

## APPENDIX A

### Interview 1

As I did not feel it was ethical to audiotape anything before I have explained what I am doing there, the following is not a verbatim of the first part of the session. I introduced myself and said that I have heard from her through my friend whom she had met and who is a colleague of her aunt and uncle. I said that I have informed consent from her lawyer, but that this research will not help her in any way with her court case. I would not be involved in that at all. I told her that I am doing research on postnatal depression and that I would like to learn about her experience of depression and of her mother as mother of herself as child, how she thinks her mother thought about her as a baby, as a child and later on when she herself was a mother. I would also like to learn about how she experienced herself as a mother, how she experienced her first child, her thoughts and feelings during pregnancy, the delivery and her child as a baby. I would also like to learn about her experience of these same things about her second child.

I told her that we would have seven interviews of about an hour and when it would take place. I explained that I will be making notes and that the interviews will be audio taped and then transcribed. I explained that all information would be confidential and anonymous. I am not going to talk to her lawyer or any one else about it and that the information will be published anonymously in my thesis. I explained that it could be emotional to talk about certain issues and that she is at liberty to withdraw anytime. I asked her if she wants to think about it and want to let me know. She said she is willing and we could carry on. She expected me as she was

told that I would be coming for research. I showed her the letter of informed consent, she sighed it and started talking about her depression. She said her depression started in 1994. She had headaches and didn't sleep well. She had a lot of pressure from her mother and father. She didn't know what was happening to her. It sometimes felt if she was losing her mind. I then realised that the tape is not on and I actually did not plan to start immediately. I asked her permission to put the tape on.

Interviewer: Tell me a little bit about yourself and your family. Where you grew up and how many children you were. Tell me just a little bit about yourself.

Interviewee: OK. Do you want to know about the depression?

Interviewer: No, in general. In this first interview I would just like to get to know you a little bit.

Interviewer: I grew up in Ottosdal in the same house with my great grandfather and great grandmother. My mother worked in Stilfontein. They were four daughters. My grandmother was not married. She was divorced. My three aunts looked after me.

When I was 5 we moved to Stilfontein. My mother was not working at the time.

Then we moved to Klerksdorp. We lived with my father's aunt, in her yard. In the back of the yard. () My mother, she was just a mother. I didn't have any problems with her.

I started school at 6. She would do anything for me. In sub B she taught me how to wash my shirts. () doing my schoolwork. (). The only problem I had with her was that she didn't want me to play with other kids.

She called me names.

I started being scared of her once when I lost a R2. She sent me to the shop. When I came back I told her I lost R2. She started beating me and chasing me with an

umbrella stick. She was just wearing a underrok. So, then I started looking at her in another way. The other thing is that she used to fight with my father a lot (silence). If my father comes late from work, she would fight with my father, they would fight. () My father did everything for us I didn't have issues with my father. (). My mother and father fight everyday.

Interviewer: Did they fight verbally or did they also sometimes fight physically?

Interviewee: Verbally and physically. (). We moved from one place to the other. (). We lived in the back yard of my mother's father. The only thing that I remembered that my mother was complaining about, is that I don't hear. (). So, (sigh) (silence) there was my uncle and my aunt, but from my stepmother's side, my mother's stepmother. My uncle and aunt (). My uncle, he was a dance teacher. () I was dancing, but I stopped. So we were dancing (). The dancing stopped. In 1987. We moved to (). The one day I lost a nice dress. My young brother, I think he took it and throw it in the dustbin. (). I told her the dress was not there. My mother hit me for losing the dress. My father (). We moved again. We were staying in a shack. My mother's grandmother on her father's side. We lived in their yard. So, we stayed there from 1987. (). In 1987 I did not have much problems with my mother. The only thing is I used to loved TV. () I would want to watch the TV, so (). I helped her with my other sister, my younger sister when she was small. She would leave me with her when she was going to town. I took care of my young sister, I didn't have any problems. I washed the napkins. ().

Interviewer: How old were you? What was the age difference?

Interviewee: I was 9.

Interviewer: Nine?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Are you the eldest child?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer; And after you?

Interviewee: I had a younger brother

Interviewer: And then this sister?

Interviewee: Yes. (). My sister was born in 1988.

Interviewer: Do you have any other brothers and sisters?

Interviewee: Yes, I do. (). I started having problems with my mother (silence). So, I would help her do the things at home, all these things, I would cook. But sometimes she would push me to do it. I don't know () I cooked. I would always cook. () I don't know why () because she used to cook, she would cook for us, but then (). I don't know why she (). I helped her to cook, I would mash the potatoes, I would clean the house. (). I will clean the house. (). She used to cook, she used to do things for us. () So, one day she wanted to hit me with a shoe. () was on top of the table (). She was complaining that other girls, they are doing things for their mothers, but I don't want to do it. But I used to do, I used to help her with cooking. But I don't know, maybe she started to stress (touched her head, made a circular movement like showing someone is mad) because of the fighting with my father. I would help her do everything in the house. (). In 1989 we moved into a big house. The problems started when I was 11. You know, sometimes as a child, you want to do other things, I wanted to do other things, you know, rather than helping her do the things. But I would help her. But then I think that she was becoming lazy. She was becoming sick and sick. (). I think she started to become sick of stress. Because of my father. Because my mother used to do everything. You know, she would prepare things, (), she would clean things, she would (), she used to do everything. But now she was sick and complaining. I think

now she started to stress because they were fighting. I think my mother was becoming lazy, you know, she would sleep a lot. Sometimes when I come from school, she didn't clean the house. She was waiting for me to come and clean the house. When I come from school the dishes were still dirty. You know, that kind of thing. (). I was in high school I was 15 years old. She would give me stress. I wanted to do school work and other things. () I didn't want to have a family like that. I wanted to have a better family. I thought a lot about my future, because of the teachers at school. I was looking forward at a career. (). That was what I was thinking about that time. You know, nothing more. (). I was thinking about the way I want my body to look. All these things. I woke up in the morning. I wanted to do exercise and would watch TV in the morning to do exercise. I (). I used to look after myself.

Then (sigh) I started thinking too much. My mother was complaining a lot. She was becoming sick and sick. Sick and sick. She was becoming very tired. She was fighting a lot. () My life at that time (). I was concentrating (). So I didn't have much (). She was demanding a lot from me. I started dancing when I was 15. Sometimes she stopped me to go dancing, because I have to cook. I think she was tired, she was tired and very sick. I think she was stressing a lot. Because she was complaining, you understand. (Interruption). So, I started stressing myself, because now I couldn't do the things what I wanted to do. (). But I was not lazy to clean the house or do anything for her. It's just that I didn't see any reason why I should be cleaning the house, because she was at home and I was going to school (). So, I was thinking too much about my future and about myself. So, it was disturbing me.

Interviewer Of course.

Interviewee: (). And then she started becoming very angry. She was complaining to me. And I want to go dancing.

Interviewer: What kind of dancing did you do?

Interviewee: I did ballroom and Latin dancing. I was thinking about self () disturbing me ()

() stopped me from dancing. She was still fighting a lot with my father. My father will come late. Sometimes at 2 o'clock in the morning. Sometimes she wake us up and to go look for him. I didn't like it, because now I was becoming older. I was looking at my mother and didn't () the way I want to do them. I don't want to be disturbed. () I don't want to be you know (). So, it was quite disturbing to me that everything was going the way it was. My father, we have to wake up in the middle of the night, my mother use to wake me up and we had to go and look for him, you know, because he was drinking at the time. And some of the things (). We started having money problems. There was money problems. You know, me and my mother, we never spoke like mother and daughter. Things like that. The only thing we talked about is me cleaning the house. That's all. Because she was sick. I think she was sick because of all the pressure, fighting with my father. But she didn't tell me that she was sick, but I could see that she was sick, because of she was fighting with my father and all those things were going on inside her. (Sigh). So that then I, it started disturbing me here (touches her head) (sigh). I was denying it because I was thinking next year. (). Then I (). I started to think there is something wrong. I was very disturbed. I was tired and depressed. I think it was 1994, I started complaining at the doctor. I couldn't sleep well. I can't concentrate at school. But the only thing I know is I was good at reading and studying. So I started complaining at the doctor something is wrong (). I don't like it () tablets for depression. So I was becoming very disturbed.

Interviewer: How old were you more or less then?

Interviewee: I was 16.

Interviewer: So the doctor gave you tablets for depression when you were 16?

Interviewee: No, it was 17. So, now it was too much. I couldn't, I started shaking. I started, I couldn't lie down still on the bed like now I'd taking a nap. (). Now I am taking a nap, I couldn't, I was shaking, I was shaking from mother, because now when she was coming in, you know, she would want me to do things, you know, she would yell at me. She would tell me things that I didn't like.

Interviewer: Like what? What sort of things did she say?

Interviewee: All sorts of things (). She said I am lazy. Sometimes I would go to the shops. She said I was only looking for boys. I was not interested in boys. There are boys at school, there are boys at home. They were just boys at that time (). She was putting things on my mind which are not there (). I started having depression. What my mother (). They don't exist like before that, before this time, before that when I was 12, when I was 14, my father asked me who is your boyfriend. (). My dad was drunk. Who is your boyfriend? Who is your boyfriend? I didn't say. I was telling the truth. You know I was embarrassed. I know I didn't have a boyfriend. So all these things, you know, (laughs) (). I didn't have any thing to do with boyfriends. (). You understand, I was not ready. The only thing that was on my mind was my career, you know. My future was on my mind. So, they didn't know me well, what kind of a child I was, or the things that interested me. We didn't talk about anything me and my mother. So it was very bad. We don't share things. So, it was, (sigh) it was very disturbing. I was very disturbed, because () one day my dad was drunk again. Every time he was drunk (), so we would go to our bedrooms. When he comes in the house he tells us to switch off the TV and the radio. All those things. He wants to listen to his music. Then it will come in my mind what did he buy them for? Is it for the kids or for himself? You know, but I won't ask him. I would go to my room. You're not

suppose to question adults. So I (sigh) would just leave it. I would go to my room. Every time, every time (). We were growing up now. (). We were having our own future. It's such a home life, they were fighting all the time. And you yourself, you can't help yourself. (). What kind of a life do you want to lead when you grow up. (). So I would go to my room at night. One evening my father came to my room. Do you want to tell me I'm molesting you? (Laughs). At that time I didn't know the meaning of the word molesting. (Laughs). I don't remember if I answered him, because he was drunk. (). What did I do. But life would just go on. But I was becoming very depressed. I started thinking too much. Questions without answers.

Interviewer: Ja, that's difficult.

Interviewee: I don't talk to them. You know, even if (). You don't have to () because my mother would say, don't, don't say anything, anything ().

Interviewer: So you kept it all inside.

Interviewee: Yes, I keep it all inside, keep it all inside. Then when I, I started becoming very sick of depression. It was 94, 95. 1995 I was in std 10, 1996 (). I started thinking about going to university and to study further. I didn't have money. You know, the situation (), but I didn't go to my parents (). They didn't ask me what are you going to do. So, we didn't speak. You know, () I would write letters for bursaries.

Interviewer: All on your own?

Interviewee: Yes on my own. I used to go to the library a lot from std 7-10. I would read books about careers and stuff. On my own. (). I would get addresses for writing to bursaries. So, I was quite independent. I worried about what I see what they are doing wrong, and what are they going to do, because I could see they were troubling and they were fighting. How can they lead a life like this? I see this, what they are

doing is wrong, but I couldn't say, you know, people, what you are doing is wrong. I couldn't say it to them. I couldn't share that with them. I started hating them.

Interviewer: Sjoe, ja, ja, I understand.

Interviewee: I started hating them. Oh, (sigh) Oh. My head was (). It was difficult. I wasn't speaking to anyone about anything. I think that's why I started having problems (touches head). Because I was dealing with this all on my own and all the pressure and I didn't know what to do now () school or do the things that I wanted to do. Then at the time I decided I left, with my friend, we used to play basket ball together. It was January, () we said, you know what, we decided because he used to take me go out () playing machines () you know, computer games. (). My mother used to fight with me a lot. There are other girls that she didn't like (cracks fingers). She would tell me that she doesn't like them. Expected me to () because of I mustn't be with them (). So, one day she was fighting with me because of this one girl friend. So I ran, I went to my mother's cousin, I ran to her house (). I told her that (). (Laughs). So, I didn't know what to do. I couldn't be myself. What kind of a person did they expect me to be. I couldn't be myself at all. I couldn't do the things that I wanted to do. I couldn't do anything. So, () I couldn't use my brain. So my mother was having a problem. So, it was () depression (). 1996 I ran away (). I left with my friend to live in Jo'burg.

Interviewer: So you lived with your friend there?

Interviewee: Yes (). Lived with a friend (). My mother didn't want me to leave at that time, I just left. I went away.

Interviewer: Was that after your matric?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Just after your matric?

Interviewee: No. In 1995 I was in matric. In 1996 I stayed at home, but I was very depressed, you know.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So in 1997 I left with a friend, a boy, so we went to Johannesburg. He had a friend in Johannesburg. We wanted to go and live with his friend. Then we went there and we stayed with his friend (silence). I didn't stay for long. We didn't stay for long. Then my friend got a job as a security guard and so he had to leave me, because he was going to go for a course. () left me (). Then I decided to go and stayed with my Aunt Maggie. She was staying in Krugersdorp. Then I went to her, her place and stayed there. In March I went to Klerksdorp, I came back home. I didn't get a job. I left my friend but at that time I didn't tell my friend that I was leaving. So, when I went back I was still in that state of mind that I can't see where I was going. I, I was just going. Then what happened (). They told me that Spoornet was looking for mechanics. So I decided I want it, I wanted a job (), but I was still having problems. I wanted any kind of job. As long as I could get away I didn't mind what was happening. (). I got appointed, I got appointed for the job. () get out of this place, then things will go better with my head. I was working in Johannesburg, I was a diesel mechanic apprentice.

Interviewer: A diesel mechanic apprentice? Sjoe.

Interviewee: Yes, we were repairing busses (). Transtate bus engines, we repaired them. So I worked in Johannesburg. () 1997-1998. The we moved to Klerksdorp depot. (). They were taking old busses, replenishing them.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: Yes, so, so, we would repair it (). We would do anything in them, engines, we would repair them. So, (sigh) my head () I worried over what happened, everything. It was, it was like a trauma, you know. It was like an accident ().

Interviewer: You got a?

Interviewee: It was like I had an accident.

Interviewer: OK, OK.

Interviewee: It was just there, just there in my mind. And not going away, I'm shocked. So (). That day my mind it was in a state of shock (). So (). Something wrong. Didn't know how to get over this. Then I went () to Klerksdorp. In 1998 my mother, she, she left to Welkom. My father was transferred to Welkom. So () go back to my mother, to Welkom. My mother she (). I think she wasn't right. (). She didn't know what to do, to stay or go there on her own, because she had a small child, a baby (). When I came back from Jo'burg I found out that she had, had a small baby (). Before I got the job () returning from Jo'burg. So () difficult. It was a shock in my mind, it was like a shock () but I can't get over it.

Interviewer: Sjoe.

Interviewee: So, I would drink things to give me energy. You know (). I can't concentrate. So () then I started smoking. They say it helps, smoking helps with stress (silence). So my mind was (). But I'll just (). The only problem I had was I couldn't plan my things right. I couldn't do the things I wanted to do, I couldn't use my mind to think right, you know, the things I knew that I could do. (). When I was at school I would do (), because now it was difficult concentrating and it was difficult for me to decide, difficult to make decisions.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So (silence) when I, then my father moved to Welkom and then moved to Ermelo from Welkom. Then I was working in Vereeniging (). Then I would go there, I would go () visit my parents. (). So, when I left my job, it was because of this problem, the state of mind I was in, I couldn't concentrate, I couldn't plan a thing (). I could see this was not right, I can't live like this, I can't live without knowing how to spend my life, () how to do my life. So I was really getting tired of what was happening to me, but I had a job, but I was not happy because of the things was scared (). I want to do the proper (). The things that I want to do, I can't do them, because I can't use my brain. So I again, I just started doing things. You know, I started to get out of control. I used to feel like I was in control of my life. Now, I felt like my mother was in control of my life. I was not in control of my life. I was not in control of my life. I would just do things just to please my mother or my father, you know. I would just push myself to do things, so that's when I started doing everything () control. I can't do things the way I think I should be doing them. So then I, I left my job, I left my first one, () because I, because of my mind. I didn't do the things the way I wanted to do them. So, I left my job(). I cannot get these things out of my mind. Maybe I can solve that problem. Then I left my second company (). I left my first job because I can't use my mind, I can't think of anything different I could do. I was not ambitious, you understand. Then I could stay there, I could make a change in my life. I could get another job, because what my agent tell me is, you know, it's not only mechanics you can do, you can do another job. Then again, I was not sure of myself. I say, no, I can't stay, I'll go there, maybe something different will show up. I'll be positive, maybe I'll become a different person (). Things was not happening the way I want them to. I was going on everyday but I don't see the results of what I was doing, () the way I wanted (), I can't () my life, I saw myself in a (). So,

if I was going on like this, because I was just doing things() and my life (). I was going on everyday but I didn't see what I was doing. So I decided no I can't live this life, but still I had a job () to leave my job because, I was not () properly at work (). I was thinking about my mind and the way my mind function. (). I can't have the things I want to have (). I decided to leave the job because I was not attending properly at work. I will just stay at home because I am tired. You know () of the job, I was feeling tired, tired. I was depressed.

Interviewer: Yes, () because of the depression?

Interviewee: I was feeling cold, my back was cold. And the other thing that happened there, I, I was having an affair with my colleague. Then I got pregnant. I aborted the baby. (). That's the only thing that I wanted when I was in a relationship, I just wanted somebody to be there, to be there for me, you know, someone like a friend, someone who can share (), but it was not working. So, I, but when I got pregnant, I was scared of what my parents will say if I'm pregnant (). I was having a child but without a father. So, () my mind was, (silence). I couldn't think like an adult. I didn't think like an adult, you know, fine I will have this baby. I was just doing things like a chicken without a head, you understand. You know (). So, when I saw things were going that way I thought I can't go on like this. I'm leaving my job, I'm going back home.

Interviewer: OK. How long after the abortion was this?

Interviewee: Mm, (silence). I don't remember, but it was quite a long time. But I have forgotten about the abortion by then. But it was the same year. Oh, it was 3 months or 4 months after the abortion.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So, I was worried about the way my life was going. I couldn't see where I was going. I had something going on for me, you know. I had a job, it was something you know, but I was not happy about my life, the way my mind was functioning, the way I am doing things. I cannot just do things by just doing them. I had to have a reason why I am doing things, and make sure, you know. (). I was, I mean thinking of my security and other things, I'm sure of the position I am in, you understand. So I couldn't take the way my life was going. (). Now it was starting to stand (). Sometimes I'll, I'll just () throw myself into things without () knowing, because it was starting to happen like that (). So I decided to leave my job and go home. My father and mother was, my mother was still in Welkom. I was, I was also drinking tablets for depression then () but I was not acting like a 21 year old. I was just acting like a chicken without a head. So I was tired of that kind of life (). I couldn't take it.

Interviewer: Sjoe.

Interviewee: (Sigh). (Silence). So then I went to Ermelo after leaving my job. My mother was still staying in Welkom. My father had moved to Ermelo. He had a job there.

Interviewer: So did you go to your mother in Welkom?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And your father was in Ermelo?

Interviewee: Yes. My father was in Ermelo. So, but they () young brother (). So I went to my mother and it was after a month (), because they were waiting for my other sister to finish school. () just go to (). I was taking tablets for depression and I was taking sleeping tablets. I couldn't sleep. I was thinking too much all night.

Interviewer: Sjoe.

Interviewee: So, when I (sigh), ja, I misused the tablets. Before I left my job I was also misusing the tablets. The sleeping tablets. (). Sometimes I would ask for a week or two, like the doctor will give me (). I'll just go (). I would use 10 at the same time. And when they're finished I'll just go and ask for them. And it was just not working. So and I, we left to Ermelo () in December 1999. But our relationship with my mother was not good, because we was just there () you know, a child, a mother. But it doesn't mean anything, you know. I don't like it. She bored me, you know. But I don't show her that I don't like her, she affects me (). I don't show anything. I was keeping it all inside. So () I didn't show it. Now I can see what she was going through. So I didn't have () a relationship with my mother. I was there, she was there (). So, but we'll clash sometimes like when we were In Ermelo about cleaning again. Because you see I'm a very sensitive person. I don't want something bad () for a whole day (). When I see things like that I will get very angry. So it was very disturbing to me to see things lying around. So but I was also getting tired. I couldn't clean anymore, I couldn't do housework anymore.

Interviewer: It really bothered you that the house was dirty and that it was not clean.

Interviewee: Ja, I didn't like it. So but I couldn't do it, I couldn't clean the house. I was blaming my mother for the house being dirty. I didn't have the () the energy (). So I just I got the job () but before then I went to Klerksdorp in January. I told my mother I was going to the library. Because I was still getting the money from unemployment.

Interviewer: So you ran away. Your mother didn't know you were going away?

Interviewee: Yes. So I went to Klerksdorp. But ultimately they found out. Because my younger brother was having a cell phone. So they found out that I was in Klerksdorp (). I went to my younger brother. They, my mother found out. () other job

() I went to Klerksdorp. I did () tell them where I was going to work. My mind was still (). I couldn't decide what to do, () go there, because () can't see (). So I went to Klerksdorp and I and I stayed with my boyfriend. We used to dance together. ().

Interviewer: The same one that you went to Johannesburg with?

Interviewee: No that one he was just a friend.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So this one is a teacher, he's a dance teacher. He's a professional dance teacher. So, I went there (interruption to change tape).

Interviewer: I can see that you are very technical. (Helps with recorder. Laughs)

Interviewee: OK. Then when I was there, because I have just left my job, I didn't tell them where I was going, I tell myself () my (). I was like a chicken without a head. (). I stayed with him. So my mother, because she know where I was, she came to take me.

Interviewer: Oh, so your mother came to Klerksdorp?

Interviewee: Ja, to Klerksdorp. She had hired a car to take me back to Welkom ().

Well, I didn't, I didn't want to go. I couldn't say no, I couldn't say no (silence).

Interviewer: Mmm, OK.

Interviewee: No, I couldn't say no, that I don't want to go because I was old enough to look after myself. So (sigh) I just left, I just left (sigh) I just left. Then the () was there. I went back to work. My father wrote a letter to say that I was having problems at work (). Then my aunt also came that I am not going to work anymore, my aunt Maggie. () she was after that. So you know it was, because I know what I want () but I can't say it, I can't say this is not what I want.

Interviewer: So it was almost as if the other people were taking control of your life?

Interviewee: Ja, other people were taking control of my life. It was really upsetting me. I was really getting angry, and angry and angry, but I didn't show, I didn't tell them you know what people, this is not what I want, I want this, you understand.

Interviewer: So you kept it all inside?

Interviewee: Ja, ja, I kept everything inside. I can't talk to older people. So it was just the pressure that was going all the time (silence). So, just coming to (). The pressure was still there, I'm seeing/feeling it () this people are mad at me. (). I don't want them to do this to me, you understand (). These people are doing something wrong to me.

Interviewer: And you can't tell them>

Interviewee: And I can't tell them, I'm not saying it to them, I don't tell them, I don't show them I don't like this. You know, I'm angry today. Even when I was still in Klerksdorp, I didn't show my mother that I'm angry or something (). Something that will make me angry. I will put it all inside, I will just () make it like I don't see what's happening. Even if I see if I leave this thing to happen, something will go wrong. (). So I couldn't help, I couldn't help them, because I was a child to them. Even if I see it () that, because I couldn't see things (). (). You know (), I will just leave it, because I'm scared talking to my parents. I'm scared of showing them how I feel. I was not myself at the time, you understand, not at all. I'm just hiding myself () everyday. So I also regret it (silence). It really cost me a lot (sigh).

Interviewer: Sjoe.

Interviewee: It really cost me a lot. So, (silence) () look at what happened. So I, in 2000 I got a job in Ermelo. I got a job. So, I was a train driver assistant. I would travel by train.

Interviewer: OK, that's interesting.

Interviewee: We travelled with a 100 truck train.

Interviewer: Sjoe. I didn't know there are 100 truck trains.

Interviewee: (Laughs). They are so long. So we would work at night. But I was still feeling like my life is not right, not organised properly.

Interviewer: So you could feel it?

Interviewee: Yes. This is not right, this is not right. Something will go wrong() (silence). So (sigh) () It was very tiring. So (). And I am earning a lot of money at the time. But I was so disorganised () what I do with my money. I am so careless with my money. I was not budgeting. I am not () properly (). () I was scared to speak with my mother. I was careless with my money. I was feeling scared of doing things with my money. So I was not in control of myself at all. So, then I decided I want to go to, I told my manager, no my friend at work told me you know what, your kind of people, your kind, will get very sick at the end, they go mad and I don't want that to happen to you. But what was inside of me was pain, and anger, and a lot of regrets.

Interviewer: Mmm, sjoe.

Interviewee: I wasn't happy. I was stressing too much and my head was, I was just doing things for just doing them. And I didn't like it. So my friend told me you know what, why don't you ask these people to go and see a psychologist. So I decided, OK I will ask them. But I don't remember what we spoke about (cracks fingers). So then I decided OK, I will take her advice. I will go to see a psychiatrist. Because, even before I also tried on my own, before I got the job, with the money I was getting from my unemployment, I also tried to get help, because I felt like spiritually I was very sick. Spiritually. My spirit was very sick, I was feeling very down, very down.

Interviewer: Sjoe.

Interviewee: I was very hurt. Because I don't show my feelings (). I keep on hiding how I feel (). So, then I took my friend's advice (cracks fingers), I told my manager at

work I needed a break. I needed a break. So I see a psychologist, a doctor. Then I decided I want to go to a hospital. I arranged to went and see a psychiatrist, a doctor in Pretoria. He transferred me to a psychiatrist. (). So I was in Pretoria at Weskoppies. So, () or a month for observation, for observation. But still I keep on, I kept on hiding myself. You know, because one thing I realise if you are getting yourself use to doing something, then that thing becomes a routine. It's like you're going to be programmed in that way, you understand. So, () So now I am still going on just like that. I'm still hiding myself. It really cost me a lot (). So, when I was in Weskoppies, I met this man, this man, the father of my first child. I met him there. He told me he was working there at the hospital ().

I was asking him for a cigarette from him.

Interviewer: You were asking him for a ?

Interviewee: A cigarette.

Interviewer: Oh, a cigarette.

Interviewee: Because he was passing by our ward.

Interviewer: Oh, OK.

Interviewee: So anyway he asked me if I could not see him later. But I didn't ask that much, because I got myself used to just doing things without questioning. So, (long silence) (sigh) my life was becoming very bad. So I was giving some people a wrong impression of myself, you understand. So I () tell him I will meet him later. So then later in the afternoon he came and so I met him. He asked me if I didn't want to have a relationship with him (). I told him no I don't, I'm not ready to have a relationship. So in the end (silence) I said to myself why don't you give love a try, you know, give love a second chance. Because I am struggling, I'm alone, () I don't have anybody, I don't have a friend to share (). So I said, OK I'll give love a try (). He will give you

something that is missing in your life (). All I was expecting was a change in my life, you know. So I said OK, fine. I agree to have a relationship with you. But I was just pushing myself, I was not ready. () I don't want a relationship (), but I'm just doing it, you know (). So () I was expecting a change in myself. I agreed. We slept together and I became pregnant. So I went back to Ermelo after a month (). I couldn't sleep, because now I was thinking I have to go back to work. I have been here for a long period now, but I don't feel ready yet to go back to work. I was still not right to go back to work. I wished that I had felt something changing or my mind turning around () and today you are () you can see where you're going (). But I just decided (). I went to, I went back to work. So, I went back to work (silence). My boyfriend stayed on there at the hospital. But I have given him my address and my telephone number so that he could contact me. He was living at the barracks where the soldiers are ().

Interviewer: Ja, OK.

Interviewee: But he was not working. So he came from the hospital, I was at work, () find me () people where I was () or my mother where I was, because my mother had seen ().

It was for the first time that I had to introduce a boyfriend to my parents. So, (long silence) I, I took him in. When I, when I (). They told me somebody was looking for me (). So then we went and look for him (). We went and look for him and found him and brought him home. (). Showed him to my mother. What kind of person is this? I was not expecting myself to have some kind of relationship with anyone. (Laughs).  
(). You know in myself (). You know, () I started again (), but still I was so scared of showing my feelings, I love him or I don't love him () you know. So (sigh).

Interviewer: Did you love him?

Interviewee: Me?

Interviewer: Ja, or were you not sure whether you love him?

Interviewee: I was not sure.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: But I, because I just want to give him a try, you know, if I cannot love () relationship with someone. So it was hard to show him that I love him (). I was living with my aunt and I was very shy. () a lot of (). I was acting too much like I don't make sense. I was just out of control. Just like that. (). So, (sigh) (silence) I couldn't show him that I love him because I didn't sleep with him. Because sometimes when I come back from work, I come back at night, I come back in the morning, I didn't sleep with him, because I was scared, I was so scared of showing my feelings or of doing things. It was still continuing like that (). (Laughs). So after a week went to the doctor I found out that I am pregnant (). I said I wanted an abortion. The doctor said I must not have an abortion. I said no, I want an abortion. (). Do you have money. () don't have money. () not making any sense. So I was not trying to make any sense at all (). I was seeing myself as something else like I was not ready to be a mother. I was not ready to be a mother. Everything was still so disorganised. Not the way (silence).

Interviewer: You wanted it to be?

Interviewee: Ja, not the way I wanted.

Interviewer: Did the doctor persuade you not to have an abortion?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK. So the doctor said you must not have an abortion?

Interviewee: Yes. I thought I was not going to give up the baby (), I won't have an abortion. () the baby (). I started going to (). But the father we started fighting (). I started going mad. I told him that I don't want him, I don't know him and I don't want to be with him (). I don't know where he's coming from. All that. We started

fighting. (). We moved out from my father's house. I looked for another place, because I couldn't sleep with him in my parent's, in my mother's house. That's why I say I was acting like a small child. (Long silence). I () I fought with him. I told him I don't want him. But it, it wasn't making any sense (). I don't want you. But in the end I told him to leave. He left.

Interviewer: How long did you stay together? How many months were you pregnant when he left?

Interviewee: I was 5 months pregnant. (Long silence). So, I have learned something from that. You know you should, you should determine something before you do. You must think about it before you do. Because your actions () determines your life, you know, but () something that you don't know (). (*Listening to the tape, I became very sad - if she only knew. I was also thinking about my own child*). So I learned something (), (laughs), you know (). He left, he left. I gave him money to leave (). My life was becoming a nuisance life. I couldn't make it right. I couldn't change it.

Interviewer: Sjoe. Did you regret it, that you send him away? Or how would you describe your feelings at that stage?

Interviewee: Oh, what can I say. I was not desperate (). Yes, I had that feeling, but my boyfriend, I did not like him.

Interviewer: You were sure you didn't want him.

Interviewee: Yes, I was sure I didn't want him. (Long silence). So, and I, and after a month he came back, after a month he came back (). I took it very bad (). I can not make him () all these things (). So, I followed the wrong path. () that by just doing a small wrong thing (). Ohuuu (sigh). (Long silence).

Interviewer: Sjoe.

Interviewee: () but I still don't (). I didn't feel like I'm ready for a baby. My mind hadn't register that I am pregnant, you know.

Interviewer: You were pregnant, but you didn't realise.

Interviewee: Ja, but I didn't realise that I was pregnant. It didn't mean anything to me that now I'm a mother, I'm a grown up woman. This will be a change of my life, I better change my mind (). So I had that child, I had it. He was not there. Well, he came back after a month, then he broke my glasses.

Interviewer: Sjoe.

Interviewee: Then he left. But still I didn't feel I wanted (). I were going to beat him if I found out that he had broken my glasses. Because I think that I was doing something wrong (). I was torturing him. Very badly.

Interviewer: Do you mean verbally, or also physically?

Interviewee: Verbally and physically. (). So it was that these signals showed something was wrong. It's dropping there, you know, it's dropping there without noticing it. Because you are just, because we are human, you know () if something happens (). So () want to make my (), like a chicken without a head, just doing things without thinking. I'm trying a lot I want to make my life (). I want to make my life right, but I don't know how, where to start. I was hoping that if I have this baby, that I will start acting like a mother, or that my mind will change, you know (). It will record something like that now you are a mother. Then you have changed. You know, something like that. I was hoping it will change. It will happen automatically (). Because when you're young () you just grow up () you 're just there () you don't have to make it (). So, things happened, uh, (silence). I was having a child but still everything was just the same. I'm just the same person, still a chicken without a head, but I'm a mother, still disorganised, you know I don't feel like a mother. (). My

mother the first day she was there, she helped me with things, but the thing is that I didn't feel like that my mind had registered that I'm a mother. Something will change in me that I'll start acting differently, like a mother, because I was expecting those things to happen automatically. I was expecting to change automatically. () having something along the way, you understand. So I, I (long silence ) () happened (silence) I meet a man. I was working in an office ().

Interviewer: Oh, OK. So you were working in an office?

Interviewee: Yes. I was doing data, I was a data clerk. So this man, I work in the same office. He was, he was in a bigger position (). My father was also working there. So I was working with my father () job. So he was interested in me. But it was before I had a child, the first child. (). He was an older man. I wanted to try sex, you know. Just like I wanted a man. I wanted to experience sex. I didn't feel like I enjoyed it when I was with my boyfriend. So then, (silence) I, I agreed to have a relationship with this man (). So then I, I was telling myself all the good things. All the good things. I tell myself about it. That he was old. He was older so I thought of him as more responsible, having more sense. He was a Zulu. Zulus, they have respect for people (), you know, about, about (). I saw all the good things.

Interviewer: So you saw all the positive things?

Interviewee: Yes () So I agreed.

Interviewer: What is your first language, your mother tongue?

Interviewee: Tswana. So (long silence) () it's a big thing () more responsible ().

Because my boyfriend, you know, he was like, he was good to me ().

Interviewer: So he did a lot for you?

Interviewee: Ja, he did a lot for me (). I'll come back in the morning, 2 o'clock from work (). I don't blame him () 4 o'clock in the morning, or 2 o'clock in the morning

from work(). Ohh, (sigh). So, then this man in my office (). Also I was being naughty, I just wanted to experience sex with him. But then I was also becoming very stupid on the other side. Then I had that child ().

Interviewer: You're talking about your first child now?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Was your first child a boy or a girl?

Interviewee: It was a girl. So, I fell pregnant again.

Interviewer: How long after...

Interviewee: After 3 months.

Interviewer: After 3 months?

Interviewee: Ja. (Long silence). I was still just doing things without thinking right before I act. Just in that bad line (). You must think before you do something. I was just in the bad light. So my life was () still work (). But I could see that I didn't want that, it was not right (). I didn't have much time. I was going to work every day and I () to eat. I went back to work after one month.

Interviewer: After your child was born?

Interviewee: Yes, one month after my first child was born I was back at work. I was also having financial problems, () money problems (). So in all these things () also all these pressures that I had (). I wanted to make (). I haven't solved any problems that I had. I haven't moved forward to the next level (). (Long silence). So the things that I was starting to have (). I was thinking maybe if I was having a second child I will change (). I'll become more positive, I'll become a mother to my children (). Still I don't see (). Keeps worrying me, keeps worrying me, what is happening. How come I don't see any change. I have a problem but I can't solve it (). That's why I can't go to the next level (). I was just going around my problem, I am just going around them.

() So that was it. I was still not feeling like a mother. I have still not feel any changes in me. I was feeling very frustrated, at work, the father of my child was just using me.

Interviewer: The second child?

Interviewee: Yes, the father of the second child was just using me. Sexually, you know.

Interviewer: You lived together then?

Interviewee: No, he was married. () but what he told me, he didn't tell me that he was married (). He was having a girlfriend (). But I thought maybe he wants to make his life right, maybe he wants to take a step forward. (). Because I was still positive about it at that time. () but my mind was positive. So, I was still thinking of the positive.

Interviewer: We'll have to stop in about five minutes. It's been a long time, a long session for you. I'll see you on Friday again. But I just want you to () use the next five minutes to think what you still want to say before we carry on on Friday.

Interviewee: No, I think it was good () (silence). (). I didn't know him that how he is and what I what I went through, you understand. () felt like it change (), you have to make sure that you make it happen for yourself. You can't expect it to happen automatically. () like that (), when we were young (), when you grow up. It's like now you're still like a child, you know, I'm not matured, because I haven't done my job. () I'm still the 21 year old that I was like 10 years ago, or 12 years ago () today (). (silence) So ().

Interviewer: I want to thank you.

## Interview 2

Interviewer: We stopped on Wednesday where you became pregnant with your second child. Could you carry on from there?

Interviewee: (Long silence). My mind is still (). I'll try to remember.

Interviewer: You fell pregnant with your first child, your second child when your first child was three months old.

Interviewee: (Long silence). I still wasn't feeling like a mother to my children. (Long silence).

I was very wild and you know () because of the (). (Long silence).

Interviewer: Depression?

Interviewee: Mm. This depression (). (Silence). So, (silence).

Interviewer: Can you explain to me what you mean by you were being very wild. Can you describe it for me?

Interviewee: OK. The thing that I used to go to work, (silence) moving now and then from one place to another. So, I was still in that mode (silence). So, I wasn't calm or settled. I was still not settled, feeling settled (silence). I wanted to settle, you know, I wanted to feel that I have a home, I have children (). Still nothing changed. So, (long silence) sometimes the children would cry. (Long silence). I would just, just feel bored. I don't want to pick up the children because I was not breastfeeding. (Long silence). The other thing was that I, (long silence) was feeling like, (long silence) I don't want the child.

When first listening to the tape, I realised the long silences. Was there resistance, was it more difficult to talk about the second child because she killed it? Although I felt I

was very silent during the session, I realised (again) that I'm a good listener and my utterances sound very encouraging and empathetic)

Interviewer: The second child?

Interviewee: Mm

Interviewer: Was your second child a boy or a girl?

Interviewee: It was a girl. So (silence) I was not ready at all to be a mother. (Long silence). There is nothing more that I can say (silence). And my mother was also not helping me.

Interviewer: So you were all on your own? There was no one helping you?

Interviewee: No, there was someone. But, no, I wasn't having someone to help me with the kids. It was just that my mother was there, but she was not helping when they, the kids were crying. Like. the second child, when, one day she was crying in the back room, my mother didn't come there to see if she was all right. (Long silence). I felt like she was not helping at all. (Long silence). So, (long silence) I don't remember, I don't remember some of the things that happened (voice very soft). Don't remember (silence). I was, I was kind of like a bad mother to my children. I was not having love for them (silence). I treated them badly.

Interviewer: Sorry, I didn't hear you.

Interviewee: I treated them badly

Interviewer: You treated them badly? Can you be more specific? What did you do?

Interviewee: When the kid was crying I would not pick them up. Sometimes I would beat them. I was feeling angry towards them. I didn't want them. So, (silence) but also I feel like I was not myself and it was a surprise to me that I would treat my kids like that. But you see because of the way I was going on before I fell pregnant, all the

stupidity ()I was changing, so I was becoming you know () the results of what happened to me, because I couldn't speak things out with my mother, I couldn't talk things out. I couldn't do anything. If I had a problem I couldn't ask her for anything. A serious problem I wouldn't talk about it.

Interviewer: You told me you were surprised that you treated your children the way you did. How did you imagine what kind of a mother you would be? Did you ever think about that?

Interviewee: You know, a lot of kids grew up in front of me, like my young sister, my aunts' children. They grew up in front of me, when they were babies. So I loved children.

The way I was acting was something new, but it the results of the way things were happening to me. (Long silence).

Interviewer: Can you describe some of the feelings that you had towards your first child?

Interviewee: I don't have love, I didn't feel connected to them like a mother should be to her children. You know like animals (). They carry their kids around them. Even a lion () the baby sitting next to it. So it was quite an experience that I would act like that. () make it happen. Make it happen that I am a mother and I should be practising being a mother. So, (long silence) () it was a challenge, a bit of a challenge that I was living in another world where you should be more practical than expecting things just to happen to you not by making them to happen to you. If you say that I am a good person then you should be a good person. Even what you're doing must show that you are a good person. You mustn't say I'm a good person but what you do in front of people, the people is not a good person. So, (long silence) like one day I left them in the house. My mother was, my mother went to town and my father. I was going to

work. I, in the morning before I went to work, I put the small child, the second child, inside the blanket, cover it all over like trying to suffocate it. Then again I tried to suffocate it with a plastic. (Long silence). It was just like I felt like I hated it, because I was hating the father. The baby was looking more like the father. So, (long silence) I was feeling tense. (Long silence). So, (silence) everything was more like a tension to me. (Touched her head, shook her head). (Long silence). (Sigh). So and again when I left for work I left the small one, (silence) the small baby, she was looking more like she was struggling from breathing. I left her there with her sister (silence). There was no one in the house. So, I just locked the () and the key inside () and left them, both of them. (Long silence). Then I went to work. So when my mother came, when I came back from work she, she had taken her to the doctor because she couldn't breathe. (Long silence). So (silence) because she couldn't eat (silence).

Interviewer: How old was the baby?

Interviewee: (Silence). Three months old (silence). When I came back from work she told me she had taken her to the doctor. (Long silence). The way I felt I was so bitter, and I (silence) wasn't feeling like I love my children like a mother or I feel sorry for what happened.

Interviewer: Did you feel sorry or didn't you feel sorry?

Interviewee: No, I didn't feel sorry. So, ja, (long silence) so, (silence) the baby grew (silence). She became well. She grew up. (Voice very soft). (Silence). And still after that, I () beating her. She was 6-7 months. Because I remember once, it was more like I was losing my mind because when I left my job I left, I went to my aunt.

Interviewer: Your aunt Maggie?

Interviewee: Yes. Because something that happened at work. So, (long silence) I went there. Because of the problems at work I left the kids with my mother.

Interviewer: So you left the kids with your mother and you went to your aunt?

Interviewee: Yes (voice soft).

Interviewer: So the kids didn't go with you?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So, it was something that happened at work. I just left. I didn't tell my mother I was in trouble, but I couldn't tell her I was in trouble, and what kind of a trouble I was in. What could she do to help me, I didn't see. So I just left her.

Interviewer: So your mother didn't know that you were going to your aunt?

Interviewee: No. (Long silence). Then I came back from my aunt. I took a week, because I just left my job. I didn't tell them where I was going (silence). When I came back, I, (long silence) but, I remember once I tried to pack my bags (silence). I didn't have the energy to, or let me say that when you decide that you are leaving today and you know that you have to prepare yourself for your leaving and the things that you should do. I tried to pack my, my suitcase but I felt like I am confused. I don't know where am I going. I don't know why I am (). There is no reason why I should leave, but I felt I there was a need for me to leave. I was scared. So a lot of things happened to me while I was there. So I, but I wasn't able to leave at that point when I packed my suitcase.

Because I asked my young brother that we should go, that we should go together. I was in trouble, but I didn't, I couldn't tell them what was happening to me. I felt like, I felt like I had no place to go. No place where I could ask for help. I couldn't tell my mother, mother, this is what is happening to me. I feel like I should know or what can we do to solve that problem. (Long silence). I couldn't. (Long silence). (Sigh). So, I didn't, I stay (). I was scared. I felt like I was, something will happen to me.

Something is going to happen to me (crack fingers). See, I don't want to talk about it.

I can't put it into details. You know, so I () tell you there and then what happened.

(Long silence). Because I don't know if it was part of the () depression.

Interviewer: Did the psychiatrist diagnosed you as having postnatal depression?

Interviewee: No They just said it is depression () got to the hospital.

Interviewer: When did you go to the hospital? After the birth of your second child?

Interviewee: No, it was 5 months.

Interviewer: Pregnant? 5 months pregnant?

Interviewee: Ja, 5 months pregnant when I went to the psychiatric hospital.

Interviewer: Which hospital?

Interviewee: In Pretoria. Denmar.

Interviewer: When you were 5 months pregnant?

Interviewee: Ja with my second child. (Long silence). (sigh) Because the father of the second child you know, he started acting very funny towards me. (Long silence).

It was just like, (long silence) I felt like, like (long silence) he just wanted to use me. I was pregnant with his child. Didn't mean anything to me. When I was at work, he would, he would talk about me. Even if I, if I'm there. He will tell people that we were working with, that he had slept with me. Even when I was there, you know (sigh), it felt like I was losing my mind. I couldn't believe what was happening.

(Long silence). (Sigh). (Silence). And you know they are older people. They were not my age. He was not my age, not my age (). Talk about what he did to me. So it was part of his attacks to me. Because I had problems with my colleagues, all of them. It was part of his attack to me.

Interviewer: Is that the trouble that you had at work that you could not tell your mother about?

Interviewee: Not that one. The trouble that I had at work was, (long silence) you know, I felt like they are attacking me, they want me out of work you know, but they would say things. You know what kind of people they are, they could see, they are not stupid people. The kind of people they are, they got radio. They would do things to you. (Long silence). So, they treated me bad (grabs knee all the time). And the other thing was (long silence).

Interviewer: It is difficult to talk about.

Interviewee: Ja, it is very difficult, because the things they do, you know (silence). When you go to school they teach you or your mother teaches you should behave around people. In the school they teach you when you got to work or when you get a job, you should treat yourself right, you should treat other people right. How you should do things at work. I don't know, it was quite a surprise that those people, they were acting like they don't know office rules, or they're not being told how to work with other people. (Long silence). You know, they were more like killers to me, murderers. I saw them as murderers. (Long silence). So I couldn't tell any one what, I couldn't put things into details, what was really happening, you know because of I am used to not talking to anybody. It is blocking me, it's blocking everything (Long silence). So I don't know, I don't know if I'll ever be helped or if I'll ever be able to () or what kind of a choice (). I can ask for help from anyone. You know, I was more like becoming mute, you know, something like that.

Interviewer: So you were really troubled inside and you couldn't talk about it.

Interviewee: Yes, yes (silence). And like other things were happening I couldn't even talk about what is happening or am I in trouble or am I not in trouble. (Long silence). (Interruption, someone opened the door). So, (long silence) you know, I'm becoming disabled (silence) in talking.

Interviewer: And this was all during your pregnancy with your second child?

Interviewee: It was a long time happening. Not when I was pregnant, it was a long time happening that I couldn't speak things out. But if I was having a problem I couldn't talk about it.

Interviewer: But the problems at work, with the other people, that was while you were pregnant with your second child?

Interviewee: Yes. (Long silence). So, I left my job, I left my job. The day I left (silence) there was a lot I heard they were talking about, about me. Then I was really becoming scared (silence).

Interviewer: Was it a general feeling of being scared or was there something specific that you were scared of?

Interviewee: I was scared they are going to kill me, because of the way they acted towards me, all the things they said. (Long silence). (I) was not in my mind (voice very soft).

Interviewer: What do you mean by that?

Interviewee: Because I couldn't, I couldn't consult anyone to tell what is happening. You know, I could explain to someone that this and that is happening. And maybe that person could help me, you understand. They could tell me maybe no, you are just overreacting, or it is not true, you understand, or you must calm down or anything, because of the things that I saw that I couldn't elaborate, I couldn't put it into words. It (I) you understand (sigh) (silence). So I decided that I'm leaving because I was scared and I don't know whom to tell. I even started being scared of my, my manager, my deputy manager. I couldn't trust him anymore, I didn't know who to turn to, you understand. Even the social, the psychologist that I was seeing at work, I was also

scared of talking to him because, you know, I don't know that he is against me also, you understand.

Interviewer: So you felt you couldn't trust anyone?

Interviewee: I couldn't trust anyone because of what was happening. Because I told him some things. () I don't know against. So () things happened. I couldn't tell anyone what I see what is happening. Then I just decided I am going to leave. (Long silence). I didn't even trust God in that He will help me. It is better if you talk to somebody that you, you'll feel more safer, than just keep quiet because I was feeling so terribly scared.

Interviewer: Sjoe.

Interviewee: So then I decided to leave. I took my kids and the other thing that happened before I leave, my father had slept out. Before he left he said to me you know what, you mustn't think that you are a woman in this house. He is leaving me that message that he is leaving tonight, that he is not coming back home. You mustn't think that you're the woman of this house. You'll be a woman out there, not in my house.

Interviewer: What did he mean by that?

Interviewee: He meant that he was going to leave and I don't have to say anything about it. () something wrong (). If I say that something is wrong (). I wouldn't even bother myself to talk to them, you know, I never will be able to help. (). Even with my mother I couldn't do anything, because I was becoming so selfish and self centred. I couldn't discuss things with my father, or you know, try to help somehow () to help with. You know, we were not like a family.

Interviewer: But your father worked in that office?

Interviewee: Yes he was there.

Interviewer: You worked together. Was he aware that people were talking about you?

Interviewee: They will talk, like one day we were talking there, I was fighting with him, you know. I asked him what do they want from me. My father was there and they are older men, you know. () I told my father one should respect older people. It was not like that.

Interviewer: Did you feel that your father was against you?

Interviewee: No, I saw him, saw him as a coward. He can't face his problems. And I felt I was becoming more like him. So I was so angry at that. I was angry that I was becoming more like my mother and father. (Long silence). So that's why I left, I couldn't see that they could help me. (Long silence). When I left it was when my father told me that I am not a woman in the house. (Long silence). So, I didn't feel safe at all. You know even before, before that () in my parent's house I didn't feel safe. It felt like, like I was a prisoner in my own home, you know (silence). So, I was very angry. I was asking self a lot of questions. A lot happened. So when my father didn't sleep at home, the next day I was, I didn't want to be in that kind of a family, you know.

Interviewer: Did you think he slept with another woman that night or don't you know?

Interviewee: I don't know.

Interviewer: So you didn't want to be in that kind of a family.

Interviewee: No, I didn't want to be in than kind of a situation, because I don't have to say anything about it (). Even if I see that there is something wrong, I shouldn't say anything you understand, I know I am not a part of the family, you understand. If I see something is wrong, then I should just keep quiet, because most of the time I would sit there, you know something is wrong, you understand, or it will go wrong. I will tell myself I will just let it go wrong. I'll just tell myself I don't care. My father doesn't

care, my mother doesn't care. (Long silence). So the next day when he came back, but I have already told my mother I want to leave. She should give me money. I was thinking a lot, a lot about what was going on at work, all the people and what was happening to me. I told her, I asked her if she was going to give me money to leave. Because my mother, you know, my mother, my mother took me like a fool, treated me like a stupid child. More like a stupid child. Just because I was afraid I didn't say anything about it. () I was just a child. She took me for a fool, my mother, she treated me like I don't have brains. I also treated myself like that in front of her, because she treats me like I don't have brains. I would also act like that, like I don't have brains. Because they don't want to hear a word from me. It felt like she was taking advantage of me.

Interviewer: In what sense?

Interviewee: Like I'm stupid, she can, she, she can make a fool of me. She can tell me to do this and do that, you know the way my mother wants me to do, to do, to do. She can control my life, you know. You sit down and I'll just jump and sit down, stand up. She was more like that, she wanted to have control over me. But she didn't have control over my life (), even the problem she can't solve you know () you know (). I left her (). I left her (). Coming here to see me, I don't want anything to do with her (). So when my father came back, I have already decided that I was leaving. I didn't have money, because I was not working anymore. So my mother gave me a R200 to leave from Ermelo. I felt that no I'll make it, I'll make it. I will be able to look after this children. I don't care that I won't be having food or anything or money, but I will look after them.

Interviewer: How old was your second child then?

Interviewee: She was 7 months.

Interviewer: 7 months?

Interviewee: Yes. So that very same Sunday I left. My father came back and said hey, don't leave. I just left. I didn't have any other plan of going back. I just told myself that I was leaving (). What was I telling self. So I left. But what I tell my father is that I don't care if I have an accident on the road as long as I am far away from my mother. (Long silence). Then I came to Klerksdorp.

Interviewer: Would you say you had suicidal thoughts at that time?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So you didn't want to live any more?

Interviewee: No. I didn't care what will happen to me, because I was travelling without money. So I didn't care what will happen to me even if () on the road () anything will happen to me. So I left ().

I didn't have any clothes, just a small bag () with napkins. I didn't take any clothes for the children or me. (silence) (sigh). So when I get to Klerksdorp () I had a tough time, a really tough time. My thoughts were running wild. I was seeing a lot of things.

Interviewer: You were seeing a lot of things? Can you tell me about some of the things that you were seeing?

Interviewee: I was thinking about the world and what happened to me at work. And you know the black and white situation, you know, how it used to be in the olden days. And how far we have come and who I am, you know and who I'm () and why those people wanted to kill me and it was useless to (leave/live). You know, I thought about a lot of things (silence). And another thought I had ,was that the planets are going to, going to, to, crash, each other and (silence). I, there was this song I used to listen to, this song played on my mind and you know what this song says will happen, you

know, maybe I am that person they talk about (silence). Because we say our lives, that our lives have changed, but we are still the same.

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more about that? What exactly do you mean?

Interviewee: They say humans are, they, human beings are coming from the beast and so the way people used to live in the olden days people who had power to do things to perform magic or miracles, you know so in this world we are living in we are condemned and confused. We are being led into something, into another life but () what had become of me I had forgotten where I was coming from. I was living another life. It is only judgement day that will tell who is who. (Long silence). You know a lot of things is happening to me, it is like I am losing my mind, () it is like I can't think what is happening in the world and where do I stand, I'm just in the air, you know, if the wind is blowing this side, I will go, if it is blowing that side, I will go, you know. At this stage I am feeling like that and I am feeling very scared because of that (). I am feeling really scared (). Where is this world going. (Long silence). Because of (silence) I can't think, I can't think of what to tell you. But there is something that I want to tell you. So, (sigh). I want to tell you about human beings you know.

(Aware that I was concerned about the interviewee being psychotic and again by listening to the tape.)

But, o, something else that I wanted to tell you I felt I was being abused or misused by my parents.

Interviewer: Both your parents?

Interviewee: Yes. You, know, I was being made to do the things that I don't want to do. It is not right to do those things. This is what I want to do, this is what I should be doing. So they were making me to do the things that I don't want to do. Like it is not right you understand.

Interviewer: Can you tell me what kind of things?

Interviewee: Like, I don't remember. But the things I remember was maybe my mother would send me, she would tell me to do something or I am busy doing homework, she would call me to do something else for her but I am busy doing something, you understand. So they were not being careful about how they used me, or send me around to do things. Because sometimes I would concentrating on something and then I will have to do the other one. My mother was starting to be unreasonable. So that is why sometimes my mind it doesn't have a standing point. It was ss, (sigh), (silence) used in another way, the way it doesn't have to function. Like for now I maybe losing my intellect, because I haven't used it. I am a liar today because I, instead of telling the truth, I will tell lies. (silence) Or I am a thief today, because of (silence) busy doing something that (long silence) I (long silence) have to hide that I am () not doing the thing () and nothing else. I was not honest with who I am and how I want to do things ().

### Interview 3

Interviewer: Tell me about the relationship with your mother from when you can remember up to now.

Interviewee: (Shakes head. Long silence). I don't know. I don't know what to tell you. But the things that I know, that we were not talking to each other about matters of life. We don't talk about anything, the only thing we talked about is maybe if she is sending me to the shop, or asking me to do things.

Interviewer: So you only talked when she wanted you to do things.

Interviewee: Yes. But we don't talk about things. If I am having a problem I can't face her (cracks fingers), because she was like rude to me. I can't face her when I'm having a problem. So, she was unreasonable sometimes. She was not the kind of person I can go to if I'm in trouble. So, but most of the time like, because I was living with them, I would rather lock myself in my room. () fight. (). Before I had kids. So we never had a relationship. We were just mother and daughter just like that.

Interviewer: If you imagine yourself as a baby, when your mother had you, how do you imagine was your mother with you when you were a baby? How do you think the relationship was like? What do you know about your mother's pregnancy while she was pregnant with you and your birth?

Interviewee: You know, the things that she used to say, she said I wouldn't be here because of you, you know.

Interviewer: What did she mean by that?

Interviewee: (). She was, I was, I was, I was not working at the time and you know, she said to me that she thought that I would work for her when I grow up.

Interviewer: In the house?

Interviewee: No, I don't know. O outside, because now I was not working anymore.

So

Interviewer: So she wanted you to support her financially?

Interviewee: I don't know, maybe, ja. I thought she did. I didn't leave my job(). I had problems, that's why I left. I felt that I needed a break. If I sort my problems out then I will start having a way forward, a clear mind, you know of where to start now, what to do now, you know. If I stay home and work for my mother and do things for her, or if we could build a relationship you know, something like that.

Interviewer: So you wanted to build a relationship with your mother?

Interviewee: Yes, I wanted my family problems to be finished, because I could see it was holding me responsible for them. Because I couldn't stop thinking about what was happening in the house. All the problems I have left them with.

Interviewer: What do you mean by all the problems that you have left them with?

Interviewee: That I have thought that they were fighting.

Interviewer: Their fighting?

Interviewee: Yes. They had fights. And I couldn't help them with that. I couldn't think about anything that might help them. I couldn't solve their problems.

Interviewer: Did you feel responsible for their problems?

Interviewee: A lot.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Because I felt all the pressure that I had to do something. I felt it was heavy on me. It was like I am responsible to make them think otherwise. If I cannot help them in a way, because I can see what is going on. And what do I do about that. What am I doing about it, if I see that is wrong. Something is wrong and what am I doing about it. So sometimes I thought that I am very young and I can't talk to these

people, they can't listen to me. They don't want to listen to me, so how can I be responsible for them. To take care of them.

Interviewer: Do you know anything about your mother's pregnancy, when she was pregnant with you? How old was she when you were born?

Interviewee: She was 19. She was like, she didn't, she was not expecting to have me.  
( ) It was like she felt bitter about it.

Interviewer: Did she say something that made you think that she felt this way?

Interviewee: Yes, but I can't remember what was it. It was like she didn't want me. Or my grandmother said you know, this child didn't want her daughter. She almost killed her, something like that. So I grabbed it from there, but my mother also said something. I can't remember what.

Interviewer: Can you tell me more about what your grandmother said that your mother almost killed you. Do you know more about that?

Interviewee: I don't know what made her to say that. (Long silence). So my mother was not expecting me (silence) (sigh).

Interviewer: Can you imagine yourself as a baby with your mother? Do you have any thoughts or feelings when you think about that?

Interviewee: (Silence). I don't have some thoughts, but ( ) what I think how my mother, was, I mean, as a child, as a baby how did she feel about me, you know, I wonder about it., but I don't remember. My mind is not working. Sometimes me and my mother, we never had quite a relationship, you know, like a mother could share with her children. That you can discuss some of the problems that you have, or my mother, she was more like, she was more like she wanted to control me, she wanted to control me.

Interviewer: How would you describe your mother? What kind of a person is she?

Interviewee: She (silence) you see my mother changed because of, of the fights you know. I think it has, it has done some damage to her, also.

Interviewer: The fights between her and your father?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Ho do you think did it damage her? Can you tell me more about that?

Interviewee: Mentally. She is not herself. She can't be a mother. She can't look after her children. She's tired all the time. She's just not herself. She, she can't think for herself. She can't clean the house. I was not really proud of her, you know. She could not stand up for me, she could not fight for me, she could not help me in any way. I am not trusting her. The only person I trust is me. I don't even trust my father to help me () or doing things for me, you know. I am not counting on them for anything.

Interviewer: You said on Wednesday that your mother went to work after you were born and that your aunt looked after you. How old were you when your mother went to work?

Interviewee: I was four.

Interviewer: Four years or four months?

Interviewee: Four years.

Interviewer: Four years. Do you remember anything about your first four years?

Interviewee: No. I don't remember anything. But she was not there.

Interviewer: Where was she?

Interviewee: She was at work.

Interviewer: So she was at work before you were four years old?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And your aunts looked after you?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you remember anything about your aunts? How would you describe them? Were they like mother figures to you?

Interviewee: No, they were more like sisters (silence). Ja, they were more like sisters. They looked after me well. (long silence) But

Interviewer: What do you remember about your mother after, when you were four years old, she was () working when you were a baby?

Interviewee: Ja I think she was working since I was a baby because, or she was. She said when she was pregnant she was working at the surgery, the doctor's surgery. So she had been working before I was born.

Interviewer: You said that you lived with your great grandmother and your great grandfather and your aunts looked after you and you imagine they were like sisters to you. Do you remember any events?

Interviewee; Ja, I remember once we were playing house with my other aunt and even when they, they were at their school, I remember I was, I went there and visited them. I was with them. They left me while they were going to school, but they were at another place, not at my grandfather's house

Interviewer: So they were still at school when they looked after you?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So they were very young?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So you were saying?

Interviewee: They left me in the house where they were staying. It was in a relative's house, our relative. I remember that I was crying there, I wanted my aunt, but she had gone to school. (Long silence). So, but there were other things. I hated my mother (silence).

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more?

Interviewee: I didn't like her. She was not understanding. You know she was not understanding, because she had stress. Because I remember when we were kids, my mother would do things not exactly like a mother. She would be harsh on me, because one time I broke a saucer. So I was washing the dishes. I was in sub A or sub B. I was young in Sub B and I was washing the dishes. I broke that saucer, so she was very harsh on me. She was harsh all the time. But I would forget, you know that something happened, that thing happened. I would forget that my mother used to do that, but tomorrow I would have forgotten about it. So I would not keep a record of what happened yesterday.

Interviewer: You also said on Wednesday that in Sub B or Sub A she

Interviewee: She taught me how to wash my shirts.

Interviewer: Yes and that you remember you were about six years old when you lost R2.

Interviewee: Yes. Ja, and that time she was chasing me with an umbrella stick that I saw you know, that I was starting to be scared of my mother. I couldn't put my trust on her for anything. But these things, it drove me away from mother, you know, it put doubts on me.

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more about the doubts on you?

Interviewee: I mean I can't trust her to be loving and caring as a mother does and understanding, you know, if I may be, if I have a problem I could turn to her and tell her what my problem is or if I have done something wrong, I would turn to her that, you know, I have this kind of a problem, so you know, I couldn't put my trust on her.

Interviewer: Were there other people in your life that you saw as a mother figure or that you felt cared and loved you and nurtured you? Or were there not other people like that in your life?

Interviewee: My teacher.

Interviewer: Tell me about your teacher.

Interviewee: You know, she, I felt like I could love her like a mother, because she was more understanding than my mother. Because my mother would hit me. Like one day that I had broken my flask, so she hit me, you know. So my mother was the kind of mother who was not understanding of the things I would do, you know. So the way she was acting towards me, she was , she was pushing me away, you know. (Long silence). () mind because I don't know what is happening to me. My mind, what is happening to my mind.

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more about that?

Interviewee: I can't remember, (silence) like all the memories have been scratched. It is hard for me to remember.

Interviewer: You said on Wednesday that now you can understand what your mother is going through. What did you mean by that?

Interviewee: She was stressing because of the fights. If you are involved in a world of violence, there is a lot that is affecting you. For an example, me, you know, I was very affected by what was happening in the house and I was worrying too much, I was thinking too much, you know. So my mother was also going through the same thing. She was thinking too much. Maybe she was not having money so that she could leave the house and she would think what to do. She doesn't have any move. She's trapped. (Silence). (Sigh).

Interviewer: Can you describe your relationship with your father from when you can remember?

Interviewee: I used to love father when I was still small (silence). Ja, when I was still small, before I went to school. Because I was not staying with them at that time (). I was still at my great grandmother's house. I was still living there. So I loved my father.

Interviewer: Sorry to interrupt you. How often did you see your mother and your father at your great grandmother's house?

Interviewee: They, my father, I don't know. Like my mother stopped working after some time (silence). No, she was working there, in Ottosdal, where I grew up. She was working there, at the time. So she was coming home every day. So my father was coming after a month. I think it was before they got married, before they got married, yes.

Interviewer: Were you born before they got married?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK. So, you remember that you loved your father and...

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: I just want to make sure. So your mother worked, but you saw her everyday. She came home everyday?

Interviewee; Yes.

Interviewer: OK. But you don't remember having a relationship with her?

Interviewee: With my mother?

Interviewer: Ja.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: OK. So your aunts looked after you?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And although your mother was there, you don't remember having a relationship with her.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: OK. So tell me more about your father and the relationship with your father. You loved him when you were still small.

Interviewee: You know, I only remember once that when my mother was not there I was sleeping with my father. He was in Klerksdorp. I think it was the time that we moved to Klerksdorp. So I wasn't having any problem with my father (silence). So the problems started when they started fighting. I didn't see any reason why he should be fighting with my mother or hit her the way that he used to hit her. I started hating him. And all these things, they started pushing me away from them. I started having a problem.

Interviewer: You mentioned that your father drank a lot. When did his drinking start?

Interviewee: So, he was also drinking when I was still small. So he was drinking all the time. But now that we, we were a big family and we lived in a big house he started drinking more. It was more responsibility for my mother and father, you know they should be acting more like a mother and a father, you know. That they should think about us (silence). So, (silence) he was drinking at the time, drinking too much.

Interviewer: And when you were a teenager?

Interviewee: How was it. It wasn't becoming very well, because now I was going out. And like one day, I was 13, I go out with my friends to go and watch TV because our lights, the electricity was off. So we went to other house to watch TV. It was only a street to jump. So when we came back I took a candle to the toilet, you know, because it was dark () candle. The candle fell on the floor. My father just came in there and he

kicked me and he asked me what was I doing with the candle, you understand. ()

always the things that are pushing me away, but he was doing things for me, and he would buy, buy things for me and I would be happy, you know. He used to do everything for me. Still I didn't feel like () or thanking him for what he had done, so I didn't appreciate anything that he was doing for me (silence). So since then we just stayed in the house like strangers. So, the only thing I could think of myself was, that if I could find myself a job, I could get out of that place. That was all that mattered to me, so I was looking forward to that, you know, all the time. I was () my life.

Something that was revolving in my head () to get out of that place, of my mother and father's house. Because I couldn't live with them anymore (silence). So my father he was not living, when he comes in the house like, when he used to fight about, when he comes in the house, he switches off the radio, he switches off the TV. He wants the radio. Every time he comes, I will go to my room, I didn't even want to see him. So, it has always been like that. Every time when I see him, we don't talk, we don't say anything to each other, you know, we don't talk about anything. The only thing we talk about was when maybe we were going shopping we would talk about groceries () or other things, money. She, she, he doesn't even give me money to buy things for me. I don't ask anything from him. So, we never had a relationship. Because I don't even ask for anything () from him, for money, for anything (). Even for help if I have any problem, I don't ask for anything. I don't tell him when I'm having any kind of a problem if he could help me with it. (). (Silence). (Sigh). I am just like a stranger to them and they are just like strangers to me (silence). You know, most of the time I pretend that I am happy to see them or anything. You know I remember the time when he had to when I was in the cell, in the police station cell, I didn't feel like talking to them. I don't want to talk. There is nothing I can talk to them about, I can't talk to

them (silence). I felt they couldn't help me with anything, with any problem that I have, or I could run to them if ever I was in trouble. () don't know what to say. First thing I would say to them (silence).

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more when you say the first thing that you would say to them?

Interviewee: It is hard for me to go to my father and start a conversation with him or talk about anything with him. It's really hard. So we've been living like whenever he comes home, I will go to my room or lock myself in my room. () even when they () I would lock myself in my room.

Interviewer: You have mentioned that you became scared of your mother when you were about six years old. What other feelings did you have about your mother or what feelings do you think your mother had about you?

Interviewee: (Silence). Of killing me, yes. If I can just grab you in my arms I would kill you, you know (silence).

Interviewer: So that's how you think your mother felt about you?

Interviewee: No, she did say that.

Interviewer: O, she said it?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: She said it like I was not a good child. She couldn't see the good in me. She would only see the bad. So I () some things myself. Their () your mind can function in a way that you could see the positive things or good things, or sometimes the mind can change haven't something myself there () you can () change () mind () too much happening. You can't see the good (silence). So, (silence) and good in me. Ja, after the depression () appreciate my father or big () you know () if I wearing ()

they would say I look beautiful but (). That the way I look that I look beautiful () believe(). Anything that was happening () after () believe anything () after. Sometimes like she would () search for me () you know, () it's nothing you know () would do anything. It was hard to appreciate that she had done something. She was cooking for me () but I didn't appreciate anything () so () you know.

Interviewer: So that was when you started to get depression when you was in std 9? So then your mother did do things for you, but you couldn't appreciate it?

Interviewee: No, at that time I was still doing things for her. () when I was working she was cooking () help me sometimes. It was like she wasn't doing anything for me.

Interviewer: So there was a time when your mother behaved a bit better?

Interviewee; Ja. When I was pregnant.

Interviewer: But then you was depressed and you didn't appreciate ()?

Interviewee: () It was like she was doing nothing because I () every day, you know. Even when I had a job, I didn't appreciate (). I had something I could () in the future () having children (). But there is something () I didn't say anything () (silence).

Interviewer: So to get back the feelings that you think your mother had about you, you felt that she, her feelings was of killing you, because she said it at that time and she would say something like if I can grab you in my arms I will kill you and you felt that you were not a good child. Your mother made you feel that you're not a good child. Were there any other feelings that you think she had?

Interviewee: That she would leave me, she would leave us (silence). She would poison us, you know (silence). But I didn't care about her any more. I didn't care anymore. I didn't felt sorry for her. (). She can't stay with a husband beating her. Why doesn't she fight back? She () it happen to herself.

Interviewer: And what feelings do you think your father had about you?

Interviewee: He loved me.

Interviewer: OK, so he loved you.

Interviewee: But I didn't see that. My mother also loved me.

Interviewer: How do you know that?

Interviewee: (Silence). One day she begged me to stay when I told her that I was leaving. She can't live without me and one day also, my father, they were fighting, you know, they were fighting and I told her that I was leaving, so she asked me () if he wants her to leave?/live with me () you know (), she doesn't have a life without me. () wants me to be there (). I can't help her with her problems or hold her. You know, I can't put her on my shoulders () carrying her ().

Interviewer: So you felt very responsible for your mother?

Interviewee: Very, very, very. I felt very sorry for her like, I mean, how can she be treated like that as a woman, you know. And I wanted to fight for her (). Couldn't say anything to my father. Even if I wanted to say something ().

Interviewer: What were your feelings towards your father?

Interviewee: I felt like I wanted to fight with him. I wanted him to hear what I have to say to him but I couldn't, I was too scared to say (). I wanted to () to scold him and tell him what he's doing is not right. I just kept quiet.

Interviewer: On Wednesday you mentioned that when you were a teenager, that your father came home and he was drunk and he said something about you are going to tell that he has molested you and you didn't understand the word molested. Can you tell me a bit more about your thoughts and your feelings that you had?

Interviewee: I didn't have any (). I was scared, I was, I hated my father. I didn't want to, I didn't even want to talk to him. I didn't even want him near me. I don't even want to listen to what he has so say.

Interviewer: Did you sometimes feel that your father was looking at you in a sexual way?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: So, it was only this once.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: that he talked about something like molesting?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK. Is there anything more that you want to say about your mother and your father?

Interviewee: (Silence). (Sigh). No. I thought maybe I cannot count on them for anything.

Interviewer: Thank you.

Interviewee: OK.

#### Interview 4

Interviewer: I just want to make sure that I understand correctly. Yesterday when you talked about () you lived with your great grandmother and great grandfather and your mother, your aunts, looked after you as a baby.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Were they all still at school?

Interviewee: No, the other one was a teacher.

Interviewer: OK. And during the morning when they were at school, who looked after you? Do you know? Your great grandmother?

Interviewee: Yes () my () mother, I think she was there.

Interviewer: OK, So she was also there?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Your mother's mother?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Your mother worked, but she stayed in the same house? Or was she away for times?

Interviewee: You know, she, the times that she was working in Stilfontein, I don't remember, because she worked there and then like one day when they came back from work she brought some toys. You know. I don't remember the period before we moved to Klerksdorp.

Interviewer: OK, today we are going to talk about your first pregnancy, you know with your first child, what you remember about that. Can you tell me about your first pregnancy?

Interviewee: You know, (silence) at the time I was still working. And, but I remember my boyfriend, the father of the child, came to stay with me, but I was fighting with him. It felt like I don't know him, I don't want to spend the rest of my life with him, so I chased him away I told him to go back home. So, I was still going to work, but still I had problems at work with my colleagues, they are, they are not treating me well, you know. So, (silence) but I moved from my home. The feeling that I had, I was, I was feeling scared and insecure, all by myself (silence) (cracks fingers). I wasn't feeling safe.

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more about that. What were you scared of?

Interviewee: It's just like when you are being left alone then you are scared to be left alone (). Scared of it. It's just you and your thoughts that are coming to you.

Interviewer: Can you remember those thoughts? What were you thinking?

Interviewee: (Silence). (Voice soft). I don't remember (silence). But it was, it was the fear that I had for all these years. So it, it never went away. That I'll be able to stand on my own, that was it, you know, it was that kind of fear. I was very insecure. But I'll just move on everyday. You know, I went to work and coming back, but having a troubled mind and troubled thoughts. So it was not nice. It wasn't () no one every day so all the thoughts were troubling me, every day and I was not feeling safe that I will be able to act like a mother. I was not thinking that I will be able to act, to act like a mother. You know, the way that I think that I want to treat my child.

Interviewer: Can you tell me more about that? How did you think you will treat your child and what made you feel that you are not going to be able to be a mother?

Interviewee: It was, I was becoming sick. The depression was making me disabled in a way of being able to do (). It was acting on my body. It was paralysing me mentally. In the beginning of 2000 stopped (). [From () to () was wiped out while transcribing.

Pieces in the middle are notes that were taken down while doing the interview. About 2 minutes of talking were lost]. I went to the doctor again in the middle of the year but I don't remember how (interruption).

Interviewer: Sorry about that. I just want to switch it off. OK you can carry on.

Interviewee: You know, I don't remember quite clearly when was that, but it was after June. Oh, no, it was not after June. I went to a doctor. I remember I was looking for a psychologist.

Interviewer: Yes I remember.

Interviewee: Before I started working, because I had my unemployment money. So, I went to find a psychologist because of. You see the way that I grew up, all the things that were disturbing me, they were troubling me, all the time. So my mind stayed troubled and my () stayed troubled. So I wasn't feeling right. I was not happy about the way I was feeling. So I wanted to feel better, like I know the way I used to feel before.

Interviewer: Were you more depressed when you became pregnant or did your depression stayed the same?

Interviewee: It stayed the same. The thing, (sigh) (silence) I was stressing about other things, you know. I felt like I have a duty to do something. So I can't get myself to do that job. And I was, you know, I was worrying a lot. I was worrying that, that I can't use my mind, I can't think of the ways how to do the things that I want to do. And where must I start if I want to do that (sigh) (silence). So when the child was born, I, (silence) I was still working, but I didn't want to stay with my parents. Like sometimes I would leave her with my mother, you know, I was, it was not making any sense, you know. The way I was acting. I was not acting like a mother.

Interviewer: Can you be more specific?

Interviewee: OK, I got used to the life that I was used to. It was in me, in me, you know and I was still in that mode of the way I like to do things. I wasn't settled, I was not, my mind didn't register I was pregnant and I am a mother, you know, that I have that understanding and I should be acting like a mother, I have a child and the things that I should do for the child I wasn't doing them. I wasn't thinking about now I have to wash the napkins or now I have to feed the baby, or. These things were not there (silence). And () sometimes I would leave the child with my mother go to the place to meet my, the other boyfriend.

Interviewer: The second, the father of your second child?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about the birth of your first child? How was the birth, was it a normal birth?

Interviewee: No, it was a Caesar. So, (silence) I, didn't see the baby, you know. I am having a baby now, now what to do, you know, the things that I should be thinking about, you know, what to do next. It was just the baby there and there's nothing that I could do about it. So my mind is not there, you know, it was not yet programmed to be a mother, you know, so that I could act like a mother. It was not ready yet. So, but I had this children before time, unexpectedly. So it wasn't the right time. Something like that. So, I had done, I had done something wrong. So, it wasn't that time that maybe the Creator had made for me to have children. I didn't listen to what He () of me of what I should be doing. So, (silence) that is why my mind was not ready yet. And I was not acting like a mother.

Interviewer: I am not sure that I understand you correctly. Did you think the Creator made you a mother while you were not ready? Or how did you understand that?

Interviewee: I was wrong to have that kid.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: Ja, to fall pregnant.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: I wanted something before the Creator wanted me to have it.

Interviewer: I see. OK.

Interviewee: So, I just thought that now I can't you know, listen to my thoughts, or () He is talking to me now I have to do something, I am under pressure and something makes me think maybe if I have a child, then I, maybe my life would change. But () I felt like there is something I need to do, there is something that God is asking me to do and I cannot get myself getting it, getting to do that, you know. So I had to do something before I would conceded to having children or getting married. Because I thought of getting married and having a family, so it wasn't the time that He was going to give me that you understand. I had to do something before I would have the children ().

Interviewer: Did you have an idea of what this something must be?

Interviewee: Well, (sigh) (silence). You know, something was, was to, to make my family be a family, you know, to bring peace in my home.

Interviewer: OK, OK.

Interviewee: You know, because my family had problems and I could see that they are having a problem but I can't talk to them, they can't, they don't listen to me. You know, they don't want to listen to me, because my, my mother would say I don't want, I cannot be controlled by, by a child. You know, things like that would make me back off. Because she had said that she doesn't want to be controlled by a child. What can I say to her or what can I say to my father. () I haven't told you was that I was so scared of my father. () I was so scared.

Interviewer: Mmm, what were your fears?

Interviewee: Of beating me.

Interviewer: OK Has he ever beaten you?

Interviewee: You know, I was just scared if I would say something that he will beat me, I was just scared of being beaten. (Long silence).

Interviewer: Was there a specific reason why you had a Caesar? Did the doctor decide on a Caesar before the delivery of the baby?

Interviewee: So what they told me was that I, my () part of me was small, so I had to have a Caesar.

Interviewer: So you knew before that you are going to have Caesar?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And how did you feel about that?

Interviewee: No, it was a better way. Because it mean () know, that I my () was small, I would have asked for it, because I was s scared of having a baby like normally.

Interviewer: Where did that fear come from? Did you hear stories?

Interviewee: No, I was just scared of, just thinking about that, that my, my part, the vagina is too small and how a baby can () come out of that small place, so I was scared.

Interviewer: So you were actually relieved when the doctor said it is going to be a Caesar?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And can you remember some of the feelings that you had when you first saw your child?

Interviewee: I was happy. But my thoughts about my mother and my father, you know, the way I feel, they're still there. That they were not going to be happy about

the child, you know. Even though when they came to see me in the hospital, I was just pretending as if I am happy to see them, but I felt like I don't want to see them, I don't want to be with them.

Interviewer: What was their reaction when they heard that you are pregnant? How did they react?

Interviewee: No my mother didn't felt bad or react in a bad way. I just told her that I was pregnant. She was just quiet. My father also, he didn't say anything bad to me about the baby. But because of the way I'm used to the way they are, () you know, I am just thinking of them other way () all the time in my mind (sigh) (silence).

Interviewer: What kind of a mother did you think you will be before you fell pregnant? Did you ever think about being a mother and how that would be for you and how you would be as a mother?

Interviewee: I have. I thought of me, of me as being a very good mother, and a very understanding and loving, you know, I, and I will even think of the things that I would buy for my, for my children, the things I will do for her. I would make her very happy, you know, I would look well after her, you know. So, but my mind was, was full of things. The baby was not one of it, was not one of those things on my mind (silence).

Interviewer: So when you thought about yourself in the future of being a mother, you thought that you would be loving and understanding and you would be a good mother. Was that before you fell pregnant or...

Interviewee: Before. Even while I was pregnant.

Interviewer: Even while you were pregnant?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So sometimes I, I learned that it's like, its not one of a problem which are made for me (laughs) that I would be expecting this out of myself () but of the Creator () programming people so it? Doesn't think of me the way I think, () my thoughts are not your thoughts, you know. So, sometimes would be expecting, you know, God is expecting something out of us so that's why there is a clash sometimes, but how I, I have seen, seen, seen it from, from, since I came here there are, you know, that my mind starting to go back, you know, that the way I see things, it, you know I am starting to learn some of the things that you mustn't expect the Lord () this life (). It is true when they say, when God says my thoughts are not your thoughts. So I have learned that you must accept anything that He gives you. So at that time I wasn't, I was becoming very rebellious.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: Because everything was not going the way I wanted them to. So I started being very rebellious. I didn't understand. I didn't even want to understand that, you know, I want things to be like this, but they are not going the way I want them to, you understand. So, I didn't think of God what () want me to have this, you understand. I was just thinking I want to have this and what about what God wants, you understand. If He wants you have to go accordingly or the way that you ask Him, you know, the way you ask him, so He's going to do them, maybe either way, but you, the way you're not expecting it to be done. So that's where everything went wrong.

Interviewer: Would you say you were angry because you fell pregnant?

Interviewee: (Silence). Well, I wasn't angry. I wasn't angry. I wasn't angry (silence). But something I remember I said (). How can somebody have a baby without saying I want to have a baby, you know. But at the time I was, my mind was, was rolling in another direction (). Now I can see that I was wrong (silence).

Interviewer: Just remind me, how old were you when you fell pregnant with your first baby?

Interviewee: I was 23.

Interviewer: 23?

Interviewee: (Silence). So the other thing that upset me was that, you know, I was expecting myself to be a good mother or, you know, I would do anything, anything for my child. I would see to it that she eats, she, she, the way she sleeps, you know, the way I prepared things for her, but I wasn't, I wasn't preparing things for her. I was always tired, I was always angry, you know, I was filled up with anger. So, that anger was broking my ways. You know, I couldn't see the way forward or the way I could do things, the way I want, I want them to be done (Long silence). (Sigh).

Interviewer: Can you say more about your anger?

Interviewee: You see, this anger came when my, my mother was making me angry about a lot of things. I would become angry because sometimes I'll do the things that I don't want to do, you know. I would say no, this was not the right thing, because all the time I was fighting for, I was fighting for the right thing to be done, you know. Things the way they should be done. So, I was fighting for that. So I would become very angry that, you know, things will go wrong if I don't do this thing, right, you know. So, I become very angry at my parents.

Interviewer: Mmm. So you were mostly angry at your parents during that time?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: But you also mentioned that you, mm, I think you used the word tortured, your boyfriend. Were you also very angry at him?

Interviewee: No, it was just an act.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: You know, it was just an act, like I don't want him, but I don't know how to tell him.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: You know, I don't want him to be in my life, but the fighting thing it was just an act, but I got used to it (). (Interruption).

Interviewer: Are they getting visitors now? Are they going to disturb us, do you think?

Interviewee: I don't know what will happen. So, (sigh) that anger, it was there all the time. It was, it was there from my childhood. I, I grew up with it.

Interviewer: Did you have angry feelings towards your first child as well? As a baby?

Interviewee: No. I wasn't angry at her. I love her. She was so small and sweet. So, I was happy, in a way, but I wasn't in the mood of being a mother.

Interviewer: Sorry, I didn't hear now. You were not in the?

Interviewee: mood of being a mother.

Interviewer: O, mood of ...

Interviewee: Being a mother (silence).

Interviewer: How would you describe yourself as a mother of your first child?

Interviewee: I, (sigh) I don't see a mother there. (Long silence). () while the baby was there, so I was just acting as I am having a baby. You know, not like a mother, loving and understanding, you know, the baby's just there, so I have to be around. I'm going to work but I have to go and see the child, but sometimes I'll leave her with my, with my mother. That's how it got possible that I, I fell pregnant, with the second child.

Interviewer: Mm, because you left your eldest child with...

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewer: How did the way you thought you would be a mother differed from the way you were actually a mother? Because you had all the, before you fell pregnant you thought you are going to be loving and understanding and. How did that differ from how you were a mother?

Interviewee: Uhh, I was tired, I was depressed. So I couldn't do the things the way I thought that I could do them, you know. Maybe if I come from work I'll wash the napkins, I would see to it that my child is being taken good care of, like, you know, like cuddle her or you know, take her in my arms. (Interruption).

Interviewer: I'm sorry about that interruption. You said that you were very tired and depressed and you couldn't do the things that you wanted to do for your child to take good care of her, like cuddle her and take in her your arms. Is there anything more that you want to add how you, the way you were with your first child, how it differed from the way you thought you are going to be with her?

Interviewee: (Silence). Well, I would get angry at my mother because uhh, (silence) she wouldn't (silence) do the things I, the way I was expecting, expecting it to be done, you know like the socks of, she, of the baby will not be seen. Some of them, I'll will not find them, you know, I don't know where they are. So, I would become very angry that things are not in a in a proper way, the way I'm expecting them to be (silence). So, it was very disturbing (crack fingers). I was expecting a lot from me and my from my mother (silence).

Interviewer: So you were expecting a lot from you and from your mother. Have you always been someone who expected a lot from yourself?

Interviewee: Yes, I'm expecting to be doing things better.

Interviewer: Mmm.

Interviewee: Mmm. You know, in the right way. So, I'm not expecting any mistakes or wrong things.

Interviewer: Mmm.

Interviewee: I was also angry at myself. I think it was also going into my nerves (laughs). (Interruption).

Interviewer: So, you say you were also angry at yourself?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more about that?

Interviewee: I was angry, I was doing wrong things. I couldn't get myself to doing the right things. I wanted to do, I wanted to see myself doing the right things (silence).

So, it was very upsetting me and making me very angry (silence). I felt very helpless, stupid. I couldn't understand myself. (Long silence).

Interviewer: Who took care of your first child, mostly?

Interviewee: I was going to work, so my mother was looking after her, but I remember for the first three months I took her to my aunt, yes, I took her to my aunt. So, again I went back my mind was, it was not steady, I was not thinking straight. And I was not doing the things I think I should be doing. I was filled up with a lot of thoughts, troubling thoughts (silence). So, I went again to take the baby from my aunt. () ask myself why did I go to take care because I, I didn't want her to be with my mother and I was going to work. So my mother couldn't take care of two babies at the same time. Like the other one, my mother had a small child (silence). So I don't know why, what made me, I would do stupid things, the way, you know, in a nonsense manner.

Interviewer: Can you give me some examples?

Interviewee: Uhh, (sigh). Like for an example, (silence) I slept with a man knowing I will fall pregnant, you know, without using a condom. And I don't even know the man

(silence). I don't even know if he is sick or not sick. I don't even know where he's staying, I don't know his home (silence). (Interruption).

Interviewer: So were you thinking a lot about the fact that you fell pregnant without even knowing this man?

Interviewee: Yes, so I () remember what were they (). The thought about, about having kids without knowing the father and just meeting a person and you are having sex with the person and you are pregnant tomorrow(). You know. I () remember some of the things I thought about. The way () terrible thoughts, you know. But I, the way I see them, it is terrible, you know. Maybe somebody won't see them as that (silence).

So, (silence) but I was not having any problems. I loved my first child, I loved her.

Interviewer: Can you say more about these terrible thoughts that you had?

Interviewee: I don't remember.

Interviewer: You don't remember them, but you just remember.

Interviewee: They were not good thoughts.

Interviewer: Mmm, mmm.

Interviewee: Yes. You know some of the facts that () would look at as in general () for all of us, is that you shouldn't just go there and have sex with any person () that tomorrow that you are pregnant with this person's child, you know. And you don't know anything, they are, (silence) they are, you know, they are customary according to, to the way children should be raised or anything. If you are going to have any problems with that child in the future, (silence) and you don't know this person, really, what kind of a person he, he is or what kind of a person she is, you know, that if he goes mad sometimes or it is really bad, you don't know, so you are going to, to give back to something that is terrible, you know (silence). So you should always be careful. But, we don't know what God is thinking for us, you know. But, I, I, I on my

side, I think I have done a very big mistake by having the children before the right time. Because I would feel this is the right time, you know. () it will be concerned () as right then you can have a child, not by pushing that I want to have a child or I want to do this without feeling that it is all right to have, to do this thing, because sometimes () you are not you know, working hand in hand with God. So, it is a very big problem. (Long silence).

Interviewer: Very often in a mother's past there are events or people who have an influence on the way the mother thinks and behaves with her child. Mmm. Are there any specific events or people in your past that you think influenced the way you were with your first child?

Interviewee: No, not even my mother.

Interviewer: Not even your mother? Why do you say that?

Interviewee: She never taught me how to raise my child or how to handle her, you know, things to do with her, you know, because I think I know better, you know. I have experienced a lot in life, so I know better about babies and how I should take care of them, but with my child I was not practising that. I was very careless. It was not like I am careless. My mind was just functioning in that way that I was careless.

Interviewer: Mmm, so you didn't want to be careless?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Ja.

Interviewee: I was not expecting myself to do the wrong things (silence).

Interviewer: I remember on Wednesday you said that you took care of your little sister

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: when she was born. Mmm, how were you different with your little sister than you were with your first child?

Interviewee: Well, I was, I would say down to earth, I was more calm, like fresh, you know, you expect anything that, that comes your way, that you would act, you know, accordingly, in the right way even if the situation is not the way it should be, but you just work under pressure, it doesn't matter what is going on, you accept, you know. But with my child I was not accepting.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: I was not accepting what was going on (silence). Oh, je (big sigh).

Interviewer: Are you tired?

Interviewee: Ja, (laughs). It's like () it's time () everything is starting from there.

Interviewer: It is difficult to remember everything again.

Interviewee: Ja.

Interviewer: Mmm.

Interviewer: What role did your feelings about your child's father, of your first child, played in your behaviour with that child?

Interviewee: Since he was not there, but I, but I wished for was, if he was, you know, a very good father that he would take care of the child when I'm gone to work, you know, that he will look very, very well after her. But my wishes were, but, you know, or the thoughts that I had about him. So, so you know, everything was not making any sense. Nothing was making any sense. Everything was out of control. It wasn't making any sense at all. I was not in control of my life at all (silence). I wouldn't practice what I preached. So, it was another experience. A bad one. (Interruption).

Interviewer: Can you describe some of your behaviour with your first child?

Interviewee: (Silence). My behaviour?

Interviewer: Mm.

Interviewee: (Silence). Well, I was, (silence) I would act very funny, you know. I remember one time I was, I was dancing, you know, for her, she was looking at me, to make her laugh, you know, and one day when I was coming from work I, I was doing funny things to make her laugh, you know (silence). But I had some bad behaviour that I don't remember or the things that I felt inside, it wasn't good. So I tried to make myself happy, to make the baby happy, at times, even though it was not the way I was expecting it to be, as much as I wanted to.

Interviewer: Would you say that you sometimes, you talked about, you said you felt terrible things inside, but you acted, you tried to make your baby laugh. Can you remember some of the terrible things you felt and that you thought?

Interviewee: Uhh, (sigh). I don't remember, but I will try. (Silence). OK, I, I was not treating my mother well, I was not helping her, you know, and I felt angry and rebellious towards my mother and hate and without understanding. I was very stupid and careless. (Long silence). That's all I remember.

Interviewer: Am I right if I say that, you know, it I think about what you said on Wednesday that you always kept your feelings inside...

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And that you had all these angry feelings and even hate for your mother, but that you acted happy and...

Interviewee: Yes, I didn't show how I feel, I didn't show how I feel. So this is () why I was troubled (). I was very troubled (), so that's why nothing was going well for me. I didn't even consider God. Not that He is there for me and I could talk to Him to help me solve my problems. I didn't even think about Him. I was always troubled, troubled, troubled. I couldn't even pray. I didn't even remember to pray to God, for God to help me (), because I think at that time He was still bad (). But I didn't see ().

Interviewer: It seems as if you felt very alone, isolated from every person and also from God.

Interviewee: I felt very alone. It was like I was alone in the world. There was nobody around. It was just like that.

Interviewer: And did you have a feeling that your child is there for you or not really?

Interviewee: No, not at all. I felt she, she didn't mean anything, you know. She was just there because I, I don't see her, I don't recognise her, you know, my mind does not register her, you know, so (silence).

Interviewer: So she was there but it was if you were not really in an interaction with her.

Interviewee: Yes, yes.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: Yes. She was just there. It was just like maybe, my, my, my aunt's child, something like that, you know.

Interviewer: So, just a baby, not your baby, not your child?

Interviewee: Ja, just a baby, not my baby. Something like that.

Interviewer: OK. Thank you.

### Interview 5

Interviewer: Our focus will first be your first child. Often when a mother is pregnant, she thinks about the baby. She wonders if the baby is going to be a boy or a girl, how the baby is going to look like and which characteristics the baby will have. Can you tell me some of the thoughts that you had about your baby? What did you wonder about when you were pregnant with your first child?

Interviewee: I did ask if it is a boy or a girl. I went for scanning and so I found out it was a girl.

Interviewer: How did you feel?

Interviewee: (Silence). Nothing. I don't remember that I had any thoughts about it.

Interviewer: Did you ever wonder about the baby? How this baby is going to look like or what kind of a person this baby is going to be? Or didn't you really think about the baby?

Interviewee: I don't remember. I didn't think about it (silence).

Interviewer: I remember you said, I can't remember if it was on Tuesday or on Wednesday, but you said that you wanted an abortion, but the doctor didn't want you to have an abortion.

Interviewee: O yes. (). Change my mind eight weeks. I thought that I will be happy if I have the child and the father is there.

Interviewer: How many weeks or months were you pregnant () ?

Interviewee: () Eight weeks.

Interviewer: Eight weeks?

Interviewer: Can you tell me more about what made you change your mind?

Interviewee: () I just thought that I was happy(). I just thought about that, so that I was glad ().

Interviewer: I don't understand.

Interviewee: If I have the child. I just that thought that if I have a child, () the father is there, I don't need to worry about anything. I'll keep it.

Interviewer: Were you sorry about the decision afterwards?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: () How did you think how is the baby going to be like? Did you have any thoughts about what kind of a person the baby is going to be?

Interviewee: I don't remember.

Interviewer: What were your thoughts and your feelings about the baby after the birth?

Interviewee: I think we've talked about that.

Interviewer: After the birth?

Interviewee: O, after the birth. I didn't think about that, I don't remember. I remember I was happy to have the baby. Yes I was happy. But again, I was just thinking about my mother and father, you know that they don't want us, that they have something against it.

Interviewer: Against the baby?

Interviewee: Ja, () wasn't accept. They're not openheartedly. Because they were never honest with me about their feelings towards me () about anything. They never show how they really feel.

Interviewer: How would you describe your relationship with your first child?

Interviewee: I don't remember. (*Resistance?*)

Interviewer: Was your baby difficult to care for or easy? () What kind of a baby was she?

Interviewee: No. She was easy to take care of, to wash. It was easy for me to wash her or to change her napkins. () not difficult (). It was easy to carry her around. She was small enough for me to be able to carry her around. She was not heavy () or tired. Ask mother to help me look after her or wash her.

Interviewer: So would you say she was an easy baby to care for?

Interviewee: Yes. ().

Interviewer: () What kind of a child was, is she? How would you describe her? What are her characteristics?

Interviewee: She's sweet. I can't tell you more. She was easy to love. I don't remember anything else about her ().

Interviewer: Was it difficult for you to look after her?

Interviewee: No. I don't remember. (Silence). There's nothing in my head. There's nothing more. () because I, I also was not there, you know, all the time. () mother () I was at work. You know when I come from work I would sleep for a long time. () In the morning when I come from work, because I was working night shift. () So, I wasn't spending a lot of time with her. Don't remember.

Interviewer: She was three months old when you fell pregnant with your second child, (). Did your feelings change when you became pregnant with your second child?

Interviewee: Uh Uh, I don't remember.

Interviewer: Let's move on to your second pregnancy. Can you describe your second pregnancy? How was it for you?

Interviewee: I was scared (silence) that, that I was pregnant again. I was somehow accepting, but not fully because, when I was five months or four months, I was four

months, I wanted to, no, it was three months or four months, in between, I wanted to have an abortion and I went and made an appointment for an abortion. So I didn't succeed. to go, because it was far and I didn't have transport ().

Interviewer: So would you say that at first when you learned that you are pregnant that you accepted it?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And later on you decided that you'd rather want to have an abortion?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: But then you didn't go for an abortion because you didn't have transport?

Interviewee Yes.

Interviewer: What made you change your mind? What made you first accept the pregnancy and then decided that you rather want an abortion?

Interviewee: Well, I had a lot of thoughts. I was scared of what will my parents say and the father of the child that I am working with and what other, other people would say at work about me being pregnant again, you know, and I would look very stupid to people and careless, very stupid, you know, and it's easy for people to take advantage of me, you know. That all those people () (sigh). So, I was losing (silence) my self-esteem and (silence) dignity, you know. So, I was very careless. (Sigh). (). So I started to question myself a lot, you know (sigh). So I started degrading myself, you know, seeing all the negative things that would come my way. I was saying about myself (). And the people also were behaving negative towards me. I remember one woman there, she was my age, but she said to me you must throw that child in the dustbin. You know at that time I was very sick, I was very sick. Once somebody say something to me it would really ring in my mind, you know. I would seriously think about that and I would see myself, look of myself as very low. () give it deep thought.

I couldn't fight with other people, fight for myself, you know, because you are not suppose to fight, you are suppose to respect each other, other people (). So ().

Interviewer: Did you consider throwing your child in the dustbin?

Interviewee: No, not at all. And the father of my child also was negative towards me. So, he, he wouldn't talk to me, or, or ask me about the child, because even when I was pregnant, I was still working in the same office as he. He wouldn't ask me anything. Because, sometimes I would hear him, he was talking to other women. He would go for a weekend away to another woman in another place. He would call her during the week and would talk. Even when I am there, he would still talk to other women, to other girlfriends.

Interviewer: () And he was married?

Interviewee: Ja.

Interviewer: How much was he, how old was he? You mentioned that he was older ().

Interviewee: Uh, I don't know. Maybe he was forty, somewhere there or thirty something but I don't think he was thirty something, he might be forty, forty something. But I think he was younger than my father, because my father was forty five, forty six, () maybe forty or forty one, somewhere there () older forty. So I thought he was a very responsible man and very loving and caring man. So, he wouldn't do anything bad to me. He would help me. He wouldn't say ugly things about me, like the things that he used to say in the office in front of me, like the time when I, when I was leaving for the hospital, you know, he was so happy. He was talking to the other colleagues, that by now I should be mad, now, I'm leaving for ever.

Interviewer: Sjoe, was that when you were going to Denmar?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: How did you feel about that?

Interviewee: Gmm, I was, I felt very angry and hurt because I wouldn't imagine him doing things like that, because he should be understanding. He's the one that told me that he loved me and that he wanted me. I told myself that he said he loved me and I wanted somebody there for me. You know, I thought that this man wanted to change his life, he wanted to make his life right (sigh) (silence). So, then I went to Denmar.

Interviewer: How many months were you pregnant when you went to Denmar?

Interviewee: Five months.

Interviewer: Five months pregnant? For how long were you there?

Interviewee: I stayed for two weeks. There I told them that at work they say funny things about me, things I was complaining about. Because you know, some of the things were just small things but the thing is, the thing is that I didn't have anyone to, to share my feelings with, the way I feel. I couldn't tell my mother afterwards, you know, something happened to me at work and I'm feeling like this or I want to cry. I wouldn't cry, but I felt like crying. Because it was hurting. And I, I, everything was locked up inside (silence). So, I didn't cry. I didn't say anything. I didn't say anything to anyone. There was no one there. So there were all those things. If I could just say to anyone, you know what happened today at work or I could just tell them, but there was no one. So that's why they were, they were coming more stronger than me. I couldn't share my feelings with anybody, even if I'm hurt.

Interviewer: In which way was this pregnancy with your second child different from your first pregnancy?

Interviewee: There was nothing different. I felt the same way (silence). And the father was never there for me. He never talked to me about it, about me being pregnant. Because the only time I remember was the first time that I told him that I wanted to go for an abortion. He gave me a lift to the hospital. He drove me there to

the hospital. He drove me there, but he never said anything. He was not concerned about anything, about the baby or me being pregnant. () He was the father of the child, but he was not concerned about anything.

Interviewer: I'm not sure that I understand. So, he drove you to the hospital when you said you wanted an abortion?

Interviewee: Yes, for the first time.

Interviewer: For the first time?

Interviewee: Before I went to that other place.

Interviewer: And what happened at the hospital?

Interviewee: O, at the hospital I saw a doctor and he told me that they are not aborting there. They don't carry abortions there. So, I had to go to another hospital, but it was far away.

Interviewer: When did you tell the father of your second child that you are pregnant?

Interviewee: The time I, no he saw me because I was working with him or I told him the same day when I went to the doctor. I went to the doctor and he picked me up to go to work. So I told him no, I'm not going to work and the doctor told me that I am pregnant. But he was not, he didn't hear what I was saying or he was not listening or he didn't care that I was pregnant.

Interviewer: So you told him immediately that you are pregnant?

Interviewee: Yes, I told him.

Interviewer: But he didn't react to that?

Interviewee: No, he didn't. It was like he didn't hear. It was just like, you know, when your mind is absent or you are, you are concentrating on something else, then I tell you something, but you don't hear me. So, it was just like that. So, (silence) but sometimes I don't blame him, you know, people are having problems all around this

world. So I told him, but he didn't hear anything or react to that. But I also had problems when I was there, that my life was becoming very difficult and I didn't understand how come that I was acting the way I was acting ().

Interviewer: I'm not sure that I understand what you mean?

Interviewee: No, I'm just telling you that (laughs), it's like you are disturbed and you are just far away from, from, from things which are happening to you. You are not yourself at all and those things it's like you don't know something. So even if you tell me that, for an example I was pregnant, but I, I didn't, I didn't notice (silence) or it didn't come to my mind that I was pregnant and you know, I would change the way I am or the way I do things or that I would start acting positively, or, in a way that, that would (silence) (sigh) would make me to be more of a mother. So, (silence) so, sometimes I think that I was in a world where I had to prove myself. I had to stop things to happen to me. So, I was in that world (silence). But, I myself, I was living in my own world (silence) that I created, or which was created by the way I was treated. I went to that world to live there all by myself. I was not living according to the standards of other people or of the world. I was far away from the world or from reality. (Long silence). I was doing things just doing them, thinking that maybe things will work out, but, because I wanted to change the way my life was, you know. So, I didn't change anything. I stayed the same. I didn't change (silence).

Interviewer: You said something yesterday about hoping that your first child and again when you were pregnant with your second child, that somehow having the baby will change you or will change something.

Interviewee: Yes. I was hoping that, you know it will just happen naturally. It will, it will be natural. It will come natural that when I am pregnant then I will change, you know, I will, my mind would form into being a mother, you know. So, sometimes it

depends on (silence) what kind of the life you are living in, you know. You mustn't expect that it will be the same (sigh) (silence).

Interviewer: When did you realise that nothing actually changed?

Interviewee: When I was pregnant, when I was pregnant (silence).

Interviewer: Would you say that you almost hoped that the baby will bring some kind of magic into your life?

Interviewee: Yes, but it was, it was, you know something new, you know, in my life. I added something new in my life and my life would change in that, in that way. But I have learned that you have to take a step forward. It don't have to just stay there and think that things will just bring themselves to you, you know (silence). It depends on which world you're living in, you know, not just any, any other world (silence). But I was, for an example, like animals, you know, they, their babies are there, they, they feed them and they take care of them, they don't leave them. Like even when () they feed them, they don't leave their babies, you know. So I, I was not having that. I am having a child now, I have to do things for the child, you know. It was like I have to be programmed first, you know, to be in that mode before I could do anything. So like I say it was before the Creator determined for me to have a child, to have a family, you know. It wasn't that time (silence). So, you mustn't expect a lot when you are pregnant (silence). You'll struggle. It depends on, on what's, what's in your head, what is going on in your head. (Long silence).

Interviewer: I wonder whether you were disappointed or angry or what feelings you had when you realised that what I hoped for

Interviewee: Yes, I was angry.

Interviewer: Angry?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Were you angry in general or were you angry at the baby that the baby couldn't bring the change that you wanted?

Interviewee: No, in general.

Interviewer: In general?

Interviewee: Yes, I would see other mothers, you know, behaving in another way but how come I don't behave in a way. (Long silence).

Interviewer: It seems as if you went from accepting that you're pregnant and are going to have your second child to wanting an abortion, to accepting again, to wanting an abortion again and then you just couldn't get the abortion. Did you eventually accept the pregnancy or did you in a way resented the pregnancy?

Interviewee: In a way I resented the pregnancy. I hadn't accepted it. (Long silence).

Interviewer: Tell me about the birth of your baby. Was your second child also a Caesar?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What do you remember about the birth?

Interviewee: Uhh, (sigh) (silence). I don't remember much, but I remember her, that she (silence), she, it felt like she wanted to be more closer to me.

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more? How did you experience that, how did you know, what gave you the impression?

Interviewee: I saw it, I saw it (silence), I saw the baby, but I didn't feel like (silence) I thought sometimes that I felt like I would leave the baby, but, you know, because of most of the time I would not make the decision or I was scared of making the decision of saying that I would leave the baby at the hospital with the nurses because I was scared of my mother, you know. Most of the time when I want to do something, the fear of my mother would come my way. Even if I want to decide now that I want to

take a decision, I would say this is what I want to do, you know, I won't be able to do it, because I would think of my mother, you know, what will my mother say about this (sigh). She was standing in my way, I couldn't be myself (silence). I couldn't think for myself, you know, the way I wanted to do things (silence).

Interviewer: Did you have different feelings towards your second child as a baby than towards your first child?

Interviewee: No. It was just the same. Uh, and I felt like I don't want her, you know, I can't do anything for her because she was looking more like her father and it was really disturbing me if I look at her.

Interviewer: I didn't hear that clearly. It was really if you look at her?

Interviewee: It was disturbing me a lot, because she looked more like her father.

Interviewer: How did you feel about her father at that time?

Interviewee: I hated him (silence). I would kill him (silence) (sigh). Because he had done me wrong. He treated me really bad. (Long silence).

Interviewer: So in the hospital you already knew, often considered leaving your second child with the nurses?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: But you were too scared to do that because of how your mother would react?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: How would you describe, apart from feeling scared, how would you describe your feelings at that stage?

Interviewee: Helplessness, or stupid, you know, can't decide for yourself, you know, that way, you know, you cannot stand for yourself, you cannot stand up for yourself. (Long silence).

Interviewer: How did you feel about yourself?

Interviewee: Really bad. Really bad. I didn't appreciate the person I was (silence).

But I couldn't help myself (silence).

Interviewer: And at that stage, how did you feel about your baby?

Interviewee: Oh, I, she was there. There was nothing I could do about it (silence).

Even, I didn't even show the way I felt about the baby to my mother, you know. I would just act like I'm happy, everything is fine, where as inside I felt like you know, nothing is right. That is something I had to do, I should have left the child at the hospital or I should have given it to somebody. () (Interruption).

Interviewer: Just to come back to what you were feeling in hospital, you really felt bad about yourself and you felt about the baby that you should have given the baby to someone else or left her with the nurses and you couldn't stand up for yourself and was scared of how your mother would react.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Did you have any feelings towards the baby like

Interviewee: Love.

Interviewer: Love or hate, positive or negative. What feelings did you have towards the baby?

Interviewee: No, I loved it.

Interviewer: OK. (Interruption).

Interviewer: So you felt also very helpless and again very alone?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And you were acting happy and you were not showing what you were feeling inside?

Interviewee: Yes, I would not show it (silence). Because I did, I'm a very wrong person.

Interviewer: Why do you say that?

Interviewee: Because I would feel when I'm angry, I don't want any mistake.

Interviewer: Are you saying you're a perfectionist and you want things to be just right?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And if it is not right, you're very upset about it? And then?

Interviewee: Yes, I would tell somebody, but if that person don't listen, what am I going to do about it, you understand, if it is that person's duty to do that, you understand.

Interviewer: Did you feel your own anger?

Interviewee: Yes. I did. A lot.

Interviewer: Did it feel to you as if your anger can get out of control?

Interviewee: Mm-mm.

Interviewer: How long were you in the hospital with your second child?

Interviewee: Three days.

Interviewer; Three days?

Interviewee: Mm.

Interviewer: How was it when you went home with her?

Interviewee: Uh?

Interviewer: When you went home, after you have been in the hospital. How did you experience your child at home, your second child, your first child, yourself as being a mother, and your mother?

Interviewee: Uh, nothing. (Long silence). Because you know, I was more concerned about other things than the baby, not like the baby I was concerned about, the baby and the things that I should do for her (silence).

Interviewer: How would you describe your second baby? What kind of a baby was she? She looked very much like her father, but what kind of a person was she? How was she different from your first child? And how was she the same?

Interviewee: Yes, she was the same. And she looked very strict, like a very strict child (laughs). You know, that she could tell you what to do. That you should do this, you should do that. You know. My first child was a very loving and caring somebody.

Interviewer: When you describe your second child as looking like a strict child, that can tell you what to do, she was still a baby, so she couldn't talk. But, that sounds like your mother. Was there any feeling that this child is like your mother?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: No?

Interviewee: No, not the way she looked, you know, when I look at her. That was not the kind of person that she might be.

Interviewer: I'm interested to know, what did this baby do or what made that you perceived her that she is strict or that she could be strict and that she could control you.

Interviewee: The way she looked. You know, she looked very serious most of the time.

Interviewer: Mm. And how did that make you feel?

Interviewee: No, good, that I'll have somebody like that in my home. (Laughs).

Somehow good, but it didn't really show that I felt good. (Sigh). Well, she's not there anymore (*Feeling heavy own feeling*). (Long silence).

Interviewer: How do you feel about that?

Interviewee: (Sigh). It doesn't help to think that way, (laughs) she's still not there.

(Long silence).

Interviewer: What were your hopes and wishes for your second child? Did you have any?

Interviewee: (Silence). My mind was troubled (silence), about the issue at work. You know, I was thinking a lot of things. (Long silence). (sigh).

(After the tape was switched off: I can't understand that I don't feel any pain, that I'm not sorry)

## Interview 6

(This interview could not be rescued by a sound engineer. What follows are notes taken down during the interview.)

Interviewer: We talked about your pregnancy with your second child and her birth. You said she was different from your first child. She wanted to be with you. Can you say a bit more about that?

Interviewee: I can't tell more. Things that I remember. She was a bigger size. She acted if she wants me to hold her. First time she slept with me in my arms she was sleeping a lot better.

Heavy. Weight. Not easy. I was stressing a lot.

Couldn't lift her up. Not easy to bath her

Emotionally and also physically.

I was feeling hurt. Was feeling down. My self-esteem was low.

My mind was not working well. Couldn't give answers to some of the things that was troubling me. Mixed up.

Feeling lazy and tired. The same.

Mind just like that all the time. A lot of noise.

It was like corrupted? Not in order.

Can't explain it. Couldn't think straight.

Talking to myself. What a lot of things. I don't know. Like a scrap car. Something doesn't work anymore.

Computer that doesn't process information.

Out of order mentally and physically.

Head not functioning well.

Like a radio playing on two stations at the same time.

Not sure.

Klerksdorp voices.

Interviewer: Was it other peoples voices or was it your own voice in your mind? Or how would you describe it?

Interviewee: Yes it was other peoples voices, because I was like, I was even () you know. Or I would do something and they would say no, you know, something like that. I don't know what he want me to do then.

Accusing me of being a useless mother and another thing was asked if I know Jesus Christ. Scared that somebody wanted to kill me. Devil wanted to kill me.

The baby was seven months old ().

Scared of being in the world. Thinking about the planet. Where I am ? I remember.

Song play. A mind the house will fall, world will fall. Felt like buttons. Press buttons, will I react. They.

Felt changing now and then. Scared devil was after me.

Other people's voices. I was in a test. Would say something say, no, devil.

What do you want me to tell them.

Interviewer: You told me in one of the other interviews about the day you wanted to suffocate your baby.

Interviewer: Can you remember what you were feeling and thinking that day?

Interviewee: She was two months old. Still in Ermelo. Hadn't left job. Still working at the time. No voices of people talking to me. I don't remember thinking anything. That parents left to go to town. I felt like nothing is in order. My family knew I was going to work. How can they all leave to go to town. Nothing in this family is in order.

Interviewer: So you felt your family is not there for you?

Interviewee: () They are looking at the situation in the house. They're not there.

Just nobody.

They're not connected to us and what was happening around to us. () Living somehow in space. They don't see what was really happening. They're not even concerned (silence). So I left the baby with there with her sister. She was sleeping on top of the bed. Locked, left the door open. The burglar.

Left for work.

Interviewer: I am not sure what did you lock? You left the door open, but what did you lock?

Interviewee: ()

Interviewer: O, OK. So you left for work. What were you thinking?

Interviewee: ()

Come back at night. Baby was still sick. Still alive.

Couldn't suck the bottle, couldn't eat. She had taken her to the doctor. Never asked me what I did to this child. Nothing. Didn't.

Wasn't scared. Not scared. Not concerned. Took her to sleep.

Still working. Don't remember what I was feeling. Angry at father about something.

What was going on. Don't remember what I told myself.

Put her inside the blanket and covered her all over. She was two months old. Loud the baby. Had feeling.

Saw it as useless to have the baby.

Another day tried to suffocate her with a plastic bag. Don't remember what happened.

Three weeks before I killed the baby.

Remember father phoned me. Received my payslip R2000.

Went to get to buy the baby's food. Only having milk for the small one.

So I left them with my younger brother and his girlfriend.

Went didn't get R2000. Got R150. Bought food for the baby. Then I went back and

when I got there I went to my father's sister. They don't have the same mother.

It was the first time. I didn't know her name, I know she was my father's sister.

I was, we were in the house. She took the baby to the bedroom. She.

I gave her the baby. I was tired. Then she must just hold her.

I was feeling tired all the time. My mind was troubled all the time. Couldn't.

Took baby to bedroom. Say something.

(Disruptions. People came into the office to use the microwave to heat food)

Interviewer: Ok, you were telling me?

Interviewee: No, just heard doing something to the baby.

Got very angry. Couldn't show anger.

Said something about.

People do things to baby.

Telling her something. Gave us food to eat.

Didn't want the food. Didn't tell. Looking at my child. Playing with her.

Child was looking at her like she knows her.

Like she was brainwashed. Felt angry towards this woman. Never spend life with her.

Don't know how her.

Relations. Angry at her. What is it that she was doing to my child.

So she gave us food. We ate. Then we walked me to my home.

She said didn't know anything.

Talking about family and what was.

What happened to your mother.

Just like they have.

Like they have killed her spirit.

It. Then I got.

She cannot fight for herself. Remember to me.

Dad she can't take control. Was in the house. First going in my father's house. Now come there.

Scolded to come there. Didn't want her there to come into the house.

Passing by.

Then she left. Something else, I had taken my kid. Some people came. They came to take their kids. Form. The. They.

They were arrested. Parents took their things out of our house.

Felt bad. Why? Don't have anything. Whose things am I going to use.

So I kept on thinking how stupid I am. I didn't think I must go back.

One day I took them to my neighbour. She used to come to visit my mother.

Went there to her house. But I didn't see anything that was wrong with her.

First day that I went to town. Another one when came. She said to me I was a whore.

Because me, I'm a good person. When I left me anything.

Didn't know what I happened. Didn't fight with her. Felt like fighting with her. Just thought

Felt like. Go to her house. Used to have a tuck shop. Food on credit there.

She was drunk that day. Leave her husband.

Didn't like her. Felt some things. Don't want her near me. Wanted money from me.

Must buy her.

So one day I left my children to go to the tuck shop. Bought a cigarette. Went to her house. Took the small one. They gave me food to eat.

Didn't have food.

I didn't want them.

Want to protect my children from things happening. Simba chip. Told her she mustn't. Finger. Didn't. Don't want them to do anything to my children so.

Smoking a lot. Didn't have money to buy cigarettes.

Wasn't thinking of anything. Step to future.

Didn't think about those things.

Brother.

Other tenants in house. Guy wanted to see my bedroom. Told him to get his things out of my bedroom.

I was being unreasonable.

I didn't have the courage to fight.

Used other's bedroom.

Was also disturb.

Whole situation was disturbing. Was feeling helpless. What to do now. Had to put myself in order.

The child was playing with the baby, her little sister.

The day the thing happened. Terrible day.

Didn't have food to eat. Took some beer bottles to buy vet cakes and.

I was hungry. Something. No.

Devil is after me. Anything can happen.

At night sleeping. See picture of globe, world. Mind all those things. Scared the moon will fall on our house. Will fall on our house. I was scared.

So something told me. Must eat.

Food. Body react. When you have something. Hungry feeling a lot better after I had eaten. Thoughts again. Thoughts. Thinking about my life and how miserable it was.

Don't have money to buy them food. What am I going to do?

So I got angry. At times I would feel radar talking to me or about me. Song being sung for me. I would hear that. All these things were affecting me. Kind of a test.

Those things not happening anymore. So I killed the baby and that was it.

I saw her like a stumbling block in front of me and that was her I had to get rid of her.

Interviewer: Any other thoughts or feelings?

Don't remember any.

Interviewer: When did this all happen?

Interviewee: April last year.

Interviewer: Thank you.

### Interview 7

Interviewer: This is our last interview this morning. Is there anything that you still want to tell me about how you experienced your mother?

Interviewee: (Silence) I don't think. I can't think (silence). Oh, she was bossy and bullying, she was bullying me around. I didn't like it.

Interviewer: How do you understand why your mother was like that?

Interviewee: No, she was, she was not in control of her life anymore. You see, all the beating had made her stress a lot. When you are stressed you are not in control. The stress is the one that is in control. So you are listening to it most of the time.

Interviewer: So you think it was because of her relationship with your father that wasn't, the marriage that was not going well?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK. When did you start to understand that, in that way?

Interviewee: When I was here.

Interviewer: (Coughs). Excuse me. Here, in jail?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So it is only during the last few months that you began to understand it in that sense

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: How did you understand it when you were still at home?

Interviewee: I didn't have any understanding. I was just seeing my mother as lazy and she cannot be in control of her life, she cannot fight for herself, she can't do things for herself. She is always asking me to do things for her. She just wants me to do things for her, she just wants people to do things for her, but she can't do it for herself. So

she was, I did not like her. She was not the kind of mother that I would want to be.

One day I even told her that I don't want to be like her. I don't want to () my child like her (silence).

Interviewer: Is there anything more you would like to say about how you saw yourself as a mother?

Interviewee: As a mother?

Interviewer: Mm.

Interviewee: Uhh, I was becoming more like my mother (silence). Lazy and not in control, you know, always worrying and not, not doing the right things that I, which I would see myself doing. (Long silence).

Interviewer: Were you aware of that, while you had your first and your second child?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So you were seeing yourself as becoming like your mother?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And you didn't want to be like that?

Interviewee: Yes, I didn't want to be like that.

Interviewer: Mm (silence). You never said anything about a best friend? Did you have a best friend?

Interviewee: No, I didn't have a friend.

Interviewer: You didn't have a friend?

Interviewee: I, only school girls, like sometimes, one, one day others came to my house in the morning, we were going to school. So they were going to school and they asked me if I was, if I was going to school then. I was staying at home. But, so then my mother had a problem that, you know, she doesn't want to see my friends coming at home. You know, they will influence me in a bad way, but I didn't have bad

friends. Because, I myself, I can choose for myself, you know, the things I like, I prefer, so she didn't know what kind of a person I am, was, what things do I prefer more. So she was just underestimating me or thinking in a low way about me.

Interviewer: Mmm, (silence). I wanted to ask you how your best friend would have described you as a mother, but it seems as if there wasn't anyone that at that stage you could call a best friend.

Interviewee: No, I had somebody.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: But, uhh.

Interviewer: How did she see you as a mother?

Interviewee: I was there by her house. She, (silence) oh the only thing that she commented was with the baby, that you know, I must be careful that place is not good (laughs). That you know, after four weeks I will see my baby becoming small and losing weight, wondering what is going on, you know, that those people are like witches.

Interviewer: Which people did she refer to?

Interviewee: The uhh, the ones that are staying in same street with.

Interviewer: Mm. (silence). So she didn't say anything about how she saw you as a mother?

Interviewee: She would see me as a good mother. Because she knows me (). So she didn't say anything bad about me then that would keep me down about myself.

Interviewer: What did she see in you that she saw you as a good mother? What are the good qualities that she saw in you?

Interviewee: Uhh (sigh). Well, the things that we, we, we went to school together. We were in the same class. So she used to like me and I used to like her a lot. So we,

the things that I think that she would like about me is that I'm wise, (laughs), and I'm a good person, you know, I have a lot of understanding.

Interviewer: So do you think she would describe you as a good, wise understanding mother?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Mm So that is how she would describe you?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Mm (silence). Could you see that about yourself?

Interviewee: Yes, I always thought of myself as that and I could be like that in the future. So, I was amazed that, it was a surprise to me that I was becoming, you know, like I'm not making any sense, acting very foolishly, you know, in front of other people. Or even in front of God. But, it was the anger that was taking over and the pain that I was feeling. So it was making me do the wrong things all the time (silence).

Interviewer: So, you would say that you thought of yourself before you had children, that you would be a loving, wise, understanding, mm...

Interviewee: A very hard worker.

Interviewer: Hard worker? But also as a mother? That is how you thought you would be as a mother?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And in the end because of the pain and the anger and everything that happened you felt you were not the kind of mother that you...

Interviewee: That I saw myself as I would become.

Interviewer: Mm. How do you feel about that?

Interviewee: Really bad. (Long silence). You know, I just thought that, you know, there is someone who is after me and the devil is making me do the wrong things

(laughs) you know. So, there is something else that I wanted to tell you. When I came back to Klerksorp that I was telling myself that I wanted to fight for my life and for my mother's life, you know. I, I wanted to find out what is really happening to me. I wanted to find answers for what is happening to me and I would to fight for my life. If ever there was someone after me I would fight with that person. So that was then again that I could see that my life was, I was becoming a nuisance, you know, and I was acting like a nuisance. So I, I just told myself that something is wrong, and, you know, and I feel all the stress and all these things like my life is not in control and I'm not in control anymore, you know. (Long silence).

Interviewer: I know this is a difficult question because your first child was still very young and mm and she couldn't really talk, but how do you think would she describe you as a mother? How did she see you as a mother?

Interviewee: As a good person, the one that would not hurt her. Like my first child, one day that I was, I was leaving her to cry, she was, she was crying and I, I didn't pick her up or make her to be quiet, or she wanted me to hold her or what was happening and she was, she said no, you know, she, she said like, you know it is not possible for you to do this, you're not that kind of a person that would do this to me, you know, you are a good person. (Long silence).

Interviewer: And how do you think would, would your second baby if she could talk, how would she describe you as a mother?

Interviewee: She, she would also say I think, that I'm a good mother, a very loving mother, you know, one who would do anything for her, you know (silence). But I saw her that she would help me a lot, you know, to decide, like my first child also. One day that I, I remember, I, I tried also to, to, to suffocate the baby she...

Interviewer: Your first child?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: She took a, (silence) a book of songs, because one day I was, I took it and I was singing for them. So she took that book and gave it to me that () stop doing that, you know. So I didn't listen to her. So I see her like she, she, she understands what is going wrong, she can see what's going on and it is wrong.

Interviewer: Mm.

Interviewee: () it is what do you see then. (Long silence).

Interviewer: You said that you saw your second baby as a stumbling block.

Interviewee: It was like that. The way I have done it, you know, because of the things that was going on in my mind. So it was like I, I was getting rid of her, you know, but (silence) now, I, I am, I am not doing the things that I thought that I would do (). I am in prison. (Long silence).

Interviewer: Mm, do you think, or why, why did you see your second child as a stumbling block and not your first child? Or did you also see your first child as a stumbling block?

Interviewee: Not that I really saw her as a stumbling block, you know, I, the way I had done it, it was like, because of the thoughts that were running in my mind, it was just like a picture of this is something, something blocking, she is standing in my way. So, it is not that I, I saw her as a stumbling block or she was a stumbling block, she was not.

Interviewer: So your first child was not a stumbling block?

Interviewee: Even the second child.

Interviewer: Even the second child?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK (silence). What did you hope, how would your life be different if your second child was not there, if she was not alive?

Interviewee; Shh, I didn't think of, about that (silence). It's not that she was standing in my way. It was not that I was picturing myself () or a kind of life without her. You know, I was not thinking that way. (silence) I was thinking that I needed to fight and you know, where is my power, you know, where is my inte, intelligence, you know. The nature the one I was born with to fight or where, where is my army, you know (silence). All about that, that I found myself helpless and I couldn't fight. You know, I was having problems (silence).

Interviewer: Did you see anything of yourself in your first child?

Interviewee: (Silence) (voice very soft, almost a whisper) I don't remember, I don't remember.

Interviewer: Did your first child remind you of anyone?

Interviewee: No (silence).

Interviewer: You said she was very sweet.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: A very sweet child. Can you say a bit more about that, can you give me some examples?

Interviewee: (Silence). I don't remember anything about her (silence). Oh, the thing is that she, she, she can help me think. She can come up with some suggestions, suggestions of what to do. She's intelligent. She's very wise. She can also see what is going on and come up with suggestions of what to do.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example?

Interviewee: Like that, that, that day I tried to suffocate the baby, she gave me a Bible songbook. So she, she, she wanted to stop me from what I was doing. Because by taking that book she would calm me down. (Long silence).

Interviewer: And she was only nine months older than your second child? What was the age difference?

Interviewee: She was, she was a year old and six months.

Interviewer: When the baby was born?

Interviewee: Uh-uh, when the baby was 7 months.

Interviewer: When the baby was seven months, OK. (Silence). You said about your second child that she was strict and that she looked as if she could control you. Mm, can you give me some examples? You said she looked serious, but can you give me some examples of how you felt she could control you or what she did that made you feel she is a person that can be controlling?

Interviewee: Mmm, she doesn't cry easily or now and then. She, the way she looks at me (silence) mm, like she could really see me (silence). She, (silence) uh, I don't know how to describe about her. I can't put it into words. (Long silence). I would say she was, she was like God (laughs). Yes, if I can imagine God the way He is (silence).

Interviewer: Can you say a bit more? Did you feel she was judging you?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Not judging you?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: OK. But if you say you think she was like God, can you say a bit more?

Interviewee: Like God is, He want to give you rules (laughs). So, that, He is very serious. He doesn't joke with you. If He tells you to do something, you must do that thing. You mustn't go like you don't want to do that thing, you must just do it. ().

Interviewer: So, it was something in the way she looked at you?

Interviewee: The way she looks like.

Interviewer: The way she looks like?

Interviewee: Mm.

Interviewer: Because you also said she looked a lot like her father.

Interviewee: Ja.

Interviewer: So, was there any one else that she reminded you of?

Interviewee: Of myself.

Interviewee: Of yourself? In what way?

Interviewee: Being very serious and (laughs) I am a very quiet person. I don't, I don't talk easily, you know, with people or with anybody. I only talk once and that is it.

(Long silence). (Cracks fingers).

Interviewer: So, she was a very serious baby, she didn't cry easily, but she also, she gave you the impression that she wanted to be with you.

Interviewee: She wanted me to hold her in my arms. She was full of love. She wanted to be loved, to be taken good care of (long silence). (*I was feeling very sad*).

Interviewer: It sounds difficult to describe her as a person.

Interviewee: It's not that, it's just my mind. I can't get things out of it. () My mind is not functioning () you know (laughs) () things out ().

Interviewer: How did she make you feel, your child?

Interviewee: No, I didn't feel anything (). You know, I was troubled.

Interviewer: So your mind was so busy with all your troubles?

Interviewee: Yes, yes.

Interviewer: So you didn't really...

Interviewee: I didn't even think of her or of being anything, it's just that now I remember her the way she, she was. Now that I can think all those things about her. That time I () what was going on.

Interviewer: So, it's now afterwards that you can remember these things?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So while you had her you were so busy with all your troubles.

Interviewee: Yes, I was more like blind. () Is this what I like, is this what I want, you know. (Long silence). (Cracks fingers).

Interviewer: It's almost a year now, mm, it was April last year that you said you suffocated her. What happened in this year with you, how was it for you?

Interviewee: (Sigh). I thought I was going to die. I thought I was going to lose my mind. It was hard for me to move on. But I didn't think about the child. I didn't see her, I didn't imagine her, you know. That maybe I can say that thing that I have done, you know, what have I done or something. Nothing came, so () It was difficult, difficult, yes. So there's nothing more I can tell you about that.

Interviewer: How was it for you to talk to me about your life and about your pregnancy, and your mother and yourself as a mother and your two children? How was it for you to have these interviews?

Interviewee: How was it. I cannot describe it. There's nothing I can say about it. The only thing that I can tell you is that it was like you have come to help me out of where I was trapped.

Interviewer: How did I help you? Because I think you have helped me.

Interviewee: No, talking about it, talking about the things which were inside me, all those things. I don't have anyone to talk to about anything. You know, I never talk to anyone or anybody about anything.

Interviewer: So it was good for you just to talk about everything.

Interviewee: Yes, it was.

Interviewer: Did anything change for you by talking about I?

Interviewee: Well, I () talk to people easily, but I don't want to talk to people, I don't feel like talking to people. You see, I am this other person. You know, people they talk nonsense to me (laughs) you know, and now that I have to talk to them I am also being like a nuisance you know. I don't make any sense. So, I just talk to people, but it drives me mad. There are things that I can talk about, there are things that I can't talk about. So, () Ja I () that you're here.

When we greeted she said I was like a mother to her, because I listened and she said I love you.

## APPENDIX B

### INTERVIEW ‘R’: INSTRUCTIONS

(Translated from the French “L’entretien ‘R’” developed by Stern, Robert-Tissot, Besson, Rusconi-Serpa, De Muralt, Cramer & Palacio-Espasa, 1989)

#### I Description of the child

##### 1. Verbal description of the child – spontaneous

Ask “Can you describe your child? What type of baby is he/she?” For each description given by the mother, give an adjective (if this is not already in the list) and write them on the answer sheet Q1. Let her finish without giving any suggestions.

##### 2. Verbal description of the child – with guidance

If the mother has given less than 5 describing elements, give her two suggestions.

Wait after each one.

2.1 “Have you thought of all the characteristics, good or bad?”

2.2 “Have you forgotten anything?”

Write the list of adjectives obtained after the adjectives on the answer sheet Q2.

##### 3. Description of the perceptions concerning the child

Show the mother the list of characteristics Q3 on the answer sheet. Give the necessary instructions and let her fill it in. However, before doing this, add to the list of adjectives that the mother has previously used to describe her child, and which are not yet on the list of characteristics, i.e.: capricious, amusing. Then find the opposite so that the “likert scale” may be filled in. If there are no opposite words in the given language, use the negative form, i.e.:

not capricious ----- capricious.

#### **4. Episodical versus semantic description**

Ask the mother to illustrate two of the chosen adjectives by using a specific example as recent as possible, preferably from the previous 24-48 hours. Choose the two “strongest” adjectives and the most likely to provoke interesting happenings, i.e. stubborn, independent, rejecting, etc.

## **II The role of important past events in the child’s life**

#### **5. Verbal description of important past events in the child’s life**

Ask “During your pregnancy or delivery or immediately after, were there important events/happenings (for yourself, your family or your child) which could play a role in the manner you think about or perceive your child (or in the manner in which you behave with him/her)? There might be events other than those of medical nature which could have played a role?”

Make a list of these important events. Fill Q5 in on the answer sheet while the mother is talking.

#### **6. Perceptual description of the important events**

Ask the mother how each of these events could have influenced her way of thinking or her behaviour with her child.

Fill in list 6 with the more significant events told by the mother regarding Q5. Ask the mother to fill in the scales of Q6.

**111 Self-description of her maternal behaviour**

**7 Verbal description of her perception of herself as a mother – spontaneous**

Ask “Can you describe what type of mother you are? How would you describe yourself as mother?”

For each of the describing elements mentioned by the mother, choose an adjective (if it is not already as such) and write her spontaneous list under Q7. Let her finish without giving her any suggestion.

**8 Verbal description of her perception of herself as a mother – with guidance**

If she has not given 5 describing elements, make two suggestions. Wait after each one.

1. Have you thought about all the characteristics, good or bad?
2. Have you forgotten any?

Write on Q8 the list of adjectives obtained after suggestion.

**9 Description of the perception she has of herself as a mother**

Ask the mother to fill in the list of “maternal characteristics” Q9 with all relevant directions. However, before doing that add the adjectives that she has given spontaneously and which are not yet on the list. Invent the opposite word, etc.. (see Q3).

**10 Episodical versus semantic description of herself as mother**

Ask the mother to illustrate two of the chosen adjectives by giving a specific example as recent as possible, preferably from the previous 24-48 hours. Once again, choose the “strongest” and the more likely to provoke interesting episodic memories.

#### **IV The role of her own mother**

##### **11 Verbal description of her own mother – spontaneous**

Ask “How was your mother’s behaviour with you when you were a little girl? How would you describe her?”

For each of the describing elements mentioned by the mother, choose an adjective (if it is not already as such) and write her spontaneous list under Q11. Let her finish without giving her any suggestion.

##### **12 Verbal description of her own mother – with guidance**

If she has not given 5 describing elements, make two suggestions. Wait after each one.

1. Have you thought about all the characteristics, good or bad?
2. Have you forgotten any?

Write on Q12 the list of adjectives obtained after suggestion.

##### **13 Description of the perception she has of her own mother**

Give her the list of maternal characteristics Q13 to fill in. However, before you do that, add to the list the new elements used spontaneously by her to describe herself as a mother as well as the new describing elements that she has used to describe the maternal care given by her own mother.

##### **14 Episodic versus semantic description of her own mother**

Ask the mother to illustrate two of the chosen adjectives with a specific example as recent as possible, preferably from the previous 24 to 48 hours. Once again, choose the “strongest” and the more likely to provoke interesting episodic memories.

## **15 Changes in the relationship with her own mother**

Show her the maternal characteristics list Q15 and ask her to fill in the various scales as questions are asked.

*Communication:* Ask “Do you have the feeling that the amount of contact between you and your mother had changed since your child was born? By contact I mean that you see each other more or less often, visit each other more or less often, call or write each other more or less often.

*Commitment i:* Ask “Do you have the feeling that you think more of her attitude with you when you were a child since the birth of your own child?”

*Commitment ii:* Ask “Do you feel closer or more detached to your mother than before the birth of your child?”

*Commitment iii:* Ask “Do you now feel more positive or negative towards your mother than before the birth of your child?”

*Commitment iv:* Ask “Is your relationship with your mother (with you as a daughter) the same as before the birth of your child? Is your commitment in the mother-daughter relationship (which you have always had) stronger, weaker or the same as before?”

*Commitment v:* Ask: “Do you now have a better understanding and view of your mother, of what she was as a mother and human being than before the birth of your child?”

## **V Resemblance with the family**

### **16 Verbal description**

Ask “To which member of the family does your child most resemble?” Let her speak.

If she gives only physical characteristics ask her to give some traits/characteristics.

**17** Use the adjectives that she has given for Q1 and Q2. For each of these adjectives ask the mother from whom the child has **inherited** these characteristics.

**18 Perceptual appraisal**

Ask the mother to fill in the list of the own private traits Q18.

**19** Ask the mother to fill in her husband's private traits Q19. The basic list should include all the adjectives which have been added in Q1 and Q2.

**VI The influence of the mother's past and present**

**20 Verbal account**

Say to the mother "Very often, in the mother's past, there are events or people who have an influence on the way she thinks about and behaves with her child. These influences come sometimes (stop after each question and, if necessary, propose a,b,c,d.). The way in which the questions are asked should follow the pattern "any specific event of your childhood (special people/illnesses, etc) which would be important in this context?" While she speaks, fill in the empty spaces of Q20.

**A** How she was treated when she was a little girl at home, for instance, "I was beaten and I promised myself never to do that to my child" or "We had our meals together and I thought I would do the same".

**B** At other times influences come from special people in our past, i.e. an aunt who did special things for you and who was a model in her way of dealing with children or sometimes an ex-boyfriend whom you have never forgotten, or that your child reminds you of a dear girl friend.

C Sometimes it was an illness from which you have suffered or somebody else in your family, or

D a death in the family which somehow still plays a role in your life.

### **Perceptual evaluation**

Then ask the mother to appraise the influence of each event on her way of thinking and of behaving with her child, filling in Q20.

## **VII Emotions linked to the representations**

### **21 Choice of the main emotions**

Say to the mother “Mothers think about or are with their children, they feel various emotions. Which are the three strongest emotions that you think you have for your child?” Write down the three emotions on Q21.

### **22 Perceptual appraisal of the emotions**

Say to the mother “I am going to give you a list of many emotions that most mothers feel at one stage. Indicate whether you feel them often or not at all when you think about your child. Ask the mother to fill in the scales on Q22.

## **V!!! Desires and fears**

**23 What are your strongest wishes for your child? Write them on Q23.**

**24 What are your strongest fears for your child when you think about the future? Write them on Q24.**

**25 What are your strongest wishes for yourself as mother for the future?**

Write them on Q25.

**26 What are your strongest fears for yourself as mother for the future? Write them on Q26.**

**IX Self Esteem**

**27 Ask the mother “During the past months did you feel good about yourself or not? Ask the mother to fill in the scale Q27.**

**X Other**

**28 Ask “Is there anything else that you have not spoken about and which could play an important role in your way of thinking or in your behaviour with your child?**

In a non-structured manner investigate all the themes which would deserve a deeper investigation, particularly those that seem to play an important role. The interviewer is free to continue as he/she wishes.

**Interview R: Notations chart**

Code:

Date:

Case no:

Coder:

**1 List of the describers for the child – spontaneous**

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

**2 List of the describers for the child – with guidance**

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

**3 Personal characteristics – child**

Inactive \_\_\_\_\_

Active

Quiet \_\_\_\_\_

Excited/restless

Aggressive \_\_\_\_\_

Peaceful

Introvert \_\_\_\_\_

Sociable

Forward \_\_\_\_\_

Shy

Cheerful	_____	Sad
Difficult	_____	Easy
Beautiful	_____	Ugly
Not clever	_____	Clever
Open	_____	Not very open
Aloof	_____	Warm-hearted
Independent	_____	Dependent
Fearful	_____	Confident
Vivacious	_____	Dull
Carefree	_____	Worried
Affectionate	_____	Not very affectionate

**4 Description of child – episodic vs. semantic** specific examples for 2 adjectives

**5 List of important events in the child's life**

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

**6 Influence of the important events**

**Event nr 1**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**Event nr 2**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**Event nr 3**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**Event nr 4**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**Event nr 5**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**7 List of the describing elements of herself in her mother role – spontaneous**

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

**8 List of the describing elements of herself in her mother role – with**

**guidance**

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

**9 Personal characteristics: You in your mother role**

Not very affectionate	_____	Affectionate
Indulgent	_____	Rejecting
Fearful	_____	Confident
Available	_____	Busy or preoccupied
Over protective	_____	Casual
Impatient	_____	Patient
Authoritarian	_____	Permissive
Serious	_____	Playful
Controlling	_____	Laissez-faire
Not very giving	_____	Giving
Carefree	_____	Worried
Happy in the mother role	_____	Unhappy in the mother role
Role of mother difficult	_____	Role of mother easy

**10 Episodical description/semantical of herself as a mother:** specific examples of two adjectives

**11 List of the describing elements of her own mother – spontaneous**

- 1.
- 2.

3.

4.

5.

**12 List of the describing elements of her own mother – with guidance**

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

**13 Personal characteristics: your mother]**

Not very \_\_\_\_\_ Affectionate

affectionate

Indulgent \_\_\_\_\_ Rejecting

Fearful \_\_\_\_\_ Confident

Available \_\_\_\_\_ Busy or  
preoccupied

Over protective \_\_\_\_\_ Casual

Impatient \_\_\_\_\_ Patient

Authoritarian \_\_\_\_\_ Permissive

Serious \_\_\_\_\_ Playful

Controlling \_\_\_\_\_ Laissez-faire

Not very giving \_\_\_\_\_ Giving

Carefree \_\_\_\_\_ Worried

Happy in the _____ mother role	Unhappy in the mother role
Role of mother _____ difficult	Role of mother easy

**14 Episodical description/semantical of her own mother: specific examples for 2 adjectives**

**15 Changes in the relationship with your mother**

Far less contact _____ the same _____	far more contact
Thinks less _____ about her mother	thinks more about her mother
Far more distant _____ the same _____	much closer
Far more negative _____ the same _____	far more positive
Far less involved in _____ your role as a daughter	far more involved in your role as a daughter
Understanding _____ not as good	far better understanding

**16 Resemblance with the family – spontaneous**

Person to whom the child resembles: for which trait

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

4.

5.

**17 List of the child's describing elements Q1 and Q2**

Person to whom the child resembles: for which trait

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

**18 Personal characteristics – yourself**

Inactive	_____	Active
Quiet	_____	Excited/restless
Aggressive	_____	Peaceful
Introvert	_____	Sociable
Forward	_____	Shy
Cheerful	_____	Sad
Difficult	_____	Easy
Beautiful	_____	Ugly
Not clever	_____	Clever
Open	_____	Not very open
Aloof	_____	Warm-hearted
Independent	_____	Dependent
Fearful	_____	Confident

Vivacious	_____	Dull
Carefree	_____	Worried
Affectionate	_____	Not very affectionate

**19 Personal characteristics – child's father**

Inactive	_____	Active
Quiet	_____	Excited/restless
Aggressive	_____	Peaceful
Introvert	_____	Sociable
Forward	_____	Shy
Cheerful	_____	Sad
Difficult	_____	Easy
Beautiful	_____	Ugly
Not clever	_____	Clever
Open	_____	Not very open
Aloof	_____	Warm-hearted
Independent	_____	Dependent
Fearful	_____	Confident
Vivacious	_____	Dull
Carefree	_____	Worried
Affectionate	_____	Not very affectionate

**20 Influence of the mother's past and present circumstances**

**Event nr 1**

No influence	_____	Very big influence
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**Event nr 2**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**Event nr 3**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**Event nr 4**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**Event nr 5**

No influence \_\_\_\_\_ Very big influence

**21 The three strongest emotions**

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

**22 Emotions**

**Joy**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Sadness**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Anxiety/fear**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Curiosity**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Anger**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Guilt**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Pride**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Shame**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Distaste**

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ very much

**Balance between emotions**

Positive emotions \_\_\_\_\_ negative emotions