

## **6. RESULTS**

This chapter will present the information obtained for the two case studies, namely Mr X and Mr Y and families respectively. These will be presented in accordance with the format discussed in chapter 5 on methodology, namely with regards to clinical observations, interviews, genogram and archival data obtained. When dealing with systemic descriptions, it is often difficult to separate results from a discussion of results due to the fact that ‘results’ are already interpretations of the system in some form. Consequently, this chapter will outline the information obtained and used to develop an understanding of the family systems of Mr X and Mr Y.

### **6.1 CASE STUDY ONE – MR X AND FAMILY**

#### **6.1.1 Persons interviewed**

In accordance with the definition stipulated in chapter 4 “family” and “nuclear family” will refer to Mr X, mother X and father X, whereas the term “extended family” will refer to all other members of the X family system, namely, the siblings of mother X and father X respectively (and their respective families), and the maternal and paternal grandparents (as well as their spouses, in the case of the maternal grandfather).

The following persons were interviewed:

- Mr X

- A series of five interviews of approximately two hours each, were conducted from 31 March, 2004 until 18 April, 2004 at his place of imprisonment.
- Mother X
  - One interview of two and a half hours on 24 May, 2004 at her place of residence.
- Father X
  - One interview of two and a half hours on 24 May, 2004 at his place of residence.
- Prison psychologist at Mr X's place of imprisonment
  - One interview of approximately one hour on 4 April, 2004.
- Psychiatrist responsible for original forensic assessment of Mr X at the time of his trial
  - One interview of approximately 45 minutes on 10 June 2004 at her place of work.

Given ethical considerations in terms of confidentiality and anonymity, the names of the family members, victims and of the individual concerned have been omitted.

### **6.1.2 Biographical information**

Mr X is a White, Afrikaans-speaking South African male. He was convicted for the murder of five women as well as the seven counts of rape. His victims were of mixed racial background and ages. His crimes took place over a two-year period.

### 6.1.3 Clinical observations

- **Mr X.**

Mr X is in his early forties. He was stably employed with the same organization from school until arrest. He had no criminal record history.

He presents as a shy, introverted individual. He is soft-spoken and polite. Initially he had difficulty maintaining eye contact during interviews and interactions but this gradually became more frequent towards the end of the interview period. His emotional range appeared limited. Affect was blunted but congruent to the content of his speech. His mood appeared to be consistent throughout the interviews. He rarely showed elation or elevated moods but rather appeared indifferent, and at times became teary-eyed when expressing remorse for his actions. Whereas this show of emotion did not appear insincere, it was unclear whether this demonstrated true remorse or self-pity. Mr X appeared to be very adaptable and seemed to have integrated himself into prison life.

At times his thought process appeared to exhibit circumstantiality. His memory did not appear to be very good in terms of remembering specific details such as offence dates or certain aspects of his childhood. However, this seemed to operate selectively as he had very good recall of specific details of the offences that he committed (such as location, interaction with the victim and the layout of the house). Mr X appeared to have no gross impairment of his ability to remember general information concerning events in his remote past.

Although no intellectual assessment was conducted, Mr X appeared to be of average to below average intelligence. His thinking appeared to be very concrete in nature. Mr X demonstrated considerable intellectual insight into his crimes and serial murder behaviour and was interested in finding out more about the reasons for such behaviour in cases involving other individuals. He asked questions regarding the researcher's opinion on the probability of

re-offending in such cases as well as her opinion on addiction, specifically addiction to sex. He did not show any attention problems and was able to stay focused throughout interviews. He listened carefully to the questions asked.

In terms of the interaction and relationship with the interviewer, Mr X was co-operative and seemed interested in assisting with meeting the aims of the study as they were presented to him. He was very aware of prison protocol and procedure and was anxious to ensure that the interviewer utilize the correct channels to communicate with him in terms of any changes to the interview schedule. The interviewer felt comfortable with Mr X. He did not threaten or intimidate the interviewer on any occasion, and the interviewer did not experience considerable fear or anxiety in his presence. This may have been due to the fact that Mr X was always well behaved and polite. In the final interview, he even apologized to the interviewer for the content of the interviews in case some of the offences may have disturbed her on account of them having been committed against women. The interviewer felt pity for Mr X, which may have been due to the fact that he presented as a victim, and exhibited considerable self-pity.

- **Mr X's family.**

In terms of Mr X's family, mother X and father X presented in a varied manner. Mother X is a White, Afrikaans-speaking woman in her early sixties. She does not show any signs of physical illness and appears to care for herself adequately. Mother X presented as a depressed and anxious individual. She was particularly eager to please and to co-operate in the current study. She seemed to become more nervous when father X left the room and she attempted to speak to the interviewer about issues that she felt she could not share with father X, due to fears of upsetting him. These issues centred mostly on the harassment that the X family had experienced since the arrest of Mr X in the form of hate mail and abusive telephone calls.

In the interview with mother X and father X, mother X referred to an abusive anonymous letter together with a video tape (of the documentary featuring Mr X) that she had received that “he [father X] doesn’t even know that someone sent us the video...because I don’t want to disturb him, you know, try to stay strong for both sides”. Mother X sighed frequently throughout the interview. She demonstrated a large amount of resignation paired with frustration in relation to the situation of Mr X. In the interview with mother X and father X, she stated “it gets me a bit, trying to handle things and [after visiting him in jail] it hurts you to, you know, because you don’t understand what happened and you want to get an explanation and in the end, you don’t get an explanation.” She appeared to be determined to establish the reasons for the criminal behaviour of Mr X. In the interview with mother X and father X, she stated “I would love to know what happened and why it happened, because it’s tragic for us, it’s very tragic for us.”

Mother X’s answers were not very clear with respect to the interview questions and she shifted from one topic to another, demonstrating some circumstantiality (as seen in Mr X). She appeared to have her own agenda with regard to what she wanted to communicate to the interviewer. This was not experienced as an attempt to lie to the interviewer or to conceal certain details, but rather as an attempt to make herself heard and to make use of an opportunity to recount her version of events; guilt over possibly having contributed to the behaviour in Mr X; and to express her confusion about Mr X’s behaviour.

Father X is a White, Afrikaans-speaking male in his early sixties. He is currently a pensioner. He was previously employed as a civil servant. He walks with a slight limp but does not appear to suffer from any other physical disabilities. He also appeared to be able to care for himself adequately. His interview was conducted together with mother X at their place of residence. Father X presented as distant and disinterested in the interview. He rarely spoke and frequently left the interview room to attend to his own business, only to return

again periodically. Towards the end of the interview, he left the place of residence and was only seen again when the interviewer left. At times, he appeared guarded and spoke defensively. He gave the impression that he wanted the interview to finish as soon as possible. This contrasted with mother X who appeared to enjoy sharing details about Mr X's life and to welcome an opportunity to discuss her experiences of Mr X's criminal behaviour.

Father X's mood was reserved and he frequently showed irritation at mother X's responses, specifically when she tended to digress from the interviewer's questions. His speech was unclear and his responses were mostly monosyllabic. The interviewer got the impression that he had been persuaded to take part in the interview, possibly by mother X, but that he did not want to be part of the process. He was also selective in the information that he provided in the interview. It appeared that he would volunteer information on family friends and correct mother X if some of her information (such as dates, ages of individuals, and time frames) was inaccurate. However, he appeared to be particularly uncomfortable when the subject of Mr X's criminal behaviour and serial murder behaviour was raised and on one occasion, he attempted to change the topic.

In the beginning of the interview with mother X and father X, the following dialogue appears to illustrate the above. The interviewer asked how Mr X was as a child. Mother X responded with "Mm, he was very quiet. He didn't speak much...ultimately a very loving child – he wasn't argumentative or didn't get angry or anything...what more can you remember? [to father X]." Father X then cleared his throat and stated "There's nothing more to say, so..."

A second example occurred towards the end of the interview when mother X expressed her frustration with being excluded from previous documentations and research on Mr X. She stated that "you [the interviewer] are the first one in twelve years that has come to us...it's a pleasure to help, we must find out the reason and-" at which point she was interrupted by

father X who said, “As you [mother X] have heard, he doesn’t know the reason himself...” and then got up and left.

He appeared to be a retired, but very active man who seems to need to busy himself with various tasks such as acting as caretaker for the block of apartments in which they live. Both parents appear to be of average intelligence.

- **Interaction between mother X and father X.**

The interaction between mother X and father X was varied. Mother X assumed a more prominent role in the interview with regards to taking responsibility as the spokesperson for the family. However, she frequently appeared to seek permission or support from father X to discuss certain topics or to verify certain information. Father X was generally withholding on these occasions or provided minimal information to assist mother X. On various occasions that father X left the room, mother X disclosed certain information that she felt she could not share with father X in order to prevent him from becoming upset or hurt. Consequently, her selective disclosure was interpreted as a means to protect father X. Contrary to the manner in which mother X described her relationship with father X (namely, as mutually supportive, and filled with warmth, tenderness and love), the couple did not appear to be very close emotionally. There was no physical contact between mother and father X and they sat a notable distance apart from one another in the interview room. Mother X sat closer to the interviewer. This, together with her disclosure to the interviewer in father X’s absence may indicate an attempt on the part of mother X to draw the interviewer into an alliance or coalition. This will be discussed further in later sections however.

The home of mother and father X was neat, clean and well looked after. Décor was conservative and traditional. Notably, there were no family photographs or pictures of Mr X

in the house. There was an old South African flag and a republican flag of the old Transvaal and Orange Free State or “vierkleur” flag hanging behind the door of their home.

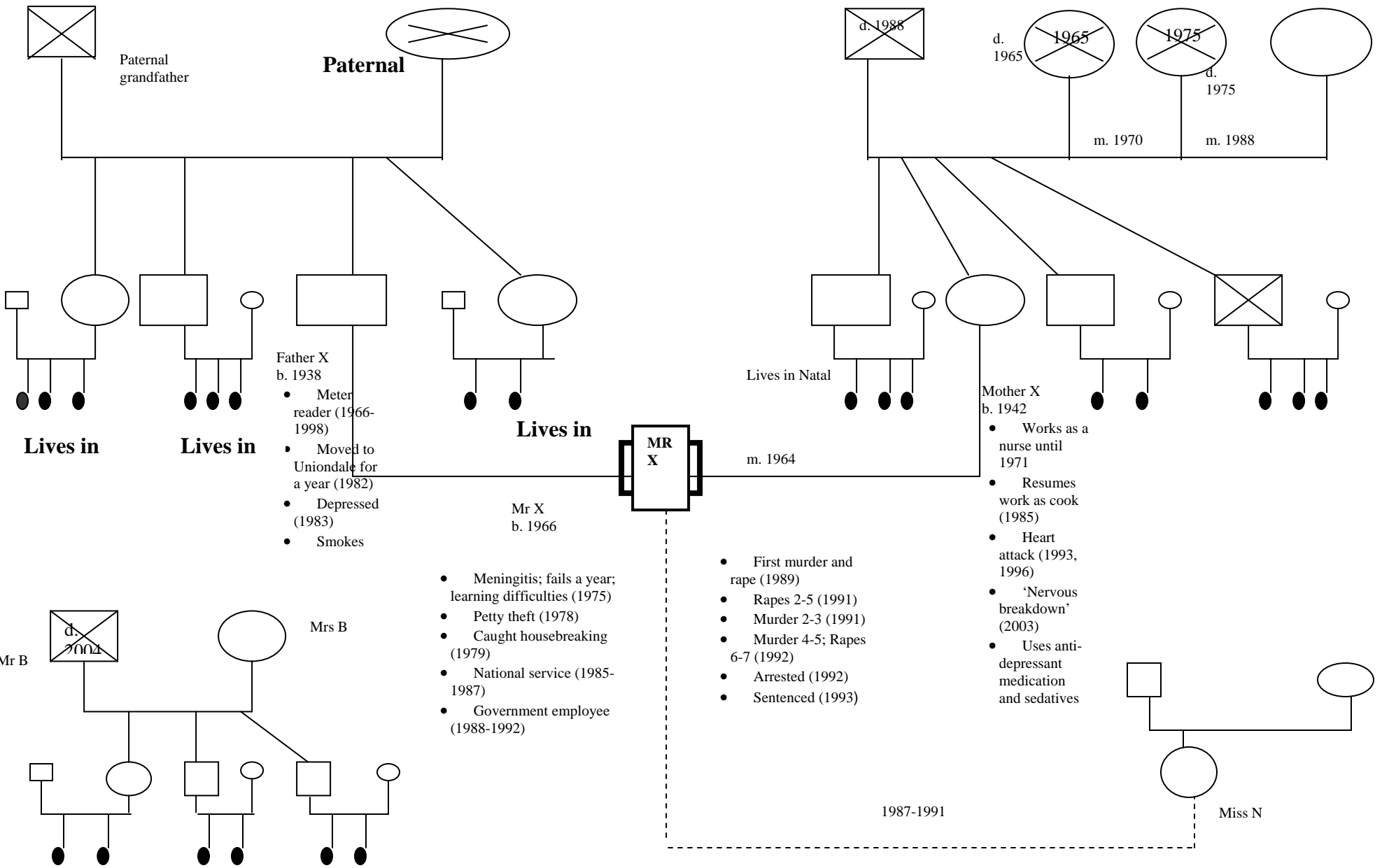
#### **6.1.4 Genogram**

A genogram for Mr X (see figure 2) was compiled from the interview data, as well as case file sources, according to the genogram method outlined in McGoldrick and Gerson (1985). The genogram captures three generations of the X family, with Mr X representing the third generation, or youngest tier; father and mother X and their respective siblings, representing the second generation or middle tier; and the grandparents of Mr X (on both father and mother X’s sides of the family) representing the third generation and eldest tier. The author will now elaborate upon the family information gathered from Mr X, father X and mother X in order to compose the genogram.



Figure 2.

Mr X's Genogram



- **Paternal side of the family system.**

With regards to his side of the family system, father X stated that, “We are a bit estranged because my, shall I say, his aunts- he never knew them because they are a bit ‘high society’- we are more simple. And my nieces, I don’t know where they live.”

With regards to father X’s oldest sister, J, mother X stated that, “he [Mr X] had more to do with your [father X’s] sister J – because there was better contact because he knows J...” and that “[Mr X] knew J best...and he was mad about her.”

Despite father X stating that he did not know where his nieces lived, mother X stated that J’s children lived in Limpopo Province, at which point father X stated that his youngest sister’s children lived in the Free State, and, when prompted further by mother X, that his brother’s children live in Limpopo Province also. Mother X attempted to explain the lack of contact with father X’s family in the following way, “it’s mostly elderly people – of our age – retirement age so...but they rarely came to visit us.” Mr X stated that “look, on my father’s side...I didn’t know my father’s parents.”

- **Maternal side of the family system.**

With regards to the maternal side of the family system, mother X stated that “we knew them very well as children but they don’t live close to us [now].” With regards to the relationship between Mr X and his maternal grandfather, mother X stated that “my father and Mr X were very close, you know, and all of a sudden, he had a grudge against Mr X.” With regards to the maternal grandfather, Mr X stated that

I knew my grandfather on my mother’s side well and there were good times with him – okay there were also bad times with my grandfather- he wasn’t really an alcoholic but he

drank and then he got bombastic and, which, you know, a person doesn't like seeing how a drunk person reacts. But it was good because it made me decide never to be like that and to drink until I was drunk.

He also stated that

my grandfather got married three times- I didn't know my first grandmother- I knew my second grandmother well but not for long because – I knew her when I wasn't even in school yet -I was in crèche when I became aware of having a grandmother but then I started going to school and she died when I was in standard three [grade 5]. I don't know exactly when she died but I just know that I didn't know her long but then I didn't know my third grandmother that well either because at that stage, my friendship with my grandfather wasn't good...

It would appear that mother X attempted to facilitate a reconciliation at her father's wedding to his third wife but that this was strained – “I [Mr X] spoke with him a bit but you know, there wasn't good conversation – just hello and how are you...” Mr X stated that his grandfather had a stroke soon after the wedding and that he died shortly afterwards (in 1988). Mother X confirmed that her mother had died in 1965, her father had remarried in 1970 and that his second wife died in 1975 and that he remarried in 1988.

Mother X stated that “I have two brothers, C and P, - he [Mr X] knew them well and their relationship was very good – he got on with them very well.” She stated that one of her brothers lives in Kwazulu-Natal province. With respect to this brother, Mr X stated that

[his wife] wrote to me...we have never really spoken...she is also a psychologist and helps people who have lost their jobs...her children are married and live in New Zealand...my uncle goes to New York often on business- he's in the antiques business.

Mother X stated that she was the second oldest and that her youngest brother had passed away in his early twenties (approximately 1975).

- **Nuclear family.**

In addition to the clinical observations and biographical information discussed for each member of the nuclear family, the following information was also used to compile the genogram.

Mr X stated that his parents

visit me once a month- they are pensioners and okay, my mother still works but she doesn't get a lot of money and she works for an old age home and she's a cook there and they don't get a lot of money – so I think once a month is good – I don't fight about that and accept it- they give me an allowance and toiletries – everything I need...

He stated that father X is retired and on pension. He stated that he did not know his father's age because he had "never asked him" but thought that he may be in his early sixties. Mother X confirmed her own age (62) and father X's age (64) in the interview conducted with her. Mr X also stated that he was an only child. Mr X stated that he had lived in the same place until

standard seven [grade 9] or eight [grade 10] when I stayed in the Cape Province, in a hostel [boarding] because there wasn't a technical school at the place where my dad had bought a shop – where farmers would come and get supplies. My parents fetched me on

the weekend and I would work in the shop. But at some point, the business fell through because the person who we bought the shop from, withdrew the contract because he wanted a certain amount and my dad had given the amount up until that point but then we had to get a loan from the bank and the person didn't want to wait for the loan to come through and he withdrew the contract. So, we had to come back after a year due to lack of funds...it was a big knock for my parents and you could see it in my father – he wasn't very happy and he was really a bit down... so we went back to our old place.

Mother X confirmed that she currently worked as a cook but that “I was a nurse but when Mr X was smaller I stopped working and then we went to the Cape for a bit and when we came back, we helped my father who was on the committee at the old age home and that was it – next year I'll have been there 20 years...”

Mother X also stated that she suffered from anxiety and that she had had two heart attacks (in 1993, 1996) and a “nervous breakdown” (in 2003) since Mr X had been arrested. She is currently on anti-depressants and sedatives (which she was prescribed after the first heart attack).

Father X stated that he had worked at the council as a meter reader and that he was “done – 32 years, I've worked enough...” He is a smoker. Mother X also stated that “[Mr X] is straightforward...and his father is also straightforward – I might hold things back to keep the peace...but Mr X and his father are straightforward – like my one brother in Natal [KwaZulu-Natal Province].”

Mother X stated that she could not recall Mr X having any kind of problems with regard to developmental milestones, or hospitalizations or severe physical conditions or injuries other than meningitis when he was nine years old (1975). According to Mr X, this may have been

responsible for the learning difficulties he experienced at school from that point onwards. With regards to his criminal behaviour, Mr X stated that this commenced while he was in primary school, in standard five [grade 7] (1978) and involved stealing money out of his mother's handbag. This then escalated to breaking into houses in the neighbourhood and stealing money (also standard five [grade 7]). His parents caught him when he was 13 and punished with a hiding. Mr X stated that "when I was caught, I got the hiding of my life but it didn't solve my problem, you know?" He was never arrested.

Mr X stated that he completed his compulsory national service from 1985 until 1987, and then began working for the anti-hijack unit of the SANDF from 1988 until 1989. He was fired from the anti-hijack unit of the SANDF due to aggressive outbursts and joined the railway police where he worked from 1989 until his arrest in 1992. He has smoked periodically since the age of 18 but quit two years ago. With regards to Mr X's criminal behaviour, he stated that the first rape and murder took place in 1989; the second to fifth rapes and second and third murders took place in 1991; the fourth and fifth murders and sixth and seventh rapes took place in 1992. He was then arrested in 1992 and sentenced in 1993.

- **Additional family systems of friends.**

Both father X and mother X spoke of being very close to another family, the B family. Mr B is a work associate of father X. They have known this family for 20 years and recently, Mr B passed away. Mother X stated that "they [B family] are very good to us. Even their children are very good to us and we don't complain – we get a lot of love from their children...they have been very supportive." The B children are in their forties and thirties and have their own children.

Another family that was added to the X family genogram was the family of Mr X's girlfriend prior to his imprisonment, namely the family of Miss N. Mother X stated that Miss N was a "lovely child" and that she went to a school for children with learning difficulties because she was a "bit slow". She also stated that "we really loved Miss N – she had more freedom by us because she had a very strict father...they [Mr X and Miss N] went out a lot and he loved her – they would have married – her father lent Mr X money for the flat..." Mr X stated that Miss N was an only child and that they had dated for four years (1987-1991), before he was arrested.

#### **6.1.5 Archival data and supplementary interview data**

As discussed above, in addition to interviews with Mr X and members of his family, interviews were conducted with the prison psychologist at Mr X's current place of imprisonment, as well as with the psychiatrist who initially assessed Mr X for the purposes of his trial. Additionally, newspaper reports were also consulted. These sources of data will now be summarized briefly.

- **Interview with prison psychologist.**

The prison psychologist shared his clinical observations of Mr X with the researcher. He stated that Mr X appeared to be agreeable and placid. He complied well with prison regulations and protocol and appeared to have no problems with other prisoners. He stated that Mr X kept to himself frequently and was a loner.

He stated that Mr X displayed an interest in his criminal behaviour and frequently made attempts to understand this behaviour and expressed a desire to prevent it from happening in the future. In this respect, he stated that Mr X appeared willing to undergo rehabilitation.

He also stated that Mr X displayed a limited affectual range and appeared to demonstrate a lack of motivation in sustaining or engaging in meaningful interpersonal relationships. This was confirmed in the researcher's own experience of Mr X where he made no attempt to sustain the relationship or interaction between himself and the researcher beyond the parameters of the interview process, despite having shared a great deal of personal information and having participated intensively in this process. The prison psychologist was not able to comment on any of the family members of Mr X.

- **Interview with psychiatrist involved in Mr X's competency to stand trial assessment.**

The interview with the assessing state psychiatrist in the trial of Mr X yielded further information concerning Mr X's interpersonal style and behaviour. In South Africa, competency to stand trial evaluations are conducted by state employed mental health practitioners and at state psychiatric facilities. The defense may employ their own psychiatrist to conduct a competency to stand trial evaluation parallel to that of the state appointed one. The psychiatrist stated that Mr X had demonstrated no signs of organic or physiological pathology that may have contributed to his criminal behaviour or personality style.

She stated that Mr X displayed a typical psychopathic behavioural presentation, specifically with regard to limitation in affective display and need for excessive stimulation. She also stated that she believed that Mr X could function well within a correctional system such as a prison but felt that his prognosis would be limited if he was expected to function in the greater social



system. The psychiatrist was also unable to make any comments on any of the family members of Mr X. Her insights were similar to the researcher's own experience and that of the prison psychologist.

- **Additional data sources.**

Newspaper articles – “Verkragter nie versteurd – getuie” in the Beeld (22 September, 1993) and “Bloedverskynsel by ‘Norwoodman’ uiters seldsaam hoor hof” in the Beeld (12 June, 1993) - covering the trial of Mr X make no reference to the family of Mr X. This confirms reports from mother X stating that she and father X did not attend the trial of Mr X and attempted to escape any media attention immediately surrounding the trial as well as in the time since the arrest and imprisonment of Mr X.

## **6.2 CASE STUDY TWO – MR Y AND FAMILY**

### **6.2.1 Persons interviewed**

In accordance with the definition stipulated in chapter 4, family and nuclear family will refer to Mr Y, father Y and mother Y, whereas the term extended family will refer to all other members of Mr Y's family system, namely, the siblings of father Y and mother Y respectively (and their respective families), the maternal and paternal grandparents (foster and biological), as well as the various spouses of mother Y, and any children that she had with them (such as Mr Y's half-brother and half-sister). The following individuals were interviewed:

- Mr Y

- a series of five interviews of approximately two hours each, were conducted from 04 August, 2004 until 01 September, 2004 at Mr Y's place of imprisonment.
- Prison psychologist at Mr Y's place of imprisonment (Ms V)
  - One interview of approximately one hour on 30 July, 2004.
- Cell-mate of Mr Y, Mr Z
  - a series of five interviews of approximately two hours each, were conducted from 04 August, 2004 until 01 September, 2004 at Mr Z's place of imprisonment.

Both of Mr Y's parents are deceased. Additionally, he has had no contact with any other members of his immediate or extended family since the age of 21. Consequently, interviews could not be conducted with any members of the family system, and his isolation from the family system was incorporated into the analysis of the family system.

The decision not to pursue interviews with members of the extended family was based on two considerations, namely: that contact details were unavailable and no information was available concerning the current whereabouts of other family members; and that Mr Y's definition of his immediate family system included individuals who were deceased (that is, his mother and father) or uncontactable (such as his step-father). Given that the study wanted to capture the family system specifically from the perspective of the individual concerned, and in terms of those members significant to that individual, members who may have been traceable but were excluded by Mr Y in his definition of the family were also excluded.

Given ethical considerations in terms of confidentiality and anonymity, the names of the family members, victims and of the individual concerned have been changed.

### **6.2.2 Biographical information**

Mr Y is a White Afrikaans-speaking South African male. He was convicted for three counts of murder, one count of attempted murder and three counts of robbery. His victims were all male and White, mostly homosexual (all victims except one murder victim) and of various ages. His crimes took place over a period of 10 months. He committed his crimes together with another male, with which he was involved in a relationship.

### **6.2.3 Clinical observations**

- **Mr Y.**

Mr Y is in his early forties and presents as a physically strong individual. He is muscular and gives the impression of being a body-builder. As a result, he is physically imposing. He is balding but his hair is shaved close to his scalp so that the balding is less noticeable. His piercing blue eyes are a distinctive feature of Mr Y and he frequently blinks as if clearing them.

His manner appears calm and relaxed and this was carried out throughout the interview series. His physical posture would often reflect this and he would frequently sit back in his chair and stretch his legs out, or adopt similarly relaxed positions. However, after spending more time with Mr Y, this seems to be more contrived and rather may be a result of considerable control that he exerts on his behaviour in order to prevent more intensely aggressive affect from emerging.

Mr Y was able to concentrate throughout the interview sessions and respond adequately to the interview questions. In this sense, there appeared to be no problems with respect to his recall of any of the information or events, specifically with regards to his criminal behaviour. Initially, he claimed not to remember details of his early childhood; however, this may have operated as a defensive measure, as he was able to recall these details as the interview series progressed, and he developed more of a relationship with the interviewer. At times, when asked a question, it appeared as if he needed to actively orient himself to the present moment, almost showing a degree of dissociation. However, on these occasions, he managed to answer the question adequately, and did not have to ask for it to be repeated. Sometimes, he would respond to certain clarificatory questions with irritation or annoyance, as if the interviewer was asking obvious questions. In this sense, it may have been part of his attempt to gain power in the relationships by assuming an air of superiority and insinuating intellectual inferiority through choice of basic question on the part of the interviewer. Other times he misinterpreted certain questions, acting very defensively, as if being judged or blamed by the interviewer. He recovered quickly from both of these types of instances however, and resumed with his previous controlled style of answering. Affect, consequently, seemed appropriate to content of his responses, but his mood fluctuated between irritability and controlled relaxation, with an underlying tension throughout, at some times more evident than others. This was also evident in his motor behaviour, where he continually twitched his leg.

In terms of Mr Y's thinking, he did not appear to show any gross disturbances in form or process of his thinking. However, he appeared to use intellectualization as a defence against talking too much about his own feelings, vulnerabilities, or when discussion became too personal. When this occurred, he would talk in general about topics such as the occult, homosexuality or

religion, and avoid addressing his personal experiences in these areas, or allude to them very vaguely. In terms of thought content, he appeared to have a number of overvalued ideas, namely with regard to being persecuted, and of grandeur. This was evident in his reporting of events in his life, as well as in his attitude towards the interviewer.

There appeared to be no disturbances in speech or intelligence. Mr Y appeared to be of above average intelligence and demonstrated a great capacity for abstract thinking. He showed little insight into his criminal behaviour however, and his judgment appeared to be adequate in situations where he was not affected emotionally or where his self-esteem or control of a situation was not threatened. In the latter situations, it appeared as if his judgment became clouded as he acted to reinforce his apparent needs for grandiosity.

As alluded to above, he seemed to give off an air of superiority and appeared to ensure that the interviewer was aware that he was doing the interviewer a favour by consenting to partake in the study. In this respect, he seemed to attempt to assume control in the interview sessions with regard to when he arrived (frequently too early); when he left (frequently he would look at his watch or make excuses as to having to collect his lunch or resume his duties at the prison gym); as well as initially resisting coming to the first interview after having agreed to take part in the study during a prior meeting. After his initial resistance, however, he came to the remaining interview sessions without protest or further resistance.

Mr Y appears to be interpersonally manipulative and appears to challenge the authority of the prison personnel, as well as correctional system on a regular basis. With regards to the former, throughout the interviews, Mr Y attempted to convince the interviewer to assist him in contacting his co-accused (located at another correctional facility). This occurred despite the fact that he had attempted to occur his co-accused on previous occasions, to which his co-accused had responded

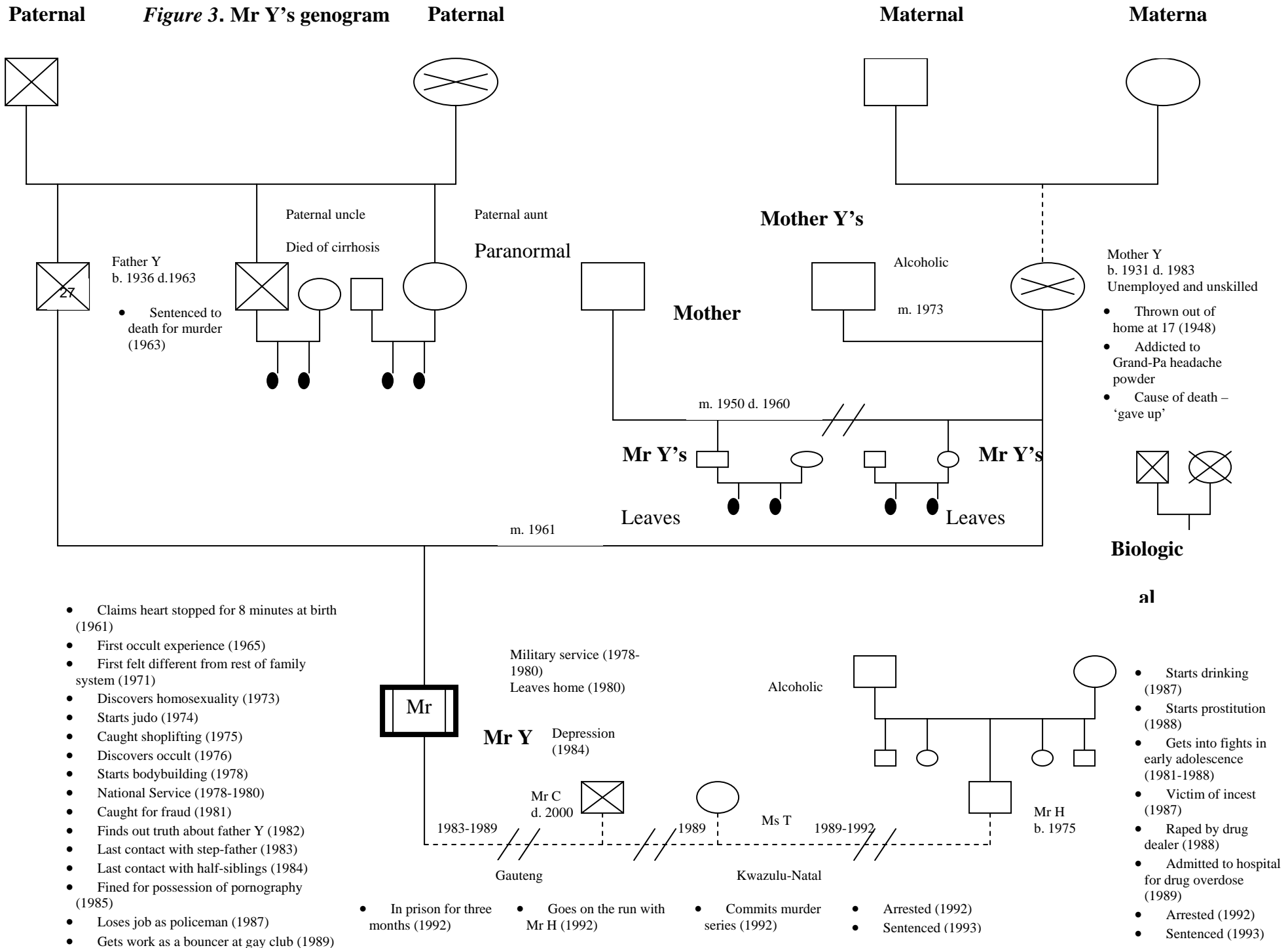
by asking him not to contact him further. In this light, it also seems that Mr Y may find it difficult to accept the wishes of others if they conflict with his own needs or desires. He also made frequent demands on the interviewer with regards to requests for cigarettes and cigars in exchange for his participation.

With regards to challenging of authority, he frequently was involved in altercations with warders. In this light, he seemed to have difficulty taking responsibility for his part in any of these instances, and claimed that they occurred due to the warders' prejudice against, and envy of, homosexuals such as himself. Additionally, he would frequently discuss his grievances with the correctional system and their treatment of him, during the interviews, and yet claimed that any effort to discuss these with the authorities concerned would not amount to anything and therefore was not worth attempting. This continued despite offers by the prison psychologist to act as mediator. Consequently, it appears as if Mr Y may frequently assume the role of the unjustly persecuted individual in his life, possibly as a means to justify any aggressive behaviour on his part as a means of possible defence.

At the end of the interviews, it appeared that Mr Y was only interested in carrying on any relationship with the interviewer if it served to benefit him in some manner. Any further contact appeared to be conditional on whether the interviewer could make beneficial input either in his appeals to the parole board with regard to sentencing or in relation to efforts that could be made on the interviewer's part to assist Mr Y in contacting his co-accused.

#### **6.2.4 Genogram**

A genogram for Mr Y (figure 3) was compiled from the interview data, as well as case file sources, according to the genogram method outlined in McGoldrick and Gerson (1985). The genogram captures three generations, with Mr Y representing the third generation, or youngest tier; father Y and mother Y and their respective siblings and spouses (in the case of mother Y), representing the second generation or middle tier; and the grandparents of Mr Y (on both father Y and mother Y's sides of the family) representing the third generation and eldest tier. The author will now elaborate upon the family information gathered from Mr Y in order to compose the genogram.





- **Paternal side of the family system.**

It would appear that Mr Y was more familiar with the paternal side of the family system due to the fact that his mother was an orphan and had cut off contact with her foster parents (discussed later). He described the paternal side of the family system as “your average, low class, white characters...raw and mostly uneducated – common is the right word...” He stated that “there was an aunt, an uncle and they all stayed in the same area – all of them used to pot [drink] and ja, my uncle actually died of liver cirrhosis.”

It appears that Mr Y was not fond of this part of his family and felt that “I don’t fit in with my family at all – totally, totally, totally an outsider –I don’t think like them, I don’t act like them, I never liked them outside...the whole setup sort of made me feel different.” Additionally, it would appear that Mr Y did not spend considerable time with this side of the family in his late childhood, specifically after the death of his father. He stated that “it’s very seldom that I ever saw them during my childhood.”

It appeared to be important for Mr Y to stress his dislike for, and difference from his father’s family in the interviews. He stated that

I was young, about 10 years old – I knew I didn’t like this – I couldn’t stand my grandfather...I couldn’t let him touch me – I’d freak out...he didn’t do anything, he’d just be like, “Kom hier, seun” [Come here, boy] and phew, I’d run away – something inside me just kept blocking...

However, it appeared that Mr Y attributed the inheritance of some of his “supernatural abilities” from the paternal side of the family system. He stated that, “on my father’s side of the family – they all had certain abilities, paranormal abilities – you see, my aunt could see my father – he apparently sat and spoke to her then, after his death and that kind of thing.”

- **Maternal side of the family system.**

With respect to the maternal side of the family system, Mr Y stated that, “she had a hard life...she was an orphan.” He stated that his mother “came from a poor family all the way, you know and married into a poor family and that kind of thing...” He also said that “she hardly ever spoke about her childhood...very little information from her...probably circumstances were not very good.”

With regards to her foster family, Mr Y stated the following, “she had one set of foster parents and then, apparently, they kicked her out of the house...and she was a young girl of about 17, 18 – she had to start looking out for herself...”

- **Nuclear family system.**

With regards to the nuclear family, Mr Y described his father as “the apple of everybody’s [in the paternal family] eye”. He was the eldest of his family. Mr Y did not find out about the true cause of his father’s death until he was 21 years old and “my mother showed me the death certificate – death by judicial hanging...he had this argument with the employer – the guy owed him money for his pay and they had words and my father apparently became angry and hit the guy with a tyre iron- killed him...” His father ran away initially but then “gave himself up a week later – his conscience couldn’t handle it- okay, court case wasn’t that long apparently and death penalty...about three weeks later he was hung.” Mr Y additionally stated that he believed that his father’s sentence had been too harsh because “he actually, only out of anger, killed a guy.” Mr Y felt that the judge may have been prejudiced towards his father because “the guy he [Mr Y’s father] killed was a Jewish guy...the judge was also Jewish.”

With regards to his father, Mr Y also stated that “I have no idea what I inherited from my father...all I know about him was the fact that he used to get angry very easily – he’d fly into a rage but he never assaulted or lifted his hand to my mother.”

With respect to mother Y, Mr Y stated that “she was an orphan” and “came from a poor family all the way, you know, and married into a poor family and that kind of thing.” He stated that “I tend to be embarrassed for my mother as well...because she’d swear constantly, you understand...she was absolutely neurotic.” Mr Y stated that “she looked after me very well”, especially after the death of his father. Additionally, “she was an excellent housewife, she kept the house clean constantly- she had this fetish about cleaning constantly- it never stopped...carried on the whole day, you see...[as a teenager] I used to freak out when she goes and cleans my room the whole time, you understand.”

Mother Y also appears to have been quite an anxious person. Mr Y stated that “she used to stress for the slightest reason and she’d make a big thing out of something, you understand...my mother was quite emotional- totally emotional...I mean she would freak out for the slightest thing.” In terms of her style of parenting, Mr Y stated that,

she wasn’t very worried about my schoolwork and stuff like that because- there they left me to go on my own...I wasn’t allowed to have friends at home...they weren’t allowed to come to my house...I think my mom was embarrassed due to the fact that she could not get on with people...she couldn’t have, like, a discussion with the next-door neighbour or anything like that, no way.

Mr Y felt that he had inherited this trait from his mother. He stated that, “I don’t particularly like having people around me...the home was a sanctuary...” He stated that “she never trusted anybody and that I picked up from her as well” and that she was of average

intelligence – “she couldn’t understand one word of my schoolwork...she had a very low self-esteem.”

Mr Y described his relationship with his mother as close and that they frequently had to stand together against his stepfather (mother Y’s third husband) when he became abusive.

Mr Y stated that,

he [his step-father] used to drink a lot...typical abusive parent scenario, you know...he’d chase us around with an axe and things like that...he was very abusive towards her [mother Y] and...he’s have his freak out sessions, you know and then me and my mother would have to run...but she would always go back to him.

Mr Y’s stepfather was 13 years younger than mother Y. Mr Y stated that his mother was addicted to Grand-Pa® (453.6 mg Aspirin, 64.8mg Caffeine, 324mg Paracetamol) headache powder and that he felt considerable guilt about leaving home, and leaving his mother to remain with his stepfather. He stated that

I couldn’t take it eventually- I had to leave...because I knew that I was getting to a point in my life where I was going to kill this guy [his step-father]...when I left home, I was worried about leaving her in the house and only 6 months later, my mother died...when I asked the hospital at the time – how did she die – they gave me the weirdest answer...she gave up living – there was nothing wrong...she just gave up, she died...

Mother Y had been married to a sailor prior father Y and had two children from her first marriage. They were considerably older than Mr Y. He stated that, “even from childhood, I was always like sort of like left out- they were much older than me...I mean, when I was seven years old, my brother was 15...my sister was only two years younger than him- I mean

there's a gap and it's not their father...so we were never very close." Additionally, these siblings left the household when they were 16 respectively.

Mr Y appears to have harboured intense resentment and suspicion regarding his stepfather. Mr Y stated that when he was apprehended together with his co-accused, he was in the process of attempting to locate his stepfather so that he could kill him. Mr Y stated that

well, they arrested us...I was looking for him, I wanted to kill him, I was going to shoot him because of all the crimes – everything started pouring out, you understand...and I wanted to kill him because my mother had never been the same- the amount of abuse she went through, she just gave up...

Mr Y also stated that he believed that the circumstances surrounding his mother's death were questionable, specifically regarding the involvement of his stepfather. Mr Y stated that

a week after she was buried, I went to go and visit him because he was so distraught during the service...and I found that he's got another woman there, living there with her two children and everything...then I found out he was seeing this woman a long time already, on the side and I started putting two and two together and- my mother had an insurance policy, I was the beneficiary...he changed it, put his name in there...and I actually realized he killed her in some form...and he changed the policy to make him the beneficiary...

- **Mr Y.**

Mr Y spent the first two years of his life together with his mother and biological father, before his father was sentenced to death for murder. He was raised primarily by his mother and developed a close relationship with her. Mr Y stated that "we [he and his mother] used to

talk...I was like a friend as well and that kind of thing...she tried her best to be a good parent but she was suffering continually- psychological problems and so on..."

Mr Y describes himself as of above average intelligence and appears to feel that his achievements and success in life made him superior to the extended family system. Mr Y stated that, "I did fairly well at school...I did my Matric [grade 12], did sports and started doing bodybuilding- well started from round about- I was 13 years old, I started judo till about 17, when I started bodybuilding" and also that "I lived in a higher bracket than my entire family, you understand, because I was the only one that made Matric [grade 12]."

Mr Y did his compulsory national service from 1978-1980. He appeared to enjoy this experience but claims that he got the first indication of his tendencies towards violence whilst in the army. Mr Y stated that, "I should have known that something was wrong because something unusual started happening there...one sergeant said that if...you see any dogs chasing horses...I must shoot the dog [to protect the horses]...this somehow stuck in my head and every dog that I saw from then on, I shot...even if it wasn't [chasing a horse]."

Mr Y started working for the Railway Police on his return from compulsory national service and began his first long-term homosexual relationship. This ended due to the fact that his partner's father (Mr Y's supervisor at his place of work) found out and Mr Y was asked to leave his job due to the fact that he was a homosexual. Mr Y stated that, "I was in the police force...and someone squealed...and either I could resign or be fired...in that year I started drinking..." Mr Y's mother also died 6 months prior to this occurrence. Mr Y then worked at a series of private security companies after which he moved to KwaZulu-Natal Province where he began working as a bouncer at a gay nightclub. He had one relationship with a woman, Ms T, before he met his co-accused.

Mr Y met his co-accused, Mr H, one evening while working at the nightclub and describes this occurrence as momentous. He stated that, "I was madly in love at the

time...completely in love...we were perfect for each other and I wanted to keep him at all costs.” Given that Mr H was 15 years Mr Y’s junior, and a minor, the Child Protection Unit attempted to end their relationship and Mr Y received a six month jail sentence.

Mr Y then stated that the two men went on the run in 1992 to preserve their relationship. They then committed the first murder – the victim was a runaway that Mr H had brought with him. The remaining two murders were also committed in 1992 and he was arrested in the same year. In 1993, Mr Y was sentenced to death for his crimes.

Mr Y spoke of this time in the following way,

basically what it boils down to is that two overzealous policemen decide they want to arrest this gay guy and his younger lover, and the two gay guys...decide no, well this is not on...and they start running- and obviously to their surprise they commit one crime and it carries on and gets worse and gets worse and gets worse- I mean, let’s face it...a month and a half, these were the charges...ranging from housebreaking, theft, car theft, hijacking, three murders, one attempted murder...

Mr Y had had previous criminal convictions for possession of pornography, shoplifting and petty fraud. However, Mr Y had the following to say about the crimes for which he is currently imprisoned – “when I think about it now, I can’t believe that I did what I did...I didn’t enjoy any of those things...it was the worst time of my life...ended in prison.”

Mr Y also dabbled in the occult and this had started when he was 15 years of age. He stated that,

I was 15 years old...I had no contact with anyone that was practicing any form of witchcraft...it was dead quiet, I went to the garage and I sat there and I drew a circle, placed candles not knowing what I was doing actually...got undressed, sat in the

middle of this circle and then it just started coming...all these things and it went through the night...I actually started feeling the physical presence of spirits.

It would appear that the theme of supernatural abilities ran strongly in Mr Y's life from an early age. This was based on a number of stories recounted to him by his mother. He stated that,

My mother used to say that certain things happened to me when I was a child...like first of all, my heart stopped...and before that, when she was walking down the road where she was staying...there was a big commotion...she approached the people, she asked them- she was carrying me, I think...she was eight months pregnant...they said no, there's a poltergeist...at work in this flat...but at that point she felt an incredible sharp pain on the inner leg...something pinched her.

He also recounted that, "I was about...four or five years old...they found me screaming...there in the room and carrying on and on...and they found me stuck, in the corner of the walls, stuck in the top." With respect to the incident where his heart stopped, Mr Y stated that, "when my mother was in labour with me...my heart apparently stopped for eight minutes...so I was basically clinically dead- I would have been brain dead...now I don't know whether something happened or lack of maybe, oxygen, or something like that caused some future reaction..."

With regards to Mr Y's sexuality, he stated that he discovered his homosexuality while he was still young and has had two serious homosexual relationships while outside, and two relationships while in prison. Mr Y stated that he had several criteria that potential partners had to satisfy and that he was very selective when choosing his partners. He stated that,



I was twelve years old and I realized, mm...I kind of like both worlds...I enjoy sexual intercourse with females as much as I enjoy it with a male...I'd say that I would, if you put the two together, I'd first go with the guy...I don't live like a normal gay person does...I don't even look like a gay person does- to me, I can do anything that any other straight guy can – even far better, talent-wise...it's something that you are born with, nobody can actually make you gay...no matter what experience you have as a child, you will not remain gay...I've been involved with gay society for ages...

In relation to the criteria he set for partners, he stated that

when it comes to a relationship or sexual encounters, I'm extremely fussy...I can't just go for anyone – for instance, there are factors that- there's things that that person needs to have...personality-wise, body-wise...everything has got to be in a certain formula, put it that way...before I would be interested...good-looking of course...personality- gentle, full of fun...not someone with a criminal mentality...

- **Additional family system of Mr Y's co-accused, Mr H.**

With regards to additional family systems, the family of Mr H will be discussed, specifically in terms of their interaction with the current family system, as diagrammed in the genogram (figure 3).

It would appear that Mr H came from a family from a low socio-economic background. Mr H was the middle child and had four siblings. According to Mr Y, it would appear that Mr H was neglected considerably in his family set-up and that Mr Y was looked to as someone who could assume the responsibilities neglected by Mr H's own parents and family. Mr Y stated that, "his father even told me, he said that seeing as he [Mr H] only listens to me and not to them, then I must look after his son and I must make sure he's alright...but it's a low

class family...his father worked on the railway...he didn't fit in his family at all, so he was singled out."

Additionally, Mr Y stated that "it didn't seem to bother them at all that their son was arrested...the only time that they actually appeared in court...was because they were actually forced by the police then to be in court." Mr Y also said that, "there was no contact between him and his parents [while they were awaiting trial]...they didn't bother. Now do you understand why I felt so protective about him. I became the father, mother, the brother, the lover, everything to him...I bought his clothes..."

Mr Y described Mr H as "very normal in the sense of – he was tough...tough little guy...he didn't have any criminal records or anything like that." Mr H was in trouble with the welfare department on numerous occasions however on account of his truancy and resistance to going to school. Additionally, Mr Y reported that Mr H had a history of sexual abuse and had been dealing drugs to earn money. However, Mr Y insisted that Mr H did not commit any of the murders when they ran away together. Mr Y stated that, "He was with me the whole time...I didn't allow him to do any of the killing or any of the crimes himself...I didn't want him to experience that...I took it upon my self to basically do what we did to survive."

Once arrested and sentenced, the two individuals were separated and incarcerated in different places. This is a source of considerable worry for Mr Y, who desires to be reunited with Mr H. Mr Y stated that

there are unsaid things between the two of us...we were separated from each other by external forces...we didn't separate on our own...and I feel responsible for what happened...the fact that he ended up in prison as well...I need to speak to him...I need to get it off my chest- I need to ask his forgiveness...

### 6.2.5 Supplementary data sources

As discussed above, in addition to interviews with Mr Y, interviews were conducted with the prison psychologist at Mr Y's current place of imprisonment as well as Mr Y's cellmate in his current place of imprisonment. Additionally, the following archival data was consulted, namely: the psychological assessment report of Mr Y for his trial and the television documentary on Mr Y. These sources of data will now be summarized briefly.

- **Interview with prison psychologist, Ms V.**

As with the previous case, the prison psychologist, Ms V, shared her clinical observations of Mr Y with the researcher. She stated that Mr Y presented as a narcissistic individual and displayed all the behavioural traits that she associated with psychopathy, namely grandiosity, manipulateness, lack of remorse, impulsivity, and failure to accept responsibility for his actions. She stated that most of the time he displayed considerable control over his emotions but that he was prone to sudden, violent outbursts and episodes of intense anger or rage. She stated that he managed to provoke the warders on a number of occasions with sexually inappropriate comments. She stated that Mr Y frequently attempted to exert his influence and power in his prison section by intimidating his fellow inmates and warders with attempts to make them question their sexuality and with his physical strength. In this light, she stated that there had been a number of complaints and trouble with regards to Mr Y.

In addition to the above, she stated that Mr Y had made numerous requests with regards to contacting his co-accused, Mr H, with the aim of bringing about Mr H's transfer from the correctional facility where he was located to Mr Y's correctional facility. His reasons for the request were predominantly based on Mr Y's expressed concern that Mr H be exposed to the

best facilities available (namely, those at Mr Y's current place of imprisonment) and so that he could apologise and reconcile with Mr H.

- **Interview with Mr Y's cellmate, Mr Z.**

Mr Y and Mr Z have been cellmates for the past two years. Mr Z stated that Mr Y was detached from most of the other inmates and acted in an aloof and superior manner towards them. Mr Z, also a homosexual, stated that Mr Y felt that this superiority was based on his sexual orientation and physical strength, and took pleasure from the fact that he threatened the inmates in both these regards. Mr Z stated that he and Mr Y would speak at length about Mr Y's relationship with Mr H and that Mr Y experienced considerable emotional pain in this regard and suffered being separated from Mr H. Mr Z went to great lengths to convince the interviewer to contact Mr H on behalf of Mr Y and to facilitate communication between the two individuals.

The relationship between Mr Y and Mr Z appeared to be a complimentary relationship, with Mr Z occupying the one down position and very much submissive to Mr Y. It would appear that Mr Y was very protective of Mr Z, even though he appeared to view him as inferior on account of Mr Z's weaker personality and greater emotionality. It would appear that Mr Z's respect and deference to authority (namely, prison authority) was also a source of derision for Mr Y. Mr Z stated that the two had never been romantically involved with each other because they were not well suited. Mr Z stated that Mr Y needed a large amount of personal or emotional space and frequently needed to be left alone. If this time was interfered with, he would react aggressively or ask Mr Z to go to sleep. Mr Z supported Mr Y financially in prison, although Mr Z stated that Mr Y was very reluctant to accept this support.

Mr Y had also taken responsibility for developing the physical strength and stamina of Mr Z by training him in the prison gym. This also appeared to function so that Mr Z could inform

Mr Y of the reaction of the other prison inmates to Mr Y's impressive physical prowess in the gym (which, on most occasions, was reported by Mr Z to be one of considerable envy).

- **Additional data sources.**

Additional data sources consulted included the psychological assessment report of Mr Y for his sentencing and the television documentary, featuring Mr Y's criminal case.

**- Psychological assessment report of Mr Y for his trial (Clinical Psychological Report on Mr H (17) and his relationship with Mr Y, 23 November, 1992).**

A clinical psychologist for the trial of Mr Y and Mr H in 1992 compiled the psychological report for the state regarding sentencing for the two individuals. The psychologist conducted over 17 hours of interviews with Mr Y, Mr H, as well as the family members of Mr H. He also consulted various data in the form of police reports, victim statements, medical reports and letters written by the respective parties while in custody.

The report stated that Mr H and Mr Y were calculating, chaotic and opportunistic in terms of their disposition towards the psychologist. Mr H is reported to have been anxious and confused when alone with the psychologist, yet confident and aggressive when interviewed with Mr Y. Mr Y is reported to have lied to the psychologist on numerous occasions, and to have attempted to intimidate the psychologist.

Mr Y is reported to have disclosed that the issue of power over males was central to his personality, and to be concerned with antisocial omnipotence as well as altruistic attachment to Mr H. The psychologist stated that Mr Y perceived himself as an outcast, sustained by his attachment to Mr H, and subject to violent depression and destructiveness without this attachment. Mr Y is additionally described as irresponsible and grandiosely aggressive, with pride in his murder behaviour. The report also confirmed Mr Y's interest and partaking in

occult activities and belief in the power of the supernatural. Ultimately, the psychologist diagnosed Mr Y with severe Borderline Personality Disorder with antisocial and narcissistic tendencies (as per DSM-III-R criteria).

Mr Y's early history is described as having been dominated by female figures in the family such as his paternal grandmother and aunt, as well as his close relationship with his mother, and the report stated that Mr Y felt that he was doomed to follow in his father's footsteps from an early age. Mr H is described as having had an early history deprived of emotional attachment, subject to maternal neglect, coldness and hatred, and paternal neglect and brutality.

The relationship between the two is described as complimentary with Mr Y in the one-up position, and the report stated that it was unlikely that Mr H would have also engaged in the criminal activities that the two individuals were accused of if not under the influence of Mr Y. The report recommended that the two individuals be imprisoned at separate locations.

- **Television documentary on Mr Y.**

An episode of a television documentary dedicated to exploring the psychological motives behind a number of crimes committed in South Africa, as recounted by the individuals who committed these crimes was used. One of the episodes concerned itself with the crimes of Mr Y, and contained interview footage of Mr Y together with narrative explaining the events that took place, as well as expert comment from various psychiatrists and a criminologist.

In the episode, Mr Y recounted details of his early life and childhood, as well as how he met Mr H, and how they committed the crimes that they were convicted for. Mr Y presents as arrogant, self-assured and unremorseful. Throughout the interview, he appears unapologetic and recounts details of the crimes matter-of-factly. At points during the interview, he laughs, almost to shock the audience with regards to the extent of his lack of remorse, and appears to

enjoy attempting to intimidate the audience with details of the extent of his violent and aggressive behaviour during the murders, coupled with his appearance during the interviews as controlled and relatively unemotional.

The content of the programme in terms of the details disclosed by Mr Y concerning his criminal behaviour and the murders does not diverge greatly from the content of the psychologist's report above, and interviews conducted for the current study (with Ms V and Mr Y). However, in interviews for the television programme, Mr Y mentions that his stepfather sodomized him when he was 13 years old. When asked about the television programme during interviews with Mr Y for the current study, Mr Y stated that he did the television programme so as to explain his actions to individuals who may have known him before the murders took place. It was the interviewer's impression that this communication may also have been directed at Mr Y's step-father, as a means of possibly intimidating him or hurting him.

### **6.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

This chapter has presented the results obtained for Mr X and Mr Y in the form of clinical observations, interviews, genogram and supplementary archival data. In the following chapter, these results will be discussed in terms of findings yielded after they were analysed with respect to the genogram interpretation and thematic content analysis.