me with somebody else, you see?

BH: Ja.

SM: She must not share me. But to me I am doing that [laughs]...

BH: Do you find that something strange?

SM: To me it's strange really.

Despite his colourful love life and violent reactions to rejection, on leaving school Simon appears to have maintained a conventional and modestly successful life: becoming a qualified electrician, marrying, and setting out in business as an electrician. This appears to be the most stable period in Simon's narrative. He held various odd jobs between 1990 and 1992 while obtaining a professional electrician's qualification. He married in 1993, by which time he was working as a machine operator. When narrating his story Simon does not immediately name his wife, Thembeni. Simon reports liking work; enjoying working fast and doing things properly. He cheerfully reports that his love for hard work got him into trouble with some bosses, who feared he would make them look bad by comparison.

Simon opened his own subcontracting firm to undertake his electrical work. He was a contractor from 1994 up until his arrest in 1997, working both on municipality houses and private jobs. Simon describes his work life honestly, saying that there were times when his business did not go well, but overall there were "no big problems". He was never fired and modestly assesses himself as a "fair" worker.

Notwithstanding this apparent success, and the stability seemingly bestowed by his employment and marriage, Simon's job required he move around the region a lot and

he appears, as in his youth, to have lived a semi-nomadic existence. Simon's narrative paints the picture of a rootless man, constantly moving around on contracts, with girlfriends scattered among the many small towns of the Eastern Cape. With apparent regret, Simon accounts how he never saw much of his wife. This, no doubt, facilitated Simon's having many girlfriends, alongside his extra-marital affairs and regular visits to prostitutes. When asked whether his wife knew about his girlfriends Simon lapses into silence, then mouths 'Yes'.

Simon's anger remained ungovernable, and focused on the women in his life. This is illustrated in his description of an argument with his wife:

BH: How does that anger feel?

SM: When I get angry, I shake. I start getting cold. And that's when I have, to solve this I want to resolve this. To make myself better I have to do something.

BH: Yes.

SM: At school what I would do is that I would leave. Without asking the teacher, I would go take a walk or something, I had to do something, you see? It's how I am... You see, my wife, we can argue now before we go to sleep, at maybe seven o'clock or eight o'clock. But she would be asleep and I would be lying next to her thinking 'ei, this thing is making me angry'. I would wake her up maybe two o'clock, three o'clock in the morning with the same anger. I would tell myself, I had to do something. Even if I had just to hit her once, then it was going to make me feel better.

BH: Ja?

SM: That's how I am.

Shortly afterwards, Simon again articulates how during this period of his life his jealousy was routinely given expression in anger, then action.

BH: And with your girlfriends, would you have [physical] fights with them?

SM: Yes.

BH: What would start the fights?

SM: I would say I am jealous, I'm a jealous person. So...

BH: You would think they'd be looking at other men...

SM: Ja.

BH: And then what would you do?

SM: I would get angry...

BH: When you had fights with your girlfriends, would you shout at them?

Be physical?

SM: I would be physical.

BH: Where would you hit them usually?

SM: I like kicking.

BH: Where would you kick them? On the legs, head, chest?

SM: Anywhere.

BH: How long would you kick them for before you stopped?

SM: I would kick them once, twice, maybe thrice, then I would stop.

Later, when Simon was describing why he hit his girlfriends, he expands on his motivation:

Maybe, I dunno, maybe it's like I wanted so show who I am; I'm the man, I'm dominant, I'm all that. Maybe that was the reason. Now that I'm here I think about these things maybe that is one of the reasons. I wanted to show that, I wanted to be the dominant partner... maybe I wanted to show

that I'm the boss, I'm the strongest. I must dominate to be the man.

Maybe that's what happened.

At around this time Simon's need to dominate through violence took on a sexual element:

BH: Did you ever rape them to show you were dominant? Or have sex with them after you fought them?

SM: [pause] Yes.

BH: Was this with your girlfriends?

SM: Ja.

BH: What would happen? You would kick them and then have sex with them?

SM: Ja. I would do that...

BH: So, if I can say how it went, you would hit them then when you were the boss have sex with them. Would you say anything to them?

SM: No.

BH: Did it feel good?

SM: It made me feel better.

BH: Was it the sex that made you feel better or the control?

SM: Maybe it's the control. Maybe it was in the fact that it made me feel in control.

BH: If you had to describe the sex you had then, would you say it good sex or bad sex or...

SM: I wouldn't say it was good... Maybe it's the part that made me feel in control. Maybe I wanted to feel, wanted to be, in control, you see. I wanted to feel like I am in control. So it was no good.

BH: So the sex didn't really matter, it wasn't really the important part. It was more showing the control, is that it?

SM: Yes.

Simon acknowledged his violence towards others, but did not show regret. As the above quotes imply, Simon usually felt justified in his anger and his violence. Both were part of 'who he was' and his violence was focused against woman who, by rejecting him, made his violence explicable and acceptable. Throughout his narrative Simon implicitly and explicitly maintains that violence against those who reject him is justified. This is in marked contrast to the indiscriminate violence of his Comrades in the Struggle who Simon was so contemptuous of.

However with the approach of 1995, Simon's story was on the verge of a radical change. Two events foreshadowed the change to come. First, he met his long term girlfriend, Amelia. Although he states that she is the "only one I never hit" and would like to marry her; she, like his wife and girlfriends, is a minor, interchangeable 'extra' in his central drama.

Second, Simon was arrested and imprisoned for taking a car without the owner's consent in October 1995. He was imprisoned for three months before charges were withdrawn:

SM: The car I took was my friend's car, a minister, church minister... I dented the car. Now the insurance wouldn't pay the car. They said 'I took the car', they had to lay a charge so that the insurance can fix it up.

BH: How did that make you feel?

SM: Angry. I was angry...

This appears to be the first time Simon came into conflict with the church. This initial conflict seems to set a precedent for what it to come.

Simon does not speak directly about the crisis in his life during the late 1990's. He, typically, skims over negative events in the briefest terms and narrates the various strands of his life in different parts of his story. However these strands, when drawn together, suggest that a crisis engulfed him at this time. The exact timing of the crisis, and the precise order of events within it, is vague. What is clear is that Simon suffered a series of stressful events which he perceived as inflicted upon him from the outside world.

After these events, Simon committed the offences for which he was imprisoned. Simon implicitly confirms the importance of these stressors when he is asked what caused his offending:

BH: What do you think caused those things? [Long pause] A lot of things?

SM: Sometimes I try to think of how I could correct my life. But I simply can't come up with the answer, to say *this* or *these* were the causes... I would like to.

BH: So you think back, and you can never quite find out what happened.

SM: Ja.

It is possible that Simon's failure to directly acknowledge this crisis is due to this lack of insight, or inability to articulate, the affect that it had on him.

The first stressful event was his brother getting married to his second wife, Nandi. Simon states that his brother was "forced" to marry Nandi after he had an affair with her and she fell pregnant. As a result of this his brother was suspended from the

ministry and began to drink. Simon directly blamed Nandi for his elder brother's fall from grace and his position in the church.

When asked to describe Nandi, Simon avoids directly answering the question, commenting only on her materialism:

BH: Nandi, what sort of woman would you describe her as?

SM: I don't know.

BH: Would you say she was a bad person or a good person?

SM: [pause] I can't say she was a bad person. But she is different, you see. The funny thing with Nandi is money. For her, if she can get money to her, that's life to her. She's that kind of person, but not bad as such...

Later comments he makes about their relationship are more revealing. He appears to have lived with Nandi and his eldest brother for periods and he describes the downward trajectory of his relationship with her, and his growing anger. It is unclear whether Simon had a significant or consistent sexual interest in Nandi (the possibility of his being sexually interested in her is alluded to so briefly as to preclude a conclusion either way). What is clear is that they had a tempestuous relationship and she invoked potent feelings of rejection in him. So while Nandi did not reject Simon in the same way his girlfriends did, she rejected him as Simon's peers used to: simply by refusing to fully accept him.

The pressure this relationship placed on Simon worsened when Simon's eldest brother died. Simon doesn't describe when or how his brother died, but describes the consequences:

BH: How did it feel when he died?

SM: I was angry. When my brother died I was angry. I was angry with myself, I was angry with God, I was even angrier with his wife.

Simon had, up to this point, retained an almost unthinking obedience to his family, his brother, and the church. He does not appear to have questioned why he obeyed them and, as shown in his school days, he appears to have relied on them to ensure he obeyed. Robbed of the controlling influence his brother, Simon is free to vent his anger at the person he blames for his brother's downfall, Nandi:

BH: Did you have problems with Nandi?

SM: We never argued, but when my brother passed away, I told her what was inside me then. I was very angry. And I showed her that I was angry.

I said all the things I wanted to say to her that day, that I hadn't said before...

Simon's acute stress is compounded by his rejection by the church, which he describes immediately after giving an account of his brother's death:

BH: Did anyone get in the way of you becoming a minister.

SM: The church constitution, the constitution of the church. It was the only thing that got in my way. They said there were steps... the problem is this, I did go according to those steps. But, sometimes I think maybe just because there were no; in that church, I didn't have a friend, as it was just me alone, or someone to stand by me, to fight for me... So I had problems with the church. They didn't take me seriously...

BH: So you were angry with them?

SM: I was angry with God... I wanted to leave the church. I wanted to go and do something else, have nothing to do with the people... I wanted to be something different from what I had wanted to be. But things didn't go that way.

Thus the aspirations he had inherited from his brother suffered a blow from a rejecting world when the “church elders stood in the way” of his becoming a minister. Simon describes this rejection in the same terms that he used to describe the death of his brother and his parents: loneliness and “anger at God.” In the midst of these blows, Simon commits the first of the offences he was later imprisoned for.

a) Imago analysis: Adulthood (Pre-murder series)

The period of adulthood immediately prior to Simon’s committing the murders for which he was imprisoned sees a number of changes in the characteristics of his imagoes and the interactions between them.

i) The Vengeful Suitor imago is embedded, and develops⁸

This period sees a consolidation in the role of the Vengeful Suitor imago in Simon’s narrative. The embedding of this imago in Simon’s narrative is demonstrated in his behaviours and in his justifications for them. As stated, the Vengeful Suitor has two motives: overcome loneliness by evoking the acceptance of the Happy Family imago of childhood through intimate relationships; and overcome any subsequent rejections by taking revenge. These motives are maintained and increasingly displayed in the behaviours he reports in the narrative of his adulthood. Simon’s seeking of multiple sexual partners, becoming increasingly experimental sexually, and the increasing frequency of his violent behaviours demonstrate that he has accepted both of the Vengeful Suitor’s established motives as important aspects of his behavioural repertoire. The Vengeful Suitor imago is thus becoming an increasingly dominant mode of interpersonal interaction for Simon.

In this period the Vengeful Suitor becomes fully identified with Simon’s self. This is shown in Simon’s comments that the violence associated with the Vengeful Suitor was due to his wanting to “show who I am” as well as in his comments that the jealousy of the Vengeful Suitor imago was ‘just who I am’. The Vengeful Suitor imago, in becoming identified with Simon’s self, thus gives support and justification

⁸ See transcription references: 30 – 32, 60 – 66, 97, 99.

for his actions. This justification is shown in Simon's not expressing regret for his violence and only occasionally expressing regret for his infidelity. It is clear from his narrative that Simon felt his violence against the Rejecting Woman was justified and reasonable, in contrast to the indiscriminate violence of his teenage peers in the Comrades.

The activities of the Vengeful Suitor are still kept separate from the Eldest Brother imago (and its residual association with the idealised Happy Family imago), and Simon appears to feel sadness and regret when these imagoes come into contact. This is shown in his reaction to the question of whether his wife knew about his affairs.

Alongside this consolidation in the characteristics of the Vengeful Suitor imago there are a number of developments in its motives and behavioural repertoire. The changes in behaviour relate to the violence meted out by the Vengeful Suitor imago in revenge for rejection. As mentioned, the violence has a particular focus in the Rejecting Woman imago. This violence also seems to have developed into a behavioural routine, as shown in Simon's statements that he would usually kick the woman with whom he was arguing a few times before stopping. This violence also increasingly become a means of displaying dominance and control, as shown in Simon's reasons for being violent towards partners who argued with him: "I wanted to be the dominant partner... maybe I wanted to show that I'm the boss, I'm the strongest. I must dominate to be the man". In childhood the Lonely Child imago could only react to its surroundings and had no control over his circumstances (particularly the death of his parents). The Lonely Child's violent lashings-out could be interpreted as an attempt to assert itself and control its environment. Now that the Vengeful Suitor imago supplies Simon with a means to overcome loneliness and rejection (intimate relationships and violence) the desire for control becomes explicit and is openly expressed.

This implied desire for dominance and control inherited from the Lonely Child imago could be hypothesised as a developing motive in the Vengeful Suitor imago. This hypothesis is supported by Simon's stating his need to dominate; the reasons he gives for his raping his partners ("maybe it's the control. Maybe it was in the fact that it made me feel in control") and his subsequent confirmation that his reason for committing rape was to show this control. Thus the developing motive of dominance

and control is expressed in Simon's behaviour of rape. The strength of this developing motive is demonstrated in the fact that any challenge to Simon's dominance is now interpreted as a rejection and thus deserving of violence. This shown, for example, in Simon's being violent towards his wife when she disagrees with him.

To summarise, in this period the Vengeful Suitor imago becomes embedded in Simon's narrative and fully identified with his self. It maintains the motives established in its origin myth, to which it adds the developing motive of dominance and control. This developing motive affects the Vengeful Suitor imagoes' behaviour, where violence is not only provoked by rejection, but increasingly motivated by the desire for control; and where both sexual and non-sexual violence (raping and / or kicking his female partners) are established as part of the routine of violence. The behavioural repertoire of acceptable and justified violence is expanding. No further proposed features of the prototypical imago (McAdams, 1988), beyond the five already identified, are noted in the Vengeful Suitor at this stage.

ii) Interaction between Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman embedded⁹

As shown above, the fear of rejection suffered by the Vengeful Suitor is routinely given expression in anger and violence, focused on the Rejecting Woman imago. This interaction between the imagoes reflects their shared origin myth. In this period, the relationship between the Rejecting Woman and the Vengeful Suitor comes to offer Simon his standard and justified behavioural response to real or perceived rejection, and increasingly to any challenges to his dominance. The Vengeful Suitor imago offers him a clear behavioural plan and the beginning of his justification for his action. The Rejecting Woman imago, associated with various girlfriends and his wife, completes his justification for action and gives his violence a focus. The Vengeful Suitor imago entirely justifies all violence against Rejecting Women in Simon's narrative. This violence, justified as vengeance and "jealousy", continues despite Simon's having multiple sexual partners. This alludes to the strength of the Rejecting Woman's continued influence. In giving his violence a focus, the interaction between

⁹ See transcription references: 64, 65.

these imagoes serves to shield the Eldest Brother imago (and emergent Good Family Man imago) from Simon's anger.

iii) The origin of the Good Family Man imago¹⁰

This process sees the Eldest Brother imago becoming associated with Simon's self, as part of a new imago. Upon leaving school Simon is able to begin meeting the aspirations embodied in the Eldest Brother imago. Where previously Simon appeared indifferent to achieving personal goals and depended on the physical presence of his eldest brother to keep him working, in his adulthood he takes a more proactive attitude towards achievement. This provides the beginning of the Good Family Man imago, which seeks to meet the vocational and communal goals of the Eldest Brother imago. For example, Simon marries his wife, as the Eldest Brother imago was married, and as the Eldest Brother imago was hardworking, so is Simon in his role as electrician. The adoption of Eldest Brother imago's aspirations in Simon's characterisation of his self is further evidenced by his ongoing interest in learning and study.

Simon states that achieving these aspirations is a positive factor, and one he is proud of. The Good Family Man imago is Simon's other dominant imago of adulthood, alongside the Vengeful Suitor. The Good Family Man's motive appears to be to re-establish communion with the idealised Happy Family imago of his youth, and so gain acceptance and solace. While it shares this aim with the Vengeful Suitor imago, the Good Family Man tries to achieve it by attaining the aspirations it inherited from the Eldest Brother imago. The influence of the emergent Good Family Man imago contributes to making the period of Simon's narrative from when he left school until 1997 a relatively stable one.

While the Good Family Man imago lacks a distinct origin myth, it subsumes many the characteristics of the Eldest Brother imago, including its interactions with other imagoes. The Good Family Man displays the same four features of the prototypical imago as the Eldest Brother imago: an association with a person (Simon himself);

¹⁰ See transcription references: 23, 30 – 32, 43 – 46.

associated wishes, aspirations, goals, occupational or personal strivings; associated personality traits and associated behaviours (McAdams, 1988).

Like the Eldest Brother imago, the Good Family Man becomes the focus of Simon's positive perceptions of the idealised Happy Family imago of his youth. The Good Family Man thus inherits the Happy Family and Eldest Brother imagoes' ability, especially when acting in conjunction with the direct influence of his brother, to control Simon's behaviour. This is shown, for example, by the fact that Simon was never violent towards his family; and by Simon avoiding expressing anger at Nandi while his eldest brother is alive.

As he did with the Happy Family and Eldest Brother imagoes, Simon attempts to shield the Good Family Man imago from any association with the negative emotions or with the less socially acceptable aspects of the Vengeful Suitor imagoes' behaviour. Simon appears to find any failure to adequately protect the Good Family Man from these emotionally distressing: as shown by his reaction when asked whether his wife (associated with the Good Family Man) knew about his infidelity (associated with the Vengeful Suitor). This may be because such contact evokes in Simon the realisation that he has failed to meet the Good Family Man's aspirations. Interaction between the Vengeful Suitor imago and Good Family Man imagoes is thus avoided.

This in effect means that the Good Family Man imago, along with the controlling influence it has over negative aspects Simon's behaviour, is kept segregated from a significant portion of his life. This lack of interaction between the Good Family Man and the other imagoes of Simon's adulthood also suggests that the Good Family Man becomes an increasingly isolated and compartmentalised character. Notwithstanding the influence it retains, as Simon moves further into adulthood the Good Family Man imago appears to move on a separate course from the other developing imagoes. The limitations of the Good Family Man imago are highlighted by the fact that both his wife Thembeni, and his girlfriend Amelia (associated with the communal aspirations of the Good Family Man imago) occupy minor roles in his narrative, in contrast to the persons aligned with the Rejecting Woman. It appears the Good Family Man imago,

as shall be shown, still needs his eldest brother's physical presence to control the negative aspects of Simon's behaviour.

iv) Emerging crisis in the late 1990's and the affect on Simon's imagoes

This crisis takes the form of a number of external events which gain their significance from their affect on Simon's imagoes and the interactions between them. After this crisis, and the changes in imagoes it represented, Simon began to commit the offences he was imprisoned for. Simon implicitly confirms the significance of the convergence of multiple factors, imagoes and external events, in motivating his offending by stating that "many things" caused his crimes. These events had two affects on the imagoes: strengthening the Rejecting Woman imago, and weakening the Good Family Man imago.

- **Strengthening of the Rejecting Woman imago¹¹**

This strengthening of the Rejecting Woman imago occurs due to the person of Simon's eldest brother's wife, Nandi. As mentioned, although Simon did not appear to be consistently sexually interested in Nandi, their tempestuous relationship seemed to evoke strong feelings of rejection in Simon, if only because she refused to fully accept him. This relationship, combined with the fact that Simon blamed her for the misfortune suffered by his admired elder brother (who is so deeply entwined with the Good Family Man imago), led to Nandi being strongly associated with the Rejecting Woman imago. Nandi's influence is, like that of the Rejecting Woman imago, a subtle and pervasive theme in his story and a repeated goad to Simon.

Prior to Nandi's entrance in the narrative, the characteristics of the Rejecting Woman imago were less clear, being associated with any woman who rejected Simon. In contrast to the Vengeful Suitor, the Rejecting Woman's influence was expressed implicitly and she seldom took centre stage. This changes when the Rejecting Woman imago is associated with Nandi. The Rejecting Woman imago is now particularly associated with materialism and with attacks on Simon's aspirations (especially, in this period, in the person of the Simon's eldest brother). Having more specific

¹¹ See transcription references: 6, 8, 9, 73 (the last referring to living arrangements)

characteristics helps widen range of stimuli that will provoke violence in Vengeful Suitor. This imago thus displays an additional proposed feature of the prototypical imago: associated personality traits (McAdams, 1988). The full range of these associated personality traits cannot be assessed, as Nandi's traits were not described in detail in Simon's narrative. This strengthening of the Rejecting Woman means the dynamic between Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman becomes more powerful and difficult to control.

Apart from these changes, the Rejecting Woman imago remains the same, a repository for negative emotions and associations (alongside the Vengeful Suitor). Whereas the Vengeful Suitor directly affects Simon's behaviour, the Rejecting Woman only influences it insofar as it provokes the Vengeful Suitor. The degree to which the Rejecting Woman imago causes the Vengeful Suitor to be expressed is not clear, although they frequently appear together in the story. The interactions between the Vengeful Suitor and the Rejecting Woman influence much of Simon's offending behaviours and the emotions he attributes to these behaviours.

- **Weakening of the Good Family Man imago¹²**

In conjunction with this strengthening of the Rejecting Woman imago, there were a series of attacks on the Good Family Man imago. To understand the effect of these attacks on the Good Family Man imago, it is first necessary to understand more about its structure. This is best shown through the example of Simon's eldest brother being expelled from the church. Despite this expulsion, Simon does not speak negatively of his brother and instead blames Nandi for the misfortune that befell him. Simon never discusses what his brother thought or felt, then or at any other time. Simon's story represents his brother in constantly positive and superficial terms, not as a real and fallible person. He describes his family in similar idealised terms and avoids associating anything negative with them. The imagoes of his family and his brother (and by extension the church), as represented in the Good Family Man imago, thus become the embodiment of an ideal. However this idealised imago is one-dimensional and lacks the nuances of character associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago. This

¹² See transcription references: 6, 9, 11, 12, 31, 32, 42.

one-dimensionality, in Simon's narrative, appears to make the Good Family Man imago vulnerable to external pressures.

Two events weakened the Good Family Man imago. The first of these events struck at the heart of the Good Family Man: Simon's eldest brother died. Simon had, up to this point, retained an unthinking obedience of his eldest brother, and relied on his proximity to ensure his good behaviour, that is, to ensure the continuing influence of the Good Family Man imago over his behaviour. The Good Family Man was thus an imago that was not only kept separate from the other imagoes; it relied on external others to support it, despite it being identified with Simon's self. It could be hypothesised that this need for an external person to support this imago means that Eldest Brother imago's aspirations and characteristics were so idealised that they could never be adequately incorporated into Simon's imagoes of self. Whatever the reason, the loss of his eldest brother meant the Good Family Man imago lost a significant controlling influence over Simon. The first indication of this loss of control is given in Simon's venting his pent up anger towards Nandi.

The second of the events weakening the Good Family Man imago represented a blow against the aspirations embodied in this imago and inherited from his brother: Simon was allegedly prevented from becoming a church minister. This event was foreshadowed by Simon's being imprisoned on the false testimony of a church minister. Now, when the "church elders stood in the way" of Simon becoming a minister, the Good Family Man imago's influence over Simon was further diminished. This loss of influence occurred due to the close association in Simon's narrative between the idealised Happy Family and Eldest Brother imagoes, and religious belief. These imagoes, which formed the basis for the aspirations and beliefs of the Good Family Man, were inextricably linked with religious belief and the church. Thus not only does rejection by the church undermine the basis for the Good Family Man, it robs Simon of another way to regain the communion of the family. This is shown in the fact that Simon's failure to be taken seriously by the church elders is perceived as rejection and evokes the same emotions (loneliness and "anger at God") that Simon reports when he is rejected by women, and that he associates with the profound rejections the deaths of his parents and eldest brother represent. This further undermines the Good Family Man imago and strengthens emotions associated with the Vengeful Suitor. Simon's

starting to buy pornographic videos around this time, with pornography always associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago and kept separate from the Good Family Man imago is possible evidence of the waning influence of the Good Family Man.

5.1.3.4 Nomsa Mathetsa

One of the charges Simon was eventually convicted of was the rape of Nomsa Mathetsa, the teenage daughter of someone he had a secret affair with. He seemed reluctant to discuss Nomsa's rape. When questioned directly, he discussed the offence in a quiet and hesitant voice. His accounts of the offence are unclear and had to be analysed in some detail before they made sense.

Simon says that on the 10th April 1996 Nomsa asked for a lift to East London, as she had heard from her mother that Simon was travelling there. Simon said that he had once "proposed" to Nomsa before then, but had never had sex with her. He said that on the trip to East London he was touching and kissing her. He says "She never said 'don't touch'". Simon says when they arrived in East London,

SM: We went to the sea and then we, I had sex with her...

BH: She said it was OK to have sex?

SM: Mm...Ja...we had sex [stammers] Maybe she allowed me to have sex with her, maybe she was afraid of me. Maybe she felt she was, how can I put it? She depended on me. I was in East London, I know East London, she was not from East London she was from Jeffreys Bays. So she had to, she had to give me, or let me have sex with her, so that I cannot leave her in East London or maybe that I cannot hit her, all that stuff ...and then we went to another house...my home.

According to Simon, after the rape, Nomsa said that she wanted to go home. Simon refused as it was getting late, and they had what he describes as a "big fight". He says "she forced" and so he slapped her twice and she bit him. After this, Simon concludes

briefly: “She slept at my home for the rest of the night....she woke up early in the morning and went to run away...she took off” without waking him. Simon puts her sudden and secretive departure down to her fear of him.

Simon’s account of the rape is however given a different slant when compared with media and police records. Initially these narratives concur with Simon’s, stating that he stopped his vehicle at a beach in East London and raped Nomsa. The narratives then diverge. According to police records Simon then began to strangle Nomsa, but she recovered. Simon then took her to another house, where he tried to rape her again. When she resisted, he hit her. Nomsa later fled to another house, and told the occupant what had happened to her.

Asked whether he considers his offence against Nomsa to be rape, Simon pauses, then concludes: “Now [pause] yes it was rape...Thinking of it now and reading the papers and look at television and woman’s rights [laughs], it was rape”. This implies that at the time Simon did not feel this offence was rape. Furthermore when asked to give explanations for his offences Simon tends to, as will be shown, focus on events in 1997, after this offence occurred. Thus he minimises the severity of this rape, despite his being convicted of it during his later trial.

The events of 1997 tipped Simon into crisis. Aged 29, he had already committed a rape, his marriage was disintegrating, and he was diagnosed as being HIV positive. Simon reports that his wife’s former husband approached her about access to their children and Simon “feared he was going to take her away from him”. According to his narrative this fear of rejection led to Simon becoming aggressive, hitting his wife. His sister was obviously concerned enough about Simon’s violence to make an appointment for him to see a psychologist, but he never went. At the same time as Simon perceived his home life as threatened, he was diagnosed as HIV positive:

BH: How did that make you feel?

SM: I was angry. It made me angry because at home, there was a time at home when I was the breadwinner. I was the breadwinner because I lived at home, with my two brothers and one sister. So I had to see that there

was enough food on the table and all that stuff. So I was angry, I didn't want to accept it...when it happened I couldn't believe it, I could not accept it. I had to be strong, not for myself, but for my family's sake I must be strong.

Simon continues in a lower tone, with frequent pauses, that he wishes he could meet the person who gave him HIV, so he could revenge himself. I asked him whether "all these things", his offences, happened because he was infected. Simon answers, after a long pause, "I don't know" and falls silent. Later I asked:

BH: Do you think if anything had happened differently that you wouldn't have committed these murders?

SM: [very quiet] Yes.

BH: If things had happened differently. What things would have needed to be different?

SM: Maybe if my work hadn't gone down... Maybe I wouldn't have been there. Or maybe if I didn't have extra motives. Maybe.

BH: So your work went downhill and you had this extra [inaudible]...and it put pressure on you?

SM: [Affirmative noise]

BH: OK.

The three murders Simon was convicted of all occurred in 1997. He was also charged with two counts of rape (one of which related to the above-mentioned offence against Nomas Mathetsa, in 1996), and one of attempted rape. Two charges of robbery and one of theft relate to offences he committed in the course of the murders. Simon does not make causal links and correlations in telling about his offences, and does not describe them in chronological order. However they will be discussed in the order in which they occurred.

a) Imago analysis: Nomsa Mathetsa

Simon's account of the rape of Nomsa Mathetsa is confused and unclear. This suggests this offence lacks the clear justification and rationale that his narrative brings to accounts of violence against partners who have rejected him, that is, to violence committed by the Vengeful Suitor imago against the Rejecting Woman imago. This lack of clarity also contrasts with his accounts of his murders, and suggests that his narrative and imagoes do not supply unequivocal support for this offence

i) Possible role of Vengeful Suitor imago¹³

It is notable that Nomsa's resistance brought the violence normally associated with the Vengeful Suitor into expression. This violence included rape which, based on the Vengeful Suitor imagoes' previous actions, is associated with the desire for dominance and control. From this we could hypothesise that Nomsa's resistance and lack of compliance was interpreted as rejection, invoking the emotional pain of Lonely Child and so justifying the Vengeful Suitor's violence. This is supported by Simon's blaming her for "forcing" him to use violence. By presenting his violence against Nomsa as a rational and justified response (in this case, to an unreasonable demand) Simon demonstrates the influence of the Vengeful Suitor imago in her rape.

Beyond this influence, Simon's behaviour during the rape of Nomsa is not entirely explicable in terms of his imagoes. It could be hypothesised that with the weakening in the Good Family Man imago, Simon felt free to take sex from women by force; but neither the Rejecting Woman imago nor the Vengeful Suitor imago could be said to have provided either the justification or the behavioural template for the commission of rape, especially against someone who did not appear strongly identified with the Rejecting Woman imago. This lack of behavioural influence from the imagoes' is perhaps reflected in the confusion and vagueness in Simon's narrative of this crime. Although the Nomsa's rape does not cast significant light on Simon's imagoes, the events that come after it have a notable affect on his narrative.

¹³ See transcription references: 67 – 69.

ii) *Crisis in 1997 and the affect on Simon's imagoes*¹⁴

Simon had already committed a rape prior to this crisis. This suggests that the imago interactions and characteristics linked to his offending were already largely in place. It also suggests it is not easy to make a clear division between Simon's 'pre-murder series' and 'murder series' narratives, and that there is an overlap between them. More specifically, the imago interactions and characteristics as already laid out in the 'Adult Life (pre-murder series)' imago analysis section with the overlap between Simon's pre-murder and murder narratives represented in the rape of Nomsa Mathetsa.

After this crisis in 1997 Simon commits the three murders he confesses to, was convicted of, and provides clear narratives for. This suggests this crisis may have removed the final barriers to him associating his self with 'justified' murder. In a continuation of the emerging crisis in the preceding years, the crisis in 1997 sees further weakening of the Good Family Man imago. Here, it is coupled particularly with further strengthening of the Vengeful Suitor imago's motives.

- **Further weakening of Good Family Man**

1997 brought the final blows to the Good Family Man imago, and these tipped Simon into crisis. The threatened disintegration of Simon's home life meant he was failing to live up to the aspirations of the Good Family Man imago, inherited from the Eldest Brother imago. This was exacerbated by Simon's failure to live up to another aspiration of the Good Family Man, when his work "went down". At the same time as all this, Simon was diagnosed as HIV positive. It is consistent with the interpersonal interaction of the Vengeful Suitor imago that Simon would not blame himself for this, and rather focus his anger on the woman who infected him. What is notable is that his anger is couched in terms of its harming his ability to meet the aspirations of the Good Family Man imago: Simon links his diagnosis directly to how it would prevent his being the "strong" breadwinner for his family. This diagnosis thus limited his ability to meet his positive aspirations, and so undermined the Good Family Man imago.

¹⁴ See transcription references: 27 – 29, 34, 45, 77, 84, 85.

Although he cannot articulate a precise cause, Simon gives a clear impression of a series of pressures leading him to murder. These pressures struck at all aspects of the Good Family Man imago: brother, family and church. Even work, the area where the Good Family Man appeared to have the most influence, suffered. As with the previous rejections he suffered at the hands of women, the church, and through the deaths of his parents and eldest brother; Simon perceives these pressures as coming without provocation from a hostile world that is beyond his control. This fatally weakened the Good Family Man. The Good Family Man was already a compartmentalised character, one Simon appears to have identified as much with others as with himself, and one he kept separate from the other imagoes up to this point. The limited influence of the Good Family Man imago at this stage is demonstrated by Simon's sister's failed attempts to get him to see a psychiatrist. This supports the earlier hypothesis that Simon needed his eldest brother's physical presence to support the Good Family Man imago.

From this point on the Good Family Man is only a sporadic influence and an occasional character in Simon's unfolding story. While this weakening doesn't see the Good Family Man imago lose any of the four proposed features of the prototypical imago (McAdams, 1988) it displays, it does see the strength of the association with one of these four lessen with the lessening influence of the Good Family Man imago over Simon's behaviour.

- **Strengthening of Vengeful Suitor imago**

In addition to undermining the Good Family Man imago, the perceived threat to Simon's home life (in the person of his wife's former partner wanting to see his daughter) appears to have evoked a strong violent response from Simon. In a similar vein he wanted to revenge himself on the woman who gave him HIV. This suggests that these events were perceived by Simon as a threatened rejection or a cause of future rejection respectively, so drawing the predictable response from the Vengeful Suitor imago.

As established, the Vengeful Suitor imago was motivated to overcome rejection and the loneliness it caused, through violence. Thus by increasing the threat of rejection, the Vengeful Suitor is motivated to react more strongly. This is evidenced in the fact

that Simon's violence against his wife had escalated to a point that concerned his sister enough for her to suggest he seek psychological treatment. The fact that Simon did not seek this treatment may also suggest that he felt his reaction was justified, which further supports the hypothesis that the Vengeful Suitor imago was becoming stronger. The strengthening of the Vengeful Suitor's motive here contrasts with what occurred during the emerging crisis, when it was mainly the Rejecting Woman that was strengthened (which merely meant more provocation for the Vengeful Suitor). Now, with the crisis, both sides of the destructive dynamic between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman have become stronger. From this point in the narrative on the Vengeful Suitor imago appears to wield a more consistent influence over Simon's behaviour than the weakened Good Family Man.

The developing motive of dominance and control associated with the Vengeful Suitor, and possibly expressed in rape, could also be hypothesised to become stronger in response to the events of this crisis. That is, since Simon perceives himself to have no control over these distressing events, the Vengeful Suitor would be more motivated to regain this control, possibly through rape.

It should be remembered that Simon was already offending before 1997 brought the further blows to Good Family Man and the strengthening of the Vengeful Suitor. Thus the events of 1997 did not cause his offending. However, these events and the affects they had on his imagoes may have accelerated his criminal career along the path that the dynamic between the Vengeful Suitor and the Rejecting Woman already dictated to him. In discussing each of his offences, it should become apparent how the destructive relationship between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman imagoes flourished and drove his offending behaviour at a time when the Good Family Man was in decline.

5.1.3.5 Paulina Mbuli

The offence against Paulina Mbuli occurred around the time of the crisis in Simon's life in 1997, although the exact relationship between the crisis in his life and this offence is not entirely clear. Simon was charged with and convicted of attempted rape in connection with his offence against Paulina on 24th May 1997. Paulina Mbuli was a 28 year old school teacher who Simon, driving Nandi's vehicle, agreed to give a lift to a neighbouring town. Police accounts state they were travelling at night and were just before they reached their destination Simon stopped the car at the roadside, grabbed Paulina and began to throttle her until she became weak. He tried to remove her clothes but she fought back violently. Simon responded angrily and in the ensuing struggle Paulina fell from the vehicle. Simon drove off with her luggage, containing her clothes. Paulina walked into town and laid a charge. This case was however only linked to Simon after his arrest. It is not clear from court accounts whether this was due to Paulina not knowing who Simon was, or whether it the police Paulina reported the offence` to did not take action immediately.

Simon denies involvement in this offence and claims it was attributed to him opportunistically, once he was arrested for the other murders. Notwithstanding this, there was enough evidence to convict him. Simon is quick to point out that Paulina Mbuli gave an incorrect make for the vehicle he was driving and Nandi, he implies, gave false testimony in stating Paulina Mbuli's clothes were in her car "but they [the prosecution] did not bring those cars to the court, or those clothes to the court, and all that stuff, and said 'these were Mbuli's things'. But I said, I don't mind. BH: '[Sympathetic] So you just had that case put on you?' SM: '[Emphatic] Yes.'

When we discussed this offence, Simon looked away, repeated his denials, then looked away and down again. I noted at the time that I was not sure whether this was a sign of dishonesty, or simply due to his awkwardness around the topic.

There are obvious parallels between this offence and the rape of Nomsa a year earlier: both victims sought a lift with him, both attacks occurred at the roadside en route, and both victims elicited an angry reaction from Simon and were throttled when they resisted. Furthermore, as in his account of the rape of Nomsa, Simon's narrative

around this incident is vague, and he stammers while giving it. His denial is not clear and unambiguous, and the reasons he gives for Paulina's story being false are confused and unclear. Overall these similarities suggest both the rapes attributed to Simon were part of a pattern of offending.

a) Imago analysis: Paulina Mbuli

i) Role and limitations of the Vengeful Suitor imago¹⁵

The pattern of offending that began to be established with Nomsa Mathetsa appears to have been repeated with Paulina Mbuli. The motives for both these offences (that is, why Simon decided to rape these women) are not clear from his narrative. However, as with Nomsa, Simon's behaviour during the attempted rape of Paulina Mbuli shows clear associations with the Vengeful Suitor imago. In both, Simon becomes violent in response to resistance and the decision to offend, like the decision to become violent towards his female partners, appears to be taken impulsively.

These two rape / attempted rape offences highlight the limits of the Vengeful Suitor imago's influence. The Vengeful Suitor imago does not provide a clear behavioural template for rape offences. This is shown in Simon's offence behaviour appearing neither decisive nor goal-directed. While there is an association between rape and the Vengeful Suitor imago, Simon's narrative does not establish a similar link between this imago and the use of strangulation to control the victim. Attempted or threatened throttling was seen in the offences against both Ms. Mbuli and Ms. Mathetsa, but Simon's narrative neglects to mention it in either of the cases.

There are two possible, non-mutually exclusive, reasons for these limits to the Vengeful Suitor's influence. The first is that the Vengeful Suitor imago is not able to entirely justify an attack against women who appear to have supplied minimal provocation and thus have minimal association with the Rejecting Woman imago. This suggests that at this stage the dynamic with the Rejecting Woman imago is required by the Vengeful Suitor to justify its violence. The second possible reason for

¹⁵ See transcription references: 70, 108.

these limitations is that the behaviours associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago are still evolving. This refers particularly to the use of strangulation to control the victim, where these offences could be seen as a behavioural ‘try out’ for future offences.

Unfortunately, given that Simon denied involvement in this offence and does not discuss it, the above interpretations cannot be confirmed with reference to his narrative. Based on the above discussion it can be hypothesised that Simon’s denial may be due to this offence lacking the moral justification which the interaction between the Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor imagoes supplies his violence against partners. This justification may not have been supplied because Paulina Mbuli was a stranger and thus would not be associated with the Rejecting Woman imago, who Simon’s narrative applies to his associates. This would be exacerbated by the Vengeful Suitor imago not providing a clear template for rape which, alongside the unclear motive for committing rape against a stranger, increases the likelihood of his denying this offence.

5.1.3.6 Stella Mogotsi

Simon’s first conviction for murder was in connection with Stella Mogotsi. He was also convicted of theft in relation to this offence. Four days after the attack on Paulina, on the way to fetch his wife, Simon bumped into an ex-girlfriend of his, a young police officer called Stella Mogotsi. He had had a sexual relationship with Stella, an associate of Nandi’s, three months before. Simon says he wanted to talk to Stella. He wanted to find out why Stella stopped their relationship and began ignoring him. In his words: “Was it because I had nothing, or was it because what Nandi said to her?” Stella didn’t want to listen to him. She told him that Nandi thought he wasn’t good enough to her. Simon said he didn’t want to believe what she said:

SM: ...Stella said it so, that made me angry afterwards. Because the friendship with Nandi was going down. It was back to where we started, we were splitting up again. She was starting make enemies for me. That is how I look at it, you see.

BH: So Nandi was starting to make you enemies.

SM: Yes.

BH: So who were you more angry with when you were sitting there in the car with Stella?

SM: I was angry. Very angry.

Simon's reaction was predictable. Stella, as a police member, was carrying her service pistol, a Z-88.

Nandi made me angry, and Stella made me angry. But I didn't want to kill Stella but I wanted to hurt Stella, I wanted her to know that she hurt me. So I got to hurt her... She was talking so boldly, she was so sure of herself. Only because she had that gun with her. Maybe the gun made her bold, the gun made her strong. But when I took the gun away from her she was no longer that strong, self-assured person.

Unlike with his rapes, Simon narrates the murder of Stella in a quiet, clear voice. He speaks fluently and with certainty, without pauses.

BH: What did you say to her? Did you say things to her, while...?

SM: I never talked a lot with Stella. I never talked a lot with Stella. I just tied her hands behind her back.

BH: Did you shout at her, or swear at her?

SM: [pause] I never shouted at her. I said I was angry and I said the things that made me angry and I left her there.

BH: You said to her what was making you angry.

SM: Yes.

Simon is vague about what actions he carried out. He says he started by tying her hands behind her back then tying them to her neck. He clarifies that he tied her with wire, and continues:

SM: I never killed her. No way what I did to her killed her. Maybe the hold on her neck choked her... so I never had any part in the killing of Stella... I'm not going to lie, I said to myself 'You didn't kill Stella', I didn't kill Stella. I said to myself I didn't kill Stella, I did nothing to kill her. At least, what I did killed her, but I didn't have any intentions of killing Stella...

BH: How did you feel when you were tying her up?

SM: I have to say I was angry.

BH: And just after, when you dropped her off at the roadside?

SM: Relieved...I can say maybe I was relieved I got rid of her.

BH: Relieved to have stopped her talking.

SM: Ja.

According to Simon he didn't rape her. He claims he left Stella by a bus stop, and then drove directly to pick up his wife the schoolteacher. He omits details that later came out in court. He strangled Stella with wire in his car after tying her hands behind her back. It appears that either during the struggle, or after she was dead, her hands were freed and the wire around her neck was attached to her belt. He drove on for a distance then dumped her body near a bus stop.

He had taken Stella's service pistol.

BH: Why did you take Stella's pistol? What made you take it?

SM: I don't know, why I took it [laughs]. I had no plans for the gun, but I took it.

BH: Did you like the gun, or say 'I want this?'

SM: [pause] To tell you truth I'm afraid of guns. But I took it really. I don't like guns.

BH: So just took it with you?

SM: Ja.

BH: Where did you keep it afterwards?

SM: I gave it to Nandi to keep it with her...

BH: So you just took it on the moment and got rid of it later. Did it remind you of Stella?

SM: Yes [emphatic] that's why I immediately got rid of the gun, gave it to someone else.

Even though Simon reports feeling no regret at the time, the above quote reveals he did not want to be reminded about Stella. Two days later, when he heard her body had been discovered, he slept all day. Regret for Stella's killing, it seems, later consumed him:

BH: Did it make you feel bad?

SM: It made me sad, not bad as such, but sad... Sometimes you do something that you cannot use. There's this guy who sings a song 'If I could turn back the hand of time.'

BH: Is that how you felt about Stella?

SM: Ja.

Saying this, Simon broke down in tears. The reasons for this regret become more apparent when Simon says that just after arriving in prison, he felt like he was going mad, tormented by “many things on my mind”. He immediately recalls that:

SM: I remember, with Stella. I have never seen something like that. A person that’s dying, instead of asking God to help her, she said ‘God, please forgive Simon.’ I will never forget. Even today, I won’t.

Simon appears to still wonder about this, and it bothers him. His narrative returns to her many times, a victim he cannot free his mind of and forget.

a) Imago analysis: Stella Mogotsi

This offence clarifies the characteristics of Simon’s imagoes and confirms the notable interactions between them. Furthermore it highlights how these may have changed with the first murder Simon admits to. It is not clear whether the changes to these imagoes precede or were encouraged by this offence.

i) Behaviours associated with Vengeful Suitor evolve and are confirmed¹⁶

This offence does not see changes in the motives or characteristics of the Vengeful Suitor imago. While some of the offence behaviours associated with this imago changed, these represent a simple evolution of the behaviours displayed during the rape of Nomsa Mathetsa and attempted rape of Paulina Mbuli. As seen in the cases of Nomsa and Paulina, this offence was precipitated by Simon’s violent reaction to rejection or resistance, is begun impulsively, and involves throttling. The Vengeful Suitor imago thus remains motivated to overcome rejection and loneliness by getting rid of the provocation of the Rejecting Woman imago who evokes all these emotions. As has been established, the Vengeful Suitor imago supplies the means of overcoming the rejection and loneliness the Lonely Child could not.

¹⁶ See transcription references: 9, 53 – 60, 65, 71, 72, 82, 83, 85, 89, 112.

In all three cases Simon's post offence behaviour, unlike his behaviour during the offence, does not appear logical and coherent. An example of this in Stella's case is Simon's stealing of her firearm, but being unable to articulate clearly why he did so. This illustrates the limits of the behavioural plans associated with the Vengeful Suitor. However this offence does provide a possible explanation for why Simon sleeps for two days after this offence, which may be due to the Vengeful Suitor drawing on its origins as the Lonely Child, and seeking isolation and separation from others.

The most notable behavioural difference in Stella's case is that the throttling involved the use of a ligature and led to her death. In his previous rapes Simon does not confess to the use of throttling. Now he does and so associates this behaviour with the Vengeful Suitor (although he still denies meaning to kill, despite the fact that a conviction of murder can only be secured if intent is proven). A possible reason for his deciding to use a ligature, and confessing to it, is the changes in the Rejecting Woman imago, as will be described below

As mentioned in the previous imago interpretation section, all the above behaviours have already been strongly associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago. However this offence sees these behaviours becoming fully and permanently associated with the Vengeful Suitor.

ii) Role and characteristics of Rejecting Woman imago described further¹⁷

The Rejecting Woman is more clearly described in this offence. This more detailed description shows that the role associated with the Rejecting Woman imago has remained the same: this imago serves to provoke and thus justify the Vengeful Suitor's anger. This offence therefore demonstrates the importance of an association between the victim and the Rejecting Woman imago. Whereas in the cases of Paulina Mbuli and Nomsa Mathetsa the association between the victim and the Rejecting Woman imago was largely hypothetical, here Simon's narrative makes the link between Stella and the Rejecting Woman imago clear. Stella was a former girlfriend whose rejection of Simon was obvious and explicit. Stella was also a friend of Nandi,

¹⁷ See transcription references: 9, 53 – 60, 65, 71, 72, 82, 83, 85, 89, 112.

the person Simon associates with the Rejecting Woman imago most. In fact, the argument appears to have been started by mention of Nandi. Stella's rejection of him, her association with Nandi, and her boldness, must have seemed so like the Rejecting Woman imago in character that it would inevitably provoke the Vengeful Suitor imago, with predictable consequences. By associating Stella with the Rejecting Woman imago, the violence inflicted by the Vengeful Suitor imago is encouraged and justified. This encouragement and justification is evidenced in Simon's throttling of the victim escalating to the point of murder, and in his narrative of the offence which, unlike that for Nomsa or Paulina, is more detailed and narrated fluently. Provoked by the Rejecting Woman, the Vengeful Suitor imago suggest a behavioural plan and bestows his actions with a moral justification. Thus the murder of Stella Mogotsi confirms the importance of the interaction between these two imagoes in motivating Simon's offences.

This offence gives further descriptions of the characteristics Simon associates with the Rejecting Woman imago. First among these is implied in his description of Stella as being "strong, self-assured" and "confident". While they could have previously been inferred as characteristics of the Rejecting Woman, they are now stated explicitly. They are now added to the existing characteristics of the Rejecting Woman imago as being rejecting of Simon, and materialistic.

This offence also sees the strengthening of Nandi's association with the Rejecting Woman imago. In 1997 Nandi helped strengthen this imago in Simon's narrative. Now this association is re-iterated through Nandi's role in causing the argument that lead to Stella's death, and in Simon's giving Stella's pistol to Nandi. By giving an item taken from the victim to the epitome of the Rejecting Woman in his narrative he is further drawing Nandi into, and implicating, her in his offences. This association between the Rejecting Woman and Nandi thus sees this imago have a wider sphere of influence. Previously the Rejecting Woman imago only goaded the Vengeful Suitor by rejecting Simon. Now the Rejecting Woman is blamed for poisoning Simon 'relationships with others. Furthermore, in this offence the Vengeful Suitor's anger appears focused on both Nandi and Stella, where previously was just focused on the person who rejected him. This introduces the possibility of the Vengeful Suitor imago accepting a proxy victim (Stella) rather than target the source of his rejection and

anger (Nandi). These factors expand range of stimuli that will provoke, and so justify the violence of, the Vengeful Suitor.

iii) The residual role of Good Family Man imago¹⁸

In this offence, the role of the Good Family Man appears limited to encouraging regret in Simon. By praying in her dying moments Stella evoked the religious beliefs which the Good Family Man imago inherited from the Eldest Brother and Happy Family imagoes. By associating herself with the Good Family Man, Stella not only lessens her association with the Rejecting Woman which justifies Simon's violence, but she appears to have overcome the separation Simon tries to maintain between the Good Family Man imago and the actions of the Vengeful Suitor. This loss of separation alongside Stella's weakened association with the Rejecting Woman may have encouraged Simon to judge his actions against the moral aspirations of the Good Family Man imago, and so experience regret. Alternatively it may have encouraged the realisation in Simon that, by killing Stella, he had again failed in the aim of the Good Family Man to overcome loneliness and re-establish communion with the idealised family.

5.1.3.7 Portia Mashabela

For this incident Simon was convicted of murder and theft. During this time Simon continued to live a semi-nomadic life, constantly on the move across the Eastern Cape, between jobs, his wife, and his girlfriends. As alluded to he also appears to have been struggling financially at this time. Whatever the reason, Simon rented a room in a house Nandi owned in a large regional town. It was a large four bedroom house, with a garage and servants' quarters out the back. Nandi also lived there, renting out the other rooms. One of the other tenants was a 26 year old woman named Portia Mashabela. She was a colleague of Nandi's and, when Simon was asked to narrate what happened with Portia, his first response was "Things were not going well between me and Nandi". He goes on to say that "The friendship between me and Nandi was starting to have problems again...We would quarrel some times". Simon

¹⁸ See transcription references: 9, 53 – 60, 65, 71, 72, 82, 83, 85, 89, 112.

briefly mentions, in an almost inaudible voice, that he had proposed to Nandi, and she had turned him down. Simon often uses the term ‘proposed’ to mean sexually propositioned, but this might mean marriage. It is not clear what his intention was, and he does not refer to it again. Simon implies this rejection from Nandi had an affect on Portia’s attitude towards him:

One day, Portia started to have a [pause] negative attitude towards me. She would joke about my car, my old car, she would say that I...was not giving a good impression to the house because members of the public would come there and see my car. She would say such jokes. I would laugh but inside, I was not laughing.

Simon told me this in a fast, low voice, sounding angry just talking about it. He goes on narrate an incident where he, because he “like(s) to be play physically”, tried to be playful with Portia by tripping her and catching her before she could fall. Portia did not take this well and retaliated:

She said that if you tore my valuables you won’t be able to pay for that because the money you’re working is not, is too...won't be able to pay for these items, *ei!* [exclaims] she was making me angry. I wanted to slap her but something said to me ‘no don’t’.

Voice not slowing, Simon says that after this incident he told Nandi that he would be moving out because of his clashes with Portia. He left the house and went to live with his girlfriend, who lived locally.

Simon subsequently returned to Nandi and Portia’s house to collect his remaining possessions. He does not say how long it was after he moved out. It was just under four months since the Stella’s death. He arrived at the house on a Wednesday at around 2pm and found the locks had been changed. He phoned Nandi, to ask why

people were “making funny tricks”. Nandi dismissed him by saying he must take his things and get out the house. Simon waited outside the house.

When they were driving this latest BMW, this E class. They parked the car in the driveway... Portia went into the house, I said to Portia ‘don’t lock the house’ because I wanted to get my things out of there. Portia walked into the house with the key, she came back and locked the house then got into the car and drove away.

Here it appears that the women’s flaunting their wealth angers Simon almost as much as their ignoring him. Similarly, Portia appears to be displaying a materialist character trait that Simon had previously associated with Nandi.

Simon wasn’t able to return until the Friday evening, and “I had to do without changing my clothes”. He arrived at half past seven in the evening. Nandi, who Simon refers to in this part of his story as “my sister”, was not there. Portia gave Simon a hostile reception:

She asked me ‘*eh* [sneers] what do I [you] want?’ I said ‘I have come to fetch my things’. She was looking behind me. Swearing, telling me my sister told me she doesn’t want me anymore there. I asked her ‘I am I going to get my things?’ She said ‘no, you must get out of here. You must come when your sister is here’, she said.

He had been repeatedly rudely dismissed and insulted by a woman he appears to have found desirable. To make matters worse she was associated with Nandi, who had also recently rejected him. This provocation was more than Simon could bear. In his haste to tell this part of his story, Simon’s words come out in a jumble:

That made me angry. There are three steps in the house, down steps. I kicked her, she fell down. And then I put my knee on her, when she fell there. Then I proceeded to choke, choke her. She had pantyhose in her hands. And I pulled the pantyhose up, then I pressed with my knee in the back of her. I was telling her all the things that she said that made me angry, all of them. After about five minutes I let her go. I thought ‘OK, I have killed’.

As with Stella, he had strangled Portia with a ligature, while telling her how she had brought this on herself.

“Funny...” at this point Simon sighs, as if sitting back satisfied. His speech slows and becomes more measured and clear:

SM: To tell you the truth I didn't feel sad [pause]. I didn't feel sad. I was not worried.

BH: So you felt angry while you were doing it, then afterwards?

SM: I was not sad as such. Or worried that I had killed someone you see. Maybe inside of me there was a thing that said ‘You've revenged, she did you wrong. You took your revenge’. You see, ‘what you did maybe is right,’ you see. Maybe that's how I felt, but to tell you the truth I was not sad, [pause] you see... in Portia’s case, I was not angry with myself after that one. I can I can say I sort of felt relieved, as if I have solved the most difficult problem I ever had.

Later, I asked him “Which killing didn't you mind doing? Was that Portia?” He replied

SM: Yes.

BH: Did you enjoy it?

SM: I don't think enjoying it is the right word. I revenged.

BH: It was necessary.

SM: Ja.

As with Stella, Simon appears to have committed this offence impulsively. He says he didn't rape her, and he left her fully clothed.

SM: I told myself now *ei*, I have killed someone, so I took her to the garage, put mats over her. Then thought what to do.

BH: Did you drive her in the car? Or did you leave her in the garage?

SM: I left her in the garage...After a week, I took her away.

BH: So she stayed in the garage for about a week?

SM: [very quiet] Yeah.

BH: OK, she just laid there, no one knew what had had happened to her?

SM: [very quiet] Ja.

Simon left the address and returned to his girlfriend's house. After a week, Simon returned to the address, retrieved Portia's corpse from underneath the mats in the garage and loaded it into his car. He drove to a settlement about 50 kilometres away, Fort Beaufort.

BH: Why did you choose Fort Beaufort?

SM: I didn't choose Fort Beaufort, I [stutter] I wanted to get rid of her. No matter where, just to get rid of her... On that particular day I was going to Fort Beaufort with my girlfriend, her sisters' son. So they didn't know what I loaded in the car. They were going to Port Elizabeth. I dropped

them in the house, I came back, I dropped the body there, then I went back to fetch them.

Portia's body was found wrapped in a floral sheet and a plastic bag from Nandi's garage. The stockings she was strangled with were still tied tightly around her neck.

While his behaviours at the crime scene seemed clear, his behaviours after the offence are not. As with Stella, Simon stole an item from Portia. This time, he took his victim's cell phone, but again he can't explain why he committed this theft:

BH: Why did you take that?

SM: I don't know.

BH: Was it the same for the gun?

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you try get rid of it, or did you use it?

SM: I used it.

BH: Did you get rid of it later, or just keep it until you're...?

SM: I got rid of it.

BH: What did you do with it?

SM: I gave it to a man... [inaudible]... an exchange.

a) Imago analysis: Portia Mashabela

This offence confirms the characteristics of, and interactions between, the imagoes displayed in the previous offence. More importantly, the murder of Portia Mashabela epitomises the way in which the interaction between the Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor imagoes serve to justify Simon's offences. As has been established this interaction involves the Rejecting Woman imago provoking the Vengeful Suitor, whose revenge determines the characteristics of Simon's offences. This justification

implied in this interaction also ensures there is no remorse, as this offence does not evoke the Good Family Man imago in any way.

i) Confirmation of the role of the Rejecting Woman imago¹⁹

This offence is notable for the degree to which the Rejecting Woman imago is involved in the events preceding the offence. Firstly, Simon states that he propositioned Nandi, who rejected him. Rejection by someone so closely related to the Rejecting Woman imago must have been hard for Simon (or the Vengeful Suitor) to bear. Secondly, Simon attributes the change in Portia's attitude towards him to this rejection by Nandi. This 'double-rejection' would no doubt aggravate the Vengeful Suitor imago further. Thirdly, not only is Portia closely associated with the epitome of the Rejecting Woman (Nandi) but Portia herself comes to display the characteristics and behaviours of the Rejecting Woman in Simon's narrative: materialistic, bold, rejecting and dismissive of Simon. This is best shown in when Portia arrives in a BMW and refuses to pay any heed to Simon's requests. These rejections and provocations from someone who appeared to be so strongly associated with the Rejecting Woman imago in Simon's narrative could be expected to demand an unequivocal response from the Vengeful Suitor.

ii) Confirmation of behaviours associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago²⁰

Simon's anger in this part of his narrative is obvious in his tone and in the haste at which he narrates the offence. This is at odds with his usually hesitant delivery of offence details and suggests that the anger associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago was particularly dominant in this offence. Notwithstanding this, the influence of the Vengeful Suitor imago on Simon's behaviour mirrors that seen in the previous offences, and this offence does not represent a significant evolution of the Vengeful Suitor imago or Simon's associated offence behaviours. As with the previous offences against Stella, Nomsa and Paulina, the murder of Portia:

- Was precipitated by rejection or resistance.
- Was begun impulsively.

¹⁹ See transcription references: 9, 59, 72 – 76, 82, 88 – 91.

²⁰ See transcription references: 9, 59, 72 – 76, 82, 88 – 91.

- Involved throttling.

All of these behaviours continue to be associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago's overpowering anger and could be linked to the emerging motive of establishing dominance and control. Two further issues are of note. First, the behaviours clearly associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago in Simon's offences do not include rape. Second, Simon's behaviour after this offence (as with Stella) is less organised and coherent. This point supports the hypothesis that the influence of the Vengeful Suitor imago does not appear to extend beyond his characteristic anger and revenge, with post-offence behaviour representing a reversion to the Lonely Child imago's retreat from others and seeking of isolation. Simon's narrative does not supply an answer as to why he stole from Portia (echoing his narrative of Stella's murder), which contrasts with the more clear explanation Simon gives when narrating behaviours associated with the Vengeful Suitor.

Once more the Vengeful Suitor imago gives Simon a clear behavioural plan and moral justification for his actions becoming, in the narrative of his offence, an internal voice encouraging Simon in his vengeance. Given that Portia appeared completely and consistently associated with Simon's epitome of a 'deserving victim' – the Rejecting Woman imago – this justification was unequivocal. Her death was more than justified, it became "necessary". Portia, unlike Stella, had done nothing to either distance herself from the Rejecting Woman or associate herself with the Good Family Man imago. Thus any redemption in Simon's eyes was not possible. This offence, according to Simon's narrative, represents the Vengeful Suitor imago's ideal offence: a satisfying revenge against a victim who deserved it.

5.1.3.8 Zondi Tana

Simon was convicted of the rape and murder of his step-daughter Zondi Tana. This offence was motivated by what could have seemed to Simon the ultimate rejection. His wife Thembeni was planning to divorce him. Remember that his wife's ex-husband had already approached her about access to their children (including Zondi) and this had provoked a violent reaction from Simon who feared it would mean he would be rejected. Now in October 1997, just under a month after Portia's death, Simon went to stay with his wife at her house in a township just outside East London, as he implies he normally did over school holidays. 15-year old Zondi was there visiting his wife, her mother.

Simon admits he was the cause of the break up of his marriage. When I asked whether the divorce was due to his wife returning to her ex-husband, Simon corrects me: "No...I was the cause. She filed for divorce but I was the cause of the divorce..." BH: 'Because of things you were doing?' SM: 'Yes, because of things, like...' ". At this point Simon is overcome by emotion and falls silent. I was concerned about his reaction and reassured him that I knew that this must be hard for him and he didn't have to talk if he didn't want to. Perhaps Simon, confronted with the part he played in thwarting his marital dreams, is overwhelmed. Alternatively, it is the story to come that makes him weep. He continues, and the story of Zondi's murder is punctuated by pauses.

SM: That day I woke up early. Her mother had cut our mattress in half.

She wrote me a letter telling me that she doesn't want to see me again.

And she also sent back the watch I gave her for our fourth anniversary.

Then I said '*ish*, she is serious'... I had to get her, I had to get hold of her but there was no way, she didn't want to see me again.

BH: Did you want her back, or were you just angry at her?

SM: I wanted her back, I wanted her back

Simon phoned his wife and asked her to return to her house to speak with him. She refused, saying she would be spending that night at a friend's. He went to where his wife was staying but her friend didn't allow him in. At this point Simon intended to find his wife, kill her, and then commit suicide: "Just to finish it off, *klaar* [finished], there and then....I was going to shoot Thembeni and then I was going to shoot myself..." He tried to find a firearm his sister's house, as he knew where she hid hers, but could not find it. He then returned to their house to wash. His next plan was to drive to Bisho where he knew he could find Stella's Z-88 to fulfil his murder-suicide plans.

Zondi, Simon says, was "at the wrong place. At the wrong time". Speaking slowly and deliberately, with many pauses, he continues: "[sighs] Because that day, I wanted to hurt her mother. [Pause] But unfortunately I couldn't get my hands on her mother. So I took what I knew she really loved, her daughter." Simon was about to take the step he "didn't have the guts" to do at the time of his first rejection by Sweetie. He was about to take revenge, any way he could.

SM: While I was busy washing at my sister's house, I saw Zondi again. Zondi was busy at the fire at her granma's house [*i.e.* next door]. I saw Zondi getting into her grandma's house carrying things. I washed myself and finished washing myself. Then Zondi came out of the house. I told myself 'if I want to get even, now's the chance'.

BH: So you hadn't thought about it before?

SM: Ja. Suddenly I told myself this is a chance to get even, with the father, and with the mother.

BH: The mother, Thembeni.

SM: Ja, to take what they love most. I knew Thembeni loved Zondi, I knew that Zondi's father loved Zondi as well, very much, you see. Now I told myself, this is the time to get even.

It appears that, as before, the decision to murder was taken impulsively. Similarly, the victim was selected opportunistically. However rather than immediately attack his victim, Simon decided to follow her and lure her away.

Simon followed Zondi as she walked to the nearby taxi rank she normally used. Simon planned to catch the same taxi she did. A brown Kombi arrived, Zondi got on, and “fortunately” there was a spare seat for Simon. When the taxi arrived at a nearby Square, Simon knew that Zondi would alight soon so he got off about 300 metres from where she did.

SM: When the Kombi came there, I saw Zondi, and said, ‘listen here there is something I want you to give to a certain guy, a church elder from our church, so can you please come with me and fetch this thing in my flat?’. I had a flat in Atalanta Street...Atalanta is a bar when we came to that bar with Zondi [pause] she said ‘can we hurry’ because she was getting late for school [Sunday school].

It was midday on a Sunday. Simon took Zondi to the Atalanta Bar, above which was the flat he owned. He bought a quarter of gin and two Cokes. He gave Zondi a Coke,

SM: ... then I poured the quarter of gin into the Coke and then I drank it.

BH: What did you do that for?

SM: I’m sure I was taking some strength for what I was going to do. I was taking the shyness out of me. I was trying to get rid of the fright, of being frightened. Because I told myself I had to do this. I was going to pay Thembeni back where it hurt most.

Simon’s reflections did not slow his actions:

SM: Everything happened suddenly. Everything happened so fast I don't know ...I was always thinking of something, then maybe a minute or two, then if I had a problem with this then, suddenly another plan would come. So everything happened fast.

He says it took less than ten minutes from his decision to kill Zondi, to where we was now, with her in the Atalanta Bar. Simon sounds ashamed when he describes, in a clear slow voice, what happened next:

SM: So after maybe three, five minutes I took Zondi 'come here, there is something up in the flat'. I strangled her. I raped her first. I won't lie, you see.

BH: Did you speak to her?

SM: Ja.

BH: And what did she say?

SM: She was crying.

BH: Did you have to hit her at all, or was she too scared?

SM: She was too scared.

BH: And then after you finished raping her?

SM: I strangled her.

Zondi, he says, looked like her mother. Like Stella, he said, she prayed when she died. According to police reports he had strangled Zondi with a nylon rope, which he tied to the leg of chair before he left. Simon left Zondi in the position he had killed her: legs spread and with injuries to her genitals. He locked the door of his flat, and went home.

SM: But I couldn't sleep that night.

BH: What was going through your head?

SM: I was afraid. I was thinking about what I have caused, what have I done. How am I going to forgive myself. Because even now, even today, [Pause] There are certain things that I can forgive and forget, but not Zondi...I regret Zondi.

I asked Simon, whether he had felt that he had “revenged” as he did after Portia. He paused, then replied: “I felt sorrow. For myself and for Zondi.” Simon repeats that, in Zondi’s case, “I won’t be able forgive myself, or to forget...”. While Simon appeared to have regretted killing Stella, his regret was tempered by her ‘deserving it’. With Zondi he did not have this mitigating factor. His regret is unequivocal. When he was first arrested, he denied having anything to do with Zondi’s death. Zondi was Simon’s final victim.

In closing, I asked Simon how to summarise his offences.

BH: You said you're not a serial killer, what would you describe yourself as?

SM: [laughs] I don't know [laughs again] really I don't know. But I'm not one. Because I didn't go around killing people, without a reason, or enjoying killing people...

BH: You say if you're a serial killer you would have done it for no reason or you would have liked doing it.

SM: Ja...

BH: Whenever you killed someone you had a reason.

SM: Yes.

BH: So you never killed anyone who didn't make you angry?

SM: [Pause] And it was not my intention to go around killing people who have made me angry.

a) Imago analysis: Zondi Tana

The previous offence served to confirm the characteristics and interactions of Simon's imagoes associated with offending, the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman. This offence sees a number of notable changes in these and in the role played by the imago not associated with offending, the Good Family Man. These changes do not affect any one imago in isolation, rather impacting on the established interactions between them, the behaviours carried out as a result, and the emotions experienced as a consequence.

i) The Good Family Man's changing interactions²¹

In previous offences the dynamic between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman appeared sufficient to provoke the offence. Now in the murder of Zondi Tana the Good Family Man imago plays a role in provoking the offence. Thus while the murder of Portia was marked by its consistent association with the Rejecting Woman imago, this offence is characterised by association with the less influential Good Family Man imago.

This is due to this offence being precipitated by the final breakdown of his marriage. Simon appears to have found this rejection so profound a blow that his first thought is of suicide. This is perhaps because his failing to hold together his marriage means he has failed to achieve a fundamental aspiration of the Good Family Man imago. There is a consistent association between family life and the Good Family Man imago, springing from the latter's origins in the Eldest Brother and Happy Family imagoes. Similarly, his contemplation of suicide harks back to his attempted suicide as child in response to his parent's deaths, the deaths which provided the Lonely Child's origin myth and which were the separation the Good Family Man strove to overcome.

While vengeance against his wife for rejecting him is still justified by the interaction between the Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor imagoes, this is added to here by the rejection being a blow to the aspirations of the Good Family Man imago. Vengeance is thus more than justified, and focused on the family unit (Zondi,

²¹ See transcription references: 78 – 86, 88 – 90, 92.

Thembeni and Zondi's biological father) that created this feeling of rejection in Simon. However as shall be shown, his narrative's justifications for offending, built around the Rejecting Woman imago, cannot support the Vengeful Suitor taking revenge on a whole family.

ii) Conflict within the Vengeful Suitor²²

The Vengeful Suitor imago retains the strongest influence over Simon's behaviours in this offence. Simon's closing statement is testament to the lasting influence of the Vengeful Suitor imago. Simon states that he, in contrast to his conception of a 'serial killer', did not murder people without reason. Simon implies that he had a clear reason and justification which, as has been shown, was provided by the interaction between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman imago. Once again Simon had been rejected by a woman and his behavioural plans were dictated by the Vengeful Suitor's violent response to all Rejecting Women. Again the Vengeful Suitor is evoked in response to rejection and the threat of loneliness. Here this rejection is even more potent, coming with the threat of divorce, a clear demonstration of the Good Family Man's failure to re-establish the idealised family. Notwithstanding this, this murder displays a number of behaviours that either have not been associated with the Vengeful Suitor's previous actions in offences, or are not fully justified by its dynamic with the Rejecting Woman. These behaviours appear to have created conflict within the Vengeful Suitor imago.

Firstly, Simon has aimed his violence not at a victim associated with the Rejecting Woman imago, but at a substitute. The possibility of his doing this was introduced in the previous two offences (where both Stella and Portia could be hypothesised as substitutes for Nandi) but in both previous murders the victims were themselves still associated with the Rejecting Woman imago. This development in the murder Zondi could be explained by the fact that, the blow inflicted by the Rejecting Woman in this case (his wife) would have been especially devastating because it dashed the hopes of the Good Family Man and simultaneously provoked the rage of the Vengeful Suitor imago, so justifying revenge by any means. It can be explained further by the

²² See transcription references: 78 – 86, 88 – 90, 92.

observation that, by attacking someone associated with the Rejecting Woman imago, the Vengeful Suitor imago is recalling its origin myth: to get revenge any way he can, something Simon “didn’t have the guts” to do at the time of the origin myth.

Secondly, in this offence, Simon’s behaviour mimics that used by the Vengeful Suitor to demonstrate his dominance in relationships, rather than that established as part of the Vengeful Suitor’s behavioural repertoire in previous murders. That is, he rapes the victim. This is seen alongside other behaviours not previously associated with (and so justified by) the Vengeful Suitor imago, such taking the decision to offend impulsive but rather than attacking immediately, as before, following Zondi and luring her away to kill her.

By simultaneously attacking someone who is not associated with the Rejecting Woman and undertaking behaviours not associated with the Vengeful Suitor’s previous offences it appears that the overpowering and impulsive anger of the Vengeful Suitor imago has been tempered with a cool headed malice. As shall be shown it is perhaps this, not typically associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago, which provokes the regret Simon associates strongly with this offence.

iii) Remorse: an explanation with reference to imagoes²³

It is clear from Simon’s narrative that this offence is not the same as the ‘justified’ murder of Portia. Here his tone is muted, sad, and his story his punctuated with pauses. An analysis of his imagoes offers a number of hypotheses for this regret. These are not mutually exclusive, and may have operated together.

As alluded to above, some of Simon’s regret may have been due to this offence representing the clearest demonstration his failure to meet the aspirations of the Good Family Man imago in his narrative. This regret and remorse would be added to by the collapse in the separation between those imagoes associated with offending (Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor) and those imagoes which are not (Good Family Man). This pattern, where regret was caused by this separation breaking down, was seen to a

²³ See transcription references: 85 – 87.

lesser extent in the murder of Stella. Here not only did Zondi pray while dying and so evoke the Good Family Man, but she was related to Simon and her murder was in part motivated and justified by the failure of the Good Family Man's aspirations. This collapse in separations is more complete than any previously seen, and so potentially generates greater regret. Finally, it could be hypothesised that regret was a result of the above-mentioned conflict within the Vengeful Suitor imago. That is, by overstepping the justifications contained in Rejecting Woman – Vengeful Suitor dynamic and in the Vengeful Suitor's behavioural template, both of which have been outlined above, Simon feels regret.

Any one of these hypotheses, or a combination thereof, could potentially explain Simon's anxiety before this offence. He, for the first time, needed alcohol to help him overcome his "fear", and appeared to pause to reflect on what he was about to do. They could also explain his initial denial of this offence upon arrest, and in court.

5.1.3.9 Arrest and reflection

In Simon's story, he submitted to capture meekly:

BH: How did you feel when the police came around?

SM: [pause] I had no problems with this. I knew they were bound to come. Sooner or later, they were going to come, they were going to get me...I must get myself ready to face the consequences of my deeds.

BH: Did you try cover your tracks, did you take away fingerprints at the scenes?

SM: No.

Simon's account is contradicted by police accounts. Simon apparently evaded capture for a month and a half after Zondi's death, at one point telephoning investigators to tell them he would hand himself in once he had found a Methodist minister to surrender to.

After five months in custody, Simon managed to escape and was again on the run for a few days before being rearrested. Simon did not discuss either of these events in interview, and thus his motives for trying to avoid prison are not known. Neither did Simon discuss his reasons for initially confessing to most of his offences, then revoking these confessions and claiming innocence.

Whilst discussing his offences and his life, Simon reflected on his relationship with Nandi.

SM: Nandi made me angry. If I wanted to kill her I could have killed many a times. I had the chance. But I didn't want to kill Nandi. She's still alive today.

BH: What kept Nandi alive? Why didn't you kill her?

[Pause, mutual laughter at difficult question]

SM: No, I really like Nandi. Especially now. But, I think maybe the children. Let's say the children. My brother's children helped her stay alive.

BH: OK, so it's because she had your brother's children, you didn't...

SM: Ja.

In prison, Simon appeared to be reclaiming many of the interests that seem to have been neglected in his narrative prior to this. At the time of interview Simon had resumed his studies to be a minister, and repeatedly mentions his bookishness. His aspirations, he says, are still “to help people” perhaps by becoming a psychologist or, as he later suggests, “preaching” in schools about the dangers of crime. Simon also appears to be trying to spend more time with his extended family: stating he is still in touch with his girlfriend and sisters, reminiscing about the times he spent joking with his family and his brother's children, and hoping these times will return. Simon insists

he is now a changed man and would never commit this sort of offence again. He states “The only thing that you really need to do is you must be able to say 'no'.”

a) Imago analysis: Arrest and reflection

Simon’s behaviour immediately before, and after, his arrest casts further light on the roles played by his imagoes in his narrative as a whole. In particular, this episode casts further light on the Good Family Man imago. Given this study’s aims, this discussion will be brief and focus particularly on how this affects the construction of Simon’s narrative.

i) The resurgence of the Good Family Man imago²⁴

According to police records Simon telephoned investigators while evading arrest, saying he would hand himself in once he had found a Methodist minister to surrender to. The only hypothesis that can be proposed for this, based on an analysis of his imagoes, is that he was motivated to obtain forgiveness from someone who, like his eldest brother, was a Methodist minister and thereby reconcile himself with the lost aspirations of that the Good Family Man imago.

The Good Family Man imago, although only sporadically appearing, did still have some influence over Simon’s behaviour. Beyond it appearing to contribute to his regret around Stella and Zondi, Simon implicitly acknowledges that it is the only reason that Nandi remains alive, in his statement that he did not murder Nandi because she was the mother of his brother’s children. It thus appears that Nandi, who was linked to virtually all of Simon’s offences, who he says contributed to his victims’ rejecting him and thereby sealing their own fate, and who the Rejecting Woman imago appeared to characterise was not killed because of her association with the Good Family Man imago. She, by being the mother of his idolised Eldest Brother imago’s children, was protected from Simon’s violence.

²⁴ See transcription references: 11, 93, 106, 107, 110.

In speaking of his perceptions after arrest, Simon is more reflective, and hasty to forgive those who he perceives as having wronged him, such as Nandi or the police members who accused him of offences he says he did not commit. This seems consistent with the religious ideals of the Good Family Man imago. The communal and vocational aspirations of the Good Family Man also appear to have resurfaced in prison. This is demonstrated not only in Simon resuming his studies, but also in him trying to reclaim the lost communal ties of the Good Family Man imago. The latter is shown in his emphasis on his staying in touch with his girlfriend and sisters, reminiscing with his family, planning their future family life together, and wanting to become a minister and lecture on the dangers of crime. All these aspiration and plans express his desire for family as well as social acceptance and achievement. This suggests that the fundamental motive of the Good Family Man imago (which is shared with the Vengeful Suitor) remains unchanged: reclaim the idealised Happy Family imago.

However many of these aspiration and plans appear vague, varied and somewhat one-dimensional, like the Good Family Man imago itself. As before this resurgence in the Good Family Man imago's influence depends on the influence of an external other. Where previously it was his eldest brother, now it is a minister to surrender to, and the prison system. This re-iterates the earlier observation casting doubt on the extent to which the ideals the Good Family Man (inherited from the Eldest Brother imago) were completely associated with Simon's self.

Finally, the increased influence of the Good Family Man could be hypothesised to have had an influence on the re-construction of Simon's narrative in the interview context: it may be the reason why Simon is hesitant to discuss negative events or emotions. For example, Simon possibly doesn't mention his crisis in the late 1990's (and keeps the various strands of his story separate) because he's trying to maintain the Good Family Man's aspired for characteristics of 'calmness' and the ability to 'do anything' which he inherited from the Eldest Brother imago. He is thus motivated to present both himself, and the idealised Happy Family imago, as good.

This last episode does not add further to our understanding of the Vengeful Suitor or Rejecting Woman imagoes, or how they may have evolved in prison. It could be

hypothesised that in prison, separated from anyone likely to evoke the Rejecting Woman and provoke the Vengeful Suitor, Simon's narrative is better able to evolve in line with the less powerful influences of the Good Family Man. There is a possibility that this could lead to Simon identifying his self more strongly with the Good Family Man imago, but there was no unequivocal evidence of this in his narrative.

5.1.4 Epilogue to Simon Mandlenkosi's story

There are two narrative inquiries this story aims to answer: (a) What role do imagoes play in the motivation of a person who commits serial murder? (b) What role do imagoes play in the development of the offending behaviour? Simon's story supplies answers to all three questions, but to fully understand them we first need to summarise the findings.

5.1.4.1 Summary of story structure

The meaning in Simon's story is not initially clear. Simon does not spontaneously make causal links and correlations, and the chronology of events he gives is often vague. Similarly, and perhaps at the root of this vagueness, is Simon's tendency to avoid discussing emotional and negative issues. Thus analysis was required to make the meaning in certain parts of his narrative apparent. Simon's crisis in 1997, and how it contributed to his offending, is an example of this. In the same vein is Simon's not discussing his offences in chronological order (although the interview method may have contributed to this). Overall, therefore, Simon's narrative was occasionally limited by a lack of clarity.

Simon's preferred self-concept is that of a "nice, friendly" joke-loving family man, undermined by his vengeful anger and by rejecting women. This encapsulates his imagoes, and the interplay between these inner characters is clearly expressed in his offences. In terms of Simon's overall role in the narrative, he tends to play the part of someone who has negative circumstances which are entirely beyond his control inflicted upon him. For example, women are depicted as rejecting him without any justification, just as the church appears to have turned against him capriciously. While this blaming of others is partly mitigated by his occasionally narrating how he made a

situation worse (for example, in the murder of Zondi), his story has strong elements of the “condemnation scripts” (Maruna, 2001) previously noted in the narratives of repeat offenders.

While Simon’s implied use of condemnation scripts did not affect the creation of meaning in his narrative, his vague chronology and avoidance of negative emotional issues may have. Notwithstanding this, it was possible to identify imagoes in his narrative, and thus answer the narrative inquiries.

5.1.4.2 Summary of imago interpretations.

Simon’s narrative presented a total of six imagoes. These imagoes arise at various stages in his narrative. Three were associated with other people (the Happy Family, Eldest Brother and Rejecting Woman imagoes) and three were associated with Simon’s self (the Lonely Child, Vengeful Suitor and Good Family Man imagoes). A cross-section of the above two groups – the Lonely Child, Vengeful Suitor, and Rejecting Woman imagoes – could be termed ‘offending’ imagoes by playing a direct role in Simon’s offences, although other imagoes also contributed to this process. All Simon’s imagoes represent a continuum of development. This section will summarise the chronology of how his imagoes developed, how they interacted with each other and related to his offending.

The narrative of Simon’s childhood reveals three imagoes. In Simon’s narrative the imagoes established in childhood personify the themes that pervade his story. The Happy Family imago and Eldest Brother imago are established earliest in his narrative. These are associated with other people and interact with each other. This is in contrast to the imago arising later in childhood, the Lonely Child, who is associated with Simon’s self and appears to be kept separate from the other imagoes.

The Happy Family imago personifies Simon’s experience of his family. Simon explicitly associates this imago with the idealised positive aspects of his family. However these positive associations exist alongside a number of negative associations, which Simon does not acknowledge openly. By not acknowledging his ambivalence towards the Happy Family imago Simon is able to retain the Happy

Family imago as a source of solace in his childhood narrative. The Happy Family imago has a strong communal orientation and Simon associates closeness, lack of conflict, and acceptance with it. It is also associated with religion and with God. The positive aspects of the Happy Family imago suggest a warm, nurturing communal bond which Simon feels a strong sense duty towards. Throughout his narrative Simon is reluctant to associate anything negative with this imago or allow people associated with the Happy Family imago to be aware of any wrongdoing on his part. The Happy Family imago is thus simultaneously a source of, and relief from, isolation and loneliness. The Happy Family imago does not persist beyond his childhood, and its influence and associations are incorporated into later imagoes. Many of Simon's imagoes after his childhood appear motivated to reclaim the acceptance and solace, and overcoming the rejection, of the Happy Family imago. The ambivalent Happy Family imago therefore provides a fundamental motive and foundation for many of the imagoes arising subsequently in Simon narrative.

The Eldest Brother imago arises at the same time as the Happy Family imago. It is an idealised representation of Simon's eldest brother, who is immediately established in Simon's narrative as his role model and the source of his aspirations. Simon seeks to emulate his brother in vocation, physical skill, emotional temperament and intellect. The Eldest Brother imago shares a number of features with the Happy Family imago. Both have a strong communal orientation, an association with religion, and are presented as unequivocally and unambiguously good. The main difference between the Happy Family and Eldest Brother imagoes in Simon's childhood is that the Eldest Brother acts as a source of aspiration for Simon; while the Happy Family is a source of acceptance and solace. While the Happy Family is source of unacknowledged ambiguity the Eldest Brother imago is entirely positive. The entirely positive perception of the Eldest Brother imago is maintained throughout Simon's narrative and forms an important part of his imagoes of self.

Unlike Simon's other two childhood imagoes, the Lonely Child imago has a clear origin myth: the death of Simon's parents and the powerful feelings of rejection, anger and loneliness this engendered in him. The Lonely Child imago arises as a personification of these emotions and as a means to handle them in the narrative. The Lonely Child thus becomes a repository for the feelings of rejection, loneliness, and

anger. Unlike the vocational aspirations of the Eldest Brother imago, the Lonely Child imago's goals are implied in its role: to handle the loneliness, anger and rejection present in Simon's narrative of childhood, and handle his thwarted desire for acceptance. Being associated with Simon's self, this imago becomes one of his dominant ways of interacting with the world. Simon's narrative clearly explains the motivations of the Lonely Child: rejection leads to loneliness, which is then handled through anger at the rejecting person(s) and violence against them. This violence has a dual purpose for the Lonely Child: achieve emotional release, and assert his self in an attempt to control his environment. Alongside this violent reaction to rejection, the Lonely Child imago also encapsulates Simon's desire to be alone, seeking isolation and separation from others. The Lonely Child imago does not interact with the Simon's other childhood imagoes, rather becoming Simon's means to assert his agentic desires, through violence. The character of the Lonely Child imago emphasises the link between loneliness and violence in Simon's narrative.

Simon's childhood imagoes persist into adolescence, before evolving and being incorporated into the imagoes that will carry him into adulthood. The Lonely Child imago remains the dominant imago of self in Simon's early adolescence, with a largely unchanged role. However from around the age of 15 the features of the Lonely Child, including its associated anger, were progressively channelled into an emergent imago of self. The process of change accelerated markedly with his first serious sexual relationship, aged 18. This relationship supplied the origin myth for two of the dominant imagoes of Simon's narrative: the Vengeful Suitor and the Rejecting Woman.

Simon's first significant intimate relationship is described in strongly positive and emotional terms. These positive associations suggest this relationship gave Simon a means to access the acceptance that the Lonely Child craved. We can further hypothesise that this relationship allowed him to reclaim the acceptance and sense of communion associated with the idealised Happy Family imago. This relationship thus encouraged a change in Simon's imagoes: relationships with women, rather than violence, were beginning to be established as the preferred means to address loneliness.

This waning of the Lonely Child imago accelerated sharply when the woman in this relationship rejected Simon. This evoked the rejection, loneliness and anger of the Lonely Child imago, and supplies the origin myth for the Vengeful Suitor imago. As the name implies, the Vengeful Suitor had two motives: to overcome rejection through violence, and to reclaim the lost communion of the family and the Happy Family imago. This imago's origin myth illustrates how these overlapping motives are aspects of a single mode of interpersonal interaction, and how one causes the other: Simon tries to reclaim the family via an intimate relationship and when this fails, tries to overcome the rejection through anger and violence.

The changes in the role, targets, and aims of this anger mark the evolution from the Lonely Child to the Vengeful Suitor most clearly. The indiscriminate anger of the Lonely Child is now articulated as revenge being taken on a single group of people. Thus the Vengeful Suitor offers Simon clear and unambiguous behavioural plans to take physical revenge on any woman who rejects him. This implies the Vengeful Suitor is partly defined by its relationship to other imagoes, and where the Lonely Child used violence as a means to achieve emotional release and so manage loneliness, now the Vengeful Suitor uses it as a means to *overcome* loneliness and rejection by directly attacking the person that evokes it.

Where previously the Lonely Child was unable to overcome the loneliness and rejection it feared, the Vengeful Suitor provides Simon two means to do this: intimate relationships which evoke the acceptance of the Happy Family imago, and revenge to overcome any subsequent rejection. The characteristics and functions of the Lonely Child imago are thus subsumed into the Vengeful Suitor imago and its relationships with other imagoes.

The Rejecting Woman imago shares the Vengeful Suitor's origin myth. This origin myth sets the template for all future interactions between these imagoes. That is, the Rejecting Woman provides a provocation and focus for the Vengeful Suitor imago's anger and vengeance. By becoming a focus for the Vengeful Suitor's negative perceptions and hatred of rejection, the Rejecting Woman refines a role previously associated with the Lonely Child imago: it ensures no negative associations are made with Eldest Brother imago or idealised Happy Family imago of childhood. These

imagoes are thus free to continue to act as sources of aspiration for Simon. At this stage, the characteristics of the Rejecting Woman imago are vague and this imago is associated with any woman who rejects Simon.

In Simon's early adolescence the Eldest Brother imago takes on a stronger role as the only source of control over the Lonely Child imago. Initially these positive effects were only seen when Simon was in direct contact with the person of his eldest brother (this being the brother with whom the Eldest Brother imago attempts to emulate). As Simon ages he appears to increasingly adopt the intellectual and education aspirations of the Eldest Brother imago as his own. Thus Eldest Brother imago begins to be associated with Simon's self, along with its existing association with the person of his brother. This increasing association of the Eldest Brother imago with Simon's self is the starting point for the development of Simon's most positive imago of self, the Good Family Man imago.

The direct influence of the Happy Family imago over Simon fades as the controlling influence it had in his childhood is subsumed by the influence and aspirations of the Eldest Brother and embryonic Good Family Man. Notwithstanding this the solace and acceptance it offered remains a goal in Simon's narrative, and one he tries to achieve via the Good Family Man and the Vengeful Suitor.

The period of adulthood immediately prior to Simon's committing the murders for which he was imprisoned sees a number of changes in the characteristics of his imagoes and the interactions between them. In Simon's adulthood the Vengeful Suitor imago becomes embedded in his narrative and fully identified with his self. It thus supports and justifies Simon's violence against Rejecting Woman, and so prevents his feeling regret. The Vengeful Suitor maintains the motives established in its origin myth (overcome loneliness by regaining the communion associated with the Happy Family imago through sexual relationships, and overcome the subsequent rejection through violence) and these are increasingly displayed in the narrative of his adulthood.

To these motives the Vengeful Suitor adds the developing motive of dominance and control. Now that the Vengeful Suitor imago supplies Simon with a means to

overcome loneliness and rejection, the desire for control formerly implied in the Lonely Child's violence becomes explicit and is openly expressed in Simon's behaviour. This developing motive affects the Vengeful Suitor imagoes' behaviour where violence is now both provoked by rejection and increasingly motivated by the desire for control; and where both sexual and non-sexual violence (raping and / or kicking his female partners) are established as part of the routine of violence. The behavioural repertoire of acceptable and justified violence is expanding. The activities of the Vengeful Suitor are still kept separate from the Eldest Brother imago (and its residual association with the idealised Happy Family imago), and Simon appears to feel sadness and regret when these imagoes come into contact.

In Simon's adulthood prior to his murders, the interaction between the Rejecting Woman and the Vengeful Suitor is embedded. This interaction now offers Simon his standard and justified behavioural response to real or perceived rejection, and increasingly to any challenges to his dominance. The Vengeful Suitor imago entirely justifies all the violence against Rejecting Women in Simon's narrative. In giving his violence a focus, the interaction between these imagoes serves to shield the Eldest Brother imago (and emergent Good Family Man imago) from Simon's anger.

Upon leaving school Simon is able to begin meeting the aspirations embodied in the imago of his Eldest Brother imago. This provides the beginnings of the Good Family Man imago, which seeks to meet the vocational and communal goals of the Eldest Brother imago, now increasingly associated with Simon's self. While the Good Family Man imago lacks a distinct origin myth, it subsumes many the characteristics of the Eldest Brother imago, including its interactions with other imagoes. The Good Family Man shares a motive with the Vengeful Suitor: to re-establish communion with the idealised Happy Family imago of his youth, and so gain acceptance and solace. However the Good Family Man tries to achieve it by attaining the aspirations it inherited from the Eldest Brother imago. Alongside the Vengeful Suitor, the Good Family Man imago is Simon's other dominant imago of adulthood. Like the Eldest Brother imago the Good Family Man becomes the focus for Simon's positive perceptions of the idealised Happy Family imago of his youth. It thus inherits these imagoes' ability to control Simon's behaviour (especially when acting in conjunction

with the direct influence of his brother). This helps make period of Simon's narrative from when he left school until 1997 a relatively stable one.

However Simon still shields the Good Family Man imago (like the Happy Family and Eldest Brother before it) from any association with the negative emotions or with the less socially acceptable aspects of the Vengeful Suitor imagoes' behaviour. Interaction between the Vengeful Suitor imago and Good Family Man imagoes is avoided. This increasingly means that the Good Family Man imago is kept segregated from a significant portion of his life. This lack of interaction between the Good Family Man and the other imagoes of Simon's adulthood also suggests that the Good Family Man becomes an increasingly isolated and compartmentalised character, which still needs Simon's eldest brother's physical presence to fully control the negative aspects of Simon's behaviour.

The emerging crisis in Simon's narrative during the late 1990's takes the form of a number of external events, gaining their significance from their affect on Simon's imagoes and the interactions between them. In this period the Rejecting Woman imago is strengthened due to its association with the person of Simon's eldest brother's wife, Nandi. Nandi appears to evoke potent feelings of rejection in Simon which, alongside her perceived negative impact on his eldest brother, lead to Nandi being strongly associated with the Rejecting Woman imago. This identification with Nandi lead to the Rejecting Woman imago having more clear characteristics. The Rejecting Woman imago is now particularly associated with materialism and with attacks on Simon's aspirations. This helps widen range of stimuli that will provoke violence in Vengeful Suitor. Strengthening the Rejecting Woman means the dynamic between Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman is more powerful and difficult to control.

Alongside these changes, the Rejecting Woman imago, like the Vengeful Suitor, remains a repository for all negative emotions and associations. Whereas the Vengeful Suitor directly affects Simon's behaviour, the Rejecting Woman only influences it insofar as it provokes the Vengeful Suitor. The degree to which the Rejecting Woman imago causes the Vengeful Suitor to be expressed is not clear, although they frequently appear together in the story. The interactions between the Vengeful Suitor

and the Rejecting Woman influence much of Simon’s offending behaviours and the emotions he attributes to these behaviours.

At the same time as the Rejecting Woman being strengthened, the Good Family Man imago was weakened. The Good Family Man appears to have been particularly vulnerable to external pressures due to it being a one-dimensional, idealised imago lacking the nuances of character associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago. This one-dimensionality appears to make the Good Family Man imago vulnerable. Two events weakened the Good Family Man imago. First, Simon’s eldest brother died. As mentioned, not only was the Good Family Man kept separate from the other imagoes, it relied on external others for support; despite it being identified with Simon’s self. The loss of his eldest brother meant the Good Family Man imago lost a significant controlling influence over Simon. Secondly, Simon was prevented from becoming a church minister. Given the association between the Eldest Brother, Happy Family and the Good Family Man imagoes and religious belief, rejection by the church undermines the basis for the Good Family Man and robs Simon of another way to regain the communion of the family. This is shown in Simon’s perceiving this event as a rejection. This further weakens the Good Family Man imago, and strengthens emotions associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago.

Table 7: *Summary of Simon’s offences and victims*

Victim	Offences*
Nomsa Mathetsa	Rape
Paulina Mbuli	Attempted rape, theft
Stella Mogotsi	Murder, theft
Portia Mashabela	Murder, theft
Zondi Tana	Murder, rape

*Refers to offences for which Simon was convicted.

Around this time, Simon committed the first offence he was later imprisoned for, the rape of Nomsa Mathetsa. His account of this rape is confused and unclear. The contrast between this and the clarity with which he describes some of his murders

suggests this offence lacks the clear justification and rationale that the interactions between his imagoes bring to his murders. This lack of support from the imagoes may also suggest the behavioural influence they, particularly the Vengeful Suitor, usually have on his offences is also lacking. It is notable that Nomsa's resistance brought the violence normally associated with the Vengeful Suitor into expression. This violence included rape which, based on the Vengeful Suitor imagoes' previous actions, is associated with the desire to express dominance and control. However beyond this influence, Simon's behaviour during the rape of Nomsa is not entirely explicable in terms of his imagoes.

After this rape, in 1997, Simon's narrative implies that a crisis occurred. Simon had already committed a rape. This suggests that the imago interactions and characteristics linked to his offending may already largely be in place. It also suggests there is no clear division between Simon's 'pre-murder series' and 'murder series' narratives and that rather they overlap. After this crisis Simon commits the murders he confesses to and provides clear narratives for. In a continuation of the emerging crisis in the preceding years, this crisis sees further weakening of the Good Family Man imago coupled with a further strengthening of the Vengeful Suitor imago's motives.

The Good Family Man was further weakened by trio of blows: Simon's home life was threatened, his work "went down", and he was diagnosed as HIV positive. These pressures struck at all aspects of the Good Family Man imago: brother, family and church; and all represented blows to the Good Family Man's aspirations. The Good Family Man, already a compartmentalised character that Simon appears to have identified with others as much as with himself, and kept separate from the other imagoes up to this point, was fatally weakened. From this point on the Good Family Man is a sporadic influence and an occasional character in Simon's unfolding story only.

Furthermore the perceived threat to Simon's home life (in the form of his wife's former partner wanting to see his daughter) appears to have evoked a strong violent response from Simon. This suggests Simon perceived these events as a threatened rejection or a cause of future rejection respectively, which drew the predictable response from the Vengeful Suitor imago. The Vengeful Suitor imago is motivated to

overcome rejection and the loneliness it causes through violence. Thus by increasing the threat of rejection, the Vengeful Suitor is motivated to react more strongly. This contrasts with what occurred during the emerging crisis, when it was mainly the Rejecting Woman that was strengthened. This merely meant more provocation for the Vengeful Suitor. Now, with the crisis, both sides of the destructive dynamic between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman have become stronger. From this point on the Vengeful Suitor imago appears to wield a more consistent influence over Simon's behaviour than the weakened Good Family Man. This could be added to by fact that these events could increase the Vengeful Suitor's desire for dominance and control, already identified as a developing motive in this imago.

Simon was already offending before the crises in 1997 and therefore these events did not cause his offending. Notwithstanding this it appears that this crisis and its affects on his imagoes may have accelerated his criminal career along the path that the dynamic between the Vengeful Suitor and the Rejecting Woman already dictated to him. His offences demonstrate how the destructive interactions between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman imagoes increased, driving his offending behaviour at a time when the Good Family Man was in decline.

The pattern of offending that began to be established with Nomsa Mathetsa appears to have been repeated with attempted rape of Paulina Mbuli. The narrative does not present clear motives for either of these offences. However Simon's behaviours in both offences suggest strong clear associations with the Vengeful Suitor: he becomes violent in response to resistance, with the decision to offend seemingly taken impulsively.

These two rape / attempted rape also offences highlight the limits of the Vengeful Suitor imago's influence. Namely, it does not provide a clear behavioural template for rape, demonstrated in the offence behaviours being neither decisive nor goal-directed. Neither is there a clear link in Simon's narrative between the Vengeful Suitor imago and the use of strangulation to control the victim seen in both crimes. There are two possible reasons for these limits to the Vengeful Suitor's influence: the dynamic with the Rejecting Woman imago is required by the Vengeful Suitor to justify its violence and / or the behaviours associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago are still evolving.

These possibilities are not mutually exclusive. The latter reason suggests that the offences against Paulina and Nomsa are behavioural ‘trial runs’ for later offences.

Since Simon denies involvement in this offence the above interpretations cannot be confirmed with reference to his narrative. It can be hypothesised that this denial could be due to its not being justified by interaction between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman. Additionally, the Vengeful Suitor’s lack of a behavioural template, or clear motive, for raping a stranger increases the likelihood of his denying this offence.

The murder of Stella Mogotsi, which Simon discusses in depth, clarifies the characteristics of Simon’s imagoes and confirms the notable interactions between them. This offence does not see changes to the motives or characteristics of the Vengeful Suitor imago. While some of the offences behaviours associated with this imago changed, these represent a simple evolution of the behaviours displayed during previous offences. In all three cases Simon’s post offence behaviour, unlike his behaviour during the offence, does not appear logical and coherent. This illustrates the limits of the behavioural plans associated with the Vengeful Suitor. However, the murder of Stella Mogotsi suggests that Simon’s sleeping for two days after this offence represents the Vengeful Suitor drawing on its origins as the Lonely Child, seeking isolation and separation from others.

The most notable behavioural difference in Stella’s case is that the throttling involved the use of a ligature. In contrast to his previous offences Simon now admits to the use of throttling, and thus associates this behaviour with the Vengeful Suitor. A possible reason for his deciding to use a ligature, and confessing to it, is due to changes in the Rejecting Woman imago. This offence sees these behaviours fully associated with the Vengeful Suitor, and they remain so from this point on.

In the murder of Stella the Rejecting Woman is more clearly described. The Rejecting Woman’s provoking role remains the same, with the importance of an association between the victim and the Rejecting Woman imago emphasised. Simon’s narrative makes the link between Stella and the Rejecting Woman imago clear. Stella was furthermore a friend of the person who Simon associates with the Rejecting Woman

imago most, Nandi. The association between Stella and the Rejecting Woman imago encourages and justifies the violence inflicted by the Vengeful Suitor imago. This is shown in Simon's throttling of the victim escalating to the point of murder, and in his detailed and fluent narration of this offence. The interaction between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman thus not only provokes the offences, but suggests a behavioural plan and bestows his actions with a moral justification. The murder of Stella Mogotsi therefore verifies the importance of the interaction between these two imagoes in motivating Simon's offences.

This offence also gives further descriptions of the characteristics Simon associates with the Rejecting Woman imago and strengthens Nandi's association with the Rejecting Woman imago. This association between the Rejecting Woman and Nandi also sees this imago have a wider sphere of influence. Where previously the Rejecting Woman could only provoke the Vengeful Suitor by rejection, now it is also blamed for poisoning Simon relationships with others. The fact that the Vengeful Suitor's anger appears focused on both Nandi and Stella in this offence, where previously was just focused on the person who rejected him, also introduces the possibility of the Vengeful Suitor imago accepting a proxy or substitute victim in lieu of the person who rejected him. These factors mean a wider range of stimuli will provoke, and so justify the violence of, the Vengeful Suitor.

In this offence, this role of the Good Family Man imago appears limited to encouraging regret in Simon. By praying in her dying moments Stella evoked the religious beliefs of the Good Family Man imago which weakens her association with the Rejecting Woman and appears to have overcome the separation Simon tries to maintain between the Good Family Man imago and the actions of the Vengeful Suitor. This loss of this separation appears to encourage regret in Simon.

The subsequent murder of Portia Mashabela confirms the imago interactions and characteristics shown in Stella's murder. It adds to this understanding by epitomising how the interaction between the Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor imagoes justifies Simon's offences. It also shows how this justification also ensures there is no remorse, with the Good Family Man imago not being evoked in any way.

This offence is notable for the degree to which the Rejecting Woman imago is involved in the events preceding the offence. Portia Mashabela's characteristics, actions, and association with Nandi all closely mirror the Rejecting Woman and thus guarantee a violent response from the Vengeful Suitor. By completely and consistently associating Portia with the Rejecting Woman, her murder was not merely justified, it became "necessary". Simon's narrative suggests the murder of Portia represents a satisfying revenge against a victim who deserved it, the Vengeful Suitor imago's ideal offence.

The influence of the Vengeful Suitor imago on Simon's behaviour is consistent with that shown in previous offences, and does not appear to evolve here. As in these previous offences, Portia's murder was precipitated by rejection or resistance, begun impulsively, and involved throttling. All of these behaviours continue to be associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago's anger, and could be linked to the emerging motive of dominance and control. It should also be noted that rape is not a behaviour clearly associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago in Simon's offences, and as before the limitations of the Vengeful Suitor's influence and its reversion to the Lonely Child's avoidant behaviour are demonstrated in Simon's post-offence actions.

Simon's final murder, of his stepdaughter Zondi Tana, sees a number of changes in all his imagoes and the interactions between them. These affect his offence behaviours and the emotions evoked by them. Where previously the dynamic between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman appeared sufficient to provoke the offence, this offence is characterised by association with the less influential Good Family Man imago, who even played a role in provoking it. This association occurs due to Zondi's murder being precipitated by the final breakdown of Simon's marriage. This breakdown suggests Simon has failed to achieve a fundamental aspiration of the Good Family Man imago. This implies that in addition to vengeance against his wife for rejecting him being justified by the established interaction between the Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor imagoes, it is further justified by this rejection representing a direct attack on the aspirations of the Good Family Man imago. Vengeance is thus more than justified, and focused on the family unit of Zondi, Thembeni and Zondi's biological father that Simon feels created it.

In this offence the Rejecting Woman – Vengeful Suitor interaction continues to supply much of the justification and behavioural plan, but it also displays a number of behaviours that are not fully justified by the Vengeful Suitor’s interactions with the Rejecting Woman, or have not been previously associated with the Vengeful Suitor’s offences behaviours. This appears to have created conflict within the Vengeful Suitor imago.

The first of these is demonstrated in Simon’s aiming his violence at a substitute victim, rather than someone who is herself associated with the Rejecting Woman imago. This possibility was introduced in the two offences prior to this. This development could be explained by above observations suggesting that, in this case, the blow inflicted by the Rejecting Woman was especially devastating. This development can be explained further by hypothesising that in attacking someone associated with the Rejecting Woman imago, the Vengeful Suitor imago is recalling its origin myth.

The second possible cause of conflict in the Vengeful Suitor is that Simon’s offence behaviour here does not draw on the Vengeful Suitor’s behavioural repertoire established in previous murders. Rather, it mimics that used by the Vengeful Suitor to demonstrate his dominance in relationships, as shown in his raping of Zondi. This is added to by Simon displaying behaviours not previously associated with or justified by the Vengeful Suitor imago, such as following Zondi and luring her away to kill her. These behaviours, not typically associated with the Vengeful Suitor imago, perhaps help provokes the regret Simon associates strongly with this offence.

As shown in Simon’s tone, the murder of Zondi is not the same as the ‘justified’ murder of Portia. Unlike his previous murders he drank alcohol to encourage him to commit the offence, and upon arrest and at his trial Simon denied involvement in this offence. An analysis of his imagoes offers a number of hypothetical factors which may have acted together to create Simon’s manifest regret for this offence. Some of Simon’s regret may have been due to this offence representing the clearest demonstration of his failure to meet the aspirations of the Good Family Man imago in his narrative, added to by the collapse in the separation between those imagoes associated with offending (Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor) and those imagoes

which are not (Good Family Man). Zondi's praying while dying could be seen to evoke the Good Family Man, her murder was in part motivated and justified by the failure of the Good Family Man's aspirations, and in addition to this she was related to Simon. This collapse in separations is more complete than any previously seen, and so could create greater regret. A final hypothetical reason for this regret is Simon's above-mentioned overstepping of the Vengeful Suitor's behavioural template and the justifications contained in Rejecting Woman – Vengeful Suitor dynamic. That is, the conflict within the Vengeful Suitor imago could have lead to Simon feeling regret.

Simon's behaviour immediately before and after his arrest casts particular light on the role of the Good Family Man imago in the construction of Simon's narrative. The Good Family Man imago, although only sporadically appearing, still had some influence over Simon's behaviour. In particular, Simon implies it is the reason he did not murder Nandi. The communal and vocational aspirations of the Good Family Man also appear to have resurfaced in prison, suggesting Simon is trying to reclaim the lost communal ties of the Good Family Man imago. This suggests that the fundamental motive of the Good Family Man imago remains unchanged: to reclaim the idealised Happy Family imago. This motive is shared with the Vengeful Suitor. However like the Good Family Man imago itself, many of these aspiration and plans appear vague, varied and somewhat one-dimensional. Again the resurgence in influence of the Good Family Man imago's influence appears to depend on the influence of an external other. This casts doubt on whether the Good Family Man's aspirations are entirely associated with Simon's self. The increased influence of the Good Family Man could be hypothesised to have had an influence on the re-construction of Simon's narrative in the interview context. That is, Simon may be reluctant to discuss negative events of emotions, because the aspirations of the Good Family Man encourage him to present both himself, and the idealised Happy Family imago, as good.

5.1.4.3 Answers to narrative inquiries.

To summarise the above discussions, Simon's narrative contributes to our answers to the narrative inquiries in the following ways.

a) What roles do imagoes play in the motivation of a person who commits serial murder?

This question asks what role Simon's imagoes had in *causing* his offences. The reasons Simon gives for having committed the offences can be considered his motives. These motives arise at different times in Simon's narrative, and once they arise they do not disappear again. They develop and vary in strength at different stages of the narrative, with different motives become more dominant at different times. However the two motives established earliest persist most strongly, and are a relatively stable influence throughout the narrative. The various motives in Simon's narrative are embodied in, or arise as the result of interaction between, his imagoes. This is summarised in Table 8 below. Imagoes can thus be said to play a significant role in his offending.

There are two aspects to this role: (a) the role of imagoes in creating and embodying motives specifically for offending, (b) the interaction between imagoes in creating or strengthening motive. With reference to (a), the Happy Family imago appears to create the motives of reclaiming communion by its being source of unacknowledged rejection in Simon narrative. The motives relating to his offending behaviours are subsequently embodied in the Lonely Child and the Vengeful Suitor imagoes. Later the Vengeful Suitor becomes the embodiment of Simon's motives of revenge, dominance and control. The imagoes' role in creating motive, (b) above, is shown particularly in the interaction between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman. This interaction created the motive of overcoming rejection through revenge, strengthened it and encouraged the Vengeful Suitor's motivation of dominance and control.

Table 8: *Summary of Simon's motives and their relationships to his imagoes*

Motive	Relationship to imagoes	Period of life first noted	Notes
1. Reclaim communion	Arises due to unacknowledged aspects of Happy Family imago.	Childhood	Pervades his narrative, providing a fundamental motive for all later imagoes. Expressed in the offending imagoes as 'indifference to others'
2. Handle rejection and loneliness	Lonely Child	Childhood	Arises shortly after 1, in late childhood. This 'handling' is expressed as anger.
3. Overcome rejection through taking revenge	Arises in interaction between the Vengeful Suitor and Rejecting Woman	Adolescence	This is associated with 1, which persists as a motive of the Vengeful Suitor.
4. Dominance and control	Vengeful Suitor	Adulthood	Develops immediately prior to first offences, and then strengthens as offences progress, becoming associated with rape and strangulation.

b) What roles do imagoes play in the development of offending behaviour in serial murder?

Simon's narrative suggests imagoes play a significant role in the development of offending behaviour in a person who commits serial murder. Simon links his offending behaviours to his key imagoes and the interaction between them. His offending behaviour is repeatedly linked back to motives established and developed by his imagoes, with imagoes also being alluded to in the events that lead to his committing murder.

Thus imagoes not only embody Simon's motives for *offending*, they are the means by which these motives expressed in behaviour. In his narrative his imagoes encouraged the development of his offending behaviours in four ways: (a) by encouraging separation between those imagoes involved with offending and those that are not; (b) by removing barriers to offending in Simon's narrative; (c) by encouraging the expression of his offending behaviours, and (d) by setting the behavioural template for his offences.

The first way, (a), encourages the development of offending by allowing the development of the offending imagoes without control from the rest of the narrative. In his narrative this separation also encourages the association of negative emotions with his offending imagoes, rather than his non-offending imagoes (the Happy Family, Eldest Brother, and Good Family Man). This strengthens the offending imagoes and the behaviours associated with them and minimises his regret for his actions.

His imagoes remove barriers to his offending in his narrative, (b) by encouraging the interpretation of life events in ways that create negative emotions, thus strengthening his offending imagoes (e.g. the rejection he feels on failing to be made a minister), while weakening his non-offending imagoes. The latter is shown in the crisis in his narrative in the late 1990's where his non-offending imagoes proved vulnerable to external influence and were undermined. Given the role played by the non-offending

imagoes in embodying Simon's positive aspirations and encouraging regret, their weakening encourages his offending.

With reference to (c), the expression of Simon's offending behaviours is clearly encouraged by the interaction between the Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor imagoes. This interaction meant that the largely indiscriminate violence of the Lonely Child was focused on a specific target group. This also provided a further justification for his violence, made it a means to overcome rejection, and eventually encouraged the motive of dominance and control to emerge. This again shows the interrelationship between motive and development.

The setting of a behavioural template for offending, (d), emerges from the previous points. The routine behaviours Simon carries out on in his offences appear to be affected by his imagoes. This is demonstrated by the congruence between the characteristics of Simon's offences and the characteristics of his offending imagoes and the motives embodied in them. The setting of a behavioural template, which similarities between his offences suggests is what occurred here, would encourage the development of offending by providing him with a clear plan for committing an offence, and so simplify the choices he needs to make. The behavioural template that can be linked to his imagoes does not however explain all his behaviours during the offences he was imprisoned for, such as his raping Nomsa and trying to rape Paulina. The close relationship this behavioural template has with his offending imagoes, and its importance in the successful completion of his offences, is demonstrated by the loss of coherence in both behaviour and narrative when it is not justified by his imagoes. This is shown in the above mentioned rapes, in Simon's post-offence behaviours generally, and in the negative emotions Simon suffers after murdering Zondi, when the Vengeful Suitor does not conform to the 'justified' behaviours seen in previous offences.

5.2 CASE STUDY TWO: JACQUES EKSTEEN

5.2.1 Bibliographical detail

Jacques Eksteen was 33 years old at the time of the interview. He is a white South African Afrikaans speaking male. He had been convicted of five murders, and two rapes (excluding the rapes that occurred in the course of his murders). One charge of robbery, one of theft, and one of using a vehicle without the owner's permission refer to other offences he committed in the course of his rapes / murders.

He committed his offences over a three year period between 1989 and 1992. His victims were a mixture of black and white females. He was interviewed at his place of imprisonment on the 22nd and 23rd of May 2000 in two separate interviews of approximately four hours each.

5.2.2 Prologue to Jacques Eksteen's story

5.2.2.1 Clinical observations

Jacques Eksteen was of medium height and build, tending towards slim. He had narrow, slightly stooped shoulders, and small, almost feminine, hands. His dark hair was short, and he had a moustache and heavy stubble. Dressed in green prison fatigues with a brown jersey over the top and cream white 'loafer' types shoes, he cut a slightly shabby figure (even when compared with his fellow prisoners).

While a slow reader and writer, Jacques had completed high school, and presented as reasonably intelligent, with no gross cognitive disturbances. His memory appeared good, and he could recall some events in meticulous detail.

Jacques' large, very dark eyes showed little expression, and gave an impression of a cold lack of emotion. He was not demonstrative, and his demeanour bordered on the deadpan. His tone in interview, when combined his appearance and slouching posture, suggested someone who is indifferent to how others may perceive him. He did not appear depressed or disinterested in proceedings even though his emotional tone,

facial expression, and affect varied remarkably little during the interview. On the contrary, he was friendly towards the interviewer and willing to communicate openly and at length.

Notwithstanding this his ability to communicate was compromised by his lack of vocabulary, which was particularly notable when we discussed issues around his emotions or his motivations. In these areas Jacques was often ambiguous, inarticulate and lacked confidence of expression. The degree of these difficulties suggested that emotions were not just difficult for Jacques to articulate, but difficult for him to understand or experience. Occasionally, his emotional responses could be incongruent and inappropriate. An example of this is seen in his smiling: Jacques' infrequent wry, almost embarrassed, smiles were most often seen when he described the offences he was imprisoned for. This became more obvious as the interview progressed. However he was unable to say what he found amusing, rather commenting that he was smiling because he "wasn't sure" or "the situation was odd." Other ways in which this issue of Jacques' emotional world was expressed in the interview will be discussed further in the following section.

5.2.2.2 Responses in the interview process

During the interview Jacques would characteristically answer my questions directly and promptly. He did not need much prompting to give his narrative, and would move between linked topics as they occurred to him, of his own initiative. His narrative was extensive and his recall of certain events was extremely detailed, which communicated them vividly.

The detail of Jacques' recall was linked to his insistence on precision in description and word selection. He would take pains to explain things exactly 'as they were', and was a stickler for ensuring that all the events and emotions discussed in the interview were described in a satisfactory manner. For example, he would correct me if I summarised any descriptions incorrectly, and was bothered by factual inaccuracies in the media reporting of his case. As part of his urge for precision in description, Jacques would frequently list items in his responses (for example, listing the characteristics of a 'true friend', or listing his afternoon activities at a school),

illustrate responses with examples, and suffix sentences with “you understand?” Similarly, when I proposed obvious motives for his offences Jacques would correct me with a description of how it felt for him, and the series of events that lead to his committing murder.

Jacques did not take exception to any questions put to him, and tolerated potentially intrusive questions without apparent concern. On the whole, there did not appear to be any particularly sensitive topics for him, nor did any events he disclosed seem to upset or embarrass him. This is epitomised by his response to my question as to whether he would mind me asking about his offences: “You can just ask.” This apparent lack of sensitivity is mirrored in his lack of concern for giving socially acceptable responses to my questions, even when prompted to do so by me. For example, he was not worried about what other people may think of him as a ‘serial murder’ and took an indifferent and slightly amused attitude to many events in his criminal career.

The tone of Jacques’ narrative closely mirrored this lack of concern. Narrating his story in a dry, ‘factual’ voice, the longer I listened the more his seeming indifference to what he was narrating, alongside his lack of emotion, became obvious. The tone of his voice would seldom vary and while his delivery was not a monotone, it was distinctly unaffected by emotional content. A characteristic phrase he frequently used when tiring of a description was “or whatever”.

The tone of his narrative and his attitude towards questioning point towards the most notable factor in Jacques’ interview: his response to questions around emotions, motives, and self-reflection. When asked any questions about these, Jacques’ speech slowed down, and the volume dropped. He paused for thought more and would have to search for words and explanations. He would sometimes speak in the second person (“you”) and would look to me for reassurance that his perceptions were accurate. When asked to describe his emotions Jacques would often respond with a series of intellectualised hypotheses around what a certain emotion could mean, or resort to lengthy descriptions of what behaviours a person with that emotion could be expected to carry out. In a similar vein, questions around motive elicited response about the events that preceded his offences. Jacques would prefer descriptions of the physical over the abstract (for example, when asked to describe his “nature” as a child, he

chose the adjective “quiet”). His explanations of his motives and emotions could therefore seem vague and ambiguous, despite his striving to describe them as accurately as possible.

Jacques’ difficulty in self-reflecting and in defining emotional or motivational terms of his own accord created the strong impression in the narrative of someone for whom his own emotions and motives are not clear, and who is not deeply engaged with these issues. Emotions are not something he could immediately understand, or that frequently impinged on his consciousness. Rather than being something he *felt*, emotions were described in Jacques’s narrative as if they were a complex abstract theory he was trying to understand, or a set of behaviours to be carried out correctly.

This factor, taken alongside his demeanour, tone and attitude towards questioning, gives the impression of someone who is split from his emotions to the point of almost seeming emotionless. Eschewing emotive words for precise descriptions, for the vast majority of the interview Jacques does not refer to any of the people in his life by their first names. Jacques’ emotional world and the ways it affects his interpersonal transactions are a recurrent theme in his narrative, and will be discussed in more detail in his story.

5.2.2.3 Reflections on the interview process

This interview was split into two sessions, on subsequent days, of approximately four hours each. In the first session the interview flowed easily, with Jacques introducing topics of his own accord, and moving between related topics. The second session flowed less, in part due to my use of the IMAGO interview format, and in part due to my returning to unresolved questions I had after the first session. The second session resembled the question-and-answer format of a structured interview more. Despite the greater structure of the second session, it was marked by Jacques telling more jokes and humorous anecdotes.

I found myself laughing at a number of Jacques’ descriptions, many of them being delivered in an ironic tone. On reflection, I cannot say whether Jacques always intended these to be funny, or whether the irony was an unintentional consequence of

his lack of emotional articulation. I also found myself adopting some of Jacques' characteristic modes of expression, for example not referring to his victims by their names. This reflected his adoption of many of the phrases I offered in summary of his motivations and emotions. Thus, overall, the atmosphere of the interview became increasingly informal and relaxed.

Notwithstanding this atmosphere and Jacques' willingness to describe his life, I felt at the time that I was struggling to interview him adequately. This concern centred on the vague way in which he discussed his emotions and motivations. Not only were they hard to discern, but I also sometimes found it difficult to know how to respond appropriately to unusual emotional reactions from Jacques (such as his casual indifference when his best friend died). It was also not immediately apparent at the time of the interview what motivated certain requests or questions Jacques had (e.g. a request for a letter from me telling him what I thought of the interview, to put in his prison file). These issues lead me to worry after the first session that I was either influencing him to give me responses that he thought I wanted to hear, or that I was missing some essential aspect of his experience. My concern was exacerbated by my conducting the interview in Afrikaans, my second language.

This emphasis I placed in the interview on discerning Jacques' motives and emotions means that I did not realise the degree to which the various aspects of his life are described in isolation for each other (for example, his significant relationships are not correlated with his offending patterns). This made establishing connections between the various aspects of his life and ensuring all aspects of the narrative were in their correct chronological order more difficult, but does not seem to have limited the creation of meaning in his narrative. This characteristic of Jacques' narrative will be discussed in more detail later. Notwithstanding this I felt that Jacques presented an extensive and detailed narrative, with a clear chronology. Jacques' desire to fully explain and explore his experience meant that his narrative leant itself to having summaries within it and these are reflected in the below case study. As in the previous case study, the chapter structure was imposed to give a clear chronology to the narrative, support the interpretation of imagoes, and allow for comparisons between case studies.

Returning to significant topics repeatedly, I felt that we had reached saturation point at the end of the second session. I could not think of any more questions to ask, or avenues of enquiry to pursue. The details of his responses, the length of the sessions, and the struggle to decipher his emotional world, left me tired and I found I struggled to focus. I noted after the second session that I felt it had been an effort to get “depth” in his responses and feared the interviews were not sufficient.

After transcribing the interviews, I feel that the assessment I made at the time is too harsh, and that it is possible to draw reliable and valid conclusions from Jacques’ narrative, which was coherent and presented a story with notable themes and patterns. Jacques’ characteristic emphasis on extensive and accurate descriptions, which often incorporated even apparently minor details, gave me further reassurance that the events were being described accurately. This reassurance was heightened by Jacques’ obvious lack of concern around other people’s perceptions of him, and his willingness to correct me if he felt my interpretation of an event was not accurate. His emphasis on precise description of experience also fits well with the phenomenological orientation of narrative psychology.

5.2.3 Jacques Eksteen's story.

This consists of Jacques' narrative of self gained from the semi-structured interview, presented alongside archival information when discussing the offences.

5.2.3.1 Childhood

Jacques was born into a middle-class Afrikaans family, living in Pretoria. His mother had worked as teacher before he was born, after which she gave up full-time work to care for him. His father worked as an electrician for the City Council, and then as a delivery man. Jacques was an only child, although his mother gave birth to two other children who died shortly after birth. Jacques was not sure about how old the other children were when they died, or what they died of. Jacques also did not know why his parents did not try for more children after him. He states that he does not really care about that sort of issue.

Both his parents were, he reports, "reasonably" religious and attended church regularly. Jacques would also attend, but only "because I had to go, and it became a habit to go". Jacques does not report any problems in his parents' relationship, and says that they never had physical fights. He states that they are still married. Apart from Jacques' grandfather, who died an alcoholic, he does not report any troubles in his extended family. Jacques saw a lot of his uncles and his cousins when he was growing up, when they would share holidays, have Christmas as a family, and go on activities together. He says that he "got on well" with them. Jacques describes himself as a quiet child, "not running around a lot", who did not suffer with any significant fears, phobias or illnesses.

Jacques does not describe his early school years in any detail. While describing himself as "quiet" he says he still had friends, and took part in a range of social activities (such as the Voortrekkers²⁵, church youth groups, and going away on school camps). Jacques says he did not get into fights, did not anger quickly, although he occasionally did "naughty" things. While he participated in school sports, he did not

²⁵ An Afrikaans youth organisation, similar to the English Boy Scouts.

appear enthusiastic. Similarly, Jacques did not appear motivated by school work, and says that it was usually his mother who would ensure that his homework was done.

Notwithstanding this apparent normality, Jacques does not describe his childhood as particularly happy. When first asked whether he got on well with his parents, his response was “I’m not friends with my parents” before clarifying, “they were my parents,” perhaps implying there is no more significant description for them. He immediately follows this by saying “my father’s the sort of person who didn’t talk much with me.” He clarifies that his father was “a quiet man” who:

Would speak to you but wouldn’t, for example, help with school work or something like that... [he] worked, and that is it... he didn’t play with you... not with a rugby ball, or soccer ball or, going fishing or anything like that...[he] wouldn’t say let’s go play ‘just you and me’.

Jacques later says that he doesn’t know anything about cars because his father never told him how motor vehicles work, the things “a father should tell you about”, and never worked on cars with him. When asked whether this fact made Jacques feel different from other boys, who did this with their fathers, Jacques does not answer the question directly:

You see, why, your father just wants to talk to other people, and doesn’t talk to you... he doesn’t give you attention. I didn’t think like that. I just thought he was that sort of person, I can’t pay attention to it...

Jacques feels that his father didn’t “have any influence on me” and “wasn’t involved with me very much.” When asked whether he would have liked his father to have more involvement with him he, after much equivocation, says that maybe he would liked more attention from his father.

BH: Did you feel this growing up? [pause] Did you think, hey, my Dad is a bit cold towards me?

JE: I didn't think. I have now thought hard about it. If I think about it now, I think that he could have been more involved with me, but at that stage I didn't think about it....he didn't pay special attention to me. He'd talk to me, but no special attention.

Jacques' father appears passive and disinterested. As Jacques comments "He worked, he brought the money home, and that's it."

In contrast to the minimal involvement of his father in his childhood, is the character of Jacques' mother. She is introduced immediately after the initial description of his father, in the first five minutes of the interview, with the words "my mother brought me up". In contrast to his father Jacques's mother was very involved with him and "was the boss of the house." He describes his childhood relationship with his mother as characterised by strict discipline. When asked how he was disciplined, he said "scolding, smacks, and bit of rough handling... a hand slapped against the head" and mentions that he would be hit, sometimes with a belt, if he was naughty or if he didn't do his school work. He says that he "could not" misbehave as a child without getting hit. His mother did not allow him to visit friends' houses alone, or go out alone unsupervised with them and says "I could go out alone, but I couldn't sleep over or anything." She would want to "keep me in my place." However he is quick to assert that she never forced him to do anything, or threatened him, repeating "she didn't abuse me, understand." Instead, Jacques concludes "she was just strict". Jacques cannot recall his mother showing him affection during this time. Thus his mother did not supply the "special attention" he never got from his father:

she would make sure I did my homework, and cared for me, bought clothes, and made sure I had food, and whatever...[but] there was never really special attention paid, saying 'How can I help you?' [struggles for example] or, telling me things about life...

Reflecting on his mother's treatment of him, he says that although it didn't feel like abuse, he did feel at the time that she was "a bit strict, and it was hard for me." He hypothesises that maybe the discipline had some "psychological consequences [sielkundige uitwerkings]" but that he can't really be sure. As with his father, the relationship with his mother is limited.

Overall, Jacques' does not appear to have had any emotional connection with his parents in childhood. Rather, they are depicted as either disinterested or rigidly controlling. He says his relationship with both parents was characterised by "distance" and that he and they "never really had a bond". When asked whether he had respect for his parents, Jacques replied that he would "[do] what they asked, I would do, but beyond that, I didn't, know..." and his voice tapers off before commenting "I didn't openly demonstrate that I wasn't showing respect." His resentment of them is only implied in his narrative. These implications take the form of his listing the things they did not do, or by indirect criticism (e.g. pointing out the limits of their relationship). This implied resentment is accompanied by a desire for something more in his relationship with his parents that Jacques frequently hints at, but is unable to articulate. Jacques tends to avoid direct criticism of his parents with comments such as "that was just the way they were" and, at least overtly, insists that he didn't think there was anything wrong with their relationship at the time.

The strict parental discipline appeared to have two interlinked effects on Jacques' narrative. The first of these was loneliness and isolation. In the narrative of his childhood Jacques depicts himself as isolated by parental discipline: not allowed to interact freely with others, strictly disciplined for any misdemeanour, and lacking a nurturing relationship with his parents. This is linked explicitly to the reported loneliness of his childhood, which Jacques' reflections on his childhood return to repeatedly. He introduces this in the first few minutes of his interview, following immediately after his initial description of his relationship with his mother and the strict discipline she wielded. Jacques comments: "if you're an only child" he comments "you're always lonely."

JE:...If you have a brother you can just, someone to talk to, I didn't discuss personal things with my parents.

BH: Oh ja, was it always a bit...

JE: [interjects] The strictness I didn't like...

BH: Did you always felt alone, or lonely, since you were young?

JE: Ja, you can say that. I don't know if I perceived that I was feeling alone, at the time, now thinking back on it, I can say 'yes, it was like that'. But at the time you didn't know whether it was a feeling of aloneness or loneliness.

BH: So it was, to use the term, 'just way things were'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Now, when you're thinking back, you think 'maybe I was a bit alone, a bit lonely'?

JE: Ja...

When asked whether he would have liked to escape this loneliness, he answers "Yes, you could say that, if my parents weren't so strict, if they didn't give me a hiding when I went out" and so lays the blame for his isolation at his parent's door. Jacques says that because his mother was

...a bit strict, and maybe unjust [I] held my frustrations inside, held everything inside, and maybe couldn't communicate.

BH: Since you were small, have you always held your frustrations inside?

JE: Ja

BH: You didn't communicate with anyone.

JE: [quietly] There was no one.

This introduces the second consequence of parental discipline in Jacques narrative: the struggle to understand or demonstrate emotions. This is shown in the below excerpt, part of a lengthy response to a question about his childhood loneliness. This excerpt started with Jacques saying that his parents' discipline lead to him "wishing I was dead".

JE: Because I wished myself dead, I cursed myself... through that, I killed my emotions. I didn't know how to act out love it was a difficulty.

BH: For you, did it always feel like your emotions were dead?

JE: Ja, because I can't [pause, struggling to express himself] know how to handle, certain feelings... for example, how to be cheerful, or happy...

OK, I knew how to be angry, understand, but I can't name all these feelings people get. But I know what they are, happiness.

BH: Or sadness.

JE: Or to love someone. Sadness is just part of anger.

Jacques insisted that he is not able to understand any of the emotions that are "smaller" than sadness or anger.

JE: ... I didn't know how to do them, to live them out

BH: So you got feelings but didn't know how to live them out?

JE: I don't know if I got the feelings. I don't know if I could answer that.

I'm not sure I got them. I wouldn't be able to recognise them as feelings...

I could name them, having looked at it on other peoples faces, but to live it myself, that's the thing...

BH: So you got these feelings but can't live them out.

JE: Ja... I don't how to do emotions.

The inability to “live out” emotions and so communicate openly with others, introduced in his childhood, is a dominant and unchanging theme in his narrative. Jacques consistently links this theme to how his parents treated him in childhood. As with his loneliness, Jacques describes his frustration at being so “introvert”, and not being able to understand and communicate emotion. He claims he wanted to break free of this but comments that given how he was as a person, it “didn't work out”. This emotional inability had the further consequence of deepening his isolation, and Jacques says he was alone most of the time. Thus the twin effects of his parent’s discipline, loneliness / isolation and the inability to express or understand emotions , seem to form a vicious circle in his narrative.

However Jacques’ attitude towards the frustration at his loneliness, isolation, and inability to adequately comprehend emotion is identical to his attitude towards his frustration with his parents. That is, he does not acknowledge it overtly. Rather, he seems to express an unspecified longing for something more. For example, in referring to his isolation and inability to express emotion Jacques takes care to insist that he “didn’t hate” the situation, which is at odds with a sense in his narrative that he wanted to change, but did not know how “I had problems, but I couldn’t discuss them with anyone...I held them inside [I didn’t know I could] go somewhere to work my problems out.” These comments give the impression that Jacques’ childhood was marked with repressed or unrealised frustration.

This is consistent with Jacques’ reporting that he was a well-behaved child. This description of his behaviour accords with reports from his parents. When asked whether he misbehaved when he was young, Jacques supplied the examples of burning food he was cooking, and once breaking a window by accident. Apart from this very minor misbehaviour, the only other possibly unusual feature Jacques reports in his childhood is sometimes “playing too rough” with the family pets when he was about eight years old. He insists he never abused the animals or “hurt them seriously” but a “few times I enjoyed throwing a cat off the roof and seeing how they land...
BH: Was it ever experimenting? JE: I don't know...ja, you could say I was watching their reaction, but I never kicked them or anything.”

Apart from his loneliness and his ‘experiments’ with the family pets, Jacques’ childhood behaviour paints the picture of a unremarkable young child. He did not have temper tantrums, or frequently fight with others. He can only recall ever hitting a peer once, when in high school. Characteristically, Jacques says that although he gets angry he says it would not happen often, sometimes demonstrating his anger and sometimes now, getting over it in an hour or a day. He says he tended to “hold his anger inside”. Jacques says he used to “play doctor-doctor” with girls, but this was never “proper sex.” Jacques, despite his claims of loneliness, says he had “two or three” friends.

When Jacques was approximately ten years old (in Standard 3 / Grade 5) he spent a year in hospital recovering from a series of serious illnesses “brain infection, chicken pox, German measles, mumps, had my tonsils removed”, which meant that he had to repeat the year at school. Jacques did not appear to find either his illnesses or his having to repeat a year traumatic, narrating them with his characteristic indifference and struggling to remember what illnesses he suffered from. While Jacques does not link his illness with this in his narrative, at around the same time (in “Standard 3 or 4” / Grade 5) Jacques started stealing from handbags.

During the interviews Jacques’ first mention of handbag theft occurs in the context of a discussion of his feelings of loneliness in childhood, when he comments that although he had friends at school:

[I] didn't discuss personal things with them, like for example ‘I like that girl and would like to go out with her’ or ‘I took money from my mom's bag, let's go buy sweets’ or something like that.

Jacques resumes the connection between his loneliness and his thefts shortly afterwards.

BH: In primary school, how would you describe yourself?...[F]rom when you were small, would you describe yourself as a lonely child, someone who felt lonely?

JE: No, I wouldn't say that I would try hide away if anyone approached me.

BH: On the whole, how did you feel?

JE: I think I could say I felt alone.

BH: Was it a lonely feeling, or just the feeling of being alone? Good or bad?

JE: I think both [definite tone].

BH: It's a feeling that has both good and bad in it.

JE: Ja, if you feel alone then you can take money from your mother's handbag and go to the cafe and play games on the machine [i.e. video games], but that sort of thing...If you can't go to a friend, but you feel alone, so to make yourself feel, to make...you must make your own amusement, so you go to the cafe and play video games.

Thus these thefts are initially expressed as a direct consequence of the negative experience of his loneliness. As has been discussed, Jacques makes causal links between childhood loneliness and his inability to express emotion, both of which he implies are “psychological consequences” of parental discipline. He expands further on the linkages between these factors and his initial thefts:

JE: OK, so say I had problems, I couldn't discuss them with anyone, I held them inside. I didn't know that I could go over there to be free of my problems. I didn't know.

BH: What sort of problems?

JE: As I said to you, I didn't know how to do feelings. I didn't perceive that what I was doing by stealing out the handbag was a problem and that it can get bigger.

However Jacques does not perceive his loneliness and the resultant thefts as entirely negative. As shown in his comments above, not only are his feelings of loneliness (or being alone) described as both good and bad, but “if you feel alone then you *can* take money from your mother's handbag” [emphasis added] to “make your own amusement.” This amusement was not merely, as implied above, an attempt by Jacques to find solace in his loneliness. As Jacques comments later in his narrative:

I couldn't say, but it's probably when I was in Standard 3 or 4 when I began taking money... I'm not sure, but I would say [I did it for the] for the adventure. I can't be sure, but I would say for the adventure...

As his interview progresses the fact that these thefts were a source of “fun” and “adventure” becomes more apparent. Jacques sounds amused when talking about them and repeatedly makes comments like:

BH: Did it feel good for you, the theft?

JE: Ja, it's fun, it was an adventure. You're enjoying yourself, you've got money to waste or whatever, you didn't work for that... It wasn't planned.

BH: You just thought 'I've got money, it's good'.

JE: Ja...The stealing from the handbags was fun, I can say that. I know they say that if you don't enjoy something you won't do it again...

Jacques' narrative is unequivocal in presenting the acts of theft as fun, an adventure, and a source of money to waste but as shown by previous comments it also repeatedly places these thefts in the context of a continuum of criminal behaviour: “...it was nice to steal money from handbags, and just waste it on anything and, umm, ja. I could say

what started small got bigger.” As can be seen in the interview transcripts, almost every mention of these childhood thefts makes mention of the more severe offences they led to, and when the more severe offences are discussed Jacques makes linkages between them and the handbag thefts of his own accord. For example, when Jacques was asked why he decided to commit rape repeatedly, he said: “JE:... [I]t’s complicated. There are quite few reasons. BH: If you could name them, what are those reasons? JE: Because I began with the handbags and got bigger, that’s one reason...” Jacques’ narrative seems to present the handbag thefts as the beginning of his journey to murder.

The fact that these thefts were a dominant theme in Jacques’ narrative is perhaps most eloquently shown in his response when I asked him whether he ever had nightmares about anything:

No, I don't. But I do think about the things that I've done, it comes back to me a lot. Like, for example, OK, when I think back to the woman I shot in the bath...It just comes into my thoughts [*gedagte*], I don't look to think about it, you understand, because it will always stay with me....I think back about the times I stole money from handbags, that comes very often. It comes, not every day, but it comes often. Say like, you're finished for the day and then you think back to your [INAUDIBLE] but I don't really speak about it. OK if someone asks me then we can sit and talk, but it won't come out of me.

Jacques appears to find memories of his handbag thefts as intrusive, if not more so, than memories of his murders. Again, this demonstrates how Jacques’ narrative links them, possibly implying a moral equivalence.

The constant linking of these thefts to more severe offences highlights the relationship between them but also makes it difficult to describe with complete certainty how Jacques’ motives developed as his offending became more severe. Notwithstanding

this difficulty, by inspecting the context within which many of these comments occur, paying attention to how Jacques describes his feelings in relation to different offences, and placing his descriptions within the chronology of his narrative, some patterns in the development of his offending can be discerned. What is clear is that at this age, about to enter adolescence, Jacques' loneliness lead to his finding enjoyment in theft. While he is reluctant to label his loneliness as either a positive or negative experience, just as he is reluctant to directly blame his parents for it, Jacques acknowledges that these thefts led to more severe offences. Jacques repeatedly emphasises that this last is a fact that he did not realise at the time. He blames this lack of realisation on his inability to understand emotion. Jacques implies that this inability was another consequence of the isolation inflicted on him by his parents.

a) Imago analysis: Childhood

The narrative of Jacques childhood reveals four imagoes. Two of these, the Distant Father and the Controlling Mother, are imagoes associated with others. The other two, the Lonely Boy and Adventurous Thief, are imagoes associated with Jacques' self. McAdams (1993) posits that childhood is where tone and main ideological themes of the personal narrative are created. Jacques narrative seems to support this, as the imagoes established at this stage personify the themes that pervade his story.

i) The origin of the Distant Father imago²⁶

The first imago to be mentioned is the imago of the Distant Father. When asked about his family Jacques immediately says "I'm not friends with my parents" and so emphasises his emotional distance from his parents. He then, of his own accord, introduces the character of his father, the epitome of emotional distance. The Distant Father seems to epitomise the emotional distance between Jacques and his parents. Jacques describes the Distant Father by listing what he did not do in his childhood: he didn't speak to Jacques, he didn't help him with school work, he didn't teach him about cars, he didn't play with him, he didn't pay attention to him, was not involved

²⁶ See transcription references: 115, 116, 120, 129, 173, 262, 265, 267, 297.

with him much, and didn't have an influence on him. Jacques comments that his father did nothing more than work and come home afterwards.

Jacques's characterises the Distant Father imago as absent and passive, a character defined by what he failed to do. The Distant Father imago is also characterised by a lack of emotion and engagement with others. The Distant Father appears to do what is necessary to maintain a 'normal' life but avoids further involvement. In Jacques childhood the Distant Father imago demonstrates two of McAdams' (1988) seven features for identifying imagoes: it is associated with a significant other, and it has associated personality traits. The importance of the Distant Father in representing an early incarnation of the themes of emotional distance and lack of engagement which run throughout Jacques narrative only becomes apparent as Jacques gets older.

ii) The origin of the Controlling Mother imago²⁷

In contrast to the Distant Father imago is the more directly influential and dynamic character of the Controlling Mother imago. This imago is introduced immediately after Jacques' initial description of his father with the words: "she brought me up". Unlike the passive Distant Father, the Controlling Mother was "boss of the house" and very involved in the narrative of Jacques' childhood. She is immediately and strongly associated with discipline. She is depicted as strict, emotionless, and inflexibly controlling. In contrast to the Distant Father the Controlling Mother is characterised by acting (as opposed to failures to act). However, these actions are consistently described in negative terms: she would give Jacques a hiding if he misbehaved or failed to do homework, she would not allow him to go out alone or unsupervised, she would "keep him in his place". Jacques takes care to point out that she never abused him, or made him afraid. Thus while the Controlling Mother is associated with discipline and control, she is not associated with abuse, threats, or fear. Perhaps more tellingly, despite her involvement and action, the Controlling Mother never showed affection to Jacques in his childhood, nor did she supply the "special attention" he failed to get from the Distant Father. As Jacques states, the only

²⁷ See transcription references: 115 –118, 173, 257, 258 –262, 267, 285, 297.

form of attention paid by the Controlling Mother was making sure he did his school work.

In terms of McAdams' (1988) features for identifying imagoes, the Controlling Mother displays two: it is associated with a significant other, and it has associated personality traits. It seems unexpected that the Controlling Mother imago should have the same number of prototypical features as the Distant Father when Jacques' narrative consistently states she had a far greater influence on his childhood. This can partly be explained by the fact that the prototypical features only account for presence or absence of a feature, not the dynamism thereof (for example, both the Distant Father and Controlling Mother have associated personality traits, but the Controlling Mother's are far more dynamic and have more of an affect on Jacques in childhood). The prototypical features also do not take into account the influence that the imago had on the individual or their imagoes of self, preferring to focus solely on the degree to which the characteristics of the imago are adopted by the individual.

The full reasons for this observation will only become clearer as the narrative progresses, but it draws attention to the limitations of the Controlling Mother imago. The Controlling Mother is portrayed only as a mechanism for controlling and trapping Jacques. While it possesses the dynamism and motivation absent from the Distant Father the Controlling Mother, like the Distant Father, fails to provide the "special attention" Jacques desires.

*iii) The origin of the Lonely Boy imago*²⁸

Thus both the Distant Father and Controlling Mother imagoes are targets for Jacques' resentment. As discussed, Jacques' resentment of them is implied in his description of them and their actions and never acknowledged directly. Resentment is similarly implied in his not speaking affectionately of them, even while he portrays himself as an obedient and well-behaved child. While Jacques appears reluctant to criticise them, this implied criticism occurs alongside his frequent hints at longing for something he cannot quite define. From Jacques' repeated insistence that neither of his parents paid

²⁸ See transcription references: 118, 120, 121, 123 – 127, 134, 135, 225 – 8, 261, 263, 290, 295.

him “special attention”, we can hypothesise that this was perhaps a longing for emotional intimacy. This hypothesis is supported when we look at the most overt criticism Jacques has of his parents: that their discipline and lack of involvement with him had “psychological consequences”: (a) loneliness and isolation and (b) the inability to express and understand emotions seem to form a vicious circle in his narrative.

These ‘consequences’ are embodied in the most significant imago of the self in Jacques’ childhood: the Lonely Boy. At this stage of Jacques’ childhood the Lonely Boy demonstrates five of McAdam’s (1988) proposed features of the prototypical imago. The Lonely Boy has an origin myth; it is related to a person (in this case, Jacques himself); it has associated wishes, aspirations and goals; and it has associated behaviours.

Jacques first mentions his childhood loneliness immediately after we first discussed the Controlling Mother, very early in his narrative. The Controlling Mother imago is thus evoked in the origin myth of Jacques’ first clear character of self, the Lonely Boy imago. However no single event provides the origin myth for the Lonely Boy. Rather, the Lonely Boy imago’s origin myth is described in terms of how the imago resulted from the interaction between Jacques, the Distant Father, and the Controlling Mother. Specifically, Jacques portrays himself as a boy trapped inside himself in a world devoid of emotion and of warmth. Jacques is unequivocal in presenting the Lonely Boy’s situation as a result of parental action: the Lonely Boy is trapped by the inflexible discipline of the Controlling Mother, and the emotional absence of the Distant Father. This state of entrapment and isolation results in the Lonely Boy being ill-equipped to comprehend or express emotion (Jacques blames the Distant Father and Controlling Mother, the latter in particular, for making him ‘wish himself dead’ and so kill his emotions). The extent of this emotional dysfunction is demonstrated in Jacques describing not being able to “do” emotion, implying they are only an act. This, in turn, serves to engrain the Lonely Boy’s isolation.

The Lonely Boy is therefore portrayed as helplessly trapped in his aloneness by both his self and by the imagoes of his parents. The Lonely Boy is passive in his helplessness. This passivity is consistent with Jacques’s reluctance to openly express

resentment of his parents or acknowledge his frustration at the Lonely Boy's situation. Similarly, by portraying the Lonely Boy as simultaneously helplessly trapped by his lack of emotional understanding and wishing to break free of it, Jacques' narrative encourages passivity.

Trapped, the Lonely Boy is portrayed as fundamentally isolated and emotionally disengaged. This is demonstrated by Jacques' limited description of school friends, and his repeated insistence that he was not able to discuss personal and emotional things with anyone. This disengagement leads to the Lonely Boy "not realising" certain things about his situation: such as the extent of his resentment of his parental imagoes, or that he was lonely. Notwithstanding this isolation and disengagement, the Lonely Boy is able to handle the demands of everyday existence, as shown by Jacques' participating in school activities, not behaving badly, and maintaining some friendships.

Jacques' narrative does not however show the Lonely Boy as content in his predicament. As alluded to above, there is an impression that the Lonely Boy suffers from repressed or unrealised frustration. The Lonely Boy appears to resent being trapped, frustrated by his own emotional disengagement which deepens his entrapment, and resenting the parental imagoes that created his situation. Not acknowledging this frustration and resentment would allow the Lonely Boy to continue in his passivity and avoid confrontation with the Controlling Mother imago. However as demonstrated by Jacques' repeated struggle to simultaneously blame and avoid accusing his parents, the Lonely Boy is not able to adequately avoid acknowledging his frustration.

iv) The origin of the Adventurous Thief imago²⁹

It can thus be hypothesised that the fourth imago of Jacques' childhood, the Adventurous Thief, originates in this interaction between the Lonely Boy, the Controlling Mother and Distant Father. As has already been discussed, Jacques first mentions committing theft in the context of a discussion of his loneliness. Jacques

²⁹ See transcription references: 123, 125, 128, 135, 146, 147, 166, 183, 214, 246, 268.

states he started committing theft in Standard 3 or 4 (Grades 5/6), at a time when he missed a year of school due to illness. Although Jacques does not make the connection between these events, this illness could have exacerbated the Lonely Boy's isolation and loneliness. We can therefore hypothesise that the Adventurous Thief finds its origin myth in a period of more intense loneliness in the Lonely Boy's story of entrapment and repressed frustration.

However when the Adventurous Thief begins to steal money from Jacques' mother's handbag, his motives are adventure and enjoyment. Jacques consistently describes these thefts in terms such as "fun" and "adventure". Jacques' narrative is unequivocal in presenting the acts of theft as fun, an adventure, and a source of money to waste. He sounds amused talking about these thefts, and they colour his perception of his loneliness. His loneliness is transformed by the thefts from being only a burden, to being a situation where you can "provide your own amusement" by committing theft.

Thus the Adventurous Thief allows the Lonely Boy to maintain his ambivalent attitude towards his loneliness and allows the resentment of the Controlling Mother to remain unexpressed. The latter is particularly supported by the fact that although the Adventurous Thief was stealing from the Controlling Mother, Jacques did not link this to his resentment of her. The Adventurous Thief also allows the Lonely Boy to avoid confronting his own nature and become less isolated and "introvert".

The above suggested that in Jacques' childhood the Adventurous Thief and the Lonely Boy are closely interlinked. The Lonely Boy supplies the Adventurous Thief with his motivation, while the Adventurous Thief provides the "adventure" which allows the Lonely Boy to continue unchanged in his isolation. The Adventurous Thief is the Lonely Boy's means of avoiding both confrontation and change, and serves as a coping mechanism.

The excitement of adventure offered by the Adventurous Thief would have been all the more compelling in light of a school and social life that Jacques' narrative implies is banal and unremarkable. This perception of banality is most clearly shown in Jacques' tone of indifference when talking about this childhood, and in the lack of descriptions of his childhood (contrasting notably, as shall be shown, with his

meticulous descriptions of his offences). The fact that Jacques' narration of his childhood contains very little detail on anything other than the shortcomings of his parents and the beginnings of his criminal career may partially be a function of the interview's focus, but it supports the impression created by Jacques himself that he is indifferent towards the mundane details of his childhood.

Despite the benefits of the Adventurous Thief and the fact that the thefts it committed were fun, Jacques is aware that it represents part of a continuum of offending behaviour. His narrative highlights the importance of the Adventurous Thief in the development of his offending, claiming it led to his committing more severe offences. Jacques emphasises that his lack of emotional understanding meant he did not realise at the time that the Adventurous Thief could create problems for him. This suggests that the "fun" he experienced committing these thefts is mitigated by his reflection, with the benefit of hindsight, on the affects the Adventurous Thief would eventually have on his narrative.

In Jacques' childhood the Adventurous Thief displays an origin myth, association with a person, and associated behaviours; three of McAdams (1993) seven features of prototypical imagoes. These will be added to as the narrative progressed. The Adventurous Thief, as shall be shown, is the first of a series of imagoes of self associated with offending. His "experiments" with the family pets foreshadow future developments in these 'offending' imagoes.

5.2.3.2 Adolescence

In his narrative, Jacques does not differentiate between his primary and high school years, and appears not to consider them as being significantly different. Jacques was made a school prefect in the final year of primary school (Standard 5 / Grade 7) but did not pass the year. Jacques state he was however allowed to go to high school due to his age. Again, Jacques did not consider this incident particularly remarkable.

His family moved to a town called Despatch when Jacques was fifteen, and as a result he changed high school. However the business his parents went there to run failed, so they returned to Pretoria a year later and Jacques returned to his original high school.

Jacques finds this incident unremarkable and adapted easily to the brief period in boarding school that the move to Despatch necessitated. Jacques comments that you just have to “fit in” when you arrive in a new place, and not “make it hard for yourself”.

Jacques was not a spectacular student, getting “most D’s” and comments “I got through, but not well” observing that his school performance varied according to whether the teacher giving the course “made it interesting” or not. He says that “I just learnt because I must learn, I must pass, I must get matric” (Grade 12) and says that he wanted to do this because his mother had told him he must pass these exams. Jacques says the only attention his mother gave him was in relation to his school work. To him, he says, “this is what attention meant.” Jacques wonders whether being forced to work by his mother meant that he never took personal responsibility for his studies, or motivated himself.

Notwithstanding this, Jacques’ moving into high school saw a change in his mother’s attitude towards him: “we were not close in primary school, but in high school she wanted to come closer.” Jacques hypothesises that “perhaps she realised she didn’t have to be so strict”, that her being this way drove Jacques away, and perhaps Jacques’ increasing desire for distance between them encouraged her to close this gap. She began to show him more affection, verbally and physically, and joked with him more. This only “really annoyed” Jacques and made him feel uncomfortable, so he resisted it. Jacques appeared to make an effort to keep distance between himself and his parents, to point where even their introducing him to other people as their son was something which he “didn’t like”. He comments that when he was younger:

I didn't seek attention, because they were strict. I would rather they didn't pay me attention. And when they wanted to pay attention, that's why I didn't want it. I wanted attention, then I decided I didn't want attention any more, now they want to give me attention...maybe I just didn't find this important anymore, like when you reach a certain age and don't want your mom to kiss you any more.

He says he just wanted his parents, his mother in particular, to leave him alone. Jacques mentions the trajectory of his relationship to with his mother – her strictness, followed by her attempts to come closer, and his rejecting them – when she is first introduced in his interview. He emphasises it repeatedly in his narrative.

Much had been made in media reports at the time of his arrest about his relationship with his mother, implying that it was her treatment of him that lead to the offences and citing examples. As Jacques had not disclosed anything of this sort, I asked him about these reports:

BH: Did mother scold you about girls?

JE: No...

BH: Say that girls are sinful, or something?

JE: No, no...

BH: Did your mother ... ever catch you while you were masturbating?

JE: Ja, she said she'd tell my Dad about me...I was in matric, or 9... I was in the bath, and took too long, and she came in when I was busy. She said she'd tell my Dad, but my Dad never did anything about it.

BH: She didn't hit you?

JE: No, no.

BH: Also read that when you went to the toilet your mother wouldn't let you close the door, 'cos she was scared you would masturbate in there.

JE: No, no...

Each example of alleged abuse drew the same, direct and unconcerned, denial from Jacques. His being caught while masturbating seemed a source of amusement, rather than trauma. While I felt embarrassed by these questions, Jacques' only comment was "you must just ask." I was left with the impression that Jacques was telling the truth, and that reports of his mother abusing him had been exaggerated.

Jacques says he masturbated “every three to four days, maybe every week or two” from his early teens. When asked what fantasies he had at the time, he says “I would see a woman that was naked [stutters] Maybe I would think about a woman I had seen. But not every time I masturbated, sometime, I would just masturbate.” He explains that he was not always motivated by someone he saw, and sometimes just got the urge to masturbate.

As in primary school, Jacques did not have a problem making friends, and says “there were always friends...[although]... there were not many”. Jacques appears content with this situation, but goes on to insist that he did not feel a deep connection with his friends:

JE: There were always friends. But to say whether they were true friends...I am not so sure... The kids who sit next to you in class, or who you chat with, or who you eat your lunch with at break; he is my friend, that's all.

BH: So, to put it this way, these people weren't your true friends, just the people who were near you.

JE: Ja, they were my acquaintances, and also my friends, but not my friend – friend [BH laughs].

Jacques goes on to say that although he spent time with them and visited them often at his house or theirs, he could not discuss “personal” things with them: “BH: Did you ever have what you described as a 'true friend', the sort of friend you could discuss any problem with? JE: No. I never had a friend like that.”

As if to mirror this lack of ‘true’ friendship, Jacques says that he would keep these friends until he left school, after which they would have less contact with each other and drift apart. More notable is Jacques’ attitude towards the death of a friend who he “liked more than the others” and who he stayed in contact with for the longest time:

“BH: How did you feel when he died? JE: [pause] Well, I didn't, well, I thought it had to happen some time or another... BH: You felt, he's dead now, what can I do? JE: Ja.” When asked what his friend died of, Jacques says he is not sure.

His seeming indifference towards his friends is mirrored in his attitude towards the opposite sex. He says he never felt uncomfortable with girls at school

JE: Ja, I didn't avoid them...there was no problem with them, the girls. If a girl spoke to me, I spoke with her. I didn't force a girl to speak with me....

BH: Did girls like you, on the whole?

JE: I don't know if they liked me, I couldn't say what they thought, but they didn't show...that they didn't want to be around me...

Jacques had a long acquaintance with the daughter of one of his father's colleagues, but says that although they “communicated well” their friendship remained platonic. Apart from this he says he had some minor flings with girls on school trips “because everyone does when you go out in a group... but when the tour is over, you don't carry on with it...” Jacques says his attitude was not due to his not caring about girls, but because “you can't take things further when you are still in school, and take someone out for hours.” He implies that his activities were restricted because his parents would not let him go out with anyone, friends included: “they didn't let me go out and party.” Jacques accepts this with characteristic passivity, saying he did not really care about going out when he was in high school, and had stopped asking his parents by that time: “maybe I knew they would say no”. Despite this, Jacques comments that he would still be able to go out “now and then”, to his church's youth group [Jeug Aksie] or to a movie on Fridays. Apart from this, Jacques took part in school sport, and went to church with his parents. However, he was not committed to either, and his attendance was erratic. As he put it “I think it's important, but I don't think it's really important.”

Jacques' indifference towards school activities, the opposite sex, alongside the absence of "true" friends, suggests that the emotional isolation and 'loneliness' he reports continued into adolescence. However his rejection of his mother's attention and his seeming indifference towards this situation (which in childhood he found more distressing) suggests that Jacques' attitude towards this isolation changed in adolescence. Where this isolation was previously presented as solely negative, Jacques is now more ambivalent towards it. The following exchange, occurring in the course of Jacques' explaining how he did not like his mother's attempts to become more close to him in high school, highlights this:

BH: You just want to be on your own, is that...?

JE: Ja, ja.

BH: Did you like people [inaudible]... Would you describe yourself as someone who always wanted to be on your own?

JE: Ja, you could say that, but I wanted to break out... I wanted to be alone, but it also wasn't nice.

The last sentence articulates Jacques' ambivalent attitude towards his loneliness and isolation in adolescence as simultaneously something he longed to escape from and desired.

While Jacques' apparently normal schooling continued, his offending was also developing. As Jacques explains it "I had problems, but I couldn't discuss them with anyone... I held them inside." He continues that he didn't know where he could go to solve these problems. As mentioned in the previous section these problems referred to the loneliness Jacques felt, and particularly to his not being able to "do" emotions. Jacques consistently linked these problems to the offences he committed. This linkage was not overt, but Jacques would tend to segue from discussions of his offending to discussions of his emotional problems as a motive for them (and vice versa).

As has already been described, committing theft was, for the young Jacques, a source of “fun” and “adventure”. Jacques states that theft “became a habit [*gewoonte*].” Although he is not specific about when this habit of offending developed, his narrative outlines a number of stages through which his ‘offending habit’ progressed before he first committed murder in his mid-twenties. This, alongside the fact that he first committed theft just prior to entering adolescence, makes it a reasonable assumption that the habit of offending developed in his adolescence.

Jacques compares the development of his offending to a drug habit:

Ja. You could say it is like a person who starts smoking dagga at a young age, now I began stealing out handbags. So like that person then goes on the pills or [inaudible] or mandrax or whatever, I started stealing more money. I would not just steal R5, I would now go onto R50 or R100 or R200.... in handbags, and by people I knew... Like if you are an addict you enjoy smoking drugs. And as you get stronger, you begin to experiment. You experiment, you see if you can use the numbers to draw money from the bank.

Jacques introduces the metaphor of drug use early in his narrative to describe his developing offending, and refers back to it throughout. This ‘drug-like’ process of development, which appears to begin in his adolescence, highlights four notable factors in the development of Jacques’ offending.

Firstly, his offending was becoming more serious: he was stealing larger sums of money from handbags and had started stealing money from acquaintance’s houses. Secondly, he developed onto more severe offending via a process of experimentation. Thirdly, as implied above, Jacques was still enjoying these offences and finding them a source of “fun”. As he recalls during a discussion of how his offending developed: “...At that stage it’s fun [*lekker*] for you, you enjoy it, being able to take money out of handbags...” Jacques insists that the money remained an additional reason for

committing theft. He comments that he was careful not to take too much money from a handbag at any one time, so that when he came back there would “always be more”. It can be presumed that stealing greater sums of money, and not only stealing from his parents, both heightened the sense of adventure and the material benefit Jacques got from these offences.

It is this continued benefit (“fun” and money) that Jacques states led to his offending becoming a habit: “It becomes a habit, and you must do it because it's fun, to do it, because you get something out...it was fun to do. It became a habit. Now, then you got further, and that also becomes normal.” This highlights the fourth key point, that in adolescence Jacques’ offending developing into a habit. He does not however state the strength of his ‘offending habit’ at this stage, nor say whether he feels he could have broken free of it or not. The fact that Jacques’ was caught stealing money and punished by his father, “that was the only time he ever hit me”, did not discourage him and is only mentioned in passing.

a) Imago analysis: Adolescence

The overall tone of this period in Jacques’ life does not change from the previous one. Jacques’ lack of engagement with his school work continues into adolescence. This is characteristic of the Lonely Boy imago’s attitude. As in primary school, Jacques appears largely indifferent to schooling. He does not achieve academically and is not motivated to do so. Jacques blames this indifference, and by implication his own passivity, on the Controlling Mother imago. He comments that because he was forced to work he never developed initiative, or took ownership of his studies. This continued blaming of the Controlling Mother occurs alongside changes both in the Lonely Boy and in its relationships with the Distant Father and the Controlling Mother imagoes.

i) *The Lonely Boy is fully established*³⁰

The Lonely Boy is engrained in Jacques narrative and has seemingly become his preferred way of interacting with others. In his adolescence, it appears his predominant imago of self. The engraining of the Lonely Boy in Jacques' narrative is demonstrated by the shift in Jacques's attitude towards the Lonely Boy's isolation and lack of emotional understanding. Whereas his attitude towards his situation childhood appears to have been one of repressed frustration, this frustration now co-exists with acceptance, and even an active embracing of his situation. This acceptance is best demonstrated in the shift in Jacques's attitude towards his isolation and aloneness. Previously this was a situation he wanted to break free of, but it was enforced by the Controlling Mother. Now Jacques seems to want to be alone, a situation created both passively (for example, by his 'stopping asking' his parents if he could go out by the time he reached high school) and actively (for example by his rejecting the Controlling Mother's attempts to break his isolation). Jacques' attitude towards his parents supplies a further illustration: even in childhood Jacques did not appear to have much affection for parents, his feeling towards them being characterised by obedience and implied resentment. While these feelings persist, they are added to in adolescence by Jacques' desire for distance from them. This expresses the stance of the Lonely Boy imago clearly, and feeds into his sense of emotional separation and loneliness. Thus the five features of the prototypical imago identified in the Lonely Boy in childhood (it has an origin myth; it is related to a person, it has associated wishes, aspirations and goals; and it has associated behaviours) are now added to by the sense that this imago is more strongly expressed in behaviour, and connects with Jacques' philosophy of life (McAdams, 1988). Jacques appears to have accepted and identified more with the Lonely Boy imago. However his identification is ambivalent, with isolation of the Lonely Boy becoming something Jacques both desires and resents.

³⁰ See transcription references: 120, 122, 124, 126, 134, 225-9, 255, 260, 263, 267, 290.

ii) *Incorporation of the Distant Father's perspective in the Lonely Boy imago*³¹

The Lonely Boy continues to be characterised by a disengagement from those around him, best demonstrated in his attitude towards his peers: Jacques dismisses his school friends as 'not true friends' and seems indifferent towards one of his best friends' death. As mentioned, this continuation in the Lonely Boy's characteristic mode of interpersonal transaction suggests that it has become consistent with Jacques' philosophy of life. By embracing the philosophy of emotional distance and lack of engagement, the Lonely Boy imago appears to have adopted the central characteristics of the Distant Father imago. Similarly, the Lonely Boy imago's passivity and indifference towards both friends and school work appear reflections of the Distant Father imago's attitude. It is noteworthy that the Distant Father does not feature in Jacques' narrative of adolescence beyond two brief mentions when the Distant Father's failure to take effective action is highlighted: when his father fails to carry out his mother's threat of discipline for masturbating, and when his discipline of Jacques for theft goes unnoticed. Notwithstanding this, the influence of the Distant Father imago is only fully appreciated now, when the degree to which Jacques has incorporated facets of the Distant Father's behaviour and philosophy into the Lonely Boy become clear. In Jacques' adolescence the Distant Father imago thus comes to display a further two of McAdams' (1988) prototypical features that the Controlling Mother does not: an association with behaviours in the individual (i.e. Jacques) and consistency with Jacques' philosophy of life.

This incorporation of the Distant Father imago's philosophy into that of Jacques' main imago of self occurs at a time when the influence of both the Distant Father and Controlling Mother imagoes over Jacques' behaviour appears to wane. This is best shown in their inability to control Jacques' behaviour via discipline, with Jacques (or the Adventurous Thief) becoming indifferent to it. The imagoes associated with his parents thus appear to become increasingly irrelevant in his narrative as he ages.

³¹ See transcription references: 122, 123, 128, 137, 138, 259, 260.

iii) The rejection of the Controlling Mother³²

Perhaps the most telling change is Jacques (or the Lonely Boy's) rejection of the Controlling Mother attempts to become emotionally closer to him:

we were not close in primary school, but in high school she wanted to come closer ... [in childhood] I didn't seek attention, because they were strict. I would rather they didn't pay me attention. And when they wanted to pay attention, that's why I didn't want it.

As discussed, Jacques mentions the trajectory of his relationship to with his mother repeatedly in his narrative: her discipline and emotional distance in childhood, then his rejecting her attempts at closeness in adolescence. The repetition of this trajectory may suggest that, in Jacques' narrative, it has more lasting importance than the Controlling Mother imago itself.

This rejection of the Controlling Mother by the Lonely Boy supplies two observations in relation in Jacques' imagoes. Firstly, it supports the hypothesis that his adolescence sees the Lonely Boy becoming engrained as Jacques's primary imago of self, with the attendant change in Jacques' attitude towards it. Now rather than accept the changes he longed for in childhood the Lonely Boy rejects the attempts made by the Controlling Mother to disrupt the status quo of their relationship. This rejection does not appear solely motivated by Jacques reacting to abuse from the Controlling Mother, as demonstrated by his contradicting media and criminological reports of his mother's discipline being unusually harsh. It is thus more indicative of a change in Jacques' attitude towards the Lonely Boy imago.

Secondly, the rejection of the Controlling Mother demonstrates that the tight control wielded over the Lonely Boy in his childhood has begun to break down. It also demonstrates the limitations of the Controlling Mother's influence: she seems limited to being a mechanism of control, the means that ensured Jacques' childhood isolation

³² See transcription references: 117 – 120, 259 – 261.

and the development of the Lonely Boy. Unlike the Distant Father, the Controlling Mother's attitudes have not been incorporated in the Lonely Boy's philosophy of life. Thus while the Controlling Mother's influence may initially appear to have been great it does not last beyond Jacques's childhood. Ultimately the loss of the Controlling Mother's influence over Jacques and the seeming absence of any imagoes to provide a similar level of control implies there are now no controls in place to limit Jacques' behaviour.

iv) The development of the Adventurous Thief³³

This gradual collapse in the controls placed over Jacques by his imagoes is reflected and speeded by changes in the imago associated with his offending, the Adventurous Thief. As discussed, the offences associated with the Adventurous Thief still appear motivated by the twin benefits of "fun" and money. These continue to supply the adventure that Jacques suggests was still missing from other aspects of his narrative. However his offences are not only becoming more serious, but offending is becoming a "habit". Where in childhood the offences associated with the Adventurous Thief appear to have been an outlet for the Lonely Boy's sense of entrapment, they are now a habit in their own right. Jacques likens the Adventurous Thief's offending to the process of drug addiction. This habit, Jacques states, was developed by a process of experimentation: "as you get stronger, you begin to experiment". This process of experimentation becomes established as the means by which the Adventurous Thief develops to more serious forms of offending, and the means by which the habit of offending becomes more serious. The increase in the Adventurous Thief's strength appears also be reflected in an increasing indifference towards others. Not only does the Adventurous Thief now begin to target people outside his immediate family but it is now indifferent to being disciplined, as demonstrated by Jacques' indifference to being caught and hit by his father for theft.

The Adventurous Thief is now associated with a wider repertoire of behaviours. In childhood, the Adventurous Thief would only encourage stealing small amounts of money from Jacques's mother's purse. In adolescence, the Adventurous Thief is

³³ See transcription references: 128, 135, 146, 147, 183, 214, 246, 270.

encouraging the theft of money from acquaintances, in their houses. The sums of money being stolen are also larger, and bank cards are being taken in an attempt to get even more cash. These changes in the behaviours encouraged by the Adventurous Thief suggest an increased daring and confidence. As mentioned, there is also a suggestion that the Adventurous Thief is becoming increasingly indifferent to other people. This suggests that the Adventurous Thief has become associated with certain personality traits. In adolescence, the Adventurous Thief therefore adopts a fourth feature of the prototypical imago (McAdams, 1988), to add to the three displayed from childhood.

The increased indifference towards others suggests that the Adventurous Thief has adopted the Lonely Boy imago's isolation from others and lack of emotional understanding. In addition to his shared outlook, there appear to be parallels in their development. That is, the Adventurous Thief becomes stronger and commits higher value offences at approximately the same time as the Lonely Boy imago rejects the Controlling Mother's attempts at closeness. The concurrence of these changes suggests further ways in which they maintain a mutually beneficial relationship in Jacques' adolescence.

Firstly, by increasing the benefit offered by offending the Adventurous Thief allows the Lonely Boy imago decreased dependence on the Controlling Mother or Distant Father for emotional interaction. The Adventurous Thief imago thus supports the Lonely Boy imago's desire for distance from the Controlling Mother and Distant Father. Ensuring this relationship does not change also helps ensure that the Lonely Boy remains Jacques' preferred mode of interaction, reflecting the greater acceptance Jacques has towards the Lonely Boy in adolescence.

Simultaneously, the Lonely Boy is maintaining the emotional isolation and distance which allows the Adventurous Thief's experiments in offending to develop untrammelled. Given how the Adventurous Thief appears to have emerged as a result of childhood loneliness, continued emotional isolation could also provide a continued motive. This hypothetical symbiosis between Jacques' imagoes of self not only results in them becoming stronger but also appears to play a part in rejecting the controls

attempted by Jacques' parents. This absence of control is a further benefit to both imagoes.

5.1.3.3 Adult life (Pre-murder series)

After graduating from high school, around 1985/86, Jacques life appears to have been directionless. Jacques said that he hadn't decided what he wanted to after he left school:

[I] had no idea what I wanted to be so I just went everywhere to get work.

I would do anything. I didn't worry...I didn't care...there wasn't anything I specifically wanted to do, but I would do any work if I was accepted for it.

Jacques parents asked him to find work, but when his attempts were unsuccessful he waited at home for his "army papers" (conscription call-up documents) to come. However he wasn't in the first conscription intake. He applied for a number of jobs, including the Police and the Post Office, with no success. He says "I didn't have a clue what I was going to do, when I was in school", and says that upon leaving he was not concerned with what sort of job we should get: "it wasn't a big thing: 'I must go there, or I must go the other way.' I never had the idea to do that, I didn't know, I just went." He then heard that the Railway Police were looking for recruits. Jacques applied, then went on holiday. When he returned he heard that the Railway Police "still wanted me" and so joined "BH: So it wasn't a decision, now, I will become a policeman. JE: No... I didn't decide 'now I'm going to be this'." Jacques continued to live at his parents address on and off for approximately the next four years (until he moved into the police barracks).

Jacques is explicit about the fact that he did not give much thought to what he wanted, and was not concerned about his lack of a plan, being content to 'wander'. Jacques' work life appears to have been guided more by circumstance than by motivation. Jacques apathy and lack of concern for the direction of his life may have contributed to the chronology of his life at this stage not being clear and he seldom gives exact dates and lengths of time. These factors add to the sense that he was 'drifting':

“Maybe I didn't worry about my future. Today I can see I made mistakes”. Jacques later comments that he didn't have the motivation to fight for anything, and affirms that it was not a sense that the world was against him, rather being a feeling of being lost.

Around the time he was accepted into the Railway Police, Jacques met his future fiancé. Their relationship lasted the five years up to his arrest. This suggests he met her in 1987, when he was 21. This was, as Jacques put it, his “first full relationship”. Jacques, characteristically, never refers to his future fiancé by name. She is referred to throughout as “my fiancé”. He first met her at the church youth group [*Jeug Aksie*], and got to know her through church events, where they would have coffee and talk:

JE: [I] Didn't decide immediately that she's important but as we saw each other more, I said now, ‘come, let's go see a movie together’ and from then on we carried on with a relationship...

BH: Was she your first girlfriend?

JE: Yes, my first girlfriend-girlfriend [real girlfriend].

As in his work life, the chronology of Jacques' relationship is not clear. He characteristically summarises their relationship in general descriptions and lists of activities. Jacques was not able to answer the question about “what type of person she [his fiancé] was”, but goes on to say “she was beautiful to me.” Jacques says his love for her wasn't “mad love”, but he “liked her a lot”. They enjoyed being together, and doing things together, such as playing table tennis, going to movies, or listening to music. He says that they talked together “but not a lot”. He says that their conversations weren't “very intelligent” and did not involve the sort of intelligence that “thinks about things”. Jacques gives an impression of his fiancé being quiet and reticent, commenting that if she had something important to say to him, she would rather write it down. Their relationship seemed amiable, and Jacques said they seldom had arguments. If they did, he comments, they were about “small things” and his fiancé would normally “back down”. The only persistent source of irritation in the relationship appears to have been his fiancé's father.

Jacques states that his fiancé was the only person that he felt at ease with, because

She showed that she thinks I'm important, she wanted to go out with me, she loved me, she showed it... She showed that she loved me. She demonstrated it. She lived it out... maybe that is what attracted me to her.

He says he particularly liked it when she would write love notes for him and “a few times, she would expect them herself.” He said that, unlike previously, the fact that his fiancé demonstrated that she loved him meant he could express his feelings to her: “I said it [I love you] because I knew that she really loved me. Then I could say it, because I really felt it. But I wasn't sure at that stage what the feeling was.”

Despite his fiancé's demonstration of love for him, Jacques says that at the time he did not really know what love really was. He explains that although he knew that he loved her, he wasn't sure that he had the knowledge necessary to recognise feelings of love in himself, or handle them. In typically confused and ambivalent terms, Jacques tries to accurately describe the struggle he had in understanding the emotions his relationship implied:

I didn't have the reasons of that love, so maybe it confused me. I didn't know how to react. It didn't make me angry, so that now I'm going to take it out on women, you understand. I didn't have the ability to handle romance, or to react in an understanding way towards a lady. The things I did maybe didn't show that I loved her, but I did love her... I knew nothing about what to do...

BH: So you got all the feelings but can't live them out.

JE: Ja, or if you for example get someone who loves you, and you want to love her back: you know how to woo her [vry], but to demonstrate that love, it's a completely different situation. To understand the true meaning

of the words, 'I love you', to demonstrate and expound on it, to write words to say what's in your heart, that I didn't know how to do it. OK, I learnt it after I was involved with someone who gave these things to me, but I didn't handle it like an understanding person. Now I know what it is like to love a person, now I know if someone loves you, this is how it is done...But at the time I didn't have the things to know how to do it. To say, 'I love you' is easy, but to really show it, and to do certain things to show you love her... that sort of thing.

BH: You didn't know about these things.

JE: I didn't have the knowledge.

Allied to Jacques' lack of emotional understanding is, as before, an implied frustration around communication. He says that although the communication between them was generally good, they were times when they "didn't do it so well":

I got along well with her, and talked a reasonable amount with her, I, can I say, I was seeking more, more talking. From my side, I should also have talked more, found more to talk about, made more opportunity. From both sides, there were times when we didn't talk... there was communication but there wasn't good communication. I maybe expected more.

Jacques says that although he would ask his fiancé if she enjoyed being with him, or their physical relationship, they wouldn't talk about "very personal" things like how he felt about his work, and their future, and what would happen if they had problems. He says he would have liked more, and describes his ideal of communication in their relationship as being what he saw on a relationship advice television programme.

Over the next two or so years, Jacques' work life and relationship continued smoothly. Jacques appeared to live a sober life. He said he and his fiancé would

sometimes go to discos on a Saturday, but he “wasn’t really a night person...We wouldn’t stay out to a disco until three in the morning. Maybe I’d be there an hour or two, then go. I wouldn’t be there until Sunday.” He occasionally drank alcohol when at social events, but would not drink much. He says he didn’t want to get drunk as he wanted to “know what I’m doing”. Jacques only ever got drunk once, when he was at home alone and decided he wanted to know what it was like to get drunk. He didn’t enjoy this experience, and allied with his seeing the effects of alcohol on his grandfather, it means he did not drink heavily again. Jacques never experimented with drugs, something Jacques attributes to his seeing what “druggies” look like. Jacques would smoke cigarettes, a habit he started after he left school, and one he continued as it helped keep him awake during night duty with the police.

Jacques was enjoying his job with the Railway Police. He explains that although he gets bored quickly and struggles to stay awake, he found his police training “very interesting” and he enjoyed it: “You run lots, shoot lots, and when the evening comes you’re half tired and not keen to study. But it’s still nice and you tried your best...I wasn’t a top student but I studied hard...I didn’t struggle”. He even made a “three or four” friends, even though “I didn’t go out and look for them”. Jacques’ enjoyment continued in his subsequent posting to the main international airport (which at the time was under the jurisdiction of the Railway Police). This gave him plenty of variety, with different and continually changing duties: “at the airport [I] always did something different... You learn something every day.” Jacques also had the opportunity to travel overseas as an escort to consignments of gold. These trips, involving staying for a few days in a number of different countries were, to Jacques, “almost like a holiday.” When directly asked he says that although these trips gave him the opportunity to view pornography (banned at the time in South Africa) he never bought any and was not really interested in it.

Jacques repeatedly emphasises how much he enjoyed his work at the airport. As in school, his interest is reflected in his achievement: “at the airport, because I was interested, I wasn’t a brilliant policeman but I did good work...” He passed his sergeant’s exam while at the airport. Media reports had commented that his fiancé’s father had apparently said that if Jacques was to marry his daughter he should better himself, saying “you can’t be a constable for ever. You have to go further.” Jacques

denies that this becoming a sergeant was the result of pressure, saying “I became a sergeant on my own.”

His relationship with his girlfriend had also, after being together between twelve to twenty four months, developed into a full sexual relationship. Before this Jacques says he had masturbated “every three to four days, maybe every week or two.” He says that they were at his parent’s house (as both of them still lived with their respective parents), his parents were out, and they were and watching television: “we were making out [vry] then we'd watch TV, then make out a bit more [vry] and, then, maybe she was getting frustrated. I had never asked her.” Jacques says that eventually his fiancé took his hands and lead him to the bedroom “I didn't ask her, but she also didn't say, and then I had sex with her”. Jacques says that they had tried to have sex once before, but this first attempt had failed as he couldn't “get in”. Jacques describes the sex with his girlfriend in his characteristic detail, commenting that they were both virgins at the time, and that he withdrew before he ejaculated and “shot on the ground” as he did not want to make her pregnant. “Then we got dressed. She then said, look, you must marry me. I said, yes, I will marry you.” The first time they had sex thus lead to their being betrothed.

He and his fiancé would continue to have sex when they were at his house. This sexual relationship was carried out in secret as their parents would disapprove, although Jacques thinks that his mother probably “realised” as she had once found a condom wrapper but she “didn't know for sure”. Jacques says he wondered whether his fiancé would tell her mother that they were having sex. Jacques says that their sex life had to fit around his work, as he would work shifts, which meant that he only saw his fiancé every six to eight days. He says they wouldn't always have sex, but he would ask

JE: Do you want to do it?...Then she would say yes or no... It's alright,
it's not a problem...

BH: It was no problem for you?

JE: No... it didn't make me angry if I didn't get sex

Jacques says that the sex with his fiancé was always good, although he notes that because they didn't use a condom it meant he would have to withdraw before he ejaculated. He said that he also did not always ejaculate because he didn't want to make her pregnant "at this stage", before they were married. However, he said he never had any problems getting an erection "I wasn't unlucky like that." Jacques says he and his fiancé did not talk about sex much, and he did not ask her "if she enjoyed it, or if it went too quickly."

The changes in his life since he left school did not lessen Jacques' offending. On the contrary, at around the time Jacques met his fiancé and joined the Railway Police, he progressed beyond stealing from handbags. As already shown, while Jacques says he loved his fiancé and enjoyed their relationship he maintains he "maybe expected more" communication with her, still feeling unable to recognise and handle the feelings this relationship evoked. The problems of a lack of understanding of emotions, and emotional isolation, thus appear to have remained with Jacques. Jacques links his increased offending to these problems, which his relationship with his fiancé brought into focus:

Maybe I could experience feelings a bit with my fiancé. Maybe I broke out because I wanted to experience. But I blocked the rest off, I don't understand. Because I didn't perceive my feelings of enjoyment, or I'm doing something and getting something good back.

While Jacques does not make any explicit link between these events, he first entered a stranger's house to steal money about the same time as he met his fiancé, around 1987.

BH: What made you decide to enter [i.e. steal from] a house for the first time?

JE: OK, uuumm, I can't remember what made me decide to do this. As I said, maybe it was an impulse, 'now I'm going in'. It wasn't a decision

that I sat down and took 'OK, now I'm going to break into a house'. I just saw the window's open, the opportunity is there, I'd go in.

He continues that the first few times he would just walk in and steal cash.

JE: OK if I go in to get cash, there are people there. Men, women, children and what not. I just went in and opened the handbag and took cash, where it was in the bedroom or so on.

BH: Was it at night?

JE: At night...but [the people were] not sleeping... they were busy eating, or watching TV, or whatever. A couple of times I was busy, and people came in and they saw me, then I made tracks.

BH: Did you ever attack anyone to get away?

JE: No...

BH: How many times would you say you walked into a house, before the first incident? [i.e. before the first murder]

JE: Definitely a few times, say, ten times at the most...

BH: When you were in a house, how did you feel?

JE: Well, it didn't make me feel brave or anything like that. I ummm, OK look, you're still not sure at that stage, you're still tense, because you don't know because you don't know who's in the house or whatever. You're still careful. But when you see there's no-one there, you're half-relieved.

BH: After the time, did you feel excited, with the adrenaline, from the thrill of it? ...

JE: [Pause] I couldn't say, I couldn't swear by it... if it's empty you can't stay too long, because someone might see you. You look what's there and

make tracks. If someone's there, you must also be quick and make tracks. So you're nervous. If I got money, I was glad. I'd go play games or waste the money or whatever, on anything, food, cold drink, while you're playing. You can say I was scared someone would catch me, or whatever, when I began. But eventually, you don't worry. It becomes a habit, and you just do it because it's fun [*lekker*], to do it, because you get something out...it was just fun to do... it was nice [*lekker*], and it becomes a habit. If you feel you want to go out and go out, and do the thing, find a window that's open....

BH: Afterwards, it just became a habit. After the first few times, you do it and you get a good feeling?

JE: Ja, it was nice and the enjoyment of getting money, to spend it, waste it, it's just there and you didn't work for it. It became a habit, because I enjoyed getting something .

In addition to stealing cash when he entered strangers' houses, Jacques continued in his habit of stealing bank cards. If he took a bank card he would also try to find the PIN numbers and then withdraw money from their savings accounts. He says that he would sometimes steal everything from their handbag, or from their savings account. Jacques says he kept the cash, and anything else he stole, for his own use. Thus these offences continued to being material benefits for Jacques.

Jacques is not clear or confident describing his own motives or the decision making around his offences. Typically, when discussing these offences the volume of his voice drops and he stammers more, his tone becoming less confident. This is in contrast to his precision when describing his actions or thoughts. Jacques would, by preference and of his own accord, repeatedly return to concrete descriptions of what he did during these offences: keep a look out, enter the house still not knowing for sure whether someone was in there, having to be quick in stealing something, then

“making tracks”. In these actions, as well as his tone when describing them, it is clear that Jacques had developed into a confident and daring burglar. He says he never “broke a window” to get inside during these burglaries, preferring places that were left insecure. He said he did not go out burgling every day. Jacques would offend in areas close to where he lived. He was never arrested for, or charged with, these offences.

“One to two years” after his relationship with his fiancé started, and these burglaries began, Jacques committed an offence which foreshadowed what was to come. Jacques mentions the incident in passing, when discussing other crimes that were linked to him after his arrest. He says he didn’t commit any of them, apart from the case where “OK, I tried to rape one, but they didn’t want to carry on with the case.” He says that this occurred about a year before his first murder. Jacques’ description of this offence is particularly vague and brief:

JE: I went in the dwelling and [pauses, struggles for words]... OK,
uummm, the woman was there...but then she screamed, and I ran away.

BH: Was this near your parent's house?

JE: Ja... it was just over the street, diagonally across.

Jacques later expands that this was the first time he had found a woman in a house he had entered. He says he pulled a duvet off her, before she screamed and he fled. I later asked Jacques whether he decided to rape women before his first murder, while his initial reply is vague he goes on to reveal how his offending developed to this point, and then describes his first attempted rape again:

JE: Ja [many pauses, stutters] I, I thought I would try to rape a woman...if I saw her there, and she looked nice. But it wasn't like I saw a window open and decided to go in...It's from when you take money out the handbags. You don't do it at family and friends, you go out to flats to get money. Maybe that caused me to think, ‘why don't I do this also’.

Because you're going further...you are now busy in a process and you come to a point where you see, why don't I do this? There's no special reasons I want to rape woman, you understand. I just thought 'why don't I do this'? Maybe you also enjoyed it, because you do it secretly.

BH: Is that it?

JE: Maybe it's the sneakiness. You enjoy doing it, the sneakiness, no one knows about it. You don't tell anyone. You don't get drunk and hit it out, or tell anyone, the sneakiness you don't tell anyone about. To do sneaking things you get something out of it... [speaks faster, more excited tone] to be sneaky, to sneak around at night, to search for money, then you come to stage where you see there's a woman, you see she's there, you don't know if she has a husband, because you didn't check whether there was a man there. You see through the window that there's one body on the bed, so you go through the window and pull the duvet off. But you don't have the wherewithal to know what to do next, then she screams, and you run away.

Jacques re-iterates the sense he introduced in the narrative of his adolescence, that he is increasingly caught up in the habit and process of his offences.

JE:...Umm [pause] In the beginning, you can't to stop. Then you get bigger, like you said, with the handbags and then later I could go rob banks.

BH: It became harder to stop as you went along, once you had started.

JE: Maybe, the things that I stole out of women's handbags, began [the plans] to have sex with women. I don't know, I just think that.

BH: To put it this way, it was part of the same act. You stole this thing, you saw a woman there and thought ‘hey, I can have sex with her’?

JE: Ja...

The above passages also make explicit the links Jacques makes between the initial handbag thefts, his progressing to burglary, and now his decision to attempt rape. These are added to by further comments Jacques makes elsewhere in his narrative with reference to his decision to commit rape: “because maybe I stole money from women’s handbags, maybe I had to now have sex with a women, you understand” and “BH: What were your reasons, do you think for selecting women in your offences, not men? JE: As I said, it was the handbags they caused me to go into women's rooms.” Jacques is thus clear that the handbag thefts and his rapes are part of the same continuum of offending, with the handbag thefts being given as a reason for the later rapes. Jacques does not however explicitly state that he had now decided to commit rape.

The above passages show that a further motivation appears to have developed at this stage: “sneakiness”. While I have chosen to translate the Afrikaans word Jacques used (*skelms/skelmheid*) as “sneaking” or “sneakiness” it also carries associations of cunning, furtiveness, secrecy, and criminality. In committing these burglaries Jacques appears to have gained additional satisfaction from the ‘sneakiness’ of his offences. This is shown by the excitement in his tone when describing this sneakiness, stating “[doing] sneaking things, you get something out of it” and seemingly additionally satisfied by the fact that “You don't tell anyone...the sneakiness you don't tell anyone about.”

The above gives a clear impression that the habit of Jacques’ offending had not just changed in character. It had become more severe, with Jacques now less able than before to escape it. As Jacques comments:

But as it goes on, going into houses, round by strangers', anything can happen, it's a habit that you learnt, you can't stop. You want to do it more and more, you can't control it. You do it more, as a habit.

All this suggests that what had begun as “fun” and an adventure was, by the time Jacques came to commit walk-in burglaries, increasingly becoming a habit that he couldn't break free off. Jacques links this strengthening habit to the desire for “experience” in adulthood in his comments made when discussing his relationship that “maybe a broke out because I wanted to experience”. These links between the desire for experience and the decision to commit rape persist as his narrative progresses.

a) Imago analysis: Adult life (Pre-murder series)

Upon leaving school Jacques appears to have entered a period of aimlessness. He emphasises that he had no specific plans or any direction. This is supported by Jacques' comments that he felt “lost” and did not have the motivation to fight for anything. Jacques acknowledges that this ‘drifting’ was ultimately harmful to him: “Maybe I didn't worry about my future. Today I can see I made mistakes.” This aimless drifting appears to encourage the incorporation of the Lonely Boy in one of Jacques' key imagoes of adulthood.

It is notable that in adulthood the only developments pertain to those imagoes associated with Jacques' self: the Adventurous Thief and Lonely Boy. Neither the Controlling Mother nor Distant Father imagoes are mentioned in the narrative of his adulthood, nor are new imagoes associated with others embodied in his narrative. This serves to highlight the fact that Jacques was becoming increasingly isolated from others. This also confirms that, with the end of adolescence, all controls over him were removed. This isolation and lack of control is bourn out by the increasing severity of his offences in adulthood.

i) *The evolution of the Lonely Boy imago into the Passive Man imago*³⁴

This period in his life sees the evolution of the Lonely Boy imago. Jacques' tone of indifference and emotional disconnection as he narrates this aspect of his story suggests that the passivity and lack of emotional engagement the Lonely Boy inherited from the Distant Father persists into his adulthood. However Jacques' ambivalence towards his isolation (unlike the Lonely Boy's resentment of it), his advancing age, and his engaging with others sufficiently to hold down steady employment and a relationship suggests that the name 'Lonely Boy' no longer accurately describes Jacques' mode of interpersonal transactions in everyday life. That is, while his interpersonal transactions remain characterised by passivity and emotional isolation, they could be seen as age-appropriate and considered 'normal'; facts which the imago name 'Lonely Boy' does not accurately represent.

This period thus marks the emergence of the Passive Man imago. This imago becomes Jacques' preferred mode of interaction with 'everyday' adult life, that is, with life outside his offending. The adult imago of the Passive Man adopts the central characteristics of the Lonely Boy, the key difference being the Passive Man's ability to carry out a 'normal' life. Entering employment and getting engaged both suggest apparent normality, and that the Lonely Boy imago has grown up. The Passive Man thus displays the same five features of the prototypical imago seen in the Lonely Boy: it has an origin myth; it is related to a person, it has associated wishes, aspirations and goals; it has associated behaviours and connects with Jacques' philosophy of life (McAdams, 1988).

As suggested by the name, the Passive Man is characterised by a lack of dynamism. As shown above, Jacques reports feeling aimless and only joins the Railway Police because they accepted his application. He is able to hold down a job, but is not ambitious and engages with his job because it is varied and so maintains his interest (reflecting the Lonely Boy's attitude towards school work). The Passive Man is not interested in socialising, and while he has some friends Jacques emphasises that he "doesn't look" for them and seems disinterested in maintaining friendships. The

³⁴ See transcription references: 138, 139, 167 – 170, 172, 174, 255, 256, 286, 287, 290.

Passive Man seems ruled by circumstance rather than his own motivation. The last mentioned is particularly evident in Jacques' relationship with his fiancé.

Jacques is clear that he received pleasure from his relationship with his fiancé. However in his narrative this enjoyment is diluted by his continued struggle to understand the emotions this relationship requires. Jacques' narrative, echoing the situation of the Lonely Boy in childhood, suggests he was trapped by his lack of emotional understanding. Jacques also describes himself as a passive recipient of another's love, unable to reciprocate appropriately due to a 'lack of understanding'. Jacques continues his characteristic use of the imagery of his emotions being 'trapped' or 'locked up inside'. Any understanding Jacques professes of emotions is couched in terms of behaving, rather than feeling, in an appropriate way. Jacques implies links between his self as the Lonely Boy imago, controlled by the Controlling Mother, and his adult relationship with his fiancé. All the above demonstrate that Jacques' interpersonal interaction with his fiancé adopts the characteristics of the Passive Man. This further implies that despite the change from Lonely Boy to Passive Man, and his becoming involved in a long-term relationship, the central themes of his lack of emotional connection with others and his inability to perceive or understand his own emotions persist.

The fact that Jacques' relationship is governed by the Passive Man is further shown by his seeming lack of emotional engagement with his fiancé, with him appearing unconcerned with her reactions or emotions. As shown in the interview transcriptions, Jacques describes their sex in the same detail he uses to describe his rapes, which could imply they have an emotional equivalence for him. He never mentions his fiancé's name and she does not appear as a distinct character in his narrative. While she appears to have certain characteristics, their relationship appears distant and formal. Similarly Jacques gives an impression that the relationship with his fiancé was not marked by conflict or high emotion. He does not state any desire to develop his relationship further, nor does he appear motivated sexually or sexually frustrated. In contrast to his fiancé, he appears to play a slightly apathetic role in their relationship. This passivity is also shown in the fact that while Jacques implies he would have liked "something more" in relationship, he does not appear to have broached this subject

with his fiancé. All the above are congruent with the behaviours and characteristics of the Passive Man imago.

Jacques' lack of emotional engagement with his fiancé has three implications for our understanding of his narrative. First, it ensured that his fiancé was not internalised or embodied in his narrative as an imago. Rather she remains an isolated, external, influence incapable of making lasting changes to his narrative. Second, this implies that the shift from Lonely Boy to Passive Man has increased, rather than relieved, Jacques's emotional isolation. Third, this increase in emotional isolation appears to have encouraged evolution and divergence in the Adventurous Thief imago, drawing on its origin myth.

ii) Interactions between the Passive Man and Adventurous Thief imagoes³⁵

As already shown, Jacques' relationship with his fiancé appears to have emphasised his continued emotional isolation and lack of understanding. While in adolescence Jacques rejected the Controlling Mother's efforts at emotional closeness and maintained an ambivalent acceptance of his loneliness, his reaction to the lack of fulfilling emotional interaction with his fiancé demonstrates that this was still something he desires.

This desire is expressed in terms that mirror those used in his youth to describe what he felt was missing from his relationship with his parents. For example, Jacques says he "maybe expected more" and "maybe...wanted to experience". Again the sense of his frustration at this emotional lack of understanding is highlighted: "I didn't perceive my feelings of enjoyment, or I'm doing something and getting something good back." The Passive Man thus recalls the repressed and unrealised frustrations of the Lonely Boy, and echoes his unspecified desire for 'something more' at a time when his narrative contains a heightened sense of his emotional isolation.

However the Passive Man imago is not equipped to meet these desires. Like the Lonely Boy imago before him, the portrayal of the Passive Man as simultaneously

³⁵ See transcription references: 139, 212, 229, 230, 290, 292, 310

helplessly trapped by his lack of emotional understanding and wishing to break free of it encourages passivity. In addition to this, as with the Lonely Boy's interactions with Controlling Mother and Distant Father, the Passive Man does not fully acknowledge his desires and lack of satisfaction. This encourages further passivity and continued frustration.

The Passive Man thus needs to utilise the Adventurous Thief to ease these frustrations, and fulfil this 'desire for something more'. In an echo of the origin myth of the Adventurous Thief there is strong implication that these frustrations relate to Jacques' unmet emotional needs. These unmet needs appear to relate to a lack of emotional interaction and continued emotional isolation. As demonstrated by the established relationship between the Adventurous Thief and the Lonely Boy, these unmet needs can be satisfied by things other than emotional interaction, such as "fun" thefts.

The Passive Man thus continues to need its relationship with the more dynamic Adventurous Thief to handle the resurgence in feelings of emotional isolation, recalling the origin myth of Adventurous Thief and echoing the Lonely Boy's childhood. This emotional isolation occurs against the background of Jacques' 'aimlessness upon leaving school, and his comments that he was "lost" and drifting. This combination of factors, which the Passive Man is unable to cope with, could be hypothesised to lead to an increase in the offending associated with the Adventurous Thief. This hypothesis is supported by the correlation between Jacques' starting a relationship and employment at the same time as he starts burgling houses.

This episode highlights a further factor in the relationship between the Adventurous Thief and Passive Man. Jacques insists that he loved his fiancé and enjoyed their relationship, but this did not seem to have a positive affect on Jacques's offending, which becomes more severe. Similarly, his having an enjoyable job also seemed not to have an affect. This suggests that the linkage between these imagoes will now only be evoked in reaction to stimuli, particularly emotional isolation, that have previously encouraged offending. Positive events such as the satisfying interactions in his relationship thus have no affect on the Adventurous Thief, since the established link to the Passive Man is not able to convey this affect.

The nature of this link also means that the Adventurous Thief and Passive Man are almost entirely separate from each other. This makes it possible for Jacques to continue the ‘normal’ life of the Passive Man at the same time as his offending becomes more severe. This separation is demonstrated by the image of his relationship as one of quiet domesticity, and the seeming incongruity of it co-existing with an increase in his offending. This separation is also demonstrated by Jacques not making any explicit correlations between his offending and any other aspects of his narrative, nor linking the chronology of his relationship or work with that of his offending.

This characteristic of the link between these imagoes, and the separation it implies, has positive effects for both imagoes: it encourages passivity and stasis in the Passive Man, while encouraging further offending in the Adventurous Thief. Therefore where the Passive Man imago appears to react to the frustrating circumstances of Jacques relationship with passivity and lack of dynamism, the Adventurous Thief reacts in the opposite way: increased action.

iii) The evolution of the Adventurous Thief imago into the Searching Burglar imago³⁶

As established, Jacques appears to have felt the lack of emotional understanding, his emotional isolation, and an undefined desire to ‘search for more’, acutely at this period in his life. This had a notable affect on the Passive Man imago which in turn encouraged further offending in the Adventurous Thief. Jacques acknowledges this link in his observations that these factors were a motive for this offending at this time. This link is further strengthened by the observation that committing crime as a means to ‘search for something more’ reflects the initial motive of the Adventurous Thief to commit theft.

The offences related to the Adventurous Thief changed in number of ways in this period, which suggests that the imago itself had changed. These changes also mean

³⁶ See transcription references: 143, 144, 146, 147, 217, 237, 239, 265 – 268, 270 – 272.

the imago name ‘Adventurous Thief’ no longer adequately represent this characteristic mode of interpersonal transaction. As with the Lonely Boy and the Passive Man imago, the characteristics of the Adventurous Thief are adopted by this new imago. Jacques repeatedly emphasises continuity between his more and less serious offences, with the less serious (e.g. theft) being seen as part of the reason why the more serious offences (e.g. rape) occurred. This supports the suggestion that the imagoes that motivate them have a similar continuity.

This new imago retains the way in which the Adventurous Thief’s behaviours develop through a process of experimentation. The new imago, like the Adventurous Thief, is fundamentally self-interested, self-involved and indifferent to others: the burglaries are committed for personal gain, no thought is given to the victims, and the imago is motivated by his own desires (as opposed to, for example, being motivated by altruism or revenge). The new imago also retains the Adventurous Thief’s motivations for offending: material gain and “fun” / adventure. The latter is added to by the implication in Jacques’ descriptions that the burglaries encouraged by this new imago have an element of ‘thrill’ to them. This new imago thus retains the four features of a prototypical imago identified at the earlier stages: an origin myth, association with a person, and associated behaviours; and associated personality traits (McAdams, 1988)

The most obvious change is in the behaviours related to this new imago. Jacques is now committing burglaries, characterised by an opportunistic decision to exploit any premises left insecure. He said he would keep watch on the house before entering, enter without being sure whether anyone was there, quickly steal items and make his escape. He is not deterred by the presence of people and is stealing more items. Where previously Jacques appears to have been very nervous about capture, he is now less so: “at first you worry, but soon you don’t”. Previously furtive, Jacques has become more bold and confident. This is reflected in his tone when describing his actions. Similarly, and in notable contrast to the Passive Man, this new imago is established as impulsive, decisive and goal-oriented. The term ‘burglar’ captures this more adequately than the term ‘thief’.

This emerging ‘Burglar’ imago also incorporates developments in Jacques’ motivations for offending. In addition to the adventure and material gain which

motivated the Adventurous Thief, the emerging 'Burglar' demonstrates additional motives of sneakiness / secrecy, habit, and the search for experience. The last of these appears the most fundamental, hence the name 'Searching Burglar' for this new imago. It should however be acknowledged that this name cannot adequately represent all the changes in his imago at this time. An analysis of the context in which these three factors are mentioned in the transcriptions tends to suggest that they emerged concurrently and hence a relationship between them can be hypothesised. These three emerging themes will now be discussed in more detail.

Around this time, Jacques expresses an additional satisfaction in his offences being carried out sneakily, or in secret. This satisfaction suggests that the indifference towards others that the Adventurous Thief displayed in adolescence has become engrained in the Searching Burglar imago. It also implies that the separation between the Searching Burglar and the Passive Man imago is a source of satisfaction for Jacques. Thus the imago associated with offending is becoming increasingly separate from that which deals with all other aspects of this life.

As shown, in discussing his burglaries Jacques gives a clear sense that his offending was becoming a habit that he is increasingly less able to break free of. This suggests that what had begun in the "fun" and an adventure of the Adventurous Thief was, by the time the Searching Burglar emerged, increasingly a habit that he couldn't break free off. The Searching Burglar's offences appear to be a point when "fun" and "habit" motivate his offences in equal measure. Jacques links this strengthening habit to the desire for "experience" in adulthood.

The urge for experience that emerges at this stage appears to be related to the aimlessness and lack of emotional engagement of the Passive Man. This desire for experience is articulated in comments such as "[I] want to know what it feels like", "why not do this?" and "maybe a broke out because I wanted to experience." The Searching Burglar's desire for experience is represented as a development from the experimentation of adolescence. This search for experience suggests that the Searching Burglar had demonstrates a further feature of the prototypical imago: 'associated wishes, aspirations, goals' (McAdams, 1988).

The emergence of the Searching Burglar in Jacques' narrative demonstrates he was in the process of habitually committing increasingly serious offences. This habit was motivated by an increased desire for experience, his enjoyment of the sneakiness of burglary, and the emotional isolation of the Passive Man. Jacques comments that this habit would "maybe" have lead to his committing more serious offences and gives the example of bank robbery. However, he went on to commit rape.

While Jacques does not overtly state that he will now rape women, this choice of offence can be explained with reference to the Adventurous Thief and Searching Burglar imagoes. Jacques makes explicit linkages between the handbag thefts of the Adventurous Thief and the rapes he would go onto to commit, commenting that his targeting of handbags "maybe" lead to his targeting women in later offences. He mentions these linkages alongside comments that the "habit" of offending became hard to break free of. Both these factors allow an implicit connection to be made between the emergence of the Searching Burglar, Jacques' desire for experience, and the increasing desire to commit rape. Therefore when Jacques first tries to rape a woman he encounters during one of his burglaries, his actions are consistent with motives and developmental path of the Searching Burglar imago.

This attempted rape also demonstrates the limits of the influence of the Searching Burglar. Jacques' attempted rape lacks the calm confidence associated with his burglaries. The imago does not appear to have evolved sufficiently to offer him the template for behaviour it provides elsewhere, or the mode of interpersonal transaction needed to justify the progression to more explicit and serious exploitation of others.

5.2.3.4 The first incident

Jacques' refers to all the murders he committed and was convicted of as "incidents", and numbers them sequentially. The first incident occurred in 1989, approximately a year after Jacques' states that he attempted rape. He was still living at his parents' address and, as he said, the first incident "just happened". The victim was a twenty one year old black woman, Thomasina Selepeng, who was working as domestic helper in the house behind Jacques' parental home. Characteristically, Jacques does not refer to his victim by name. He does not comment of her race, or describe her, beyond a single reference to her attractiveness. This incident was precipitated by Jacques wanting to enter the house behind to steal money. Thomasina was living in an outside room, presumably the servant's quarters.

BH: [With the first murder] What happened there?

JE: She came to ask for work. Then I saw she looks good. Then I, saw her the next day, I saw the woman whose house it was going to the shops, I didn't realise she [Thomasina] would still be in the house....I was going in to house to look for money. I saw the door was open to the outside room and it was near the house's back door. It was just alongside my parent's house, over the wall. She was still sleeping, but the door was open... it was early morning. I decided that I was going to have sex with her. Then I go into the room. Then she wakes up. Then she screams and I grab her by the throat, to get her to be quiet. Then I yank the blankets off, the night clothes off... She had on a nightie and sleeping shorts. But didn't have panties on under her sleeping shorts...I then hit her on the stomach to get her calm [*rustig*]. She kept fighting, you understand , and we fell off the bed, struggling. [Pause] Ok, then she passed out, or something...I heard in court about the smothering from the fire, that the nightdress and the clothes fell on her face and they were on fire, and that caused her

smothering. She then passed out... Now I was exhausted from the struggling. So I wasn't keen [*lus*] to rape her...I didn't want to do the act. There were some newspapers on the table and I set them on fire... then I set the place on fire and walked out. The fire spread from the table to the bedclothes, and then on to the night clothes or dress, I don't know which it was, that fell on her face...then I left....

BH: Why did you set fire to the table?

JE: I don't know, it's just what I thought up, I just decided to do it.

A neighbour, seeing the fire, called the police who found Thomasina's body. Jacques claims that he had never set fires before this event, and remained unable to say why he had done so here. Similarly, Jacques later commented that this was the only offence where he broke a window to get into a premises (although it is not clear when he broke windows during this incident). He is not clear about what actions he performed, or about how Thomasina was killed. Jacques says she "passed out or something" during his strangling and hitting her, and asserts she was smothered in the fire. This is contradicted by police documents, which state she was strangled. The documents add that Jacques used a brick, along with his fists, to hit her in the stomach and neck. While these discrepancies do not appear sufficient to cast doubt on his entire description, it clearly demonstrates how his narration of this incident is jumbled and unclear. This is uncharacteristic of Jacques, who normally describes his actions with great precision.

Jacques later says that his decision to rape Thomasina was taken impulsively: "The first one just happened, the reaction to do it was there. I don't get there to rape a woman. I went there to try get in the house for money. Then I saw there was a woman, then reacted..." He says it "just happened" and he did it as a "reaction". He says that the decision to offend was not taken to "get at" women, but rather because he wanted to get money. He continues that it was only when he got into the premises and saw a woman there, that the on the spot decision to "take it further" was made.

The confused impulsiveness of this offence is mirrored in the lack of clarity in Jacques' description of his post-offence behaviour.

BH: How did you feel after the first incident?

JE: [Pause, sighs] As I said, I hadn't known whether she was alive or dead. I was worried. It was the first time I did something like that. So I was very worried; I didn't know, OK, would she say it was me and so on; until I saw that no one was coming. Then I saw...that you'd strangled, killed her, or whatever. Raped, or whatever...So then I saw they weren't looking for me, then I knew I didn't have to run away.

In apparent contradiction to his earlier claim that that his decision to rape was impulsive Jacques had said before this incident that his theft from handbags and his rapes were part of the same continuum of offending. This is shown by his reply when asked whether he thought about rape prior to the murder of Thomasina: "It's from when you take money out the handbags." His reply to whether he had decided to rape women prior to this incident is more however ambiguous:

Ja [many pauses, stutters] I, I thought I would try to rape a woman...if I saw her there, and she looked nice. But it wasn't like I saw a window open and decided to go in. But I didn't do it again until the first incident.

This answer does not make it clear whether he is referring to his previous failed attempt at rape, or this incident. The below exchange is similarly ambiguous: "BH: With the first one, was it just a spur of the moment decision? JE: Ja, at that moment, you decided you're going to do it" with it not being clear whether the 'spur of the moment' decision relates to Jacques' decision to commit a burglary (where he is typically impulsive and opportunistic) or his decision to commit rape.

Notwithstanding the above, Jacques is clear on how this offence affected his future offences. He later comments, in a quieter voice and amidst pauses, that prior to this incident:

JE: I never thought about rape...Maybe after the first incident, I did begin to think about rape.

BH: After the first one?

JE: Ja...

BH: Did you think, before, about raping woman?

JE: Ja, with the first incident, when I tried it, ja.

The murder of Thomasina appears to have led to him thinking more about committing rape in future incidents.

a) Imago analysis: the first incident

The tone and mode of expression in Jacques' narration of this event mirrors that in the attempted rape he committed about a year previously. Similarly, the actions in both are described in vague and confused terms, unlike Jacques' usual detailed descriptions of behaviour.

i) Maintenance and limitations of the Searching Burglar³⁷

The previous imago analysis section highlighted the implicit connection between the emergence of the Searching Burglar, Jacques' desire for experience, and the increasing desire to commit rape. Thus as with his previous attempted rape, his actions in this incident are consistent with the Searching Burglar imago. Jacques' statement that his decision to attack Thomasina was taken impulsively further supports the links between this offence and the opportunistic daring of the Searching Burglar imago's previous offences.

³⁷ See transcription references: 146, 147, 154 – 158, 175, 187, 220, 222.

This incident also re-iterates the limitations of the Searching Burglar imago. The mode of interpersonal transaction it represents is not able to adequately justify, or offer the behavioural template for, Jacques' committing rape. This is demonstrated by the chaotic nature of his actions, as well as in the confused and unclear narrative he gives of this offence. This is in marked contrast to the cool-headed and confident offences committed by the Searching Burglar in the offences of his adulthood.

These factors suggest that this incident does not represent a significant change in the Searching Burglar imago. Rather, the Searching Burglar persists in this incident, with the behaviours committed during it consistent with the Searching Burglar's established *modus operandi* (MO). The differences between the Searching Burglar imago's MO and noted in this offence can be explained by the lack of the appropriate behavioural justifications in the Searching Burglar imago. Therefore this incident does not demonstrate a significant evolution in the Searching Burglar imago. Rather, it reiterates patterns noted in the previous imago interpretation section, and represents a continuation of them.

Jacques acknowledges that his initial reason for entering the premises where he found Thomasina Selepeng was to find money. Beyond this, Jacques does not explicitly mention the established motivations for the Searching Burglar in this offence. These motivations are adventure, sneakiness, habit, and the search for experience. Based on the similarity to his previous offences, an assumption can be made that these motivations persists.

It is perhaps more notable that in his narrative of this offence there are neither implicit or explicit references to any events that evoke the sense of emotional isolation, lack of emotional understanding, or the desire to 'search for more' that had previously affected the Passive Man, and so assisted in motivating the Searching Burglar's offences. This could indicate that these sensations have become so incorporated into Jacques' imagoes that there is no longer any need for a specific event to occur to evoke them. Another explanation is that since this offence represents a continuation, rather than change, in the Searching Burglar imago there is no need for there to be a specific event to evoke this change in behaviour from burglary and attempted rape to

murder. This is consistent with the observation that this murder appears to have been the unintended consequence of a burglary and attempted rape gone wrong.

Finally this offence re-iterates the established pattern that the behaviours of those imagoes associated with offending develop through a process of risk-taking adventure and experimentation. That is, Jacques' decision to try rape Thomasina Selepeng represents a behavioural experiment (as did his development from theft to burglary) which encourages further development in his offending. This is supported by Jacques' comments that after this offence he began to think about committing rapes more. The 'experiment' of this murder thus lead to Jacques' explicitly acknowledging that he would like to commit rapes, where previously this was implied.

5.2.3.5 The second incident

Almost two years passed before Jacques committed the second major offence he was convicted of, a rape. In the interim, as Jacques says, he "went back to stealing money". As his offending remained unchanged over the next few years, so his relationship with his fiancé proceeded largely without incident. Jacques comments that he had had a few disagreements with his fiancé's father. While Jacques is vague on the details, these appear mainly to be concerned with her father being a "perfectionist...everything must be done just so." His prospective father-in-law put pressure on Jacques to gain promotion and get a flat before he would permit Jacques and his daughter to be married. These minor conflicts came to a head one night when Jacques failed to have his fiancé back at her parent's house by 10 o'clock, and her father phoned Jacques and "shouted... I didn't get angry with him. I wasn't keen for... scolding [*skellery*] that night...so I just put the phone down... A father has to be like that, but I wasn't keen for his scolding so I said 'just forget it, leave everything...goodbye'." This incident appears to have contributed to Jacques' wedding to his fiancé being postponed, and their relationship was only saved when Jacques arranged for his church pastor to intervene with his fiancé's father on his behalf. This occurred in October 1991, shortly before the second incident in November.

Jacques explicitly plays down any links between his postponed wedding and the incident.

BH: [Referring to Jacques' offences] Do you think things wouldn't have turned out differently if you had been married?

JE: No, I don't believe I would have stopped. I would have gone on.

BH: Do you ever wonder if it would have made a difference?

JE: No, it wouldn't have made a difference...

Perhaps more pertinently, Jacques was moved from the work he enjoyed at the airport, to the Riot Squad [*Onruseenheid*]. This move had been on the cards since the Railways Police amalgamated with the South African Police Service in 1986, but Jacques had been allowed to continue with his duties at the airport largely undisturbed up until now. In contrast to his employment at the airport he found the work there boring and repetitive: "you always worked in the same place and did the same things". The Squad he was posted to would have been tasked with policing the township during a time when they were in violent turmoil. Jacques comments, in an indifferent, bored tone that "people shot at us, threw stones and petrol bombs" and that at times, he "had to shoot" but he never shot anyone while in the Riot Squad. The violence did not disturb Jacques, and did nothing to alleviate the boredom he felt at the repetitiveness work. Jacques judges that this boredom meant the quality of his work at the Riot Squad was not so good, although he says he was never "called into office to say 'you did this wrong'."

As part of his move to the Riot Squad, Jacques took up accommodation in a large police barracks situated in a residential suburb of Pretoria. As when he was at boarding school, Jacques does not report having any problem fitting in, or finding friends. Jacques quickly lost touch with friends he made at training college or previous postings, saying "you just get other friends. I'm not the sort of person who says, he's my friend, I'll go with him, or stay in touch. If he goes, he goes. It doesn't bother me". His spare time at the barracks was spent visiting friends, watching videos, collecting stamped first-issue envelopes, and sometimes playing video games in the

local café, as he did when young. Jacques says he spent most of his time on his own, and did not appear to find anything unusual or unpleasant with this.

Jacques' move into the Riot Squad and the barracks meant that he was given his own service firearm. This firearm encouraged Jacques' offending. Jacques says that, when he was at the barracks, he began to go out at night "maybe to have sex".

BH: At what stage did you know, if I find a woman I'll rape her?

JE: Ummm, [pause] after the first case, but, when I got the weapon it gave me the strength to do this thing. If I get a woman, I'll rape her... when I could took the pistol home...that gave me strength, to do things. To stand there and say 'I'm here to rape you'. I wouldn't do it without the weapon.

BH: Because you didn't have the power?

JE: Yes, you can say that [tone drops]... because you have power over someone if you have a weapon.

BH: What made you decide, when you had the weapon, that you must rape and not, for example, steal more?

JE: Like you said, because I had the power, and the weapon was my strength. I never stole much, only a little bit, so I can always go back and get more cash... now I knew if I get someone, I can...

BH: Did you decide to rape people because you had a gun?

JE: Yes.

BH: There were no other reasons, like pressure at work, or problems with the relationship?

JE: No, I didn't do it because there were problems with the relationship.

BH: You more did it because you could do it.

JE: Ja.

BH: It was almost as if it wasn't part of your normal life.

JE: Ja ja [strong agreement]... you could say I was two people, one was violent and the other was soft natured, or whatever... that's how it was for me, but it's not like there is another person in me and says 'aaarg, I'm now a werewolf and kill go and commit murders' [pulls face, mutual laughter]. I'm the same person, I just have two sides, one good side and one bad side that no one knows about apart from me...

BH: And the one is normally separate from the other.

JE: Ja... it didn't feel like it wasn't me doing it... it was the same life, it was just a side of me that stood to one side when I decided to go out...

Jacques comments that it was this separation within his self that allowed him to go on normally the days after an offence. Commenting later on how his getting a weapon led to his committing rape, Jacques summarises: "The first time was just a reaction... the second one I got feelings, I had the firearm, now, I can go and do it."

It was as part of his going out at night, "maybe to have sex", that Jacques came to commit his first rape. The rape was preceded by a Jacques committing series of burglaries on the same flat, which was located very close to the police barracks:

Then I went out, and then went into the flat. I saw there were keys there, for a car. So I took the keys, then went downstairs. I see it's BMW keys. Then I see there're two or three BMWs there. I use the keys, and then I find the right BMW. Then I ride around a for a little bit in the BMW, then ride it back and park it in the police parking... next to the station... I think it was a week after that, it rained. I can't say precisely how much, but I can say it was rainy... I took the car and parked it in the parking place I got it from and I went and threw the keys away... I don't know how many

days after that, I went again to the same flat. Again there wasn't anyone there. OK, then I saw there was a one of those CDs, those Walkman you can play CDs with, and I took two or three CDs just to take them. I don't know why I took them, [maybe] it's just because I liked them... A few days after that, I then went later in the night. [Before] I had always gone about eight o'clock, now I was going at one o'clock, I think... And [pause, thinking] I had by then already seen that there are men and women's clothes. I saw photos, but that's not what attracted me. It was always fun to go there, and the windows were always easy...

BH: It was easy to get in.

JE: Ja.

Jacques says that after he broke in for the first time, he felt that he hadn't "looked around" enough, decided to go back later "to see if there was money, but there wasn't, so I took the CD". While stealing the CD's Jacques says he saw photographs of a woman in the house and decided to come back later and see if she was there. "I had already decided. If she's alone, then I would rape her." Jacques repeats twice that this was how he made the decision to return there to commit rape.

Reflecting on the process that lead him to this point, Jacques re-iterates that the 'sneakiness' was part of his enjoyment in offending, commenting that he didn't burgle every night but would rather wait "evening, or a month, or two weeks, or so on and then you go out. I am ready to be sneaky again..." He again emphasises that without the gun he would not have committed rape. He claims that before he had the gun he would have run away if someone screamed, but now he could go through a window when it was open and when he knew a woman was present. In a faster, more excited tone than usual, Jacques expands on this:

JE: Then you stay in the area, because you know there's an opportunity there, you had seen it, and you [can] go into that house. You haven't yet

decided to rape her, but then you see she's there. Then on the spur of the moment you decide 'why don't I do it?' and you decided 'yes'. And now you have the weapon, and now you can prevent her from screaming, and if she sees you, you can kill her. I didn't sit and think 'if that happens, I'll do this, or whatever. When it began, then I decided 'now do this'.

BH: You didn't think about it lots or plan it, it was just...

JE: [interjects] Ja. Later you plan it, think, I'm going out...

BH: [interjects] To find a woman...

JE: To rape, or whatever.

The last time he returned to the flat, it was to commit rape. As on the first occasion, he got in through the front entrance (on the second occasion he climbed the drainpipes outside). He said he never had to break a window to get in, as they were always open.

That evening I decided OK, now I'm going to see if there will be a woman there alone, then I will have sex with her...I didn't decide to go there again [in advance], I just decided I would go back...on that night, to go to the flat. So I get there, then I saw a woman, I saw a person lying on the bed, I didn't know if it was woman or a man, understand. Then I heard this person moan...[when] I heard that sound, I hear it is a woman. Then, when I went closer in, the woman woke up and she saw me. And then I showed her the pistol, the weapon. Then she says 'Don't shoot, put the weapon down'. She said she saw the red light on the pistol... [referring to a luminous dot on the sights]... I don't know how she saw it. She said 'put down the weapon', so I put down the weapon, then I pulled off the duvet. She was then just in her panties, then I yanked the panties off. Then she put her hands over her breasts, and I climb on. But she kept her legs

closed. Well that didn't really bother me I then penetrated and then came. My watch bothered me, and so I left it on the bed under the pillow and I forgot about it. I got dressed, and I went out. I took the telephone, and placed it in the corridor... I don't want her to phone until I had time to get out of there....

BH: Did you say anything to her?

JE: Ja, during it she asked whether I wanted a smoke, or a drink, or a talk. I said no, no, and no. Then she also asked why I took her car, what had I done with her car. I told her I took it for a joyride, and that's it...

BH: How did you feel during this? Good, or bad?

JE: [pause, small bemused laugh] I don't know whether I felt good or bad. What I can say [pause] I didn't want to do the act with her, to have sex with her, because I was horny or whatever...I had seen her photo, but that didn't encourage me to her, to rape her...it was just that I wanted it.

BH: I see what you're saying, it had nothing to do with her.

JE: Ja, didn't matter if she was pretty or whatever...[inaudible] I did see her, she looked good. I can surely say, pretty. But it was just to do that sex act, I don't feel it was lust, because I was attracted to her or she was pretty or whatever. It was just because I wanted to have sex, you understand...

BH: Did you feel horny at the time?

JE: No [pause] I didn't. I could start in the beginning. You could have sex, but it wasn't horniness. It was just, you're looking for something in the sexual act. I don't know. I don't understand it myself... In the beginning, you come on the scene [many pauses, searching for words] and you think 'I must have sex with her'. It's not about horniness. It's about just getting

sex but it's not horniness, it's about the deed that you have decided to do.

The outcome is that you had sex, but it's not the same thing.

BH: It's just a deed.

JE: Ja.

The victim, a white woman in her mid-30's, Sylvia Claasen, concurs with Jacques' report that he disconnected the telephone. However she also reports that Jacques had taken his clothes off before she awoke. She asked that he put the gun down as he did not seem a violent person, and he allegedly responding by shaking her. Sylvia then asked why he had done it, to which Jacques replied 'for fun' and when she asked if he was scared, Jacques responded that he didn't care. Before he left, Jacques allegedly pointed the gun at her and told her to pull duvet over head. Overall, however, there are strong similarities between police reports and Jacques' own narrative of events.

In contrast to his description of the attempted rape and the murder he had already committed, Jacques narrates this offence in precise, clear, terms. This gives the impression of an offence committed in calm and detached manner. The fact that he visited the location at least twice in advance, and returned that night with the express purpose of 'seeing if there's a woman there to have sex with' may have contributed to this calm. As in the first murder he committed, Jacques does not comment on the age or race of the victim, and comments on her physical appearance only in broad terms.

a) Imago analysis: the second incident

The second incident saw notable developments in Jacques' narrative. These changes mainly affected those imagoes associated with his offending.

i) Continuation of Passive Man³⁸

The Passive Man remains a consistent influence in Jacques narrative. As before, the Passive Man continues to be the mode of interpersonal transaction used by Jacques to negotiate his relationships with his fiancé, her parents, and with his employers. The

³⁸ See transcription references: 139, 149, 229, 230, 254, 292.

Passive Man remains indifferent to maintaining friendships and lacking in ambition and dynamism. Jacques appears to handle threats of change in his situation by utilising the tactics previously used by the Passive Man. This is shown by his reaction to his fiancé's father, where he reacts as he did to the Controlling Mother imago: he rejects them and keeps his distance. This means that others do not appear to significantly influence his behaviour, or his dominant imagoes of self. From this point on the Passive Man does not evolve significantly in the narrative: it maintains stasis while the imagoes associated with offending evolve further. This maintenance of stasis in the Passive Man thus benefits the Searching Burglar. As in the relationship between the Lonely Boy and Adventurous Thief, the Passive Man's maintaining of emotional isolation and distance allows the Searching Burglar's offences to continue.

ii) Interaction and separation between the Passive Man and Searching Burglar imagoes³⁹

Two events occur in his period that could be hypothesised to influence the Searching Burglar's offences: Jacques is transferred from a job he enjoys to a role in the Riot Squad that he finds "boring", and immediately before the second incident he comes into direct conflict with his father-in-law. Jacques insists that there is no connection between the conflict with his father-in-law and his offences. This is supported by the fact that this conflict does not appear to have evoked the sense of emotional isolation that previously encouraged his offending, being adequately handled by the Passive Man's tactics.

However the boredom of his job may have encouraged Jacques' offending. That is, his being trapped in a boring job means that the Searching Burglar's desire for experience would be particularly unfulfilled. The Passive Man would lack the dynamism to fulfil this desire in any other way, and thus the Searching Burglar imago's offences were the only means to this fulfilment. The fact that it is this thwarted desire for experience, rather than loneliness, which may have had an influence on his offending suggests that the Searching Burglar was becoming more dominant than the Passive Man in creating Jacques narrative.

³⁹ See transcription references: 138, 139, 252 – 255, 292.

This hypothesis is partly supported by the nature of the link between the Passive Man and Searching Burglar, which only reacts to stimuli that have previously encouraged offending (although previously this stimulus appeared to be emotional isolation, rather than a thwarted desire for experience). On the other hand this hypothesis is mitigated against by the role played by Jacques' gaining access to a firearm. Although there is insufficient evidence to either support or refute associations between the events affecting the Passive Man and this offence, they suggest that by this stage the Passive Man and the Searching Burglar were almost entirely separate from each other. This is supported by Jacques' insistence that there were no links between his relationships and his offence, his agreeing that his offences were 'almost not part of his normal life', and by his comments to the effect of "I was two people, one was violent and the other was soft natured, or whatever... I'm the same person, I just have two sides, one good side and one bad side that no one knows about apart from me..."

iii) The transition from the Searching Burglar to the Habitual Rapist⁴⁰

This incident marks a point of transition in the imago that supports Jacques' offending. It has been established that, from this point on, the imagoes that support Jacques' offending become the focus for change in his narrative. In so doing they become increasingly dominant. The 'experiment' of his first murder lead to Jacques' explicitly acknowledging that he would like to commit rapes, where previously this was implied. For two years he did not act on this urge, instead reverting to the behaviours that have been established as part of the Searching Burglar's characteristic modes of interaction.

This changed when he had access to a firearm. This external influence provides the Searching Burglar with the means to undertake the interpersonal transactions needed to act on its desire for rape. The clarity and precision of Jacques' narrative of this offence provides further evidence that he can utilise the modes of interpersonal transaction necessary for him to carry out this offence. This is in contrast to the first incident, where a lack of this support was reflected in a confused narrative.

⁴⁰ See transcription references: 146, 147, 159 – 167, 176 – 187, 189, 191, 202, 204, 219 – 221, 240, 241.

Jacques describes the firearm's role in terms of the "strength" it gave him. This is the latest example of the role played by external influences in the development of Jacques' imagoes, previous examples include his sickness as a child and the relationship with his fiancé as an adult. In the first two cases these influences appear related to Jacques' unmet emotional needs. However in this case the firearm meets an instrumental need, that is, it provides the means for Jacques to commit his offences. This difference supports the implication above that the Searching Burglar imago already had a desire to commit rape after the murder of Thomasina Selepeng, and all that was needed for the 'Burglar' to become a 'Rapist' was the impetus provided by a necessary instrument.

This offence thus marks the emergence of the Habitual Rapist. As in the previous transition from the Adventurous Thief to the Searching Burglar, this emergence does not mean all the characteristics of the imago change. Rather, the Habitual Rapist adopts the Searching Burglar's motivations and characteristics. The firearm allows the Habitual Rapist to commit rape with the calmness previously associated with the Searching Burglar's offences. The emergent Habitual Rapist retains the Searching Burglar's interest in material gain, the enjoyment of "sneakiness", as well as the association between the offences and "fun" (as shown by his comment to Sylvia Claasen that he does this "for fun"). The Habitual Rapist also appears to have learnt from the Searching Burglar's experience in the first incident: Jacques is careful not to break a window or commit a rape impulsively, rather making a number of visits to the premises before he commits rape. This also demonstrates that the imagoes associated with offending continue to develop through a process of experimentation

The emergence of the Habitual Rapist does appear to put more emphasis on two of the Searching Burglar's characteristics. The first of these is indifference towards others: the act of rape requiring a greater level of indifference to others than burglary. This increased indifference is demonstrated in Jacques' attitude towards Sylvia Claasen: he is not concerned by her reactions to him, does not describe her in detail, and does not desire extended interpersonal interaction with her. She is, to the Habitual Rapist, an object to be taken advantage of in his offending. The second of these characteristics refers to the Searching Burglar being motivated by its desire for the experience of

rape. The search for experience that motivated Jacques' previous offences is particularly noticeable here, as implied in Jacques' repeated emphasises that it was not sexual arousal that motivated his rapes, but rather "it was just to do that sex act... you're looking for something in the sexual act... it's about the deed that you have decided to do." This is not a new motive, just an increased emphasis on a pre-existing one. This above supports the previous suggestion that the transition from Searching Burglar to Habitual Rapist imagoes represents a shift in emphases on a continuum, rather than a complete change in character.

5.2.3.6 The third incident

Jacques summarises the evolution of his offending up to this point:

BH: With the first one [incident], was it just a spur of the moment decision?

JE: Ja, at that moment... just decide, 'now I'm going in'... In the beginning [it was like that] but later you [I] would think 'that window's going to be open, I'll go in later'

BH: For example, in the second incident.

JE: Ja. I would see there's a woman, with the windows open. I would then come back later and see if the windows are open.

BH: And if the windows are open, you go in?

JE: Ja...

BH: Did you walk around the streets to...?

JE: Ja, I climbed over walls, and walked around a bit in the area...maybe I had nothing to do, so then I walk.

Thus from the second incident onwards the pattern of either breaking in first, or at least reconnoitring the location, before returning to commit rape was established. This echoes Jacques' earlier statements that the 'sneaking around' motivated his offences.

Jacques shies away from stating that he returned to a location for the express purpose of rape, preferring to state that he would “maybe” go back after he broke in somewhere to see if there were women there. Jacques does admit that if he found a woman there when he returned, he would rape her. Jacques does not say how many places he broke into where he did not find a woman there to return to.

Notwithstanding this, exactly twenty days after the second incident, Jacques again committed rape. This was the second charge of rape he was eventually convicted of. The home address of the victim, 62 year old white female Jane Ferreira, was close to the location of the previous offences and, according to Jacques, about 50 metres from the police barracks. Jacques was exploring the houses one row back from the barracks, and saw “the windows are open, I'm going in.”

OK, so I went into this flat, and then I was in the bedroom and can see no-one's there, then I saw a light on in the sitting room, kitchen area. I look through the door and see there's a woman there... But I didn't see her face. I see there's a handbag, so I opened the handbag and saw there R20 or something, I'm not sure. I took it, and then I left.

Jacques says that although there was more money there, he didn't take it. He says that he did not take more money because if he did then people would realise they had been robbed and take precautions, this meaning he could not return later to get more money. Jacques says he learnt this tactic stole from handbags as a child, and links the theft directly to his committing rape: “Because I stole money from women, maybe I had to ... now I must have sex with a women”

Jacques returned later that night. This seems to have been the time of greatest excitement for Jacques: “you just decide to go out, then when you are there [just outside the dwelling] then you get excited... you don't really know what's going to happen before you go into a place.” In narrating this offence, Jacques' speaks faster, his delivery growing in confidence and becoming livelier:

Then I decided I will come back later, at midnight. But I didn't know how many people are there, I just saw the woman, I hadn't seen her face, you understand. Then I went back midnight, one, two, I don't know precisely. I went in, then she woke up and she screamed. The light was off. Then I grab her tightly and give her a little tap on the head. She got a fright and kept quiet. I pulled the duvet off, and pulled her clothes off, and then see that she's an old woman... I didn't rip clothes off, I undressed her. OK, then I just came to the point and asked 'do you have AIDS?' because she looked skinny to me...and she said she doesn't sleep around. Then I climbed on and she wanted to grab something, and I took her hand away, and saw there was a panic button there...Then I had sex with her [more pauses] I lost my erection, it went limp...maybe because she was old and didn't excite me but when you do the act you get excited... Then she took my penis and placed it in her vagina, then I got stiff and I penetrated and had sex with her. Then I was finished, I pulled my clothes on and left...I didn't talk much to her... she was 62 and was not pretty, so it was just the sex... It was just about having sex...

Jacques tends to refer to this victim in more derogatory terms, such as "the granny". Police reports confirm Jacques accounts of behaviour at the scene, with the exception of mentioning that he kissed Jane Ferreira in the course of rape and, when leaving, threw a blanket over her head and bade her "good night".

Jacques admits that he did not speak in Afrikaans to his victims, because "maybe" he did not want people to know he was Afrikaans speaking. He says he is "not sure" when he decided to do this, but says he began speaking in English at the first rape and continued.

By now, Jacques' offences were causing panic in the largely middle class suburban area around the barracks, drawing a strong police response:

JE: After the... third incident... they put policemen on the roof. OK, I heard it, but it didn't bother me, that there was a policeman on the roof...I knew they were looking for me... And when I went back to the barracks, if someone spoke about it, I didn't talk, I just listened... I just listened...I wasn't worried...maybe, already, I hoped they would catch me.

BH: Did you feel worried, or very excited?

JE: Ummm, no, I didn't...ja, you can say I was still worried, I knew that they would catch me some time.

BH: You already knew this?

JE: Yes, I knew this. I knew I wouldn't always be able to get away with it. It was definitely a solution that they must catch me. That's why I didn't wear gloves, I didn't wipe out fingerprints or many marks. I still had the [inaudible] in my room... I knew they would catch me, but I didn't decide... I couldn't stop myself...I didn't get advice or talk to anyone. At that stage I didn't know I couldn't stop, but later I realised that I would never have stopped...

BH: Did you hope they would catch you?

JE: I knew that some time or another they would catch me, but, I didn't think about it to much. It didn't bother me incessantly. I knew they would catch me some time or another but I wanted them to catch me, I didn't want to give myself up.

On the contrary rather than giving himself up Jacques would, in the months to come, sometimes go out with the policeman tasked with catching him: “now I'm sitting there and waiting for this murderer, which is half-funny. But I didn't go out to find myself, or say ‘it’s him, I saw him’.” Thus the police hunt for him became a further source of amusement and even ‘thrill’ to Jacques.

Reflecting on his offences up to this point, Jacques finds:

The first time was just a reaction... the second one I got feelings, I had the firearm, now, I can go and do it. After that, I wanted to do it again, I couldn't control myself, the feeling to do it again. Then I couldn't stop myself.

Therefore after the second incident Jacques is insisting he had lost control over his desire to commit rape. As the exchange below demonstrates, by the time of this incident the desire for experience appears to have become a primary motive for Jacques.

BH: Did you enjoy yourself?

JE: [much stammering] The stealing from the handbags was fun, I can say that. I know they say that if you don't enjoy something you won't do it again...

BH: Why did you do it many times [rape] if you didn't enjoy it? What are your reasons?

JE: Like I said, I felt like I was in cycle and couldn't get out, that's why I did it again. Like I enjoyed stealing handbags, you feel you want to do it again, maybe it was nice I couldn't say why it was nice. The excitement brought me to doing it. The sneaking around... to rape, to rape maybe to experiment, to find out how it feels to rape or ejaculate inside a woman...

BH: The rapes were for the experiment, for the experience?

JE: Ja, maybe I sought something in the rapes.

BH: What did you search for?

JE: I don't know... [you're] searching for something, but [you] don't get it....

BH: You didn't know what it was, but you were looking for something?

JE: Ja...I'm searching for something and I don't know what it is, so I go on and on. That's what I think... I don't know what you're searching, you just do it....

BH: What were you searching for in all these crimes?

JE: Like I said, I was searching something, but didn't know what it was I was searching for. Maybe to experience things. I don't know if it was like really like that, what I was searching for. I wasn't certain it was this. It was completely confused...I didn't think precisely what it was what I was I was searching for: was it sex? Was it just the act I was doing? But I know it wasn't lust, or because I hate women, it wasn't taking my frustrations out on woman. I just enjoyed the stealing and the sneaking around, and I couldn't tear myself free of it...

He said he didn't think about whether he enjoyed it, but did it because it was fun. Jacques insists he didn't realise at the time that this was what he was feeling, again making the links between his offences and his emotional isolation and lack of emotional knowledge.

BH:...[So] the offences happened because you didn't know what was going on in your head.

JE: Ja, I didn't understand myself and I also didn't want to talk with other people about personal things. ... I didn't have a feeling, [pause] I never had reason to worry what they were feeling. I know now they say it's like a second death being raped. A part of a woman dies, if she's raped. I have perceived this now. I didn't worry about this at the time, what the woman was going through, it was all about myself, to enjoying myself, don't worry about that person.

He says that the offence occurred “because I struggled with emotions, I felt dead.” Jacques later comments that he did these things thinking he would be caught, and not realising at the time that he could not stop. He reflects that it “hadn't really sunk in” that, just as he could not stop stealing cash from handbags, he couldn't stop committing rape. He says he “acted mad” in committing the rapes, had got a lot of adrenaline while committing his offences, and was most excited by the ability to “sneak around and do. It bothered me that they would catch me, but not so much that I would stop.”

a) Imago analysis: the third incident

The behavioural patterns encouraged by the various imagoes associated with his offending (the Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar, and Habitual Rapist) are all expressed in this offence. For example, as previously seen in offences associated with the Habitual Rapist imago Jacques uses the firearm as the primary means of controlling his victim and ensuring their compliance, whether it be striking them with it or pointing it at them. Similarly, Jacques is again calm post-offence, as could be expected from the Searching Burglar. Furthermore, the pattern of breaking in to a location to commit theft, before returning later to rape, echoes the offence pattern of the hand bag thefts that provided the origin myth for the Adventurous Thief. This behavioural continuity in the influence of his imagoes supports the claims made in Jacques's narrative that all his offences are part of the same process.

This incident sees the continuation of the imago development highlighted in the previous incident. The third incident is thus not marked by major change in the imago associated with his offending, rather representing a consolidation of the patterns already noted.

i) The search for experience becomes engrained in the Habitual Rapist⁴¹

What Jacques had previously characterised as a search for an undefined “something” is now confirmed in this incident as specifically being a search for “experience”. This desire for experience seems particularly to refer to experiences associated with sexual acts, which Jacques has established that he is unable to experience with his fiancé (e.g. knowing what it feels like to ejaculate inside a woman). Thus the linkages already made between his desire for experience and the decision to commit rape persist as his narrative progresses beyond the Searching Burglar imago. As shown in the above excerpts, the search for experience becomes the most dominant motive. While motives such as ‘sneakiness’ and material benefit remain, they are less notable.

ii) Characteristics of the Habitual Rapist confirmed, Habitual Rapist becoming dominant imago⁴²

This incident confirms the characteristics of the Habitual Rapist. Most of these characteristics – specifically those relating to the method of his offending – remain unchanged. This incident emphasises that Jacques’ sense of emotional isolation and his inability to understand emotions are strongly represented in the Habitual Rapist imago. This incident also confirms that Jacques was beginning to be ‘trapped’ in the habit of rape. Jacques’ repeated insinuations that he was now in the grip of a habit he eventually would not be able to break free of confirms that by the time of this episode the Habitual Rapist was becoming more dominant than the Passive Man in Jacques’ narrative.

Jacques’ re-iteration of his helplessness serves the dual purpose of emphasising the emerging dominance of the Habitual Rapist and attendant search for experience in his

⁴¹ See transcription references: 165 – 168.

⁴² See transcription references: 146, 147, 176 – 178, 180 – 187, 191, 202 – 204, 270 – 272.

narrative, while absolving Jacques (or the Passive Man imago) of any responsibility for preventing these offences. This also confirms that by this stage Jacques realised the implications of the Habitual Rapist for his narrative. Specifically, based on his statement that after the second incident he would be willing to kill his victims, Jacques appears aware that this combination of emotional isolation, desire for experience, and inability to control the Habitual Rapist would result in murder.

Perhaps as a result of being caught in the habit of offending, the Habitual Rapist imago also appears to be increasingly confident. This confidence is congruent with the calm offending of the Searching Burglar, but here appears to become almost arrogant and dismissive of his victims. This is confirmed by Jacques' tone and the terms he uses to describe the victim. It further emphasises the role played by thrill in his offences, as well as his perceptions of the victims as objects for gaining experience from.

5.2.3.7 The fourth incident

Jacques was now in the grip of his offending. In this incident Jacques committed the second murder, and third rape, he was convicted of. The location of the fourth incident was a house that Jacques had reconnoitred extensively. He says it was the only one he watched "for a long time" in advance: "I was there four or five times before...[I saw the house] from behind, from in front... there were a few people who lived there, men also lived there." After giving a detailed and precise recollection of the layout, Jacques comments that he "first looked to get money, but I never got money there..." and saying that he had initially planned to rape another woman in that house.

OK there was an opportunity that I could have raped her... there was a man and a woman there, they weren't married, but they ate together. Now I saw things had got quiet, and the doors open. Then I go in, and the lights on, and the woman is sleeping on the bed, but I didn't know what happened to the man. Then I went into the living room and saw he was

sleeping on the sofa. So I could have shot him, raped the woman, and shot her, and gone...but I then I felt, against it. I didn't know if there were people in the house, the house was quiet, the curtains were closed, but I didn't know what was going on in there. So I thought, no, leave it.

Twenty days after the third incident, Jacques broke into a part of the house he hadn't entered before, walked into a room, turned on the light and "there is a woman there. I didn't expect her to be there". While she was not the victim he originally intended, "I went forward with this thing". He describes his fourth victim, 27 year old white female Rebecca Marais, as

Not ugly, not pretty. She was a ummm, a big woman, in the body. Not fat, just shaped like a woman. But I didn't look at her for beauty, or looked at her for long...I didn't think 'this woman is pretty, I'm horny for her'. I see it's a woman, I can have sex with her.

Jacques found his victim by entering an open bedroom door, and turning on the light because he "didn't think there would be anyone there...I didn't really think what I was doing". This woke Rebecca, and Jacques said that when she saw him, he closed the door and knew he would have to shoot her.

BH: What made you decide to shoot her?

JE: ...I turned on the light. That's why I shot her.

BH: Why did you turn on the light?

JE: I saw the door was open, and then decided for some or other reason to turn on the light, and I saw there was a girl, a woman. Then I decided to rape her. OK, she also showed resistance but then I hit her on the head. Then, maybe, she became dazed, she didn't pass out completely, but she

maybe became dazed. I didn't take all my clothes off, I just took my pants off...[for the previous offences he got totally undressed] because she showed resistance, I wanted to be quick. Then I couldn't penetrate, but I did come. OK, then she looked at me, then I pulled out the weapon and pulled off the shot... I just turned the weapon and then shot her. I was still on her. The bullet went in here [indicates point on head]...

BH: Did she die immediately?

JE: Ja, I can't remember, she was immediately in coma and don't know how long it took for her to die...

BH: How did you feel once you had killed her?

JE: [tone drops slightly] I don't believe I felt anything about it. I just shot her dead, that's all. I can't say what I felt, whether I was happy or sad. I just did it, and went away.

Jacques says he did not say anything to Rebecca “[I] just went and hit her with the butt, I didn't say anything”. Discussing his reasons for killing Rebecca, Jacques states that he decided to kill any woman who saw him “when I got the weapon...the weapon allowed me to do it” and says that the only reason Rebecca Marais was the first one to be shot was because she was the first one to see his face.

BH: Did you decide on the point of the moment to turn the weapon, or did you think about it when you were busy ‘I must shoot her’?

JE: [pause] Umm, maybe, I couldn't say whether I decided to kill her: when I turned on the light, or when I was finished I decided to shoot her, I can't remember precisely when I decided...

BH: You didn't decide after the second rape that you'd kill the next one?

JE: I knew that if they saw me, then I would kill them...

BH: So, for the first rapes, if the light was on, they would be dead.

JE: Ja, ja. Maybe by the second case I had already decided, if they see me, I'll shoot them.

Rebecca was found with her duvet pulled up to her chin. She was naked under the duvet, with her legs spread. Her hands were by her head and she had an injury on the edge of her left hand. This was caused by the passage of the bullet that killed her, perhaps inflicted as she tried to ward off the shot. Jacques does not comment on this possible defence injury, and insists that he would just leave the duvets on the floor once he had “finished” but then says that sometimes he would look at the victims and think “it doesn't look right” and put the duvet on. This, he says, was merely an automatic reaction. The Senior Investigating Officer (SIO), when I interviewed him, opined that Jacques’ replacing of the duvet suggested “undoing” on his part, which implied regret for this actions.

Jacques asserts that, unlike the rapes, he did not kill his victims for ‘experience’: “to kill is just to kill, I didn't, I didn't do it to experiment, I just did it because the light was on.” Jacques does not appear to associate any emotion or enjoyment with his killing his victims, rather equating the killings with a feeling of being emotionally dead.

BH: For you, when you were committing these offences, it was just that dead feeling.

JE: Ja, I just do it. I worry about [tails off]. I'm not thinking, at that stage.

BH: You didn't think that at stage ‘I'm enjoying this’ or revenge. You just do it.

JE: Ja...

BH: So during the offences, you just had this dead feeling, that you don't care at all.

JE: Ja, what I was doing to people but it was nice to sneak around, to feel the excitement, the adrenaline pumping, you don't know what's going to happen. In the act itself, of shooting someone dead, you just do it. There's not perception of 'this is not nice' or whatever.

BH: You like the adrenaline of the case, and all those things.

Jacques goes on to insist that he was now trapped in the habit of offending. As his offences progress, his narrative increasingly emphasises the role played by this 'habit' while the earlier motives of "fun" and adventure of emphasised less, as shown in the below extract:

JE:... It was fun to steal from handbags...But as it goes on...it's a habit that you learnt, you can't stop. You want to do it more and more, you can't control it. You do it more, as a habit...

BH: Was that how it was for you with the murders, as if it was almost a habit?

JE: But you can't control it, but yes, a habit.

BH: And you didn't know your reasons for doing it.

JE: At that stage, no. It's just sneaking around, you don't know what's going to happen.

BH:...If you sit and think now, can you think of a reason you did it?

JE: [long pause] I didn't think at that stage that it was nice and exciting, an adventure or whatever, I just did it maybe it was out of habit or because I couldn't control myself...

a) Imago analysis: the fourth incident

The behaviours Jacques displays in this offence remain consistent with those associated with the Habitual Rapist imago. The Habitual Rapist imago's offence behaviour for committing a rape is, by the time of this incident, clearly defined: break into a location, return to that location repeatedly either to steal items or to conduct reconnaissance, return later to commit rape during which the victim is controlled by using the firearm, and leave the location taking some precautions to avoid capture. In this incident, those precautions meant killing the victim. It is clear that the Habitual Rapist imago, as expressed in Jacques' narrative, had already taken the decision to kill the victims if necessary to avoid capture in the rape of Sylvia Claasen over a month earlier (the murder of Thomasina Selepeng was not clearly supported by the then Searching Burglar imago, and her murder did not appear to be the result of a decision taken before the offence to kill to avoid capture). Like the violence used in his previous rapes, the violence encouraged by the Habitual Rapist imago in the murder of Rebecca is instrumental: committed only to facilitate the commission of the offence. Similarly, all the violence makes use of the firearm that facilitated the Habitual Rapist imago's progression to rape. The role of the victim remains unchanged: her characteristics are of little concern to the Habitual Rapist and she is considered only as a source of experience and experiment. This is shown in the ease Jacques has in switching between victims as opportunity arises.

Therefore this incident, although the first murder that Jacques committed with obvious intent, does not represent a significant evolution in the Habitual Rapist imago. Rather, like the rape of Jane Ferreira, it represents a refinement of the evolution in the imago seen in the rape of Sylvia. As he has since his earliest offences, Jacques remains interested in the material benefit of his offences. The only notable behavioural differences between this and previous offences were his longer period of reconnaissance prior to offending, and his killing the victim. These differences are thematically consistent with what has occurred prior to this offence and so do not demonstrate a significant change in his imago. They thus rather represent a further strengthening of the Habitual Rapist imago, in particular of certain characteristics, as will be discussed below.

i) *The Habitual Rapist becomes dominant*⁴³

The emerging dominance of the Habitual Rapist imago in the third incident is confirmed in this one. This dominance is most clearly expressed by Jacques' continued affirmations that he couldn't control himself, and that his offences were part of a habit he could no longer stop. The strength of this habit is confirmed by how soon this offence followed after the previous one. The behaviours undertaken by the Habitual Rapist imago also show a growth in confidence. This is reflected in the differences discussed above: the greater degree of reconnaissance undertaken prior to the offence, killing the victim, and the choosing of a better time to offend when the initial victim choice was not available. Further evidence of the Habitual Rapist's confidence and daring is shown in Jacques' decision to attack someone in a location where he knew other people were likely to be sleeping.

This sense of dominance is added to by the fact that at this stage in his narrative Jacques does not highlight any relationships between the Habitual Rapist imago and any other imago. This implies that Jacques is in thrall to the offending habit the Habitual Rapist encourages, and none of his other imagoes appear have any influence over the Habitual Rapist.

The dominance of the Habitual Rapist is more subtly expressed in Jacques' associating the Habitual Rapist with his sense of emotional isolation and, in the extreme, his "dead feeling". This emotional isolation and lack of emotional understanding was previously expressed as an indifference towards others. This is even more marked here, as Jacques kills his victim (the first rape victim he murders) for no reason other than she saw his face, and makes repeated statements to the effect that "I don't believe I felt anything about it." The increased indifference towards others and treating of them as objects is also reflected in his initial plan to rape his intended victim and shoot her house mate. By establishing the Habitual Rapist as the epitome of his sense of emotional isolation and lack of understanding, Jacques is associating a fundamental theme in his narrative with it. This theme of emotional isolation has pervaded his narrative since childhood, forming part of both his

⁴³ See transcription references: 146, 147, 165 – 167, 184 – 191, 202, 203, 212 – 215, 217, 246 – 248, 250, 270 – 272, 281, 283 – 285.

‘offending’ and ‘non-offending’ imagoes. Thus an unequivocal association between this theme and the Habitual Rapist imago implies that this imago is a dominant influence in his narrative.

In this incident the only ambiguity in the imago interpretation of his offence behaviours, is the reason for Jacques replacing the duvet over the victim post-mortem. There are two possible interpretations: (a) that it was an example of ‘undoing’, as hypothesised by the SIO, or (b) it was doing to avoid detection. Jacques’ narrative offers similar levels of support for either interpretation. The earlier hypothesis around the rapes being motivated, in part, by Jacques attempting to overcome emotional isolation supports the possibility of (a). However, the Habitual Rapist imago’ indifference towards others supports (b). There is insufficient evidence to choose between them, and neither interpretation would radically alter our interpretation of Jacques’ narrative.

5.2.3.8 The fifth incident

Two weeks after the murder of Rebecca, Jacques committed the next set of offences he was convicted of: his third murder, and fourth rape. He was walking past a location he had twice previously reconnoitred. He saw two women inside, where previously he hadn’t seen anyone, and noticed a window was open “so I decided to come back later.” Jacques’s narrative shifts immediately to his return:

Then I go in. There are two rooms, both with half-closed doors...I went to the right hand one first, opened it, and saw there was no one there. Then I go to the left-hand one, and heard the woman wake up. She most probably wanted to go to the toilet. When I see her open [the door] I move in front her. She screams and I also hit her on the head with the butt. She falls down but doesn't pass out. We went to the bed. She had a night dress on. Then the dress is taken off and then she has panties on. Then the panties are taken off. Then she lies on the bed, then I just rape her.

Jacques later comments that he enjoyed having sex with this victim, 27 year-old white female Belinda Wiley. He comments, referring to the other rapes he committed, that “it's a pity that I didn't always enjoy it like that”. The other rapes, he says, did not satisfy him and were just “sex act”, no more fulfilling than masturbation. He contrasts this with this offence, which he still seems to enjoy remembering:

BH: Why did you enjoy it?

JE: Because, let's say, I had sex with her for half an hour.... she didn't help me... Maybe it's satisfying. [Tone drops, sounds almost coy, smiling] It's almost as if you know her....

BH: ... You said that with her the sex was the best. What were the reasons for that, just because it was for the longest time?

JE: Ja, because I had sex with her for a long time.... she didn't react, she didn't do anything. You can say, from the beginning, I was in control, maybe.

BH: Was this the one where you felt most in control?

JE: Ja...

Jacques later repeats that he “maybe” he enjoyed this offence the most because he had sex with her for the longest time, “she just lay there. She didn't move or make noises, but I had sex with her for a longer time”.

Jacques narrates that he did not say anything to Belinda and, when he had finished raping her, he saw she had cigarettes, took one and lit it before offering one on to her, which she accepted.

JE: Then we smoked. When we finished smoking she said she wanted to go to the toilet. I went with her to the toilet. When she was finished on the toilet I said to her she must now go for a bath. I'm standing, and smoke

again, when she's in the bath. But she didn't put the plug in, she just ran the bath and sat in the bath... Then I went to the bedroom and got dressed. I first checked that there wasn't any money in the handbag. There was nothing....

BH What were the reasons for telling her to go bath?

JE: There were no reasons for that, I just told her so I could get dressed and check out her handbag. There was no special reason, like 'I've had sex with you, now wash yourself because I don't want them to find the sperm' ...it was just to get her out the way while I was busy...

BH: Then you thought 'she saw my face so I must kill her'.

JE: Ja...

BH: Why did you tell her to go bath?

JE: I don't know. I just decided, I just said 'go bath'.

BH: You didn't think about it much at time.

JE: No...

BH: At what moment did you decide to shoot her?

JE: [pause] Ummm, well, I knew that if the light was on you have to shoot. So most probably [I knew I was going to shoot her] from the start.

BH: Then when you saw her in the bath, you decided 'now's the time'

JE: Ja... Then I went back [pauses, stutters] and then I raise the weapon and shoot her in the head ... She turned her head and then I shot her and then the bullet went in [indicates place]. She turned away when she saw I was holding the weapon so and then the shot went off.

Belinda was found in the bath, naked. A cigarette was found stubbed out on the doorframe of the bathroom, suggesting Jacques stood there. It is not clear whether he

stubbed his cigarette out before or after the shooting. Jacques then left the way he came.

Characteristically, Jacques highlights apparently minor contradictions between his narrative's account and police reports. He admits he is "still bothered" that

they said I washed my hands in the basin, because my hands were full of blood, and so on, and blood was smeared in the basin's drain. I told them I know nothing about that, I didn't touch the woman after I shot her, understand, I said no, it must be the woman who found the body maybe looked what was wrong and got blood on her hands, and then washed them off.

With the exception of this, Jacques' narrative of this offence corresponds precisely with the events suggested by evidence.

Around this time, the investigators in his case decided to check the occupants of the police barracks' fingerprints against those found at the scenes. Jacques avoided capture on this occasion by simply not turning up to the fingerprint-taking parade.

a) Imago analysis: the fifth incident

The behavioural template for committing rape that the Habitual Rapist imago offers Jacques, and which has been used since the second incident, continues to guide and dictate his offending. The Habitual Rapist continues to be isolated from other imagoes. This imago continues its learning from each offence, building its confidence in committing the offences and controlling the victim. In this incident, this learning resulted in what Jacques describes as his most enjoyable offence. The fundamental motivating factors which influence this imago do not appear to have changed either. The Habitual Rapist imago still appears indifferent to the victim's reaction, preferring them as passive object.

There are only three changes in behaviour in this offence. Firstly, where previously he left twenty days between offences, the period shortens to two weeks. Secondly, while Jacques still mentions the material benefit of the offences, here he steals items during the rape (rather than during a reconnaissance prior to the offence). Thirdly, Jacques spends more time interacting with the victim than he did in previous offences. This can partially be explained by the fact that while Rebecca fought him and was controlled by force, Belinda was easier to control. This factor is interlinked with Jacques' observations that he enjoyed raping Belinda the most. This will be discussed more below.

i) *Habitual Rapist reaches the peak of its influence*⁴⁴

The above factors demonstrate this and evidence the continuing and increasing confidence and dominance of the Habitual Rapist. Jacques' particular enjoyment of this rape, and the reasons for this, are key in understanding his imago development here. Jacques' narrative suggests that his enjoyment of the rape of Belinda was due to the time he had to experience the act of sex with her, commenting "it's almost as if you know her". The fact that he had this time suggests that he had complete control over her. However it does not appear that his enjoyment sprang from feelings of dominance and power over his victim. Rather, it appears that the source of his enjoyment is having the complete control necessary to fully experience the act of sex.

By fulfilling his desire for the experience of rape the Habitual Rapist has achieved one of the 'wishes, aspirations, or goals' Jacques associated with it. Having associated wishes, aspirations and goals are one of the features of the prototypical imago (McAdams, 1988). The Habitual Rapist inherited this desire for experience from the Adventurous Thief and Searching Burglar imagoes. This desire for experience was initially established as a means to overcome the emotional isolation and lack of emotional interaction that tormented the Lonely Boy and Passive Man imagoes. This desire for experience was specifically associated with rape during the second incident and fully established in the Habitual Rapist in the third incident. Now in reaching this goal the Habitual Rapist has reached the peak of its influence. As will be

⁴⁴ See transcription references: 143, 146, 147, 184 – 187, 191, 214, 215, 218, 223, 232, 249, 270 – 272, 280 – 282.

demonstrated as the narrative unfolds, this incident appears to have been the point at which Jacques' offence behaviour once more moved beyond the limits of the mode of interpersonal interaction embodied in the dominant imago (as occurred previously during the murder of Thomasina). This has an affect on subsequent offences.

Why should reaching this goal have had an affect on the imago of the Habitual Rapist in subsequent offences? Jacques' narrative and the Habitual Rapist imago offer a hypothetical answer: the Habitual Rapist, given complete control, does not know what to do once the experience of rape has been exhausted. This is shown in Jacques asking his victim to bath, and sharing a cigarette with her, both actions that Jacques does not appear able to fully explain in his narrative. In addition to this, by stating that in raping Belinda for a long time it was "*almost* as if know her" [emphasis added] Jacques is implying that despite having complete control over the victim and satisfying his desire for experience, the Habitual Rapist is still not able to overcome the emotional isolation that Jacques' other imagoes of self suffer from. Thus the Habitual Rapist has achieved the goal of experience, but not achieved the benefit (i.e. overcome emotional isolation and lack of knowledge) that Jacques hoped for, or the function that it served with reference to the other imagoes.

5.2.3.9 The sixth incident

Jacques did not commit another offence for five months and then committed the fourth murder he was convicted of. His narrative is not clear why he waited this long after the acceleration which preceded his previous offence. When he eventually decided to offend again, his chosen victim lived very close to his fiancé's parents' house in Benoni, some distance from his previous offences. Jacques had already seen that 74 year old white female Margaret Welwyn lived alone in her flat. Describing Margaret as "the granny", Jacques continues:

I just decided one night to go there. I hadn't seen her. I went to visit my fiancé. She took me home, but then I decided I wanted to go back by train, and go there, and then go in there [i.e. to break in to that house]. It was a bit different there... It was certainly because I wasn't worried, was getting

[tone drops, mumbles] reckless... I went around the back [of the house], climbed the wall, and felt for windows that were open. The first was locked, and then one around the corner was open so I went in. When I was in the room, I looked if someone was in the other rooms, then turned on the light. Then I saw there was a handbag there. She didn't wake up. I opened the handbag and saw there was money, and took R10, [although] I'm not sure it is R10. Then I saw there was a flashlight. I turned off the light and went to her with the flashlight on. When I touched her so she woke up and screamed, then I hit her with the butt on the head...Then she gripped my hands and I decided now I'm going to shoot her... she grabbed my hands and I pulled the trigger...Then I shot and the bullet went into the mouth and shoots the teeth and the teeth flew into my face.

In narrating the last sentence Jacques smiled, as if amused at the teeth flying into his face, a reaction that I found incongruous. I asked whether Jacques' shooting his victim when she grabbed his hands was due to getting a fright from her reaction. He responds, after some thought, "I didn't get a fright, but I maybe wasn't keen for a struggle and, then I shot her. OK, then I turned the light on and turned the flashlight off." Jacques continues that after turning on the light he pulled the duvet off Margaret, and saw she wore no panties under her nightdress, but decided "no, I don't think it will help to have sex with her".

Jacques then left the bedroom, covering Margaret's body as he left. Looking through a window and seeing cars in the street outside, Jacques sat in the living room and waited until it was time for him to go and get the train back home.

a) Imago analysis: the sixth incident

This offence demonstrates the continued isolation of the Habitual Rapist from Jacques' other imagoes, and the continuation of the fact that it is not influenced by positive external factors. This is shown by Jacques committing these offences immediately after returning from his fiancé's house. Notwithstanding the brevity of this offence it has a number of important implications for Jacques's offending imago.

i) Stability and change in behaviours associated with the Habitual Rapist imago⁴⁵

In some respects the behaviours and characteristics of Habitual Rapist imago remains stable. Jacques still enters his victim's houses at night, uses a firearm to control them, and steals money. He also still appears to retain the Habitual Rapist's cool-headedness as shown, for example, by his waiting at the scene until it was safe for him to make his escape. It could also be hypothesised that his offending far from his previous offences, which were attracting large amounts of police and media attention, is further evidence of this cool-headedness.

There are however some notable changes in behaviour: he does not carry out a detailed reconnaissance before this offence (although he was familiar with the location), and rather than controlling the victim using violence as he did previously, Jacques simply kills Margaret in response to her resistance. These all suggest that, in Jacques' own words, that he was becoming "reckless". The order and structure which the Habitual Rapist brought to previous offences appears to be breaking down.

ii) Conflict within Habitual Rapist imago⁴⁶

As evidenced by the above behavioural changes, Jacques is beginning to deviate from the interpersonal mode of transaction (the Habitual Rapist) which served well in previous offences. Jacques' narrative suggests this deviation from the Habitual Rapist imago's established behaviours may be due to conflict within this imago. This conflict

⁴⁵ See transcription references: 177, 184 – 187, 191 – 195, 250, 251.

⁴⁶ See transcription references: 177, 184 – 187, 191 – 195, 250, 251.

came from two sources. Firstly, as alluded to in the previous imago analysis section, the Habitual Rapist imago had already achieved its goal of gaining experience via rape. This could suggest that after attaining this goal the Jacques did not know what to do next. The long pause before this offence supports this hypothesis. This confusion would be added to by the failure of the Habitual Rapist's search for experience to overcome the Passive Man's emotional isolation and lack of knowledge. Notwithstanding this confusion, the murder of Margaret shows that the Habitual Rapist imago is still influential, and still appears to want the experience of rape (as shown by his considering sex with Ms Wiley's corpse). This suggests the second reason for possible deviation in behaviours: Jacques, as he states repeatedly in his narrative, was by now trapped in the offending of the Habitual Rapist imago and could not stop.

Thus by the time he committed this offence, there was strong conflict within the Habitual Rapist imago between the continued desire for experience, and confusion as to whether it is still a valid goal. This confusion within the Habitual Rapist imago may be the reason for the behavioural changes. However it is not clear from Jacques' narrative why certain behaviours would be affected (e.g. abandoning reconnaissance, killing in response to resistance, or taking a longer break between offences) and others (e.g. stealing money) would not. These changes cannot be explained by his simply reverting to an earlier imago, such as the Searching Burglar or Adventurous Thief, as he did after his first murder. They rather suggest that the imago associated with his offending may be losing the coherence it built up via its various incarnations as Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar and Habitual Rapist. Evidence suggests a link can be made between this loss of coherence and the conflict within in the Habitual Rapist, particularly in relation to the search for experience.

While this break down in the behaviour encouraged by the Habitual Rapist imago does not herald a markedly different attitude towards his victim, it is notable that the indifference with which the Habitual Rapist imago treated Jacques's previous victims now appears to have sharpened into thinly veiled contempt. This is shown in Jacques' amusement at the victim's teeth hitting his face. This adjustment in the interpersonal attitude of the Habitual Rapist imago may explain Jacques' willingness to use fatal force at the first sign of resistance. This change in attitude may have arisen due to the

conflict within the Habitual Rapist, and is further evidence that the Habitual Rapist was not interested interacting with the victims. This again emphasises that it was the Passive Man, not the Habitual Rapist, that desired an end to emotional isolation.

Despite this confusion, the Habitual Rapist does not appear to lose any of five features of the prototypical imago (McAdams, 1988) it previously displayed. It still has an origin myth, is still identified with Jacques, and associated with certain personality traits. It also retains its wishes, goals and aspirations and associated behaviours. However the strength and clarity of its association with goals and behaviours appears to have been effected by the conflict within it.

5.2.3.10 The seventh incident

Two months after he shot Margaret Welwyn, Jacques stole cash and a wristwatch from a residence in another East Rand town, Kempton Park. Jacques had moved to police accommodation in Kempton Park, although he does not give a reason for his move. A fortnight after his final burglary, Kempton Park was the scene of Jacques' seventh and final 'incident', the fifth murder and rape he was convicted of. Jacques' last victim was 17 year old white female Judith Schoeman. She, like the victims in the previous six offences, was white although Jacques never referred to his victims by name or race. Unlike his previous cases, Jacques committed this offence during the day, and without his customary detailed reconnaissance:

JE: I just saw that the backdoor was open and then I decided to go in

BH: What happened there?

JE: I didn't know who was in there. OK, I already saw there was a girl there... But when I went, I didn't know who was in there. There could have been two women there, a man...

BH: What were your reasons for going there?

JE: Because the door was open, I knew that there would be someone in there, because I saw a girl. There was someone else there, cleaning up, I

didn't know whether it was a white man or black man who was outside cleaning, cutting the grass. That's what I heard in court.

BH: But you decided to go in because you saw a girl in there?

JE: Yes, at the rear of the house, not at the front because the man was at the front...I saw her there before, but not on the same day. I saw the door was open, and decided to go there. There were dogs there, small dogs... As I walked in, I saw that someone was coming out. So I stood back. Then she came out, and saw me, and run back and I grabbed her... she screamed. And she kicked me. Then I kicked her back, on the leg, and she stayed quiet... I pulled her, saw the living room, then decided to take her to the room [unclear which room he means]. I decided to take off her top, and then I took the top off. Then when I went to take her trousers off she said she'd do it herself. So she took her own trousers off. Then she said there was money in her mother's room. So I walked with her to her mother's room. She was naked, I had all my clothes on...Then I put my arms around her shoulders and walked to her mother's room. When we got to the door she walked to her mother's cupboard and I stayed standing in the door. She took out R150 from the cupboard. So I took it and put it in my pockets, and told her to lie on the bed. Then I also took just my trousers off.

BH: Because you were in a hurry?

JE: I didn't know if, because she screamed, if someone had heard, or whatever...Then I tried to rape her, but I couldn't penetrate.

BH: Did she keep her legs closed?

JE: No, she just lay there. I tried to penetrate her, but I couldn't. Maybe I was too excited.

BH: You were too excited, and you couldn't concentrate...

JE: On 'business', ja.

Jacques does not appear worried by his impotence, calling it “one of those things” and attributing it to nervousness, fear of capture, and the desire to be away from the location as fast as possible. He says it was the same with his previous incidence of impotence, in the third incident, when he knew that someone would be asleep nearby. According to Jacques, neither incident of impotence made him feel more nervous, or angry.

JE: Then I came anyway, ‘from excitement’ [said in English]. Then I got dressed, took the gun that I put down, and then pushed it so against her forehead and pulled the trigger. And then I ran out. When I came to the living room I also saw there were some bank cards lying there, and I took them because I saw that the PIN number was on the back of the card. There wasn't much money in it. Just R20.

BH: What made you decide to kill her, because she saw you?

JE: It's in the day, yes, because she saw me.

BH: And she just lay there when you pushed the pistol against her head. Was she afraid?

JE: Ja. She just lay there, and looked [inaudible] what he reactions were.

BH: Didn't you notice her reactions?

JE: She just lay there, lay there like so, looking at me with small eyes.

Judith was found naked on her back in her mother's bedroom. A pair of house keys had been placed on her stomach. She had been shot in the middle of her forehead. The

distinctive star-shaped gunshot injury suggested that Jacques' firearm was in contact with her forehead when he pulled the trigger. Subsequent media reports stated that Jacques found this star-shape 'funny'. When challenged on this, Jacques is adamant "OK, I saw it, but I didn't think it was funny... I saw something develop, but I didn't wonder about it, or stand and think 'that's cute'... I saw it before I was going... it was nothing special". He also, of his own accord, challenges the claim that he left keys on the victim: "I didn't handle any keys, the door was open, why would I be busy with keys?" Jacques is characteristically insistent on small and seemingly inconsequential details, insisting here that he "can remember well" and does not avoid potentially embarrassing details.

a) Imago analysis: the seventh incident

The final murder in Jacques' series continues the developments in the Habitual Rapist imago noted in the previous incident. Therefore it appears that the conflict within the Habitual Rapist imago first expressed in the previous incident continues, and perhaps even strengthens, here. In this incident the confusion within the Habitual Rapist is expressed as a continued combination of stability and change in the behaviours and personality traits associated with the imago, alongside a more marked reversion in the imago.

The Habitual Rapist imago's established behavioural template for murder is ignored here, as it was in the previous murder. The seeming confidence of the Habitual Rapist imago, and the clear structure this gave to his previous offences, is lost. Jacques appears to become more reckless, careless, and even arrogant. This suggests that the associations between the Habitual Rapist and Jacques' behaviours and goals continue to lose strength and clarity.

i) Continued stability and change in the Habitual Rapist imago⁴⁷

Certain personality traits and behaviours associated with the Habitual Rapist remain stable in this incident. The Habitual Rapist imago remains bold and calm, and the

⁴⁷ See transcription references: 184 – 187, 191, 192, 196 – 200, 204, 251, 280, 281.

reason he gives for killing the victim is the same as that given in his previous five murders. The desire for material gain from his offences remains. The Habitual Rapist imago remains unconcerned by victim interaction, and indifferent to the victim's emotions or reactions. The victim is still treated as an object to gain experience from, and the increased indifference towards the victim noted in the previous offence continues here. This calm demeanour and indifference is best demonstrated here in Jacques' pausing after shooting Judith to steal a bank card, a theft which in Jacques' narrative is given virtually equal status as the shooting itself. Jacques' narrative makes the linkage between the pressure of this offence and his failure to penetrate Judith. Despite this impotence, Jacques states he still ejaculates "from excitement". This suggests that the thrill seeking that helped motivate the Habitual Rapist imago (and the previous imagoes associated with offending) continues to do so.

This stability is combined with elements of change. These suggest that the Habitual Rapist imago is losing coherence. As in the previous incident, there is a long break in offending between this offence and the previous one. This suggests the conflict within the Habitual Rapist imago, linked to confusion in motivation, persists. Jacques' impotence is also a new feature of his offending, and one which he did not notably suffer from before. Having said this, it does not appear to adversely affect the excitement of this offence for him. Other changes in Jacques' behaviour in this offence are more notable in relation to the development of his imagoes, and will be discussed further below

iii) Possible reversion in the Habitual Rapist imago⁴⁸

Some of the behaviours associated with the Habitual Rapist imago in this offence suggest that Jacques was beginning to draw more strongly on previous offending imagoes to supply appropriate modes of interpersonal transaction. For example, Jacques uses physical violence to control his victim rather than rely on his firearm alone, and committed this offence without his customary detailed reconnaissance., neither of these behaviours have been seen since his first murder This suggests not just that he is becoming reckless, but also that his offences are drawing more strongly

⁴⁸ See transcription references: 184 – 187, 191, 192, 196 – 200, 204, 251, 280, 281.

on the Adventurous Thief's impulsivity. He also commits this offence during the day, and immediately prior to this incident, Jacques was still committing walk-in burglaries. These echo the behaviours of Searching Burglar.

This not only suggests that the behaviours inherited by the Habitual Rapist from the Searching Burglar, and the Adventurous Thief before that, continue to be expressed but also that the behaviours associated with these previous imagoes are expressed more strongly as the Habitual Rapist loses coherence. It could thus be hypothesised that this loss of coherence encourages a reversion to previous styles of offending. However Jacques' capture immediately after this offence means this hypothesis cannot be conclusively proven.

The above findings re-iterate the continuity in Jacques' narrative between the Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar and Habitual Rapist. The imagoes of self associated with Jacques' offending (theft, burglary, rape and murder) represent a developmental continuum, with each imago drawing on the characteristics and motivations of the previous. Jacques' narrative calls attention to this by repeatedly highlighting the progression, and implied causal relationship, between his earliest thefts from handbags and the final murders.

5.2.3.11 Arrest and reflection

Reflecting on his offences, Jacques' highlights his key behavioural patterns. He says he was generally a "night person" and that once he started committing rape, his sleep patterns changed to accommodate this: he would carry out reconnaissance at around eight o'clock in the evening, then return home and sleep, then wake later, have a coffee and "go out to find someone, to rape". The decision on which nights to "go out" were, Jacques says, taken on the spur of the moment: "OK, tonight I'm going out". He said he wouldn't think about offending during the day, or "go out" on a daily basis. All the locations at which Jacques committed crimes were, he says, close to where he or a relation lived: the barracks, his parents', or his fiancé's house.

Jacques states that he took few measures to avoid capture, and didn't bother searching for cartridge cases or wiping away his fingerprints, as this "wasn't a solution" to his

situation. However this is partly contradicted by the measures he did take, for example disconnecting telephones, reconnoitring locations, and killing his victims; acts Jacques states were committed as an unplanned “reaction”. Specifically, he explains, killing his victims was simply done to avoid capture.

BH: It seems when you shot the women, it was not important to you. You just shot them to make them dead.

JE: Ja.

BH: After that, she'd just dead, you can go.

JE: Ja... [after the shooting] I would just leave.

Getting in and out of the locations “as fast as I could” was part of the “habit” of his offending, and he links this back to his earliest handbag thefts. Jacques goes on to clarify that after each offence he would feel nervous and, back at home, would run through a list of all the things that could have gone wrong, and would result in his capture. Despite these worries, he says, he would always be able to sleep, and would not worry about his offences the next day. Jacques’ narrative re-affirms that, eventually, the “habit” of his offending took control:

Like when you're drunk, you don't always know what you're doing. The next morning you don't know how you got to the house. I was drunk. It was not nice to be drunk, because I don't feel in control of myself.

Jacques describes his eventual arrest in same tone of indifference in which he narrates most of his story. He said his arrest was precipitated by an officer investigating his murders near the barracks in Pretoria reading about his last murder, in Kempton Park. The investigators then identified all police members who had transferred from the Pretoria barracks, and so came to question Jacques.

I was working in the radio room...they said they wanted to come and talk to me about the murders that happened in Pretoria. I said yes, I've got the

time... I knew OK, maybe, the time is now here to be arrested or whatever. I thought about going way, to make tracks, but then I decided it wasn't worth it... [pause] I stayed there. I swapped my weapon with the station's weapon... I hadn't cleaned my weapon [since the offences] there could be the teeth from the old granny's teeth, blood, I pushed the weapon into the last one's head... after one and a half hours they come there. They asked me where I stayed... Then they asked me if I heard of the murders, I said ja, I had heard about them... [volume drops] they said they wanted to take me to another station to take fingerprints. Then they arrested me, and took me out. Then they brought another man in to see if he recognised me... Then they took fingerprints, and then I said 'OK, it's me'. They had me made... it wouldn't help to make stories or whatever. I wanted to make it go by quicker, it's easier.

Jacques account of his arrest is matched by the SIO's report. Jacques goes on to comment that the police were "alright" to him, and treated him well, "I wasn't going to do anything."

Jacques says that after the last murder, he did not feel so daring anymore. His narrative reflects on the reasons for this, and links them back to his reasons for offending.

JE: I was half-glad when they caught me.

BH: Did it feel bad because you had bottled everything up?

JE: Yes, and I couldn't let things out... I was glad that things came to that point...

BH: Did you feel 'outside reason' before you got caught?

JE: Yes, I knew I could never give up... At the time, I didn't care about the consequences, or that I wasn't in control. I wanted to be in control, I wanted to get help, but I couldn't. Because I knew what the consequences were... it was like a drug. That you had to have more and more. You can't say 'I must stop' and then just stop, you don't have that control... You just go forward. You don't know where you're going. You don't have control, you don't think about it, you just go on...

Jacques states there was a "dead" feeling within him, and says that he "didn't care at all, what I was doing to people... it felt for me like I was going dead inside. You don't realise it then, you realise it now, you see that you were busy dying."

Along with his offending being like a drug, Jacques presents his offending as being explained by his having opposing "soft" and "bad" sides, between which he alternates. He is however unable to say whether he found his offending a pleasant or unpleasant experience, preferring to say that his rapes and murders were motivated by his being trapped in a cycle out of which he could not escape:

BH: What were the reasons you couldn't stop?

JE: [pause] It was like when I began stealing, it half-fun for you. But I wouldn't say the murder or the rapes were fun. I just did them because there was a chance to do them...The excitement brought me to doing it. The sneaking around, to kill, to rape, to rape maybe to experiment, to find out how it feels to rape or ejaculate inside a woman. But to kill is just to kill, I didn't, I didn't do it to experiment, I didn't do it to experiment, I just did it because the light was on.

BH: The rapes were for the experiment, for the experience?

JE: Ja, maybe I sought something in the rapes

BH: What did you search for?

JE: I don't know... [you're] searching for something, but [you] don't get it....

Jacques' narrative links this cycle of searching for experience, developed via experimentation, back to the handbag thefts of his youth. He said the habit that had started with these thefts was one he could not "break away" from "you want to do it more and more, you can't stop yourself". Beyond this, he does not articulate what motivated his offending apart from linking it to a 'search'. As has already been implied, Jacques narrative contains a number of clues as to what this search may be:

Maybe that's why I wanted to get caught... maybe I was searching for something when I committed the crimes, but I didn't know what ... maybe I searched for them, to have those feelings, but I couldn't handle them. I didn't have knowledge.

Thus Jacques' narrative seems to primarily link this search, and so his offending, to his ongoing struggle with emotions. This struggle centres on Jacques' repeatedly stated inability to understand and communicate about emotions with others:

BH:...The offences happened because you didn't know what was going on in your head.

JE: Ja, I didn't understand, and I didn't want to talk with other people about personal things....

BH: Ja, you held yourself inside, and didn't bring anything out.

JE: All your frustrations and your happiness, you pushed down... The reason is because you could never talk with anyone, from when you were small, you weren't prepared to talk with anyone, to say, 'I feel that that

you are too strict with me, you're not giving me the opportunity to make a success of myself'

The result of this process, Jacques states, is that you "didn't know about feelings" and end up "not really caring about anything." As the above quote shows, Jacques implicates his upbringing in this process, but does not directly blame his parents, preferring to just say that they did not get to know him, and "see how he reacts". This distance between him and his parents may, he implies, have contributed to the situation where he "didn't have values, in life". However, Jacques insists "I can't blame anyone" and brings discussion of cause for his crimes clearly back to his emotional struggle.

It is this emotional struggle that offers Jacques, in his post-arrest narrative, an avenue for redemption. Although this is beyond the remit of this study, it is worth briefly commenting on this as it further illuminates his motives.

Jacques asserts that the main aim in his life, now that he is in prison, is to learn more about his emotions and his self, so that they "don't put pressure on me [him] anymore". He says he wants to stick with process of learning to the end, with the "perseverance" that Jacques's says he lacked in his life before. This process of learning, he says, will ensure that he does not offend again.

If I again come into this process, I must go this way, not that way... to know, if this happens I will do it. [I want to] begin to change myself. I'm working towards that. It's not just a case of 'I won't do it again'. You must work at it, and find a solution. The solution is if you have a problem, you must find someone to talk to about it.... It's like an experiment for me, learning to know myself, to experiment with my thoughts to know my new self.... Before I didn't worry about it. It didn't bother me. Now I see what they have been through, that's why... I want to better myself, get

more information, to know myself and what my problems are and get solutions. I'm trying to get help.... I want to always know what I'm doing, and perceive what I'm doing, and can handle it. To understand myself, and perceive that if I'm going in that direction I can know...

As implied in the above quote, a further key part of this learning is, according to Jacques' narrative, learning how to interact, emotionally, with others. Jacques is trying to achieve this by knowing who to approach should he need to discuss emotions, and knowing that he needs to discuss these matters with others, both things which before, he did not realise. He is also trying to do this, and improve his understanding of emotions, by writing to a number of 'pen pals'. These pen pals are the only people in his narrative that Jacques refers to by name and, in talking about them, his tone becomes animated and lively, in contrast to his tone elsewhere in his narrative. Jacques does not appear worried when a long term pen pal either stops writing to him or, in two cases, dies. As he put it "there are always others." The pen pals remain, for Jacques, an important means to discover how people "should behave" around emotions.

Jacques' narrative thus asserts that he is using his time in prison to overcome the lack of understanding of his own emotions, and inability to communicate with others, that lead him to offend before. Notwithstanding these changes, Jacques professes to still being unable to communicate with his parents, the distance between them remaining unbridged. He comments that he has not been able to discuss his offences with them, does not know how they feel about them, and says that he thinks his mother is afraid of him. His mother's fear amuses him, because "she doesn't need to be afraid of me". In talking about them, his characteristic tone of indifference returns. Similarly, the ending of his engagement by his fiancé, upon his arrest, is met with the passive acceptance that characterised much of Jacques' narrative up to this point.

a) Imago analysis: arrest and reflection

This imago analysis gives a brief overview of the affects Jacques' arrest and post-arrest reflection have on our understanding of his imago. This brief discussion will be expanded in the next section, the Epilogue.

Jacques' reflections re-iterate the established features of those imagoes associated with offending (the Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar and Habitual Rapist) and the other imagoes in his narrative. In particular, they highlight how the desire for experience in Jacques' narrative continued to motivate his offending imagoes in particular, and experimentation functioned to encourage the development of his offending. Most significant, Jacques' reflections serve to re-iterate our understandings of the offence behaviours, and patterns of behaviour, encouraged by the imagoes associated with his offending. Specifically, his reflections confirm that these imagoes provided a series of behavioural templates for Jacques' offending, ultimately leading to the establishment and subsequent collapse of the behavioural template associated with his rapes and murders. In addition to the above, the following issues warrant further discussion.

i) Separation between imagoes associated with offending, and other imagoes⁴⁹

Jacques again highlights the separation between these two groups of imagoes associated with his self which, for brevity's sake, I will refer to as 'offending' and 'non-offending' imagoes. In the former group are the Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar, and Habitual Rapist; in the latter group are the Lonely Boy and Passive Man. Jacques makes this separation explicit in his description of his consisting of a "bad" self and a "soft" (i.e. good) self. We can hypothesise that his ability to function 'as normal' after offences links back to the separation between his 'offending' and 'non-offending' imagoes of self (here, the Habitual Rapist and Passive Man respectively). However it should be remembered that this separation is not absolute, rather consisting of a linkage between the imagoes which only allows for the expression of the non-offending imagoes' emotional isolation in the offending imagoes' behaviours.

⁴⁹ Evidence given in previous imago analysis sections.

ii) The strength of the habit of offending, and the failure of the offending imagoes⁵⁰

In his reflections Jacques again states that his offending became a habit he could not break. This re-confirms the strength of the offending imagoes' grip on Jacques' narrative as a whole. He repeatedly refers to his offending in terms such as "it was like a drug", "it was a habit I could not break free from", and states explicitly that it was the realisation that he was not in control that led to his relief at being captured. Jacques' statement that he was glad he had been caught, and "didn't feel so daring" after his last offences, re-confirms the confusion in motivation within the Habitual Rapist imago which co-existed at this stage with the 'unbreakable' habit of offending. The contrasting demands of his 'habit' and 'confused motives' could also help explain why the behavioural template offered by the offending imagoes began to break down.

Jacques' statement that he still felt "dead" serves as confirmation that the emotional isolation and lack of understanding associated with the Passive Man / Lonely Boy imagoes remain a notable feature of his narrative. This suggests that the search for experience embodied in his 'offending' imagoes did not serve to overcome the emotional isolation of his 'non-offending' imagoes (as Jacques' narrative implies was intended). In reflecting, Jacques again ties his continuing emotional isolation to the same factors identified earlier in Jacques' narrative: lack of understanding of emotions, and inability to communicate with others about emotions. The persistence of this motivating factor is demonstrated here by his seemingly being emotionally unaffected by parental concern at his actions or by the death of valued pen pals. His reflections again link this motivation back to his parents (and thus their imagoes, the Distant Father and Controlling Mother).

⁵⁰ See transcription references: 143, 144, 146, 147, 199, 200, 202, 252, 265 – 268, 280.

iii) Possible growth of Introspective imago⁵¹

The continuing strength of Jacques' desire to overcome his emotional isolation and lack of emotional understanding is attested to by his actions in prison. This demonstrates that the motives of the Passive Man persist. Robbed of the avenue of expression offered by the Habitual Rapist imago's motives of 'thrill', 'sneaking' and 'experience', the Passive Man now seeks alternative modes for fulfilling this motive and overcoming emotional isolation. Jacques has now channelled his urge to experience more and experiment into introspection (i.e. understanding his emotions) and communicating with others about emotional matters (in this case, via pen pals). His enthusiasm for these is evidenced in the change in the tone of his narrative when talking about his pen pals. Furthermore, in Jacques' post-arrest narrative, this emergent 'Introspective' imago is perceived as holding the opportunity for future rehabilitation: to ensure he would never commit these offences again. However as shown by his continued emotional isolation, although the 'Introspective' imago appears to have developed as a replacement to Jacques' offending imagoes it remains fundamentally self-interested, and identified solely with Jacques himself. This Introspective imago will not be discussed further in the Epilogue, as it is beyond the remit of this study.

⁵¹ See transcription references: 201, 202, 204, 294, 295.

5.2.4 Epilogue to Jacques Eksteen's story

There are two narrative inquiries this study aims to answer: (a) What role do imagoes play in the motivation of a person who commits serial murder? (b) What role do imagoes play in the development of the offending behaviour? Jacques' narrative gives us specific answers to both questions, but we first need to summarise what has been found before we can present these answers.

5.2.4.1 Summary of story structure

Overall, Jacques presented an extensive and detailed narrative, with a clear chronology. His narrative gave the impression of someone who was under the control of influences that he did not entirely understand. Jacques did not need much prompting to give his narrative, and would make linkages between various parts of his narrative of his own accord. This was complemented by Jacques' often detailed, precise, recall and his not shying away from topics that could potentially make him appear socially unacceptable. On the other hand, the clarity of Jacques' narrative was limited by the difficulty he experienced when discussing motivations and emotions. The degree of his lack of ability to articulate emotions suggested that they were difficult for Jacques to understand and experience. This lack of emotional understanding is reflected in the dominant tone of indifference in Jacques' narration. These difficulties did not, however, significantly limit the answers to the narrative inquiries questions that Jacques' narrative could supply. On the contrary, they indicated some of the central motives and thematic concern in his story, as well as linking with his dominant imago.

5.2.4.2 Summary of imago analyses.

Jacques' narrative presented a total of seven imagoes. These imagoes arise at various stages in his narrative. Two, the Distant Father and Controlling Mother imagoes, were associated with other people. Five were associated with Jacques's self. As mentioned the imagoes associated with his self could be divided into two groups, 'offending' and 'non-offending'. The former group consisted of the Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar, Habitual Rapist imagoes; the latter of the Lonely Boy and Passive Man

imagoes. Both offending and non-offending imagoes represent a continuum of development. The below will summarise the chronology of how his imagoes developed and how they interacted with each other and related to his offending.

The narrative of Jacques' childhood sees the development of four imagoes. The imagoes established at this stage personify the themes that pervade his story. The first two imagoes were associated with his parents: the Distant Father and the Controlling Mother imagoes. The Distant Father is associated with his father and characterised as absent, passive, lacking emotion or engagement with others. The Distant Father appears to do what is necessary to maintain a 'normal' life but avoids further involvement. The Distant Father represents an early incarnation of the themes of emotional distance and lack of engagement which run throughout Jacques narrative. The Controlling Mother imago is associated with Jacques's mother. Unlike the Distant Father the Controlling Mother is more directly influential and dynamic. She is immediately and strongly associated with discipline. She is depicted as strict, emotionless, and inflexibly controlling. In contrast to the Distant Father the Controlling Mother is characterised by acting (as opposed to failures to act). However, these actions are consistently described in negative terms. The Controlling Mother never showed affection to Jacques in his childhood, nor did she supply the "special attention" he failed to get from the Distant Father.

Both the Distant Father and Controlling Mother imagoes are targets for Jacques' childhood resentment. Jacques' resentment of them is implied in his description of them and their actions and never acknowledged directly. From Jacques' narrative we can hypothesise that this resentment sprang from a longing for emotional intimacy,. This hypothesis is supported by Jacques stating that parents' discipline and lack of involvement with him had "psychological consequences": loneliness and isolation and the inability to express and understand emotions. These appeared to become a vicious circle in his narrative, and a motive for his offences.

These psychological 'consequences' are embodied in the most significant imago of the self in Jacques' childhood: the Lonely Boy. The Lonely Boy imago's origin myth is found in the interaction between Jacques, the Distant Father, and Controlling Mother. Jacques is unequivocal in presenting the Lonely Boy's situation as a result of

parental action: the Lonely Boy is trapped by the inflexible discipline of the Controlling Mother, and the emotional absence of the Distant Father. This state of entrapment and isolation results in the Lonely Boy being ill-equipped to comprehend or express emotion. This, in turn, serves to engrain the Lonely Boy's isolation. The Lonely Boy is thus portrayed as helplessly trapped in his aloneness by both his self and by the imagoes of his parents.

Trapped, the Lonely Boy is fundamentally isolated and emotionally disengaged. The Lonely Boy is passive in his helplessness and by portraying the Lonely Boy as simultaneously helplessly trapped by his lack of emotional understanding and wishing to break free of it Jacques' narrative encourages further passivity. Jacques' narrative shows the Lonely Boy is not content in his predicament, giving the impression that the Lonely Boy suffers from repressed or unrealised frustration. Acknowledging this frustration and resentment would perhaps allow the Lonely Boy to end his passivity and confront the Controlling Mother imago. However as demonstrated by Jacques' repeated struggle to simultaneously blame and avoid accusing his parents, the Lonely Boy is not able to do this adequately. This leads to the origin of the second imago of self emerging in his youth: the Adventurous Thief

The Adventurous Thief originates in this interaction between the Lonely Boy, the Controlling Mother and Distant Father. The Adventurous Thief's origin myth is placed in a period of more intense loneliness in the Lonely Boy's story of entrapment and repressed frustration. However when the Adventurous Thief begins to steal money from Jacques' mother's handbag, his motives are adventure and enjoyment. Jacques consistently describes these incidents of theft in terms such as "fun" and "adventure", and Jacques emphasises the material benefit theft brings him. His loneliness is transformed by theft from a burden, to a situation where you can "provide your own amusement" by committing theft. Thus the Adventurous Thief allows the Lonely Boy to maintain his ambivalent attitude towards his loneliness, allows the resentment of the Controlling Mother to remain unexpressed, and allows the Lonely Boy to avoid confronting his own nature and become less isolated. In Jacques' childhood the Adventurous Thief and the Lonely Boy are therefore closely interlinked. The Lonely Boy supplies the Adventurous Thief with his motivation, while the Adventurous Thief provides the "adventure" which allows the Lonely Boy

to continue unchanged in his isolation. The Adventurous Thief is the Lonely Boy's means of avoiding both confrontation and change. Jacques' narrative repeatedly emphasises the importance of the Adventurous Thief in the development of his offending, claiming it lead to his committing more severe offences, and was part of a process of evolution (although he states his lack of emotional understanding meant he did not realise this at the time).

The tone of Jacques's narrative does not change in adolescence. Jacques' continuing lack of engagement with others and his environment is characteristic of the Lonely Boy imago's attitude. Thus in adolescence the Lonely Boy is engrained in Jacques' narrative, appearing to become his preferred way of interacting with others and his predominant imago of self. This may be related to a change in Jacques's attitude towards the Lonely Boy's isolation and lack of emotional understanding. Whereas his attitude towards his situation in childhood appears to have been one of repressed frustration, this frustration now co-exists with acceptance, and even an active embracing of his situation. This change in the Lonely Boy's attitude towards his loneliness and isolation occurs alongside changes in its relationships with the Distant Father and the Controlling Mother imagoes.

Firstly, the Lonely Boy appears to have adopted the Distant Father imago's philosophy and interpersonal style. That is, the Lonely Boy adopts the Distant Father's emotional distance, lack of engagement, passivity, and indifference towards others and towards school activities. Although the Distant Father imago is only mentioned twice in Jacques' narrative after adolescence, it clearly had an impact on his narrative. Secondly, the Lonely Boy imago rejects the Controlling Mother imago's attempts to become emotionally close to him. Jacques highlights its importance to him in his narrative by mentioning this whenever he discusses his relationship with his mother. This demonstrates that the Lonely Boy imago has become more dominant in Jacques narrative and that the Controlling Mother imago was limited to being a mechanism for controlling Jacques, its attitudes have not been incorporated in the Lonely Boy's philosophy of life and so its influence does not last beyond childhood. The loss of the Controlling Mother's influence over Jacques, and the seeming absence of any imagoes to provide a similar level of control, implies there are now no controls in place to limit Jacques' behaviour.

The waning control of the Distant Father and Controlling Mother imagoes is reflected and speeded by changes in the Adventurous Thief imago. The offences associated with the Adventurous Thief still appear motivated by the twin benefits of “fun” and money (material gain). However in adolescence his offences are becoming more serious and offending is becoming a “habit”. Jacques likens the Adventurous Thief’s offending to the process of drug addiction, developed by a process of experimentation. This experimentation becomes established as the means by which the Adventurous Thief develops to more serious forms of offending. The Adventurous Thief is now associated with a wider repertoire of behaviours. In childhood, the Adventurous Thief would only encourage stealing small amounts of money from Jacques’s mother’s purse. In adolescence, the Adventurous Thief is encouraging the theft of money from acquaintances, in their houses. The sums of money being stolen are also larger, and bank cards are being taken in an attempt to get even more cash. These changes in the behaviours encouraged by the Adventurous Thief suggest an increased daring and confidence. There is also a suggestion that the Adventurous Thief is becoming increasingly indifferent to other people, and increasingly associated with certain personality traits.

The increased indifference towards others suggests that the Adventurous Thief has adopted the Lonely Boy imago’s isolation from others and lack of emotional understanding. In addition to his shared outlook, there appear to be parallels in their development. The Adventurous Thief becomes stronger and committing higher value offences at approximately the same time as the Lonely Boy imago rejects the Controlling Mother’s attempts at closeness. The concurrence of these changes suggests further ways in which these imagoes maintain a mutually beneficial relationship in Jacques’ adolescence. Firstly, by increasing the benefit offered by offending, the Adventurous Thief allows the Lonely Boy imago decreased dependence on the Controlling Mother or Distant Father for emotional interaction. The Adventurous Thief imago thus supports the Lonely Boy imago’s desire for distance from the Controlling Mother and Distant Father. Ensuring this relationship does not change also helps ensure that the Lonely Boy remains Jacques’ preferred mode of interaction, reflecting the greater acceptance Jacques has towards the Lonely Boy in adolescence. Simultaneously, the Lonely Boy is maintaining the emotional

isolation and distance which allows the Adventurous Thief's experiments in offending to develop untrammelled (with this isolation and distance providing a continued motive). This hypothetical symbiosis between Jacques' imagoes of self appears to result in them becoming stronger, and rejecting the controls attempted by Jacques' parents. This absence of control is a further benefit to both imagoes.

As Jacques moved from adolescence into adulthood, he appears to have entered a period of aimlessness and drifting. It is notable that in the period of adulthood before his first murder the only developments pertain to those imagoes associated with Jacques' self: the Adventurous Thief and Lonely Boy. Neither the Controlling Mother nor Distant Father imagoes are mentioned in the narrative of his adulthood, nor are new imagoes associated with others embodied in his narrative. This highlights Jacques' increasing isolation from others. This also confirms that after adolescence all controls over him were removed. This isolation and lack of control is bourn out by the increasing severity of his offences in adulthood.

This period marks the emergence of the Passive Man imago. The Passive Man is an evolution of the Lonely Boy imago. The Passive Man imago becomes Jacques' preferred mode of interaction with 'everyday' adult life, that is, with life outside his offending. The adult imago of the Passive Man adopts the major characteristics of the Lonely Boy, the key difference being the Passive Man's ability to carry out a 'normal' life. Entering employment and getting engaged both suggest apparent normality and that the Lonely Boy imago has grown up. However, as suggested in the name, the Passive Man is characterised by a lack of dynamism. He is not ambitious, has no clear life goals, and appears indifferent to maintaining friendships. The Passive Man seems ruled by circumstance rather than his own motivation. The last mentioned is particularly evident in Jacques' relationship with his fiancé: where his narrative suggests he was trapped by his lack of emotional understanding. His narrative suggests he was both a passive recipient of his fiancé's love, with his emotions remaining 'locked inside'. The major themes of his lack of emotional connection with others and his inability to perceive or understand his own emotions therefore persist in his adulthood imagoes.

The fact that Jacques' relationship is governed by the Passive Man imago is further shown by his seeming lack of emotional engagement with his fiancé, with him seemingly not concerned with her reactions or emotions. Similarly, he does not state any desire to develop his relationship further and in contrast to his fiancé, appears to play a slightly apathetic role in their relationship. This passivity is also shown in the fact that while Jacques implies he would have liked "something more" in relationship, he does not appear to have broached this subject with his fiancé. Jacques' lack of emotional engagement with his fiancé has three implications for our understanding of his narrative. First, it ensured that his fiancé was not internalised or embodied in his narrative as an imago, and was thus incapable of making lasting changes to his narrative. Second, this implies that the shift from Lonely Boy to Passive Man has increased, rather than relieved, Jacques's emotional isolation. Third, this increase in emotional isolation appears to have encouraged evolution and divergence in the Adventurous Thief imago, drawing on its origin myth.

The Passive Man recalls the repressed and unrealised frustrations of the Lonely Boy, and echoes his unspecified desire for 'something more' at a time when his narrative contains a heightened sense of his emotional isolation. These frustrations, and this 'desire for something more', appear related to a lack of emotional interaction and continued emotional isolation. This unspecified desire can also be tentatively linked to a desire for experience. However the Passive Man imago is not equipped to meet these desires. He is portrayed as helplessly trapped by his lack of emotional understanding, with his lack of acknowledgement of his frustrations encouraging passivity. The Passive Man thus needs the Adventurous Thief to ease these frustrations which, as demonstrated by the established relationship between the Adventurous Thief and the Lonely Boy, can be done by things other than emotional interaction, such as "fun" theft.

Thus the Passive Man continues to need its relationship with the more dynamic Adventurous Thief to handle the resurgence in feelings of emotional isolation which occur at this time, against a background of Jacques aimlessness upon leaving school. This combination of factors, which the Passive Man is unable cope with, could be hypothesised to lead to an increase in the offending associated with the Adventurous

Thief. This hypothesis is supported by the correlation between Jacques' starting a relationship and employment at the same time as he starts burgling houses.

It is also notable that Jacques' interesting occupation in the police, and the satisfactory aspects of his relationship, do not appear to have made his offending less severe. This suggests that the linkage between the Adventurous Thief and Passive Man imagoes can now only be evoked in reaction to stimuli, particularly emotional isolation, that have previously encouraged offending. Positive events thus have no affect on the Adventurous Thief, since the established link to the Passive Man is not able to convey this affect.

The nature of this link also means that the Adventurous Thief and Passive Man are almost entirely separate from each other. This makes it possible for Jacques to continue the 'normal' life of the Passive Man at the same time as the Adventurous Thief's offending becomes more severe. This separation is also demonstrated by Jacques not making any explicit correlations between his offending and any other aspects of his narrative, nor linking the chronology of his relationship or work, with that of his offending. This characteristic of the link between these imagoes, and the separation it implies, has positive effects for both imagoes: it encourages passivity and stasis in the Passive Man while encouraging further offending in the Adventurous Thief.

These factors lead to the Adventurous Thief imago evolving to become the Searching Burglar imago. The Searching Burglar imago becomes the means of fulfilling the Passive Man's unmet desires. The Searching Burglar represents a continuation and development of the Adventurous Thief. It retains the way in which the Adventurous Thief's behaviours develop through a process of experimentation. Like the Adventurous Thief it is fundamentally self-interested, self-involved and indifferent to others: the burglaries are committed for personal gain, no thought is given to the victims, and the imago is motivated by his own desires (as opposed to, for example, being motivated by altruism or revenge). The new imago also retains the Adventurous Thief's motivations for offending: material gain and "fun" / adventure (the latter now, with burglaries, having an element of 'thrill' to them).

In addition to this continuity, there are notable additions to the motivations and behaviours of the Adventurous Thief imago in the Searching Burglar. The emerging Searching Burglar imago demonstrates additional motives of sneakiness / secrecy, habit, and the search for experience. All are given as additional sources of satisfaction for Jacques, and reasons for his not being able to stop offending. They also re-iterate the almost complete separation of the Passive Man from the Searching Burglar. The last of these motives, the search for experience, appears the most fundamental. The search for experience that emerges at this stage appears to be related to the aimlessness and lack of emotional engagement of the Passive Man. The Searching Burglar's desire for experience is represented as a development from the experimentation of adolescence.

This development in motivation is mirrored in changes in the behaviours associated with the offending imago. Jacques is now committing burglaries, characterised by an opportunistic decision to exploit any premises left insecure. He said he would keep watch on the house before entering, enter without being sure whether anyone was there, quickly steal items and make his escape. He is not deterred by the presence or potential presence of people and is stealing more items. Previously furtive, Jacques has become more bold and confident. In notable contrast to the Passive Man, the Searching Burglar is established as impulsive, decisive and goal-oriented.

Jacques' attempted rape at this point in his narrative is explicable with reference to the Adventurous Thief and Searching Burglar imagoes. Jacques makes explicit linkages between the handbag theft of the Adventurous Thief and the rapes he would go onto to commit, commenting that his targeting women for theft 'may have' lead to his rapes. He mentions these linkages alongside comments that the "habit" of offending became hard to break free of. Both these factors allow an implicit connection to be made between the emergence of the Searching Burglar, Jacques' desire for experience, and the increasing desire to commit rape. Therefore when Jacques first tries to rape a woman he encounters during one of his burglaries, his actions are consistent with motives and developmental path of the Searching Burglar imago. This attempted rape also demonstrates the limits of the influence of the Searching Burglar, lacking the calm confidence associated with his burglaries. The imago does not appear to have evolved sufficiently to offer him the template for behaviour it provides

elsewhere, or the mode of interpersonal transaction needed to justify the progression to more explicit and serious exploitation of others. It is at this stage that Jacques commits his first murder.

The murder of Thomasina Selepeng represents a continuation rather than an evolution in the Searching Burglar imago. The factors that suggest a continuation are: the opportunistic, impulsive decision to enter the property and to attack Thomasina, the material motive for the offence, the offence being initially intended as a walk-in burglary, and the continuing development of offending via risk-taking and experimentation. In addition to this the factors which show the limitations of the Searching Burglar imago during the previous attempted rape also persist in the similarities in tone and mode of expressions in Jacques' descriptions of these events, and in his seemingly confused and muddled actions during the offence (so unlike his cool-headed burglaries). This suggests that the Searching Burglar imago that was motivating Jacques' offending at the time of his attempted rape continues to do so, unchanged, here.

Therefore at the time of Jacques' murder of Thomasina the Searching Burglar imago did not provide unequivocal justification, or behavioural template, for rape or murder. However Jacques' actions were consistent with the motives and development path of the Searching Burglar.

In between the first and second offences the Passive Man remains in stasis, continuing to be the mode of interpersonal transaction used by Jacques to negotiate his relationships in everyday life; indifferent to maintaining friendships, lacking in ambition and dynamism. The Passive Man does not evolve further in Jacques' narrative. This appears to benefit the imagoes associated with his offending, which now evolve significantly. One of the events in Jacques' life immediately prior to the second offence which could have hypothetically contributed to his offending was his being transferred from a job he enjoyed to a post he found boring. While evidence supporting his hypothesis is not strong, it would suggest that the Searching Burglar imago's motive of desire for experience was becoming more strong than the Passive Man's desire to overcome emotional isolation (which had provided the initial motive for the Adventurous Thief imago). This suggests that the Searching Burglar imago

was becoming more dominant, and the separation between Jacques’ offending and non-offending imagoes more pronounced.

Thomasina’s murder, the first incident, thus marks the point at which Jacques’ offending imagoes become increasingly dominant and the focus for change in his narrative. The ‘experiment’ of his first murder lead to Jacques’ explicitly acknowledging, rather than implying, that he would like to commit rapes. However for two years he did not act on this urge, instead reverting to the behaviours that have been established as part of the Searching Burglar’s characteristic modes of interaction. Jacques’ gaining access to a firearm allowed the Searching Burglar to undertake the interpersonal transactions needed to act on its desire for rape. In order to avoid confusion the below table summarises which victim, and what offence(s), were being referred to in each of Jacques’ ‘incidents’

Table 9: *Summary of Jacques’ ‘incidents’ and victims*

Incident	Victim	Offences*
1.	Thomasina Selepeng	Murder
2.	Sylvia Claasen	Rape, theft, using a vehicle without the owner’s consent
3.	Jane Ferreira	Rape, theft
4.	Rebecca Marais	Murder, rape, theft
5.	Belinda Wiley	Murder, rape, theft
6.	Margaret Welwyn	Murder, rape
7.	Judith Schoeman	Murder, rape, robbery**, theft

*Refers to offences for which Jacques was convicted.

** Robbery refers to theft from a person using violence of threats of violence.

The rape committed during the second incident, the rape of Sylvia Claasen, demonstrated a notable evolution in Jacques’ offending imagoes and the interactions between them. Whether this evolution occurred prior to the offence itself, or whether the successful offence (facilitated by the firearm) encouraged this evolution is not

clear. This reflects a central debate in narrative approaches to crime and will be discussed more in the next chapter. Notwithstanding this, the rape of Sylvia appeared to have clear support from his offending imago. This is demonstrated in the contrasts between this incident, his attempted rape, and the first incident. In the rape of Sylvia Claasen his behaviours are confident, clearly orientated towards the goal of rape, and the offence is described with clarity and precision.

This offence thus marks the emergence of the Habitual Rapist. The Habitual Rapist adopts the Searching Burglar's motivations and characteristics, displaying the same five features of the prototypical imago. The firearm allows the Habitual Rapist to commit rape with the calmness previously associated with the Searching Burglar's offences. The emergent Habitual Rapist retains the Searching Burglar's motivations of material gain, "sneakiness", and "fun". The emergent Habitual Rapist imago appears to put more emphasis on two of the Searching Burglar's characteristics: indifference towards others, and the motivation provided by the desire for experience. Neither are new, both being an increased emphasis on pre-existing features of the Searching Burglar imago. This further demonstrates that the transition from Searching Burglar to Habitual Rapist imagoes represents a shift in emphases on a continuum rather than a complete change in character. This shift also demonstrates that the imagoes associated with offending continue to develop through a process of experimentation.

In the third incident, Jacques second rape, the imago development highlighted in the previous incident continues. The third incident, the rape of Jane Ferreira, represents a consolidation of the patterns already noted, specifically in the Habitual Rapist imago. The behavioural patterns encouraged by the various imagoes associated with his offending (the Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar, and Habitual Rapist) are all expressed in the rape of Jane Ferreira. This behavioural continuity in the influence of his imagoes supports the assertions made in Jacques's narrative that all his offences are part of the same process.

The third incident sees the 'search for experience' motivation engrained in the Habitual Rapist imago, the features of this imago confirmed, and sees it emerging as the more dominant of Jacques' imagoes of self. This incident demonstrates that Jacques' search for experience (particularly experiences associated with sexual acts)

becomes the Habitual Rapist's main motive. While motives such as 'sneakiness' and material benefit remain, they now have less obvious influence. Similarly, while most of the characteristics and offence behaviours of the Habitual Rapist remain unchanged (and the Habitual Rapist retains the emotional isolation and lack of understanding that pervades Jacques' narrative), this incident confirms that Jacques was now feeling trapped in the habit of offending. Jacques had some perception the consequences of this, but was unable to break free of the Habitual Rapist's offending. These statements of helplessness both absolve Jacques (or the Passive Man imago) of responsibility for the offences, and emphasise the Habitual Rapist's growing dominance. This emerging dominance is reflected in the Habitual Rapist's increased confidence, and his increasingly treating victims as objects for gaining experience from.

The fourth incident was Jacques' second murder, and the first that occurred while the Habitual Rapist was present in his narrative. The behaviours Jacques displays in this offence remain consistent with those associated with the Habitual Rapist imago, with the offence behaviour for committing a rape is clearly defined: break into a location, return to that location repeatedly, return later to commit rape during which the victim is controlled using a firearm (alongside instrumental violence), and leave the location taking some precautions to avoid capture. In this incident, those precautions meant killing the victim, Rebecca Marais. It is clear that the Habitual Rapist imago, as expressed in Jacques' narrative, had already taken the decision to kill the victims if necessary to avoid capture after the third incident. The role of the victim remains unchanged: her characteristics are of little concern to the Habitual Rapist and she is considered only as a source of experience and experiment. The only notable behavioural differences between this and previous offences were Jacques' longer period of reconnaissance prior to offending, and his killing of the victim. These differences are thematically consistent with what has occurred prior to this offence and so do not demonstrate a significant change in his imago. They thus represent a further strengthening of the Habitual Rapist imago and a growth in its confidence.

Therefore while this incident does not represent a significant evolution in the Habitual Rapist imago, it does confirm the Habitual Rapist imago's dominance, which was emerging in the previous incident, in Jacques narrative. This dominance is most clearly expressed by Jacques' continued affirmations that he couldn't control himself,

and that his offences were part of a habit he could no longer stop. The latter point is emphasised by the shortening time between offences. This sense of dominance is added to by the fact that at this stage in his narrative Jacques does not highlight any relationships between the Habitual Rapist imago and any other imago. The dominance of the Habitual Rapist is more subtly expressed in Jacques' associating the Habitual Rapist with his sense of emotional isolation and, in the extreme, his "dead feeling". By doing this Jacques is associating a fundamental theme in his narrative with the Habitual Rapist imago. This theme of emotional isolation has pervaded his narrative since childhood, forming part of both his 'offending' and 'non-offending' imagoes. An unequivocal association between this theme and the Habitual Rapist imago thus implies that this imago is a dominant influence in his narrative.

The fifth incident sees the Habitual Rapist imago reach the peak of its influence. In this offence, the murder of Belinda Wiley, the behavioural template offered by this imago for committing rape continues to guide and dictate the offences. The victim's role, as well as the imago's fundamental motives, remains unchanged. The continuing process of learning from each offence resulted in this, the offence Jacques enjoyed most. Jacques particular enjoyment of this rape appears related to his having the complete control over his victim necessary to fully experience the act of sex. By fulfilling his desire for the experience of rape the Habitual Rapist has achieved one of the 'wishes, aspirations, or goals' associated with it in Jacques narrative. This desire for experience was a motivating factor in all the offending imagoes, initially arising as a means to overcome the Lonely Boy's emotional isolation and lack of emotional interaction. Reaching this goal, and the peak of its influence, appears to have an affect on subsequent offences.

This effect appears to suggest that Jacques' offence behaviour once more moves beyond the limits of the mode of interpersonal interaction embodied in dominant imago. In this case, it appears that having achieved complete control over a victim, the Habitual Rapist does not know what to do once the experience of rape is exhausted. It similarly appears that the sense of emotional isolation that the offending imagoes initially arose to counteract remains. Therefore the Habitual Rapist has achieved the goal of experience but not the benefit that Jacques hoped for, or the function that the offending imagoes served with reference to the other imagoes.

Even though the murder of Margaret Welwyn (the sixth incident) is brief it demonstrates a number of important changes in the Habitual Rapist imago. These are expressed in the behavioural changes in this offence: a detailed reconnaissance is not carried out before this offence, and rather than controlling the victim using instrumental violence, the victim is immediately shot in response to resistance. The last-mentioned also suggest that Jacques is becoming increasingly contemptuous of his victims, which re-iterates that it was the Passive Man, not the Habitual Rapist that desired an end to emotional isolation.

What Jacques terms his “recklessness” in this offence suggests the structure the Habitual Rapist brought to previous offences appears to be breaking down. This deviation from behaviours which served Jacques well in previous offences appears related to conflict within the Habitual Rapist imago. This conflict arose from two sources: the Habitual Rapist had achieved its goal of experience but not the benefits it hoped for, which could have lead to confusion, and Jacques was now trapped in the habit of offending embodied in the Habitual Rapist imago. Thus by the time of the sixth incident there was strong conflict within the Habitual Rapist imago between the continued desire for experience via offending, and the confusion as to whether this is still a valid goal. However the Habitual Rapist retains certain behaviours and characteristics: Jacques still enters his victim’s houses at night, uses a firearm to control them, and steals money. He still remains cool headed. The Habitual Rapist is still isolated from Jacques’ other imagoes, and is still not influenced by positive external factors. It is not clear from Jacques’ narrative why certain behaviours and characteristics would be affected by conflict within the imago and others would not. The Habitual Rapist imago does not appear to have reverted to an earlier imago (such as the Searching Burglar or Adventurous Thief) as he did following Jacques’ first murder. Rather the offending imago appears to be losing the coherence it built up via its various incarnations as Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar and Habitual Rapist.

Jacques’ final murder, that of Judith Schoeman, sees a continuation in the combination of stability and change in the behaviours and personality traits associated with the imago, and a more marked reversion in the imago. The Habitual Rapist imago remains bold and calm, kills the victims for the same reason, is still motivated

by for material gain and thrill, and still treats the victims as an object to gain experience from. However the behavioural changes that occur alongside these stable elements suggest that Jacques' was beginning to draw more strongly on previous offending imagoes to supply appropriate modes of interpersonal transaction. That is, in certain aspects of its behaviour, the Habitual Rapist imago was reverting to previous offending imagoes (the Adventurous Thief and Searching Burglar).

Thus his final offence shows that the behaviours inherited by the Habitual Rapist from Searching Burglar and Adventurous Thief continue to be expressed, and the behaviours associated with these previous imagoes are expressed more strongly as the Habitual Rapist loses coherence. This re-iterates the continuity in Jacques' imagoes of self associated with his offending (theft, burglary, rape and murder). These represent a developmental continuum, with each imago drawing on the characteristics and motivations of the previous. Jacques' narrative repeatedly highlights the progression, and implied causal relationship, between his earliest thefts from handbags and his rape-murders.

Jacques' reflections after his arrest confirm the established features of his offending and non-offending imagoes of self, and the separation between them in his narrative. His reflections re-iterate our understandings of the offence behaviours and patterns of behaviour encouraged by the imagoes associated with his offending, and confirm that these imagoes provided a series of behavioural templates for Jacques' offending. These reflections confirm how strong the habit of offending, and so the offending imagoes, had become. Finally, they confirm that the emotional isolation and lack of emotional understanding first seen in the Lonely Boy imago remained a notable feature of his narrative, despite the efforts of the offending imagoes to overcome it.

5.2.4.3 Answers to narrative inquiries.

To summarise the above discussions, Jacques' narrative contributes to our answers to the narrative inquiries in the following ways.

a) What roles do imagoes play in the motivation of a person who commits serial murder?

This question asks what role Jacques' imagoes had in *causing* his offences. The reasons Jacques gives for having committed the offences can be considered his motives. Jacques gives six motives for his actions. These motives arise at different periods in his life, and once they arise they do not disappear again. However they develop and vary in strength at different stages of the narrative, with different motives become more dominant at different times in his life.

All of the motives Jacques gives in his narrative are either embodied in, or arise as the result of interaction between, his imagoes. This is summarised in Table 10 below. Imagoes can thus be said to play a significant role in his offending. In Jacques' narrative there are two facets to the role: (a) the role of imagoes in embodying motives specifically for offending and (b) the interaction between imagoes in creating or strengthening motive.

With reference to (b), in this narrative the interaction between imagoes appears to have created Jacques' most fundamental motive (emotional isolation and lack of understanding). Subsequent interaction between his offending and non-offending imagoes encouraged the development of motives specifically associated with offending, and embodied in his offending imagoes. In Jacques' narrative the presence of multiple motives (and his imagoes' role with reference to these) encourages a more complex and dynamic understanding of the motives of a person who commits serial murder. This understanding also suggests that motive overlaps with developmental factors, which is discussed in the second research question, and further in the last chapter.

Table 10: *Summary of Jacques' motives and their relationships to his imagoes*

Motive	Relationship to imagoes	Period of life first noted	Notes
1. Emotional isolation from others, and lack of emotional understanding.	Arises due to interaction between Controlling Mother, Distant Father. Embodied in Lonely Boy (later Passive Man)	Childhood	Pervades his narrative, associated with loneliness, distance from others, and the inability to express or understand emotions. Expressed in the offending imagoes as 'indifference to others'
2. Fun / Adventure	Adventurous Thief	Childhood –	Arise in reaction to 1.
3. Money / Material gain		Adolescence	
4. The search for experience.	Adventurous Thief – Searching Burglar	Adolescence – Adulthood	Initially expressed as the Passive Man's search for 'something', eased by offending imagoes. Later becomes the dominant motive, with Habitual Rapist
5. Sneakiness / secrecy	Searching Burglar	Adolescence – Adulthood	
6. Habit	Searching Burglar	Adulthood	Engrained in Habitual Rapist

b) What roles do imagoes in the development of offending behaviour in serial murder?

Jacques' narrative finds that imagoes play a very significant role in the development of offending behaviour in a person who commits serial murder. Jacques conceives of his offending as a process of evolution from handbag thefts, to walk-in burglaries, to rape, to murder and his narrative makes the importance of this process in causing his murders explicit. His narrative links all aspects of this continuum to offending imagoes, and repeatedly emphasises its importance.

Thus imagoes embody Jacques' motives, and are the means by which they are expressed in behaviour. The imagoes allow this expression in three ways: (a) by creating a separation between offending and non-offending images; (b) by establishing the means by which offence behaviours develop; and (c) by setting the behavioural template for his offences. Together, these factors supply the supporting rationale for the development of Jacques' offending by giving him moral support for this actions.

The first factor, (a), encourages the development of offending by allowing Jacques' offending imagoes to develop with minimal interference or control from the rest of the narrative or by Jacques' life events. It is notable that interactions between his offending and non-offending imagoes lessen as his offending gets more severe. As discussed previously, by the time of Jacques' adulthood the only interaction between his offending and non-offending imagoes that appears to have any effect is that which further encourages his offending. The second aspect, (b) relates specifically to his offending imagoes, which encourage the development of further offending behaviours through a process of experimentation.

The setting of a behavioural template for offending, (c), would encourage the development of offending by providing Jacques with a clearer plan for offending, and so simplify the behavioural choices he needs to make when doing so. Based on the similarities between many of his offences, we can hypothesise that Jacques was drawing on a template of behaviours in his offending.

Jacques' behavioural template for offending appears effected by his imagoes. This is demonstrated in the congruence between the motives embodied in his imagoes, and the characteristics of the offence (e.g. the motive for material gain being expressed in theft, or motives of emotional isolation and the desire for experience being expressed in the role Jacques gives his victims). This is further shown in the congruence between the characteristics of Jacques' offences and the characteristics of his offending imagoes. For example, the bold, decisive, cool-headed, and self-interested Habitual Rapist imago is expressed in the offence behaviours of reconnoitring the location in advance, entering the victims' home addresses at night, maintaining control over the victim, and taking measures to avoid being captured. The importance of this behavioural template in the successful completion of his offences, and the close relationship this has with his offending imagoes, is further demonstrated in the loss of coherence in Jacques crime scene behaviours when the Habitual Rapist's motive became conflicted. This last point again shows the interrelationship between motive and development.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Two narrative inquiries guided this study:

1. What role do imagoes play in the motivation of a person who commits serial murder?
2. What role do imagoes play in the development of the offending behaviour?

The results of the study, Jacques' and Simon's case studies and the analysis of imagoes within them, were presented in Chapter 5. In order to gain a more complete understanding of the role played by imagoes, this chapter will now compare the answers each of the narratives provided to the above two narrative inquiries. These questions will be discussed in turn, and the answers each case study provides will be compared with one another and with previous theory. Although not an aim of this study, this process allows us to assess the extent to which the concept of imago can be applied to offender profiling. This will be followed by an exploration and comparison of the structure and presentation of Jacques and Simon's narratives, along with a discussion of the implications of this. Comparisons will be made between this study's findings, previous narrative research, and what could be expected on the basis of established narrative theory. This chapter will close with explicit comparisons between this study's findings and what previous narrative research suggested I would find the characteristics of the imagoes / narrative of a person who commits serial murder to be. Considerations of evaluation and validation will be touched on throughout this chapter, but will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

6.1. COMPARISON IN ROLES OF SIMON AND JACQUES' IMAGOS

6.1.1 What role do imagos play in the motivation of a person who commits serial murder?

This study considered the reasons they gave for having committed the offences, their motives. The case studies revealed a number of similarities:

- Both saw motives arising at different times in their narrative, and once they arise they did not disappear again.
- Both saw these motives vary in strength and develop at different stages of the narrative, with different motives become more dominant at different times.
- All the motives in both narratives are either embodied in, or arise as the result of interaction between, their imagos.

It thus appears that in both narratives, imagos played a significant role in their motives for offending. In both case studies there were two aspects to this role: (a) the role of imagos in creating and embodying motives specifically for offending, (b) the interaction between imagos in creating or strengthening motive.

As already discussed, both Jacques' and Simon's initial motive for murder (the motive which would later become embodied in their dominant offending imago) arose in childhood as a result of interaction between imagos associated with others, particularly their parents / family. Their narratives showed different variations of this theme. In Simon's case this motive arose as a result of unacknowledged negative aspects of the imago associated with his idealised family. By contrast Jacques' motive arose due to interactions between the imagos associated with his parents and how this influenced his emergent imago of self. Notwithstanding this difference, the interaction between their imagos created their motive for offending, which became embodied in their 'offending imagos'. In Simon's case his desire to reclaim the communion of his idealised family led to the Vengeful Suitor's violent reaction to rejection (particularly when in dialogue with the Rejecting Woman). In Jacques', his offending behaviours arose as reaction against the Controlling Mother imago, with the emotional distance and lack of understanding created in his childhood providing the starting point for his offence's continued evolution as embodied in the Adventurous

Thief, Searching Burglar, and Habitual Rapist. In both cases, the offending imagoes could have emerged as a coping mechanism for the non-offending imagoes.

Beyond these points, the narratives show slightly different patterns. In Simon's, his motives for offending were then strengthened in subsequent interactions between imagoes associated with his self (the Vengeful Suitor) and those associated with others (the Rejecting Woman). Jacques' motives for offending, in contrast, developed further in isolation from motives associated with others. Thus in Jacques' case, the interaction between imagoes was less important in creating motives as his narrative unfolded. Furthermore, Jacques' narrative displayed a wider variety of motives than Simon's did, six versus four, and in Simon's case the two motives established earliest persist most strongly and were a relatively stable influence throughout the narrative (refer to Tables 7 and 8 for details). The motives in Simon's narrative also contained similar thematic concerns, being concerned with interactions with others (e.g. reclaiming communion, overcoming rejection, and maintaining dominance). Jacques' narrative showed a different pattern, with a more varied and dynamic range of motives, most of which were focused on Jacques' self (e.g. fun, material gain, and experience). This suggests that the participants showed fundamentally different motivational orientations, with Jacques being focused on his self, and Simon being focused on others. This could have implications both for our understanding of serial murder and offender profiling.

Overall the presence of multiple motives, and the imagoes' role with reference to these, encourages a more complex and dynamic understanding of the motive of the person who commits serial murder. This understanding also suggests that motive overlaps with developmental factors. This has a number of implications for the applicability of the aetiological theories, motivational models and typologies proposed for serial murder (e.g. Burgess, *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Ressler *et al.*, 1986). Similarly, these findings affect our understanding of the imago and its role in the development of offending behaviour (as discussed by Athens, 1997; Parkinson, 1999; and Schultz, 2005). These implications will be discussed more in the next section, and in section 7.1.

6.1.2 What role do imagoes play in the development of the offending behaviour?

Both Simon and Jacques' narratives suggest that imagoes play a significant role in the development of offending behaviour in a person who commits serial murder. Simon links his offending behaviours to his key imagoes and the interaction between them. His offending behaviour is repeatedly linked back to motives established and developed by his imagoes, with imagoes also being alluded to in the events that led to his committing murder. Jacques conceives of his offending as a process of evolution from handbag thefts, to walk-in burglaries, to rape, to murder and his narrative makes the importance of this process in causing his murders explicit. His narrative links all aspects of this evolution to offending imagoes, and repeatedly emphasises its importance.

Both emphasise the importance of imagoes in the development of their offending, but there are slight variations between the narrative understanding of Jacques and Simon. Simon emphasises the motives he had for his offending; while Jacques emphasised his offending as a process of development. This could be explained by the greater variation in Jacques's motives, with Simon's motives remaining more stable. Alternatively this could be due to the differing conceptions the participants have of their own offending career, that is, their different perception of and emphases on a similar developmental path. While the various similarities between their narratives support this proposal, it cannot be said unequivocally that this is the case. Whether this difference reflects fundamentally different developmental paths or different emphases on similar pathways, it may cast light on the reasons for one of the notable variations seen in the literature on serial murder; with some authors emphasising aetiologies and single fundamental cause (e.g. Norris, 1990; Pistorius, 1996; Schlesinger, 2004) while others emphasise the process of development, and motivational models, more (e.g. Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002).

Comparing their narratives, there are two similarities between their conceptions of the role played by imagoes in the development of their offending. Both Jacques and Simon emphasise imagoes' role in:

1. Creating and encouraging a separation between the imagoes involved in offending and those that are not.
2. Setting the behavioural template for their offences.

In both narratives, the separation between 'offending' and 'non-offending' imagoes (1) encouraged the development of offending by allowing the development of the offending imagoes without control from the rest of the narrative. This similarity between the narratives was manifestly differently in each one. In Jacques' case, this separation simply allowed the behaviours associated with his offending to develop with minimal interference or control from the rest of the narrative. His more insular narrative reflects this, particularly the manner in which the interactions between his offending and non-offending imagoes lessen as his offending gets more severe. In Simon's narrative this separation encouraged the association of negative emotions with offending imagoes (rather than non-offending imagoes) and so strengthens the behaviours associated with the offending imagoes and minimises Simon's regret for them. In both narratives this process led to non-offending imagoes being either made less influential to the narrative or weakened.

In both narratives, the behavioural template for their offences (2) is set as a result of the imagoes' various other roles in the narrative. This is demonstrated in the congruence between the characteristics of their offences and the characteristics of their imagoes and the motives embodied in them. Further evidence for the existence of a behavioural template is supplied in the similarities between the various offences committed by each participant. In setting this behavioural template in their narrative, both Simon and Jacques are supplied with a clearer plan for offending, and a simplified set of behavioural choices to be made when doing so. Both case studies supply similar evidence of the importance of the behavioural template provided by their imagoes, by demonstrating the loss of coherence in crime scene behaviour and the participants' narratives that appears to result from imagoes either not providing justification for an offence, or having conflicted motives. For example, Simon's narration of his rapes and Jacques' narrative of his first murder appear less coherent

and clear than the narratives of offences which their imagoes justify more clearly. Similarly, neither Simon's murder of Zondi Tana or Jacques' murder of Judith Schoeman were justified by their imagoes (with Jacques in particular showing strong conflict within his dominant imago's motives). In both cases their offence behaviours departed from the established template, and in both cases the participants appeared to associate stronger negative emotions with these offences. While it should be remembered that the behavioural template linked to their imagoes does not explain all their behaviours during the offences (which is particularly true of Simon); the relationship between imagoes, moral justification, and an offenders' narrative of his crimes seems noteworthy. This does not appear to have been explored deeply in the previous literature, and will be discussed more later.

These findings lend support to previous research which posited a link between the characteristics of offenders' imagoes and those of their offences (Athens, 1997; Parkinson, 1999; Schultz, 2005). Given its aim this study gives greater support to Schultz's (2005) finding similarities between that offender's specific offence behaviours and specific, single, imagoes; as opposed to Athen's (1997) and Parkinson's (1999) finding similarities between categories of imagoes and categories of offence behaviours. Schultz's (2005) study of child molesters found that the themes in their narrative represent the roles they perceive themselves as playing, which in turn shape their offending. This is very consistent with the findings in this study, with one variation: Schultz (2005) presupposed that the individual has a single imago, associated with their self, with various contradictory aspects. This study confirmed that this conception lacks explanatory power. Not only could imagoes be complex and multifaceted, as seen in Jacques and Simon's dominant offending imagoes, but a person could have a number of imagoes in their narrative, associated both with their self and with others, all of which could play a contributory role to offending. This conception could explain in detail how offending may emerge as a result of a clash between imagoes, as proposed by McAdams (1993), or as a result of certain imagoes failing to adapt to changing circumstance, which Schultz's (2005) conception would struggle to do. This will be discussed more in section 7.1.1, particularly in relation to how this tallies with narrative theory's proposition that multiple imagoes can exist in an individual's narrative of self, with each imago representing a facet of the

individual's conceptions of the relationship between themselves and others (Athens, 1997; McAdams, 1988, 1993; Parkinson, 1999).

Beyond these similarities between their imagoes, Jacques and Simon show the following differences in the roles played by their imagoes in the developmental narrative of their offending. Firstly, Jacques' imagoes established the means by which his offence behaviours develop. They did this by encouraging the process of experimentation in his offending associated with his dominant offending imago(es). In contrast, Simon's imagoes encourage further offences by encouraging the interaction between two specific imagoes associated with offending (the Rejecting Woman and Vengeful Suitor), which justified his violence. Simon's imagoes further supported this process by encouraging the interpretation of life events in ways that create negative emotions and thus strengthen offending imagoes.

These similarities and differences are summarised in Table 11. The reasons for the differences and similarities cannot be fully explained on the basis of these findings. As with the differing emphases in motive, it is not clear whether these similarities and differences are due to the nuances of expression of the individual participants, or reflect fundamental differences in developmental path. However, what is clear is that imagoes supply the supporting rationale for the development of Jacques' and Simon's offending by giving them moral support for their actions and simplifying their behavioural choices. In doing so, they also demonstrate the interrelationship between motive and development in the narratives of those who commit serial murder.

Table 11: *Similarities and differences between the role of imagoes in the development of offending behaviours in Jacques and Simon*

Simon Mandlenkosi	Jacques Eksteen
Similarities	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create and encourage a separation between the imagoes involved in offending and those that are not. - Set the behavioural template for their offences. 	
Differences	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourage the interaction between imagoes associated with offending - Encourage the interpretation of life events in ways that create negative emotions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The means by which his offence behaviours develop.

The role played by the participant's imagoes in both the motivation and development of serial murder, taken alongside the finding that motivation was constantly developing, calls into question the implicit division between motive and development in some of the more aetiologically oriented conceptions of serial murder (e.g. Norris, 1990) and tends to support the 'motivational model' conception of serial murder (e.g. Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002). It also adds to our understanding by allowing greater insight into how the interaction between motivation and development may aid the progression towards more serious offending. This will be discussed more in section 7.1.1.

6.2 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE STRUCTURES OF JACQUES' AND SIMON'S NARRATIVES

Considerations of narrative structure are not the main aim of research, but the structure of the narratives presented in the case studies need to be considered because they form the framework within which the content of the narrative (in this case, the imagoes) should be considered. This section will therefore briefly consider the similarities and differences in the structure of Jacques' and Simon's narratives. The structure of a narrative refers to elements of the narrative such as sequencing of events, the complexity and coherence of the narrative as whole, and progression in the narrative's plot. Structure can also include comments on the key influences in the creation of the narrative (Bruner, 1991; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). The format of the narratives over time will also be briefly considered using Gergen and Gergen's (1988) proposed criteria.

6.2.1 Sequencing of events in the narratives

The two case studies present different structures of narrative, each taking a different approach to sequencing events within it. The creation of Simon's narrative in interview was driven by my questions, and generally characterised by my having to ask a number of follow-up questions. This resulted in the narrative being presented in a more fragmented form, which was added to by Simon's seeming reluctance or inability to articulate causality. That is, Simon would willingly narrate events, but when asked to discuss what caused the events he appeared less able or less willing. Events were thus not readily presented in a causal chain of events and Simon's attitudes and motives were not immediately discernible. This may have been exacerbated by his reluctance to express negative emotions or perceptions, or associate them with certain imagoes. These factors meant a clear chronology and sequence of events was not immediately apparent in Simon's narrative, with the full chronology only becoming apparent upon analysis. By contrast, Jacques readily presented a detailed narrative in interview, with a clear chronology of events and far less prompting needed by the researcher. Unlike Simon, Jacques would speak extensively about the events of this life, describing events in precise and detailed terms and making causal linkages between the various parts of his narrative. However

the clarity of Jacques' narrative was limited by the difficulty he experienced when discussing motivations and emotions.

6.2.2. Coherence and cohesiveness of the narratives

This sequencing of events affects the coherence and cohesiveness of the narratives presented. Bruner (1991) defines a well constructed narrative as one with an ongoing plot and a clearly defined objective with a series of events progressing towards it. These events should be related by sequence and causality (Bruner, 1991). Using these criteria, it is clear that Jacques presented a better constructed narrative than Simon. Both narratives are however sufficiently cohesive to be coherent with both having ongoing plots, progressed by causally-related events. Similarly, the narratives showed similar levels of complexity, presenting a number of different characters and narrating a large number of events.

Thus the key structural difference between the narratives of Jacques and Simon appeared to be that of sequencing the events, with Jacques making causal links more readily than Simon. The most obvious hypothesis that can be given for the differences in the sequencing of events in the respective narratives is cultural and linguistic. For Simon, he was not being interviewed in his first language. Furthermore, the linguistic traditions of his culture may not share Western preoccupations with linear plotting and clear causality, preferring instead the more 'circular' traditions of oral storytelling (Kvale, 1996). Someone of Simon's culture may also have found the experience of an interview setting more unusual and alien. This would make his responses briefer and his narrative thus more fragmented. In contrast, Jacques was interviewed in his first language (Afrikaans), and as a former police officer would be familiar both with interviews and the need for a clear sequence of events, linked by causality. Being situated in the same, predominantly European, culture as me may also have contributed to his narrative being structured in a more readily understandable way. The role played by culture in the structure of the narratives was not one that this study considered, or one which I investigated in the literature. It has thus only been considered as it arose here. The implications of this factor will be discussed in the critique and recommendations in Chapter 7.

However Jacques' and Simon's characteristic responses in interview mitigate against the above hypothesis that their cultural norms influenced the structure of their narratives. During the interviews it appeared that both participants found it difficult to reflect on and express their emotions. While Simon avoids reflecting on negative emotions and so compromises expressions of causality; Jacques struggles to articulate emotions and so explain his motives clearly. The presence of this shared difficulty introduces the possibility that the differences in sequencing of events within the narratives are caused as much by the different participant's responses to the same underlying emotional difficulty as they are by cultural or linguistic factors.

This possibility, that a shared difficulty with emotional expression is expressed differently by each participant, is further supported by the differing tones of their narratives. Simon, although more reticent than Jacques, narrates his story in a tone that is congruent with the story's contents (e.g. when narrating an emotionally unpleasant event, his tone evidences distress). Jacques' tone, on the other hand, is predominantly one of indifference, and was distinctly unaffected by emotional content to the extent that his tone was occasionally incongruent with the content of the narrative (e.g. Jacques sounding slightly amused by the victim's teeth striking him in the face when he shot her). It is less easy to explain the differences in tone using cultural or linguistic factors, since Jacques shares the cultural paradigm within which the interview process and the researcher are situated. Again the hypothesis that difficulties in emotional expression create the differences observed seems to have more explanatory power.

6.2.3 Progression of the narratives over time

Considering the format of their narratives over time using Gergen and Gergen's (1988) criteria demonstrates further similarities between the participants. 'Progression' refers to the development of the plot over time (Gergen & Gergen, 1988; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998) and both participants clearly expressed "narratives of decline...a regressive narrative [where] there is a course of deterioration or decline" (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998, p.89). Jacques and Simon present life stories that becoming progressively worse for the protagonist, becoming more marked by conflict and failure. The emphases of this decline differ, however, with both participants employing different versions of "condemnation scripts" (Maruna, 2004, p.73) to justify their offending.

Maruna (2004) found that offenders holding a condemnation script justified their continued offending by narrating themselves as powerless victims of an inhospitable environment. In Simon's case, his condemnation script emphasises the role played by the inhospitable environment in his offending, particularly specific hostile others. These negative circumstances are inflicted upon him, and are almost entirely beyond his control. For example, the church rejects his application to become a pastor without a legitimate reason, and women reject him without any justification. In contrast, Jacques' condemnation scripts centres on his being controlled and ultimately undone by influences which his life did not equip him to understand, and he was thus powerless to control. That is, Jacques states that since he was not able to understand emotions or discuss them with others, he did not realise that his offending was wrong, and so control it. While this is a more subtle, implied condemnation script than Simon's it serves the same purpose: to emphasise the participant's helplessness to control his offending. On the basis of previous research results (Labuschagne, 2001; Laubscher & Klinger, 1997; McAdams, 1993) it was suggested that condemnation scripts would be found in South Africans who have committed serial murder. These study's findings have shown this is indeed the case. This will be further discussed with reference to imagoes.

The differing emphases of Simon and Jacques' condemnation scripts also demonstrate the different key influences they site in the creation of their narratives. Jacques'

narrative places less emphasis on the role played by significant others in his narrative, particularly in the development of his offending. His narrative appears insular, developing in isolation from others and the social environment. In contrast Simon's narrative places more emphasis, both explicitly and implicitly, on the role played by significant others and external events in the creation of his narrative. When compared with Jacques' narrative Simon's narrative appears more open to, and influenced by, the others and the social environment. This will be discussed in more detail when their imagoes are discussed.

6.2.4 Summary of narrative structures

To summarise, both participants presented coherent and meaningful narratives. Both narratives evidenced the difficulty experienced by the participants in reflecting on and articulating emotions. This difficulty around emotions appears to be expressed differently in each narrative: affecting the chronology and coherence of Simon's narrative, and the tone of Jacques'. The differences in chronology and tone between the narratives can be better explained by this shared emotional difficulty than they can by cultural differences between the participants. Both Jacques and Simon's narratives were also 'regressive' in nature, and made use of condemnation scripts, although their narratives had different emphasises in the respective condemnation scripts.

6.3 DISCUSSION OF THE FEATURES OF SIMON AND JACQUES’ IMAGOE AND THE LITERATURE

In this section the features of the imagoes presented in Jacques’ and Simon’s narratives are discussed and compared with one another, and with the features which previous literature proposes for the imagoes of those who commit serial murder (Athens, 1997; Parkinson, 1999; Maruna, 2004; McAdams, 1993; Schultz, 2005). This comparison will highlight similarities and differences between these case studies and previous literature and will help discern where this study adds to our understanding of the imagoes and narratives of those who commit serial murder. This section focuses on the arrangement and structure of the imagoes, rather than the roles they play in the narratives (which has already been discussed in section 6.1). This section is thus specifically concerned with a general discussion of the imagoes and placing them in the context of the narrative. Features such as the number, structure, and dominance of the imagoes will be compared here. Who they are associated with, the relationships between them, whether they are predominantly positive or negative, agentic or communal, and their similarity to a prototypical imago (McAdams, 1988) will also be considered. This contextualises comparisons between the answers supplied to the narrative inquiry into the roles played by the imagoes. The development of imagoes and interactions between them will be discussed in broad terms here, adding context to the discussion of section 6.1.

6.3.1 Number of imagoes

Both Jacques and Simon display multiple imagoes, seven and six respectively. This suggests that the hypothesis made on the basis of Parkinson’s (1999) narrative research – that people who perpetrate murder would have one or two imagoes – is not accurate. This study suggests that persons who commit serial murder may have a variety of imagoes which, as shall be shown, can be associated with themselves or with other people. As discussed previously, evidence suggests that multiple and / or complex imagoes reduce stress (Linville, 1985; McAdams, 1988; Watkins, 1986). This, narrative researchers suggest, will lead to people with multiple imagoes being less likely to offend. This study suggests this not is the case.

6.3.2 Imagoes' development, associations and interactions

Parkinson's (1999) research further suggested that the imagoes of those who commit serial murder would either be poorly developed or highly inflexible. While she does not explicitly define precisely what 'poorly developed' or 'inflexible' means, Parkinson (1999) states that these features would result in offenders having a narrower choice of behaviours when problem solving, which she found increased the likelihood of offending. This study supplies an ambivalent response to this. Both Jacques and Simon displayed notable development in their narratives. Both narratives show that various imagoes arise at different times in the narrative, and vary in their characteristics and influence over the participant's behaviours as the narrative unfolds. This would refute Parkinson's (1999) contention that these imagoes are poorly developed.

However when the development of each imago is considered separately a more varied picture of development emerges: the most development occurred in the imagoes associated with the participant's selves, particularly those associated with their offending. These imagoes associated with the participants' selves also tended to be the most dominant in the narrative. These 'offending imagoes' of self showed significant change as their narratives progressed from childhood to adulthood, being associated with various and changing behaviours and motives. Jacques and Simon showed slightly different developments in this regard, with Jacques' offending imagoes of self (the Lonely Boy, Adventurous Thief, Searching Burglar, and Habitual Rapist) show a greater variation in motive and behaviour than Simon's (the Lonely Child and Vengeful Suitor). The description of the development of these offending imagoes of self in this study is more nuanced than that provided in previous narrative research using the concept of imago, where development is either not considered to the same degree (McAdams, 1988) or only described in general terms (Athens, 1997).

In contrast with the imagoes of self, imagoes associated with other people are either short lived, as seen in Jacques's more insular narrative, or subsumed into imago(es) associated with his self, as in Simon's case. Development in imagoes associated with others was limited to their becoming either more or less influential (e.g. Simon's Rejecting Woman imago growing more influential; or Jacques Controlling Mother

imago becoming less so), but no changes in the imagoes' characteristics or the behaviours associated with them were seen. Thus this study found that the degree and complexity of an imagoes' development depends on whether it is associated with the participants' self or with another person. The possibility that this is an artefact of the study's design will be considered in chapter 7.

The development of Jacques's and Simon's dominant 'offending' imago of self is worth discussing in more depth. Particularly, seeing (a) how these imagoes arise, (b) the increasingly complex motivations of these imagoes and (c) how they change as the participants enter adulthood, gives a more nuanced perspective than that offered by previous literature.

In relation to (a), the 'offending imagoes' of self arose from similar 'lonely' childhood imagoes. In both case studies their childhood imagoes of self were characterised by loneliness and isolation. These lonely childhood imagoes arose due to interaction between imagoes associated with others, or due to unresolved aspects of the imagoes associated with others. These childhood imagoes of self later developed into, or contributed to the development of, the dominant offending imago of self. These offending imagoes could be seen as coping mechanism for the non-offending and 'lonely' childhood imagoes. This finding lends to support to McAdams' (1993) suggestion that the tone of a person's narrative of childhood sets the tone for their life narrative, and Athen's (1997) and Schultz's (2005) contentions that changes in offender's imagoes are driven by interpersonal interaction. This study's finding that dominant offending imagoes arise due to interpersonal interaction in childhood, and are characterised by loneliness and interpersonal isolation, appears to be novel in the literature of narrative psychology.

In both narratives the dominant offending imago became increasingly complex as it developed (see (b) above). This complexity was mainly associated with the developing motives of this imago. Each development in this imago saw it add to the already established motives. Thus rather than complete changes in motive, the imagoes saw a layering of multiple and interacting motives. This is particularly notable in Jacques' narrative. This lends support to Schultz's (2005) conception of the offender's 'mythic persona' as increasingly complex, however this study describes the

process in greater detail and allies it to a more inclusive understanding of the character and interactions of the imago. This increasingly complex motivation occurred alongside the process mentioned in (c).

In relation to (c), how these dominant imagoes of self change in adulthood, this study found that they became increasingly inflexible, isolated and engrained in behaviour. In both narratives this occurred after adolescence. This was more notable in Jacques's narrative. In both narratives this process meant that the offending imagoes become increasingly dominant in the narrative and resistant to influence from imagoes associated with others. This suggests amendments to both Parkinson's (1999) and Athen's (1997) findings: the dominant imago of offenders are influenced more by interpersonal interaction in youth, and become increasingly inflexible as the offenders' age. In adulthood the imagoes seems very similar to the few, rigid imagoes proposed by Parkinson (1999) and, as she noted in her sample of men who committed murder, Jacques and Simon indeed committed offences against persons who represented their personal concerns.

In this study the process of increasing inflexibility, insularity and dominance was facilitated by separating 'offending' from 'non-offending' imagoes of self. In this way, Jacques and Simon's non-offending imagoes of self (the Passive Man and Good Family Man respectively) facilitate the development and progression of their offences. This was discussed in more detail in section 6.1. This seems to be a novel theoretical insight which may allow for a better tailoring of possibly therapeutic interventions. It also casts some doubt on McAdam's (1993) finding that dialogue between the multiple self-concepts is necessarily healthy. This study is more ambiguous, given that interaction between imagoes in youth gave rise to Jacques' and Simon's dominant offending imago, and interaction between imagoes of self and those associated with others facilitated offending in adulthood.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS, CRITIQUE AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As has been mentioned in the aims of the study (4.1) it was anticipated that this study's exposition would increase our understanding of the motivation and development of those who commit serial murder in South Africa, in a way that could support offender profiling. This will be considered and discussed. Section 7.1 will discuss the contributions this study makes to the literature around narrative theory, serial murder, and offender profiling. Section 7.2 will briefly discuss the implications this study has for narrative research methodology, then assess the extent to which this study meets the criteria for evaluation and validation set out in Chapter 4 (although where relevant this will be mentioned throughout this chapter) The resultant critiques of the study will then be presented in section 7.3. Finally, recommendations for future research to enhance the understanding to serial murder in South Africa, especially from a narrative perspective, will be given in section 7.4.

7.1 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LITERATURE

The main contribution this study makes to the literature is its seemingly being the first that conducts a detailed investigation of serial murder from the perspective of narrative psychology. In particular, it contributes by assessing the role of the narrative concept of imago in the motivation and development of those who commit serial murder. Beyond the novel theoretical contribution this makes, and although this is was not the main aim of this study, these findings will assist in demonstrating the usefulness of the narrative concept of imago to offender profiling, especially in the South African context. As mentioned, the intertwined narratives of serial murder and offender profiling meant that an approach such as narrative psychology, focusing on the offender's interpersonal strategies (Youngs, 2004), may be particularly useful. The potential utility of this study was even more important in light of the need for research into serial murder in South Africa that is useful in criminal investigations. This section will briefly discuss the contributions this research makes to narrative theory and the concept of the imago, the theory of serial murder, and the theory and methods of offender profiling. Given the aims of this study, the first two issues will be given greater emphasis.

7.1.1 Narrative theory and the concept of the imago

The results of this study have a number of implications for research in narrative psychology as a whole, and the theoretical concept of the imago in particular. These will be discussed separately, although in practice it is likely that these categories will overlap. This discussion will particularly refer to the application of narrative psychology to the study of crime.

7.1.1.1 Implications for narrative theory

This study confirmed that a number of narrative theory's fundamental conceptions are applicable in people who commit serial murder in South Africa. It confirms that narrative is relevant in investigating the formation and structuring of the self (Crossley, 2000) in South African serial murderers, as well as how they organised their reality into meaningful wholes (Ricoeur, 1988). Their narratives are explicitly contextual, that is, are shaped by the environment and interpersonal interaction (Maruna, 2004).

With particular reference to the application of narrative theory to those who commit crime, this study confirmed that narrative descriptions allow the researcher to study offending behaviour as experienced by the offender him or herself (Rhodes, 1999), in South Africa. Furthermore, as found in offenders elsewhere, this study confirms that South African offenders have dynamic and constantly evolving self-narratives which allow us to understand their personality, offences, and motives for offending in greater detail (Canter 1994, 2004; Maruna 2001, 2004; Skrapec, 2001). The potential importance of condemnatory scripts in South African offenders' narratives was affirmed (Maruna, 2004). The particular relevance of the narrative in supplying justifications for continued offending (Sykes & Matza, 1957; Maruna, 2004) was also confirmed in this South African sample, and will be discussed further in section 7.2.1.

By affirming the usefulness of the concept of imago in understanding serial murder, this study also helps affirm the usefulness of neutralization theory and social learning narratives of cause (Bandura, 1973; Sykes & Matza, 1957). This study clarifies the link between social influence and individual justifications for offending. Specifically,

it describes more precisely the role of individual justifications for offending, and how these are incorporated into the cognitions of someone who commits serial murder, a gap in motivational models of serial murder (Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002).

This study's finding that the participants' childhoods are important in establishing the basis for the subsequent development of their offending behaviour is notable. This importance had two features. Firstly, their childhood conception of self arose as a result of interaction between, and with, others. Secondly, these participants' child self was characterised as being lonely and isolated and this gave rise to motives that contributed to their offending. As mentioned, these findings chime with diverse enquiries into criminality from a narrative perspective (Athens, 1997; McAdams, 1993; Schultz, 2005). Both these aspects establish links between narrative theory and other branches of psychological enquiry, such as developmental psychology and psychoanalysis. However it should be remembered that unlike, for example, psychoanalytical inquiry, this study re-affirmed the importance of narrative theory's emphasis on the continuing development of the persons' self-concept. As shown, while the motives created in Jacques / Simon's lonely conception of themselves as a youth persist, they are not solely responsible for motivating their offences.

7.1.1.2 Implications for the concept of the imago

This study generated a number of observations around the narrative concept of the imago. These will be discussed with particular reference to the applicability of this concept to the study of crime.

a) Defining the concept of the imago

The imago has been described both as a representation of others (Athens, 1997) and as an idealised perception of the self (Schultz, 2005). As discussed, these positions are not contradictory, since both share the same basic position: that the imago is a fundamentally interpersonal construct shaped by, and influencing how, the individual interacts with others. Thus this study defined an imago as a personified mode of interpersonal interaction.

This study casts further light on this conceptual ambiguity, finding that an imago can either be associated with the self, or with other people. Jacques and Simon displayed imagoes of self and imagoes associated with other people (particularly those in parental roles). It was furthermore shown that an imago associated with another can become associated, even if incompletely, with an imago of self. Thus while this ambiguity in the theoretical concept of the imago remains, it has been clarified and more clearly defined.

Beyond initial definitions, McAdams (1993) proposed eight principles of the imago:

1. The self is composed of personified and idealised internalised images, or imagoes, that are laden with affect.
2. The origins of a particular imago lie in the internalisation of loved (and hated) 'objects' in the person's world.
3. A person's most significant personal relationships are profoundly affected by his or her imagoes.
4. Imagoes are often arranged in the self as dialectical opposites.
5. The synthesis of opposing imagoes is a hallmark of the mature self.
6. Imagoes are superordinate schema for organising and evaluating information about the self.
7. Imagoes specify recurrent behavioural plans.
8. Imagoes give cognitive form to personal goals, fears, and desires.

This study confirmed all of these principles, with three exceptions. Firstly, in relation to the second point, this study did not confirm McAdams' implication that these 'objects' are persons external to the offender's self. This will be discussed more below. Secondly, referring to the fourth point, this study did not find that imagoes are often arranged in the self as dialectical opposites. Rather, they were arranged according to the participant's individual conceptions of his self and others. Finally, and in relation to the fifth point, given the focus of this study it could not confirm whether synthesis of these opposites in the self was equated with greater maturity in the sample.

McAdams (1988) also proposed seven features for identifying an ideal or prototypical imago in interview data. These were: an origin myth; a significant other; associated

personality traits; associated wishes, aspirations, goals, occupational or personal strivings; associated behaviours; consistency with their philosophy of life; and an anti imago. As could be expected on the basis of the above findings, this study tended to support these points as an adequate means for identifying imagoes in South African offenders, with the exception of the last. The only caveat to this is the fact that, in this study, the number of these prototypical features displayed by a specific imago did not correlate clearly with its influence in the narrative or on other imagoes. For example, influential imagoes in Jacques' childhood, the Distant Father and Controlling Mother, displayed few of these proposed features. Thus it is possible that the features McAdams (1988) proposes may primarily describe how detailed the description of an imago is, or its persistence in the narrative.

b) Developing the concept of the imago

This study also contributed to the development of the concept of the imago. Previous theory had tended to imply that a person could either have multiple simple imagoes, or have a single, multifaceted, complex one (Athens, 1997; McAdams, 1988, 1993; Parkinson, 1999; Schultz, 2005). This study showed that an individual may possess *both* simple and complex imagoes. With reference to offenders, in contrast to Schultz's (2005) findings and aspects of Parkinson's (1999), the study showed that offenders can possess a large number of imagoes. To this it added the novel theoretical insight that the dominant imago associated with the offenders' self tends to be the most complex, and develop the most throughout the narrative. This study also described the process by which these imagoes developed throughout the offenders' life narrative in greater detail than previous studies, which tended either to describe this development in very broad terms (Athens, 1997) or regarded the imago as a concept 'fixed' at the time at which the offender committed their crimes (Parkinson, 1999; Schultz, 2005). As discussed previously, previous evidence that multiple and / or complex imagoes reducing stress (Linville, 1985; McAdams, 1988; Watkins, 1986) and thus may lessen the likelihood of offending was not found to be accurate in this study. Rather, this study emphasised that the interaction between imagoes is more important than numbers or the complexity of any individual one.

c) The role of agency and communion in the imagoes of offenders

Building on this understanding, this study casts light on the role played by ‘agency’ and ‘communion’ in the imagoes of those who offend. As discussed, these concepts ask how focused on achievement / dominance or interpersonal interaction (McAdams, 1993) a certain imago is. This study did not find that the participants’ imagoes were exclusively one or the other; nor that a person with imagoes that were low in both communion and agency would be more likely to commit violent crime, as hypothesised on the basis of previous research (Laubscher & Klinger, 1997; Maruna, 2004; McAdams, 1993). This study rather re-emphasised the importance of interactions between imagoes showing different characteristics. For example it showed the importance of interactions between agentic imagoes and communal imagoes (e.g. between Simon’s Vengeful Suitor and the Good Family Man) and between agentic imagoes and those low in both agency and communion (e.g. between the Searching Burglar and the Passive Man). As discussed, as the narrative progressed these interactions usually became less frequent, with less influence on the dominant, agentic, imago of self.

Finally, this study observed a correlation between the participant’s imagoes and their narration of the offences. This unexpected finding will be discussed in the recommendations section, below.

7.1.2 The theory of serial murder

By finding that those who commit serial murder have multiple motives and by analysing their imagoes’ role in relation to these, this study encourages a more dynamic understanding of their motives, highlighting that motive and development are inextricably linked, and overlap. The separation I made in my literature review of serial murder between motive (or ‘reasons for offending’) and development, which was reflected in the narrative inquiry, is shown to be artificial and not to reflect the phenomenon of serial murder accurately.

7.1.2.1 The suitability of certain theories to the study of serial murder

This study has a number of implications for the theory of serial murder. Firstly, it highlights shortcomings of any explanation that cites cause or motive in a single event, disorder, or time span of life. Thus it confirms Carlisle's (1993) comments that medical narratives of cause (Jeffers, 1993; Money, 1990; Norris, 1990), particularly organic and biogenic causes, appear to have less explanatory power. This also suggests that psychiatric labels (as advocated by Schlesinger, 2004, for example) may also not be adequate to understand the developmental complexity of serial murder. This may also have implications for the use of certain theoretical perspectives in the study of serial murder. For example, looking at Jacques' and Simon's narratives, a rigid psychodynamic analysis focusing only on the offender's childhood may correctly highlight the importance of childhood interactions, but would miss the fact that the maladaptive patterns established in childhood imagoes are added to throughout development. While this study did not aim to assess the suitability of psychological theories other than narrative to the study of serial murder, this was an unexpected finding.

7.1.2.2 Support for motivational models of serial murder

Unsurprisingly, given the theoretical orientation of this study, the results support social narratives of cause, posited by authors such as Burgess *et al.*, (1986) and Hickey (2002). This translates into support for the motivational models of serial murder that draw on this narratives' awareness of social and environmental influences on development.

Of the two major motivational models, this study supports Hickey's (2002) 'trauma-control model of the serial murderer' more than Burgess *et al.*'s, (1986) 'motivational model of serial sexual homicide'. This is because Hickey's (2002) model is less dependent on psychodynamic assumptions than Burgess *et al.*'s (1986), describing how the fantasies of a person who commits serial murder may change. It is thus better able to explain this study's findings around the dynamism of motive. This study can add further detail to Hickey's (2002) model by describing exactly how these motives

change and develop due to the interaction between the person's imagoes, and how these changes can reflect development and offence behaviours.

This study's more detailed qualitative contribution can improve the dominant motivational models in a number of ways. This study demonstrated that the more specific definition of an 'imago' is more useful in understanding the motives and development of a serial murderer than the vague definition of 'fantasy' used by the motivational models. While there were variations between Jacques and Simon, this study, unlike either motivational model, also describes the mechanism by which the social environment can effect an individual (by its being internalised as an imago associated with another person), and so begins to overcome the historical assumption that serial murder is necessarily only caused by dysfunction in the offender's psyche. As discussed in section 7.1.1, this also provides support for social learning narratives of cause, and neutralisation theory (Sykes & Matza, 1957).

Finally, this study is concerned with the whole of the offender's life story: from birth to incarceration. This is unlike both Hickey's (2002) and Burgess *et al.*'s (1986) models, which seem focused almost solely on an analysis of the offender's childhood. By treating the offender's development as an ongoing process, this study overcomes these models' inability to explain how offence behaviours may develop and change (Hodgskiss, 2001; Wentink, 2001) or what the offender's development in adulthood may consist of. These models' lack of explanatory power in relation to development reflects a failing in personality trait theories (Canter, 1994; Maruna, 2001). Therefore this study's approach seems to have the developmental focus and dynamism to analyse criminal behaviour more satisfactorily.

7.1.2.3 Limited support for typologies of serial murder

Turning to the various methods used to classify serial murder, this study shows limited support for either of the most widely cited typologies of serial murder: Ressler, Burgess and Douglas's (1993) organised-disorganised classification, or Holmes and DeBurger's (1988) four-fold differentiation between Visionary, Mission, Hedonistic, and Power / control types of serial murderer. Neither Jacques nor Simon clearly shows the proposed offence or personality characteristics of either the

organised or disorganised serial murder (Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1993). Similarly, while both participants in this study show similarities to the ‘Hedonist’ / ‘Power’ categories in Holmes and DeBurger’s (1988) model, they cross and combine categories as they develop. Thus not only do the characteristics proposed in each typology not match, neither shows how motives may develop or how offence behaviours can be the result of a life-long process of development. These observations concur with previous criticisms that these typologies are too rigid and static to adequately account for the dynamism of offender’s behaviour (Canter, 2004; Hodge, 2000; Maruna, 2004). This study does however raise the possibility that the lack of correspondence between the characteristics proposed by the typologies and observed in this study may be due to cultural differences between South African and UK / North American offenders. This has been alluded to in previous research (e.g. Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2004) but this study supplies further evidence of what these cultural differences could consist of.

7.1.2.4 Qualified support for thematic models of serial murder

Hodge’s (2000) thematic model of serial murderers is given qualified support by these findings, with Jacques potentially treating his victims as ‘objects’; while Simon shows elements of treating his victims both as a ‘vehicle’ for his emotions and as a ‘person’ in their own right. This study can also show in more detail how an offender may show elements of various themes in their offences (e.g. how Simon’s simultaneous ‘vehicle’ and ‘person’ focus may be due to the characteristics of the Rejecting Woman imago). This study also supports the contention made by various authors using this thematic approach that serial murderers display more thematically distinct offence behaviours as their series continues (Hodgskiss, 2001; Salfati & Bateman, 2005; Wentink, 2001). It is not clear whether the support this study offers for the thematic perspective may partly be a function of thematic models’ greater flexibility and their sharing this study’s focus on the interpersonal styles of the offenders. This study also demonstrates the inadequacy of elements of previous South African research into serial murder from the thematic perspective. That is, in my previous research (Hodgskiss, 2001) I appear to have assumed that the characteristics of their offences reflect the offenders’ motives. This assumption underpins the model I proposed. This

study has shown that this static understanding of motive is insufficient, and that offence characteristics may not reflect motives in such a simplistic manner.

7.1.2.5 Implications for serial murder in South Africa

Apart from the above, how does this study add to the understanding of serial murder in South Africa? Firstly, it confirms previous research findings (Hickey, 2002; Hodgskiss, 2001) around the importance of external influences and interpersonal interaction in the development of South African serial murder. Furthermore this study proposes the imago as the potential mechanism by which these social and environmental factors come to influence the development of offending. Secondly, this study offers a confirmation of two of the three fundamental and universally accepted findings around serial murder: that serial murder is dynamic, and that this dynamism is underpinned by the meaning structures of the offender. This study also offers some support for the third of these findings (that structured variations exist between different serial murderers offence behaviours and motivations) but given that it did not aim to create a classification system of serial murder, this support is limited.

7.1.2.6 Suggestions of a synthesis between the narratives around serial murder

Using the developmental and life-long perspective offered by narrative, this study ultimately suggests that a synthesis is possible between many of the opposing narratives present in the theory of serial murder: such as the implied separation between aetiology and development; or between various models and typologies. That is, based on Jacques' and Simon's narratives it appears that a number of these conflicting findings may be the result of different researchers focusing on different periods of the offenders' lives, and so finding differing elements to be the most salient. This suggests the possibility that the various competing narratives of serial murder are not mutually exclusive understandings. It suggests that serial murder is a multi-faceted phenomenon, the understanding of which will be fundamentally influenced by the unique individual narrative of the person who committed serial murder, and the narrative supplied by the researcher looking at him / her. This begs the question as to whether, ultimately, more research into serial murder will yield

significantly novel or useful results. This will be addressed in the closing section of this chapter.

7.1.3 The theory and methods of offender profiling

Given the entwined narratives of serial murder and offender profiling, this study used the latter to help provide a theoretical focus. That is, given that an interpersonal and narrative understanding was seen to be useful in generating inferences in offender profiling, it could also be useful to generate new understandings of serial murder. These new understandings could then potentially be applied to offender profiling. This study did not aim to empirically assess the usefulness of the various methodologies proposed for profiling an unknown offender on the basis of their crime seen behaviour. Nor did this study take proving imagoes' utility to offender profiling as a primary aim. Bearing that in mind, this study's findings have a number of implications for offender profiling.

7.1.3.1 The challenges posed to offender profiling by a narrative understanding

First among these is that a narrative understanding, and the narrative concept of the imago in particular, is shown to have potential utility in linking the characteristics of the offences with those of the offender. However this usefulness is lessened by the following factors. This study found that the distinction between 'pre-offence' and 'during offence' narratives / imagoes is not clear-cut. That is, there does not appear to be a sudden change in the narrative which immediately leads to the murders. Rather, this is a more gradual progression. For example, in this study it is notable that the participants' first serious offences (murder in Jacques' case, rape in Simon's) are not entirely consistent, either in characteristics or in relationships to imagoes, with the murders that make up the bulk of the series. This poses a challenge to any methodologies proposed for offender profiling, particularly as it relates to linking cases together. This challenge is added to by this study's findings that the characteristics of both Jacques and Simon's offences change as their series progresses and this change is mirrored in their imagoes (including their motivation for offending). This finding echoes previous literature (e.g. Canter, 1994; Maruna, 2001) with states that a dynamic theoretical framework is needed to create an adequate

account of criminal behaviour. This study suggests that this could equally be applied to methods of offender profiling, in that they would have to be sufficiently dynamic to accommodate changes in both offence and offender characteristics. Any studies aiming to support offender profiling would have to take account of this. For example, in assessing how an offender's characteristics are reflected in their offences it would not be suitable to simply compare the offender's motives before the series with the offences he went on to commit, as the motives may have changed in the meanwhile.

7.1.3.2 The value of a narrative understanding to offender profiling

Notwithstanding the above, the fact that Simon and Jacques's imagoes have been shown to affect their offences, and are thematically consistent with them, suggests that in South Africa case linkage on the basis of imagoes is possible. As discussed, South African research suggests that the content of South African serial murderers' imagoes may bear a relationship to the characteristics of the offence (Hodgskiss, Pistorius & Welman, 2004; Pistorius, 1996). This study was the first to specifically analyse the correlation between imago content, the relationships between imagoes, and offence behaviours. It demonstrated that there are indications of certain imagoes in offence behaviours, and reiterated that the complexity of crimes such as serial murder means there can never be a simplistic correlation between imago and crime, and therefore, imagoes cannot supply a simplistic template for offender profiling. This is shown, for example, in the seemingly fundamentally different motivational orientations between the participants, with Jacques focusing on his self and Simon focusing on others. Perhaps even more pertinently, based on personal experience I feel that the method for analysing the offender's narratives in this study would not be suitable for a 'live' investigation, not only because this study relied on the offender being available to interview, but also because the analytical methodology would be too detailed and time intensive to be used in an ongoing enquiry.

There is however one finding that, if expanded on, could be particularly useful to investigations. This is the abovementioned finding that offence characteristics appear less organised and coherent when the participant's narrative / imagoes were. This could potentially be useful in a 'live' investigation, where a seeming loss of coherence and focus in offences could help identify those that are not given supported by the

offender's imagoes, or show that the offender's imagoes are in crisis. Similarly when an offender is being interviewed, a loss of coherence in their narrative may highlight topics that the interviewer could exploit to gain a confession or, if in a therapeutic context, use to encourage change in the person's maladaptive narratives. However a more systematic comparison between the characteristics of their narratives / imagoes and their offence characteristics is needed to assess whether this pattern is sufficiently reliable.

7.2 METHODOLOGY AND EVALUATION

This section reviews the narrative inquiry undertaken to assess what this study adds to narrative research's methodologies, and to what extent this study meets the criteria for evaluation set in Chapter 4.

7.2.1 Implications for narrative research methodology

This study shows narrative is suitable to study the phenomenon of serial murder and the subjective experience of those who commit it. The research of serial murder can thus be added to Lieblich *et al.*'s (1998) list of areas for which narrative psychology can be useful. Where theorists such as Canter (1994), Hodge (2000) and Youngs (2004) have advocated an interpersonal narrative perspective as a guiding metaphor, this study shows that narrative can also supply the necessary methodology.

Beyond this confirmation, and bearing in mind that this study has all the typical characteristics of narrative psychological research (as proposed by Lieblich *et al.*, 1998 and outlined in Chapter 3), what does this study add to the theory and methods of narrative research? This study affirms that a middle point between the 'postmodern' and 'historical' perspectives on narrative is not only possible but can lead to greater theoretical insight. That is, the study shows that personal subjective narratives are fundamental to an individual's story but still bear some relation to external objective events (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). This study adds to this 'middle point' perspective by demonstrating the ways in which the narrative concept of imago can become the mechanism by which external objective events come to influence a person's subjective narrative, and vice versa. Given that this study was not positioned

on either extreme of the continuum Lieblich *et al.* (1998) drew between holistic versus categorical and content versus form approaches to narrative research, by producing clear findings this study demonstrates that it is possible to adopt such a position without falling prey to the risks fragmented data (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000) or findings that ignore the deeper levels of meaning in the interviews (Wengraf, 2001). The threats to validity inherent in the approach taken by the study will be discussed further in the following section.

Turning to research methods, this study appears to confirm that the analytical and interpretive processes advocated in grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) are suitable for research in narrative psychology. It appears to confirm that the methods of grounded theory are consistent with the theoretical orientation of narrative psychology and can create meaningful and valid insights. Issues in the evaluation of these research findings will be discussed more in the following section.

Beyond the above findings this study does not suggest a 'better' or 'preferred' method for conducting narrative research, nor does it give unequivocal evidence for a path that could be followed through the heterogeneity of research methods associated with narrative psychology (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). However given the postmodern orientation of this study this is neither a shortcoming in the study, nor an aim it had. Suggested directions for future narrative research will be given in the evaluation, critique, and recommendations for this study.

7.2.2 Evaluation of the research

The postmodern orientation of the study means that rather than requiring that valid research findings be those that correspond with objective reality, it treats validation as an issue of choosing between competing interpretations. This study agrees with Rolfe's (2006) finding that the same judgement criteria cannot be used across qualitative methodologies, with each method deserving its own judgement criteria. So this section will assess how well this study meets its own validation criteria, as laid out in Chapter 4.

This study adopted quality of craftsmanship (Kvale, 1996) as its primary source of validation. This required that validation is built into the research process, with the researcher taking action to attain validity (Morse, *et al.*, 2002). This approach to validity is inherent in grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which provides the analytical methodology for this work. Thus this study adopted Corbin and Strauss' (2008) criteria of 'credibility' and 'applicability' to evaluate the quality of its craftsmanship. These criteria incorporate those proffered for the evaluation of narrative research by Lieblich *et al.* (1998).

7.2.2.1 Evaluation of 'credibility', 'width' and 'coherence'

'Credibility' incorporates Lieblich *et al.*'s (1998) criteria of 'width' and 'coherence'. Width requires that the reader is supplied with sufficient data to judge the validity of the study's findings, and place them in context (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). This study meets the requirements laid out by these authors by supplying evidence of how the data was gathered (in this study, chiefly the interviews), the extensiveness of the supporting evidence for the conclusions (in the interview transcriptions), presenting a clear analytical process (described in detail in the narrative inquiry) which supported the interpretations made (as demonstrated in the case studies, and the cross-referencing to the interview transcriptions). This detail should meet the requirements that the reader be able to contextualise the findings.

Coherent research requires the study's findings fit together, that the narrative is well constructed, and fits with existing theory (Bruner, 1991; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). This study appears to meet most of the more detailed requirements for coherent research described by Corbin and Strauss (2008). This study shows 'logic' and 'depth', in that the ideas presented in the case study can be said to flow logically, methodological decisions are sufficiently clear for the reader to decide their appropriateness, and there is sufficient descriptive detail and richness to the findings to make them have an impact on the reader. These requirements could be seen to be met by those measures presented under width, amongst others. Similarly the requirement that the study demonstrates 'variation', that is, it illustrates the complexity of the phenomenon being studied, is shown for example in the discussion of the differences between Jacques and Simon's motives and development, or aspects

of their offences that cannot sufficiently be explained with reference to their imagoes. Demonstrating this variation may however have compromised other aspects of the validation criteria.

While I can make a subjective assessment of the extent to which my study meets the requirements for credibility, coherence and width set in Chapter 4, it could be argued that only the reader of the research can accurately make these evaluations. This potential limitation in the evaluation criteria applies to other measures of validity used here, and is a critique of this study.

7.2.2.2 Evaluation of ‘applicability’, ‘insightfulness’ and ‘parsimony’

The criterion of ‘applicability’ (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) incorporates Lieblich *et al.*’s (1998) criteria of ‘insightfulness’ and ‘parsimony’ in evaluating qualitative research. Drawing its rationale from the intertwined narratives of serial murder and offender profiling, while adopting a theoretical stance that accommodates this and the dynamism of serial murder, this study’s findings meet the requirement of that applicable research be suited to the area from which they are derived. This study further meets the requirements of parsimony and insightfulness by creating findings that are readily understandable and capable of providing fresh theoretical insights into the phenomenon being studied (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The last mentioned is, as Kvale (1996) suggests, a further indicator of validity as quality of craftsmanship. This study could also be said to meet the additional criteria of ‘originality’ (Charmaz, 2006), which is allied to ‘parsimony’. This criterion requires that the findings are presented in a creative or innovative manner, and is met here, since no previous studies have attempted to analyse imagoes in such depth, alongside the narratives of other provided by other data sources.

There are however limitations to this. While this study generated theoretical insights, it is not clear whether these would answer Corbin and Strauss’s (2008) requirement that they are sufficient to bring about change in situations. Similarly, while the study’s results were presented in an understandable format, they length of the case studies and the supporting evidence of the transcripts could hardly be described as parsimonious. This could be considered an inevitable function of grounded theory’s requirements

that the evidence base and analytical method be made manifest, and a criticism of qualitative research generally, but the length of this study would limit its applicability in an investigative setting. This would in turn limit the extent to which these findings can meet the requirement that applicable and valid research resonates with the experience of the professionals for whom the results are intended (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Notwithstanding the above limitation the comparisons already made between this study's findings and the previous literature do suggest there is a level of 'fit' and resonance between them. This strengthens this study's claim to validity in applicability. Furthermore the narrative understanding this study proposes contributes to previous theoretical understandings by suggesting ways in which they can be synthesised. This will be discussing in this chapter's closing section.

7.2.2.3 Evaluation of other aspects of validation in grounded theory

As discussed in Chapter 4, grounded theory suggests a number of additional criteria helpful in evaluating this study's 'quality of craftsmanship'. These will be discussed here. Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggest that research should be evaluated according to how sensitive it was to the participants and to the data. This study's focus on the imago meant the requirement that the researcher let the analysis drive the research, not only impose pre-determined concepts and questions on the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), could not be fully met. This was exacerbated by factors in the administration of the semi-structured interview: the IMAGO interview format often encouraged a rigid focus on certain topics, offence characteristics were perhaps discussed in more detail than needed, and my questioning style consequently could sound interrogatory and insensitive. This may have limited the narratives that the participants recreated in the interview context.

These shortcomings may however have been mitigated by this study's subsequent openness to the meanings inherent in the participant's narratives, and my allowing these to drive the analysis. This is shown by the presence of findings I did not anticipate or which contradicted the terms of the narrative inquiry, for example, showing the artifice of my dividing motivation and development. Through my

attempts to evidence my analytical process and acknowledge my role in creating the meaning in this study, as well as the shortcomings of the study, I believe I have also met Hall and Callery's (2001) requirement that the qualitative researcher needs to be able to evidence self-awareness, as a condition of their producing valuable qualitative research.

7.2.2.4 Summary of validation

The above discussion demonstrates that, overall, this study appears to have met Corbin and Strauss's (2008) criteria of 'credibility' and 'applicability'. The study appears to have yielded credible findings, demonstrating both width and coherence (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). The applicability (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) of the findings is less strong. This is due to slight limits in the 'insightfulness' and 'parsimony' (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998) of the study. These limitations are not however sufficient to undermine the overall quality of the craftsmanship, and thus validity, of the study (Kvale, 1996). Perhaps the most telling challenge to the validity of this study is the inflexibility of the interview technique. The implications of this and the other limitations identified will now be discussed.

7.3 CRITIQUE

The shortcomings of this study will be discussed with reference to the ways in which it did not meet its own evaluation criteria, or how it may have better met its aims within a qualitative and postmodern context. Thus the research will be critiqued on its own terms and debates between the relative validity and utility of competing theoretical stances and epistemologies, which could obscure the merits or otherwise of this study, will be avoided.

7.3.1 Critique of definitions used

Two definitions fundamental to this study, 'serial murderer', and the narrative concept of the 'imago', could be subject to critique. Both these terms, 'serial murderer' in particular, are subject to a number of competing and contradictory definitions.

7.3.1.1 Critique of definition of serial murderer in the study

This study aimed to avoid relying on a specific explanatory framework and system of classification to define serial murder, and so avoid some of the conceptual confusion. This study adapted Geberth's (1996), Egger's (1990), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (2005) definitions to define serial murder as two or more separate acts of murder; occurring at different times in different events; and committed by an individual acting alone or with another. It was consistent with the aim of the study and provided a working definition which can then be elaborated on. However the findings of this study may suggest that by adopting observed characteristics as defining criteria, the study has exacerbated the conceptual confusion (Del Fabbro, 2006). That is, Simon and Jacques show differing patterns in the characteristics of, and interactions, between their imagoes. They therefore differ in terms of their motivation and development, which means this study's definition of serial murder may be categorising them together incorrectly. This critique suggests that a definition focusing more on developmental factors, rather than their behaviour at the end of the criminal career or how many offences within a certain legal category that they committed, would be more illuminating. For example studying offenders who commit acquisitive crime before progressing to sexual crimes, or asking how domestic violence offenders come to commit increasingly violent offences, may be more revealing.

7.3.1.2 Critique of definition of imago in the study

The definition of 'imago' used could also be subject to critique. This study defined an imago as a personified representation of an individual's unique modes of interpersonal interaction. This definition synthesises the two seemingly contradictory definitions of imagoes: as an idealised conception of self (McAdams, 1988) and as a personification of others (Athens, 1997). The findings revealed two potential problems with the study's definition. Firstly the imago could be seen as such a pervasive element of a narrative that it becomes difficult to identify any element of the narrative which is *not* considered part of an imago. However this critique would apply to any research that makes use on the concept of the imago, or similar concepts in narrative research such as mythic character (Laubscher & Klinger, 1997; McAdams, 1993), self-concept

(Parkinson, 1999, Schultz, 2005) and phantom other (Athens, 1997). McAdams (1988) acknowledged in his research that the concept of imago, encompassing a large part of self-narrative in a diffuse manner, is difficult to define. Furthermore, this study demonstrated that adopting the concept of the imago supplied a conceptual focus to the analysis of a narrative which would otherwise be lacking.

A second and more specific problem with the definition of the imago as used in this study is that it could mask the possibility that there are different types of imago: those associated with the participant's self and those associated with others, and that these may play different roles in determining motivation and development. This suggestion would be supported by this study's findings, in that Jacques and Simon attributed different functions to imagoes associated with their selves and those associated with others at different times in their life. By synthesising the two contradictory conceptions of imago, this study may have limited the theoretical insight it created (although whether an imago was associated with self or with others was considered in the analysis). Thus in future research I would propose an imago is defined *either* as an 'imago of the self' *or* an 'imago associated with another'.

7.3.2 Critiques of the construction of the narratives

Criticisms of my interview style and the use of the IMAGO Autobiographical Questionnaire have been discussed already. This section will focus on the limitations imposed on this study's findings by the use of an interview-based method and the analytical process employed.

This study found that imagoes associated with the participant's self were more complex, and developed more, than those associated with other people. This could be a function of the interview situation and how narratives are constructed in that setting. With its focus on the individual and their perceptions in creating their narrative the interview could underplay the significance of others' roles, or their perceptions of others. This could perhaps be seen as a generic risk of any interview research, especially that which adopts this study's phenomenological approach. This risk could be lessened by an interview process which contains more specific prompts to discuss other people and their roles.

The construction of the participant's narratives may also have been affected by the delay between when they committed their crimes and when the interview was held. This delay could mean that the narratives created in this study were less a discussion of what led them to offend (Sykes & Matza, 1957) and merely rationalisations offered by them after the crime (Hindelang, 1970). This is possible because the constant review and re-creation of imagoes means that a time lapse may equate to a change in the imagoes that led to the offences. On the other hand, this time lapse may have given the participants time to reflect and so offer a more considered narrative of their offences. This possibility is supported by this study's finding that both Jacques and Simon expressed development in their motives and behaviours across their lifespan, throughout their series of offences, and after their incarceration. They also discussed offences in which their behaviour was not justified by their imagoes. We could presume these features would not be seen if they merely sought to justify their behaviour. This suggests that a time delay between offence and interview does not fatally undermine the study's findings and has implications for future research.

Finally, the analysis of the interview material could be subject to critique. A single segment of interview material may contain reference to a number of different imagoes which made it difficult to separate various imagoes from one another. This could have meant that my perceptions of the participant, interview, or phenomenon being studied would inordinately affect the imagoes observed and meaning created. This is added to by the possibility that this study's content-oriented methodology neglected certain meanings in the narrative (such as the effect of the structure of the imagoes, or form of the narrative, on the participant's offending). See 7.3.4 for a further discussion of this, and measures that could have lessened the impact.

7.3.3 Critiques on the basis of culture

The roles played by culture in the creation of narratives were not considered when designing and implementing this study. That is, while the study acknowledged that there would likely be differences in the narratives of South African and foreign offenders, it did not consider how culture may impact on the narratives of this sample of South Africans.

The effects of culture on this study are two-fold. Firstly, as discussed, the key structural difference between Jacques' and Simon's narratives could be explained by the fact that they come from different cultures with different linguistic and narrative norms. By not considering this in its sampling procedures, this study opens itself to the critique that the differences observed in their narratives are less a cause / consequence of different developmental paths and more a cultural artefact. Secondly, this study did not consider the potential effect of my culture being different from that of the participants and, in both cases, my not sharing their first language (although only Simon was not interviewed in his first language). This could mean that I was not aware of nuances and meanings in their narratives that someone from the same culture as them would have been.

In my opinion this critique does not mean that the study's findings should be dismissed as the product of cross-cultural variation and misunderstanding. Similarities were found between Jacques and Simon's imagoes, and their imagoes assisted notably in explaining their development and offence behaviours. Neither finding could be explained if culture obstructed all understanding. Furthermore the challenge posed by culture is one which faces much interview research in South Africa, and there is no suggestion in the literature that this challenge has rendered interview research in the development of offending behaviours in Jacques and Simon
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7.3.4 Critique of evaluation criteria aim to be more valid.

This study did not aim to test resonance, or validity, of findings with practitioners or participants. This meant that I was required to make a subjective assessment of the extent to which my study met the evaluation criteria I set. Validation thus depended on my own assessment of the quality of craftsmanship of the study, when it could be argued that only the reader of the research can accurately make these evaluations. This potential limitation in the evaluation criteria applies to other measures of validity used here and is a critique of this study. I should possibly have built in validation with the participant, or checked interpretations formally with a co-researcher. The former would be less possible given the time delay between the administration of the interviews in 2000 and their transcription and analysis in 2008 and 2009. The latter

could have partially been met in the supervisory process for this thesis and in my presentation of the transcripts. It remains however a shortcoming that could be avoided in future research, placing greater emphasis on communicative validity (Kvale, 1996). For example, at least three researchers could study the material and arrive at consensual agreement. The adoption of formal checking of interpretations and validation with a co-researcher could also have avoided the possibility that my perceptions of the participant, interview, or phenomenon being studied would inordinately affect the imagoes observed and meaning created in the analysis as discussed in Section 7.3.2.

7.3.5 Critique of applicability to offender profiling

The findings of this study are not directly applicable to offender profiling because the behavioural template that can be linked to their imagoes is not able to explain all their behaviours during the offences. Similarly the narrative methodology followed here would not, I suggest, be suitable for use in an investigative setting. This is because one would need interview data from the offender (which ones does not routinely have in an investigation), the analytical process employed here would be too detailed for use in ‘live’ investigation, and the length of the completed case study would be difficult to present to an investigative team in an engaging manner. Furthermore, the narrative analysis of serial murder is still an emerging field and so findings would less likely be allowed as legal evidence. This lack of direct applicability could be considered a limitation of this study. However it should be remembered that this study did not aim to be applicable to offender profiling, rather adopting an orientation that would generate insight useful to it. The adoption of this orientation was in recognition of the entwined narratives of serial murder and offender profiling in psychological research. As shall be shown in the following sections, there are elements of this study that may, with further research, come to assist practitioners.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study's narrative inquiry demonstrated that imagoes play a significant role in the motives for, and development of, offending in those who commit serial murder. With reference to motive: the imago creates and embodies motives specifically for offending, with interactions between imagoes creating or strengthening motive. These motives are then embodied in dominant offending imagoes associated with the participant's self. Imagoes contribute to the development of offending behaviour by setting a behavioural template for offences, as well as by encouraging a separation between imagoes involved in offending and those that are not. Notwithstanding this there are a number of differences between the two case studies, for example, in the extent to which imagoes develop in interaction with others, and the roles played by their imagoes in the developmental narrative of their offending. The reasons for the differences and similarities cannot be fully explained. This section will propose work to fill these gaps in understanding, progress the theoretical insights proposed by this study, and to overcome the critiques the study is subject to.

7.4.1 Improvements in research methodology

Before more specific recommendations on directions for future research are given, it is necessary to highlight methodological improvements that I recommend for incorporation in future research into narrative. These improvements will overcome many of the problems with validation in this study, and can thus be considered relevant to all the sections below.

Future research should adopt more formal checking of interpretations and validation with a co-researcher, or with the participant themselves. Similarly, a greater awareness of what information practitioners may find useful should also be build into the research. This future research would thus be better able to answer Corbin and Strauss's (2008) requirement that its findings be sufficient to bring about change in situations. Should this research be interview-based, and specifically from the perspective of narrative psychology, I would recommend that it not use the IMAGO Autobiographical Questionnaire. While this may result in some chronological

structure being lost it could result in an interview that is more sensitive to the emerging narrative and concerns of the participant.

7.4.2 Research into the role of narratives in offending

Narrative research is divided as to the role of an offender's narrative in their offending. Some feel that these narratives 'precede' the offending behaviour and so make it possible (Sykes & Matza, 1957) while others suggest they are merely rationalisations offered by the offender after the crime (Hindelang, 1970). Both perspectives may be valid (Hirschi, 1969) in that when an individual commits an offence their retrospective justification for committing an offence act may facilitate and even encourage further offending (Maruna, 2004), and this study adds to this understanding. By demonstrating that imagoes vary across the participant's life course, and this variation is consistent with the characteristics of their offences (as determined with reference to archival material, which the participants could not adjust to justify their actions) this study favours Sykes and Matza's (1957) explanation, as well as suggesting that Maruna's (2004) proposal may be very valuable in explaining the development of offending. The methodological critiques that can be levelled at this study and the very small sample size mean however that this finding cannot be generalised to all South African serial murderers, let alone all offenders. It is recommended that future research look to test whether this study's finding on the role of the narrative is accurate.

This study also demonstrated that both participants evidenced difficulty in reflecting on and articulating emotions. This difficulty was expressed differently in each narrative, but it may suggest other productive avenues for future research: assessing whether those who commit serial murder routinely experience difficulty in reflecting on or articulating their emotions (a possibility also raised by Labuschagne, 2001), and researching the effects of these difficulties on the creation of their narrative of self. This study did not consider the therapeutic possibilities of a narrative understanding, but such research could also support this endeavour.

7.4.3 Research into the concept and role of the imago

This study suggests a number of research avenues that could be explored in relation to the narrative concept of imago. In relation to McAdam's (1988) proposed seven features for identifying an ideal or prototypical imago in interview data, this study hypothesised that these proposed features may not help in determining how influential or otherwise an imago was. Rather McAdams' (1988) seven features primarily describe how detailed the description of an imago is, or how persistent it was in the narrative. More research on the concept of imago and how it is defined will be required to test this hypothesis, and propose an alternative definition or measure of the imago. Such research could also address the shortcoming in the definition of imago used in the study, and the possibility that there could be different types of imago: those associated with the participant's self, and those associated with others. This research would help clarify this conceptual ambiguity in narrative research using the imago, and help determine if these different 'types' may play different roles in determining motivation and development of offending.

Future research could also consider the correlations observed in this study between the participant's imagoes and their narration of the offences. In particular, it found that their narrative of their offences became less coherent and well structured when their imagoes either did not provide justification for an offence, or had conflicted motives. I am not aware of research that directly addresses the interaction between an offender's justifications for offending, their conceptions of self and others, and their narration of their crimes. Notwithstanding that my lack of awareness is likely due to this interaction being an unexpected finding; the potential therapeutic and investigative applications make it worthy of further investigation. Such research could also encourage, in offender profiling, better case linkage through the use of the concept of the imago.

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, this study cannot state why there are differences in the roles played by Jacques and Simon imagoes. Further research is needed to test the possible explanations for this. Do these differences reflect fundamentally different developmental paths or different motivational orientations? Or are they merely different emphases on similar pathways? If the latter, this would

suggest not only that there are commonalities in development between people of different cultures who commit serial murder, but also that an individual's nuances of expression need to be researched further to determine the extent to which it effects our understandings of their developmental narrative. This research could also help synthesise the various competing narratives of serial murder by demonstrating why some research finds aetiologies and single fundamental causes more important (e.g. Norris, 1990; Pistorius, 1996; Schlesinger, 2004) while others emphasise the process of development, and motivational models, more (e.g. Burgess *et al.*, 1986; Hickey, 2002).

In addressing the above issues future research could also consider a novel insight of this study: that non-offending imagoes of self can facilitate the development and progression of offences by their interaction in youth giving rise to the dominant offending imago (often as a coping mechanism) and later by their enforcing their separateness from offending imagoes. This future research focusing in more detail on the interaction between imagoes, both offending and non-offending, could also support better therapeutic interventions. The possibility of therapeutic interventions with people who commit serial murders is frequently dismissed (e.g. Pistorius, 2002) but this study suggests that this may be worthy of further investigation.

7.4.4 Research into the role of culture in narratives and offending

This study demonstrated that cultural factors may be relevant in the construction of narratives and in the development of offending, even though culture was not considered when designing and implementing this study. Thus more research is needed to assess the extent of cultural effects. This research could make systematic cross-cultural comparisons between the individual's narratives, and between the narratives of South Africans from different cultural groups who commit serial murder. This research could use either a random sample of offenders, or a purposive sample of offenders who display particular developmental and behavioural patterns in their offending, to yield greater insight. Such a cross-cultural study could also make a valuable contribution in delineating more clearly what the culturally-determined differences are between South African serial murderers and those from elsewhere in the world.

7.4.5 The future of the study of serial murder

Serial murder has attracted an inordinate amount of research and media interest (Hodge, 2000; Holmes & Holmes, 1998). Both locally and abroad it has been researched from a diverse range of theoretical perspectives by practitioners from a range of fields (e.g. Arndt, *et al.*, 2004, Burgess *et al.*, 1986 ; Canter, 1994; Canter *et al.*, 2004; Canter & Wentink, 2004; Federal Bureau of Investigations, 2005; Francis *et al.*, 2004; Hickey, 2002; Hodge, 2000; Hodgskiss, 2001; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Labuschagne, 2001; Pakhomou, 2004; Ressler *et al.*, 1988; Salfati & Bateman, 2005; Silva, Leong & Ferrari, 2004). Despite this there does not appear to be any closure, any suggestion that saturation has been reached, or any acknowledgement of what theoretical perspectives have allowed greater insight. This study's findings suggest the possibility that the various competing narratives of serial murder are not mutually exclusive understandings. This leads to the question of whether more research into serial murder will yield significantly novel or useful results. This emphasises an unacknowledged narrative in the study of serial murder: 'where now'? This study proposes an answer.

This study found that motive needs to be considered as dynamic, and inextricably linked to development. By highlighting the importance of a developmental perspective and the inadequacy of static typologies or theoretical perspectives that site cause as being a single event of period of life, this study suggests that the category of 'serial murderer' is not adequate. While this is not a novel observation, this study does show that classifying an offender by the end result of their offending (e.g. committing three murders and so being labelled a 'serial murderer') may be less pertinent than the developmental pathway that they followed to arrive there. Thus investigating the developmental pathways of people who go on to commit serial murder may yield the most helpful new insights. This has already been proposed as a more insightful and useful way of looking at criminal behaviour than traditional approaches Francis, *et al.*, 2004; Wright, *et al.*, 2008).

Such developmental research could also explore this study's findings that offence characteristics may not reflect motives in a simplistic manner, in greater depth. This would have greater applicability in the investigation and offender profiling of those

who commit serial murder. The developmental perspective also raises the possibility of therapeutic interventions with persons who may be becoming increasingly involved in offending, or even therapeutic interventions with those who have committed serial murder. The possibility of therapy for serial murderers has been dismissed previously but if, as this study suggests, the category of ‘serial murderers’ is inadequate and becoming a ‘serial murderer’ is a matter of development rather than predestination, then no person need be dismissed as beyond recovery or redemption.

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APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

The left hand column contains the reference number for that segment of the interview. These are referred to in Chapter 5. The right hand column contains the transcription.

Transcription of interview with Simon Mandlenkosi

1	<p>[Starts after introduction to research]</p> <p>BH: What's your birthday?</p> <p>SM: 6th June 1968.</p> <p>BH: OK, you were married, yes?</p> <p>SM: Yes</p> <p>BH: Are you still married?</p> <p>SM: No.</p> <p>BH:... What standard did you achieve at school?</p> <p>SM: I got a matric and an N4 [electrician's vocational qualification].</p> <p>BH: What did you want to be in your life?</p> <p>SM: Church minister</p> <p>BH: Church minister, oh yes, your brother was a church minister.</p> <p>SM: [affirmative noise]</p>
2	<p>BH: What age did you go to school at?</p> <p>SM: Age 6.</p> <p>BH: Did you ever have to repeat any grades?</p> <p>SM: No.</p> <p>BH: Just went straight through.</p> <p>SM: Straight through... I skipped class maybe six or seven times....not that much.</p> <p>BH: So you were quite good at school.</p> <p>SM: Let's say I was really really better [mutual laughter]</p> <p>BH: So did you get on well with the teachers?</p> <p>SM: Yes, well.</p> <p>BH: So you didn't have any problems with them.</p>



SM: I had problems only with one teacher. I didn't like maths...

BH: How many brothers and sisters do you have?

SM: Four brothers...and four sisters.

BH: Big family hey?

SM: A big family.

BH: Where were you? How many were older and how many were younger [than you]?

SM:...I am the last one.

BH:.. How much older is the oldest brother than you?

SM: 45. My oldest brother was 45. When he passed away.

BH: He's the minister.

SM: Ja.

BH: How old are the other ones?

SM: My brother is 42 and my sister is 40...and my sister who is 38, and my other one who is 27...

BH: Are you still in contact with them?

SM: Yes.

BH: Are you a close family?

SM: Yes, we are a very close family.

BH: Did you get along well when you were young?

SM: Yes.

BH:... So you had one brother 45, one brother 42, sister 40, sister 38, sister 37. Is that your whole family?

SM: And there's my other sister, who is 28.

BH: So she's younger than you, is she?

SM: Yes, but, how can I put it, she is not part of the family. My mother took her from somewhere else, but I call her my sister.

BH: Was she always there?

SM: Yes.

BH: Who did you live with for most of your childhood?

SM: My brother who was the minister.

BH: So did he take care of you?

SM: Yes.

3

4



BH: Was he the one you looked up to as your father?

SM: Yes.

BH: Was he always there?

SM: He was always there for me.

BH: So you were very close to him.

SM: Yes

BH: Did you get along well with him?

SM: [pause] All I can say is, he was my role model. I wanted to be what he was.

BH: Oh ja, he was a minister.

SM: Ja

BH: What is it about him that you wanted to be?

SM: He was good with his hands, he could fix anything. So most of the time I would help him when he was fixing his car, or something else. So that's why I took up electricity [i.e. became an electrician]. Because he was good with his hands, so I wanted to be good also.

BH: And what sort of person was he?

SM: Uh... [appeared not to understand]

BH: Oh [stammers]...What emotions would you say he had, when you thought of him?

SM: He was very, he was calm and quiet sometimes. Even if he was hurt he was not the kind of person who would show that he was hurt. He would hide his feelings.

BH: And did you want to be like that?

SM: I was born like that. Maybe I was like him [laughs].

BH: Do you think your brother was a strong man? Not just physically, but in his spirit?

SM: He was clever.

BH: And how clever are you, do you think?

SM: My brother was the kind of person who, for him, it was not difficult for him to solve a problem, like a medical problem. So, to me, I couldn't compare him to somebody else. I put him in a higher place to other people. Maybe because he was my brother, I don't know [laughs].

5

BH: I understand your parents died when you were young. How old were you?

SM: My mother died when I was 10 years old, and my father, 12, when I was 12.

BH: And do you remember lots about them?

SM: [very quiet] Yes.

BH: Were you sad when they died?

SM: [pause] Eeh, it's funny. When my mother died and my father died I can't say I was sad. I was only sad when my sister and my brother died. But when my parents died, I didn't even cry. Then I took it, if it was that particular person's time to die, then that particular person must die. Maybe it's not because I wanted my parents to die, maybe, it, let me say that maybe it is because I was not so close to my parents. Like I was close to my brother, and to my sister. I spent most of my time with my brother...

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BH: So when your parents died, it wasn't such a big loss. But when your brother died, then it was.

SM: Yes.

BH: How did it feel when he died?

SM: I was angry. When my brother died I was angry. I was angry with myself, I was angry with God, I was even angrier with his wife.

BH: What was his wife, was that Nandi?

SM: Nandi

BH: What did she do?

SM: [pause] Nandi was my brother's second wife. My brother had an extramarital affair. Nandi fell pregnant. So my brother had to leave his first wife, for Nandi.

BH: Oh ja.

SM: So that's why I'm saying, I was very angry.

BH: So did it affect your brother's position as a minister?

SM: It affected him, because he was suspended from his church. He had to go to another church...so it affected him. Sometimes he would drink.

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BH: OK, did you ever drink?

SM: [long pause] I did drink. Maybe five or six times... I drank a lot, maybe those five or six times, but I never got drunk [laughs].

BH: So you drank a lot but never got drunk. So you didn't see the point.

SM: [laughs] I didn't see the point. You could say I was just wasting time. I bought drink but I didn't get drunk. You could say it was a waste, because liquor did nothing to me...

BH: Did you ever use drugs, like dagga or mandrax?

SM: I hate them... I never used them.

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BH: There was something I wanted to ask about your brother... oh, you know Nandi. What sort of person would you describe her as?

SM: [long pause, quietly] I don't know.

BH: Would you say she was a bad person or a good person? You said you were angry with her

SM: [pause] I can't say she was a bad person. But she is different, you see.

The only thing that bothered to Nandi is money. For her, if she can get money to her, to her, that's life to her. She's that kind of person, but not bad as such...

BH: Did you have problems with her, did you argue a lot?

SM: [pause] We never argued, but when my brother passed away, I told her what was inside me then. I was very angry. And I showed her that I was angry. I said all the things I wanted to say to her that day, that I hadn't said before from 1989 to 1997.

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BH: Ja, A long time, ja.

SM: It's a long time. And then my sister tried to reconcile us. I went to live with her [Nandi] maybe for a period of 8 months. Then, there was trouble again.

BH: Ok, so you lived at Nandi's house for a while. Did she turn people against you?

SM: [silence]

BH: Do you think. What do you think?

SM: Yes [emphatic. Then pause]. I cannot say she turned all the people against me. She turned Portia, and Stella. I won't say all the people, because even if she turned other people against me, they didn't show it.

BH: You were angry with those people? When they were turned against you? Or were you more angry with Nandi?

SM: I was more angry with Nandi. Not with them as such. [soft voice] I was angry with Nandi, I was very angry with her.

BH: Did Nandi get in the way of you becoming a minister?

SM: [Very quiet tone] Yes.

BH: Did she [sympathetic tone, affirming response].

SM: [sighs] I can't say so. She wanted me to be there. I won't lie, she didn't get in my way of becoming a minister. There were certain things she helped me with, in this 8 months I lived with her. Because things didn't go back from the start, maybe we had a good situation for the first two, three months. And...

BH: It started going back [i.e. deteriorating, 'back to where the bad condition their relationship used to be in']

SM: It started going back. Maybe she, she had the memories of all the stuff, of the things I said to her, and things had to go back again. No she didn't, she, she wanted me to be a minister.

BH: Did anyone get in the way of you becoming a minister?

SM: The church constitution, the constitution of the church. It was the only thing that got in my way.

BH: What was it about the constitution? What did it say?

SM: Firstly, in the church, there are steps, you must go according to the steps. You cannot pass one step, you have to go from the beginning to the end. But the problem is this, I did go according to those steps. But, [pause] sometimes I think maybe just because there were no; in that church, I didn't have a friend, as it was just me alone, or someone to stand by me, to fight for me. Because at the church there are certain things, you have to fight to become what you want, you see. So I had problems with the church. They didn't take me seriously...

BH: So you were angry with them?

SM: I was angry with God, and with the church.

BH: How did this feel, where did you feel it, this anger?

SM: [pause] I, I wanted to leave the church. I wanted to go and do

something else, stay away from the church, have nothing to do with the people, have nothing to do with the church minister, I wanted to just, I wanted to be something different from what I had wanted to be. But things didn't go that way.

BH: What other things would you have liked to be?

SM: I would have liked, I have something, I wanted to be a psychologist. Maybe it's to try help other people, all that. To be a marriage counsellor, to help people, that's what I wanted to be.

BH: To help people, in all your careers.

SM: Ja.

BH: Ja, who was it, was it one of the ministers who stood in your way, who didn't take you seriously?

SM: No, it was not the minister, it was the church elders. The minister cannot overrule the decision of the church elders...

[INAUDIBLE]

BH:...And the other ones, was that you...

SM: [pause, laugh, sigh] No I, I did kill them [falls into silence].

BH: I was asking you straight, because I would rather be honest. We'll come back to it later. We can talk about it now or come back to it later, which would you prefer?

SM: Come back to it later.

BH: Do you want to talk about when you were growing up?

SM: Anything you want to talk about.

BH: OK. When you were young, who taught you to go to the toilet, dress yourself?

SM: My sister.

BH: Was that the sister that died.

SM: No she is still alive.

BH: And who did you see as, the father figure in your life. That was your brother, is that correct?

SM: Yes

BH: And who was the mother figure?



SM: My sister.

BH: So you were almost brought up by your brother's and sisters, OK. You were very close them.

SM: Yes.

BH: Did you ever have any problems, between you and your brothers and sisters? Fight with them?

SM: No I cannot say it was fights, anything that can happen to children, quarrel and that and then it's gone to tomorrow. I wouldn't say fight.

BH: Did they hit you a lot, no?

SM: The person who hit me was my mother, she was very strict [laughs]

BH: What would she hit you for?

SM: Sometimes I would skip school, go hide in the bushes just because I didn't want to go to school.

BH: Ja.

SM: So she was very very strict. She would let us sleep, if we had done something wrong, she wouldn't come to us straight during the day. She would wait until we were going to bed and when we were sleeping she would hit us.

BH: What would she hit you with?

SM: A belt.

BH: Would she call you bad things?

SM: No, my mother was a very lovely person. I loved her, I loved her. I wouldn't. I wouldn't say today what she did was abuse. No, I wouldn't say that.

BH: It was not that sore.

SM: No, it was not that sore. She would hit you now, and then it would be her that would console you were there was a problem. So she was not bad. Very strict.

BH: Was it the same with your father?

SM: My father was not like her. Instead of us running to our mother if we had a problem, we would go to our father. He would never hit us.

BH: So at home, your mother was strong, the strict one.

SM: She was very strict.

BH: What was your father like?

SM: My father drank, but he was not that kind of a person when he was drunk [INAUDIBLE, possibly 'the kind of person who said'] at home, he wouldn't have time, like today's it's Friday, must go to drink or wouldn't be able to sleep and all that stuff. He was not like that. He was a very loving person, and I loved him.

BH: So you really loved your family.

SM: I loved my family. Nothing would desert from them.

BH: So would you say you had a very good childhood?

SM: Yes.

BH: It was nice.

SM: It was nice.

BH: What's your earliest memory? Think back as far as you can what can you remember?

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SM: I don't understand what you mean.

BH: Like your memories from when you were a child, before the age of 6, before you went to school. What do you remember? Can be a good thing, can be a bad thing.

SM: No, what I remember it was not before I went to school, it is when I, during my school days. June 1976. I can remember everything about that. Yes I was young, but things happened, and so, so I can say 'this and this happened during that time', because I remember what happened. That is my earliest memory.

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BH: So what happened?

SM: [pause] What I remember about June '76 it was a, like everyone knows, there was an uprising and we had to go out of school, to leave schools, all that stuff, our family members harassed, things like that. That's what I can remember.

BH: Where were you staying?

SM: In Pedi.

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BH: Did you spend your whole life in the same place?

SM: Like, I won't say I spent my whole life in the one place. My sisters stayed in East London, and my brother stayed in Pedi, but a little far from

our home. So, for, I, [searching for words] there were people in East London and the other people in Pedi, so I was kind of rotating between family members.

BH: [laughs]

SM: So I didn't stay at one place long. It would be a day here, tomorrow there, the other day home.

BH: So would it be one day, one day, one day, all at different places.

SM: No, I would stay long at home... what I can say is that I spent most of the weekends I didn't spend at home. I would stay at my brother's, at my sister's. School days I would have to spend at home, because school was near to my home. But weekend and holidays, I didn't stay at home.

BH: Did you have lots of friends at school?

SM: [pause] Friends, that's something I can never [inaudible]. I liked to be myself, I liked to be by myself.

BH: Yeah.

SM: What I can say is that I developed late, you see. I really did something like you see. Other boys, they started doing things, smoking and having girls, at the age of 13, 14. But I liked to play, just play alone, doing wire cars and all that stuff. So I developed late. Maybe I developed after 17 years then I started to have a friend then, you see. But my best friend, was my brother, my older brother. And then my sister's son, we regarded each other as best friends, and right now, we are friends.

BH: So you have your sister's son, then was it your oldest brother or the brother just above you?

SM: It's the brother just above me.

BH: So your oldest brother is the father figures and the brother just above you is your best friend.

SM: Ja.

BH: So you say you like being on your own, were you often lonely?

SM: I can't say I was lonely. I won't say I was lonely. But, at the same time, to me, it was the best thing.

BH: It felt nice for you.

SM: It felt nice for me, and I liked it, to be at home, in the yard.

BH: So it wasn't that you were lonely, you just weren't interested in other people.

SM: Ja.

BH: When you were growing up, who was your favourite parent?

SM: I liked my father more.

BH: What made you like him more?

SM: The thing was this my father got sick when I was still young, so he had to leave work [inaudible]. So most of the time my mother was working. So I was always with my father, so that's way it is easier for me to know him.

When we were going to school, he would wake up early, he was playing the role of the mother. That's why, I don't say I like him most, but I was with him most of the time. That's what made me closer to him

BH: And after they died, who did you see as your parents.

SM: My sister and my brother.

BH: The oldest ones?

SM: The oldest ones.

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BH: When you were growing up, when you were very young, did you ever have nightmares?

SM: [pause] No.

BH: What dreams did you have, can you remember any dreams from when you were small?

SM: No, none. I alone didn't have nightmares, But I my brother, the one just above me, he would wake up. He walked, in his sleep. So, to me I took it is my duty not to sleep a lot because I was afraid maybe he was going to get lost. So I only sleep a little bit just to make sure that; I was so lucky that, each and every time he started to walk I was awake then. I took that as a nightmare, because I was afraid what if he would get lost. What if he goes somewhere we would never find him again?

BH: So you felt very responsible for your brother...How long did this goes on for, that you didn't sleep very much?

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SM: Maybe it was for a period of two to three years, then I had to go, I had to leave East London... to go to the Transvaal, to live with my brother.

BH: And why did you have to leave, to go to the Transvaal?

SM: At home, they said I was, how can I put it? I started to hate school, I didn't want to go. So my sister said that the only way that I can go to school is that they take, that they send me, straight to my brother. In Transvaal. They knew I was afraid of him, my oldest brother. And I wouldn't do anything, any funny tricks when I was with him. So for a period of two years I was in Transvaal, I was with my brother.

BH: Did that work? Did you go to school more?

SM: It changed everything yes, I go to school more.

BH: Ja. Why did you hate going to school, what was it about school that made you hate doing there?

SM: Even today, I can not explain why. I just hated school. But I wouldn't say the teachers were strict, or the punishment at school, I was just lazy [mutual laughter].

BH: So you didn't like school.

SM: I didn't like school.

BH: Was it the people, or was it the work?

SM: Maybe it was the work, the school work. Maybe I didn't like the school work.

BH: And how did that change when you were with your brother?

SM: There's one thing I'm sure of, I'm not stupid, I'm just lazy. When I do something, I'll do it properly. So everything changed, I started to like school, do my homework, all that stuff. I think changing the environment, it changed everything, everything changed. I was with other people who didn't know me, and I was happy where I was. So I started to go to school again, I didn't have any problems again, of going to school.

BH: What marks did you get, when you were at school? Before and after the change.

SM: At least, I had something like, I would never pass with lower than 60%.

BH: So you were quite good.

SM: Yes. I was quite good, I was better, not bad [laughs]

BH: What age did you go up to Transvaal? What age were you then?

SM: I was 13.

BH: So that was for high school did you go up.

SM: Ja.

I stayed two years in the Transvaal, then after two years I came back to this high school [in Pedi].

BH: Did it change when you moved back down from the Transvaal?

SM: It changed right back.

BH: Did it?

SM: Ja.

BH: What changed?

SM: I started to have the same problems that I had before. I started to get lazy. Maybe the problem's here in East London, I don't know.

BH: Describe those problems more, if you can. You say you got lazy, what else, what things did you do?

SM: Oh, I would dodge school for days. I would take my books, shove them somewhere, take a long walk, come back when it is time to go home. Now I was bigger and there was no need for me to go and hide my books. If I woke up and that day I didn't feel like going to school, I would just sit at home and do nothing, you see.

BH: So you weren't really interested in school.

SM: Yes.

22 BH: How many days of school would you miss in a year, because of this?

SM: Maybe in a year, I would miss twenty days. Something that made me miss school a lot was the maths teacher. He was good at maths for himself but not for me. He couldn't teach it to me, that's what I believe, he's good for himself, but teaching other people he was not good at that. So after that, I changed from maths and took general history. I started liking school again.

BH: So it was mainly the maths teacher. Was he strict?

SM: He was not strict as such, but I didn't understand him. My problems, I think that is the problem.

BH: How did it feel for you, that not understanding.

SM: I was a little bit embarrassed. He would teach us, then give us some work to do, and I find I didn't understand what he said, I would fail. Then other people, the girls and boys, to me, that was very embarrassing.

- BH: What, failing and no one else was.
- SM: Failing and no one else was. That's why, that made me, hate school.
- BH: How do you get on with the other prisoners hey?
- SM: I get along very well, I mean, I like to joke, so some of them they don't understand me. If make a joke once or twice and find out they didn't like it, I apologise, and stop making jokes.
- BH: What sort of jokes are your favourite? [mutual laughter]. Tell me a joke [further laughter]. No, you just like making jokes, they are fun
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- SM: No, I like making jokes. At home they miss me, because, when I'm at home, you can see I'm at home. Everyone will be happy and all that, so I like making jokes. Like [with] my brother's children, Nandi's children, that's why we like [inaudible]. Between children I can be like a child, between older people I become old, so I can adjust myself to any situation.
- BH: Which do you feel most comfortable in?
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- SM: [pause] I feel comfortably, when, when I, maybe there is a problem, or there is something [inaudible words] whether it is child talk or talk about older people, I like it when we have a discussion, I know I am giving more points than them, or stronger points than even them. That makes me proud. I like defeating other people. I like to be a winner.
- BH: You like being on top.
- SM: I like being on top.
- BH: Ja, so for you, that's the nicest part.
- SM: That's the nicest part, to me, that's the nicest part.
- BH: Ja, is that what you like about home? Or is that the part you like most about when you are at home, the discussion?
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- SM: At home I like making jokes. To us, when you come to home, to my parents house you will see me, and there 7, 8 people sitting there, you wouldn't know, unless you know, that these are brothers and sisters. When we talk, making jokes and having fun, you wouldn't know that these are brothers and sisters. We would be surprised, what type of family, it is a close family. A very very close family you see. So I like to be on top, you see, and I like helping other people. I like to help other people.
- BH: Is that what you would have liked to do for your life's work?

SM: Ja.

BH: When did you first learn about sex, and boys and girls?

SM: [pause] I learned about sex when I was at the age of 15, 16.

BH: Did anyone teach you, or did anyone tell you, or did you just find out?

SM: My first experience of sex was when I was at school, there was this young girl who was sitting in my class [inaudible words] I like to sit at the front, she was at the back. One day she borrowed a book from me, and when she brung [sic] it back it, this book was open. And she said to me, when I come home I must turn to the second page, in the middle of the book, you see, there is a homework that she wanted to give me, and when I come to school in the morning I must speak to hear about it... So when I came home, I forgot about my book, the homework she had asked me. So when I went to shop she saw me again, and she asked me whether I saw, and I said no, so she said 'no man, go check in the book.' When I came back from [inaudible] I checked in the book and there was this piece of paper, she said 'I love you' [laughs] I was so surprised, I didn't know what to do, what do you do with a girl when she says that she loves you. Or how I am going to do that. So I went to look, there was this guy, who lived [inaudible words] I went to look for this guy, and I asked him, look at what this note, but I didn't tell him where this note came from. I he told me write your own note, and put it back in the book and give it to her. I did this, and that was my first girlfriend [mutual laughter]...

BH: And how did it feel, getting a girlfriend?

SM: I'd say it was I would say it was just a waste of time, I didn't know what to do with a girlfriend. I didn't talk to her personally straight, I didn't have discussion, I would write her a letter, she would also write me a letter. We didn't sit down maybe and have discussions; it was just a child affair.

BH: Would you say it was very important to you, or not so important?

SM: To me, it made no difference. I didn't have time for girls.

BH: So it didn't really matter all that much to you.

SM: Mmm [affirmative noise].

BH: And when did you first find out about sex, actual sex?

SM: The first [laugh] it was here in East London. There was this, I proposed to her, maybe I was 18, 19. I proposed to this girl. OK she, she accepted my proposal and came after, and we would see each other during the day. That, that was even my first kiss, we kissed, that was, she was the one you taught me, who taught me how to kiss. Now when, thinking of it now, she was more experienced than I was, because she learned a lot from somewhere [laughs]. And then one night, we, we, were together. It was winter, half past 6, 7. We were standing at the street corner. Her father was a very strict father [mutual laugh]. And then, she went home, her father wanted to hit her. Her father told her to go back where she came from. And I was sleeping at home, I was in bed about 8 o'clock. I heard this knock on the door, I didn't go to answer, and then my sister went to the door and then I heard she was talking to someone but I didn't recognise the voice, and then she came back to me and said 'look, Sweetie is here', I said 'who?' she said 'Sweetie' and I asked 'what is she doing here at this time of the night?' She said her father had chased her away and we had to do something, and I said 'what do you mean I have to do something? Like go to her house or something?' and she [sister] said 'no, you can give her a place to sleep'. That, she's the one who taught me the first. That night. You see [incident is narrated in humorous tone, can hear Simon is smiling]. Then I started to enjoy it and, even now, I like girls. From that day, maybe, sex, is the nicest thing I've ever had. Even now, sex is important to me.

BH: Do you have a lot of girlfriends? Or lovers?

SM: Yes.

BH: How many relationships do you think you've had with woman?

Like, how many lovers have you had?

SM: 'Til now?

BH: 'Til now, ja.

SM: Last week I was sitting on my bed, I was trying to count also.

The problem is that I was diagnosed as HIV positive, I was trying to count how many girls I have had, so maybe [i.e. working out] 'where

did I get this?' I came to, the total, maybe I had 10 or 12 relationships, but I am telling the truth, I had sex with more than 50 something girls. So that's I [laugh] I was asking myself 'where did I get this?' I was counting all the girls I had sex with...

BH: It could have been anyone one of them.

SM: It could have been any one of them...

BH: When did you find out you were HIV positive?

SM: 1997.

BH: When you came to prison?

SM: Before I came to prison.

BH: Do you find out, when you were on trial?

SM: [quiet voice] Before everything happened. Early 1997.

BH: How did that make you feel?

SM: [serious tone, quiet] I was angry [long pause] It made me really, really angry, that one. Ja. Because at home there was, the was a time at home when I tried, I believed, I was the breadwinner because I lived at home, with my two brothers and one sister. I was the electrician so I had to see that there was food on the table and all that stuff. So I was angry, I didn't want to accept it.

BH: Ja, was it very hard for you?

SM: [very quiet] Ja. It was hard for me to. I told myself, I said to myself, it cannot happen. It cannot happen to me. I was that kind of a person: HIV is for certain people, for me, it's not going to happen to me, you see, I'm not going to be HIV positive, that's what I thought. But when it happened, I couldn't believe it, I could not accept it. I had to be strong, not for myself, but for my family's sake I must be strong. Even here in prison, we have, we want to form a group of us. For me, I can be strong for other people, it's not going to change. This thing is not going to go away, now, I have to accept it. It's not going to change.

BH: And what happened, you felt angry, you said. What did you do when you were angry?

SM: [pause] I wanted to ask my wife first, but it can't be her. To be

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honest, she was very straight. She straight, and she's strict, and she doesn't do funny things. I said 'it can't be my wife' [pause, stutters]. I wanted to, I just, if God had shown me the person who had infected me, you see to do something to revenge, on that person, to whom, I never knew who infected me, or how, or when I was infected.

BH: Ja. Do you think all these things happened because you were infected?

SM: [long pause, quiet voice] I don't know.

BH: When you had sex with woman, did you just have normal sex?

SM: I like to experiment with things. If you have seen a blue movie, I sort of do those kinds of things, anything.

BH: What sort of things? Give some examples [mutual laughter]

SM: I do everything, oral sex and all that...she doing the same thing to me and all that stuff...I don't do anal sex.

BH: Did you ever tie them up?

SM: No... never had problem keeping hard...[appears to have misunderstood question]

BH: Did you like to keep pornography, like a blue movie.

SM: I like looking at those, pornography, buying those books.

BH: Did you, have like a collection of books?

SM: No, I didn't keep them. Due to, I sort of hide these sort of things from my family. I didn't want them to know me as a person who liked funny things about that stuff. If I borrowed a cassette, then I put it where someone wasn't going to see. And if I got a book then I would look at it and then get rid of it, you see.

BH: So you would sort of, buy the things and then hide them away, same with the videos.

SM: Ja.

BH: And how many videos do you think you bought, over the years?

SM: [pause] I, I, no started buying the videos at late '96, I decided. I had 8 or 9 videos.

BH: And books, did you have lots more?

SM: I have lots of books, because I had a girlfriend who worked at a

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place in Bisho, it was open first '97, where they sell books and all that stuff, she worked there, so I would get books and all that stuff. And then I would look at the book, and when I was finished I would take it back to her.

BH: So she worked in a sex shop?

SM: Ja, it was a sex shop.

BH: Oh, OK. Did you visit the sex shop often?

SM: Yes.

BH: Did you like it?

SM: [pause] I had to [mutual laughter]. I had no choice, she worked there, I had to like it [mutual laughter]

BH: Did you ever go to stripper clubs?

SM: Eeeh, yes, I went to a stripper club. When I was counting these girls, then I remained at the one name, the one that I circled, I believed that maybe she was the one who infected me. She is from Cairo... I met her from this second white guy, my friend, Phil... we didn't know that she was a prostitute. There came this day Phil said I must accompany him to her. There was this place there [inaudible] when you pass this [inaudible] it's there, on your left. We went there. [sad tone] I was surprised she was stripping, doing all those things. To me, she said she was working.

BH: Was she beautiful?

SM: [pause] She was very much, very beautiful.

BH: Did you go to other prostitutes?

SM: I like prostitutes.

BH: So you went there quite often.

SM: I went there quite often.

BH: Would you have different sorts of sex with them, from what you'd have with women you were in a relationship with?

SM: [quiet] Yes.

BH: What would you do, to a prostitute?

SM: The kind of sex that I, the things I have done, I learnt them from these guys, from these prostitutes [refers to sexual techniques].

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BH: So you didn't have any problems with sex, getting it up?

SM: No...

BH: Did you ever have to hurt someone, before you could come?

SM: No...

BH: Did you masturbate?

SM: No, I don't like that...

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BH: When was your first relationship, that was proper, that was important to your heart?

SM: The one that was important to your heart, she was the one who taught me to have sex, Sweetie. That was my first relationship. I loved her.

BH: How long did that last?

SM: Three years.

BH: And then, what happened?

SM: She [pause] she broke my heart. She fell for another guy

BH: How did that feel?

SM: [sighs] To me SM: [long pause] To me, I wanted to revenge. I wanted to do something to her for what she had done to me, but I didn't have the guts to do it. There was something, there was a way of getting her, of hurting her; but then I didn't have the guts to do...

BH: What way would have you got revenge, if you had the guts?

SM: You know I wanted to hurt her. Hurt her. Whether it was going to be physically or any other way I could try. Not to kill her, just to hurt her just to lay my hands on her. To make her feel that she hurt me, so I should do the same.

BH: Do you find rejection quite hard?

SM: I hate, I don't like to be rejected.

BH: Is that your worst thing?

SM: [quietly] Ja.

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BH: When someone pushes you away, says you're not a nice person, is that?

SM: Mmmm [affirmative noise. Simon appears not to want to talk].

BH: Did that, would you say, that was your first big rejection.

SM: Yes.

BH: Did that change the way you looked at relationships, or people?

SM: It changed everything. I, I didn't like, or I hated the fact that someone says they love, then he hurts you, or hurts her [Simon appears to be talking in abstract] To me, I believe the only way is to go to that person and say 'look, I no longer love you, I think it's better to end this straight away.' Not to see her doing or having an affair with someone [inaudible]. I would have accepted it better if she had come to me and said, 'I don't love you.' She must not say 'someone else said', she must take that decision herself. I think I would, accept that.

BH: So you saw her running around with other guys?

SM: Ja. What hurts more is that she lived the fourth house from where I lived, the guys who came to her and whatever and all that stuff. That hurts, that hurts.

BH: And has that hurt stayed with you? It still lives with you. The hurt.

SM: No, after she left I get another girl. I won't say I forget. I don't forget, that stays with me. But there is that, the little space, that says you've got to let go, but it's difficult to let go. I'm not going to lie. For me, it's easy to be in love with a number of girls, but I hate it when a girl does the same thing to me, to share me with someone else, she must not share me. with somebody else, you see?

BH: Ja.

SM: But to me, I like doing that, I don't know what causes it all [laugh]

BH: Do you find that something strange?

SM: To me, it's strange, really.

BH: Did you have lots of rejections over the years?

SM: [pause sighs] No, I was rejected only three times.

BH: Once by Sweetie. Who were the other ones.

SM: [pause] The other one was Letta and the other one [pause] was Nikiwe.

BH: And were they girlfriends, all of them?

SM: Yes, they were girlfriends.

BH: And how long were you with each girlfriend for?

SM: No, I didn't, it was, a long time with all them. If I say it was a year then I would be lying. It was quite a short time.

BH: But then they rejected you.

SM: I felt that they rejected me. I hated it.

BH: Would you say that's the thing you hate most?

SM: [long pause, then, adamant] Yes.

BH: You can't think of anything you hate more?

SM: No.

BH: Did you ever feel lonely when you were growing?

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SM: [sighs, pause] That's something that's with me, even today, there are times when I feel lonely.

BH: And what's that loneliness like?

SM: Like...

BH: If you could describe that loneliness what sort is it, how does it feel?

SM: To me, to be lonely [sighs, pause] it's like, eeh, when you see, it seems as if, people are looking away, they don't want to come near you. Sometimes I see, maybe some other person are different, when I look at them I see that maybe they don't want to talk to me. That makes me feel very lonely. Especially if I like to say something to you, and then I see that you are pushing me away from you. That makes me feel bad.

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BH: And did that happen, has that happened a lot to you?

SM: Yes.

BH: And is loneliness close to rejection for you?

SM: Ja.

BH: Do you get angry with that?

SM: [pause, sigh] A lot.

BH: You feel like, if I'm right, loneliness is similar to rejection and it makes you feel angry?

SM: [Silence. Appears to have affirmed this in light of BH's tone in the following question]

BH: Ja. OK. What do you do when angry?

SM: When I'm angry...If you made me angry, to me, for that anger to go away I have to get hold of you. I have to touch you, to make something, whether to hit you once or you hit me but I hate it when someone makes me angry then goes away without me having to touch him or having a fight with that particular person. For that anger to go away, I have to do something.

BH: What did you usually do when you got angry? Did you have fights in high school?

39 SM: [pause] To me, having a fight is nothing. Now, it's better now, I'm a changed person, but then, I can say something insulting to you, then you get angry, then afterwards I didn't apologise. I would just push you, or hit you, for the wrong that I have done to you. But now that's different, I used to be like that.

BH: Did you get in lots of fights?

SM: Yes. Fighting for me was like a hobby [mutual laughter].

BH: How old were you, from what ages?

SM: From a very early age, from a very early age.

BH: And up until everything happened.

SM: Ja, taking judo helped me a lot. But I can say that, maybe, I have changed here. I have changed mostly here in prison, you see [laughs]. Most of the time I didn't have to apologise to a person, I would out-fight, fight you for your right, you see.

BH: Ja.

SM: I was like that, you see.

40 BH: Ja, so would I be right in describing you as someone who's quite often lonely, but also gets in lots of fights

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you have lots of friends outside your family?

SM: No, at the age of 24 I had a guy, who my friend was. That was my first friendship with someone who wasn't a member of my family. That guy often comes here, and he visits me. We started to have a go with the relationship. He's my best friend now.

- BH: Ja, he's still friends with you now.
- SM: Ja, he was here last month.
- BH: OK, great. Just generally, when you have girlfriends or friends, are they the same age as you, or a lot younger or a lot older?
- SM: I like older women.
- BH: How much older would you say?
- SM: Any particular age. At least I don't mind even if she's 10-15years older than me, to me that's not a problem.
- BH: Ja, so for girlfriends, you have lots of older women.
- SM: Ja.
- BH: How old was Sweetie.
- 41 SM: Sweetie was my age.
- BH: And Nikiwe?
- SM: Nikiwe was the same age.
- BH: So you were the same age with those girlfriends, but now you are liking older women. Is that correct?
- SM: Ja...
- BH: Were you ever sent to orphanage, or a state home?
- SM: No, never.
- BH: Before this time, were you ever like in a place of safety.
- SM: No.
- BH: So you were always with the family, going to school.
- SM: Ja.
-
- BH: Were you ever, before this time, were you ever in prison for anything else?
- SM: [pause] Yes. It was for three months. For using a car without the owner's permission.
- 42 BH: Oh, and when was this?
- SM: [quiet tone] December 1995, October, November, December.
- BH: What happened there?
- SM: The case was withdrawn, the charges were withdrawn.
- BH: Why were they withdrawn?
- SM: The car I took was my friend's car, a minister, church minister. The car

belonged to his wife. Now the car had a dent. I dented the car. Now the insurance wouldn't pay the car if they said 'no, I took the car' and I dented the car. They had to lay a charge, that's why they laid a charge, so the insurance can fix the car.

BH: How did that make you feel?

SM: Angry. I was angry.

BH: Ja. Which minister was this?

SM: Ngickwe.

BH: And were you friends, after this?

SM: Afterwards I came home. I lived in PE, but after this I came home. But we don't talk when we see each other. I told him [inaudible]. We are not as friends as we were before.

BH: Did you fight with him?

SM: No

BH: When did you move out of home, when did you start living on your own?

SM: 1993... I left school in 1992.

BH: Oh, with the matric?

SM: No, with an N4 electricians qualification [inaudible] I passed matric in 1989.

BH: OK, how many years does it take to get your N4? Does it take long?

SM: No, it takes 12 months.

BH: OK, alright, and in the years between your matric and your N4?

SM: I was doing small jobs, I was a casual at Mondi.

BH: Alright, so just doing casual labour.

SM: Ja

BH: So did you stay long at each job?

SM: No, from 1990 – 1992 I was at Mondi. From 1990 to 1991 I was at Mondi then in 1991 I went to do my N2, finishing in 1992. 1992 [I did my] N4.

BH: And then after that?

SM: I married in 1993, and then I started working, by then I was working.

BH: Ok, so you started working in 1993 when you were doing your N4.

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SM: Ja.

BH: OK, so, what sort of work did you do at Mondi?

SM: I was an operator, a machine operator.

BH: Was it hard work?

SM: It wasn't hard work, I just sat down [mutual laughter].

BH: So nothing too hard. And did you enjoy it?

SM: A lot.

BH: OK, and umm, what did the bosses think of you.

SM: No, some of them didn't like me. Because I am kind of, if you do me, give me something to do, I put everything in that thing and I finish it before time. Even now when I'm with other people, I'm faster, I like to do things fast. But do it properly, you see. That's why they didn't like me, you see. They said I was pushing, pushing work too hard. But it's in my nature, it's how I am, you see. That's [tails off].

BH: Ja, so like you work too hard.

SM: Ja

BH: Did you, were you always at work or did you take days off.

SM: I was always at work, I liked work.

BH: Ok, did you. When you were getting your N4 electricity, what sort of jobs were you doing then?

SM: I opened my own subcontracting [firm]. I worked for myself.

BH: How did it go?

SM: [pause] Aah, it was not so bad.

BH: What happened then?

SM: I got a room [inaudible] then I hire my own guys, seven guys. Then I got a contract here in East London, to do the wires, the wires for the municipality houses.

BH: Did that go, was it good?

SM: It was good.

BH: So that was just your work as a contractor. You didn't have any problems at work, no problems?

SM: [pause] Every work has it's good, it's ups and downs, especially business. There were times when it wasn't going so well, and there were

times I made a loss.

BH: But there were no big problems?

SM: No, no problems.

BH: And so you were in business for your own contracting firm from '94?

SM: '94 to '97.

BH: And you were still working contractor on your own when these things happened [referring to offences]?

SM: Yes

BH: And there was no big problems, you didn't have to almost close down business at any time...

SM: No.

BH: So, just sort of business problems, not...

SM: Not big problems as such...OK I had to go to Bisho, to tender for the school, so I was working for tender, working for tender now I had to live in Bisho.

BH: So, you just had to once you had finished all the municipality houses, you just had to go onto the next job.

SM: Mmm [affirmative].

BH: So generally you would say your work history was stable.

SM: Yes.

BH: And you, sort of, weren't fired from any jobs.

46 SM: No, I liked my jobs.

BH: So would you say you were a good worker?

SM: In fact, I'd say fair, not good [mutual laughter]...

BH: So the only jobs you had were this Mondi, and the electricity job.

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you do any volunteer work?

SM:...The only volunteer work I did was developing for church, in fact it was my church, when I volunteered to install all the electricity and stuff, without charging. In fact that was my only volunteer work, at the church.

BH: So just church work.

47 SM: I was a member to, I was a political adviser during apartheid or whatever. There were street communities and all that, so they took me as an

area adviser to an area committee [inaudible] so that's the only thing I did.

BH: So this was with the ANC, during the apartheid years.

SM: Ja.

BH: So you would say you play a role, in your society.

SM: Ja.

BH: A stable member. Where you ever in the police or the military?

SM: Never...

BH: Before coming to prison, did you ever at any time go see a psychologist?

SM: [pause] I had an appointment, but I never went to go.

BH: When was this?

SM: 1997, end 1997.

48 BH: OK. What was the appointment for?

SM: It's my sister who said, who made the appointment with the psychologist. And she asked me to go and see the psychologist, then and I asked her why, she said 'no, just go. You've got problem and I would like you to go talk, to, that, particular person.' And I said 'no, I will go' but I didn't have a chance to go.

BH: What were your sister's reasons for wanting you to go?

SM: Even today, I don't know.

BH: Do you think you needed to go?

SM: [long pause] I think I needed to go due to my, I had marital problems. Maybe she saw that. Like I said, I was aggressive sometimes [inaudible] well aggressive. Maybe she saw that.

BH: Did you get into fights, before then, or did you hit our wife?

49 SM: I hit my wife.

BH: Oh, OK, ja. What were these marital problems? What caused them?

SM: [quiet voice] My wife had children from a previous boyfriend. So, [pause] he would come and said he was bringing the children and just before he would come and say he wanted to talk to her about the children, or about problems and things, that I didn't like that. Because the children are old enough now to talk for themselves. That's why I didn't like that.

BH: So did you think he was trying to take her away from you?

SM: [emphatic] Yes.

BH: So again, were you scared of rejection again?

SM: Ja.

BH: So ja, you were having a lot of problems with your wife.

SM: Sometimes we had problems, sometimes they were gone. Today problems, tomorrow gone. Perhaps on and off.

BH: So no really big problems.

SM: No.

BH: So she didn't really have anything to do with what happened [referring to offences], or would you say she did?

SM: [long pause, sighs] I don't know today. I don't know today [i.e. Simon can't tell, no reflection].

BH: What do you think caused those things?

SM: [long pause. Very quiet, almost inaudible] I don't know.

BH: Ja, a lot of things.

SM: [quiet voice sad tone] Sometimes I try to think and recollect my brain, but I simply can't come up with the answer, say 'this and this', recollect the causes. I would like to.

BH: Ja, when you think back, you can never quite find what happened [silence]. Did you ever try kill yourself?

SM: [quiet, almost sullen tone] Twice.

BH: When was this?

SM: It was 1979.

BH: So when you were young?

SM: I was about 10 or 11.

BH: What happened?

SM: I never told my family. I took gas. Instead of killing me it made my tummy run [laughs]

BH: What made you want to kill yourself?

SM: I was lonely, when my parents died. I felt lonely, there.

BH: Ja... Did you feel like your parents had sort of, rejected you by dying?

SM: I felt that God gave it, God was horrible to me, God gave this thing to me, that I was behind him. It didn't feel like God was there. He didn't see

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my pain, he didn't feel my pain...I had to be angry at God... He was rejecting me, God was pushing me away from him.

BH: Did you always believe you God?

SM: Yes.

BH: Was your family religious?

SM: My mother was very religious.

BH: So you always believed in God. And now?

SM: I still believe in God. I'm doing a theological diploma. I still believe in God.

BH: OK. Sorry, to go back to your earlier point about going to see a psychologist, has anybody ever, when you were under observation, did they say that anything was wrong with you, did they give you pills?

SM: [pause, sighs, laughs] When I was under observation, the only thing I know is that those people were in a hurry to get rid of me [mutual laughter]. Even today, if I ask what's wrong with me, they cannot tell me, they won't tell me... I didn't want those to say anything was wrong with me, but if there was a problem, let those people help me. That's the only thing that I wanted. There's this one woman, she helped me... she organised for me to see the psychiatrist. He was the one who gave me some pills, because other people [pause] when I came here first it seemed like it felt like I was going to get mad.

BH: You felt like you were going to get mad.

SM: Yes, but she helped me.

BH: And what happened when you felt like you were going to get mad?

SM: [quiet voice] Ah, I had many things in my mind. Ehh, I remember, with Stella. I have never seen something like that. A person that's dying, instead of asking God to help her, she said 'God, please forgive Simon.' I will never forget. Even today, I won't. [Very quiet voice] Those were the things that dwelt with me. The things I won't, why, why has God let it happen? [Louder voice, sounding more confident] Because, I believe, [inaudible] everything happens for a reason. You see. We are going to die, die one day. No one knows how, is he or she going to die, you see. So I want to know if God wanted those people to die, why did it have to happen

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through me? Why did I have to kill those people? If it's God's plan, because if that things wasn't supposed to happen, it's not going to happen. So, everything, God has a plan for everyone. On earth, I committed a crime. But above, I don't know what God is thinking about me, was it's God's plan? Or was it not God's plan? Those are the things I ...

BH: Do you feel guilty about the crimes?

SM: [long pause] I'm ashamed.

BH: What are you ashamed of? What the community thinks? Or what you think?

SM: I am ashamed of what I have done. Why did it have to be me, not somebody else? That is what I'm trying to see, why did it have to be me?

BH: Before these women were killed, did you ever think about it? Before, did you ever think about killing anyone?

SM: [pause] I never had a plan for killing someone. Those were not planned.

BH: So you didn't plan...

SM: I didn't plan to kill anyone.

BH: When did you know you were going to kill them?

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SM: It's like what I said. If I am angry with you I must do something to you. But not to kill you, but I must do something with you, you see? At least enough to make me feel alright, it's going to take away the pain.

That's the problem. Nandi made me angry, and Stella made me angry. But I didn't want to kill Stella but I wanted to hurt Stella, I wanted her to know that she hurt me. So I got to hurt her... To tell you the truth, I never had a plan to kill Stella.

BH: Ja, what did you do to Stella?

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SM: What I did to Stella is she had a Z-88... a police gun. So I wanted to talk to her, but each and every time I was talking to her, she telling me 'no, Nandi said I must not speak to you', all that stuff. She was putting her hand on her waist, and I wanted to know. She was talking so boldly, she was so sure of herself [said in 'bitter' tone]. Only because she had that gun with her. Maybe the gun made her bold, the gun made her strong. But when I took the gun away from her she was no longer that strong, self-assured

person that I was taking to five minutes ago. She was [INAUDIBLE], because now the gun was on my side. The only thing I did to her, I tied her hand behind her back, with her neck.

BH: So you tied from hands to neck, OK.

SM: Ja, to her neck. And then I left her at the bus stop. I never killed her. No way what I did to her killed her. Maybe the hold on her neck choked her.

BH: So you choked her off a bit, then threw her off and she choked.

SM: Ja. So I never had any plan in the killing of Stella, even today.

BH: What did you tied her up with?

SM: I had electrical wires in the boot of my car.

BH: Did you rape her?

SM: [quiet tone] No.

BH: What did you say to her?

BH: What did you say to her? Did you say things to her, while...?

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SM: I never talked a lot with Stella. I never talked a lot with Stella. I just tied her hands behind her back.

BH: Did you shout at her, or swear at her?

SM: Ehh [pause] I never shouted at her. I said I was angry and I said the things that made me angry and I left her there.

BH: You said to her what was making you angry.

SM: Yes.

BH: What did you say, if you can remember the words?

SM: [pause] The only thing I told Stella is that [pause] we met, Nandi didn't know about us. How can she lie? She knows me, and then there was a problem with my electrical contract, I was waiting for the tenders so I had nothing then. I told her this 'was it because I had nothing, or because of what Nandi had said to her'.

BH: Was she your girlfriend?

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SM: Ja, Stella was my girlfriend. I met Stella, I used to go to the King William's town legislature. Stella was working at the legislature. She came from Cathcart.

BH: How long before the murder did you know her?

SM: About three months...

BH: Ja, so you had sex.

SM: Yes.

BH: Sorry, I interrupted.

SM: So I left Stella there, it was at the bus station, I left her there, I dropped her off I drove straight to my wife. My wife, she's a schoolteacher and she had come to East London. I saw, the following two days, and then I saw her body had been discovered.

BH: How did you feel when you saw that?

SM: I slept all day.

BH: You slept.

SM: I slept all day [quiet voice]. I was the cause of her death, you see.

BH: And how did that make you feel?

SM: I'm not going to lie, I said to myself 'You didn't kill Stella', I didn't kill Stella. I said to myself I didn't kill Stella, I did nothing to kill her. At least, what I did killed her, but I didn't have any intentions of killing Stella.

BH: How did you feel when you were tying her up?

SM: It's way I say, even today I would like to know why, because I don't know what happened. Everything happened but I don't know why, I cannot say it just happened because of this and that.

58 BH: So you can't really say what you were feeling.

SM: Yes.

BH: Would you say you were confused? Or angry? Or sad? Or frustrated?

SM: Let me to say I was angry.

BH: And just after, when you dropped her off at the roadside? What did you feel then?

SM: Relieved...I can say maybe I was relieved I got rid of her.

BH: Relieved to have stopped her talking.

SM: Ja.

BH: Then for Ms Mashabela, Portia, what happened with her?

59 SM: [pause] With Portia, it was a time when things were not going well between me and Nandi.

BH: Ja, and you were staying at Nandi's house at the time.

SM: Ja, I was staying at her house. What happened, I remember [SM excuses self and leaves room to go to toilet].

BH: [after he returns] With Stella, you didn't plan it, you didn't think about it beforehand, just suddenly everything was happening.

SM: I didn't even plan to meet Stella, it was just a coincidence because I was on the way to school, I went to fetch my wife. I was coming to bring her back, so I met Stella in Queenstown.

BH: But that's a long way from where you live, from East London, about two hour's drive.

SM: Ja. Stella lived in Cathcart, she worked in King William's Town. She lived at the police college...

BH: So it was a long way from where she worked and a long way from where you picked her up.

SM: Ja.

BH: Did Stella say you weren't good enough for her?

SM: She said Nandi said so.

BH: So Stella had met Nandi.

SM: They knew each other, because both of them worked at the King William's Town legislature.

BH: How did that make you feel, when you heard that?

SM: [sigh, long pause] I didn't want to believe it myself, let's say I didn't want to believe. I thought, ai, it cannot be like that. I didn't want to believe, but Stella said it was so. That made me angry afterwards. Now friendship with Nandi was going down, back to where it started, we were splitting up again. She was starting make enemies for me. That is how I look at it, you see.

BH: So Nandi was starting to make you enemies.

SM: Yes.

BH: So who were you more angry with when you were sitting there in the car with Stella?

SM: I was angry. Very angry.

BH: How does that anger feel? Where do you feel it?

SM: When I get angry, I shake. I start getting cold. And that's when I have,

to solve this I want to resolve this. To make myself better I have to do something.

BH: Yes.

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SM: At school what I would do is that I would leave. Without asking the teacher, I would go take a walk or something, I had to do something, you see? It's how I am... You see, my wife, when I'm angry we can argue now before we go to sleep, at maybe seven o'clock or eight o'clock. But she would be asleep and I would be lying next to her thinking 'ei, this thing is making me angry'. I would wake her up maybe two o'clock, three o'clock in the morning with the same anger. I would tell myself, I had to do something. Even if I had just to hit her once, at least, then it was going to make me feel better.

BH: Ja?

SM: That's how I am.

BH: Did you often hit your wife because of this anger?

SM: Yes.

BH: So once a week?

SM: Just because we were not together we would miss each other, because she would be over there and I would be in East London. But when we were together two weeks would not pass without us having a fight.

BH: So you would say your marriage was very tumultuous?

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SM: Ja.

BH: Did you love your wife?

SM: Ja.

BH: Do you still love your wife?

SM: Yes.

BH: So you were always close together even though you fought a lot.

SM: Ja.

BH: Do you often fight with those you are close to? Did you fight with your family a lot?

SM: I never fight with my family [INAUDIBLE]but I never fight with my family.

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BH: And with friends?

SM: [laugh] Yes there was a guy, we used to share everything at school. I think I had a fight with that boy once, maybe twice. We were coming from school and then, maybe, 500 metres from school, we put our books down and have fight there. People coming past, they looked at us [SM has smile in voice, BH laughs]. After we finished, after maybe five minutes, we took our books again and went straight to his home. Then I was feeling better.

That's how I am.

BH: Once you've got it out.

SM: Ja, once I've got it out then I start to feel better.

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BH: And with your girlfriends, would you have fights with them?

SM: [quiet] Yes

BH: What would start the fights?

SM: I would say I am jealous, I'm a jealous person. So...

BH: You would think they'd be looking at other men...

SM: Ja.

BH: And then what would you do?

SM: I would get angry. There was only one girl who made [laughs] who gave me problems. She was head and shoulders above me [mutual laughter] so I was [INAUDIBLE], so she was my senior there. Fighting her was always a problem, because she would fight back. But I would always solve that problem.

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BH: When you had fights with your girlfriends, would you shout at them?

Be physical?

SM: I was physical.

BH: Where would you hit them usually?

S: I like kicking.

BH: Where would you kick them? On the legs, head, chest?

SM: Anywhere.

BH: How long would you kick them for before you stopped?

SM: Maybe once, twice, maybe thrice, then I would stop. Maybe, I dunno, maybe it's like I wanted so show who I am; I'm the man, I'm dominant, I'm

all that. Maybe that was the reason. Now that I'm here I think about these things maybe that is one of the reasons. I wanted to show that, I wanted to be the dominant partner.

BH: Was it the same with Stella and all that?

SM: Ja. Making a show of herself, maybe I wanted to show that I'm the boss, I'm the strongest. I must dominate because I am the man. Maybe that's what happened.

BH: You wanted to control?

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you ever rape them to show you were dominant? Or have sex with them after you fought them?

SM: [pause] Yes.

BH: Was this with your girlfriends?

SM: Ja.

BH: What would happen? You would kick them and then have sex with them?

SM: Ja. I used to do what I want.

BH: Would you just have vaginal sex?

SM: [quieter voice] Ja,

BH: So, if I can say how it went, you would hit them then when you were the boss have sex with them. Would you say anything to them?

SM: No.

BH: Did it feel good?

SM: It made me feel better.

BH: Was it the sex that made you feel better or the control?

SM: Maybe it's the control. Maybe it was in the fact that it made me feel in control in that situation.

BH: If you had to describe the sex you had then, would you say it good sex or bad sex or...

SM: I wouldn't say it was good. It was no use. Maybe it's the part that made me feel in control. Maybe I wanted to feel, wanted to be, in control, you see. I wanted to feel like I am in control. So it was no good.

BH: So the sex didn't really matter, it wasn't really the important part. It

was more showing the control, is that it?

SM: Yes.

BH: I was asking because I wanted to get it right. With Ms Mathetsa, the schoolgirl what happened with her? The charge of rape, what happened? [long pause].

SM: With her, I pretended I had an affair with her mother but no one knew about it [INAUDIBLE had to move around for work?]

BH: So you moved around a lot for work?

SM: Ja. [quiet voice] They said they wanted to see me, so I told them I was coming to East London. So told her mother I was coming to East London, so Mathetsa said she wanted to come with me...I had once proposed her before that, and she said she was going to think about it. Then that day she said if it was OK that she come with me to East London, and I said 'OK that's fine, no problems'. I was going to East London anyway. And then we came to East London the following day. On the way I was touching her, there was this and that, and she never said 'don't touch'. Then, I eh, when we were here in East London [pause] she said, OK, she wanted to go back again now. I had finished my business now, it was about 7 o'clock in the evening, she said she wanted to go home. I said 'you can't go home there's a problem with the car.'

BH: Had you had sex with her before then?

SM: No, before then we didn't have sex.

BH: Before seven.

SM: Ja. : We went to the sea and then we, I had sex with her. She wanted to go to another house.

BH: She said it was OK to have sex?

SM: [fast speech] Mm, and then I refused her to go to that other, then she forced, and said she was going even if I didn't want to go with her. I said 'OK, fine, you can go'. I said 'You cannot go out there' because now it was 9 o'clock, 10 o'clock in the evening, it was night. She forced, and then I hit her. She slept at my home for the rest of the night, and I slept in a room at the back, she woke up early in the morning and went to run away.

BH: Was she scared of you?

SM: [pause] Let me say she was scared of me, because she wouldn't tell me and she wouldn't wake me up, you see. She just [makes gesture].

BH: Took off.

SM: She took off, you see. [normal volume] And they phoned me, they told me they didn't have money to go to work today, I said I was coming, but when I came to [INAUDIBLE] she was not there, you see [pause]. Then they lay a charge against me, of rape.

BH: OK, ja [long pause]. Do you think you raped her?

SM: Now [pause] yes it was rape.

BH: How many times did you have sex with her that day?

SM: Once.

BH: Just once, OK. And that, it was rape?

SM: Thinking of it now and reading the papers and look at television and woman's rights [laugh], it was rape.

BH: Did you hit her? Did you slap her?

SN: I slapped her twice.

BH: Then she said OK?

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you make her take all her clothes off, or just some clothes?

SM: Some clothes.

BH: Just underclothes?

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you just have sex with her, or did you touch her breasts...

SM: We had sex [stammers] Maybe she allowed me to have sex with her, maybe she was afraid of me. Maybe she felt she was, how can I put it?, she depended on me. I was in East London, I know East London, she was not from East London she was from Jeffreys Bays. So she had to, she had to give me, or let me have sex with her, so that I cannot leave her in East London or maybe that I cannot hit her, all that stuff, that's the point.

BH: So you just took her clothes off. Did you take it all the way off?

SM: All the way off?

BH: Ja.

SM: She took them off.

BH: How did this go, did you say you wanted to have sex, she said no, you slapped her and then she took her clothes off?

SM: No, we did have sex, you see before I slapped her. I hit her, but not were she had sex. I hit her because she wanted to go at night. At the scene I didn't hit her. She took her clothes off.

BH: Did she hit you? Did she scratch you.

SM: She bit me [tone drops, quieter].

BH: Was that...

SM: At home.

BH: That night or when you were having sex with her?

SM: That night.

BH: When you had the big fight.

SM: Ja.

BH: There's this other thing, Ms. Mbuli. I don't know if you remember what her first name was?

SM: [long pause, surly tone] That is the only person I don't know about.

BH: Ja? Because they said they found her clothes in your car.

SM: They said, she said I was driving, what's this one, a Golf. That's a case I don't know anything about.

BH: So you don't know anything about Ms Mbuli... What car did you usually have?

SM: I had a Kadett, and Open Kadett. I also had my sister's car, a Fiat.

BH: Which car were you driving with Stella?

SM: My Kadett.

BH: Why did you take Stella's pistol? What made you take it?

SM: I don't know, why I took it [laughs]. I had no plans for the gun, but I took it.

BH: Did you like the gun, or say 'I want this?'

SM: [pause] To tell you truth I'm afraid of guns. But I took it really. I don't like guns.

BH: So just took it with you?

SM: Ja.

BH: Where did you keep it afterwards?

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	<p>SM: I gave it to Nandi to keep it with her.</p>
	<p>BH: Because you were afraid of guns?</p> <p>SM: Ja.</p> <p>BH: So you just took it on the moment and got rid of it later. Did it remind you of Stella?</p> <p>SM: Yes [emphatic] that's why I immediately got rid of the gun, gave it to someone else.</p> <p>BH: Did it make you feel bad?</p>
72	<p>SM: It made me sad, not bad as such, but sad. Sometimes it's sad to. Sometimes you do something that you cannot use. There's this guy who sings a song 'If I could turn back the hands of time.'</p> <p>BH: Is that how you felt about Stella?</p> <p>SM: Ja.</p> <p>BH: [stutters. SM has started to cry] I'm sorry I have to do this to you. It must be very hard for you. [long pause] And with Ms Mashabela? [SM is heard to sniff in background]</p>
	<p>SM: [normal tone] What happened with Ms Mashabela is that we were living in the same house. We were living with Nandi, in house in Bisho where they would have the servant's quarters at the back.</p> <p>BH: Yes.</p>
73	<p>SM: And we lived in such a room, there was a room at the back, so it was used by the previous owners as a servant's quarters. So we could use that room, it had a shower and a servant's quarters. I lived in the big house, it had three bedrooms: the master bedroom, and then the children's bedrooms. Now, while I was living there, [very quiet voice] the friendship between me and Nandi was starting to have problems again. We would quarrel some times. And then I proposed to her, and she said she cannot do that because she already has a boyfriend, some guy who works at the legislature, where she works And now, one day [transcription interrupted by change in tape]</p>
	<p>SM... that made me angry.</p>
74	<p>BH: Because Portia had moved your stuff.</p> <p>SM: That had made me angry but I had said nothing then. [Voice sounds angry] And then one day, Portia started to have a [pause]</p>

negative attitude towards me. She would joke about my car, my old car, she would say that I was, that car was not giving a good impression to the house because members of the public would come there and see my car. She would say such jokes. I would laugh but inside, I was not laughing. And I like to be play physically and one day I was playing with her, I tripped her and caught her before she could fall, picked her up again. She said that if you tore my valuables you won't be able to pay for that because the money you're working is not, is too, it won't be able to pay for these items, ei! [exclaims] she was making me angry. I wanted to slap her but something said to me 'no don't'. Then I told my sister [referring to Nandi] I was moving out because now, me and Portia were having problems. I said to my sister I was moving out, and she said fine. I took my things and moved out from the house, to, there was a girlfriend I had...she had a house this side of East London, so I was going to live with her in that house. One day now I had to go and fetch my things. When I came there to fetch my things it was about 2 o'clock and I was waiting for my sister to come, to bring the children because, I had found out that they used to lock the house then put the key under the mat. But this day, I came there and found the locks were changed. I asked myself 'why?' Then I phoned sister in East London and told her 'there was something wrong here, you ask me to come and live with you, but now these people are making funny tricks' She said 'no, stay there take your things and get out of the house'. I said 'OK I'm going to do that' [Pause. Tone remains 'flat' angry]. I still waited outside the house. When they came they were driving this latest BM, this Mercedes Benz, E-Class. They parked the car in the driveway and opened the house. Portia went into the house, I said to Portia 'don't lock the house' because I wanted to get my things out of there. Portia walked into the house with the key, she came back and locked the house then got into the car and drove away.

My sister didn't pick up the children from school, I thought maybe she was doing overtime, because usually we would pick the children up and take

them to the crèche, where they will stay until half past four that day.. That day I had to do without changing my clothes, that was on a Wednesday. On Thursday I decided not to go, I said OK I'll go on Friday, because I had a job and would also go and fetch my clothes I had to work. When I came there it was half-past seven and my sister had already gone, it was Portia there and she opened up. She asked me 'eh [sneers] what do I [you] want?' I said 'I have come to fetch my things'. She was looking behind me. Swearing, telling me my sister told me she doesn't want me anymore there. I asked her 'I am I going to get my things?' She said 'no, you must get out of here. You must come when your sister is here', she said [narrates Portia's words in sneering tone]. That made me angry. There are three steps in the house, down steps. I kicked her, she fell down. And then I put my knee on her, when she fell there. Then I proceeded to choke, choke her. She had pantyhose in her hands. And I pulled the pantyhose up, then I pressed with my knee in the back of her. I was telling her all the things that she said that made me angry, all of them. After about five minutes I let her go. I thought 'OK, I have killed'.

SM: To tell you the truth I didn't feel sad. [Pause] I didn't feel sad. I was not worried.

BH: So you felt angry while you were doing it, then afterwards?

SM: [Tone is not angry anymore, quieter, more reflective] I was not sad as such. Or worried that I had killed someone you see. Maybe inside of me there was a thing that said 'You've revenged, she did you wrong. You took your revenge'. You see, 'what you did maybe is right,' you see. Maybe that's how I felt, but to tell you the truth I was not sad, [pause] you see. So I took Portia, I took her to the garage, put mats over her. Then thought what to do.

BH: Did you drive her in the car? Or did you leave her in the garage?

SM: I left her in the garage, under the carpets that covered her. After a week, I took her away.

BH: So she stayed in the garage for about a week?

SM: [very quiet] Yeah.

BH: OK, she just laid there, no one knew no one knew what had had

happened to her?

SM: [very quiet] Ja.

BH: So with the car, where did you drop her off.

SM: [quiet] Fort Beaufort.

BH: Why did you choose Fort Beaufort?

SM: I didn't choose Fort Beaufort, I [stutter] I wanted to get rid of her. No matter where, just to get rid of her. On that particular day I was going to Fort Beaufort with my girlfriend, her sisters' son. So they didn't know what I loaded in the car. They were going to Port Elizabeth. I dropped them in the house, I came back, I dropped the body there, then I went back to fetch them.

BH: So you loaded the car quickly with Portia, picked them up, then dropped them off, your girlfriend and the son.

SM: Ja.

BH: How far from Nandi's house did you drop Portia?

SM: Maybe 50-55 km [distant altered slight to anonymise]

BH: OK, did you rape Portia? [presume Simon must have shaken head] No, you just left where they found her, with all her clothes.

SM: Mmph [affirmative]

BH: Strangled her with her pantihose

SM: Yes.

BH: And after you killed her, what did you do? When you realised you had killed her, you covered her in mats and then where did you go?

SM: [quiet voice] I took my things and I goes, to put those in my girlfriend's house, but then it was time to go and see my wife.

BH: It seems from what you're saying you don't spend much time with your wife.

77 SM: No [sounds sad, regretful].

BH: Did she know you had other girlfriends? Ja [BH verbalises 'yes', SM appears to have fallen silent].

OK, In the last case you mentioned, Zondi Tana. What happened there?

78 SM: [Silence, very long pause, big sigh.] I was, what I can say is that Zondi was at the wrong place at the wrong time [long pause, then speaks with

many pauses]. Because that day, I wanted to hurt her mother. [Pause] But unfortunately I couldn't get my hands on her mother. So I took what I knew what she really loved, her daughter [sad tone].

BH: [Soft voice] So what was making you angry with Zondi's mother [his wife]?

SM: She had filed for a divorce. They were seeing each other, her and he, Zondi's father.

BH: So that's why she had filed for divorce, because she had met Zondi's father again?

SM: No, I can't say it was because she met Zondi's father again, I can't say that [pause] I was the cause. She filed for divorce but I was the cause of the divorce, not her.

BH: Because of things you were doing?

SM: Yes, because of things, like I said, you see [SM tails off. Audible sighs, suggests overwhelmed by emotion. Silence]

BH: Don't worry, you don't have to talk if you don't want to. I know this must be very hard for you.

SM: [blows air out, gathering himself. Quiet voice] I am OK,
[INAUDIBLE]

BH: OK, so tell me what happened with Zondi. You said she was at the wrong place at the wrong time.

SM: [slower, with more pauses] That day I woke up early. Her mother had cut our mattress in half. She wrote me a letter telling me that she doesn't want to see me again. And she also sent back the watch I gave her for our fourth anniversary. Then I said 'ish, she is serious, now I was really [INAUDIBLE] I had to get her, I had to get hold of her but there was no way, she didn't want to see me again.

BH: Did you want her back, or were you just angry at her?

SM: I wanted her back, I wanted her back. So OK, this day, there came Zondi. Her grandmother, Zondi's grandmother and my sister [Nandi], they were next door.

BH: So next to Nandi's house. You weren't living at Nandi's house any more?

SM: No, I came here on my holidays, October holidays, schools were closed. I phoned Zondi's mother, Thembeni, asking to see her, I was told she wouldn't be home that night, she slept with a friend. [INAUDIBLE]. I said OK. [Pause]. I went there to that house, and she was really there, and I went through and she was underneath the blankets. I said I wanted to talk to her, but her friend said 'no, no, you cannot go in there, Thembeni doesn't want to speak to you anyway. I went to my brother's, my sisters house. I knew she had a 7.65 calibre pistol. I knew where he hid the gun. When I went there the gun was not there. Because I wanted to shoot Thembeni there, on that bed, and say 'there, I got rid of you'. Just to finish it off, klaar, there and then [pause]. Fortunately the gun was not there. Then I went home to wash myself because I knew there the Z-88 was in Bisho. I had to get there and get that Z-88; because I was going to shoot Thembeni then I was going to shoot myself. While I was busy washing at my sister's house, I saw Zondi again. Zondi was busy at the fire at her granma's house [i.e. next door]. I saw Zondi getting into her grandma's house carrying things. I washed myself and finished washing myself. Then Zondi came out of the house. I told myself 'if I want to get even, now's the chance'.

BH: So you hadn't thought about it before?

SM: Ja. Suddenly I told myself this is a chance to get even, with the father, and with the mother.

BH: The mother, Thembeni.

SM: [speaks clearly, briskly] Ja, to take what they love most. I knew Thembeni loved Zondi, I knew that Zondi's father loved Zondi as well, very much, you see. Now I told myself, this is the time to get even. I finished washing, and I went to the taxi rank. Because Zondi was going to catch the taxi from the other street. I was going to watch Zondi and see what taxi she got in, and then I was going to catch the same taxi, because Zondo was going to [INAUDIBLE]. She caught a Kombi, brown Kombi, fortunately there was still space in that Kombi and I got in the front seat, she was in the back seat. When we came to Ramela Square, I knew where she was going to get off, so I got off maybe 300 m from where Zondi was going to get her the taxi. When the Kombi came there, I saw Zondi, and said, 'listen here

there is something I want you to give to a certain guy, a church elder from our church, so can you please come with me and fetch this thing in my flat?'. I had a flat in Atalanta Street, so I think what I did. Atalanta is a bar when we came to that bar with Zondi [pause] she said 'can we hurry' because she was getting late for school, it was Sunday [Simon must be referring to Sunday school]. It was Sunday between one and two [INAUDIBLE] [Pause, sigh speaks more slowly] I got into Atalanta bar and bought a quarter of gin [pause] and two Cokes. I gave Zondi a Coke. Behind the bar at Atalanta I poured the Coke, the 500 Coke, half, and then I poured the quarter of gin into the Coke and then I drank it.

BH: What did you do that for?

SM: I'm sure I was taking some strength for what I was going to do. I was taking the shyness out of me. I was trying to get rid of the fright, of being frightened. Because I told myself I had to do this. I was going to pay Thembeni back where it hurt most.

BH: And how long had you thought of this before? How long since you first had that thought to where you were standing now? Ten minutes? And hour?

SM: I can say ten minutes is a very long time. Everything happened suddenly. Everything happened so fast I don't know really. I was always thinking of something, then maybe a minute or two, then if I had a problem with this then, suddenly another plan would come. So everything happened fast.

BH: So everything, you didn't have the time...

SM: [interrupts] So after maybe three, five minutes I took Zondi 'come here, there is something up in the flat'. I strangled her. I raped her first. I won't lie, you see.

BH: Did you speak to her?

SM: Ja.

BH: And what did she say?

SM: She was crying.

BH: Did you have to hit her at all, or was she too scared?

SM: She was too scared.

BH: And then after you finished raping her?

SM: I strangled her.

BH: And then, what did you do after she was dead?

SM: I locked the door and then I went home.

BH: Ja.

SM: But I couldn't sleep that night.

BH: What was going through your head?

SM: I was afraid. I was thinking about what I have caused, what have I done. How am I going to forgive myself. Because even now, even today.

[Pause] There are certain things that I can forgive and forget, but not Zondi

BH: You don't regret the others but you regret Zondi?

SM: I regret Zondi.

BH: Did all of the women that you killed look the same?

SM: Sorry?

BH: Was Stella older or younger than you?

SM: Stella was younger than me.

BH: And Portia?

SM: Was younger than me.

BH: And Zondi was...

SM: ... the youngest.

BH: And how old was Zondi?

SM: 15.

BH: Were they the same size?

SM: They were almost the same height.

BH: Were they all nice-looking women?

SM: Yes.

BH: Pretty? Mmm (tone suggests is affirming this). Did they remind you of anyone you had met before? Did they look like your wife, or Nandi?

SM: My wife, yes.

BH: Did she look like Stella or did she look like Zondi?

SM: She looked like Zondi.

BH: Did that affect you?

SM: Mmm [affirms]

BH: Did you just leave Zondi, when the scene was done [no audible

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response, BH moves on immediately]. Do you think if anything had happened differently that you wouldn't have committed these murders?

SM: [very quiet] Yes.

BH: If things had happened differently. What things would have needed to be different?

SM: Maybe if my work hadn't gone down.

BH: Oh, had your work gone down.

SM: Mmm [affirms]. Maybe I wouldn't have been there. Or maybe if I didn't have extra motives. Maybe.

BH: So your work went downhill and you had this extra motives and it put pressure on you?

SM: [Affirmative noise]

BH: OK. Do you think, could any of the women have said something to make you stop?

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SM: [Pause, sighs, then speaks clearly] There's one thing that happened with Zondi and with Stella [many pauses] that worries me a lot. They both prayed when they died. When I left Stella that last morning, she prayed. When Zondi died, she prayed.

BH: Was that the last thing she said?

SM: Yes. To me, to me, I don't know what that symbolises.

BH: Is it something you're still struggling with?

SM: Yes [long pause, falls silent. Silence for long while]

BH: After Zondi died, how did you feel?

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SM: [Pause] I've been trying to ask God why, maybe God would forgive me but I, I used to say to that you don't get forgiveness from God unless you forgive yourself. But the problem is, I want God to forgive me. I want Thembeni to forgive me. [INAUDIBLE] I won't be able to get forgiveness from God until I forgive myself. That is something I might be able to do, or might not be able to do, that is, forgive myself. For Zondi's case, [pause] I was close with Zondi and she loved me, she told me herself at that time.

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BH: Is that one you...Do you think you'd ever commit this sort of crime again?

SM: [Long pause, not sure if gestured 'yes' or no']

BH: Mmm [affirms SM's response]. For what reasons?

SM: [sot voice] Like I said, I'm a changed person. The only thing that you really need to do is you must be able to say 'no'. [INAUDIBLE] You must be able to stop yourself [INAUDIBLE], what that means is you must ask yourself questions, 'why'. Because even now I don't know why all those things happened. But they did happen. But now I'm saying to myself they will never and they will never happen again.[NOT VERBATIM] I'd rather be lonely than to hurt someone again.

BH: Would you [stammers]. These were only people close to you, could it have happened to a stranger? Would you kill a stranger? Or someone you didn't know very well?

SM: It makes no difference if it's a stranger or somebody I know. Taking a life is taking a life, no matter who's life is it. Today I only think that my sister has daughters, my brother has daughters, and I think what if something like this happened to them. That's why I say I would like to do something to give back to the society, something that will help other people. What I once said to my sister's son, is 'the problem in life is that we don't deal with our anger in the right way, if you're angry you must show the people that you're angry, don't hide your anger. Because if you hide your anger you are going to do something that you might regret later. Our problem is that we hide our anger, it's not right, when you're angry you must show the people you are angry, at that particular moment.

BH: Deal with the thing straight away.

SM: Mm [affirms]

BH: Just before these murders happened, what was the emotions you felt for each one? For Stella, you were angry, was it the same with Zondi and Portia?

SM: Yes.

BH: Always angry.

SM: Eh [affirms]

BH: And than afterwards?

SM: [Pause] Like I said, I didn't know that Stella was going to die. But in Portia's case, I was not angry with myself after that one. I can I can say I

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sort of felt relieved, as if I have solved the most difficult problem I ever had. But in Zondi's case, I won't be able forgive myself, or to forget. [INAUDIBLE] for her it is the most difficult thing, don't know how she is going to take it [pause]

BH: When you had killed Portia and when you had killed Zondi, you just left them with the thing tied around their neck, just left?

SM: [quiet] Ja.

BH: You weren't interest afterwards?

SM: Ja.

BH: And you had Portia's cell phone. Why did you take that?

SM: I don't know.

90 BH: Was it the same for the gun?

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you try get rid of it, did you use it?

SM: I used the cell phone.

BH: Did you get rid of it later, or keep it until you were...?

SM: [interrupted] I got rid of it.

BH: What did you do with it?

SM: I gave it to a [INAUDIBLE] I exchanged it, for an [INAUDIBLE].

BH: Which killing didn't you mind doing? Was that Portia?

SM: Yes.

91 BH: Did you enjoy it?

SM: [stammers] I don't think enjoying it is the right word. I revenged.

BH: It was necessary.

SM: Ja.

92 BH: And for Zondi, how did you feel after you'd done it, was it the same feeling, you'd revenged?

SM: [Pause] I felt sorrow. For myself and for Zondi.

BH: How did you feel when the police came around?

93 SM: [Pause] I had no problems with the police. I knew they were bound to come, sooner or later, they were going to come, they were going to get me [INAUDIBLE] I must make myself ready to face the consequences of my deeds.

BH: Did you try cover your tracks, did you take away fingerprints at the scene?

SM: No.

BH: Just leave it as it was, ja. Did you ever think back on any of the murders and fantasise about them?

SM: I wanted to forget them. I must forget them.

BH: If you had look back and give an explanation for why you killed, what would that explanation be?

SM: [Long pause, sigh] Maybe it was anger [pause]. And frustration. Maybe that's why.

BH: I think that's covered most of it [sound of leafing through pages]. I don't have all that much more to ask about, but thank you for being so open. I understand it's been very hard for you. I can see that definitely, you're feeling it. [Pause] When you were young, did you ever get hurt on your head, at all? Car accident or fell off your bike, someone hit you with a spanner?

SM: I was hit with stone, not once, maybe two or three times.

BH: Big stone?

SM: Big stone.

BH: How old were you then?

SM: I was thirteen [SM laugh, BH echoes]

BH: What happened?

SM: I refused to, firstly I had a fight with another guy, and he threw me with a stone, and I fell down. Secondly, there was an uprising. I was in Std 6. They took us out of our classes, then I ask 'why don't they pick on the higher classes, to Std 10, before coming to Std 6?' [laugh]. That was the question I asked. Then I received a big stone on my head [laughs].

BH: Were you unconscious?

SM: Yes, I woke up in hospital.

BH: How long were you unconscious for?

SM: Maybe three to four hours.

BH: Concussed? Where did stone hit you?

SM: [INAUDIBLE, presumably indicates where stone hit].

- 95 BH: OK, geez. Generally, if you look back on your life, how would you describe the way you came across to people? How would you describe yourself?
SM: [Pause, makes questioning noise, as if confused by question]
- 96 BH: Would they think Simon was a shy man?
SM: A shy man, very shy.
- BH: But you would sometimes be aggressive. Do you think that was often or behind closed doors?
SM: [pause] No, I would think that was often.
- 97 BH: It was often, mmm. Were you only violent towards girlfriends, or towards other people also?
SM: [Clear speech] I was violent towards other people, I would say that.
BH: Ja. So you got in fights a lot, but you didn't drink.
SM: No, even smoking is not a thing for me...
- 98 BH: And what do you think you come across to other people like? And if I got him [referring to cellmate] in here, and said what he what do you think of SM?
SM: No, people would say that Simon he is a nice, friendly guy [laughs].
- 99 But I am also short-tempered... When angry will hit himself against wall, when angry.
- BH: So if you're getting a temper, you will beat on a wall or hit your head on a wall.
SM: Ja.
BH: Is that for whole life?
SM: I do that, I do.
BH: Is that the way you get it out.
- 100 SM: Ja, I have to get it out me.
BH: Did you run away from home a lot, or run away from school?
SM: I used to run away from school.
BH: So, was this all through your school.
SM: No, when I reached high school I started to change. When I reached high school I started to change.
BH: So up until you were about 12.

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you run away from home?

SM: No, the only time I used it, it's not 'run away' as such, it'd more to 'hide away from home' if I was going to get punished if I didn't go to school.

BH: So you would say generally, you didn't like the school and avoided it.

SM: Ja [mutual laughter].

BH: Did you ever steal anything? From brothers or sisters? Like money or sweets?

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SM: Never. I would never take something that doesn't belong to me, it's how I was raised. Not to steal. If you want something, you must ask.

BH: So you were raised quite strictly?

SM: Ja.

BH: Got in fights with other children, when you were growing up?

SM: Yes, I did.

BH: Always the same age as you, not... [Tape ends]... when you were a child, did you also get into fights with adults?

SM: Ja.

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BH: OK, often or just?

SM: [Interrupts] Just, maybe not like adults as such, just bigger boys.

BH: So it was more older children.

SM: Ja.

BH: So it was the same, they would say something to you and you would get...?

SM: Ja. [Mutual laughter]

BH:...Did you ever set fire to things? Like burn down a house or someone's car?

SM: Yes, when I was in, during the Struggle.

BH: OK, what, with petrol bombs?

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SM: Ja.

BH: So you were in the ANC.

SM: Yes.

BH: Where you part of the Comrades?

SM: I was part of the Comrades.

BH: How high did you get up there? Were you the head of your group?

SM: Like I said, I was the political advisor.

BH: For the Comrades, and the ANC.

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you often have fights with them? I mean, was there a lot of fighting? With sticks, or guns?

SM: Yes. Yes, there were guns but, like I said, I hate [emphatic] guns. But guns are not a problem, because there was a guy who once said ‘guns by themselves are not dangerous, it is the anger within man that is dangerous.’ I hated guns.

BH: So if you had to do something for the Struggle, you wouldn’t use a gun. Would you follow the orders? Or what would happen there?

SM: If that order is the right order I would follow it. But there is something that I don’t like about it, I would question it, the leader. I don’t take orders. If it is the right order, I would take that order, but if I believe it’s wrong, I don’t take it.

BH: OK, so people would, if they say ‘you should burn that house’...

SM: [Interrupts] They must get a reason, they must have a reason. And a good one.

BH: What reasons were usually the good ones?

SM: If someone maybe is working for the System, I would call that a good reason. And you have to be sure that that particular person is working for the System, then that’s a good reason. But if you are not sure, you going to tell us about something you heard some people say, then that’s not good.

BH: What age were you when you did this? How old were you?

SM: 15.

BH: So you were still quite young.

SM: I was still very young.

BH: So you were 15 when you were a political advisor.

SM: Ja.

BH: How old were those around you? I mean, how old were those you were working with?

SM: No, they were all about 15. There were others too.

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BH: And the other Comrades in your group?

SM: Some of them were, they were stupid who did bad things. They didn't follow the politics. They didn't read books and all that stuff. I like to read in books.

BH: You did it for the politics, they did it because they liked to break things.

SM: Breaks things and all that stuff, ja.

BH: Were you young for a political advisor?

SM: Maybe it's because I like reading books. Even now, if I see there's something that interested me, I read about it. That is how I taught myself.

BH: What sorts of books are your favourite?

SM: [laugh] Religious books and psychological books.

BH: What interests you about them?

SM: Like I said, I would like to learn to know about people more, you see. Sometimes I look at people and I make my own analysis. I can look at someone and try analyse at 'what kind of person is this?' I like doing that. Even today I must go down and write what I think about you [mutual laughter].

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BH: Ja, you have to go back and think, was he a skelm? [mutual laughter] ...so you like finding out more about people, working out what sort of person they are.

SM: Ja...

BH: Are there any other questions you have?

SM: No.

BH: Anything you'd like to know? Any requests?

SM: No, the thing is, the only thing I wanted to say is that there are people out there you have not yet come this, you don't know nothing about life. I [emphatic] what I wanted to do is to meet [INAUDIBLE] someone who is interested, who knows about prison. It is not going to help, to preach about crime outside, and then you here someone preaching about crime who knows nothing about crime. They must get someone who knows what is happening here, who is in prison, get someone who can say 'guys, he is right. It is like this, and this, and this. Crime doesn't pay at all'. You see,

that's what I want to do, you see.

BH: Ja, what you would like to do.

SM: Ja, what I would like to do, if there was a chance of doing that...

BH: I think that's all the questions I've got to ask. So Ms. Mbuli, you had nothing to do with?

SM: [Emphatic] Nothing at all.

BH: So what do you think happened with her?

SM: [Pause] You see, people are like this. If you hear that something [means 'someone'] like that is doing this, and then people will come forward. Like when the people who were looking for me they said Simon Mandlenkosi is a serial killer, still people believe that. The judge who sent me down said there is no [INAUDIBLE]...

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BH: There is no?

SM: That I am not a serial killer, or a [stutters] a rapist or all that stuff. You see, because maybe they had more than six cases against me. So, I forgave them, those people. Because maybe, I knew that, like Mbuli said I was driving a Citi Golf and all that stuff and Nandi said She found Mbuli's clothes in her car and all that stuff. But they did not bring those cars to the court, or those clothes to the court, and all that stuff, and said 'these were Mbuli's things'. But I said, I don't mind.

BH: [Sympathetic] So you just had that case put on you?

SM: [Emphatic] Yes.

BH: You said you're not a serial killer, what would you describe yourself as?

SM: [Laughs] I don't know [small laugh again] really I don't know. But I'm not one, because I didn't go around killing people, without a reason, or enjoy killing people.

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BH: You say if you're a serial killer you would have done it without reason, or you would have liked doing it.

SM: Yeah.

[SM asks to be excused. Tape is turned off. When he returns...]

BH: Whenever you killed someone you had a reason?

SM: [Emphatic] Yes.

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BH: So you never killed anyone who didn't make you angry?

SM: [Pause] And it was not my intention to go around killing people who have made me angry. Those [referring to victims] were not the only people who made me angry.

BH: Ja.

SM: Nandi made me angry. If I wanted to kill her I could have killed many a times. I had the chance. But I didn't want to kill Nandi. She's still alive today.

BH: What kept Nandi alive? Why didn't you kill her?

[Pause, mutual laughter at difficult question]

SM: No, I really like Nandi. Especially now. But, I think maybe the children. Let's say the children. My brother's children helped her stay alive.

BH: OK, so it's because she had your brother's children, you didn't...

SM: Ja

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BH: Was there anyone else you would liked to have killed?

SM: [pause] No [quiet tone, emphatic].

BH: Could more murders have happened if there was, if things had gone wrong?

SM: No [emphatic]

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BH: I honestly think that's all I'm got to ask, thanks very much for your time. Thanks very much for your help. Do you have any other questions? I understand you've been speaking to the prison psychologist, is that asking things about psychology?

SM: No, I want to get transferred from here. I want to go to [INAUDIBLE] prison.

BH: OK, is that closer to family?

SM: I think my girlfriend is sick. But she doesn't have money to come and see me. I would also like to go and see her. She's also sick.

BH: OK, which girlfriend is this?

SM: Amelia.

BH: Amelia, was this the girlfriend you were on the way to see, with Stella?

SM: I was staying with her, when I was arrested.

BH: Yes, OK. How long have you been with Amelia.

SM: Since 1995.

BH: So a long time.

SM: She's the only one I've never hit.

BH: Don't you fight with Amelia?

SM: Never.

BH: Do you like her?

SM: I like her.

BH: If you got a chance, would you marry Amelia?

SM: That's what I wanted to do [laugh].

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BH: Maybe you'll get the chance...Thanks very much for your help, if you've got any problems, just get in contact. Good luck and thanks for your time.

SM: Sure. It helps to talk.

Transcription of interview with Jacques Eksteen

BH: The questions will cover a whole range of things, I don't know if there's any place you would like to start? For example, how you grew up. Or would you prefer I just ask?

JE: Ja, you can just ask [jy kan maar vra].

BH: How big was your family? Did you have brothers and sisters?

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JE: No, I'm the only son. OK, there were other children, but then they died at birth, or just after birth.

BH: Were the others older than you or younger than you?

JE: I think the one was older than me, and the other was younger than me.

That's what I think, I'm not completely certain.

BH: And they just died at birth or just after ...

JE: [interrupts] Ja, I think after birth, I don't know what [INAUDIBLE] they had or whatever [of wat ookal] they had, I didn't ask my parents about it.

BH: Did you get along well with your parents?

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JE: [pause] Umm, ja, there are no, it's just [searches for words] I'm not friends with my parents, you understand, they are my parents. And OK, my father's the sort of person who didn't talk much with me.

BH: He's introverted? [terruggetrokke]

JE: He's not introverted, OK, he talks [hy praat], but he's a quiet person ['n stil mens]. Umm, he will talk with you, but he won't, for example, help with school work or something like that [of so iets], or say, 'come, I'll teach you about cars' or something like that, 'look I'm going to work under the car and you can hold the spanners' or something like that. Ja. OK, my mother brought me up [grootgemaak].

BH: So your mother was the one who was very involved with you [baie met jou betrokke was]?

JE: Ja [interjects]

BH: And your father was more the one.

JE: He worked, he brought the money home, and that's is it [en dis klaar]. He didn't play with me. OK [pause] we didn't play with a ball, but we did play games, you understand, Monopoly or something like that. But not with a rugby ball, or soccer ball or, going fishing or anything like that.

BH: It was always just board games.

JE: Ja, just word games [praatspeletjies]

BH: Would you have wanted him to play with you more?

JE: No, I can't say yes or no to you, understand. It's very difficult to say. OK, any person could say 'yes, look, you'd want your father to have more involvement [betrokke] with you' OK, but for example, they don't know how to bring up a child because there's not a book which tells them how to bring up a child. Like one that says 'your child is now born', then they get the book which says [BH laughs], 'when he does his things [goede] you must clean him up with Vaseline otherwise he gets a baby rash, a nappie rash or something' OK. But I would say, yes, yes, I would have liked it if he had become more involved with me [meer betrokke met my geraak].

BH: Did you feel it growing up? [Pause] Did you think, 'hey, my Dad [Pa] is a little bit cold towards me' or something like that?

JE: No, I didn't think about it, not think hard about it. But if I think back now, I think he should have been more involved with me. Not that the time [op daai stadium], you understand, about my father. About my mother, I learnt more.

BH: Is that so?

JE: Ja, you understand. She would spank me [sy't my pak gegee] and stuff.

My father didn't spank me once, I can say.

BH: Was your mother more of the disciplinarian.

JE: Ja.

BH: With what sort of things would she discipline you?

JE: [pause, more hesitations] Ja, she, there was a time when I was, say, in primary school, when she would punish me, hit me with a belt, if I didn't do homework, or was naughty, and OK, she was a bit rough...just a bit rough, but didn't abuse me [mishandel] you understand.

BH: I know what you're saying, she was strict [streng].

JE: Ja, she was just strict, and one time she hit me on the head, you understand. Umm, but when I arrived in high school, then she changed, and umm then she came closer to me [toe het sy nader aan my gekom het], that's what I felt.

BH: Oh yes, you felt that when you got older she wanted to have more involvement with you [meer met u betrokke raak], is that correct?

117 JE: Well, she was involved with me, when I went to the Voortrekkers she also went to the Voortrekkers, OK, but I mean now that she maybe now thought that she was a bit distant from me, and she wanted to become closer to me. She began to play with me, you understand, that's what I mean.... But I didn't accept [aanvaar] it... She would just hug me, so 'hullo my child, I love you' and whatever but I said 'no' and went away, when she came to tickle you or something like that... She wanted to become more close to me, that's what I'm trying to say to you, because she saw that she was driving me away when I was younger. She saw that with the things she did, how strict she was, that I was moving away from her. Now she wanted to come closer to me.

BH: Was she very strict when you were growing up?

JE: Ja, ja, I that's how I felt.

118 BH: You couldn't be naughty, or something like that. If you were naughty, you got smacked.

JE: You could say that. For example, I could say that she wouldn't allow me to go and visit anyone on my own. OK, I would go out to friends, but she didn't allow me to sleep over, or something like that

BH: So most of the time, she would want you in your place?

JE: Ja, I wouldn't be allowed to go to disco's and that sort of thing. It's not like I wanted to go, but ja, it's [tails off].

BH: You're always in the house.

JE: Ja.

BH: Is that how it happened?

JE: Ja.

BH: Were you lonely [eensaam] in primary school or high school?

JE: Ja, if you're an only child, you're always lonely. If you have a brother you can just, someone to talk to, I didn't discuss personal things with my parents. Even, for example, when I became a sergeant, in the police, I didn't go and say to her 'I am now a sergeant.'

BH: Oh ja, was it always a bit...

JE: [interjects] The strictness [strengheid] I didn't like, and also when, say when she introduces me to her friends she always said 'this is my son, isn't he nice and big?' and whatever and I didn't like that. I didn't like her introducing me [voorstel] it really irritated me.

BH: Would you rather have that she wouldn't introduce you to others?

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JE: Ja, acquaintances, ja, then she can say; but complete strangers. She obviously just wanted to boast [spog] but I didn't want it. It [INAUDIBLE] OK, I didn't try run away, because of us becoming more distant from one another...

BH: You didn't want that she became more close to you, or introduce you to others...

JE: [interrupts] Ja, like I said, in primary school we were distant from each other [uitemekaar] but in high school she wanted to become more close

BH: And it really irritated you.

JE: Ja, you could say, it isn't quite the right word to use.

BH: OK, so maybe you could say it made you feel uneasy [ongemaklik]?

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JE: Ja, ja [emphatic].

BH: Did doesn't feel nice, is that a better way of saying...

JE: Ja ja.

BH: You don't want her to make you known, you just want to be on your

own, is that...?

JE: Ja, ja.

BH: Did you like people [INAUDIBLE]... Would you describe yourself as someone who always wanted to be on your own?

JE: Ja, you could say that, but I wanted to break out... I wanted to be alone, but it also wasn't nice [lekker] at that stage. I wanted to be alone, but also it wasn't nice, and I wanted to break out of it but I think who I am as a person, I'm introvert [ingewerk], so, umm, it, umm, say, I didn't communicate with many people. This why I'm so introverted, [INAUDIBLE] and wanted to break out, you understand.

BH: To put it this way, you were introvert and most of the time you were alone, and although you didn't hate it, there was something you wanted to change.

JE: Ja.

BH: To break out, but you were an introvert so it was hard.

JE: Ja ja.

BH: Did you get very frustrated over this, because you always want to break out of this thing.

JE: Ja, you could say that, if my parents were so strict, and if they maybe spanked me, I would maybe wish that I was dead, you understand. Because I wished myself dead, I cursed myself, through that, I killed my emotions. I didn't know how to act out love [liefde uittedoen] it was a difficulty.

BH: For you, did it always feel like your emotions were dead?

JE: Ja, because I can't [pause, struggling to express himself] know how to handle, certain feelings...for example, how to be cheerful [bly], or happy [gelukkig] ... OK, I knew how to be angry, understand, but I can't name all these feelings people get. But I know what they are, happiness [blyheid]

BH: Or sadness [treurigheid]

JE: Or to love someone. Sadness is just part of anger.

BH: But all the smaller emotions...

JE: [interrupts] To be proud, or things that I regret, I didn't know how to do them, to live them out.

BH: So you got feelings but didn't know how to live them out [uitteleef]?

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JE: I don't know if I got the feelings. I don't know if I could answer that. I'm not sure I got them. I wouldn't be able to recognise them as feelings ... I could name them, having looked at it on other peoples faces, but to live it myself, that's the thing. For example if you were first in the class, what should your reaction be? Or if you got a present, what should your reaction be?...Or if, say when I became a sergeant, how must you conduct yourself when you become a sergeant?

BH: So you got all the feelings but can't live them out.

JE: Ja, or if you for example get someone who loves you, and you want to love her back: you know how to woo her [vry], but to demonstrate that love, it's a completely different situation. To understand the true meaning of the words, 'I love you', to demonstrate and expound on it [uittebrei], to write words to say what's in your heart, that I didn't know how to do it. OK, I learnt it after I was involved with someone who gave these things to me, but I didn't handle it like an understanding person [verstandige mens]. Now I know what it is like to love a person, now I know if someone loves you, this is how it is done...But at the time I didn't have the things [dinges] to know how to do it. To say, 'I love you' is easy, but to really show it, and to do certain things to show you love her... that sort of thing.

BH: You didn't know about these things.

JE: I didn't have the knowledge.

BH: Did you have many friends at school?

JE: You could say I always had friends, but not many. There were always friends. But to say whether they were true friends, or more acquaintances, that you just did things with I am not so sure; if you would always be there for your friend, you understand, [or] they are just friends because they stay near to you...

BH: They are more friends...

JE: [interrupts] They are a friend [emphasises word] you can do things with them. They are prepared to help you, you can speak confidentially and you know he won't talk to anyone else, ummm, that is a friend. But I always had the other. They were always friends, but not many. Maybe the little guy [outjie] who lives next door. The kids who sit next to you in class, or who you

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chat with, or who you eat your lunch with at break; he is my friend, that's all.

BH: So, to put it this way, these people weren't your true friends, just the people who were near you.

JE: Ja, they were my acquaintances, and also my friends, but not my friend – friend. [BH laughs]

BH: Ja, I understand.

JE: You could say in primary school, I had two or three friends... I didn't go out searching to make friends. There was one friend at primary school who maybe, stood out compared to the other two. But I didn't discuss personal things with them, like for example 'I like that girl [meisie] and en would like to go out with her' or 'I took money from my mom's bag, let's go buy sweets' or something like that.

BH: You wouldn't talk to them about that sort of thing. You can play with them, but couldn't discuss...

JE: [interjects] Ja.

BH:...personal things with them, that sort of thing.

JE: [interjects] Ja, ja.

BH: How long did you have these friends for, a couple of years each?

JE: Until I was out school. Now and then I'd have contact, when I was out the school, Now and then I'd have contact, not like every weekend or every month.

124 BH: In primary school, how would you describe yourself? Or do you feel, from when you were small, would you describe yourself as a lonely child, someone who felt lonely?

JE: No, I wouldn't say that I would try hide away if anyone approached me [ek probeer wegkruip as iemand kom].

BH: On the whole, how did you feel?

JE: I think I could say I felt alone [alleen].

BH: Was it a lonely [eensaam] feeling, or just the feeling of being alone [alleen-gevoel]? Good or bad?

JE: I think both [definite tone].

125 BH: It's a feeling that has both good and bad in it.

JE: Ja, if you feel alone then you can take money from your mother's handbag

and go to the cafe and play games on the machine [i.e. video games], but that sort of things...If you can't go to a friend, but you feel alone, so to make yourself feel, to make...you must make [verskaf] your own amusement, so you go to the cafe and play video games.

BH: Did you always felt alone, or lonely, since you were young?

JE: Ja, you can say that. I don't know if I perceived [besef] that I was feeling alone, at the time, now thinking back on it, I can say 'yes, it was like that'. But at the time you didn't know whether it was a feeling of aloneness or loneliness.

BH: So it was, to use the term, 'just the way things were'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Now, when you're thinking back, you think 'maybe I was a bit alone, a bit lonely'?

JE: Ja.

BH: Who was your favourite parent?

JE: I don't know. I couldn't say which one is my favourite. I lived with them, there wasn't one person I chose over the other.

BH: When they disciplined you, your mother was strict, did she spank you, scold [skel] you?

JE: Ja, she would scold, spank me, as I said, handle me a bit roughly [INAUDIBLE] hit [klap] a hand across the head. But it wasn't anything I would call abuse. Umm, because, OK, maybe I wasn't alone in that.

BH: But for you , it feel like it was abuse.

JE: For me, it felt like she was too strict.

BH: Ja.

JE: It was a bit hard for me. I wouldn't call it abuse but, like I said...maybe there were psychological consequences [sielkundige uitwerkings] when I think back on it now, but at that time I didn't know. I couldn't say for you whether it was abuse, or had psychological [TAPE ENDS]... only if I didn't if I didn't learn well, or did my school work, or didn't do certain things, or if I couldn't hold certain things in my head, couldn't remember, then she would say 'go learn some more'. Then when I come back, it is the same, that's how it happened.

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BH: Was it that sort of thing you were disciplined for, when you didn't learn well.

JE: Ja, OK and when I was naughty [stout].

BH: What sort of naughtiness would you get up to?

JE: Well, say maybe, [much hesitation] walking around in the street and forgetting to turn off oil on the stove, and when I come back the house is full of smoke...just like a child is naughty, you see, I can't remember all the things I did when I was naughty, but that sort of thing.

BH: Did you ever, for example, through a stone and shatter a window?

JE: So with a stone?

BH: Ja, ja.

JE: Ja, through a car's window, I threw a stone and shattered it. Or maybe staying in the café too long, and coming home after 6...

BH: When you threw the stone through the car's window, what was that, was it by accident?

JE: Ja, it was by accident [INAUDIBLE]...You look where you are, if it's an empty building then ja, you would smash a window, but not where people stay.

BH: Did you take things from Mom's bag, money? A bit of money now and then? [BH knew he did, in advance]

JE: Ja

BH: Did you take sweets, if they were there?

JE: Ja.

BH: Petty theft, would you say?

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you ever steal anything bigger, or was it only from the crimes? [referring to the crimes for which Jacques was arrested]

JE: Just at the crimes did I steal anything bigger, always just money, I didn't do it many times, just once or twice, most of the time just money out the handbags [based on next sentence, appears he is referring to when he was young and stealing from Mother's handbag].

BH: And when you grew up, in high school?

JE: Yes, the same thing. Just the money from handbag.

BH: Did you mother ever find out?

JE: I don't know, I couldn't say whether she knew. She didn't ever ask, there was an occasion [geleentheid] when I stole some money out her handbag, and she came there and I said 'it must be in the cupboard [kas] because it wasn't in the bag; she knew about that, because I said to her, I was nicely caught [mooi gevang]. That she knew about. Maybe on other occasions too, I can't remember. Maybe, when [INAUDIBLE] there wasn't money and I tried again, then she saw me, but I got out of there [skiet ek daaruit].

BH: At your mother's?

JE: No, at other people's [Jacques is mumbling, and is hard to follow, at this point in the interview]

BH: Oh, OK, ja.

JE: So, that time she thought [INAUDIBLE] [laughs]. [Appears that Jacques had been caught, by his mother, stealing money at another person's house].

129 BH: What did your mother think, was she angry with you?

JE: Ja, ja, she was angry. That was the one time my Dad hit me...I knew that they would spank me, but I wasn't afraid of them.

BH: Did you get very angry [kwaad]? Did you get angry easily?

JE: Ja, ja. Sometimes I got angry easily, other times I wasn't angry, but I didn't bring it out [het dit nie uitgebring nie]. Other times, I did bring it out and would scream, or talk loudly, I would show I was angry. It wasn't anger that would last a whole day. Say, I couldn't say how long, say maybe an hour and if I was still angry, a day. But the next day, I'm not angry, you understand.

130 BH: Ja, you're angry and then it's finished.

JE: Ja. I wouldn't not often get angry. To shout, yes, I wouldn't go sit to one side and get angry. I would move....I didn't hit things.

BH: Just got angry.

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you get angry often?

JE: No, I didn't get angry very often.

BH: You weren't the sort that could easily get angry.

JE: I don't have an idea if I got angry easily. OK, I got angry, but it's not

anger so that I would assault [aanrand] someone...I don't let it out, my anger, I held it inside.

BH: Was it always like this with you?

JE: Ja.

BH: If you were angry, you wouldn't show it to someone you would move around it...

JE: [interjects] Ja, or talk about it, why I got angry.

BH: Were you ever in fights at school?

JE: No, I wasn't involved in fights at school, OK, I once hit someone in the face, but he didn't want to fight back. Maybe he thought [besef] he was in the wrong, that's what I think, or just the fright [skrik] that I hit him maybe [BH laughs] meant that he didn't want to fight back, or something like that. I didn't fight other times.

131 BH: It was just that once.

JE: Ja.

BH: How old were you when that happened?

JE: I was in high school, standard 6 or 7.

BH: Were you at the same school for the whole of primary school?

JE: Ja, at primary school I was at one school, but at high school I was at two different schools because we moved. I was at one school in Witbank, then we moved in standard 7 or 8, then we were in the Cape, in Despatch. Then in 9 [i.e. standard 9] we came back... and I was then again going to school in Witbank...Did [standards] 9 and 10 in Witbank.

BH: Did you parents move around a lot?

JE: No.

BH: What was the reason for the Despatch...?

JE: Because they bought a business

BH: What sort of business?

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JE: A shop.

BH: Were both parents working there?

JE: Ja.

BH: All the time?

JE: Ja, for that year. They bought the shop, then the person they bought it

with moved [vertrek], and didn't want to buy it any more, and then we had to move back... OK for [INAUDIBLE] I just stayed in hostel [koshuis] at the school, near the house.

BH: Did you enjoy hostel?

JE: Ja. I was [INAUDIBLE]

BH: Why did you like hostel so much?

JE: I was alright, it's not a problem for me to fit in to that sort of place. You understand, I come to prison, and it's not hard [for me] to fit in. I know I must be at here at a certain time, [stammers]...I must learn here, I can't make trouble or make things hard for myself, punish myself.

BH: When you come to a new place, it is alright [ooraaait] for you?

JE: Ja, it's alright. It's not a problem, you must fit in. it's not hard for me to fit in in a new place, like a hostel.

BH: Did you have lots of friends at the hostel?

JE: There were always friends, but not many. I always had friends but, as I said before, they were more acquaintances.

BH: More acquaintances than friends, would you say?

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you like hostel because it got you away from home?

JE: [pause] No, I don't believe so. I don't believe so, no. Because I went home on the weekends, so knew I must go to school, and I would go home soon. It wasn't a problem...

BH: [Did] you never had psychological treatment [sielkundige behandeling] before?

JE: No, no.

BH: Not during high school, for example.

JE: No, no, I didn't even have an idea there was that sort of thing [INAUDIBLE sentence] I saw mad people, but I didn't know about psychologists [BH laughs]. OK, so say I had problems, I couldn't discuss [bespreek] them with anyone, I held them inside [het hulle binne my gehou]. I didn't know that I could go over there to be free of my problems [soontoe om hierdie probleme los to kry]. I didn't know

BH: What sort of problems?

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JE: As I said to you, I didn't know how to do feelings [om gevoelens te doen]. I didn't perceive [besef] that what I was doing by stealing out the handbag was a problem and that it can get bigger.

BH: Did it get bigger?

JE: Ja.

BH: I just wondered whether it was something completely different, or just part of the same? [i.e. continuum that needed with murders]

JE: Ja. You could say it is like a person who starts smoking dagga at a young age, now I began stealing out handbags. So like that person then goes on the pills or [INAUDIBLE] or mandrax or whatever; I started stealing more money. I would not just steal R5, I would now go onto R50 or R100 or R200.... in handbags, and by people I knew. And then later I would go into stranger's houses, [I] didn't break windows or anything like that, and then I would take there savings cards, and I would get the numbers, then withdraw money from their savings accounts. So it got bigger [het al hoe groter gegaan] maybe I would have later gone on to rob a bank [BH laughs, though not sure if JE was making joke, seemed to be smile in voice]

BH: I understand, it started small but got bigger...

JE: [interjects] You don't know it's a problem, you understand, so you don't know where to go for help, or it's a problem because at that stage it's fun [lekker] for you, you enjoy it, being able to take money out of handbags. Like if you are an addict you enjoy smoking drugs. And as you get stronger, you begin to experiment. You experiment, you see if you can use the numbers to draw money from the bank.

BH: Did it feel good for you, the theft?

JE: Ja, it's fun [lekker], it was an adventure. You're enjoying yourself, you've got money to waste or whatever, you didn't work for that... It wasn't planned.

BH: You just thought 'I've got money, it's good'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you ever think about suicide?

JE: Ja, when I committed the murders. There was a stage when they thought it was a person who stayed in the barracks [police barracks near the a number of the scenes]. They were going to take fingerprints from everyone there. They

said you had to be there at a certain date and time, where they were going to do it. So that evening I thought I must shoot myself [INAUDIBLE] I was caught, then you think about committing suicide. But I didn't do it, you understand, I didn't think it was a solution, at that stage. Umm, it's also because it says in the Bible, if you commit suicide, then you go to hell.

BH: Were you always religious?

JE: I went to church regularly, attended youth services and whatever.

BH: Always like that?

JE: Ja, ja, every Sunday. OK, maybe now and again my parents went and I didn't go. If you were on holiday you didn't go. But I didn't read my bible at home. I didn't do the more religious things, like tell people about Jesus.

B: So you always at church, but weren't very involved [betrokke] with it.

JE: Ja, I did go to youth groups, that go to a places in the weekend. You would be in groups that have to do a play, sometimes...

BH: On the whole, are you moderately religious, or very religious?

JE: I am religious, but not very religious....

BH: Did you play a lot of sport at school?

JE: Ja, I played rugby now and again but I wouldn't do it regularly, I would maybe play for a year and then leave it for another year, then I would begin again. I wouldn't go to all the practices, so I wouldn't select me [mutual laughter]

BH: Any other sports, athletics or gymnastics?

JE: Ja, I took part in athletics, 800 [metres]. Now and then I would play squash with a friend, tennis with a friend. I really liked table tennis....it was at primary and high school.

BH: But there wasn't a sport you were really keen about?

JE: Ja. I would go to play there, my favourite was table tennis. I would lay that at home. I didn't go and become part of a club.

BH: You didn't do it to say, become a provincial player.

JE: Ja, just because I enjoy it. I didn't force myself to do certain things. OK, I enjoyed playing rugby, but maybe I was to lazy to practice [mutual laughter].

BH: You didn't worry much about it.

JE: It's important to you [jy stel belang] but after a while you don't really find

it important any more. So like for example, you study in a certain subject and then later, you don't enjoy it anymore, OK you still do it, to finish it. The importance of something isn't constant [die belangstelling is nie konstant nie].

BH: What activity, hobby or such like, did you most enjoy?

JE: I liked being in the Voortrekkers and all the things to do. To get badges...I enjoyed that, carved wood, and collected stamps but I didn't get into hugely, studying stamps and everything.

BH: How long in were you in Voortrekkers for example?

JE: 7 years. From when he began school up until std 5.

BH: At what standard to do you leave the school?

JE: I just made matric [grade 12]... then I went into the police. I joined the Railway Police.

BH: What made you decide on the Railway Police?

JE: No, look, I didn't decide 'now, I'm going to be that'. I didn't have a clue what I was going to do, when I was in school. There wasn't any specific thing I wanted to do... Then I decided to join the police, but the police didn't accept [aanvaar] me, then one friend of my side they were looking for people in the Railway Police, at the airport. Then I went there and got [INAUDIBLE].

BH: How come the other police didn't accept you?

JE: I don't know. They didn't tell me. I wanted to wait for my conscription papers for the Army, but then I decided 'I've already joined the police'. But it wasn't a big thing: 'I must go there, or I must go the other way.' I never had the idea to do that, I didn't know, I just went. If I decide to do something thing I'm going to do it. I just went, to do something, to do work. So I applied for the Railway [police]. OK, I did go to the Post Office, but they didn't get back to me, but they didn't get back to me to say whether I had been accepted, or whatever. So I went to one place, and then went to another and, they wanted me.

BH: You tried to get work at the Post Office and the Police but, for whatever reason, they didn't want you so...

JE: I went to a lot of places, not just the police and the Post Office. I made enquiries at a lot of places, and they said 'you're on a list, we'll contact you'.

BH: Ja, and they never called you back.

JE: Then I said I went to find people at the Railway Police. So I went, and had an interview, and they said they would contact me. Then I went on holiday, and when I came back they asked me if I was still interested, and I said yes and then I went.

BH: Did you like police work?

JE: Yes, when I worked at the airport, I enjoyed working there. But the others, like the Riot Squad [Onruseenheid] I didn't like much.

BH: How come you didn't like it [i.e. the Riot Squad], was it the danger of it?

JE: No, it's not the danger that bothered me. Ummm, it wasn't

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[INAUDIBLE] work, it's just the same thing every day. At the airport it's a completely different, you do don't do one job, there's different jobs [that you do]: you work at the terminal, or you work at the freight, or you drive vehicles around. Or you work at the charge counter, or you do office work, or you fly, as a courier.

BH: The others were boring.

JE: Ja, at the same place, every day, in the same situations. There's not the variety in your duties [verskil in jou werke].

BH: Ja. Did you see a lot of action there? Did lots of people shoot at you, for example?

JE: Ja, um, ja. People shot at us, and threw stones and threw petrol bombs [tone of voice doesn't change]

BH: Did you ever shoot anyone? Shot anyone dead?

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JE: No, I never shot anyone dead. [INAUDIBLE] We used rubber bullets and tear gas.

BH: Just shotguns and tear gas.

JE: Ja.

BH: Do you ever get nightmares?

JE: No.

BH: So you're not really worried about those things.

JE: No.

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BH: Do you ever get nightmares, about anything?

JE: No, I don't. But I do think about the things that I've done, it comes back to

me a lot. Like, for example, OK, when I think back to the woman I shot in the bath... It just comes into my thoughts [gedagte], I don't look [soek] to think about it, you understand, because it will always stay with me, it's a thing that happened in my life, you must think back about these things.

BH: Do you think more about those things than you do about anything else? Do you think about your crimes than you do, for example, your schooldays?

JE: [pause, thoughtful noise] I don't know. Ja, you could say that; but I don't think a lot about my school days.

BH: Oh ja, but you think...

142 JE: [interjects] I think back about the times I stole money from handbags, that comes very often. It comes, not every day, but it comes often. Say like, you're finished for the day and then you think back to your [INAUDIBLE] but I don't really speak about it. OK if someone asks me then we can sit and talk, but it won't come out of me.

BH: You wouldn't go find someone to speak to about this. How do you feel about your crimes, bad? Or was it [just] 'something that happened'?

143 JE: No, I wouldn't say it was something that happened. Ummm, Look, I know that what I did was wrong [pause]. At that stage what I did didn't bother me. I knew it was wrong, and that I must stop, you understand, but I couldn't. It was like a drug. You may know, but you can't stop yourself. I didn't perceive that I must talk, or go for help, you understand.

BH: You just thought it's wrong, but you can't stop.

144 JE: Ja. But I also didn't go, I didn't try stop or go for help. Talk about it, you understand. That's definitely a problem with me. Now I know, if I have a problem then I must go to that person and say I have a problem, help me, give me guidance, advice, help me.

BH: At the time of the murders, did it feel horrible [sleg] for you? Or was it more of a thrill ['thrill' said in English]?

JE: Ja, it was a thrill ['thrill' said in English].

BH: Did you feel very sad [treurig] about it?

145 JE: No [pause] no. I was concerned [bekkommerd] over the thing but I don't go out to stop it.

BH: Why did you feel concerned?...What type of concern?

JE: It's a hard question, you know. I couldn't say. If I say, I don't know if I'm telling the truth.

BH: OK, I understand. To put it this way, did you ever felt sad [treurig] or very regretful [berou]? Or was it just that you concerned because something is wrong?

JE: Ja, you could say [blows out air thinking] it bothered me [pla] but not terribly, you understand. [pause, struggles for words] You can say, come, I, [laughs, seemingly at own struggle] I didn't understand myself.

BH: Is this what concerned you, you couldn't understand why you were doing this?

JE: Ja. OK I knew, but at at that stage, I didn't know. Now I can say maybe it was an adventure, I don't know...maybe like stealing cash out the handbags. You're just in the thing, you're doing it, you don't really perceive [besef] it. You know what you're doing is wrong...

BH: [interjects] But you'll do it for the excitement? [opwinding]

JE: Nee [fast, quite adamant], nee, nee, not for the excitement [opwinding], that's a bit...[tails off] I felt that I wanted [emphasised this] to do it again. It half felt like I was forced. But It's not that someone told me to do it, you understand.

BH: It felt like you were forced, like if you use lots of drugs, so in the end it almost forced to use more to get those feeling feeling? Is that how it felt?

JE: No [long pause], no, I think the [INAUDIBLE] that caused it, I think that's what you are looking for. The danger of it. [Pause, speaks as if decided] Ja, I can say the danger. You don't know it, maybe, the person also has a firearm, and anything can happen [mumbles more here] You weren't always sharp, you weren't always worried about it, met, like I said...[tails off]

BH: [interjects] It's hard to say...

JE: [interjects, finishing the sentence] Precisely how you came to that point.

BH: On the whole, it was for the adrenaline, the feeling of danger [gevaar gevoel]?

JE: Ja, the feeling of danger.

BH: Now I'm doing something, and it's...

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JE:...[something] that you can't stop, you understand. That's what also the drives the thing.

BH: You just do 'more and more and more'.

JE: Ja.

BH: What were the reasons, would you say, that you couldn't stop?

JE: I don't know [pause] you could say it was like when you began stealing, it's half-fun [lekker] for you but I couldn't say the murder or the rapes were fun, you just do them because there was a chance there to do them. You don't feel forced, you just do it because you do it. Maybe you're searching for something, I don't know.

BH: Looking for?

JE: I don't have any idea. But it felt for me like I was half searching for something, I don't know.

BH: You didn't know what it was, but you were looking for something?

JE: Ja.

BH: If you think back, at that stage, were the offences fundamentally about sex? [sexuel van aard] Did you, for example, feel horny [jags]?

148 JE: No [pause] I didn't feel horny, not in the beginning, but later you go have to sex, but it wasn't horniness [jagsheid]. It was just maybe, you're looking for something in the sexual act. I don't know. I don't understand it myself. In the beginning, you come on the scene [much pausing, searching for words] and you think it's a woman, and then you think 'I must have sex with her'. It's not about horniness. It's about just having sex with the woman but it's not horniness, it's just the deed that you have decided to do. But later you go out to have sex, but it [INAUDIBLE]

149 JE: Ja, that you went there, like I said when I stole from handbags. Then you'd go for more things, for example steal CD's, and then you'd look around and see that a woman lives there alone, but I didn't look around to see if a man lived there also. When I took the money from the handbags, I didn't have thoughts ['gedagte', presumably around rape] but when I began with the murders and the rapes, and so on, then I had a weapon, and I think because I didn't have respect for the weapon, or for the people I did the things to, the rapes, and you just did it. You don't realise it at the time, but when you do this

things you're also destroying yourself. It's not like suicide you decided to do, over certain things you did in your live.

BH: [interject] But its almost like you're self-destructing.

JE: Ja, you didn't worry what you were doing, you didn't plan, to, but what you're doing is self-destruction

BH: You didn't worry about it, but this thing you're doing is busy destroying [vernietig] you.

JE: Ja.

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BH: What caused you to have these feelings of self-destruction [self-vernietiging]?

JE: Umm [pause] In the beginning, you can't to stop. Then you get bigger, like you said, with the handbags and then later I could go rob banks.

BH: It became harder to stop as you went along, once you had started.

JE: Maybe, the things that I stole out of women's handbags, began [the plans to] to have sex with women. I don't know, I just think that.

BH: To put it this way, it was part of the same act. You stole this thing, you saw a woman there and thought 'hey, I can have sex with her'?

JE: Ja, but it wasn't on the street I didn't follow people on the street, because she looked good to have sex with, you know. There was others where a man slept in the bedroom alongside, and the door was shut and you knew there could be someone, but it didn't bother you. If he had come out I would have shot him also, you understand [Jacques appears to be referring to one of his offences in the last two sentences]. It's not just, uh, I went there to rape, but because I began it, I wanted to do it again.

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BH: Did it feel good? On a physical level?

JE: [pauses] Umm, no, I couldn't say it felt good, you did it because you had to do it, talking about killing them, it's complicated. There are quite few reasons.

BH: If you could name them, what are those reasons?

JE: Because I began with the handbags and got bigger, that's one reason; and another reason, look is because the light was on, I killed them [doodgemaak]

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BH: Because they saw your face?

JE: Ja, but I didn't wear glove, you understand. I couple of times you take the

cartridge, if you see it, then you think you take them. It's not like you look around for it, but if you saee it, you think 'I'll take it'.

BH: You didn't plan everything specifically, to put it that way.

JE: Ja, ja. You planned to go out, understand because if you begin with one, then you go with it for a while. Then you go to another thing, and continue with that for a while, you understand.

153 BH: For example, you start with handbags and go on...

JE: [interjects] You experiment, like with drugs.

BH: You do a bit more.

JE: You start with dagga, then go on to pinks, then to cocaine and whatever else... it's the same sort of thing.

154 BH: In the first case [referring to Thomasina Selepeng], would it worry you if you spoke more about the cases?

JE: We can speak

BH: In the first case... What happened there?

155 JE: [many pauses for thought initially, then speaks easily] The thing is, like this she came to ask for work. Then I saw she looks good. Then I, saw her the next day, I saw the woman whose house it was going to the shops, I didn't realise she [Thomasina] would still be in the house [or in servant's quarters out back] ...I was going in to house to look for money. I saw the door was open to the outside room and it was near the houses back door. It was just alongside my parent's house, over the wall. She was still sleeping, but the door was open.

BH: Was it the morning?

JE: It was in the morning.

BH: Early morning?

156 JE: Ja, it was early morning. I decided that I was going to have sex with her. Then I go into the room. Then she wakes up. Then she screams and I grab her by the throat, to get her to be quiet. Then I yanked [ruk] the blankets off, the night clothes off... She had on nightie on and sleeping shorts. But didn't have panties on her sleeping shorts. But she still struggled, still fought [last word said in English] and then I hit her on the stomach [maag] to get her calm [rustig]. She kept fighting, you understand, and we fell off the bed, struggling.

[pause] Ok, then she passed out, or something. I heard in court about the smothering from the fire, that the nightdress and the clothes fell on her face and they were on fire, and that caused her smothering. She then passed out. [INAUDIBLE] . Now I was exhausted from the struggling. So I wasn't keen [lus] to rape her...[INAUDIBLE] I didn't want to [belangstel] do the act. Then I set fire to the table, there were some newspapers on the table and I set them on fire

BH: Did you undress her?

157 JE: She was already naked there on the ground, as I said, I had already torn her clothes off. Then I set the place on fire and walked out. The fire spread from the table to the bedclothes, and then on to the night clothes or dress, I don't know which it was, that fell on her face. She lay like so, and the bed was here. And then I left. The woman living alongside saw the fire and called...

BH: Why did you set fire to the table?

JE: I don't know, it's just what I thought up [opgedink], I just I decided to do it.

BH: Not a specific reason.

JE: No..

BH: Before this, did you make lots of fires.

JE: No, set fire to places, no....

BH: How did you feel after this first crime?

158 JE: [pause, sighs] As I said, I hadn't known whether she was alive or dead. I was worried. It was the first time I did something like that. So I was very worried [bekommered] I didn't know, OK, was she alive, would she say it was me and so on, until I saw that no one was coming. Then I saw [struggles to express] that you'd strangled, killed her, or whatever. Raped, or whatever. And then when I saw nothing happens, at that stage I didn't have the weapon, then when I got the weapon I was living in the barracks. I was working in the Riot Squad. Ja, that's right. Then I had the weapon, and the weapon gave me the strength [mag] to go out again, maybe to have sex.

BH: So you thought now...

159 JE: [interjects] I had, ja, no, that's wrong [talking to himself]. Then I went out, and then went into the flat [woonstel]. I saw there were keys there, for a

car. So I took the keys, then went downstairs. I see it's BMW keys. Then I see there're 2 or 3 BMWs there. I use the keys, and then I find the right BMW. Then I ride around a for a little bit in the BMW, then ride it back and park it in the police parking... next to the station. Here's the police station, and the flat was just next door. Then I put the car in the police parking, and the woman reports it stolen, that's what I heard in the court case, the next day.

I think it was a week after that, it rained. I can't say precisely how much, but I can say it was rainy, I think it was a week. And when it rained I took the car and parked it in the parking place I got it from and I went and threw the keys away.

BH: Did the BM just sit by the police station.

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JE: Ja. OK, I don't know how many days after that, I went again to the same flat. Again there wasn't anyone there. OK, then I saw there was a one of those CDs, those Walkman you can play CDs with, and I took 2 or 3 CDs... just to take them. I don't know why I took them, [maybe] it's just because I liked them.

Then a few days after that, I then went later in the night. I had always gone about 8 o'clock [when took CDs and car] now I was going at 1 o'clock, I think.

BH: 8 o'clock when you took CDs.

JE: The car also. 8 o'clock, 9 o'clock.

BH: All on the same day.

JE: No different days. And [pause, thinking] I had by then already seen that there are men and women's clothes. I saw photos, but that's not what attracted me [there] ['aangetrek']. It was always enjoyable [lekker] to go there, and the windows were always open.

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BH: It was easy to get in.

JE: Ja

BH: Can you climb well?

JE: When went in first time, when I took the car keys, I went in the front, where the entrance and the door are. I went in there the first time, the second time, and the third time. But the other times, [it is not clear whether he is referring to other offences, or to other times he visited that flat] I climbed up

the pipes outside. I didn't break windows to get in, they were just always open.

That evening I decided OK, now I'm going to see if there will be a woman there alone, then I will have sex with her.

162 BH: Before you decided to go there, how long did you think about it?

JE: No, I didn't decide to go there again [in advance], I just decided I would go back...on that night, to go to the flat.

So I get there, then I saw a woman, I saw a person lying on the bed, I didn't know if it was woman or a man, understand. Then I heard this person moan [*kreun*], or she wakes up, and she then saw me there ...[when] I heard that that sound, I hear it is a woman. Then, when I went closer in, the woman woke up and she saw me. And then I showed her the pistol, the weapon. Then [toe] she says 'Don't shoot, put the weapon down' She said she saw the red light on the pistol...[referring to a luminous dot on the sights]... I don't know how she saw it. She said 'put down the weapon', so I put down the weapon, then I pulled off the duvet. She was then just in her panties, then I yanked [ruk] the panties off. Then she put her hands over her breasts, and I climb on. But she kept her legs closed. Well that didn't really bother [pla] me I then penetrated and then came. My watch bothered me, and so I left it on the bed under the pillow [kussing] and I forgot about it. I got dressed, and i went out. I took the telephone, and placed it in the corridor. I don't want her to phone until I had time to get out of there.

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BH Did you say anything to her?

JE: Ja, during it she asked whether I wanted a smoke, or a drink, or a talk. I said no, no, and no. Then she also asked why I took her car, what had I done with her car. I told her I took it for a joyride, and that's it.

BH: How did you feel during this time? Good, or bad?

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JE: I don't know whether I felt good or bad. What I can say [pause] I didn't want to do the act with her, to have sex with her, because I was horny or whatever [INAUDIBLE] but I didn't, OK I had seen her photo, but that didn't encourage me to her, to rape her. I was not directed at her, it was just that I wanted it.

BH: I see what you're saying, it had nothing to do with her.

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JE: Ja, didn't matter if she was pretty or whatever... [INAUDIBLE] I did see her, she looked good. I can surely say, pretty. But it was just to do that sex act, I don't feel it was lust, because I was attracted to her or she was pretty or whatever. It was just because I wanted to have sex, you understand.
- BH: It was not a beauty thing.
- JE: Do you understand?
- BH: I understand precisely, it's not about how they look...
- JE: [interjects] Or anything against them, or [because I have] anything women, you understand.
- 166
BH: It's just because you wanted sex.
- JE: I just wanted sex, you understand. Because maybe I stole money from women's handbags, maybe I had to now have sex with a women, you understand
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I had had sex [before] I had gone out with a girl, I did have sex with her. Maybe another thing I can name [with reference to offending] because I didn't, I didn't shoot my sperm into her. Maybe I did the sex [i.e. rapes] to feel how to feels to shoot [i.e. ejaculate] into a woman.
- BH: I know what you're saying, you just wanted it for the experience.
- JE: Ja.
- BH: The experience of how it feels.
- JE: Ja.
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BH: It's not about the prettiness of the woman, or the fact that he's angry with women...
- JE: Ja, ja.
- BH... You just want to have sex with her. She's there.
- JE: Ja, and maybe you get experience. To feel how it feels.
- BH: How did feel for you?
- JE: [pause] Umm, I didn't feel satisfied. It was just a sexual act. I didn't enjoy it, but it wasn't that I didn't enjoy it so much that I wouldn't do it again
- BH: Ja, I understand. It was didn't feel great, but wasn't so bad that you wouldn't do it again.

JE: Do it again... I was like when you masturbate, it's the same. It's the not the same as doing it with someone who loves you, when you're making out [vry] and you can just relax, to have sex and have her love you back. It's just an act you do to experience certain things.

As I said, I didn't shoot [ejaculate] in a girl before, but after, then I had shot inside a girl. For example, I wanted to shoot inside a girl to find out whether it made a difference.

BH: Did it make a difference to you?

JE: In the end, no. There was nothing special in it.

BH: I heard you had a fiancé, is this correct?

JE: Ja.

BH: How long were you in a relationship with her.

JE: Umm, I think four years, five years.

BH: Did you like her a lot?

JE: Ja, I liked her, ummm, I liked her a lot, because she showed [emphasises this word] that she loved me. She demonstrated it. She lived it out. I didn't have the knowledge [kennis] of that love, so maybe it confused me. I didn't know how to react. It didn't make me angry with her, so that now I'm going to take it out on women, you understand. I didn't have the ability to handle romance, or to react in an understanding way, towards a lady. The things I did maybe didn't show that I loved her, but I did love her.

BH: I see what you're saying.

JE: I'm trying to find ways to say this, but can't find the right words.

BH: Take your time, I know how it feels.

JE: Ummm [pauses, struggles for words] You see I got engaged. I did not know how to act with understanding [vertstandig optree]. I had the relationship there but I still did the deeds. She didn't know anything about it. I didn't talk to anyone about what I did.... People will see what I did, and say I didn't love her. But I really did love her. The relationship, I loved her and was prepared to marry her. Look, like for example, when a man is married and he has sex with another woman. Maybe because he really likes sex. I don't know what of sort of person thinks. Maybe I didn't have enough respect to value her.

BH: But you loved her?

JE: Maybe I didn't have the knowledge [kennis] to handle the relationship., but I did love her. You can say, it wasn't mad love, I don't know how to put it...

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BH: I know what you're saying, you felt love for her, there is no doubt of that your mind,

JE: Ja.

BH:...but you didn't know how to handle the relationship.

BH: Did the relationship end before you went to prison?

JE: No, I was arrested and then she came to me and said the relationship is off, the relationship is off. ...

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BH: How did you feel about you take it?

JE: I must accept it, because I hurt her very much and it is understandable that she doesn't have to, can't wait for me for twenty years or whatever. I can't expect it of her, she must get on with her life. I wouldn't bother her, or whatever.

BH: What sort of person was she?

JE: Ummm, [long pause, Jacques appears not to understand] with reference to what?

BH: Was she quiet, very intelligent, pretty, beautiful?

JE: She was beautiful to me. We enjoyed being together, and doing things together. We talked; but not a lot.. If she wanted to tell me important things, maybe she would write them on a piece of paper to tell me. She worked in computer processing and development. The chats weren't very intelligent, she was intelligent but not the sort that uses your brain to think about things.

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BH: I see what you're saying she wouldn't speak...about philosophy for something.

JE: Or politics, or so on...if there were important things to say she would normally write them down. Love words, too, although a few times, she would expect them herself. Or speak, or whatever, it was just another way to communicate to with me, another part of the relationship.

BH: Did you like it a lot when she did this?

JE: Ja [INAUDIBLE]

BH: You said...that this, a person showing you how they felt, was something you hadn't come across before. It that so?

JE: Ja.

BH: It was never with your family, or something.

JE: Ja, that's right.

BH: They never said 'Jacques, you're alright'?

JE: My parents?

BH: Your parents.

JE: No, you could not in that way, but when my mother said 'I love you' or 'you're my son' or whatever.

173 BH: Did you feel good about it, or was it not so...

JE: I didn't pay attention, or say anything, like 'I also love you'. If we were finished talking and she would say 'I love you', OK, I would also say 'I love you' but that's just to say what is said.

BH: Ja.

JE: It's just to say it, not because the feeling is inside you...

BH: Was it different with your girlfriend?

JE: I said it [I love you] because I knew that she really loved me. Then I could say it, because I really felt it. But I wasn't sure at that stage what the feeling was, I didn't know what love really was... I had feelings for her, but I wasn't 100% sure what they were...

BH: You're not 100% sure can be called love, but you have them.

JE: Ja.

BH: Was she your first girlfriend?

JE: First one I went out with properly, not just go out for an evening.

BH: At what age did you get this girlfriend.

174 JE: When I had already left school. I can't remember precisely how old I was, but I was out of school before I got...

BH: I know this sounds strange, but was she the first girl you had sex [gemeenskap] with?

JE: Ja. Before, when you were young, that you "fool around with girls, play doctor-doctor, but you don't actually penetrate them, although you did their

vagina with your penis.

BH: How old were you then?

JE: About six, seven.

BH: But the first time you really had sex, to orgasm, was with...

JE: ...[interjects] the girl I got engaged to.

BH: This is also, also a question that sounds very strange, but did you masturbate a lot?

JE: Ja.

BH: A lot.

JE: Ja.

BH: From what age, from young?

JE: From when I saw, say, in high school.

BH: From 12, 13.

JE: Say, from about Std 5.

BH: Was it regular, every day.

JE: I wouldn't say every day. It's often, but not every day, maybe every three to four days. Sometimes a week or two would go by without it, then I would do it.

BH: Many fantasies at that time?

JE: [long pauses] When I masturbated?

BH: Ja.

JE: The fantasies were about, I would see a woman that was naked. [Jacques struggles to express himself] Maybe I would think about a woman I had seen naked. But not every time I masturbated, sometimes, I would just masturbate because it was nice, or if I felt 'he's hot now' [BH laughs] I must do the deed... Not every time, I would think about a woman I had seen, in town, or at school; or I would just do it because I was keen to, and had decided to... he bothered me, so...[mutual laughter, the 'he' Jacques refers to in the above passage being his penis]

BH: Before first incident, the one with the black woman, did you ever think about raping women?

JE: [pause] No, I never thought about rape, although I did think about having sex with a woman, but not thinking raping them. Maybe after the first

incident [volume of voice drops, more pauses] I did think now, more [about? INAUDIBLE] rape.

BH: After the first one?

JE: Ja.

BH: With the first one, was it just a spur of the moment decision?

JE: Ja, at that moment, you decided you're going to do it. Like when you see there's a [INAUDIBLE] and decide, 'now I'm going in'.

OK, in the beginning [it was like that] but later you would think 'that window's going to be open, I'll go in later'

BH: Oh yes, for example in the second incident.

176 JE: Ja. I would see there's a woman, with the windows open. I would then come back later and see if the windows are open.

BH: And if the windows are open, you go in?

JE: Ja.

BH: We're going to speak more about your offences, if you want. With the second rape, how did you decided. Were all [victim's] flats near the [police] barracks?

JE: Ja, or near my house, my parents house. The one was near his fiancé's house.

BH: Which one?

JE: The second last.

BH: She was a old lady.

177 JE: Ja. The second one was the one were I used the car, and took the CDs...The third victim is the old granny, not far from the first incident [presume this is an error, and is referring to second victim]...[her house] was about 50 metres from the barracks, behind the houses behind the barracks there are more houses, until I saw there 'the windows are open, I'm going in. This was at 8 o'clock.

BH: Did you walk around the streets to...?

JE: [interjects] Ja, I climbed over walls, and walked around a bit in the area..

BH: Was it just for the adrenaline of it?

JE: Ja, maybe I had nothing to do, so then I walk.

178 OK, so I went into this flat, and then I was in the bedroom and can see no-

one's there, then I saw a light on in the sitting room, kitchen area. I look through the door and I see there's a woman there, who's reading the newspaper. But I didn't see her face. I see there's a handbag, so I opened the handbag and saw there R20 or something, I'm not sure. I took it, and then I left. There was more money but I didn't take it.

BH: What were the reason for that?

JE: It was the same as with the handbags [when he was a child]. You see there's 100 or 200 but you just take R10 or so, so you can steal regularly.

BH: Because if you take all the money, then someone would notice there is nothing left over.

JE: They will realise that the money if gone. Then you can't go back there to get more money. There will always be money there. If I take everything, then there won't be a hand bag there any more.

BH: Was this just with you mother?

JE: With other people, too.

BH: What other people?

JE: Family, even strangers.

BH: Did you go into their houses to take money?

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JE: [pause] Ja, or if I see that the handbags are there, the people are not there, maybe in they are in the kitchen or have gone to the toilet, ja.

BH: Was that with people you were visiting, or do you just walk into the house.

JE: [long pause] Ja, it's family, friends, strangers.

BH: Everyone.

JE: Everyone.

BH: OK, I just wanted to check.

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JE: OK, then I decided I will come back later, at midnight [referring again to his second rape]. But I didn't know how many people are there, I just saw the woman, I hadn't seen her face, you understand. Then I went back midnight, one, two, I don't know precisely. I went in, then she woke up and she screamed. The light was off. Then I grab her tightly and give her a little tap on the head. She got a fright [skrik] and kept quiet. I pulled the duvet off, and pulled her clothes off, and then see that she's an old woman.

BH: Did you undress her [afgetrek]?

JE: Ja, I undressed her. I didn't rip clothes off, I undressed her. OK, then I just came to the point and asked 'do you have AIDS?' because she looked skinny to me [smile in JE voice], I just decided to ask her, and she said she doesn't sleep around... Then I climbed on and she wanted to grab something, and I took her hand away, and saw there was a panic button there. Then she asked if she can tickle my backside... She didn't say that in court, she was obviously embarrassed [laughter]. Then I had sex with her. I had [more pauses] I lost my erection, it went limp.

BH: Why?

JE: Maybe because she was old and didn't excite me, but when you do the act you get excited... Then she took my penis and placed it in her vagina, then I got stiff and I penetrated and had sex with her. Then I was finished, I pulled my clothes on and left...

BH: Did you no speak much to her.

JE: No, I didn't, I didn't talk much to her...

BH: Did you speak English or Afrikaans?

JE: I spoke English.

BH: Was this because she was English?

JE: I don't know, I would say she was English. I didn't want to speak Afrikaans. I spoke English.

BH: You didn't want to speak Afrikaans because you didn't want people to know you were Afrikaans.

JE: But at that stage I didn't think I must now speak English, or mustn't speak Afrikaans. I just began speaking English. Maybe it was because I didn't want them to know I was Afrikaans-speaking. OK, if I speak English, you can work out that I'm Afrikaans ...

BH: You didn't think about it you just did it.

JE: Maybe I thought about it, I'm not sure. I can't swear that it is so... I began by speaking English, then later decided to keep doing it.

BH: After the two rapes, how did you feel? What did you do?

JE: Umm, I [INAUDIBLE], I decided not to talk about to anyone, so I didn't

	talk. And when I went back to the barracks, if someone spoke about it, I didn't talk, I just listened, I didn't talk
	BH: Did you feel worried, or very excited or...?
	JE: Ummm, no, I didn't. Ja, you can say I was still worried, I knew that they would catch me some time or other.
	BH: You already knew this?
182	JE: Yes, I knew this. I knew I wouldn't always be able to get away with it. It was definitely a solution [oplossing] that they must catch me. That's why I didn't wear gloves, I didn't wipe out fingerprints or many marks. I still had the Walkman in my room...I knew they would catch me, but I didn't decide to let them have me, to catch hold of things, I couldn't stop myself. I didn't get advice or talk to anyone. At that stage I didn't know I couldn't stop, but later I realised that I would never have stopped.
	BH: Did these things thinking that they would catch him, but didn't realise at time that he could never stop.
183	JE: I didn't think at that stage that I couldn't stop....I knew I couldn't stop with stealing cash from handbags, but it could have also been that I knew I couldn't stop but it hadn't really sunk in.
	BH: Oh ja, I know what you're saying. Just after this crimes, did you feel at lot of adrenaline?
184	JE: While I busy sneaking around and doing these things, ja, but not afterwards
	BH: What excited you?
	JE: To sneak around [rondtesluis] and do things. Afterwards it bothered me that they would catch me, but not very much, not so much that I got all panic-stricken and thought 'oh hell, what have I done?' [Jacques' tone is 'jokey'], you understand, or get drunk.
185	BH: And you were sober when you do the things?
	JE: I was sober
	BH: So it was a more a worry, thinking that they would catch you, 'this is a bit of a thing here.'
	JE: [Then] You leave it, and then you don't think about it anymore.
186	BH:...Just before time of offence, was it a feeling of excitement?

JE: Ummm [struggles to express self], that umm, you decide to go out, then when you are there [i.e. just outside house] then the excitement begins...you don't really know what's going to happen before you go into a place

BH: How many places did you go into?

JE: Look I, [tone is unchanged] there are five murders and the two that lived were also raped and then the first one I didn't rape, I just killed her. The last one I tried to rape, but I couldn't penetrate, although I did ejaculate, or came. Let me say it like so, the first one I didn't rape, just killed [doogemaak]. The second one I just raped. The third one I also raped. The fourth one I tried to rape but couldn't penetrate, but did come. The fifth one I just killed her [stammers] because she showed resistance, so I decided to just shoot her dead. The last one I tried to rape, but couldn't penetrate, but I did come... In two cases I couldn't rape, just killed because they showed resistance. The first one passed out [INAUDIBLE] and I decided not to do it. The other one, fought back, and then I decided that I would just shoot her.

BH: Where did you shoot her, in the forehead? [location of shot would determine which victim he was referring to]

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JE: The first one I shot landed on the table, the second and the third one I raped, the fourth in was...in the house where the man [ou] stayed alongside, OK, you know I couldn't do it but I still came, and then I just turned the weapon and then shot her. I was still on her. The bullet went in here, on this side [Jacques indicates the underside of jaw]. The other one was in the bath when I shot her. She turned her head and then I shot her and then the bullet went in [indicates place on back of head]. She turned away when she saw I was holding the weapon so and then the shot went off. The next one I shot because she grabbed hold of my hands, like so, the old granny [tannie] the second last one. I didn't rape her. Then I shot and the bullet went into the mouth and shoots the teeth and the teeth flew into my face [BH recalls JE smiling at this recollection, which seemed incongruous]. The last one I put pushed the weapon there [indicates forehead]. I shot her in the head.

BH: And, in the fourth case, what made you decide to shoot her?

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JE:...I turned on the light. That's why I shot her.

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BH: Why did you turn on the light?

JE: I saw the door was open, and then decided for some or other reason to turn on the light, and I saw there was a girl, a woman. Then I decided to rape her. OK, she also showed resistance but then I hit her on the head. Then, maybe, she became dazed, she didn't pass out completely, but she maybe became dazed. I didn't take all my clothes off, I just took my pants off.

BH: For the others you got completely undressed?

JE: Which ones?

BH: For the old granny and the first rape [referring to the rapes, using Jacques' terminology].

JE: Ja.

BH: For this one you just took your pants off.

JE: My reasons was because she showed resistance, I wanted to be quick. Then I couldn't penetrate, but I did come. OK, then she looked at me, then I pulled out the weapon and pulled off the shot.

BH: Did she die immediately?

JE: Ja, I can't remember, she was immediately in coma and don't know how long it took for her to die. I don't have all the facts...

BH: How did you feel once you had killed her?

JE: [tone drops slightly] I don't believe I felt anything about it. I just shot her dead, that's all. I can't say what I felt, whether I was happy or sad or angry. I just did it, and went away, tried to get away

BH: Did you decide on the point of the moment to turn the weapon, or did think about when you were busy 'I must shoot her'?

JE: [pause] Umm, maybe, I couldn't say whether I decided to kill her: when I turned on the light, or when I was finished I decided to shoot her, I can't remember precisely when I decided...

BH: You didn't decide after the second rape that you'd kill the next one?

JE: I knew that if they saw me, then I would kill them.

BH: Did you now that from the first one already?

JE: Maybe, I can't say...

BH: So, for the two rapes, you didn't murder them because...

JE: [interjects] The lights were off.

BH: If the lights were on, they would be dead.

JE: Ja, ja [no hesitation]. Maybe by the second case [first rape] I had already decided, if they see me, I'll shoot them.

BH: did you tell them 'I will shoot you'?

JE: No...

BH: Did you ever look at a place for a long time to see if there's a window open, or woman there?

JE: No, I didn't stand by a place a watch. I did walk past and see there are people in there. For about ten or fifteen minutes, I didn't stand there for hours. Then maybe went in, then saw maybe there are two people there, and I decide to go back later, if there was a window open.

BH: It was always on the same day?

JE: No.

BH: Maybe it was that you saw a place, saw a window open and that someone lives there, and then come back a few days later.

JE: Ja.

BH: Did it happen that way on all the cases? You saw a place that you could get in?

JE: Ja, the windows were open. If I went back and I saw the windows were closed, well, I would just go back.

BH: If you went past again, and you saw the windows were open, would you go back the same night?

191 JE: If they were open, then I would back there again the same night, just later, around midnight or so.

BH: Did it happen the same way with all the cases?

JE: Ja.

BH: The same night.

JE: Ja. The last one [pause] I went in the day. I just saw that the back door was open and then I decided to go in.

BH: What happened there?

JE: I didn't know who was in there. OK, I already saw there was a girl there.

192 BH: You saw her?

JE: Ja, I saw her. But when I went, I didn't know who was in there. There could have been two women there, a man.

BH: What were your reasons for going there?

JE: Because the door was open, I knew that there would be someone in there, because I saw a girl.

There was someone else there, cleaning up, I didn't know whether it was a white man or black man who was outside cleaning, cutting the grass. That's what I heard in court.

BH: But you decided to go in because you saw a girl in there?

JE: Yes, at the rear [of the house], not at the front because the man was at the front. Then I just went [mumbles a bit, tone drops]... The second last one was near my fiancé's house. I had already seen that she lives alone. I just decided one night to go there. I hadn't seen her. I went to visit my fiancé. She took me home, but then I decided I wanted to go back by train, and go there, and then go in there [i.e. to break in to that house] ...It was a bit different there. The last one was also different, as it was in the day. It was certainly because I wasn't worried, was getting [tone drops, mumbles] reckless...

BH: What happened with the granny?

JE: She was the one that grabbed my hands tight and then I shot her in the mouth, and her teeth shot out like so.

BH: Did you want to rape her?

JE: Umm, ja.

BH: Was she dead before you could do anything with her?

JE: Ja, ja.

BH: Did you take anything from her house?

JE: Ja, umm, I took money. Not much. I can't remember how much, but not a lot.

BH: When you came into the house, did you see her lying there? Was she was in bed?

JE: She was lying in bed, the lights were all off ... she was wearing sleep clothes.

BH: Did you pull them off and then?

JE: When she was dead, then I saw, I would maybe still want to have sex with her, but then I saw OK 'I don't think I'll come right' so then I closed it ["het dit toegemaak" i.e. covered her].

BH: So you pulled the duvet off, climbed on her, and she grabbed your hands?

JE: No, no, OK, I'll say it like this

194 I went around the [back of the house], climbed the wall, and then felt for windows that were open. The first was locked, and then one around the corner was open so I went in. When I was in the room, I looked if someone was in the other rooms, then turned on the light. Then I saw there was a handbag there. She didn't wake up. I opened the handbag and saw there was money, and took R10, [although] I'm not sure it is R10. Then I saw there was a flashlight. I turned off the light and went to her, with the flashlight on. When I touched her so she woke up and screamed, then I hit her with the butt on the head...Then she gripped my hands and I decided now I'm going to shoot her.

BH: Did you get a fright? [geskrik]

JE: [pensive] Ummm, I didn't get a fright, but I maybe wasn't keen for a struggle and, then I shot her.

195 OK, then I turned the light on and turned the flashlight off again. Then I pulled the sheet off. She just had a night dress on, she didn't have panties on. Then I thought 'no, I don't think it will help to have sex with her'

Then I left it and threw the duvet shut. I shut up the room. A car drove by, and I saw there were cars outside, in the street. So I sat in living room and waited there until it was time for me to go and get the train back...

BH: In the last case, you decided to go in when you saw there was a girl in there, that all.

196 JE: I saw her there before, but not on the same day. I saw the door was open, and decided to go there. there were dogs there, small dogs... As I walked in, and saw that someone was coming out. So I stood back. Then she came out, and saw me, and run back and I grabbed her...she screamed. And she kicked me. Then I kicked her back, on the leg, and she stayed quiet... I pulled her, saw the living room, then decided to take her to the room [unclear which room he means]. I decided to take off her top, and then I took the top off. Then when I went to take her trousers [broek] off she said she'd do it herself. So she took her own trousers off. Then she said there was money in her mother's room. So I walked with her to her mother's room. She was naked, I

had all my clothes on... Then I put my arms around her shoulders and walked to her mother's room. When we got to the door she walked to her mother's cupboard [kas] and I stayed standing in the door. She took out R150 from the cupboard. So I took it and put it in my pockets, and told her to lie on the bed. Then I also took just my trousers off.

BH: Because you were in a hurry?

JE: I didn't know if, because she screamed, if someone had heard, or whatever... Then I tried to rape her, but I couldn't penetrate.

BH: did she keep her legs closed?

JE: No, she just lay there. I tried to penetrate her, but I couldn't. Maybe I was too excited.

BH: You were too excited, and you couldn't concentrate on that thing.

JE: On business, ja. Then I came anyway, 'from excitement' [said in English]. Then I got dressed, took the gun that I put down, and then pushed it so against her forehead and pulled the trigger. And then I ran out. When I came to the living room I also saw there were some bank cards lying there, and I took them because I saw that the PIN number was on the back of the card. There wasn't much money in it. Just R20.

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BH: What made you decide to kill her, because she saw you?

JE: It's in the day, yes, because she saw me.

BH: And she just lay there when you pushed the pistol against her head. Was she afraid?

198

JE: Ja. She just lay there, and looked [INAUDIBLE] what her reactions were.

BH: Didn't you notice her reactions?

JE: She just lay there, lay there like so, looking at me with small eyes.

BH: How long after this case were you caught?

JE: [sounds less sure of himself] Umm, I can't, I don't know.

BH: Did to try break into other house after that time [the last victim]?

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JE: Ummm, I don't know. I didn't feel so keen now. I couldn't say whether I broke into another house. I didn't commit more murders. I told them about everything.... I was half-glad when they caught me.

BH: Did it feel bad because you had bottled everything up?

JE: Yes, and I couldn't let things out... I was glad that things came to that

	point
200	<p>BH: Did you feel 'outside reason' before you got caught?</p> <p>JE: Yes, I knew I could never give up on my own</p>
201	<p>Now I know, now I can talk with someone. Now I can talk with the problems I have, to know myself. To know myself, to know why I did this, what caused me to do this. So that if I ever come out, I can look for those points and if I see them, I can know to go and talk to someone It's all to help me learn to know myself, so I don't do it again. I've heard people do the same sort of thing again, and I don't want to do it again.</p>
202	<p>BH: Why don't you want to do it again?</p> <p>JE: Ummm, because, I know that just like a drug addict, he wants to give up but can't. It's something that you can't control yourself. I want to always know what I'm doing, and perceive what I'm doing, and can handle it. To understand myself, and perceive that if I'm going in that direction I can know it will happen again and I won't be able to stop. Like when you're drunk, you don't always know what you're doing. The next morning you don't know how you got to the house, you understand.</p> <p>BH: Ja.</p> <p>JE: [sounds adamant, almost impassioned] It was the same for me. I was drunk. It was not nice to be drunk, because I don't feel in control of myself. I now want to be in control of myself, so I can perceive what I did, it's not nice. Like I said, you want to be in control of yourself, you don't want to feel you can't control yourself.</p> <p>BH: Did it feel like that?</p> <p>JE: Ja, ja.</p>
203	<p>BH: So it was strange [einaardige] feeling for you, feeling out of control?</p> <p>JE: At the stage, I didn't care about the consequences, or that I wasn't in control.</p>
204	<p>I wanted to be in control, I wanted to get help, but I couldn't. Because I knew what the consequences were, you understand?</p> <p>BH: Ja.</p> <p>JE: Now I want to be in control, if I feel there's a problem, there are people that I can speak to about it, A preacher, a psychologist, someone I can</p>

trust...I know it's not nice, I know I hurt my parents, I don't know how the feel about it. Before I didn't worry about it. It didn't bother me. Now I see what they have been through, that's why. I want to better myself, get more information, to know myself and what my problems are and get solutions. The solution is important. So I can know where I stand. I'm trying to get help.

BH: Before, to put it like so, the offences happened because you didn't know what was going on in your head.

JE: Ja, I didn't understand myself and I also didn't want to talk with other people about personal things... Now I can do that, because I know what I'm about. I understand myself better...I didn't know about feelings maybe I searched for them, to have those feelings, to experience, but I couldn't handle them. I didn't have the knowledge [kennis]...During the offences I knew there were people, for example the pastor, I could talk to but I knew what the consequences...maybe that's why I wanted to get caught, because I can't stop myself, I can't go to someone ...maybe I was searching for something when I committed the crimes, but I didn't know what. Then I was busy, and I couldn't stop...

BH: What were you searching for in all these crimes?

JE: Like I said, I was searching something, but didn't know what it was I was searching for. Maybe to experience things. I don't know if it was like really like that, what I was searching for. I wasn't certain it was this. It was completely confused...I didn't think precisely what it was what I was I was searching for: was it sex? Was it just the act I was doing? But I know it wasn't lust, or because I hate women, it wasn't taking my frustrations out on woman. I just enjoyed the stealing and the sneaking around, and I couldn't tear myself free of it.

BH: And the rapes and the murders were just part of this sneaking around?

JE: Ja it's just part, I decided I am going [INAUDIBLE] I didn't have a feeling, [pause] I never had reason to worry what they were feeling. I know now they say it's like a second death being raped. A part of a woman dies, if she's raped. I have perceived this now. I didn't worry about this at the time, what the woman was going through, it was all about myself, to enjoying myself, don't worry about that person.

BH: Did you enjoy yourself?

JE: [much stammering] The stealing from the handbags was fun, I can say that. I know they say that if you don't enjoy something you won't do it again...

BH: Why did you do it many times [rape] if you didn't enjoy it? What are your reasons?

206 JE: Like I said, I felt like I was in cycle and couldn't get out, that's why I did it again. Like I enjoyed stealing handbags, you feel you want to it again, maybe it was nice [lekker] I couldn't say why it was nice. The excitement brought me to doing it. The sneaking around, to kill, to rape, to rape maybe to experiment, to find out how it feels to rape or ejaculate [skiet] inside a woman. But to kill is just to kill, I didn't, I didn't do it to experiment, I just did it because the light was on.

BH: The rapes were for the experiment, for the experience?

JE: Ja, maybe I sought something in the rapes.

BH: What did you search for?

207 JE: I don't know... [you're] searching for something, but [you] don't get it....

BH: You didn't know what it was, but you were looking for something?

JE: Ja...I'm searching for something and I don't know what it is, so I go on and on. That's what I think... I don't know what you're searching, you just do it.

BH: So it just felt, like when you did it the first time, that is was for the experience?

208 JE: No, the first time it just happened. The first one just happened, the reaction to do it was there. I don't get there to rape a woman. I went there to try get in the house for money. Then I saw there was a woman, then reacted then to [INAUDIBLE]

BH: It was more a reaction, than an action.

209 JE: Ok, then after that, when I had the weapon [firearm], the weapon gave me the strength [mag] to go, because now I have the strength in my hand, you understand.

210 BH: Ja, and then when you did the first offence you felt like you couldn't stop. You've done it once and then you must do it again. Was that how it felt

for you?

JE: The first time was just a reaction... the second one I got feelings, I had the firearm, now, I can go and do it. After that, I wanted to do it again, I couldn't control myself, the feeling to do it again. Then I couldn't stop myself.

BH: Is it impossible to say whether you enjoyed it or not? Or did you not think of that?

JE: Ja, I didn't think at that stage, maybe I did it again because it was fun [lekker].

211 BH: Was it?

JE: Ja, because if you do it again and again then it must be fun [lekker], but I didn't perceive that at the time...I struggled with emotions, I felt dead. I didn't feel [emotions] shown [vertoon] or displayed [verwys] or experienced [ervaar].

212 Maybe I could experience feelings a bit with my fiancé. Maybe I broke out because I wanted to experience. But I blocked the rest off, I don't understand. Because I didn't perceive my feelings of enjoyment, or I'm doing something and getting something good back.

BH: For you, when you were committing these offences, it was just that dead feeling.

JE: Ja, I just do it. I worry about [tails off]. I'm not thinking, at that stage.

213 BH: You didn't think that at stage 'I'm enjoying this' or revenge [wraak].
You just do it.

JE: Ja...

BH: So during the offences, you just had this dead feeling, that you don't care at all.

JE: Ja, what I was doing to people but it was nice to sneak around, to feel the excitement, the adrenaline pumping, you don't know what's going to happen. In the act itself, of shooting someone dead, you just do it. There's not perception of 'this is not nice' or whatever.

214 BH: You like the adrenaline of the case, and all those things.

JE: Ja, it's a habit from when I scratched around in the handbags.

BH: Did you do it for the first time when you were five or six?

JE: I couldn't say, but it's probably when I was in Standard 3 or 4 when I

began taking money... I'm not sure, but I would say [I did it for the] for the adventure. I can't be sure, but I would say for the adventure... It became a habit [gewoonte]. Now, then you got further, and that also becomes normal.

BH: Was that how it was for you with the murders, as if it was almost a habit?

JE: But you can't control it, but yes, a habit [gewoonte].

BH: And you didn't know your reasons for doing it.

JE: At that stage, no. It's just sneaking around, you don't know what's going to happen.

215

BH:...If you sit and think now, can you think of a reason you did it?

JE: [long pause] I didn't think at that stage that it was nice and exciting, an adventure or whatever, I just did it maybe it was out of habit or because I couldn't control myself...it was nice to steal money from handbags,

and just waste it on anything and, umm, ja. I could say what started small got bigger. I began to go into houses where the windows were open. Not just by family or friends, or people we were visiting and then seeing when they went to the kitchen or the toilet taking money from the handbags, just small. It got a bit bigger

216

BH: It's almost part of the same thing, the money out the handbags went forward...

JE: [interjects]...it got a bit bigger.

BH: It was almost part of the same thing...

JE: Ja, ja.

217

BH: The theft from the handbags went forward to the murders?

JE: Ja. At that stage it was fun [lekker] to steal from handbags...But as it goes on, going into houses, round by strangers', anything can happen, it's a habit that you learnt, you can't stop. You want to do it more and more, you can't control it. You do it more, as a habit

BH: And what happened with the fifth case, the second woman you shot dead?

JE: The one in the bath.

218

BH: Ja.

JE: [tone does not change when talking about offences] I also just walked past, and saw there were two women there. OK, then I just decided one night

to go there, and seen if the window was open. I had been there twice before, and couldn't see anyone there. So I decided to come back later. Not the lights are off. Then I go in. There are two rooms, both with half-closed doors...I went to the right hand one first, opened it, and saw there was no one there. Then I go to the left-hand one, and heard the woman wake up. She most probably wanted to go to the toilet. When I see her open [the door] I move in front her. She screams and I also hit her on the head with the butt. She falls down but doesn't pass out. We went to the bed. She had a night dress on. Then the dress is taken off and then she has panties on. Then the panties are taken off. Then she lies on the bed, then I just rape her.

BH: Did you say anything to her?

JE: No, didn't say anything to her. When I was finished, I saw the cigarettes, and took a cigarette and lit one. I gave one to her, and lit it. Then I smoked, and she smoked.

BH: Did you say anything to her?

JE: No, I just gave things to her. Then we smoked. When we finished smoking she said she wanted to go to the toilet. I went with her to the toilet. When she was finished on the toilet I said to her she must now go for a bath. I'm standing, and smoke again, when she's in the bath. But she didn't put the plug in, she just ran the bath and sat in the bath...Then I went to the bedroom and got dressed. I first checked that there wasn't any money in the handbag. There was nothing. Then I went back [pauses, stutters] and then I raise the weapon and shoot her in the head...

BH: Why did you tell her to go bath?

JE: I don't know. I just decided, I just said 'go bath'.

BH: You didn't think about it much at time.

JE: No...

BH: So you said it...just to say something?

JE: Maybe, I'm not sure. I couldn't say whether I had a plan that she should bath, or just said she must go bath.

BH: At what moment did you decide to shoot her?

JE: [pause] Ummm, well, I knew that if the light was on you have to shoot. So most probably [I knew I was going to shoot her] from the start.

BH: Then when you saw her in the bath, you decided 'now's the time'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Then you went out the way you came.

JE: Ja...

BH: When you were growing up, did you ever think of rape, or shooting?

JE: No.

BH: Why did the rapes happen?

JE: Probably because I wanted to feel what it feels like to rape.

BH: So it's just the experience of it.

JE: Ja.

BH: When did you decide to rape someone?

219 JE: I think because I had the weapon. That gave me the strength to go on and rape. Before that, I wouldn't have had the strength to do it.

But the first instance was an immediate choice. I saw the woman there. But it would have to happen some time or another when I bumped into someone in the house. You don't think about it every day, but now, after you've read things, then you see that some time or other it would have to happen...The first incident [voerval] happened, on the point of the moment, I saw there was an opportunity there. I wouldn't stalk a woman, or follow a woman and rape her... then had the weapon and it gave me the strength to *go* [emphasised word] do it.

220

BH: Did you think about more rapes before you got the weapon, and the weapon was just the strength?

JE: The weapon decided it for me, I can rape if I come across I woman. But I think it also changed in that now I can go [emphasised word] out for it.

BH: If you didn't get the weapon, wouldn't the rapes have happened.

221 JE: Maybe, I don't know...maybe I would have get them in a place and raped them many time, I don't know, it's always a possibility.

BH: Did you think about the first offence, after you did it?...Did you think about it a lot, did it bother you?

222 JE: Before I saw that I wasn't found out, up until the point when I thought I wouldn't be found out, I thought about the incident. After that, I didn't think about.

It will always stay with me, because it's part of me life, you understand. Still, up to this day, you think about this, what you did, how you did it, how, maybe, how you enjoyed having sex with one particular woman like, for me, the one who I shot in the bath. I enjoyed having sex with her...It's a pity that I didn't always enjoy it like that, but the one who I shot in the bath, I enjoyed.

BH: Why did you enjoy it?

JE: Because, let's say, I had sex with her for half an hour....she didn't help me...Maybe it's satisfying. [tone drops, sounds almost coy, smiling] It's almost as if you know her.

223

BH: You didn't enjoy sex with any of the others?

JE: Ja, it's just umm, just to have sex. It wasn't very satisfying. It's just a sex act, that's all.

BH: As if you masturbated.

JE: Ja.

BH: Between the first and second cases, did you think about raping? Or think one day, I will rape a woman.

JE: Ummm, [volume drops] I can't remember, I'm not sure. It's a [long time ago]. I can't say,

BH: It's only when you got the weapon that you thought, I can go now.

JE: [interjects] Ja, ja.

BH: I have a few questions about childhood illnesses. What childhood illnesses did you contract?

JE: All the childhood illnesses.

BH: All of them. Anyone that was serious?

224

JE: I don't know, I was young. When was in Std.3 spent, I spent a year in the hospital. A year, I think I had brain infection, chicken pox, German measles, mumps, had my tonsils removed...[tails off]

BH: Sjoe [exclamation] a bit of a lousy year.

JE: Ja. At one stage I also drank some pills because I thought they were

Smarties and then they had to pump my stomach.

225

BH: At what age was this?

JE: Umm, I don't know. I was still young. I can't remember.

BH: At that year when you had all the illnesses, you had to repeat that year at

school?

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you repeat any other Standard [Grade]?

JE: Umm, no. I didn't pass Standard 5. But because of my age I was put through.

BH: On the whole, how did you do [presteer] at school?

JE: I wasn't brilliant, I was also not rotten [vrot], I was in the middle, an average student. I didn't get A's or B's or C's, on the whole, I got D's....

BH: What were you favourite subjects?

JE: Well, I liked history, biology. Ummm, well, not hugely, but I liked history. I wasn't there to achieve [presteer]. Maybe the teacher was just a good teacher...who presented the subject well. If someone presented it well, then I achieved. If someone doesn't present it well, then I don't achieve...if they make it enjoyable, then you achieve.

BH: Did you get along well with teachers at school?

JE: Ja, I got along well. Sometimes I did things, and got a smack, but not much.

BH: But you weren't very naughty [stout] at school?

JE: No, no, I wasn't naughty.

BH: Did you fight with other children?

JE: No.

BH: You weren't the sort that got angry quickly.

JE: Or the sort that would just fight because I didn't like the person.

BH: So were you a more soft natured person at school?

JE: [long pause] Maybe, I don't know. [sounds unsure] you could say soft natured.

BH: Or quiet?

JE: [Very definite] I would say quiet, you can say, quiet.

BH: Where you very shy, wanted to alone a lot?

JE: No, I don't believe I'm shy, but maybe I didn't always have the confidence.

BH: Oh ja.

JE: To, you know, groups. If you stand and speak and then people arrive it's

226

227

OK, but I wouldn't go and stand in a group.

BH: So you were a bit quiet, and didn't have lots of confidence, that sort of thing.

JE: You could say that, not lots of confidence, but it wasn't a big problem, you understand it didn't [INAUDIBLE] my life. I could manage. I didn't worry about it...it didn't bother me.

BH: Did you ever feel worthless [minderwaardig]?

JE: No, no.

BH: On the while, were you often on your own?

JE: No. At school there were always people, around me. There were also friends, school friends and so on around me. I didn't feel isolated. When you leave school, you lose contact with your friends.

[Jacques tone sounds less certain here] Maybe because you don't go to discos, I did go to "Youth Action" ['Yeug Aksie', a church youth group]... so when you leave school, you lose contact with your friends. Maybe because you don't go out much. Like disco's. I did go to Youth Action, so met groups, came into contact.

228

BH: After school, when you weren't at the house, was that where you went most often, Youth Action?

JE: Ja.

BH: When you were at school, you didn't you go disco's?

JE: Ja. I did go out, but I wasn't really a night person. If you go to a disco, and stay there until four in the morning, I couldn't do that. I'd get a headache. Maybe I'd be there an hour or two, then go. I wouldn't be there until Sunday...this was when I had left school, when I was working.

229

JE [Tape starts in mid-sentence. Jacques is discussing his duties while with the Railway police]...loading and going with the cash in an airplane. This was in Britain.

BH: That was the first time you went to a disco?

JE: Ja, in England. Went to Germany, Taiwan.

BH: Did you like the moving around?

JE: Ja, the travelling overseas, and places.

BH: Why did you leave the Railway Police?

JE: I didn't leave. See, the Railway Police were amalgamated with the SAP (South African Police). I didn't know it was going to happen. I enjoyed working at the airport, working as a courier, taking gold to England...you stay for a day or two in London, then come back. If you courier to Germany, you stay a week. Some countries, like England, you stay a day. Others, like Portugal, Taiwan, you stay a week...

BH: Did you enjoy the SAP?

JE: Ja, I enjoyed my work when I was working at the airport, but when I moved to the Riot Squad, then I didn't enjoy it. But I still did the work...I was moved to work at the Riot Squad...

BH: Then you were transferred to Pretoria?

JE: No, I went to work in Pretoria, but because I stayed in the barracks [INAUDIBLE] there was not a house available, so I stayed in the barracks [INAUDIBLE]

BH: How would you describe your work record? Was it good, or bad?

JE: [long pause] At the airport, because I was interested, I wasn't a brilliant policeman but I did good work. But at the Riot Squad I didn't care about the riding around in the Caspirs [armoured personnel carriers]. I got my stripes at the airport.

BH: For sergeant.

JE: Ja.

BH: Were you always a sergeant? [i.e. did you remain a sergeant]

JE: Ja. I can say that I wasn't content with my work at the Riot Squad.

BH: So to say, you delivered good work while at the airport, but when you moved to the Riot Squad...

230 JE: [interjects] I didn't feel content in my work.

BH: Were your superiors always content with you?

JE: Well I don't know, I can't speak for them, but I wasn't called into the called into office to say 'you did this wrong'. I didn't shoot anyone in the line of duty although, when was in the Riot Squad because I had to shoot.

BH: But that didn't worry you much.

JE: No. I didn't shoot anyone dead.

231 BH: When was the first time you drank [alcohol]?

JE: Sometime I drank wine with dinner when I in high school, just on Sundays. After school, I drank beer at weddings and so on. I only once he was drunk, but I didn't like the feeling, and was never drunk after that, never drunk-drunk [repeated for emphasis]. I didn't drink to get drunk, I drank because I enjoyed it... the only time I was when I was sitting at home, decided how feel to get drunk. I also saw how people looked when drunk, his grandfather was an alcoholic, and thought 'no I don't want to look like that'...

BH: And you never tried drugs?

JE: No.

BH: Experiment with them?

JE: No.

BH: Did you get many dreams when you were young?

JE:...I only dreamed up until I certain time. Now I don't dream at all any more, not at all. Maybe because the reality scares me, that I did these things... I do get wet dreams.

BH: Is that the only sort of dreams you get now?

JE: Ja...

BH: Why do you get more wet dreams now.

JE: Because it's a long time since I last saw I woman [mutual laughter]. Then you see a woman working here, as a woman, and you see she's pretty. Or you think back on the sex you had with your girl, your fiancé. Or you think back on the things you did [the offences], the sex you had with them.

BH: Why do you think that sex was good with that one [victim], that you shot in the bath [fifth victim]?

JE: It just happened, maybe because I had sex with her for a longer time. [tone drops, sounds unsure] I can't say...she just lay there. She didn't move or make noises, but I had sex with her for a longer time.

232

BH: Was sex with fiancé always good?

JE: Yes. It was just the fact that I couldn't shoot my sperms inside. I didn't use condom.

BH: So you had to pull out, because you didn't want her to get pregnant.

JE: Ja...we didn't talk about it [sex] much. I would ask her do you want to do it? And if she said yes, then we'd do it...I didn't ask her if she enjoyed it...

- 233 BH: Did you ever have problems? Like you weren't excited and couldn't penetrate?
JE: No, I wasn't unlucky like that. I could always penetrate, but didn't always shoot. I wanted to experience it, but didn't want to make her pregnant at this stage
BH: You didn't want to get her pregnant before you married.
JE: Ja.
-
- BH: Did you ever see pornography?
JE: Ja, Sun City, overseas...
BH: Did you buy a few a magazines, and keep them?
JE: No, I just looked through them, I didn't buy them ... I think I was in Standard 9 when I first saw soft porn...
BH: When you got angry, did you break things, kick things?
JE: No, I never broke anything, or kicked it. I did just scream, at someone if I was angry. I would scream that's all. Like I said, that one person I got angry with I hit them once then he stood back, that's all.
BH: That's all the fights you were involved in.
JE: Ja.
BH: Were you a quiet child, or one that didn't run around a lot?
234 JE: I could say a quiet [stil] person...
BH: If you think back, would people describe you as?
JE: [interjects] Quiet, yes... Sometime, maybe, I would play too rough with cats and dogs. A few times I enjoyed throwing a cat off the roof and seeing how they land, things like that, but I never seriously [emphasises this word] hurt them. Never set fire to them, hit them, or anything like that...
BH: How old were you, when you did this?
JE: I was in primary school.
BH: Was it ever experimenting?
JE: I don't know [pause] ja, you could say I was watching their reaction, but I never kicked them or anything...
BH: Was this with pets, at home?
JE: Ja...[First session ends]
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- 235 BH: [after previous session] Do you have any questions about anything we

- spoke about.
JE: No.
BH: OK, if you do, you must just ask.
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- 236 BH: Were there any of the rapes that you did, that you weren't sentenced for?
JE: No. OK, I tried to rape one, but they didn't want to carry on with the case and there were also another two that they wanted to charge me with, but then I said I didn't do it. One in Mayfair, said I broke mirrors there, OK and there's one in Stilfontein, on the train route from Springs, a bunch of women were thrown off the train. But I also didn't do that one.
-
- OK then, what I did [emphasises word] do, which they said but didn't continue with the case, I went in the dwelling and [pauses, struggles for words], this was before all the things.
BH: Before the first case?
JE: Ja, before the first case. OK, uummm, the woman was there [INAUDIBLE] but then she screamed, and I ran away.
- 237 BH: What year was this in?
JE: OK, the first one was in '90, so this must've been in '88, or '89, I'm not sure, around that time.
BH: Was this near your parent's house?
JE: Ja. We stayed in flats. It was near the flats.
BH: Was it nearby the flats, about 100 metres?
JE: It was just over the street, diagonally across.
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- 238 BH: What made you decide to enter [rob] a house for the first time?
JE: OK, uummm, I can't remember what made me decide to do this. As I said, maybe it was an impulse, 'now I'm going in'. It wasn't a decision that I sat down and took 'OK, now I'm going to break into a house'. I just saw the window's open, the opportunity is there, I'd go in
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- 239 BH: How old were you when you walked into a house for the first time?
JE: I don't know...say about '87...
BH: The first few times was just walking in, stealing a bit of cash, then walk out.
JE: Ja.

BH: Then that first time, when you ripped the [INAUDIBLE] from the woman, was that first time you found a women at the house.

JE: Ummm, ja. OK if I go in to get cash, there are people there. Men, women, children and what not. I just went in and opened the handbag and took cash, where it was in the bedroom or so on.

BH: Was it at night?

JE: At night...but [the people were] not sleeping... they were busy eating, or watching TV, or whatever...A couple of times I was busy, and people came in and they saw me, then I made tracks.

BH: Did you ever attack [aangetas] anyone to get away?

JE: No...

BH: How many times would you say you walked into a house, before the first incident? [i.e. before first murder]

JE: [Pause] Definitely a few times, say, ten times at the most.

BH: At what stage did you know, if I find a woman I'll rape her?

240

JE: ummm, [pause] after the first case, but, when I got the weapon it gave me the strength to do this things. If I get a woman, I'll rape her... when I could take the pistol home, take my service pistol home, that gave me strength, to do things. To stand there and say 'I'm here to rape you'. I wouldn't do it without the weapon.

BH: Because you didn't have the strength [mag]?

JE: Yes, you can say that [tone drops]...because you have power [mag] over someone if you have a weapon.

BH: What made you decide, when you had the weapon, that you must rape and not, for example, steal more?

241

JE: Like you said, because I had the strength, and the weapon was my strength. I never stole much, only a little bit, so I can always go back and get more cash...

BH: I was just wondering why you only stole small stuff and, when you got the pistol, didn't just steal more.

JE: Sometimes I took everything, like money, or money that was in the savings account...

242

BH: Did you give anything you took there [i.e. during offence] to someone

else?

JE: No... You mean as a gift? No...

BH: When you were in a house, how did you feel?

JE: Well, it didn't make me feel brave or anything like that. I ummm, OK look, you're still not sure at that stage, you're still tense, because you don't know because you don't know who's in the house or whatever. You're still careful. But when you see there's no-one there, you're half-relieved.

BH: After the time, did you feel excited, with the adrenaline, from the thrill of it?

JE: if I go into a flat, or house?

BH: Whichever

JE: [pause] I couldn't say, I couldn't swear by it [bevestig]

BH: What was strongest emotion that was in you, or did you feel nothing?

JE: [pause] When I find someone, or when I'm just there and the place is empty.

BH: Did it make a difference for you?

243 JE: Ummm, I don't know... if it's empty you can't stay too long, because someone might see you. You look what's there and make tracks. If someone's there, you must also be quick and make tracks. So you're nervous. If I got money, I was glad. I'd go play games or waste the money or whatever, on anything, food, cold drink, while you're playing. You can say I was scared someone would catch me, or whatever, when I began. But eventually, you don't worry. It becomes a habit, and you just do it because it's fun [lekker], to do it, because you get something out...it was just fun to do.

BH: To break in, get money, have sex with woman?

244 JE: No, I'm just talking about stealing money from the places. [pause] OK, I didn't go there to do, but it was surely also nice [lekker], to rape woman.

BH: If you can remember, was it nice for you?

JE: It's not anything special, or wonderful. You enjoy it, but it's not transcendant [bomenslik] enjoyment you're getting, or actually why you're going there, the enjoyment of sex.

245 BH: So did you just go in for the thefts, or later was it a whole bunch a things, stealing a bit of money, rape, then go? Did the reasons change, or was it just

part of a habit?

JE: Ja, it was nice [lekker], and it becomes a habit. If you feel you want to go out and go out, and do the thing, find a window that's open. Alright, there was a place where I broke the windows to get in...behind my parent's house, when I broke in there. I think it's the only one...all the others were open windows, the door was open, ja.

BH: Afterwards, it just became a habit. After the first few times, you do it and you get a good feeling?

JE: Ja, it was nice [lekker] and the enjoyment of getting money, to spend it, waste it, it's just there and you didn't work for it. It became a habit, because I enjoyed getting something

BH: Your reasons for stealing things, was it for the money, or just for the fun?

JE: Well, it's for the money, because you can do something with it and keep yourself busy...

246 BH: So it wasn't taken as a souvenir of the thing.

JE: No, no, I didn't take any souvenirs from the person. OK, I took things from those woman's house...

BH: [interjects] But it was more money, something you can do stuff with.

JE: Ja.

BH: When did you decide that if woman saw you'd have to kill her?

247 JE: I'd say when I got the weapon, I have it, I can do it now. If I had to do it. The weapon gave me the strength to go and do it.

BH: So nothing specific happened to make you decide now you must begin to kill them.

JE: Ja, nothing specific made me decide.

BH: So it was a case, for the first case you shot, that she saw your face and it must be like this.

248 JE: Ja, ja.

BH: On long, on the whole, were you with each of the women's place of residence?...[from] when you went in for the crime

JE: About half an hour to an hour. I didn't keep time, and decide what time I would go in and what time I would go out. But I would say a half hour, hour.

BH: So you went in, walking around, took a few items, saw the woman there, raped, then left.

JE: Ja... OK, so I would go to sleep at eight, set the alarm clock, then wake up at 12. I would wake up, go, and come back and see it's now maybe 4 o'clock. Then I sleep. But that doesn't mean I spent 4 hours with the person.

BH: Because you walked around, checked that the window was open, checked that no-one could see you, before you went in.

JE: Ja.

BH: With that one in the bath you said that with her the sex was the best. What were the reasons for that, just because it was for the longest time?

JE: Ja, because I had sex with her for a long time. It was nothing, she didn't react, she didn't do anything. You can say, from the beginning, I was in control, maybe.

BH: Was this the one where you felt most in control?

JE: Ja...

249 BH: What were the reasons for telling her to go bath?

JE: There were no reasons for that, I just told her to go bath, that's all, so I could get dressed and check out her handbag and so one. There was no special reason, like 'I've had sex with you, now wash yourself because I don't want them to find the sperm'...it was just to get her out the way while I was busy.

BH: Then you thought 'she saw my face so I must kill her'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Which was the woman who fought most?

JE: Mmm, ja, the third one, in the house [Rebecca Marais, the fourth incident]; then the second last one [Margaret Welwyn]. The one in the house, the third one, I tried to rape but couldn't penetrate. The old granny I shot when she wrestled.

250 BH: For the ones who fought, did you take the duvet off first... ?

JE: The third one I hit with the butt of the gun and she was half-dazed, and then I took the duvet off and tried to rape. The old granny she grabbed my hands and I pulled the trigger and then afterwards took the duvet off.

BH: Because you thought, maybe she was still keen? [BH meant to ask

whether 'he' was still keen]

JE: [laughs] She was already dead, she couldn't still be keen... I just thought that maybe I could have sex with her, then decided no...

BH: For the third one, when you were finished, did you pull duvet up again?

JE: No, no. Just left it on the ground, for all of them, just left them [duvets] on the ground. Except for the granny I shot dead, I did pull up her duvet.

BH: What were your reasons [for doing that]?

JE...I looked and said it doesn't look right and put duvet on. There was no special reason.

BH: No reason, just automatic.

JE: Ja, automatic.

BH: When you tried to rape and couldn't what were the reasons that you couldn't

JE: Too worked-up, or too nervous because I think someone's nearby and I can't take too long. Scared too, excited or whatever, I don't know. It didn't worry me much.

BH: It was just one of those things.

JE: Ja, It was just one of those things.

BH: I just wondered whether it made you feel more nervous, or angry.

JE: No...there were no special reasons for it, I was excited and any moment someone could come... With that one [Rebecca Marais] there was a man in room next door, Ok I didn't know that [it was a man] but I knew someone was there; and then with that one there was someone in garden [in the case of Judith Schoeman] but I didn't know that...

BH: So if you feel more relaxed, you can have full sex...?

JE: Ja...I would never spend too long in a place. I would be as fast as possible...it's the basis that I began with, and later it was also like that. It was my habit, put it that way, to not stay in a place too long...

BH: How were you he caught by the police?

JE: When I murdered the last one, it was in the newspaper. A Norwood officer read it, and made contact with...[TAPE ENDS]... there was also police accommodation in that area, then they decide to look who left the Pretoria barracks. There were, say five... [police traced those five]... then

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they phoned me. I was working in the radio room...they said they wanted to come and talk to me about the murders that happened. I said yes, I've got the time...I knew OK, maybe, the time is now here to be arrested or whatever. I thought about going way, to make tracks, but then I decided it wasn't worth it... [pause] I stayed there. I swapped my weapon with the station's weapon...I hadn't cleaned my weapon [since the offences] there could be the teeth from the old granny's teeth, blood, I pushed the weapon into the last ones' head... after one and a half hours they come there. They asked me where I stayed. So I said Witbank. Then they got a bit suspicious. Then they asked me where I lived, and I said Main Street, and they got even more suspicious as the last one was just around the corner... They asked me my blood type, I said A+ and they had O+ because I have 2 blood types [perhaps due to semen sample]... Then they asked for my weapon... [Jacques hesitates more here]. Then they asked me if I heard of the murders, I said ja, I had heard about them [volume drops] from people, news reports, whatever. Then they said they wanted to take me to another station to take fingerprints. Then they arrested me, and took me out. Then they brought another man in to see if he recognised me... Then they took fingerprints, and then I said 'OK, it's me'. They had me made...it wouldn't help to make stories or whatever. I wanted to make it go by quicker, it's easier

BH: How did the police react to you then?

JE: They were alright [oorait]. They didn't mistreat me, or say nasty things. They treated me well ...they weren't afraid of me. I wasn't going to do anything. The police had [previously] decided to fingerprint everyone who stayed in the Pretoria barracks. But I didn't arrive. This was after the second or third incident...Then they could have caught him earlier.

BH: With your fiancé, why didn't you marry earlier? I had heard that was due to her Dad?

JE: Ja, OK, I should have got a flat, and he wasn't happy that I would first get a flat a month or two after we're married. Then, umm, he wasn't happy with that and then one night when I got back late he phoned me and shouted [skel] at me, so I said 'leave it, leave everything' and put the phone down and it's over. I didn't kill women for that. Then I phoned the minister and

told him about the problems and he said he would ask him and I to sit and discuss matters. Then they decided, wait for another year....

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BH: With her father, did you get along well with him.

JE: Ja, I got along moderately well, we weren't weren't buddies though. I knew we was strict, and so on...I didn't get angry with him. I wasn't keen [lus] for... scolding [skellery] that night...so I just put the phone down.

BH: What sort of person was he?

JE: He's a perfectionist', everything must be done just so..... When I asked for her [to marry], he said I must get a flat, I must get a car, and get this and get that and become a sergeant. There were certain things he said I must do.

BH: How did you feel about that?

JE: I said to him, yes-no, that's alright. I did these things...

BH: With that shouting [skellery], that's what caused the wedding to be postponed?

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JE: No, it's not about that. You could say it's part of that. But when his daughter was late, he couldn't handle it. We got back to the house after 10, say 10:30.

BH: So he was very strict with his daughter?

JE: Ja...It's understandable because she's the youngest of the daughters... A father has to be like that, but I wasn't keen for his scolding so I said 'just forget it, leave everything...goodbye'.

BH: Do you think things wouldn't have turned out differently if you had been married?

JE: No, I don't believe I would have stopped. I would have gone on.

BH: Do you ever wonder if it would have made a difference?

JE: No, it wouldn't have made a difference. I would have still gone on. She didn't know about these things.

BH: Was your fiancé's father the reason you decided to become a sergeant.

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JE: No, no no. He didn't say I must become a sergeant. I became a sergeant on my own but he said that if I was going to be married I must go further...I was already a sergeant for a long time. You can't be a constable for ever. You have to go further.

BH: When you left school, did you decide then to be something.

JE: I had no idea what I wanted to be so I just went everywhere to get work. I would do anything. I didn't worry [about what wanted to be]... I didn't care about anything specific... there wasn't anything I specifically wanted to do, but I would do any work if I was accepted for it.

BH: Did your parents worry about you, of force you to get work?

JE: Ja, they asked me to go look for work, and I went out and when I didn't find any I stayed at home and waited for the army papers [conscription call-up documents] but I wasn't in the first intake, I was in the second one so that's a six month time period you must wait. Then I tried to get work, and heard this person said they were looking for people at the Railway Police. So I went there to the office, then went on holiday. When I came back I heard they were still interested, so I just went.

BH: So it wasn't a decision, now, I will become a policeman.

JE: No...

BH: What did you do in your spare time, when you had no work to do?

JE: If I wanted to go visit a person, then I would go and visit, a friend or something. If I didn't want to go visiting, then I went to the movies, look at the shops for 'first day envelopes', like stamp collecting, where you get the envelopes with the stamps on. Could also go to town, to the video arcade and play games, pool.

BH: Most of this time, at this time, were on your own.

JE: Ja, most of the time I was on my own... I liked to relax with movies

BH: I just thought, when you were growing up, in high school and primary school, did you attend lots of social events? Or were your only social things the church and Voortrekkers?

JE: Ja, and I also liked selling to people at flea markets with my mother. We'd go, have a little stall, and sell things with her. [I'd] Even go on my own to sell Christmas cards, sweets.

BH: Did you like it a lot?

JE: I liked it a lot.

BH: Was it always with your mother.

JE: Ja, at the Youth Action too, we'd have a stall... I also went on lots of camps, school camps, they were also fun

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BH: Which on of your parents influenced you the most?

JE: [pause] Ja, it's my mother.

BH: Was she always near you?

JE: Ja.

BH: You said yesterday your mother was reasonably strict. Did your mother scold you a lot, or keep you in your place?

JE: [pause, more hesitation] Yes, well, she brought me up. I wouldn't say she scolded me a lot. Like if I didn't do school work she scolded me a lot, and so on...[but] she didn't scold me every day, or shout at me every day. OK, as I said, in primary school she did it more, but in high school she changed, she changed tactics.

BH: Do you believe the very strict tactics weren't working, and that's why she changed?

JE: No, I don't think so. She saw I was, maybe, avoiding her, and then she wanted to be closer to me, it could be that... as I said, she wanted to say she loved me and so on, and at that stage maybe I just didn't find this important anymore, like when you reach a certain age and don't want your mom to kiss you any more

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BH: When you were in primary school, did your Mom kiss you a lot, or was it strict?

JE: She was strict. I can't remember that she kissed me.

BH: If you think back, how would you describe your relationship with your mother?

JE: [struggles to find words] She was my mom, that's it. OK she was strict. I knew I had to study, maybe that caused me, when I was studying, to lose interest in what I was studying. Maybe it caused that to happen, because she was so strict. Maybe she caused that, I study, but after than I lose interest. Maybe because she scolded, told me to carry on, pass Matric and so on...I studied because I had to...

BH: So you always felt you were forced to study, and don't really care personally [stel persoonlik belang]

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JE: Ja, maybe I didn't worry about my future. Today I can see I made mistakes... [re. his studies] you get through, but not well. Like I said, when I

was in Standard 6, I had a good teacher... [TAPE ENDS] but in Standard 7 my teacher, wasn't bad, but wasn't as good. So I didn't do well, I got through, but didn't come second in the class.

BH: So if you had a good teacher, you kept you interested... you achieved well.

JE: Ja.

BH: Was it always like that, if a teacher was good, then you did well, and if the teacher was bad then you did less well.

JE: Ja, that's right. I just learnt because I must learn, I must pass, I must get matric. That was what was told to me 'I must get matric' that's what my mother said to me 'I must get matric'. I made matric, I said OK, 'I will get matric'. As I said, I just learnt because I must [emphasis on, implying 'was obliged to'] do it. It's not something I strove for. I was told 'get matric' so I go matric.

BH: Did you mother pay you a lot of attention?

JE: Umm, as I said, attention...What is attention? Attention is thinking it what you are doing is important, attention is saying 'come play with me'.

BH: Ja, what do you think attention is?

JE: The attention given to me is that I must do my schoolwork.

BH: Is that the attention you got?

261 JE: Ja, there wasn't good communication between me and my parents. We just said what had to be said and that's all. I couldn't talk to them about personal matters.

BH: Would you say there was a distance between you and your parents?

JE: Ja, ja.

BH: Both of them?

JE: Ja.

BH: You said yesterday your mother was religious.

JE: Ja, she was religious.

262 BH: Was she the boss [baas] of the house?

JE: Ja, you could say that. My father just worked to pay for the house and whatever. He would come home, eat, go around to people houses, but he didn't pay special attention to me. He'd talk to me, but no special

attention...[not] just you and me, let's go to the movies. Just you and me, let's go play sport.

BH: But your mother paid a bit more special attention to you.

JE: No, I wouldn't say special attention. She would do things for me she would make sure I did my homework, and cared for me [gesorg], bought clothes, and made sure I had food, and whatever... there was never really special attention paid, saying 'How can I help' you?' [struggles for example] or, telling me things about life...

BH: Were your parent's old when they had you?

JE: No, they're weren't old.

BH: In their twenties?

JE: Ja, say that, I don't care [stel belang] how old they were when they had me.

BH: Did your family go to church every Sunday?

JE: [pause] Ja, we would go to church on Sunday reasonably regularly. My father went to his church, and my mother went to her church... I went with my mother... I just went because I had to go, and it became a habit to go...Same as when I went to school, it became a habit to go...OK, I met my girlfriend at the Youth Action, we sang together in the choir, and whatever...I got to know her through Youth Action. OK, I decided at Youth Action to on walks with her with her...then I decided to talk with her, then I decided to take the plunge [die boog skiet]. We went out normally, I didn't decide immediately that I thought she was important [stel belang] but as we saw each other more, I said now, 'come, let's go see a movie together' and from then on we carried on with a relationship. After a year or two we, became sexually active... full sex. We were going out, you see....

BH: Was she your first girlfriend [nooi]?

JE: Yes, my first girlfriend-girlfriend [nooi-nooi]. The others were just, say, you kiss someone but just because you're in a group, and everyone gets a girl, you kiss her and then they say 'you're with them' but when the tour is over, you don't carry on with it...

BH: Didn't you care [belang stel] much about girls and that sort of thing?

JE: No, I did cared, but you can't take things further when you are still in

school, and take someone out for hours. I communicated with a girl from primary school because my dad and her's worked at the same place...We would go the library and takes books out together, or go out when our dad's went out together, and I would talk with her and so on...She was also my girlfriend, and we communicated well but didn't kiss, or go steady [was uitgegaan]...My [first] full relationship was with the one who became my fiancé.

BH: And the first girl you had full sex with was her?

JE: Ja, with my fiancé.

BH: Did your parents not allow you to go out with girls at school?

JE: No, they didn't not allow that, or worry about it, or tell me not to do that or speak with girls. They just said I can't go out in the evenings, alone or with a group...They didn't let me go out and party [jol]. This was in primary school, in high school they didn't specifically say, but then I also didn't ask. Maybe I knew they would say no, I don't know.

BH: You didn't care much at high school.

JE: Ja. Now and then I went out with Youth Action, or go see a film on Fridays...

BH: But you didn't go out that much, because in primary school the parents didn't allow it and in high school you didn't care.

JE: Ja.

BH: Did your mother, this is a question I heard from a newspaper and wondered if it was true, did your mother scold you about girls?

JE: No...

BH: Say that girls are sinful, or something?

JE: No, no...

BH: Did your mother, I know she was strict and religious, ever catch you while you were masturbating [skommel]?

JE: [sounds unconcerned] Ja, she said she'd tell my Dad about me...I was in matric, or [standard] 9... I was in the bath, and took too long, and she came in when I was busy. She said she'd tell my Dad, but my Dad never did anything about it.

BH: She didn't hit you.

JE: No, no.

BH: Also read that when you went to the toilet your mother wouldn't let you close the door, because she was scared you would masturbate in there.

JE: No, no

BH: Did your father have an influence on you?

265 JE: No, I don't believe he had any influence on me. OK, he hit me once when I was caught for stealing money. That was the only time he ever hit me... but he wasn't involved with me very much [betrokke] Like I could say, I don't know anything about cars and motorbikes and how they work, the things a father should tell you about that's a Mazda 323, that's the pistons... because we did not work on cars together [him saying] 'give me the monkey wrench, or the screwdriver' or whatever. I don't know how to repair a car [due to that] or just to stand and see what's wrong. I don't know anything...

BH: Did you feel different because the other boys could talk about cars and pistons?

JE: You see, why, your father just wants to talk to other people, and doesn't talk to you...he doesn't give you attention. I didn't think like that. I just thought he was that sort of person, I can't pay attention to it...

266 but sometimes you feel, when they [parents] visit, what can I talk about with them? Every day is the same day. In the prison, I try to communicate with them, but it's difficult. My mother can talk, and my father can talk...but we understand that we are standing far from one another, there's not a split [skeiding], but I wasn't brought up that way, to talk about personal things. So I can still, not even today, I can't talk to them about the things I did, because it looks like my mother is afraid of me... so I can't really talk with them about these things...

267 BH: You didn't grow up being able to communicate with them personally? Ja, we talk if we get something to talk about. I try to communicate with them...but soon we run out of things to say, and we look at each other, and I have to think of something to say, then they think of something to say. There's a gap, but it's not a big gap, but it's a gap that we can't close and form a bond.

BH: There was never a bond between yourself and parents, to put it that way.

JE: Ja.

BH: What parents think about all your offences?

JE: [indifferent tone, as if not caring] They told me they were worried, but they wouldn't throw me away, or so on, and come visit once a month, and stand by me and so on. But I think my mother's half-afraid of me. I don't know what my father thinks, because he, for me, is shut [toe]. He's a closed book.

BH: Your father is a quiet person.

JE: Ja, he will talk, and make jokes, but I can't see what he's thinking. OK, maybe you can see he's worried, this is all I can say for him. But my mother, it looks like she's afraid of me.

BH: Do you think it's funny [snaaks] that she's afraid of you?

JE: [laughs] Ja, I think it's funny... she doesn't need to be afraid of me

BH: What are the reasons you think she's afraid of you?

JE: Surely it's about the crimes I did.

BH: She thinks you hate woman?

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JE: It's possible, as I said, I haven't spoken to them properly about it. I don't know how to bring it up, or if I must do it, and so on...

BH: What were your reasons, do you think for selecting women in your offences, not men?

JE: As I said, it was the handbags they caused me to go into women's rooms

... I am not interested [stel nie belang] in men.

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BH: So it's more a thing, you don't want to rape a man, to put it that way.

JE: Ja...I'm not attracted to men.

BH: After the incident you told me about, before the first case, did you decide from that moment on to rape woman in they were there? Or did you decide before that?

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JE: Ja [many pauses, stutters] I, I thought I would try to rape a woman...if I saw her there, and she looked nice. But it wasn't like I saw a window open and decided to go in. But I didn't do it again until the first incident [very vague answer].

BH: How long before this first incident did this sort of thing [these thoughts] happen? A few months?

JE: No, I can't say...

BH: Did you think, before, about raping woman?

JE: Ja, with the first incident, when I tried it, ja.

BH: And before that incident, did you think...

JE: [interjects] It's from when you take money out the handbags. You don't do it at family and friends, you go out to flats to get money. Maybe that caused me to think, 'why don't I do this also'. Because you're going further...you are now busy in a process and you come to a point where you see, why don't I do this? There's no special reasons I want to rape woman, you understand. I just thought 'why don't I do this'?

Maybe you also enjoyed it, because you do it secretly [skelms].

BH: Is that it?

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JE: Maybe it's the sneakiness [skelmheid] You enjoy doing it, the sneakiness, no one knows about it. You don't tell anyone. You don't get drunk and hit it out, or tell anyone, the "skelms" you don't tell anyone about. To do sneaking things [om skelms te doen] you get something out of it.

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[TAPE ENDS]... [speaks faster, more excited tone] to be sneaky [skelm], to sneak around at night, to search for money, then you come to stage where you see there's a woman, you see she's there, you don't know if she has a husband [man], because you didn't check whether there was a man there. You see through the window that there's one body on the bed, so you go through the window and pull the duvet off. But you don't have the wherewithal to know what to do next, then she screams, and you run away

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Then you stay in the area, because you know there's an opportunity there, you had seen it, and you [can] go into that house. You haven't yet decided to rape her, but then you see she's there. Then on the spur of the moment you decide 'why don't I do it?' and you decided 'yes'. And now you have the weapon, and now you can prevent her from screaming, and if she sees you, you can kill her. I didn't sit and think 'if that happens, I'll do this, or whatever. When it began, then I decided 'now do this'.

BH: You didn't think about it lots or plan it, it was just...

JE: [interjects] Ja. Later you plan it, think, I'm going out...

BH: [interjects] To find a woman...

JE: To rape, or whatever

BH: Is this why waited a long time before first and second case, because you weren't sure?

274 JE: No, I just went back to stealing money, until I had the gun, so you can go further. The weapon decided me, now I knew if I get someone, I can...[tails off] or come back later to see if there was someone there. I still went to get money... You don't do it every night, you leave it for an evening, or a month, or two weeks, or so on and then you go out. I am ready to be sneaky [skelms] again, to go out and get money again, or whatever. You don't think about the sneaking, you think about the money.

BH: And later, you would think, now I'm keen to go and find a woman.

JE: No, I didn't think to get a woman. I would go out to get money, then go in, and come back later to see if she is there.

275 BH: So this is how it always happened?

JE: No, until I got the weapon.

BH: From the second case on, did it always happen like this, that you were there before?

JE: Ja, you could say so. From the second case on, when I had the weapon...

BH: In the second case...what made you decide to go back?

276 JE: I don't know, I just decided, but there was no reason. I just decided to go back maybe to see if I can get a woman there. To see if she's alone. I didn't know if she would be alone, I had never seen her. I had seen photos', but I didn't know if she would be alone...But she was alone. I had already decided, if she's alone, then I will rape her.

BH: When did you make this decision?

JE: When I came back for the CD. I went back...I hadn't looked around the whole place enough. I decided to go back and look on the other side, to see if there was money, but there wasn't, so I took the CD. Then I decided to come back later and see if she was there. If she was alone, then I would rape her.

BH: Was that on the same evening?

277 JE: I don't know, I couldn't say whether it was the same evening, or a few evenings later. OK, they say that all the incidents apart from the last one were done on a full moon. I don't know if the first one, that day, was on a full

moon. But they said that all the incidents apart from the last were on the full moon. So, there was time...

BH: [interjects] That goes past.

JE: That goes past, between then, to the next full moon.

BH: Did full moon influence him, you think?

JE: No, no, no. I didn't think 'there's the full moon I will find a woman to rape'...it was the same as they said 'I have two blood groups, I must be a werewolf' [BH laughs]. I have two types, my body's blood is A+, my sperm is O+, and OK there's just two other people in the world that have this type of blood groups. OK, the other's in Russia and he did almost the same, OK but he [INAUDIBLE] and ate people and whatever and I don't know.

BH: I know him, what's his name?

JE: I don't know, I just read about him.

BH: It's Andrei Chikatilo, I think. Do you think you are a serial murderer?

JE: Ja, I am a serial murderer, I don't think it, but they say I am a serial murderer...I don't feel I am a werewolf. That's now later, I didn't know that. I just searched for that for that feeling [much INAUBIDLE] when I go out

....After the second or third incident in Pretoria, they put policemen on the roof. OK, I heard it, but it didn't bother me, that there was a policeman on the roof. I knew they were looking for me. I also went out, not to look search myself, but just because there was the opportunity to turn up. I would say 'I'm looking for an opportunity to work' they would say yes, they would go into town to look for the person responsible for the Pretoria murders, and I would say 'OK' and go along with them. Now I'm sitting there and waiting for this murderer [BH laughs] which is half-funny. But I didn't go out to find myself, or say 'it's him, it's him, I saw him'. I listened to what they were saying that's all, I didn't go there to say I saw them.

BH: How did it feel, this, going out looking for the Pretoria murderer?

JE: [much pauses] I just listened [stutters] I wasn't worried. Maybe, already, I hoped they would catch me

BH: Did you hope they would catch you?

JE: I knew that some time or another they would catch me, but, I didn't think about it to much. It didn't bother me incessantly. I knew they would catch me

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some time or another but I wanted them to catch me, I didn't want to give myself up...

BH: Growing up, did you every avoid women, or feel uncomfortable around them?

JE: No.

BH: Was it always alright with girls?

JE: Ja, I didn't avoid them, I didn't avoid them, there was no problem with them, the girls. If a girl spoke to me, I spoke with her, I didn't force a girl to speak with me.

BH: Did girls like you, on the whole?

JE: I don't know if they liked me, I couldn't saw what they thought, but they didn't demonstrate [toon] , the girls I was with, that they didn't want to be around me. They spoke with me, that's that.

There are things that still bother me about incidents. They said, I don't know if you read it, with the woman in the bath, they said I washed my hands in the basin, because my hands were full of blood, and so on, and blood was smeared in the basin's drain. I told them I know nothing about that, I didn't touch the woman after I shot her, understand, I said no, it must be the woman who found the body maybe looked what was wrong and got blood on her hands, and then washed them off. Or because the pipe from the basin connected to the bath, that's maybe how they got blood in the basin. I didn't, and they said I left keys on the last one's private parts, but I didn't handle any keys, the door was open, why would I be busy with keys? So it had to be her mother, you found the body, when she opened the house, car keys or something, and she left them. OK, maybe she wasn't conscious [of leaving the keys], didn't know she was doing it but I know for a fact I didn't do it [leave keys] [adamant tone]...I can remember well.

BH: This was also one thing I read, I don't know if it's true, and I just want to ask: that you, with the last girl, I heard that you found the star mark very funny [snaaks]. Was it funny for you?

JE: OK, I saw it, but I didn't think it was funny...I saw something develop, but I didn't wonder about it, or stand and think 'that's pretty' [oulik]. I shot, and I saw it before I was going. But I wouldn't describe it, or tell anyone

about it. It was nothing special to me.

BH: It sounds, and you must correct me if I'm wrong, it sounds like when you shot the women, you didn't care [belanggestel] very much. You just shot them to make them dead.

JE: Ja.

BH: Was it like that?

JE: Ja.

BH: After that, she'd just dead, you can go.

JE: Ja

BH: And with the cartridge cases, you just picked them up if you saw them.

JE: Ja, if I saw, if I turned my head or was getting dressed and saw there was a casing [doppie] I would take them. If I didn't see, I didn't get them. It was just a reaction.

BH: You didn't plan.

JE: Ja, I didn't plan, to...

BH: How did you feel after the cases?

281 JE: I was worried and, nervous, because I thought maybe someone saw me but when the next day came then I didn't worry any more. Just for that time, before I slept, when I came in, I would worry 'maybe someone saw me?', 'maybe someone heard the shot?', 'maybe someone saw where I was walking?' or you think that anyone could call the police. But then you sleep, and when you wake up then you don't worry about it any more.

BH: Did you ever go back to the scenes?

JE: No, I didn't go back to the murder or rape scenes, but as I said, when I stole cash out the handbags, I went back. If I just stole a bit, I always went back. When I took everything, I didn't go back.

BH: Apart from last two cases, before rapes, did you check the scenes to see what was going on?

282 JE: A couple of times, not always. I would walk past and think 'that's where the woman must be', OK, the window's open but I walked by and then there is another opportunity so I go in there, look around, get cash, then later, a bit later, I would come back...The one, the first one I shot in the house [Rebecca Marais, I didn't [go in] I just stood around, and watched. The fourth one.

BH: The first woman you shot?

JE: Ja.

BH: You watched that house a lot.

JE: Ja.

BH: How long before the case?

JE: I don't know how long. I was there four or five times before. Outside, outside the house from behind, from in front... there were a few people who lived there, men also lived there, not just one, two people. There was a small flat outside, a bit of a way from the rest of the people, I first watched that, that girl. It's in front of the house, but joined to it...I never had the opportunity with her I first looked to get money, but I never got money there...

OK there was an opportunity that I could have raped her but, I saw there were a man and woman there, there was a man and a woman there, they weren't married, but they ate together. Now I saw things had got quiet, and the doors open. Then I go in, and the lights on, and the woman is sleeping on the bed, but I didn't know what happened to the man. Then I went into the living room and saw he was sleeping on the sofa. So I could have shot him, raped the woman, and shot her, and gone, but I then I felt, against it. I didn't know if there were people in the house, the house was quiet, the curtains were closed, but I didn't know what was going on in there. So I thought, no, leave it. Then I went there again, now I go behind the place...I now go behind it [the house]. Now I see there's someone there but I don't know who it is, standing there. Then I looked if there was a door open. There was one, it was closed but unlocked. Then I go in, walk through the house...Then I go through a door, and turn the light one, and then there is a woman there. I didn't expect her to be there.

BH: The same woman as before?

JE: No, another woman, not the same one. And then then I went forward with this thing.

BH: Was she pretty [mooi]?

JE: Umm, well she was not ugly, not pretty. She was a ummm, a big woman, in the body. Not fat, just shaped like a woman. But I didn't look at her for beauty, or looked at her for long. Maybe it's just to get a score, just to have

sex I didn't think 'this woman is pretty, I'm horny for her'. I see it's a woman, I can have sex with her

BH: So did you shoot her, because you turned on the light [i.e. because she saw you]

284 JE: I turned on the light I didn't think there would be anyone there. I didn't really think what I was doing...There was a wall around the house, so they felt reasonable safe and they have a few people in the house, not just one. That's why, maybe, they didn't care about locking the doors. I don't know, that's just what I think. Then I see a door is open, a door is shut, it's not too dark. I didn't think to look in there first to see if someone was sleeping there, and in front of the door is a light switch, around the corner of the door. Then I turned it on, and now see the woman lying there and she wakes up, OK, and I couldn't do anything about it, so I first shut the door [because] she could scream and get someone up. It didn't bother me, I didn't think clearly

about it, this is what I thought about after the time. Then I do it, and shoot her. The man who was in the room alongside didn't wake up...[TAPE ENDS].. I just went and hit her with the butt, I didn't say anything, I was silent.

285 BH: Did mother ever threaten you with anything? For example 'God will...'

JE: [interjects] No, no.

BH: Did she ever say she wanted to kill you?

JE: No...she did say, with my fiancé 'don't have sex with her'. I believe like any parent would say.... what I can also say, because she said that, she once

once found a condom wrapper in my cupboard. She asked what it was and I said a sweet paper [mutual laughter]. OK, the first time I had sex with my fiancé was in my own house, in my own bed. She was still a virgin.

286 BH: You were also a virgin.

JE: Ja, you could say that, although I had wanked before so I wasn't a real virgin. I was a virgin in the sense that I the first time I had sex with any woman was with my fiancé

287 They [parents] weren't there. We were making out [vry] then we'd watch TV, then make out a bit more [vry] and, then, maybe she was getting frustrated. I had never asked her. Maybe I hadn't made out with her all the time, I'd make out, watch TV, make out again, watch TV...I didn't make a plan to have sex

with her, I had groped her...but never decided to have sex with her. Then we were making out, and she decided, then she took my hands, and stands up, and takes my hand to the bedroom...I kissed her everywhere, then decided to take off her pants. Then she decided to undress completely. Then I undressed... OK I didn't ask her, but she also didn't say, and then I had sex with her. OK, she's a virgin, she bled, because if you are a virgin [tails off, then long pause] And OK you could say that we were busy for some time, I don't know how long...and then I withdrew and came. I also decided that I didn't want to make her pregnant, so I shot on the ground. Then we got dressed. She then said, look, you must marry me. I said, yes, I will marry you...

BH: How often did you have sex with your fiancé after that?

JE: Well, I worked six days, and then flew for a while, and I was away for eight days before I would get to her. Then I spoke to her, 'Do you want to do it again?' Then she says yes or no. She if says nothing, it's alright, it's not a problem, because I know I'll ask some other time.

BH: It was no problem for you?

JE: No... it didn't make me angry I didn't get sex.

BH: With second case, did you decide to rape people because you had a gun?

JE: Yes.

BH: There were no other reasons, like pressure at work, or problems with the relationship?

JE: No, I didn't do it because there were problems with the relationship.

BH: You more did it because you could do it.

JE: Ja.

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BH: It was almost as if it wasn't part of your normal life

JE: Ja ja [strong agreement] it was, like they said, which was something very interesting they said in the newspaper I saw, OK...you could say I was two people, one was violent and the other was soft natured or whatever. That's how it was for me, but it's not like there is another person in me and says 'aaarg, I'm now a werewolf and kill go and commit murders' [JE pull face, mutual laughter]. I'm the same person, I just have two sides, one good side and one bad side that no one knows about apart from me.

BH: The one is normally separate from the other, is that how it normally feels for you?

JE: Ja.

BH: Was it as if your crimes were committed in another life, because it feels...

JE: [interjects] It was the same life, it was just a side that stood to one side when I decided to go out...

BH: [So] the day after, you didn't say 'I can't go work', you got on as normal.

JE: Got on as normal.

BH: If had an argument with your fiancé, it didn't...

JE: [interjects] I didn't have many arguments with my fiancé, we didn't fight, we got along well.

We went to marriage counselling with the preacher, when he asked what about her irritates me, and I said it was when she asks 'do you want to go to movies, or do this or do that' and she says 'I don't know' that irritates me. And she explained it was when she was growing up her father said they 'we will go there' and then they would go there....I didn't shout at her, I didn't tell her she at that stage what irritated me. Although after that, she didn't say it again.

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BH: You didn't fight with her much, or hit her?

JE: No...Sometimes I forget to do things, then she shouts [raas] at me. It's small fights, nothing terrible.

BH: Ja, it didn't become a big thing for you.

JE: Ja. I never hit her. Well, in play fights, but never so that she cries.

BH: Was your communication moderately good?

JE: Ja, there were times we didn't talk, when we had nothing to say. When you're playing table tennis with her, or watching TV, or listening to music. The communication it wasn't good.

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BH: It wasn't good.

JE: Ja, OK, I could say I got along well with her, and talked a reasonable amount with her, I, can I say, I was seeking more, more talking. From my side, I should also have talked more, found more to talk about, made more

opportunity. From both sides, there were times when we didn't talk. Like I said, there was communication but there wasn't good communication. I maybe expected more.

BH: If there were things that worried you, you wouldn't say to her?

JE: Or personal things, very personal...

BH: What sort of things would you have liked to talk more about?

JE: The future, the future more, if you maybe fight what her reaction would be, would she go back to her mother? Run? If the problems come. Or would she tell her mother about everything that's happened to us...

BH: Did you have lots of respect for your parents, or didn't feel much for them?

JE: [long pause] Look, [pause] if I mother told me to wash the dishes or dust the furniture, I just did it. What they asked, I would do, but beyond that, I didn't, know...[tapers off] OK, like I said, when they introduced me to strangers, I didn't like that, I don't think that is respect. I didn't openly demonstrate that I wasn't showing respect. OK...when they spanked me I would want to swear at them, but I never did.

BH: You said yesterday that once after your mother had punished you, you wished afterwards that you were dead. Did it happen often, or just that once?

JE: When I was small [ambiguous response]. It happens with all children.

BH: [She] usually scolded you, spanked you?

JE: Spanked me. A bit strict, and maybe unfair [INAUDIBLE] held my frustrations inside, held everything inside, and maybe couldn't communicate.

BH: Since you were small, have you always held your frustrations inside?

JE: Ja

BH: You didn't communicate with anyone.

JE: [very quietly] There was no one.

BH: You didn't, on the whole, talk much?

JE: Ja.

BH: Where you shy when you were growing up?

JE: Ja, when you're small you're shy, but you grow out of it. You don't hide away if someone comes round, I never did that.

BH: Did you ever cut yourself?

JE: No. It's not a solution, in itself. I didn't seek attention, because they were strict. I would rather they didn't pay me attention. And when they wanted to pay attention, that's why I didn't want it.

I wanted attention, then I decided I didn't want attention any more, now they want to give me attention but I'm not looking for it, I don't want them to pay me attention.

BH: You said yesterday you didn't like working for the SAP?

JE: I liked the airport, I didn't like the Riot Squad...[The Riot Squad] you were always driving around in the same area, it's not fun [lekker]. It's not because there was violence, that it wasn't fun.

BH: The violence didn't bother you.

JE: Ja. It didn't bother me, it's just a thing you must control and prevent, and see that there is order. But, as I said, at the airport you worked for a week in the terminal, a week on the vehicles, a week in the charge office, a week in the cargo area, then a week on the aircraft, different jobs. You can enjoy it, you don't get bored, you learn something every day. The flights are fun, almost like a holiday...it's very interesting, you stay busy. It kept me awake, as I said I'm not a night person, I struggle to stay awake. I drink a lot of coffee, smoke, read.

292 BH: Did they train you well?

JE: Ja, they trained [me] well.

BH: Was it interesting?

JE: Ja, it was very interesting...I was trained well, fun also. You run lots, shoot lots, and when the evening comes you're half tired and not keen to study. But it's still nice and you tried your best. As I said, I wasn't a top student but I studied hard. I didn't struggle.

BH: Did you get lots of friends at work?

JE: Umm, ja, I didn't look for them a lot, but I had three friends that I [TAPE ENDS]...

BH: So you had a few of friends that you could spend good time with?

JE: Ja, we went out together, did things together... [tails off]

BH: And what happened to them, over the crimes [Jacques offences]?

JE: Umm, look, you get friends and then they ask for a transfer over to their

parent's place, or they marry, and then go to stay someone else, or they ask for a transfer to another Division, sort of work...OK, and when they go away you just get others, some who also lived in the barracks, who just get other friends

BH: Did you keep contact with your old friends?

JE: No...you just get other friends. I'm not the sort of person who says, he's my friend, I'll go with him, or stay in touch. If he goes, he goes. It doesn't bother me...

BH: Did you fit in well with the people you worked with?

JE: Ja. There were no problems with them. I worked well [lekker] with them. There wasn't special attention given to me, it was normal.

BH: Do you still see your fiancé?

JE: No, I have no contact with her any more. I have her phone number but I don't call it, because if I call it would hurt her I decided no, I wouldn't do it. She came to see me, and said 'I want to break our engagement', and that was that

BH: Did she say that to you, or you to her.

JE: She said that to me. Then I said she could keep the ring, but her Dad dropped it off, just put it in a letter and dropped it off by the house [Jacques' parent's house]... Her father decided he didn't want anything further to do with me. I understand, I won't kick up trouble there, or force her to see me, or talk, because I know I don't want to hurt her, I know it would really hurt her. It's better that she gets on with her life, because she has still got a live to live, get a husband, if she wants, although I don't know whether I hurt her so much she wouldn't want one. I don't have any contact any more... I feel, I am still love her and so on, but it's better that there is no contact with her, you know, that's how I feel, because I know I would just hurt her.

BH: So if you had more contact, it wouldn't be good for her.

JE: And it also wouldn't be good for me. OK, if I meet her on the street and she says hello, then I will do it. But I won't go out of my way to search her out.

BH: So she said to your personally?

JE: She came to see me in prison. She came with a preacher...She just wanted

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to know why I did it. Then I said to her, I can't remember [aanhou], I don't know, because I was in pieces [uitmekaar uit], I didn't know what answer to give her. She then me asked whether it had anything to do with her Dad, and I said no, because she'd also thought, or heard something or whatever, because the incident when we fought about the wedding. I said no, it's nothing to do with her Dad.

BH: Is that true?

JE: Ja, it's true. I told her I didn't know why I did it. I was still completely confused [deurmekaar] and didn't know myself why. But now that I've had the chance to speak to people, psychologists, speak over a time, to discover myself again, and get better [regkom] again and make a new beginning and know what happened, to make sense of things again and try to stop these things, so I wouldn't do them again. To know, uumm, what is the problem that, all this time, what caused this, so I can see the process and not do it again. To understand myself better, that's the whole point of why I'm prepared to speak to psychologists about the things I've done, to get pressure to move forward.

BH: You want to understand yourself better.

JE: Ja, to understand and to know so that if I again come into a process like this, I must go this way, not that way, to know that if this happens I will do it. [I want to] begin to change myself. I'm working towards that. It's not just a case of 'I won't do it again'. You must work at it, and find a solution. The solution is if you have a problem, you must find someone to talk to about it. I don't want to go into that thing again because if felt for me like I was going dead inside. You don't realise it then, you realise it now, you see that you were busy dying, not physical death, you're not going to fall over dead, but you're making yourself dead inside I'm trying to learn to discover emotions, to know that if I do well [presteer], then I must enjoy it, I must congratulate myself, say 'right, Jacques, nice one [mooi] you did the right thing, you're moving in the right direction.'

BH: So you felt before that you could almost not feel emotions?

JE: Ja, you held yourself inside, and didn't bring anything out. All your frustrations and your happiness, you pushed down, you didn't worry about

yourself. Do you understand what I mean by ‘not worry about yourself’? OK, like you know you would get caught, and that maybe something would happen, but you didn’t really care. So, I’m trying to strive to get these things away, so that they aren’t pressed under any more. That’s my whole aim, that’s what I see now, that I failed, that’s where I came short before. I still find things difficult...But I must preserve to the end, not just do it half way.

BH: If you could think, what were your reasons for keeping everything inside, and for not caring about yourself, and not feeling many feeling?

JE: It was because I grew up like that. But I'm not blaming people for that, I'm blaming myself for that. OK, I don't say all these things ‘oh, I made a mistake, and so on’ just to say OK I went wrong and I mustn't let it get me down. I must preserve and, if I go wrong, I mustn't let it get me down...I didn't have values, in life, to decide I'm going this way or that way.

BH: Did you feel you were just wandering? [rondsgewerf]

JE: Ja, just wandering.

BH: Do you feel it was about your parents, because they weren't very close to you?

JE: [long pause, stutters]

BH: Or don't you know why that is?

JE: [pause, sighs] Maybe, I never thought about it, so, nor has it worried me much. I was brought up that way and ummm, maybe it was because I was forced to study, and can see why was done, the reasons for it...I can see my mistakes [mislukkings] now and if I come out, I would know what to do

BH: You earlier said that your fiancé asked why you committed these deeds, can you know say why?

JE: Ja, as I said, it was because it was a habit, from childhood, to begin stealing, and it went further...

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BH: [interjects] It was all part of that, habit.

JE: Ja, it did become a habit that I couldn't break away from. When you first begin you can't stop. You want to do it more and more, you can't stop yourself. You can't stop yourself, the reasons is because you could

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never talk with anyone, from when you were small, you weren't prepared to talk with anyone, to say, ‘I feel that you are too strict with me, you're not

giving me the opportunity to make a success of myself'

BH: Do you think that your parents were too strict with you?

JE: Look, [searches for words] I think that parents need to be strict, but it is important that you get to know your child, see how he lives, see how he reacts, so you come to understand him. I don't think that happened. I can't blame them, as I said, I blame no one.

BH: They didn't know you, to put it that way.

JE: Ja.

BH: Was your fiancé the only person you felt at ease with.

298 JE: Ja, because I know she felt [ummm] for the reasons she showed that she thinks I'm important, she wanted to go out with me, she loved me, she showed it. Maybe that is what attracted me to her, that came through for me, I saw that.

BH: Do you miss for her?

299 JE: Ja, she's part of my life. They say when you marry when you have sex, you become one, and this is the same. When you are married and have sex with her it forms a bond with your wife. So she's part of my life, you can never forget her. But now it's past, and I leave it there.

BH: Do you find it easy to leave something in the past?

300 JE: You think, 'will it be something positive or will it bring negative?' I know if something bothers me, it will bring trouble, and I don't want to bring trouble, you know, to hurt her. It won't bring anything good, it will become an obsession if I pester her, and then she would swear at me or something, and I don't want it and that. It is not pretty.

BH: And with the other things in your life, for example, your court cases? Do you feel guilty about them, or...?

301 JE: [interjects] Look, they are part of my life, I'll never forget it. I can't do anything about them [INAUDIBLE] I can't [INAUDIBLE] people because I don't what they'd do if I bumped into the people [presumably rape victims] OK, I'd ask them, to, that they'd scream at me or whatever. I don't believe that they'll, maybe, want to make contact me about what I did. I know that they would maybe forgive me, they are only human. They will never forget what that person did to them. I don't know what their reactions would be. But

things were done, and I can't do anything about it. I can't live in the past. I have to start again. I have to start positively, not negatively, something that won't bring me down

BH: Did you drink a lot with your police colleagues?

JE: No, no. OK, now and then, yes, when I went to braai with them, I would have a drink. But when I felt my head start to spin, I would think 'no, I've had enough'.

BH: So you didn't like the drink a lot.

JE: No, I didn't want to get drunk, although I did drink, I was careful not to get drunk. I want to know what I'm doing

BH: Did you drink before or after the crimes?

JE: No, no. I never drank anything before I committed a crime. I never drank a lot, I was just a social drinker. Sundays at meal time, have a glass of wine. I never went to a bar to drink a beer or something. Drink wasn't in my house, you see.

BH: Your parents didn't find it important.

JE: Just table wine, but not every Sunday...

BH: What age did you start smoking?

JE: When I left school, and started working at the police. I didn't have opportunity, OK when I was at school I would see a stompie and have a quick smoke, but I only went out for cigarettes when I joined the police. For a while after, for night duty, the cigarettes helped keep me awake for night duty...OK, as I said, I did the things [offences] at night, but I didn't stay awake the whole day afterwards.

BH: You slept and set an alarm.

JE: I went out to rape, but it wasn't always like that. When I began I went out around eight o'clock, then come back around nine or ten, to sleep. But when I began with the rapes, sometimes I went at eight, walked around, slept, then drink coffee and went out to find someone, a woman [mumbles] to rape.

BH: How did you decide, tonight, I will go out?

JE: It's just I, I just came to a point OK, tonight I'm going out. It wasn't planned.

BH: You didn't think about it during the day before, 'tonight I'm going out'

JE: I didn't think about it during the day.

BH: Did you ever have what you described as a 'true friend', the sort of friend you could discuss any problem with?

JE: No. I never had a friend like that.

BH: There was no-one you could talk to about all the problems.

JE: No, I never found anyone like that, a special friend. OK, I had a person that I was with a lot and who I went and visited.

BH: Was it a school friend?

JE: Ja, it was a school friend. OK, he's dead now. Sickness, not an accident.

BH: At what age?

JE: He was out of school, but I didn't have frequent contact with him, as I did when I was in school when you were at school. We would spend time at each other's a lot, sometimes weekends...But when we were out of school, I see him now and then, just thinking 'I'll pop by his house and say hello', but it wasn't frequently. I just went to visit at his house, to talk.

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BH: Just have a good visit? [lekker kuier]

JE: Ja.

BH: How did you feel when he died?

JE: [pause] Well, I didn't, well, I thought it had to happen some time or another. I don't [INAUDIBLE]

BH: You felt, he's dead now, what can I do?

JE: Ja, ja

BH: What sickness was it, cancer?

JE: Ja, I think so. [TAPE ENDS]

BH: With the people who come visit you, is it just your parents?

JE: Ja, it's just my parents come to visit, but church people used to come visit, when I was in [another prison] and nearer to home. OK, church people, church aunties, a few people, the minister [dominee] also come. A preacher [predikant] once to visit came and then visited my parents afterwards. My one uncle, my mother's brother, came to visit. Even one of my mother's friends even came to visit. My friends haven't come to visit, but I can understand why. I don't have a problem of not enough visitors.

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BH: You don't worry too much about that.

JE: Ja, I understand, that maybe they feel awkward coming here. As long as my parents come three times a month, that's enough for me. If they came more often, say once a week, you would find it hard to find things to talk about. It's always the same routine, so there's not much to tell... have to ask them lots of questions, because they don't say, then won't have anything to chat with them about.

So I just talk about people I have written letters to, and so on.

BH: How do you feel when a pen pal stops writing.

JE: Well, it's her choice if she stops writing. I won't force her to write to me. I can write to others, there are plenty people I can write to. There are many names in the books that are asking to write to them. As they say, there are many fish in the sea...it's not a problem because there are still many people I can write to, or who want me to write to them.

BH: Do any of the people you write to know why, know that you're sitting in the prison?

305 JE: Ja, all of them ask why, what did you do? And this is why I said, some of them stop writing [both laugh] In the beginning I didn't know how to put it nicely...

BH: How do you put it?

JE: There's a testimonial [getuienis] that I put together. In the beginning, I wrote, out a newspaper that someone sent in a letter, OK someone said this so I wrote that. But then I thought 'that's a bit rough' and people got frightened away. I can show it to you, I don't post it away.

BH: Oh, OK, thanks. [BH reads]

JE: In the beginning a sent that bit, you can read from there on. That's where I explained about what I did.

BH: [reads, and laughs] Do you believe you had a [reading] 'chromosomal disorder' which meant he had no control over what you did?

306 JE: Umm, what is it actually [eintlik]? As I described, there are there are two people in one person.

BH: Do you feel that?

JE: It's like I said, I had a soft side and a bad side, at that stage. But it's not two people, it's one person, just with different...

BH: [interjects] for example, I'm speaking politely with you know, but on the road and get angry and swear at people. It's the same.

JE: Ja.

BH: That's what you say, you have a good side and a bad side, but it's not...

JE: [interjects] [INAUDIBLE] I agree with you.

BH: [reads on] Oh yes, so for you, would you agree with this? That it is the two poles of you, on this side stands the good and on that side the bad, and you alternated [wissel] between them in life.

JE: Ja

BH: [reads more] Do you feel like you had not control over this thing? As you said, it was like a habit.

JE: It's like a drug. That you had to have more and more. You can't say 'I must stop' and then just stop, you don't have that control.

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BH: And what bit was like a drug for you? The feelings, the danger, the sneaking around?

JE: Umm, ja, as I said, because it became a habit, you can't stop. You just go forward. You don't know where you're going. You don't have control, you don't think about it, you just go on.

BH: It's like a smoking something you do and do and aren't sure why. I've already asked a few times, 'was it good or bad for you?' and you don't sound sure, whether you enjoyed it or not. It is true? Was it like that?

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JE: Ja...

BH: You don't know what your feelings are?

JE: Ja, that's right

BH: [finishes reading letter] Do you still write to her? [penpal]

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JE: No, she's dead.

BH: What happened to her?

JE: She got cancer. I wrote to her daughter after, but she's also now dead.

BH: Eish. That's not a very lucky family.

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JE: [laughs] Yes.

BH: How many people did you write to, and how many wrote to you?

JE: I would say I wrote to about a hundred, but would just get twenty back.

Some just wrote for a short time. These are the ones I'm writing to now.

BH: [reads letters] Did you, at an earlier stage, feel that everything was against you? Or did you now know where you were going?

JE: I couldn't [ummm] control things.

BH: You just wandered around.

JE: I couldn't control my life. I couldn't stop. There [much stumbling for words] was a stage in life I couldn't control, when things went wrong. For example, you try to get a flat and then the subsidy goes wrong. You struggle, then you just leave it because you know you can't get it right, you didn't fight for it, you can't, you don't have that keen feeling to say: 'I must [emphasis] get it'. You just get stuck at a point and then leave it.

BH: So, you didn't feel that the world was against you, you just felt lost.

JE: Lost, yes.

[BH reads on - no noise from JE]

BH: Do you feel glad the death sentence was done away with?

311 JE: Ja, because it would have ended my life. You want to know that you can make a new start, begin again... I'm thankful I can start again, go in with life, maybe make a success of it. I want to be cured I don't want to spend the rest of his life in prison and die here. I want to come out and make a life. The prison is not a nice place [lekker plek] to spend your life. I try to work on the problems I have so you can come out and make a new start, and know where you stand in life

BH: You said earlier today that have made peace with yourself, is that how...

312 JE: [interjects] Now look that's, when I say I make peace with self, I forgive myself for what I did. The reason is because I couldn't control myself and I did it, OK, but made peace with myself, God forgives me for what I did and so on.

BH: Do you feel that God forgives you?

JE: Ja. I feel that he was involved in the court case, and helped me get through it. The time when I'm here, he still helps, and [he will help] when I get out.

BH: Are you more religious now than when you were outside?

JE: Ja, you can say I am a bit more religious now. I read the words in the

Bible and I understand them. Before I just read the words, I did not go deeply into them. Now I'm growing in the faith. Before I wasn't growing, I just went to church because I must go to church or because it was a habit. But now I'm trying to understand what is standing there in the writing, what the message in the Bible is, so I can understand the message, to grow.

BH: What caused this change?

JE: Umm, ja, I just perceived that religion is important in your life, for perseverance [standvasbaarheid]. Now I have the opportunity to talk to people about what happened with me...

BH: So, you, on the stahe when you came to prison you decided that you must have religion, to help you preserve?

JE: Ja...It's important to have religion so that you can get up again when you fall. That's the reasons I'm telling everything about what I did. To make myself clean, so I can begin again, to not experience those things again because I feel they are killing me. Now I it feels like I'm alive. That's a process you must got through, so that's why you need religion, to help you have endurance, because without that in the life you can't make a success of your life.

BH: Is that how you feel, earlier in your life, that you didn't have that perseverance?

JE: Ja, and I was not a proper Christian. I just went because it was a habit...

BH: You don't go out your way to make friends in the prison?

JE: I would also not be their friends outside, or come and visit [kuier], or write...

I can show you the people I'm writing to [animated tone]. I draw pictures like this, flowers, maybe people's faces, positive things [referring to his letters to pen pals]...I put pictures in my letters, and poems and jokes, to them to make them more interesting, so I get one back. Sometimes if you just write a normal letter then you get maybe a page back, bit if you put in a picture you get more back. You must ask questions, to grab hold of the person [die persoon vas to hou], make them think 'it's nice writing to that person, it's interesting'...[TAPE ENDS]... [showing photographs of family] Here's my mother and my godmother. That's my mother, on the right hand side. And

here is my godmother and godfather.

BH: Did they ever visit you?

JE: Just during the court case, and once in the prison...

BH: Did you see a lot of his uncles and his cousins when you were growing up?

JE: [tone less enthusiastic than when discussing pen pals] Ja, I saw them when went on holiday to Durban, and they would take us out to dinner, and have Christmas together, you know, that sort of thing. Went swimming together, and when they went paragliding that would take me with.

BH: So you spent a lot of time with your uncles.

JE: Ja.

BH: Got along well.

JE: Got along well...[referring to photo's] this is my Dad's car, and the house where they are staying now.

BH: Are your father and mother still married?

JE: Ja, they are still married.

BH: Were there any problems in their relationship that he could see?

JE: Umm, no. OK, like normal couples they would have their frictions...This one [referring to photo of pen pal] is the one I wrote to for the longest. Three years.... she writes good letters, and she enjoys the letters I send. That's why I do pictures, and poems. I speak to her about anything, but I don't speak about what I did. I told her, in the testimony, but she didn't ask more. I asked her if she wanted to be in a relationship, but she said she wanted to just be friends. I send her love poems...

BH: On the whole, do you like writing letters?

JE: Ja, like I said, the letter's give me news about what the life outside is like, what she finds important, and gives me things to think about, because if you don't think you brain your stop, you will get lost, your knowledge will be minimal; because it breaks you away from everything, here [in prison]. You don't grow. So I write letters to grow more, to experience things. Like feelings, to experience feelings.

To find out more about them like, when she gets angry, what happens. Does she hit walls? Does she throw things? You ask these things, does she cry?

Then you also write, 'I also cry' when I think about how I did earlier, or when I saw a good movie; so then she would also say. It's a learning process, that I also use...

BH: [interjects] To find out more about feelings, and how they happen for other people express.

JE: Ja. It's something that's interesting, to write, and get some back.

BH: So you do all this letter writing to find out more about society [die samelewing] and to find out how other people feel.

JE: Ja, or how they react. Like I write and tell them what I did, what is their reaction? Then I learn from that: 'you mustn't put it so roughly, you most put it more softly'. Because every person is different, so you learn how to work with each person, so that you can learn to know people, and how people will react when you say a certain thing...so it's nice, this understanding you get, you pick up knowledge about people's relationships and such things. And what is going on outside, so you don't stand still, you still use your brain power.

BH: I forgot to ask, your parents and your family, were you poor? Or middle...?

JE: [interjects] Middling, we weren't rich and we also weren't...

BH: [interjects] Middle class.

JE: Ja, middle class.

BH: And what did your father do, for work?

JE: He was a council electrician and a delivery man. He also helped deliver things to school...then he worked as a council electrician, making things right...My mother was a cleaner at the old people's home, this was later, in the beginning she was a teacher, but she was always at home when I was young, before I went to school.

BH: She was always at home.

JE: Ja.

BH: Why did they not have more children after you?

JE: I don't know. I couldn't say.

BH: Did they ever tell you about sex.

JE: Umm, no, [apart from the] one time my mother told me 'don't have sex

before you're married'.

BH: How did you learn about sex?

JE: I read about it, heard from friends, and there was also a class at school where a person tells you about sex. I was in high school, [standard] six or seven.

BH: That wasn't at home, it was at school.

JE: Ja, what I heard, and what I learnt from friends. Hearing them speak.

BH: Did you parents ever fight, like physical fights?

JE: No.

BH: Did you every see anyone having sex, in reality, when you were growing up?

JE: At home? See my parents having sex? No. The only thing I saw was when I was young and played doctor-doctor, and put my penis there by didn't penetrate.

BH: I think that's all, that's all the questions I have to ask.

That's all that I can think to ask, if there are any other questions I will write, if I think about anything else, do you have any questions?

316

JE: No, no. I will talk with [other researchers] I have finished talking with you, now I will speak with him [smile in voice, BH laughs]

BH: Alright. [TAPE ENDS]



APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW AND AUDIO TAPE CONSENT FORMS

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

The undersigned hereby consents to participate in a collaborative research project undertaken by the MTN Centre for Crime Prevention Studies (CCPS) at Rhodes University, the Department of Correctional Services, and the South African Police Services. This research is funded by MTN.

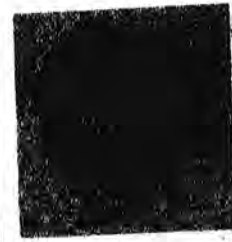
It is acknowledged that participation in this project is subject to the following conditions:

1. The subject is participating of his free will in the project and has the right to refuse to participate in the project.
2. Confidentiality of individual case material will be protected and maintained as far as the release of public information is concerned.
3. Collective information and psychometric test results may be made available to the collaborating institutions involved in the project, and may be used at their discretion (subject to clause (1) and (2), as outlined above). This includes the use of information for evaluation of future subjects for inclusion in rehabilitation programmes, evaluation for parole purposes or prison classification, and assistance with police investigations.
4. As catered for in legal statutes, the protection of privileged information must be waived in circumstances where the release of such information is deemed to be necessary for the protection of individuals or the community at large. Otherwise, participation in the above project will in no way effect prison privileges, eligibility for parole, or appeals processes.
5. No claim issuing from the use of information gathered during the course of this project will be entertained by the collaborative research parties
6. Personal information from Police and Prison records may be used.

Signed: _____
Name: _____
Prison number: _____

In the presence of _____ (researcher)
Place: _____
Date: _____

Witnessed by: _____



**MTN CENTRE
FOR CRIME
PREVENTION
STUDIES**

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RHODES UNIVERSITY





TOESTEMMING VIR DEELNAME AAN NAVORSINGSPROJEK

Die ondergetekende gee hiermee sy/haar toestemming om deel te neem aan 'n samewerkende navorsingsprojek wat onderneem word deur die MTN Sentrum vir Misdaadvoorkomingstudies by Rhodes Universiteit, die Departement van Korrektiewe Dienste en die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie Diens. Die navorsing word gekonsolideer deur MTN.

Daar word erken dat deelname aan die projek onderworpe is aan die volgende voorwaardes:

1. Dat die subjek deelneem aan die projek van sy vrye keuse en die reg het om deelname te weier.
2. Vertroulikheid van individuele saak materiaal sal beskerm word aangaande die vrystelling van publieke inligting.
3. Kollektiewe inligting en psigometriese toetsresultate mag bekend gemaak word aan die deelnemende instellings betrokke by die projek en mag gebruik word volgens hulle oordeel. Dit sluit in die gebruik van inligting vir die evaluering van toekomstige proefpersone in rehabilitasieprogramme, evaluasie vir parool doeleindes of gevangenis klassifikasies en hulp in polisie ondersoeke.
4. Die bewaring van vertroulike inligting moet laat vaar in gevalle waar die bekendstelling van sodanige inligting beskou word as noodsaaklik vir die beskerming van individue of die algehele gemeenskap.
5. Geen eise ontspruitend van die gebruik van die versamelde inligting tydens die verloop van die projek sal oorweeg word deur enige van die deelnemende navorsingsparty nie.
6. Persoonlike inligting van Polisie and Gevangenis rekords mag gebruik word.

Geteken: _____
Naam: _____
Gevangenis no.: _____

In die teenwoordigheid van _____
(navorsers).
Plek: _____
Datum: _____



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RHODES UNIVERSITY





CONSENT TO TAPE RECORD AN INTERVIEW

The undersigned hereby consents to the audio/visual tape recording of this research interview. It is acknowledged that this consent is subject to the following conditions:

1. The subject is consenting of his free will to this recording, and has the right to refuse to consent to this recording.
2. Confidentiality of individual case material (in the form of these recordings) will be protected and maintained as far as the release of public information is concerned.
3. This consent is subject to all the conditions outlined in the "Consent to Participate in a Research Project" document.
4. Should permission for this recording not be given, the research interview will still be carried out, regardless.

Signed: _____
Name: _____
Prison number: _____

In the presence of _____ (researcher)
Place: _____
Date: _____

Witnessed by: _____



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**TOESTEMMING OM 'N BAND OPNAME TE MAAK VAN
DIE ONDERHOUD**

Die ondergetekende gee hiermee sy toestemming om die navorsingsonderhoud te laat opneem op band. Dit word erken dat hierdie toestemming onderworpe is aan die volgende voorwaardes:

1. Die subjek se toestemming is van sy eie vrye keuse en het die reg om die bandopname te weier.
2. Vertroulikheid van individuele saak materiaal (in die vorm van hierdie bandopname) sal beskerm en behou word in verband met die vrystelling van publieke inligting.
3. Hierdie toestemming is onderworpe aan al die voorwaardes wat in die "Toestemming vir deelname aan Navorsingprojek" dokument omskryf word.
4. Indien toestemming vir die bandopname nie gegee word nie, sal die navorsingsonderhoud steeds voortgaan.

Geteken: _____

Naam: _____

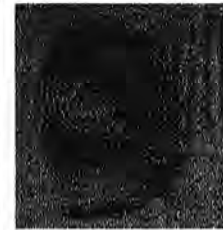
Gevangenis nommer: _____

In die teenwoordigheid van _____ (navorser)

Plek: _____

Datum: _____

Getuienis: _____



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APPENDIX D
IMAGO IDENTIFICATION FORM

Participant:

Transcription Matrix Ref.

- 1. Name of imago:**
- 2. Brief Description** (incl. content, adjectives, structure, complexity, strength)
- 3. Origin Myth** (i.e. link to biography. In what period did it become ascendant?)
- 4. Associated personality traits**
- 5. Associated wishes, aspirations, goals.**
- 6. Associated emotions, tone.**
- 7. Associated significant others**
- 8. How do significant others relate to that imago?**
- 9. How does imago affect their behaviour?**
- 10. Examples of where imago is reflected in their behaviour.**
- 11. What is this imago's relationship to other imagos?** (incl. if it co-occurs with other imagoes; is 'anti' to another.)
- 12. In what ways did this imago change?**
- 13. Link to offending?**



14. Other Notes

APPENDIX E
THEORETICAL MEMO

Participant:

Think towards the construction of a Gestalt

Narrative tone

Imagery

Themes

Developing ideas and understandings

Imagos

List of imagoes

Changes in imagoes (consider timelines)

Relationships between imagos

Changes in relationships between them (consider timelines, Feynman diagrams)

Relationships to significant others

Relationships to behaviours

Which imagoes affected interview particularly?

Link to offending



Pen portrait of subject

Attitude towards others

Attitude towards interviewer

Mode of speech; how subject expressed self characteristically

Noteworthy reactions

Process notes on interview

Lead by interviewer or subject?

Flow, or question-lead?

Interviewer reactions / habits / tendencies

Interviewer emotion

APPENDIX F
IMAGO AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The consent section included on the first page of this questionnaire was not used, being superseded by the forms given in Appendix B.



IMAGO

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWER:

The offender should give the interviewer written permission for the interview.

I understand that this is not a confidential doctor/patient relationship. I understand that I am under no obligation to answer any questions.

Signed _____

Date: _____

Although the main bulk of the answers in this questionnaire should be obtained from the offender directly, the interviewer may use other sources to confirm the facts as well. Please indicate which of the following sources were used:

- Offender
- Police records
- Family member, who _____
- Psychological reports
- Court proceedings
- Prison records
- Public records (Newspapers, etc)
- Other, specify _____

The interviewer is welcome to write on the back of the pages if there is not sufficient space.

The interviewer can just tick the appropriate block next to the answer, fill in the correct number or specify and answer in the space available.

1 Case Number _____

Name of offender (Optional) _____

A OFFENDER INFORMATION

2 Sex _____

Male

Female

3 Date of birth _____

Day _____ Month _____ Year _____

Unknown

4 Age at time of first offence in this series _____

Unknown

5 Age at time of last offence in this series _____

Unknown

6 Race: _____

7 Height: _____

Unknown

8 Weight: _____

Unknown

9 Physique: _____

Small built

Medium built

Large built

Athletic built

Other, specify _____

Unknown

10 Does the offender have any outstanding features (physical deformities, speech impediments, tattoos, etc)?

Yes, describe: _____

No

UNKNOWN

11 Marital history

Never married

Married on one occasion

Married more than once, how many times _____

Divorced

Unknown

12 Education

Less than high school, grade _____

High school, grade _____

Technician _____

University _____

Post graduate _____

Other, specify _____

Unknown



- 13 Age going to school
 Unknown
- 14 Did the offender repeat any grades?
 Yes, which _____
 No
 Unknown
- 15 Did the offender skip any grades?
 Yes, which _____
 No
 Unknown
- 16 FAMILY STRUCTURE
 Due to the complexity of some family structures the following may include step family members or any other member that was considered an influence in the nuclear family setting.
- 16 Number of siblings
 Unknown
- 17 Offender place in birth order
 Only child
 Unknown
- 18 Number of older brothers
 Specify ages: _____
 Unknown
- 19 Number of younger brothers
 Specify ages: _____
 Unknown
- 20 Number of older sisters
 Specify ages: _____
 Unknown
- 21 Number of younger sisters
 Specify ages: _____
 Unknown
- 22 During the offender's childhood he lived mainly with
 Natural parents
 Adoptive parents
 Mother and stepfather
 Father and stepmother
 Just mother
 Just father
 A relative, specify _____
 Foster home
 Multiple foster homes
 Hostel
 Detention centres or reformatories
 Other, specify _____
 Unknown
- 23 The offender's primary father figure during his childhood was:
 Unknown
- 24 The offender's primary father figure was
 Present most of the time
 Present part of the time
 Absent
 Present, but emotionally uninvolved with the offender
 Unknown
- 25 The offender's primary mother figure was
 Unknown
- 26 The offender's primary mother figure was
 Present most of the time
 Present part of the time
 Absent
 Present, but emotionally uninvolved with the offender
 Unknown
- 27 The dominant parental figure was:
 Father
 Mother
 Both
 Unknown
- 28 Who according to the offender had the strongest influence on his development (physical, mental and moral) and character?
 Explain: _____



29 Age of offender when mother exited his life
 Years
 Mother still present
 Unknown

30 Reason for mother's exit
 Death
 Divorce or separation
 Mother abandoned offender
 Other, specify _____
 Unknown

31 Age of offender when father exited his life
 Years
 Father still present
 Unknown

32 Reason for father's exit
 Death
 Divorce or separation
 Father abandoned offender
 Other, specify _____
 Unknown

33 Was offender adopted ?
 Yes
 No
 Unknown

34 Age offender learnt of adoptive status
 Years
 Unknown

C DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES

35 Was offender a planned child ?
 Yes
 No
 Unknown

36 Birth:
 Easy birth
 Complications, explain _____
 Unknown

37 Was offender breastfed ?
 Yes
 No
 Unknown

38 For how long ?
 Months
 Years
 Unknown

39 Was offender allergic to mother's milk?
 Yes
 No
 Unknown

40 Was mother's milk supplemented with artificial milk ?
 Yes
 No
 Unknown

41 Was offender allergic to mother's milk ?
 Yes
 No
 Unknown

42 Did offender bite mother's breast while suckling ?
 Yes
 No
 Unknown

43 Age offender started using toilet ?
 Months
 Years
 Unknown

44 Who taught offender to use toilet ?
 Unknown

45 Were there any problems regarding toilet use ?
 Yes, specify _____
 No
 Unknown



- 46 Did offender wet pants or bed during childhood years
Yes, specify: _____
 No
 Unknown
- 47 Was offender severely punished for wetting pants or bed ?
Yes
 No
 Unknown
- 48 By whom and how ?

Unknown
- 49 Who was offender's favourite parent at ages 4 - 6 ?

Unknown
- 50 Was offender lonely during period before school ?
Yes
 No
 Unknown
- 51 Offender's earliest memory before six years.

Unknown
- 52 Did the offender have particular nightmares before age six ? Describe:

Unknown
- 53 Was the offender lonely during primary school years ?
Yes
 No
 Unknown
- 54 Offender's academic achievement during primary school
 Good
 Average
 Bad
 Unknown
- 55 Did offender participate in sport during primary school ?
Yes, list: _____
 No
 Unknown
- 56 List offender's childhood illnesses

Unknown
- 57 Did offender receive any sex education ?
Unknown
Yes
 No
 Unknown
- 58 At what age ?
- 59 By whom ?
 Specify: _____
- 60 As a child, what was offender's perception of where babies come from ?

Unknown
- 61 At what age did offender first masturbate ?
Unknown
Did not masturbate
 Unknown
- 62 Did offender feel guilty about masturbation ?
Yes, specify: _____
 No
 Unknown



63	Was offender punished / threatened for masturbating ?	71	At what age ?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/> No		72	By whom ?
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown		<input type="checkbox"/>	
64	By whom ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
		73	What happened ?
65	How was offender punished / threatened for masturbating ?		
66	Who applied discipline during childhood and how ?	74	Did the offender have a special relationship with a member of the opposite sex (or same sex if offender is gay) at ages 13 - 18 ?
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	
		<input type="checkbox"/> No	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown		75	What was the nature of the relationship (friendship, intimate, sexual)?
67	Was offender lonely during high school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		76	List if more than one relationship, offender's age and how long relationship lasted ?
<input type="checkbox"/> No			
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown			
68	Contents of offender's daydreams during high school years:		
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown		77	Was offender's first sexual experience with his consent ?
69	Was offender involved in physical fights as a child and specify age:	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, specify		<input type="checkbox"/> No	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	
		78	Who initiated the experience ?
		<input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
<input type="checkbox"/> No		79	Age of offender and age of partner
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown		<input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
70	Was offender sexually abused or molested as a child ?		
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes			
<input type="checkbox"/> No			
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown			



80 Did offender ever observe parents or caretakers in the sexual act ?

1 Yes
1 No
1 Unknown

81 Age when offender first observed the sexual act

1 Unknown

82 Age when offender first read pornography

1 Unknown

83 Was offender ever cruel to animals as a child ?

1 Yes, specify _____
1 No
1 Unknown

D INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

Did offender ever spend time in:

84 Orphanage or state homes

1 Yes
1 No
1 Unknown
If yes explain reason and total length of time: _____

85 Detention centres / reformatories

1 Yes
1 No
1 Unknown
If yes, explain reason and total length of time: _____

86 Foster home (s)

1 Yes
1 No
1 Unknown
If yes explain reason and total length of time: _____

87 Prison

1 Yes
1 No
1 Unknown
If yes explain reason and total length of time: _____

88 Other institutions

1 Yes, specify _____
1 No
1 Unknown

E INTELLIGENCE

89 Intelligence quotient level (iq):

1 Below average
1 Normal
1 Above normal
1 Superior
1 Cerebral
1 Unknown
Name instrument that scores are based upon: _____

90

91 If no formal scores are available the interviewer should complete the following based upon their own observation (speech patterns, vocabulary, facial expressions, logical thought patterns, general knowledge, etc)

1 Below average
1 Normal
1 Above normal
1 Superior
1 Cerebral

F EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:

92 Occupation(s) at time of first offence (series (legal and illegal)

1 Unemployed
1 Unknown



93 List prior jobs including volunteer work in chronological order

94 Did offender ever have a job (paid or unpaid) that legitimized his contact with children (eg boy scouts, teacher, youth leader, etc.) ?

Yes, specify _____

No

Unknown

95 Length of time on most recent job ?

Unknown

96 Longest time on job and specify job

Unknown

97 Shortest time on job and specify job

Unknown

98 Documented employment stability (from records)

Generally stable

Unstable

Chronically unemployed

Disabled

Unknown

99 Job stability as perceived by offender

Generally stable

Unstable

Chronically unemployed

Disabled

Unknown

100 Military history / police service

Yes, specify _____

No

Unknown

101 Military/ police discharge

Honorable

102 Did the offender ever have a diagnosed psychiatric disorder ?

Yes

No

Unknown

103 Diagnoses given by mental professions starting with most recent and dates:

104 Did offender receive any treatment for mental disorder / alcohol or drug abuse ?

Yes

No

Unknown

105 Type of treatment

Individual counseling

Medication, specify _____

Hospitalization, specify _____

Group therapy

Unknown

106 Where was treatment received?

Private

Institution

Correctional facility

Other, specify _____

Unknown

107 Did offender threaten / attempt suicide prior to offense(s) ?

Yes

No

Unknown

99 Medical

Psychological

General

Undetectable

Retired

Resignation

Still in service

Unknown

PSYCHIATRIC HISTORY PRIOR TO OFFENSE(S)



108 Precipitating events to threats / attempts

109 What method did offender use or contemplate ?

110 Has the offender been diagnosed with a psychiatric disorder ?

111 Diagnoses given by mental professions starting with most recent and follow:

112 Did offender receive any treatment for mental disorder / alcohol or drug abuse ?

113 Type of treatment

114 Where was treatment received?

115 Did offender threaten / attempt suicide after the offence(s) ?

116 Precipitating events to threats / attempts

117 What method did offender use or contemplate ?

118 CHRONIC PATTERNS EXHIBITED BY OFFENDER

Indicate behaviour exhibited by the offender.

CHILDHOOD : BIRTH TO AGE 12:

NO	HABITS	NO	DOCUMENTED	ALLEGED BY OFFENDER	UNKNOWN
118	Eating disorders				
119	Overeating				
120	Bad wetting				
121	Night terrors				
122	Headaches, dizzy spells, blackouts				
123	Speech impediment				
124	Convulsions, seizures, fits				
125	Temper tantrums/ hyperactivity				
126	Marked phobias				
127	Isolation withdrawal syndrome				
128	Self mutilation				



148	Marked phobias				
149	Isolation withdrawal shyness				
150	Self mutilation				
151	Running away				
152	Chronic lying				
153	Stealing				
154	Arson				
155	Destruction of property of others				
156	Destruction of own property				
157	Cruelty to animals				
158	Cruelty to children				
159	Assaultive to adults				
160	Abuse of drugs				
161	Abuse of alcohol				

ADULTHOOD | AGE 18 + |

NO	HABITS	NO	DOCUMENTED	ALLEGED BY OFFENDER	UNKNOWN
162	Eating disorders				
163	Overeating				
164	Bed wetting				
165	Night terrors				
166	Headaches, dizzy spells, blackouts				
167	Speech impediment				
168	Convulsions, seizures, tics				

183	Indecent exposure Age of target ____ Sex of target ____				
189	Voyeurism Age of target ____ Sex of target ____				
190	Retarded ejaculation				
191	Conditionary ejaculation				
192	Premature ejaculation				
193	Erectile insufficiency				
194	Concerns over genital size Too small ____ Too large ____				
195	Sexual fears Describe ____				
196	Visit adult sex / video shops				
197	Visit public adult entertainment				
198	Collects detective magazines				
199	Collects video porn				
200	Collects magazine porn				
201	Necrophilia				
202	Zoophilia				
203	Frotterism				
204	Sexual interest in urine feces				
205	Prostitute (self)				
206	Prostitution as pimp				
207	Obscene phone calls Age of victims ____ Sex of victims ____				
208	Cross dressing				



209	Fetichism Specify _____			
-----	----------------------------	--	--	--

- 210 Dominant sexual preference of offender:
- Same sex as offender
 - Opposite sex as offender
 - Bisexual
 - Asexual
 - Unknown
- 211 Dominant age group at which sexual interest is directed:
- Significantly younger
 - Significantly older
 - Approximately same age
 - Any age
 - Unknown
- 212 Age at time of first significant consenting sexual experience to the point of orgasm?
- Unknown
- 213 Partner in this experience
- Father
 - Mother
 - Stepmother
 - Stepfather
 - Brother
 - Sister
 - Stepbrother
 - Stepsister
 - Stepfather
 - Adult male relative
 - Adult female relative
 - Adult male acquaintance
 - Adult female acquaintance
 - Male friend / age mate
 - Female friend / age mate
 - Pre-pubescent male
 - Pre-pubescent female
 - Adolescent male
 - Adolescent female
 - Adult male stranger
 - Adult female stranger
 - Pornotica
 - Other
 - Unknown
- K CRIMINAL HISTORY
(JUVENILE 9 - 19)
These include crimes for which the offender has been arrested and convicted prior to this series

NO	CRIME	NO	DOCUMENTE D	ALLEGED BY OFFENDER	UNKNOWN
214	Fraud				
215	Burglary				
216	Sex crimes				
217	Assault				
218	Drug use / selling				
219	Shoplifting / petty theft				
220	Auto theft				
221	Vandalism				
222	Disorderly conduct				
223	Trespassing				
224	Other Specify _____				

(ADUL. T 18 +)

NO	CRIME	NO	DOCUMENTE D	ALLEGED BY OFFENDER	UNKNOWN
225	Fraud				
226	Burglary				
227	Sex crimes				
228	Assault				
229	Drug use / selling				
230	Shoplifting / petty theft				
231	Auto theft				
232	Vandalism				
233	Disorderly conduct				
234	Trespassing				
235	Other Specify _____				



251 Was there evidence of a precipitating stress event ?

Financial difficulties

Mental problems

Conflict with parents

Conflict with female NB other

Conflict with male NB other

Birth of a child

Injury or illness of self

Injury or illness of NB other

Employment problems

Death of NB other

Criminal / legal problems

Other, specify _____

Unknown

252 How could the assault be described ?

Intentional, premeditated

Impulsive

Unplanned, opportunistic

Unknown

253 Did the offender dress in a special way for the assault ?

Yes, suit

Yes, casual, informal

Yes, uniform

Yes, disguise

Yes, other _____

No special way

Unknown

254 Was the offender acquainted with the victim ?

Yes, acquainted

Yes, date _____

Yes, lover

Yes, neighbour

Yes, _____ f a m i l y , _____ s p e c i f y _____

Yes, have seen the victim before

Yes, colleague

Other _____

Unknown

255 Times of present crimes:

1	5	11	16
2	6	12	17
3	7	13	18
4	8	14	19
5	9	15	20
Unknown	10		

256 Days of the week of present crime scenes:

1	5	11	16
2	6	12	17
3	7	13	18
4	8	14	19
5	9	15	20
Unknown	10		

257 Did the weather conditions have an influence during the crimes?

Yes, explain _____

No

Unknown

258 Place where the first contact between the victim and offender took place. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Victim's residence: _____

Offender's residence: _____

Victim's work place: _____

Offender's work place: _____

Street/public road: _____

Public place: _____

Parking lot: _____

Recreation area: _____

Playgrounds: _____

Wed: _____

Other, specify: _____

Unknown: _____

259 Place where sexual assault or murder took place. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Victim's residence: _____

Offender's residence: _____

Victim's work place: _____

Offender's work place: _____

Street/public road: _____

Public place: _____

Parking lot: _____

Recreation area: _____

Playgrounds: _____

Wed: _____

Other, specify: _____

Unknown: _____

0 TIME AND CRIME SCENE INFORMATION

255 Dates of present crimes:

1	5	11	16
2	6	12	17



- 250 Recreation area: _____
Playgrounds: _____
Veld: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____
- 251 Distance between the crime scene and the victim's residence. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Same place: _____
Very near (100 metres): _____
Less than 1 km: _____
Same city: _____
Same province: _____
Other province: _____
Unknown: _____
- 252 Distance between victim's workplace and crime scene. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Same place: _____
Very near (100 metres): _____
Less than 1 km: _____
Same city: _____
Same province: _____
Other province: _____
Unknown: _____
- 253 Distance between the crime scene and the offender's residence. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Same place: _____
Very near (100 metres): _____
Less than 1 km: _____
Same city: _____
Same province: _____
Other province: _____
Unknown: _____
- 254 Distance between offender's workplace and crime scene. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Same place: _____
Very near (100 metres): _____
Less than 1 km: _____
Same city: _____
Same province: _____
Other province: _____
Unknown: _____
- 255 Distance between the victim's residence and the offender's residence. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- 256 Same place: _____
Very near (100 metres): _____
Less than 1 km: _____
Same city: _____
Same province: _____
Other province: _____
Unknown: _____
- 257 Distance between the first contact and the crime scene. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Same place: _____
Very near (100 metres): _____
Less than 1 km: _____
Same city: _____
Same province: _____
Other province: _____
Unknown: _____
- 258 Distance between the crime scene and body recovery place. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Same place: _____
Very near (100 metres): _____
Less than 1 km: _____
Same city: _____
Same province: _____
Other province: _____
Unknown: _____
- 259 Offender's means of transport to the crime scene (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Walking: _____
Public transport: _____
V e h i c l e _____
Private: _____
Vehicle - same as driver: _____
Victim's vehicle: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____
- 270 Offender's means of transport from the crime scene (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)



270

Whisker: _____
Public transport: _____
Vehicle: someone else is driver: _____
Victim's vehicle: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____

P VEHICLE INFORMATION

271

Vehicle used by offender (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Offender's vehicle: _____
Someone else's vehicle, who: _____
Rental vehicle: _____
Stolen vehicle: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____

272

Type of vehicle (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Four door sedan: _____
Sports car: _____
Bakkie: _____
Cortina Hi Lux: _____
Truck: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____

273 Vehicle condition

Well cared for _____
Average wear and tear _____
Poor condition _____
Unknown: _____

274

How was vehicle involved in the incident? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Offender takes in victim's car: _____
Offender forces victim into his car: _____
Offender forces victim in victim's car: _____
Unruly circumstances (uninvolved or accident): _____
Car is crime scene: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____

275 Offender's driving habits

276

Only when necessary

Never / can't drive: _____
Long distances for job: _____
Prone to causing accident at night: _____
Aggressive driver: _____
Unknown: _____

Q GENERAL STRATEGY OF OFFENDER

276

What was the length between the initial contact with the victim and the actual assault? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Sudden attack / blitz: _____
Less than an hour: _____
Some days: _____
1 week to 1 month: _____
1-6 months: _____
6 months or more: _____
Unknown: _____

277

What was the initial strategy used by the offender to approach the victim? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Recognised by prior victim: _____
Escalate friendship or authority: _____
Escalate open invitation (no pick-up): _____
Escalate normal social situation (eg party, bar): _____
Uses coat of offering assistance (eg repairs): _____
Uses contact to get help from victim: _____
Mimicry or disguise (eg photographer): _____
Menace or threat: _____
Stalks or lags in wait for victim: _____
Breaching and entering: _____
Sudden physical attack: _____
Entices victim through newspaper ad: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____

278

How did offender control victim during the event? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Physical force: _____
Verbal threats: _____
Manipulation: _____
Enticement: _____
Threat to harm someone close to victim: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____

279

Which of the following restraints were used? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)



280 What happened to the restraints? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Rope _____
Chain _____
Tape _____
Belt _____
Chesting, security _____
Chemical straps _____
Handcuffs _____
Cuffs _____
Blindfold _____
Other, specify _____
No restraints _____
Unknown _____

281 In what manner were the restraints applied? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Unknown _____

Brought to scene by offender: _____
Applied by offender: _____
Let on victim _____
Let on scene, not on victim: _____
Removed from scene _____
Weapon used _____
Victim used _____
Self defence: _____
Unknown _____

282 Offender traces found at crime scenes. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Finger prints _____
Foot prints _____
Car tracks _____
Seeds _____
Berries _____
Spittle _____
Sweat _____
Hair _____
Fibre _____
Offender's clothing _____
Offender's possessions _____
Other, specify _____
No traces _____
Unknown _____

283 Was there any key event that pressured offender to kill victim? (Fill in the

chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Yes, specify: _____
No _____
Unknown _____

GENERAL DATA ABOUT THE CRIME

284 Why was victim killed by offender? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Instigator: _____
Intentional to avoid defecation: _____
Intentional to avoid defecation: _____
Sadism _____
Compulsory fantasy _____
Victim's defence agitated offender: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown _____

285 Type of weapon used. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Firearm: _____
Sword _____
Blunt instrument, specify: _____
Cutting instrument, specify: _____
Liquor, specify: _____
Manual strangulation: _____
Suffocation: _____
Fire: _____
Drawing _____
Dive, specify: _____
Lithium: _____
Weapon wars: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Brought along by offender: _____
Available at scene _____
Self defence weapon of victim: _____
Unknown _____

287 Sexual acts committed by offender. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Oral sex: _____
Anal sex: _____
Vaginal sex: _____
Cunnilingus: _____



- 287 Fording: _____
Kissing: _____
Masturbation on victim: _____
Oral insertion: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____
- 288 How did offender behave after sexual act with victim ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- 289 No change: _____
Increased aggression: _____
Untidy: _____
No sexual act: _____
Unknown: _____
- 289 Was victim forced to any of the following acts ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Oral sex on offender: _____
Masturbation: _____
Forced to say something specific: _____
Forced to wear something specific: _____
Raped by other men: _____
Forced in sexual act with another victim: _____
Forced to watch as offender commits sexual act with other victim: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____
- 290 Did offender keep record of acts by using: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Writings: _____
Audio tapes: _____
Video tapes: _____
Photographic: _____
Sketches: _____
Computer: _____
Scrapbook: _____
Newspaper clippings: _____
Other, specify: _____
Unknown: _____
- 291 Where were these records kept ?
- Home in open, specify where: _____
Home, hidden, where: _____
Rental storage, where: _____
Work place, where: _____
Other secret place, where: _____
Unknown: _____
- 292 Did offender share these records with someone else ?
- Yes, who: _____
No: _____
Unknown: _____
- 293 Sadistic acts committed during event ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes, specify: _____
No: _____
Unknown: _____
- 294 Masochistic acts committed during the event. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes, specify: _____
No: _____
Unknown: _____
- 295 Was there another person involved in the crime ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes, specify: _____
No: _____
Unknown: _____
- 296 What was this person's role ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Leader: _____
Accomplice: _____
Pretender: _____
Victim: _____
Spouse, girlfriend/brother: _____
Unknown: _____
- 297 Was alcohol used by offender prior to the crime ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes: _____
No: _____
Unknown: _____
- 298 Did offender drink more than usual after the crime ?
- Yes: _____
No: _____
Unknown: _____
- 299 Did offender use drugs prior to the crime ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes: _____
No: _____
Unknown: _____



299 Unknown _____

300 Did offender use more drugs after the crimes ?

Yes _____

No _____

Unknown _____

301 How would the offender rate the sexual pleasure or satisfaction he experienced ?(Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

E x t r e m e l y u n p l e a s e d

B a d _____

A v e r a g e : _____ 0 _____ 0 _____ d

G o o d _____

S u p e r _____

U n k n o w n _____

302 How long did the actual offense take ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

M i n u t e s : _____

H o u r s : _____

D a y s : _____

U n k n o w n _____

303 What was the nature of the conversation during the actual offense ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

M a n i p u l a t i o n _____

T h r e a t e n i n g , i n t i m i d a t i n g _____

A b u s i v e , i n s u l t i n g _____

A s k i n g v i c t i m p e r s o n a l q u e s t i o n s : _____

P o l i t e a n d f r i e n d l y _____

C o m p l e m e n t a r y _____

S i l e n t _____

O t h e r , s p e c i f y _____

U n k n o w n _____

304 What actions did the offender take to preclude identification / evidence retrieval? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

B l i n d f o l d i n g t h e v i c t i m _____

D i s t u r b _____

C l o t h e s _____

V i c t i m b o n d t o b a t h r o o m _____

R e m o v e d e v i d e n c e _____

D e s t r o y e d e v i d e n c e _____

O t h e r , s p e c i f y _____

U n k n o w n _____

305 Did offender take anything from the crime scene ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

M o n e y _____

P e r s o n a l i t e m s o f v i c t i m o f s m a l l v a l u e , s p e c i f y _____

V i c t i m ' s c l o t h i n g _____

J w e l l e r y _____

P h o t o g r a p h s _____

V i c t i m ' s i d e n t i f i c a t i o n _____

O t h e r , s p e c i f y _____

U n k n o w n _____

306 Did offender show any of the following behaviour after the crimes ?

K e p t s o u v e n i r s o f v i c t i m s _____

C o n t a c t e d t h e v i c t i m _____

C o n t a c t e d t h e v i c t i m ' s f a m i l y _____

C o n t a c t e d t h e v i c t i m ' s e m p l o y e e s _____

A t t e n d e d v i c t i m ' s t u r n e r a l _____

V i s i t e d v i c t i m ' s g r a v e _____

I n v e r t e d s a i l i n t o i n v e s t i g a t i o n _____

C a l l e d s e r v i c e a b o u t t h e c a s e _____

C h a n g e d r e s i d e n c e _____

C h a n g e d r e l i g i o u s a c t i v i t y _____

R e t u r n e d t o c r i m e s c e n e w h e t h e r b o d y w a s r e m o v e d o r n o t _____

R e s t o r e d a n d r e c o n s t r u c t e d c r i m e s c e n e a f t e r o f f e n s e _____

F e l t g u i l t y o f s a i d _____

D r e w a b o u t v i c t i m _____

T u r n e d i n t e r e s t i n _____

C o m m e n t s a b o u t e v i d e n c e _____

307 OFFENDER'S INTERACTION WITH THE MEDIA

307 Did offender follow media reports on the crime ?

Y e s , s p e c i f y _____

N o _____

U n k n o w n _____

308 Did media reports cause offender to change his modus operandi or plans ?

Y e s , s p e c i f y _____

N o _____

U n k n o w n _____

309 Was identical of offender exposed to media ?

Y e s _____

N o _____

U n k n o w n _____



310 Did offender change behaviour due to this ?
 Yes, specify: _____
 No
 Offender did not know this
 Unknown

311 Was a profile of offender released to the media ?
 Yes
 No
 Unknown

312 Did offender change behaviour due to this ?
 Yes, specify: _____
 No
 Offender did not know this
 Unknown

313 Did any comments of the investigators cause the offender to change his modus operandi or plans ?
 Yes, specify: _____
 No
 Unknown

314 Did the offender ever contact the media ?
 Yes, specify: _____
 No
 Unknown

315 Did the offender ever communicate with the investigators during the investigation before arrest ?
 Yes, specify: _____
 No
 Unknown

VICTIM SELECTION

316 Why did offender select victim ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
SEX, RACES
 Sex, female: _____
 Age: _____
 Clothing: _____
 Appearance: _____
 Occupation: _____
 Race: _____

317 Availability: _____
 Other, specify: _____
 Unknown

318 Were there similarities between victims ?
 Yes, what: _____
 No
 Unknown

DISPOSAL SITE DATA

318 Dates when bodies were discovered: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

1	6	11	16
2	7	12	17
3	8	13	18
4	9	14	19
5	10	15	20
	Unknown		

319 Place where body was discovered: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Same place as murder: _____
Offender's residence: _____
Victim's residence: _____
Offender's workplace: _____
Victim's workplace: _____
Street / alley: _____
Parking lot: _____
Public recreation area: _____
In water: _____
Woods: _____
Veld: _____
Open, specify: _____

320 Was body: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
 Dumped: _____
 Hidden / concealed: _____
 Displayed: _____
 Unknown: _____

321 What was body's state of dress ?(Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
 Completely naked
 Only breasts exposed
 Only genitalia exposed
 Only buttocks exposed
 Naked, but covered: _____



- 1 Fully dressed: _____
1 Unknown: _____
- 322 Body position: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
1 Face down: _____
1 Face up: _____
1 Side position: _____
1 Sitting: _____
1 Other, specify: _____
1 Unknown: _____
- 323 Was there any evidence of undoing of crime scene ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
1 Yes, specify: _____
1 No
1 Unknown
- 324 How long did the offender spend time with the dead body ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
1 Minutes: _____
1 Hours: _____
1 Days: _____
1 Unknown: _____
- 325 Are there evidence of sexual acts with the body after death ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
1 Yes, specify: _____
1 No
1 Unknown
- 326 Did offender mutilate body after death ?
1 Yes
1 No
1 Unknown
- 327 Form of mutilation after death / torture before death. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
1 Body cavities probed: _____
1 Objects inserted in vagina: _____
1 Objects inserted in anus: _____
1 Objects inserted in mouth: _____
1 Breast mutilated: _____
1 Vagina mutilated: _____
1 Penis mutilated: _____
1 Buttocks mutilated: _____
1 Burns: _____
1 Carving on the victim: _____

- 1 Waiting on the victim: _____
1 Electrical shock: _____
1 Carabellum: _____
1 Vampirism: _____
1 Driven over victim / dragged with vehicle: _____
1 Victim's eyes removed: _____
1 Limbs amputated: _____
1 Organs removed: _____
1 Decapitated: _____
1 Head shaved/cut off: _____
1 Pubic hair shaved: _____
1 Skinned victim: _____
1 Bitten victim, where: _____
1 Chemical injuries to victim, what and where: _____
1 Other, specify: _____
1 Unknown: _____
- 328 Was the mutilation done to prevent identification of victim ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
1 Yes: _____
1 No
1 Unknown
- 329 Did the offender keep the body/ victim alive (delete unapplicable) for a period of time ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
1 Yes: _____
1 No
1 Unknown
- 330 For how long ?
1 Days
1 Weeks
1 Months
1 Unknown
- 331 Where was the body/ victim (delete unapplicable) kept ?
1 Unknown
- 332 Time between murder and first revisit to crime scene. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
1 Days: _____
1 Weeks: _____
1 Months: _____
1 Years: _____
1 Unknown: _____
- 333 How many times did offender revisit the crime scene ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)



1 Date: _____
 2 Time: _____
 3 3 - 4 lane: _____
 4 5 or more: _____
 5 Unknown: _____

334 Offender's purpose for revisiting the crime scene? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Cautiously: _____
 1 Fantasy relief: _____
 2 Masturbation: _____
 3 Determine police investigation: _____
 4 e n g a g e l n f u r t h e r s e x u a l a c t s : _____
 5 Malign body: _____
 6 C o m m i t s a c t s w i t h o t h e r v i c t i m s t h e r e : _____
 7 To check on body: _____
 8 To retrieve body: _____
 9 Other: _____
 0 Unknown: _____

DATA ABOUT OFFENDERS IDENTIFICATION, ARREST, INTERROGATION AND TRIAL

335 How was offender identified ?

1 Turned self in
 2 By informant
 3 By a witness
 4 Caught in the act
 5 Other, specify: _____
 6 Unknown: _____

336 If offender was identified with a reward instrumental ?

1 Yes
 2 No
 3 Unknown

337 Place where offender was arrested ?

1 Crime scene
 2 Escaping the crime scene
 3 Offender's residence
 4 Offender's work place
 5 Other, specify: _____
 6 Unknown: _____

338 Offender's resistance to arrest:

1 Tried to escape
 2 Physical struggle
 3 Attacked police

1 Surrendered without resistance
 2 Other, specify: _____
 3 Unknown

339 Offender's plea to charges:

1 Guilty
 2 Not guilty
 3 Changed from guilty to not guilty
 4 Unknown

340 Offender's initial reaction to interrogation:

1 Confession
 2 Denial
 3 Denial then confession
 4 Has no memory
 5 Other, specify: _____
 6 Unknown

341 TRIAL

1 Offender convicted, sentence _____
 2 Acquitted
 3 Not competent to stand trial

SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT

342 Which circumstances could have prevented the offender from committing the offense ?

1 _____
 2 _____
 3 _____
 4 _____

343 Before this had happened, what did the offender want to do with his life ?

1 _____
 2 _____
 3 _____
 4 _____

344 Was there a time in his life when the offender did not drink or rap or kill ?

1 _____
 2 _____
 3 _____
 4 _____

345 Can the offender give a psychological explanation for his motive ?

1 _____
 2 _____
 3 _____
 4 _____

346 Does the offender feel that could have stopped himself from the committing the crime at any time ?

1 _____
 2 _____
 3 _____
 4 _____



347 Would the offender repeat the crime if he experiences the same urge again ?

348 Does the offender think that therapy would relieve him from the urge to commit the offense ?

349 If fantasy played a role, will the offender describe the perfect fantasy ?

350 Did he get support from family, friends or anyone after the offense ?

351 Did the offender seek psychological counseling for his problem and what he think thereof ?

352 Could the detectives or anyone else have done something to convince him to give himself up ?

353 Did the offender think he would have been caught ?

354 Does the offender have any advice for detectives investigating similar cases ?

355 Does the offender have advice for potential victims in similar crimes on how to save their lives or prevent the offender from harming them ?

356 Did the offender have knowledge about other people who committed similar crimes ?

357 Does the offender feel guilty about the crimes ?

358 Would the offender like to make contribution for the crimes and how ?

359 Does the offender have any questions ?

360 Is the offender satisfied with this interview ?



APPENDIX G

LETTER OF PERMISSION TO VIEW CASE FILES

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICES

Privaatsak/Private Bag X302 PRETORIA 0001
Posbus/Post Office Bag

Verwysing Reference	Brin Hodgskiss
Navrae Enquiries	S/Supt (Dr) GN Labuschagne
Telefoon Telephone	012 401 3333
Faksnommer Fax number	012 320 4290

Investigative Psychology Unit
Serious and Violent Crime
Detective Service
Head Office
10-01-2005

The Research Committee
University of Pretoria
PRETORIA

SERIAL MURDER RESEARCH: MR BA HODSKISS: REQUEST TO ACCESS FILES

Mr Hodgskiss has requested access to certain files pertaining to serial murder for the purpose of his doctoral research. These files are in the possession of the Investigative Psychology Unit of Serious and Violent Crime National Head Office of the South African Police Service (SAPS), of which I am the commander.

Permission is hereby granted to Mr Hodgskiss to access the files and previously collected tape-recorded interviews necessary for his research as the results of his research will be of benefit to the SAPS in its investigation of the crime of serial murder. The Investigative Psychology Unit has previously had a research relationship with Mr Hodgskiss and he has proved to be a reliable, trustworthy and ethical researcher.

We look forward to assisting in this matter.

Regards,

SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT
COMMANDER: INVESTIGATIVE PSYCHOLOGY UNIT
DR GÉRARD LABUSCHAGNE