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## APPENDIX A

### INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

The left hand column contains the reference number for that segment of the interview. These are referred to in Chapter 5. The right hand column contains the transcription.

#### Transcription of interview with Simon Mandlenkosi

1	<p>[Starts after introduction to research]</p> <p>BH: What's your birthday?</p> <p>SM: 6<sup>th</sup> June 1968.</p> <p>BH: OK, you were married, yes?</p> <p>SM: Yes</p> <p>BH: Are you still married?</p> <p>SM: No.</p> <p>BH:... What standard did you achieve at school?</p> <p>SM: I got a matric and an N4 [electrician's vocational qualification].</p> <p>BH: What did you want to be in your life?</p> <p>SM: Church minister</p> <p>BH: Church minister, oh yes, your brother was a church minister.</p> <p>SM: [affirmative noise]</p>
2	<p>BH: What age did you go to school at?</p> <p>SM: Age 6.</p> <p>BH: Did you ever have to repeat any grades?</p> <p>SM: No.</p> <p>BH: Just went straight through.</p> <p>SM: Straight through... I skipped class maybe six or seven times....not that much.</p> <p>BH: So you were quite good at school.</p> <p>SM: Let's say I was really really better [mutual laughter]</p> <p>BH: So did you get on well with the teachers?</p> <p>SM: Yes, well.</p> <p>BH: So you didn't have any problems with them.</p>



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SM: I had problems only with one teacher. I didn't like maths...

BH: How many brothers and sisters do you have?

SM: Four brothers...and four sisters.

BH: Big family hey?

SM: A big family.

BH: Where were you? How many were older and how many were younger [than you]?

SM:...I am the last one.

BH:.. How much older is the oldest brother than you?

SM: 45. My oldest brother was 45. When he passed away.

BH: He's the minister.

SM: Ja.

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BH: How old are the other ones?

SM: My brother is 42 and my sister is 40...and my sister who is 38, and my other one who is 27...

BH: Are you still in contact with them?

SM: Yes.

BH: Are you a close family?

SM: Yes, we are a very close family.

BH: Did you get along well when you were young?

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SM: Yes.

BH:... So you had one brother 45, one brother 42, sister 40, sister 38, sister 37. Is that your whole family?

SM: And there's my other sister, who is 28.

BH: So she's younger than you, is she?

SM: Yes, but, how can I put it, she is not part of the family. My mother took her from somewhere else, but I call her my sister.

BH: Was she always there?

SM: Yes.

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BH: Who did you live with for most of your childhood?

SM: My brother who was the minister.

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BH: So did he take care of you?

SM: Yes.

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

SM: Yes.

BH: Was he always there?

SM: He was always there for me.

BH: So you were very close to him.

SM: Yes

BH: Did you get along well with him?

SM: [pause] All I can say is, he was my role model. I wanted to be what he was.

BH: Oh ja, he was a minister.

SM: Ja

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

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

BH: And what sort of person was he?

SM: Uh... [appeared not to understand]

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

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

BH: And did you want to be like that?

SM: I was born like that. Maybe I was like him [laughs].

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

SM: He was clever.

BH: And how clever are you, do you think?

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

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BH: I understand your parents died when you were young. How old were you?

SM: My mother died when I was 10 years old, and my father, 12, when I was 12.

BH: And do you remember lots about them?

SM: [very quiet] Yes.

BH: Were you sad when they died?

SM: [pause] Eeh, it's funny. When my mother died and my father died I can't say I was sad. I was only sad when my sister and my brother died. But when my parents died, I didn't even cry. Then I took it, if it was that particular person's time to die, then that particular person must die. Maybe it's not because I wanted my parents to die, maybe, it, let me say that maybe it is because I was not so close to my parents. Like I was close to my brother, and to my sister. I spent most of my time with my brother...

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BH: So when your parents died, it wasn't such a big loss. But when your brother died, then it was.

SM: Yes.

BH: How did it feel when he died?

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

BH: What was his wife, was that Nandi?

SM: Nandi

BH: What did she do?

SM: [pause] Nandi was my brother's second wife. My brother had an extramarital affair. Nandi fell pregnant. So my brother had to leave his first wife, for Nandi.

BH: Oh ja.

SM: So that's why I'm saying, I was very angry.

BH: So did it affect your brother's position as a minister?

SM: It affected him, because he was suspended from his church. He had to go to another church...so it affected him. Sometimes he would drink.

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BH: OK, did you ever drink?

SM: [long pause] I did drink. Maybe five or six times... I drank a lot, maybe those five or six times, but I never got drunk [laughs].

BH: So you drank a lot but never got drunk. So you didn't see the point.

SM: [laughs] I didn't see the point. You could say I was just wasting time. I bought drink but I didn't get drunk. You could say it was a waste, because liquor did nothing to me...

BH: Did you ever use drugs, like dagga or mandrax?

SM: I hate them... I never used them.

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BH: There was something I wanted to ask about your brother... oh, you know Nandi. What sort of person would you describe her as?

SM: [long pause, quietly] I don't know.

BH: Would you say she was a bad person or a good person? You said you were angry with her

SM: [pause] I can't say she was a bad person. But she is different, you see.

The only thing that bothered to Nandi is money. For her, if she can get money to her, to her, that's life to her. She's that kind of person, but not bad as such...

BH: Did you have problems with her, did you argue a lot?

SM: [pause] We never argued, but when my brother passed away, I told her what was inside me then. I was very angry. And I showed her that I was angry. I said all the things I wanted to say to her that day, that I hadn't said before from 1989 to 1997.

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BH: Ja, A long time, ja.

SM: It's a long time. And then my sister tried to reconcile us. I went to live with her [Nandi] maybe for a period of 8 months. Then, there was trouble again.

BH: Ok, so you lived at Nandi's house for a while. Did she turn people against you?

SM: [silence]

BH: Do you think. What do you think?

SM: Yes [emphatic. Then pause]. I cannot say she turned all the people against me. She turned Portia, and Stella. I won't say all the people, because even if she turned other people against me, they didn't show it.



BH: You were angry with those people? When they were turned against you? Or were you more angry with Nandi?

SM: I was more angry with Nandi. Not with them as such. [soft voice] I was angry with Nandi, I was very angry with her.

BH: Did Nandi get in the way of you becoming a minister?

SM: [Very quiet tone] Yes.

BH: Did she [sympathetic tone, affirming response].

SM: [sighs] I can't say so. She wanted me to be there. I won't lie, she didn't get in my way of becoming a minister. There were certain things she helped me with, in this 8 months I lived with her. Because things didn't go back from the start, maybe we had a good situation for the first two, three months. And...

BH: It started going back [i.e. deteriorating, 'back to where the bad condition their relationship used to be in']

SM: It started going back. Maybe she, she had the memories of all the stuff, of the things I said to her, and things had to go back again. No she didn't, she, she wanted me to be a minister.

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

SM: The church constitution, the constitution of the church. It was the only thing that got in my way.

BH: What was it about the constitution? What did it say?

SM: Firstly, in the church, there are steps, you must go according to the steps. You cannot pass one step, you have to go from the beginning to the end. But the problem is this, I did go according to those steps. But, [pause] sometimes I think maybe just because there were no; in that church, I didn't have a friend, as it was just me alone, or someone to stand by me, to fight for me. Because at the church there are certain things, you have to fight to become what you want, you see. So I had problems with the church. They didn't take me seriously...

BH: So you were angry with them?

SM: I was angry with God, and with the church.

BH: How did this feel, where did you feel it, this anger?

SM: [pause] I, I wanted to leave the church. I wanted to go and do



something else, stay away from the church, have nothing to do with the people, have nothing to do with the church minister, I wanted to just, I wanted to be something different from what I had wanted to be. But things didn't go that way.

BH: What other things would you have liked to be?

SM: I would have liked, I have something, I wanted to be a psychologist. Maybe it's to try help other people, all that. To be a marriage counsellor, to help people, that's what I wanted to be.

BH: To help people, in all your careers.

SM: Ja.

BH: Ja, who was it, was it one of the ministers who stood in your way, who didn't take you seriously?

SM: No, it was not the minister, it was the church elders. The minister cannot overrule the decision of the church elders...

[INAUDIBLE]

BH:...And the other ones, was that you...

SM: [pause, laugh, sigh] No I, I did kill them [falls into silence].

BH: I was asking you straight, because I would rather be honest. We'll come back to it later. We can talk about it now or come back to it later, which would you prefer?

SM: Come back to it later.

BH: Do you want to talk about when you were growing up?

SM: Anything you want to talk about.

BH: OK. When you were young, who taught you to go to the toilet, dress yourself?

SM: My sister.

BH: Was that the sister that died.

SM: No she is still alive.

BH: And who did you see as, the father figure in your life. That was your brother, is that correct?

SM: Yes

BH: And who was the mother figure?

SM: My sister.

BH: So you were almost brought up by your brother's and sisters, OK. You were very close them.

SM: Yes.

BH: Did you ever have any problems, between you and your brothers and sisters? Fight with them?

SM: No I cannot say it was fights, anything that can happen to children, quarrel and that and then it's gone to tomorrow. I wouldn't say fight.

BH: Did they hit you a lot, no?

SM: The person who hit me was my mother, she was very strict [laughs]

BH: What would she hit you for?

SM: Sometimes I would skip school, go hide in the bushes just because I didn't want to go to school.

BH: Ja.

SM: So she was very very strict. She would let us sleep, if we had done something wrong, she wouldn't come to us straight during the day. She would wait until we were going to bed and when we were sleeping she would hit us.

BH: What would she hit you with?

SM: A belt.

BH: Would she call you bad things?

SM: No, my mother was a very lovely person. I loved her, I loved her. I wouldn't. I wouldn't say today what she did was abuse. No, I wouldn't say that.

BH: It was not that sore.

SM: No, it was not that sore. She would hit you now, and then it would be her that would console you were there was a problem. So she was not bad. Very strict.

BH: Was it the same with your father?

SM: My father was not like her. Instead of us running to our mother if we had a problem, we would go to our father. He would never hit us.

BH: So at home, your mother was strong, the strict one.

SM: She was very strict.

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BH: What was your father like?

SM: My father drank, but he was not that kind of a person when he was drunk [INAUDIBLE, possibly 'the kind of person who said'] at home, he wouldn't have time, like today's it's Friday, must go to drink or wouldn't be able to sleep and all that stuff. He was not like that. He was a very loving person, and I loved him.

BH: So you really loved your family.

SM: I loved my family. Nothing would desert from them.

BH: So would you say you had a very good childhood?

SM: Yes.

BH: It was nice.

SM: It was nice.

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BH: What's your earliest memory? Think back as far as you can what can you remember?

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SM: I don't understand what you mean.

BH: Like your memories from when you were a child, before the age of 6, before you went to school. What do you remember? Can be a good thing, can be a bad thing.

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SM: No, what I remember it was not before I went to school, it is when I, during my school days. June 1976. I can remember everything about that. Yes I was young, but things happened, and so, so I can say 'this and this happened during that time', because I remember what happened. That is my earliest memory.

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BH: So what happened?

SM: [pause] What I remember about June '76 it was a, like everyone knows, there was an uprising and we had to go out of school, to leave schools, all that stuff, our family members harassed, things like that. That's what I can remember.

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BH: Where were you staying?

SM: In Pedi.

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BH: Did you spend your whole life in the same place?

SM: Like, I won't say I spent my whole life in the one place. My sisters stayed in East London, and my brother stayed in Pedi, but a little far from

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our home. So, for, I, [searching for words] there were people in East London and the other people in Pedi, so I was kind of rotating between family members.

BH: [laughs]

SM: So I didn't stay at one place long. It would be a day here, tomorrow there, the other day home.

BH: So would it be one day, one day, one day, all at different places.

SM: No, I would stay long at home... what I can say is that I spent most of the weekends I didn't spend at home. I would stay at my brother's, at my sister's. School days I would have to spend at home, because school was near to my home. But weekend and holidays, I didn't stay at home.

BH: Did you have lots of friends at school?

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

BH: Yeah.

SM: What I can say is that I developed late, you see. I really did something like you see. Other boys, they started doing things, smoking and having girls, at the age of 13, 14. But I liked to play, just play alone, doing wire cars and all that stuff. So I developed late. Maybe I developed after 17 years then I started to have a friend then, you see. But my best friend, was my brother, my older brother. And then my sister's son, we regarded each other as best friends, and right now, we are friends.

BH: So you have your sister's son, then was it your oldest brother or the brother just above you?

SM: It's the brother just above me.

BH: So your oldest brother is the father figures and the brother just above you is your best friend.

SM: Ja.

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

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

BH: It felt nice for you.

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

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

SM: Ja.

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BH: When you were growing up, who was your favourite parent?

SM: I liked my father more.

BH: What made you like him more?

SM: The thing was this my father got sick when I was still young, so he had to leave work [inaudible]. So most of the time my mother was working. So I was always with my father, so that's way it is easier for me to know him.

When we were going to school, he would wake up early, he was playing the role of the mother. That's why, I don't say I like him most, but I was with him most of the time. That's what made me closer to him

BH: And after they died, who did you see as your parents.

SM: My sister and my brother.

BH: The oldest ones?

SM: The oldest ones.

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BH: When you were growing up, when you were very young, did you ever have nightmares?

SM: [pause] No.

BH: What dreams did you have, can you remember any dreams from when you were small?

SM: No, none. I alone didn't have nightmares, But I my brother, the one just above me, he would wake up. He walked, in his sleep. So, to me I took it is my duty not to sleep a lot because I was afraid maybe he was going to get lost. So I only sleep a little bit just to make sure that; I was so lucky that, each and every time he started to walk I was awake then. I took that as a nightmare, because I was afraid what if he would get lost. What if he goes somewhere we would never find him again?

BH: So you felt very responsible for your brother...How long did this goes on for, that you didn't sleep very much?

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SM: Maybe it was for a period of two to three years, then I had to go, I had to leave East London... to go to the Transvaal, to live with my brother.

BH: And why did you have to leave, to go to the Transvaal?

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SM: At home, they said I was, how can I put it? I started to hate school, I didn't want to go. So my sister said that the only way that I can go to school is that they take, that they send me, straight to my brother. In Transvaal. They knew I was afraid of him, my oldest brother. And I wouldn't do anything, any funny tricks when I was with him. So for a period of two years I was in Transvaal, I was with my brother.

BH: Did that work? Did you go to school more?

SM: It changed everything yes, I go to school more.

BH: Ja. Why did you hate going to school, what was it about school that made you hate doing there?

SM: Even today, I can not explain why. I just hated school. But I wouldn't say the teachers were strict, or the punishment at school, I was just lazy [mutual laughter].

BH: So you didn't like school.

SM: I didn't like school.

BH: Was it the people, or was it the work?

SM: Maybe it was the work, the school work. Maybe I didn't like the school work.

BH: And how did that change when you were with your brother?

SM: There's one thing I'm sure of, I'm not stupid, I'm just lazy. When I do something, I'll do it properly. So everything changed, I started to like school, do my homework, all that stuff. I think changing the environment, it changed everything, everything changed. I was with other people who didn't know me, and I was happy where I was. So I started to go to school again, I didn't have any problems again, of going to school.

BH: What marks did you get, when you were at school? Before and after the change.

SM: At least, I had something like, I would never pass with lower than 60%.

BH: So you were quite good.

SM: Yes. I was quite good, I was better, not bad [laughs]

BH: What age did you go up to Transvaal? What age were you then?

SM: I was 13.

BH: So that was for high school did you go up.

SM: Ja.

I stayed two years in the Transvaal, then after two years I came back to this high school [in Pedi].

BH: Did it change when you moved back down from the Transvaal?

SM: It changed right back.

BH: Did it?

SM: Ja.

BH: What changed?

SM: I started to have the same problems that I had before. I started to get lazy. Maybe the problem's here in East London, I don't know.

BH: Describe those problems more, if you can. You say you got lazy, what else, what things did you do?

SM: Oh, I would dodge school for days. I would take my books, shove them somewhere, take a long walk, come back when it is time to go home. Now I was bigger and there was no need for me to go and hide my books. If I woke up and that day I didn't feel like going to school, I would just sit at home and do nothing, you see.

BH: So you weren't really interested in school.

SM: Yes.

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BH: How many days of school would you miss in a year, because of this?

SM: Maybe in a year, I would miss twenty days. Something that made me miss school a lot was the maths teacher. He was good at maths for himself but not for me. He couldn't teach it to me, that's what I believe, he's good for himself, but teaching other people he was not good at that. So after that, I changed from maths and took general history. I started liking school again.

BH: So it was mainly the maths teacher. Was he strict?

SM: He was not strict as such, but I didn't understand him. My problems, I think that is the problem.

BH: How did it feel for you, that not understanding.

SM: I was a little bit embarrassed. He would teach us, then give us some work to do, and I find I didn't understand what he said, I would fail. Then other people, the girls and boys, to me, that was very embarrassing.

BH: What, failing and no one else was.

SM: Failing and no one else was. That's why, that made me, hate school.

BH: How do you get on with the other prisoners hey?

SM: I get along very well, I mean, I like to joke, so some of them they don't understand me. If make a joke once or twice and find out they didn't like it, I apologise, and stop making jokes.

BH: What sort of jokes are your favourite? [mutual laughter]. Tell me a joke [further laughter]. No, you just like making jokes, they are fun

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SM: No, I like making jokes. At home they miss me, because, when I'm at home, you can see I'm at home. Everyone will be happy and all that, so I like making jokes. Like [with] my brother's children, Nandi's children, that's why we like [inaudible]. Between children I can be like a child, between older people I become old, so I can adjust myself to any situation.

BH: Which do you feel most comfortable in?

SM: [pause] I feel comfortably, when, when I, maybe there is a problem, or there is something [inaudible words] whether it is child talk or talk about older people, I like it when we have a discussion, I know I am giving more points than them, or stronger points than even them. That makes me proud. I like defeating other people. I like to be a winner.

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BH: You like being on top.

SM: I like being on top.

BH: Ja, so for you, that's the nicest part.

SM: That's the nicest part, to me, that's the nicest part.

BH: Ja, is that what you like about home? Or is that the part you like most about when you are at home, the discussion?

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SM: At home I like making jokes. To us, when you come to home, to my parents house you will see me, and there 7, 8 people sitting there, you wouldn't know, unless you know, that these are brothers and sisters. When we talk, making jokes and having fun, you wouldn't know that these are brothers and sisters. We would be surprised, what type of family, it is a close family. A very very close family you see. So I like to be on top, you see, and I like helping other people. I like to help other people.

BH: Is that what you would have liked to do for your life's work?

SM: Ja.

BH: When did you first learn about sex, and boys and girls?

SM: [pause] I learned about sex when I was at the age of 15, 16.

BH: Did anyone teach you, or did anyone tell you, or did you just find out?

SM: My first experience of sex was when I was at school, there was this young girl who was sitting in my class [inaudible words] I like to sit at the front, she was at the back. One day she borrowed a book from me, and when she brung [sic] it back it, this book was open. And she said to me, when I come home I must turn to the second page, in the middle of the book, you see, there is a homework that she wanted to give me, and when I come to school in the morning I must speak to hear about it... So when I came home, I forgot about my book, the homework she had asked me. So when I went to shop she saw me again, and she asked me whether I saw, and I said no, so she said 'no man, go check in the book.' When I came back from [inaudible] I checked in the book and there was this piece of paper, she said 'I love you' [laughs] I was so surprised, I didn't know what to do, what do you do with a girl when she says that she loves you. Or how I am going to do that. So I went to look, there was this guy, who lived [inaudible words] I went to look for this guy, and I asked him, look at what this note, but I didn't tell him where this note came from. I he told me write your own note, and put it back in the book and give it to her. I did this, and that was my first girlfriend [mutual laughter]...

BH: And how did it feel, getting a girlfriend?

SM: I'd say it was I would say it was just a waste of time, I didn't know what to do with a girlfriend. I didn't talk to her personally straight, I didn't have discussion, I would write her a letter, she would also write me a letter. We didn't sit down maybe and have discussions; it was just a child affair.

BH: Would you say it was very important to you, or not so important?

SM: To me, it made no difference. I didn't have time for girls.

BH: So it didn't really matter all that much to you.

SM: Mmm [affirmative noise].

BH: And when did you first find out about sex, actual sex?

SM: The first [laugh] it was here in East London. There was this, I proposed to her, maybe I was 18, 19. I proposed to this girl. OK she, she accepted my proposal and came after, and we would see each other during the day. That, that was even my first kiss, we kissed, that was, she was the one you taught me, who taught me how to kiss. Now when, thinking of it now, she was more experienced than I was, because she learned a lot from somewhere [laughs]. And then one night, we, we, were together. It was winter, half past 6, 7. We were standing at the street corner. Her father was a very strict father [mutual laugh]. And then, she went home, her father wanted to hit her. Her father told her to go back where she came from. And I was sleeping at home, I was in bed about 8 o'clock. I heard this knock on the door, I didn't go to answer, and then my sister went to the door and then I heard she was talking to someone but I didn't recognise the voice, and then she came back to me and said 'look, Sweetie is here', I said 'who?' she said 'Sweetie' and I asked 'what is she doing here at this time of the night?' She said her father had chased her away and we had to do something, and I said 'what do you mean I have to do something? Like go to her house or something?' and she [sister] said 'no, you can give her a place to sleep'. That, she's the one who taught me the first. That night. You see [incident is narrated in humorous tone, can hear Simon is smiling]. Then I started to enjoy it and, even now, I like girls. From that day, maybe, sex, is the nicest thing I've ever had. Even now, sex is important to me.

BH: Do you have a lot of girlfriends? Or lovers?

SM: Yes.

BH: How many relationships do you think you've had with woman?

Like, how many lovers have you had?

SM: 'Til now?

BH: 'Til now, ja.

SM: Last week I was sitting on my bed, I was trying to count also.

The problem is that I was diagnosed as HIV positive, I was trying to count how many girls I have had, so maybe [i.e. working out] 'where

did I get this?' I came to, the total, maybe I had 10 or 12 relationships, but I am telling the truth, I had sex with more than 50 something girls. So that's I [laugh] I was asking myself 'where did I get this?' I was counting all the girls I had sex with...

BH: It could have been anyone one of them.

SM: It could have been any one of them...

BH: When did you find out you were HIV positive?

SM: 1997.

BH: When you came to prison?

SM: Before I came to prison.

BH: Do you find out, when you were on trial?

SM: [quiet voice] Before everything happened. Early 1997.

BH: How did that make you feel?

SM: [serious tone, quiet] I was angry [long pause] It made me really, really angry, that one. Ja. Because at home there was, the was a time at home when I tried, I believed, I was the breadwinner because I lived at home, with my two brothers and one sister. I was the electrician so I had to see that there was food on the table and all that stuff. So I was angry, I didn't want to accept it.

BH: Ja, was it very hard for you?

SM: [very quiet] Ja. It was hard for me to. I told myself, I said to myself, it cannot happen. It cannot happen to me. I was that kind of a person: HIV is for certain people, for me, it's not going to happen to me, you see, I'm not going to be HIV positive, that's what I thought.

28 But when it happened, I couldn't believe it, I could not accept it. I had to be strong, not for myself, but for my family's sake I must be strong. Even here in prison, we have, we want to form a group of us. For me, I can be strong for other people, it's not going to change. This thing is not going to go away, now, I have to accept it. It's not going to change.

BH: And what happened, you felt angry, you said. What did you do when you were angry?

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SM: [pause] I wanted to ask my wife first, but it can't be her. To be

honest, she was very straight. She straight, and she's strict, and she doesn't do funny things. I said 'it can't be my wife' [pause, stutters]. I wanted to, I just, if God had shown me the person who had infected me, you see to do something to revenge, on that person, to whom, I never knew who infected me, or how, or when I was infected.

BH: Ja. Do you think all these things happened because you were infected?

SM: [long pause, quiet voice] I don't know.

BH: When you had sex with woman, did you just have normal sex?

SM: I like to experiment with things. If you have seen a blue movie, I sort of do those kinds of things, anything.

BH: What sort of things? Give some examples [mutual laughter]

SM: I do everything, oral sex and all that...she doing the same thing to me and all that stuff...I don't do anal sex.

BH: Did you ever tie them up?

SM: No... never had problem keeping hard...[appears to have misunderstood question]

BH: Did you like to keep pornography, like a blue movie.

SM: I like looking at those, pornography, buying those books.

BH: Did you, have like a collection of books?

SM: No, I didn't keep them. Due to, I sort of hide these sort of things from my family. I didn't want them to know me as a person who liked funny things about that stuff. If I borrowed a cassette, then I put it where someone wasn't going to see. And if I got a book then I would look at it and then get rid of it, you see.

BH: So you would sort of, buy the things and then hide them away, same with the videos.

SM: Ja.

BH: And how many videos do you think you bought, over the years?

SM: [pause] I, I, no started buying the videos at late '96, I decided. I had 8 or 9 videos.

BH: And books, did you have lots more?

SM: I have lots of books, because I had a girlfriend who worked at a

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place in Bisho, it was open first '97, where they sell books and all that stuff, she worked there, so I would get books and all that stuff. And then I would look at the book, and when I was finished I would take it back to her.

BH: So she worked in a sex shop?

SM: Ja, it was a sex shop.

BH: Oh, OK. Did you visit the sex shop often?

SM: Yes.

BH: Did you like it?

SM: [pause] I had to [mutual laughter]. I had no choice, she worked there, I had to like it [mutual laughter]

BH: Did you ever go to stripper clubs?

SM: Eeeh, yes, I went to a stripper club. When I was counting these girls, then I remained at the one name, the one that I circled, I believed that maybe she was the one who infected me. She is from Cairo... I met her from this second white guy, my friend, Phil... we didn't know that she was a prostitute. There came this day Phil said I must accompany him to her. There was this place there [inaudible] when you pass this [inaudible] it's there, on your left. We went there. [sad tone] I was surprised she was stripping, doing all those things. To me, she said she was working.

BH: Was she beautiful?

SM: [pause] She was very much, very beautiful.

BH: Did you go to other prostitutes?

SM: I like prostitutes.

BH: So you went there quite often.

SM: I went there quite often.

BH: Would you have different sorts of sex with them, from what you'd have with women you were in a relationship with?

SM: [quiet] Yes.

BH: What would you do, to a prostitute?

SM: The kind of sex that I, the things I have done, I learnt them from these guys, from these prostitutes [refers to sexual techniques].

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BH: So you didn't have any problems with sex, getting it up?

SM: No...

BH: Did you ever have to hurt someone, before you could come?

SM: No...

BH: Did you masturbate?

SM: No, I don't like that...

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BH: When was your first relationship, that was proper, that was important to your heart?

SM: The one that was important to your heart, she was the one who taught me to have sex, Sweetie. That was my first relationship. I loved her.

BH: How long did that last?

SM: Three years.

BH: And then, what happened?

SM: She [pause] she broke my heart. She fell for another guy

BH: How did that feel?

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

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

SM: You know I wanted to hurt her. Hurt her. Whether it was going to be physically or any other way I could try. Not to kill her, just to hurt her just to lay my hands on her. To make her feel that she hurt me, so I should do the same.

BH: Do you find rejection quite hard?

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

BH: Is that your worst thing?

SM: [quietly] Ja.

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BH: When someone pushes you away, says you're not a nice person, is that?

SM: Mmmm [affirmative noise. Simon appears not to want to talk].

BH: Did that, would you say, that was your first big rejection.

SM: Yes.

BH: Did that change the way you looked at relationships, or people?

SM: It changed everything. I, I didn't like, or I hated the fact that someone says they love, then he hurts you, or hurts her [Simon appears to be talking in abstract] To me, I believe the only way is to go to that person and say 'look, I no longer love you, I think it's better to end this straight away.' Not to see her doing or having an affair with someone [inaudible]. I would have accepted it better if she had come to me and said, 'I don't love you.' She must not say 'someone else said', she must take that decision herself. I think I would, accept that.

BH: So you saw her running around with other guys?

SM: Ja. What hurts more is that she lived the fourth house from where I lived, the guys who came to her and whatever and all that stuff. That hurts, that hurts.

BH: And has that hurt stayed with you? It still lives with you. The hurt.

SM: No, after she left I get another girl. I won't say I forget. I don't forget, that stays with me. But there is that, the little space, that says you've got to let go, but it's difficult to let go. I'm not going to lie. For me, it's easy to be in love with a number of girls, but I hate it when a girl does the same thing to me, to share me with someone else, she must not share me. with somebody else, you see?

BH: Ja.

SM: But to me, I like doing that, I don't know what causes it all [laugh]

BH: Do you find that something strange?

SM: To me, it's strange, really.

BH: Did you have lots of rejections over the years?

SM: [pause sighs] No, I was rejected only three times.

BH: Once by Sweetie. Who were the other ones.

SM: [pause] The other one was Letta and the other one [pause] was Nikiwe.

BH: And were they girlfriends, all of them?

SM: Yes, they were girlfriends.

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BH: And how long were you with each girlfriend for?

SM: No, I didn't, it was, a long time with all them. If I say it was a year then I would be lying. It was quite a short time.

BH: But then they rejected you.

SM: I felt that they rejected me. I hated it.

BH: Would you say that's the thing you hate most?

SM: [long pause, then, adamant] Yes.

BH: You can't think of anything you hate more?

SM: No.

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BH: Did you ever feel lonely when you were growing?

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SM: [sighs, pause] That's something that's with me, even today, there are times when I feel lonely.

BH: And what's that loneliness like?

SM: Like...

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BH: If you could describe that loneliness what sort is it, how does it feel?

SM: To me, to be lonely [sighs, pause] it's like, eeh, when you see, it seems as if, people are looking away, they don't want to come near you. Sometimes I see, maybe some other person are different, when I look at them I see that maybe they don't want to talk to me. That makes me feel very lonely. Especially if I like to say something to you, and then I see that you are pushing me away from you. That makes me feel bad.

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BH: And did that happen, has that happened a lot to you?

SM: Yes.

BH: And is loneliness close to rejection for you?

SM: Ja.

BH: Do you get angry with that?

SM: [pause, sigh] A lot.

BH: You feel like, if I'm right, loneliness is similar to rejection and it makes you feel angry?

SM: [Silence. Appears to have affirmed this in light of BH's tone in the following question]

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BH: Ja. OK. What do you do when angry?

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

BH: What did you usually do when you got angry? Did you have fights in high school?

39 SM: [pause] To me, having a fight is nothing. Now, it's better now, I'm a changed person, but then, I can say something insulting to you, then you get angry, then afterwards I didn't apologise. I would just push you, or hit you, for the wrong that I have done to you. But now that's different, I used to be like that.

BH: Did you get in lots of fights?

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

BH: How old were you, from what ages?

SM: From a very early age, from a very early age.

BH: And up until everything happened.

SM: Ja, taking judo helped me a lot. But I can say that, maybe, I have changed here. I have changed mostly here in prison, you see [laughs]. Most of the time I didn't have to apologise to a person, I would out-fight, fight you for your right, you see.

BH: Ja.

SM: I was like that, you see.

40 BH: Ja, so would I be right in describing you as someone who's quite often lonely, but also gets in lots of fights

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you have lots of friends outside your family?

SM: No, at the age of 24 I had a guy, who my friend was. That was my first friendship with someone who wasn't a member of my family. That guy often comes here, and he visits me. We started to have a go with the relationship. He's my best friend now.

- BH: Ja, he's still friends with you now.
- SM: Ja, he was here last month.
- BH: OK, great. Just generally, when you have girlfriends or friends, are they the same age as you, or a lot younger or a lot older?
- SM: I like older women.
- BH: How much older would you say?
- SM: Any particular age. At least I don't mind even if she's 10-15years older than me, to me that's not a problem.
- BH: Ja, so for girlfriends, you have lots of older women.
- SM: Ja.
- BH: How old was Sweetie.
- 41 SM: Sweetie was my age.
- BH: And Nikiwe?
- SM: Nikiwe was the same age.
- BH: So you were the same age with those girlfriends, but now you are liking older women. Is that correct?
- SM: Ja...
- BH: Were you ever sent to orphanage, or a state home?
- SM: No, never.
- BH: Before this time, were you ever like in a place of safety.
- SM: No.
- BH: So you were always with the family, going to school.
- SM: Ja.
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- BH: Were you ever, before this time, were you ever in prison for anything else?
- SM: [pause] Yes. It was for three months. For using a car without the owner's permission.
- 42 BH: Oh, and when was this?
- SM: [quiet tone] December 1995, October, November, December.
- BH: What happened there?
- SM: The case was withdrawn, the charges were withdrawn.
- BH: Why were they withdrawn?
- SM: The car I took was my friend's car, a minister, church minister. The car

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belonged to his wife. Now the car had a dent. I dented the car. Now the insurance wouldn't pay the car if they said 'no, I took the car' and I dented the car. They had to lay a charge, that's why they laid a charge, so the insurance can fix the car.

BH: How did that make you feel?

SM: Angry. I was angry.

BH: Ja. Which minister was this?

SM: Ngickwe.

BH: And were you friends, after this?

SM: Afterwards I came home. I lived in PE, but after this I came home. But we don't talk when we see each other. I told him [inaudible]. We are not as friends as we were before.

BH: Did you fight with him?

SM: No

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BH: When did you move out of home, when did you start living on your own?

SM: 1993... I left school in 1992.

BH: Oh, with the matric?

SM: No, with an N4 electricians qualification [inaudible] I passed matric in 1989.

BH: OK, how many years does it take to get your N4? Does it take long?

SM: No, it takes 12 months.

BH: OK, alright, and in the years between your matric and your N4?

SM: I was doing small jobs, I was a casual at Mondi.

BH: Alright, so just doing casual labour.

SM: Ja

BH: So did you stay long at each job?

SM: No, from 1990 – 1992 I was at Mondi. From 1990 to 1991 I was at Mondi then in 1991 I went to do my N2, finishing in 1992. 1992 [I did my] N4.

BH: And then after that?

SM: I married in 1993, and then I started working, by then I was working.

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BH: Ok, so you started working in 1993 when you were doing your N4.

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SM: Ja.

BH: OK, so, what sort of work did you do at Mondi?

SM: I was an operator, a machine operator.

BH: Was it hard work?

SM: It wasn't hard work, I just sat down [mutual laughter].

BH: So nothing too hard. And did you enjoy it?

SM: A lot.

BH: OK, and umm, what did the bosses think of you.

SM: No, some of them didn't like me. Because I am kind of, if you do me, give me something to do, I put everything in that thing and I finish it before time. Even now when I'm with other people, I'm faster, I like to do things fast. But do it properly, you see. That's why they didn't like me, you see. They said I was pushing, pushing work too hard. But it's in my nature, it's how I am, you see. That's [tails off].

BH: Ja, so like you work too hard.

SM: Ja

BH: Did you, were you always at work or did you take days off.

SM: I was always at work, I liked work.

BH: Ok, did you. When you were getting your N4 electricity, what sort of jobs were you doing then?

SM: I opened my own subcontracting [firm]. I worked for myself.

BH: How did it go?

SM: [pause] Aah, it was not so bad.

BH: What happened then?

SM: I got a room [inaudible] then I hire my own guys, seven guys. Then I got a contract here in East London, to do the wires, the wires for the municipality houses.

BH: Did that go, was it good?

SM: It was good.

BH: So that was just your work as a contractor. You didn't have any problems at work, no problems?

SM: [pause] Every work has it's good, it's ups and downs, especially business. There were times when it wasn't going so well, and there were

times I made a loss.

BH: But there were no big problems?

SM: No, no problems.

BH: And so you were in business for your own contracting firm from '94?

SM: '94 to '97.

BH: And you were still working contractor on your own when these things happened [referring to offences]?

SM: Yes

BH: And there was no big problems, you didn't have to almost close down business at any time...

SM: No.

BH: So, just sort of business problems, not...

SM: Not big problems as such...OK I had to go to Bisho, to tender for the school, so I was working for tender, working for tender now I had to live in Bisho.

BH: So, you just had to once you had finished all the municipality houses, you just had to go onto the next job.

SM: Mmm [affirmative].

BH: So generally you would say your work history was stable.

SM: Yes.

BH: And you, sort of, weren't fired from any jobs.

46 SM: No, I liked my jobs.

BH: So would you say you were a good worker?

SM: In fact, I'd say fair, not good [mutual laughter]...

BH: So the only jobs you had were this Mondi, and the electricity job.

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you do any volunteer work?

SM:...The only volunteer work I did was developing for church, in fact it was my church, when I volunteered to install all the electricity and stuff, without charging. In fact that was my only volunteer work, at the church.

BH: So just church work.

47 SM: I was a member to, I was a political adviser during apartheid or whatever. There were street communities and all that, so they took me as an

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area adviser to an area committee [inaudible] so that's the only thing I did.

BH: So this was with the ANC, during the apartheid years.

SM: Ja.

BH: So you would say you play a role, in your society.

SM: Ja.

BH: A stable member. Where you ever in the police of the military?

SM: Never...

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BH: Before coming to prison, did you ever at any time go see a psychologist?

SM: [pause] I had an appointment, but I never went to go.

BH: When was this?

SM: 1997, end 1997.

48 BH: OK. What was the appointment for?

SM: It's my sister who said, who made the appointment with the psychologist. And she asked me to go and see the psychologist, then and I asked her why, she said 'no, just go. You've got problem and I would like you to go talk, to, that, particular person.' And I said 'no, I will go' but I didn't have a chance to go.

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BH: What were your sister's reasons for wanting you to go?

SM: Even today, I don't know.

BH: Do you think you needed to go?

SM: [long pause] I think I needed to go due to my, I had marital problems. Maybe she saw that. Like I said, I was aggressive sometimes [inaudible] well aggressive. Maybe she saw that.

BH: Did you get into fights, before then, or did you hit our wife?

49 SM: I hit my wife.

BH: Oh, OK, ja. What were these marital problems? What caused them?

SM: [quiet voice] My wife had children from a previous boyfriend. So, [pause] he would come and said he was bringing the children and just before he would come and say he wanted to talk to her about the children, or about problems and things, that I didn't like that. Because the children are old enough now to talk for themselves. That's why I didn't like that.

BH: So did you think he was trying to take her away from you?

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SM: [emphatic] Yes.

BH: So again, were you scared of rejection again?

SM: Ja.

BH: So ja, you were having a lot of problems with your wife.

SM: Sometimes we had problems, sometimes they were gone. Today problems, tomorrow gone. Perhaps on and off.

BH: So no really big problems.

SM: No.

BH: So she didn't really have anything to do with what happened [referring to offences], or would you say she did?

SM: [long pause, sighs] I don't know today. I don't know today [i.e. Simon can't tell, no reflection].

BH: What do you think caused those things?

SM: [long pause. Very quiet, almost inaudible] I don't know.

BH: Ja, a lot of things.

SM: [quiet voice sad tone] Sometimes I try to think and recollect my brain, but I simply can't come up with the answer, say 'this and this', recollect the causes. I would like to.

BH: Ja, when you think back, you can never quite find what happened [silence]. Did you ever try kill yourself?

SM: [quiet, almost sullen tone] Twice.

BH: When was this?

SM: It was 1979.

BH: So when you were young?

SM: I was about 10 or 11.

BH: What happened?

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

BH: What made you want to kill yourself?

SM: I was lonely, when my parents died. I felt lonely, there.

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

SM: I felt that God gave it, God was horrible to me, God gave this thing to me, that I was behind him. It didn't feel like God was there. He didn't see

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my pain, he didn't feel my pain...I had to be angry at God... He was rejecting me, God was pushing me away from him.

BH: Did you always believe you God?

SM: Yes.

BH: Was your family religious?

SM: My mother was very religious.

BH: So you always believed in God. And now?

SM: I still believe in God. I'm doing a theological diploma. I still believe in God.

BH: OK. Sorry, to go back to your earlier point about going to see a psychologist, has anybody ever, when you were under observation, did they say that anything was wrong with you, did they give you pills?

SM: [pause, sighs, laughs] When I was under observation, the only thing I know is that those people were in a hurry to get rid of me [mutual laughter]. Even today, if I ask what's wrong with me, they cannot tell me, they won't tell me... I didn't want those to say anything was wrong with me, but if there was a problem, let those people help me. That's the only thing that I wanted. There's this one woman, she helped me... she organised for me to see the psychiatrist. He was the one who gave me some pills, because other people [pause] when I came here first it seemed like it felt like I was going to get mad.

BH: You felt like you were going to get mad.

SM: Yes, but she helped me.

BH: And what happened when you felt like you were going to get mad?

SM: [quiet voice] Ah, I had many things in my mind. Ehh, I remember, with Stella. I have never seen something like that. A person that's dying, instead of asking God to help her, she said 'God, please forgive Simon.' I will never forget. Even today, I won't. [Very quiet voice] Those were the things that dwelt with me. The things I won't, why, why has God let it happen? [Louder voice, sounding more confident] Because, I believe, [inaudible] everything happens for a reason. You see. We are going to die, die one day. No one knows how, is he or she going to die, you see. So I want to know if God wanted those people to die, why did it have to happen

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through me? Why did I have to kill those people? If it's God's plan, because if that things wasn't supposed to happen, it's not going to happen. So, everything, God has a plan for everyone. On earth, I committed a crime. But above, I don't know what God is thinking about me, was it's God's plan? Or was it not God's plan? Those are the things I ...

BH: Do you feel guilty about the crimes?

SM: [long pause] I'm ashamed.

BH: What are you ashamed of? What the community thinks? Or what you think?

SM: I am ashamed of what I have done. Why did it have to be me, not somebody else? That is what I'm trying to see, why did it have to be me?

BH: Before these women were killed, did you ever think about it? Before, did you ever think about killing anyone?

SM: [pause] I never had a plan for killing someone. Those were not planned.

BH: So you didn't plan...

SM: I didn't plan to kill anyone.

BH: When did you know you were going to kill them?

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

That's the problem. Nandi made me angry, and Stella made me angry. But I didn't want to kill Stella but I wanted to hurt Stella, I wanted her to know that she hurt me. So I got to hurt her... To tell you the truth, I never had a plan to kill Stella.

BH: Ja, what did you do to Stella?

55

SM: What I did to Stella is she had a Z-88... a police gun. So I wanted to talk to her, but each and every time I was talking to her, she telling me 'no, Nandi said I must not speak to you', all that stuff. She was putting her hand on her waist, and I wanted to know. She was talking so boldly, she was so sure of herself [said in 'bitter' tone]. Only because she had that gun with her. Maybe the gun made her bold, the gun made her strong. But when I took the gun away from her she was no longer that strong, self-assured

person that I was taking to five minutes ago. She was [INAUDIBLE], because now the gun was on my side. The only thing I did to her, I tied her hand behind her back, with her neck.

BH: So you tied from hands to neck, OK.

SM: Ja, to her neck. And then I left her at the bus stop. I never killed her. No way what I did to her killed her. Maybe the hold on her neck choked her.

BH: So you choked her off a bit, then threw her off and she choked.

SM: Ja. So I never had any plan in the killing of Stella, even today.

BH: What did you tied her up with?

SM: I had electrical wires in the boot of my car.

BH: Did you rape her?

SM: [quiet tone] No.

BH: What did you say to her?

BH: What did you say to her? Did you say things to her, while...?

56 SM: I never talked a lot with Stella. I never talked a lot with Stella. I just tied her hands behind her back.

BH: Did you shout at her, or swear at her?

SM: Ehh [pause] I never shouted at her. I said I was angry and I said the things that made me angry and I left her there.

BH: You said to her what was making you angry.

SM: Yes.

BH: What did you say, if you can remember the words?

SM: [pause] The only thing I told Stella is that [pause] we met, Nandi didn't know about us. How can she lie? She knows me, and then there was a problem with my electrical contract, I was waiting for the tenders so I had nothing then. I told her this 'was it because I had nothing, or because of what Nandi had said to her'.

BH: Was she your girlfriend?

57 SM: Ja, Stella was my girlfriend. I met Stella, I used to go to the King William's town legislature. Stella was working at the legislature. She came from Cathcart.

BH: How long before the murder did you know her?



SM: About three months...

BH: Ja, so you had sex.

SM: Yes.

BH: Sorry, I interrupted.

SM: So I left Stella there, it was at the bus station, I left her there, I dropped her off I drove straight to my wife. My wife, she's a schoolteacher and she had come to East London. I saw, the following two days, and then I saw her body had been discovered.

BH: How did you feel when you saw that?

SM: I slept all day.

BH: You slept.

SM: I slept all day [quiet voice]. I was the cause of her death, you see.

BH: And how did that make you feel?

SM: I'm not going to lie, I said to myself 'You didn't kill Stella', I didn't kill Stella. I said to myself I didn't kill Stella, I did nothing to kill her. At least, what I did killed her, but I didn't have any intentions of killing Stella.

BH: How did you feel when you were tying her up?

SM: It's way I say, even today I would like to know why, because I don't know what happened. Everything happened but I don't know why, I cannot say it just happened because of this and that.

58 BH: So you can't really say what you were feeling.

SM: Yes.

BH: Would you say you were confused? Or angry? Or sad? Or frustrated?

SM: Let me to say I was angry.

BH: And just after, when you dropped her off at the roadside? What did you feel then?

SM: Relieved...I can say maybe I was relieved I got rid of her.

BH: Relieved to have stopped her talking.

SM: Ja.

BH: Then for Ms Mashabela, Portia, what happened with her?

59 SM: [pause] With Portia, it was a time when things were not going well between me and Nandi.

BH: Ja, and you were staying at Nandi's house at the time.

SM: Ja, I was staying at her house. What happened, I remember [SM excuses self and leaves room to go to toilet].

BH: [after he returns] With Stella, you didn't plan it, you didn't think about it beforehand, just suddenly everything was happening.

SM: I didn't even plan to meet Stella, it was just a coincidence because I was on the way to school, I went to fetch my wife. I was coming to bring her back, so I met Stella in Queenstown.

BH: But that's a long way from where you live, from East London, about two hour's drive.

SM: Ja. Stella lived in Cathcart, she worked in King William's Town. She lived at the police college...

BH: So it was a long way from where she worked and a long way from where you picked her up.

SM: Ja.

BH: Did Stella say you weren't good enough for her?

SM: She said Nandi said so.

BH: So Stella had met Nandi.

SM: They knew each other, because both of them worked at the King William's Town legislature.

BH: How did that make you feel, when you heard that?

SM: [sigh, long pause] I didn't want to believe it myself, let's say I didn't want to believe. I thought, ai, it cannot be like that. I didn't want to believe, but Stella said it was so. That made me angry afterwards. Now friendship with Nandi was going down, back to where it started, we were splitting up again. She was starting make enemies for me. That is how I look at it, you see.

BH: So Nandi was starting to make you enemies.

SM: Yes.

BH: So who were you more angry with when you were sitting there in the car with Stella?

SM: I was angry. Very angry.

BH: How does that anger feel? Where do you feel it?

SM: When I get angry, I shake. I start getting cold. And that's when I have,

to solve this I want to resolve this. To make myself better I have to do something.

BH: Yes.

61

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

BH: Ja?

SM: That's how I am.

BH: Did you often hit your wife because of this anger?

SM: Yes.

BH: So once a week?

SM: Just because we were not together we would miss each other, because she would be over there and I would be in East London. But when we were together two weeks would not pass without us having a fight.

BH: So you would say your marriage was very tumultuous?

62

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you love your wife?

SM: Ja.

BH: Do you still love your wife?

SM: Yes.

BH: So you were always close together even though you fought a lot.

SM: Ja.

BH: Do you often fight with those you are close to? Did you fight with your family a lot?

SM: I never fight with my family [INAUDIBLE]but I never fight with my family.

63

BH: And with friends?

SM: [laugh] Yes there was a guy, we used to share everything at school. I think I had a fight with that boy once, maybe twice. We were coming from school and then, maybe, 500 metres from school, we put our books down and have fight there. People coming past, they looked at us [SM has smile in voice, BH laughs]. After we finished, after maybe five minutes, we took our books again and went straight to his home. Then I was feeling better.

That's how I am.

BH: Once you've got it out.

SM: Ja, once I've got it out then I start to feel better.

64

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

SM: [quiet] Yes

BH: What would start the fights?

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

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

SM: Ja.

BH: And then what would you do?

SM: I would get angry. There was only one girl who made [laughs] who gave me problems. She was head and shoulders above me [mutual laughter] so I was [INAUDIBLE], so she was my senior there. Fighting her was always a problem, because she would fight back. But I would always solve that problem.

65

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

Be physical?

SM: I was physical.

BH: Where would you hit them usually?

S: I like kicking.

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

SM: Anywhere.

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

SM: Maybe once, twice, maybe thrice, then I would stop. Maybe, I dunno, maybe it's like I wanted so show who I am; I'm the man, I'm dominant, I'm

all that. Maybe that was the reason. Now that I'm here I think about these things maybe that is one of the reasons. I wanted to show that, I wanted to be the dominant partner.

BH: Was it the same with Stella and all that?

SM: Ja. Making a show of herself, maybe I wanted to show that I'm the boss, I'm the strongest. I must dominate because I am the man. Maybe that's what happened.

BH: You wanted to control?

SM: Ja.

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

SM: [pause] Yes.

BH: Was this with your girlfriends?

SM: Ja.

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

SM: Ja. I used to do what I want.

BH: Would you just have vaginal sex?

SM: [quieter voice] Ja,

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

SM: No.

BH: Did it feel good?

SM: It made me feel better.

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

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

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

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

BH: So the sex didn't really matter, it wasn't really the important part. It

was more showing the control, is that it?

SM: Yes.

BH: I was asking because I wanted to get it right. With Ms Mathetsa, the schoolgirl what happened with her? The charge of rape, what happened? [long pause].

SM: With her, I pretended I had an affair with her mother but no one knew about it [INAUDIBLE had to move around for work?]

BH: So you moved around a lot for work?

SM: Ja. [quiet voice] They said they wanted to see me, so I told them I was coming to East London. So told her mother I was coming to East London, so Mathetsa said she wanted to come with me...I had once proposed her before that, and she said she was going to think about it. Then that day she said if it was OK that she come with me to East London, and I said 'OK that's fine, no problems'. I was going to East London anyway. And then we came to East London the following day. On the way I was touching her, there was this and that, and she never said 'don't touch'. Then, I eh, when we were here in East London [pause] she said, OK, she wanted to go back again now. I had finished my business now, it was about 7 o'clock in the evening, she said she wanted to go home. I said 'you can't go home there's a problem with the car.'

BH: Had you had sex with her before then?

SM: No, before then we didn't have sex.

BH: Before seven.

SM: Ja. : We went to the sea and then we, I had sex with her. She wanted to go to another house.

BH: She said it was OK to have sex?

SM: [fast speech] Mm, and then I refused her to go to that other, then she forced, and said she was going even if I didn't want to go with her. I said 'OK, fine, you can go'. I said 'You cannot go out there' because now it was 9 o'clock, 10 o'clock in the evening, it was night. She forced, and then I hit her. She slept at my home for the rest of the night, and I slept in a room at the back, she woke up early in the morning and went to run away.

BH: Was she scared of you?

SM: [pause] Let me say she was scared of me, because she wouldn't tell me and she wouldn't wake me up, you see. She just [makes gesture].

BH: Took off.

SM: She took off, you see. [normal volume] And they phoned me, they told me they didn't have money to go to work today, I said I was coming, but when I came to [INAUDIBLE] she was not there, you see [pause]. Then they lay a charge against me, of rape.

BH: OK, ja [long pause]. Do you think you raped her?

SM: Now [pause] yes it was rape.

BH: How many times did you have sex with her that day?

SM: Once.

BH: Just once, OK. And that, it was rape?

SM: Thinking of it now and reading the papers and look at television and woman's rights [laugh], it was rape.

BH: Did you hit her? Did you slap her?

SN: I slapped her twice.

BH: Then she said OK?

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you make her take all her clothes off, or just some clothes?

SM: Some clothes.

BH: Just underclothes?

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you just have sex with her, or did you touch her breasts...

SM: We had sex [stammers] Maybe she allowed me to have sex with her, maybe she was afraid of me. Maybe she felt she was, how can I put it?, she depended on me. I was in East London, I know East London, she was not from East London she was from Jeffreys Bays. So she had to, she had to give me, or let me have sex with her, so that I cannot leave her in East London or maybe that I cannot hit her, all that stuff, that's the point.

BH: So you just took her clothes off. Did you take it all the way off?

SM: All the way off?

BH: Ja.

SM: She took them off.



BH: How did this go, did you say you wanted to have sex, she said no, you slapped her and then she took her clothes off?

SM: No, we did have sex, you see before I slapped her. I hit her, but not were she had sex. I hit her because she wanted to go at night. At the scene I didn't hit her. She took her clothes off.

BH: Did she hit you? Did she scratch you.

SM: She bit me [tone drops, quieter].

BH: Was that...

SM: At home.

BH: That night or when you were having sex with her?

SM: That night.

BH: When you had the big fight.

SM: Ja.

BH: There's this other thing, Ms. Mbuli. I don't know if you remember what her first name was?

SM: [long pause, surly tone] That is the only person I don't know about.

BH: Ja? Because they said they found her clothes in your car.

SM: They said, she said I was driving, what's this one, a Golf. That's a case I don't know anything about.

BH: So you don't know anything about Ms Mbuli... What car did you usually have?

SM: I had a Kadett, and Open Kadett. I also had my sister's car, a Fiat.

BH: Which car were you driving with Stella?

SM: My Kadett.

BH: Why did you take Stella's pistol? What made you take it?

SM: I don't know, why I took it [laughs]. I had no plans for the gun, but I took it.

BH: Did you like the gun, or say 'I want this?'

SM: [pause] To tell you truth I'm afraid of guns. But I took it really. I don't like guns.

BH: So just took it with you?

SM: Ja.

BH: Where did you keep it afterwards?

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71

	<p>SM: I gave it to Nandi to keep it with her.</p>
	<p>BH: Because you were afraid of guns?</p> <p>SM: Ja.</p> <p>BH: So you just took it on the moment and got rid of it later. Did it remind you of Stella?</p> <p>SM: Yes [emphatic] that's why I immediately got rid of the gun, gave it to someone else.</p> <p>BH: Did it make you feel bad?</p>
72	<p>SM: It made me sad, not bad as such, but sad. Sometimes it's sad to. Sometimes you do something that you cannot use. There's this guy who sings a song 'If I could turn back the hands of time.'</p> <p>BH: Is that how you felt about Stella?</p> <p>SM: Ja.</p> <p>BH: [stutters. SM has started to cry] I'm sorry I have to do this to you. It must be very hard for you. [long pause] And with Ms Mashabela? [SM is heard to sniff in background]</p>
	<p>SM: [normal tone] What happened with Ms Mashabela is that we were living in the same house. We were living with Nandi, in house in Bisho where they would have the servant's quarters at the back.</p> <p>BH: Yes.</p>
73	<p>SM: And we lived in such a room, there was a room at the back, so it was used by the previous owners as a servant's quarters. So we could use that room, it had a shower and a servant's quarters. I lived in the big house, it had three bedrooms: the master bedroom, and then the children's bedrooms. Now, while I was living there, [very quiet voice] the friendship between me and Nandi was starting to have problems again. We would quarrel some times. And then I proposed to her, and she said she cannot do that because she already has a boyfriend, some guy who works at the legislature, where she works And now, one day [transcription interrupted by change in tape]</p>
	<p>SM... that made me angry.</p>
74	<p>BH: Because Portia had moved your stuff.</p> <p>SM: That had made me angry but I had said nothing then. [Voice sounds angry] And then one day, Portia started to have a [pause]</p>

negative attitude towards me. She would joke about my car, my old car, she would say that I was, that car was not giving a good impression to the house because members of the public would come there and see my car. She would say such jokes. I would laugh but inside, I was not laughing. And I like to be play physically and one day I was playing with her, I tripped her and caught her before she could fall, picked her up again. She said that if you tore my valuables you won't be able to pay for that because the money you're working is not, is too, it won't be able to pay for these items, ei! [exclaims] she was making me angry. I wanted to slap her but something said to me 'no don't'. Then I told my sister [referring to Nandi] I was moving out because now, me and Portia were having problems. I said to my sister I was moving out, and she said fine. I took my things and moved out from the house, to, there was a girlfriend I had...she had a house this side of East London, so I was going to live with her in that house. One day now I had to go and fetch my things. When I came there to fetch my things it was about 2 o'clock and I was waiting for my sister to come, to bring the children because, I had found out that they used to lock the house then put the key under the mat. But this day, I came there and found the locks were changed. I asked myself 'why?' Then I phoned sister in East London and told her 'there was something wrong here, you ask me to come and live with you, but now these people are making funny tricks' She said 'no, stay there take your things and get out of the house'. I said 'OK I'm going to do that' [Pause. Tone remains 'flat' angry]. I still waited outside the house. When they came they were driving this latest BM, this Mercedes Benz, E-Class. They parked the car in the driveway and opened the house. Portia went into the house, I said to Portia 'don't lock the house' because I wanted to get my things out of there. Portia walked into the house with the key, she came back and locked the house then got into the car and drove away.

My sister didn't pick up the children from school, I thought maybe she was doing overtime, because usually we would pick the children up and take

them to the crèche, where they will stay until half past four that day.. That day I had to do without changing my clothes, that was on a Wednesday. On Thursday I decided not to go, I said OK I'll go on Friday, because I had a job and would also go and fetch my clothes I had to work. When I came there it was half-past seven and my sister had already gone, it was Portia there and she opened up. She asked me 'eh [sneers] what do I [you] want?' I said 'I have come to fetch my things'. She was looking behind me. Swearing, telling me my sister told me she doesn't want me anymore there. I asked her 'I am I going to get my things?' She said 'no, you must get out of here. You must come when your sister is here', she said [narrates Portia's words in sneering tone]. That made me angry. There are three steps in the house, down steps. I kicked her, she fell down. And then I put my knee on her, when she fell there. Then I proceeded to choke, choke her. She had pantyhose in her hands. And I pulled the pantyhose up, then I pressed with my knee in the back of her. I was telling her all the things that she said that made me angry, all of them. After about five minutes I let her go. I thought 'OK, I have killed'.

SM: To tell you the truth I didn't feel sad. [Pause] I didn't feel sad. I was not worried.

BH: So you felt angry while you were doing it, then afterwards?

SM: [Tone is not angry anymore, quieter, more reflective] I was not sad as such. Or worried that I had killed someone you see. Maybe inside of me there was a thing that said 'You've revenged, she did you wrong. You took your revenge'. You see, 'what you did maybe is right,' you see. Maybe that's how I felt, but to tell you the truth I was not sad, [pause] you see. So I took Portia, I took her to the garage, put mats over her. Then thought what to do.

BH: Did you drive her in the car? Or did you leave her in the garage?

SM: I left her in the garage, under the carpets that covered her. After a week, I took her away.

BH: So she stayed in the garage for about a week?

SM: [very quiet] Yeah.

BH: OK, she just laid there, no one knew no one knew what had had

happened to her?

SM: [very quiet] Ja.

BH: So with the car, where did you drop her off.

SM: [quiet] Fort Beaufort.

BH: Why did you choose Fort Beaufort?

SM: I didn't choose Fort Beaufort, I [stutter] I wanted to get rid of her. No matter where, just to get rid of her. On that particular day I was going to Fort Beaufort with my girlfriend, her sisters' son. So they didn't know what I loaded in the car. They were going to Port Elizabeth. I dropped them in the house, I came back, I dropped the body there, then I went back to fetch them.

BH: So you loaded the car quickly with Portia, picked them up, then dropped them off, your girlfriend and the son.

SM: Ja.

BH: How far from Nandi's house did you drop Portia?

SM: Maybe 50-55 km [distant altered slight to anonymise]

BH: OK, did you rape Portia? [presume Simon must have shaken head] No, you just left where they found her, with all her clothes.

SM: Mmph [affirmative]

BH: Strangled her with her pantihose

SM: Yes.

BH: And after you killed her, what did you do? When you realised you had killed her, you covered her in mats and then where did you go?

SM: [quiet voice] I took my things and I goes, to put those in my girlfriend's house, but then it was time to go and see my wife.

BH: It seems from what you're saying you don't spend much time with your wife.

77 SM: No [sounds sad, regretful].

BH: Did she know you had other girlfriends? Ja [BH verbalises 'yes', SM appears to have fallen silent].

OK, In the last case you mentioned, Zondi Tana. What happened there?

78 SM: [Silence, very long pause, big sigh.] I was, what I can say is that Zondi was at the wrong place at the wrong time [long pause, then speaks with

many pauses]. Because that day, I wanted to hurt her mother. [Pause] But unfortunately I couldn't get my hands on her mother. So I took what I knew what she really loved, her daughter [sad tone].

BH: [Soft voice] So what was making you angry with Zondi's mother [his wife]?

SM: She had filed for a divorce. They were seeing each other, her and he, Zondi's father.

BH: So that's why she had filed for divorce, because she had met Zondi's father again?

SM: No, I can't say it was because she met Zondi's father again, I can't say that [pause] I was the cause. She filed for divorce but I was the cause of the divorce, not her.

BH: Because of things you were doing?

SM: Yes, because of things, like I said, you see [SM tails off. Audible sighs, suggests overwhelmed by emotion. Silence]

BH: Don't worry, you don't have to talk if you don't want to. I know this must be very hard for you.

SM: [blows air out, gathering himself. Quiet voice] I am OK,  
[INAUDIBLE]

BH: OK, so tell me what happened with Zondi. You said she was at the wrong place at the wrong time.

SM: [slower, with more pauses] That day I woke up early. Her mother had cut our mattress in half. She wrote me a letter telling me that she doesn't want to see me again. And she also sent back the watch I gave her for our fourth anniversary. Then I said 'ish, she is serious, now I was really [INAUDIBLE] I had to get her, I had to get hold of her but there was no way, she didn't want to see me again.

BH: Did you want her back, or were you just angry at her?

SM: I wanted her back, I wanted her back. So OK, this day, there came Zondi. Her grandmother, Zondi's grandmother and my sister [Nandi], they were next door.

BH: So next to Nandi's house. You weren't living at Nandi's house any more?

SM: No, I came here on my holidays, October holidays, schools were closed. I phoned Zondi's mother, Thembeni, asking to see her, I was told she wouldn't be home that night, she slept with a friend. [INAUDIBLE]. I said OK. [Pause]. I went there to that house, and she was really there, and I went through and she was underneath the blankets. I said I wanted to talk to her, but her friend said 'no, no, you cannot go in there, Thembeni doesn't want to speak to you anyway. I went to my brother's, my sisters house. I knew she had a 7.65 calibre pistol. I knew where he hid the gun. When I went there the gun was not there. Because I wanted to shoot Thembeni there, on that bed, and say 'there, I got rid of you'. Just to finish it off, klaar, there and then [pause]. Fortunately the gun was not there. Then I went home to wash myself because I knew there the Z-88 was in Bisho. I had to get there and get that Z-88; because I was going to shoot Thembeni then I was going to shoot myself. While I was busy washing at my sister's house, I saw Zondi again. Zondi was busy at the fire at her granma's house [i.e. next door]. I saw Zondi getting into her grandma's house carrying things. I washed myself and finished washing myself. Then Zondi came out of the house. I told myself 'if I want to get even, now's the chance'.

BH: So you hadn't thought about it before?

SM: Ja. Suddenly I told myself this is a chance to get even, with the father, and with the mother.

BH: The mother, Thembeni.

SM: [speaks clearly, briskly] Ja, to take what they love most. I knew Thembeni loved Zondi, I knew that Zondi's father loved Zondi as well, very much, you see. Now I told myself, this is the time to get even. I finished washing, and I went to the taxi rank. Because Zondi was going to catch the taxi from the other street. I was going to watch Zondi and see what taxi she got in, and then I was going to catch the same taxi, because Zondo was going to [INAUDIBLE]. She caught a Kombi, brown Kombi, fortunately there was still space in that Kombi and I got in the front seat, she was in the back seat. When we came to Ramela Square, I knew where she was going to get off, so I got off maybe 300 m from where Zondi was going to get her the taxi. When the Kombi came there, I saw Zondi, and said, 'listen here

there is something I want you to give to a certain guy, a church elder from our church, so can you please come with me and fetch this thing in my flat?'. I had a flat in Atalanta Street, so I think what I did. Atalanta is a bar when we came to that bar with Zondi [pause] she said 'can we hurry' because she was getting late for school, it was Sunday [Simon must be referring to Sunday school]. It was Sunday between one and two [INAUDIBLE] [Pause, sigh speaks more slowly] I got into Atalanta bar and bought a quarter of gin [pause] and two Cokes. I gave Zondi a Coke. Behind the bar at Atalanta I poured the Coke, the 500 Coke, half, and then I poured the quarter of gin into the Coke and then I drank it.

BH: What did you do that for?

SM: I'm sure I was taking some strength for what I was going to do. I was taking the shyness out of me. I was trying to get rid of the fright, of being frightened. Because I told myself I had to do this. I was going to pay Thembeni back where it hurt most.

BH: And how long had you thought of this before? How long since you first had that thought to where you were standing now? Ten minutes? And hour?

SM: I can say ten minutes is a very long time. Everything happened suddenly. Everything happened so fast I don't know really. I was always thinking of something, then maybe a minute or two, then if I had a problem with this then, suddenly another plan would come. So everything happened fast.

BH: So everything, you didn't have the time...

SM: [interrupts] So after maybe three, five minutes I took Zondi 'come here, there is something up in the flat'. I strangled her. I raped her first. I won't lie, you see.

BH: Did you speak to her?

SM: Ja.

BH: And what did she say?

SM: She was crying.

BH: Did you have to hit her at all, or was she too scared?

SM: She was too scared.

BH: And then after you finished raping her?



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SM: I strangled her.

BH: And then, what did you do after she was dead?

SM: I locked the door and then I went home.

BH: Ja.

SM: But I couldn't sleep that night.

BH: What was going through your head?

SM: I was afraid. I was thinking about what I have caused, what have I done. How am I going to forgive myself. Because even now, even today.

[Pause] There are certain things that I can forgive and forget, but not Zondi

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BH: You don't regret the others but you regret Zondi?

SM: I regret Zondi.

BH: Did all of the women that you killed look the same?

SM: Sorry?

BH: Was Stella older or younger than you?

SM: Stella was younger than me.

BH: And Portia?

SM: Was younger than me.

BH: And Zondi was...

SM: ... the youngest.

BH: And how old was Zondi?

SM: 15.

BH: Were they the same size?

SM: They were almost the same height.

BH: Were they all nice-looking women?

SM: Yes.

BH: Pretty? Mmm (tone suggests is affirming this). Did they remind you of anyone you had met before? Did they look like your wife, or Nandi?

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SM: My wife, yes.

BH: Did she look like Stella or did she look like Zondi?

SM: She looked like Zondi.

BH: Did that affect you?

SM: Mmm [affirms]

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BH: Did you just leave Zondi, when the scene was done [no audible

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response, BH moves on immediately]. Do you think if anything had happened differently that you wouldn't have committed these murders?

SM: [very quiet] Yes.

BH: If things had happened differently. What things would have needed to be different?

SM: Maybe if my work hadn't gone down.

BH: Oh, had your work gone down.

SM: Mmm [affirms]. Maybe I wouldn't have been there. Or maybe if I didn't have extra motives. Maybe.

BH: So your work went downhill and you had this extra motives and it put pressure on you?

SM: [Affirmative noise]

BH: OK. Do you think, could any of the women have said something to make you stop?

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SM: [Pause, sighs, then speaks clearly] There's one thing that happened with Zondi and with Stella [many pauses] that worries me a lot. They both prayed when they died. When I left Stella that last morning, she prayed. When Zondi died, she prayed.

BH: Was that the last thing she said?

SM: Yes. To me, to me, I don't know what that symbolises.

BH: Is it something you're still struggling with?

SM: Yes [long pause, falls silent. Silence for long while]

BH: After Zondi died, how did you feel?

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SM: [Pause] I've been trying to ask God why, maybe God would forgive me but I, I used to say to that you don't get forgiveness from God unless you forgive yourself. But the problem is, I want God to forgive me. I want Thembeni to forgive me. [INAUDIBLE] I won't be able to get forgiveness from God until I forgive myself. That is something I might be able to do, or might not be able to do, that is, forgive myself. For Zondi's case, [pause] I was close with Zondi and she loved me, she told me herself at that time.

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BH: Is that one you...Do you think you'd ever commit this sort of crime again?

SM: [Long pause, not sure if gestured 'yes' or no']

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BH: Mmm [affirms SM's response]. For what reasons?

SM: [sot voice] Like I said, I'm a changed person. The only thing that you really need to do is you must be able to say 'no'. [INAUDIBLE] You must be able to stop yourself [INAUDIBLE], what that means is you must ask yourself questions, 'why'. Because even now I don't know why all those things happened. But they did happen. But now I'm saying to myself they will never and they will never happen again.[NOT VERBATIM] I'd rather be lonely than to hurt someone again.

BH: Would you [stammers]. These were only people close to you, could it have happened to a stranger? Would you kill a stranger? Or someone you didn't know very well?

SM: It makes no difference if it's a stranger or somebody I know. Taking a life is taking a life, no matter who's life is it. Today I only think that my sister has daughters, my brother has daughters, and I think what if something like this happened to them. That's why I say I would like to do something to give back to the society, something that will help other people. What I once said to my sister's son, is 'the problem in life is that we don't deal with our anger in the right way, if you're angry you must show the people that you're angry, don't hide your anger. Because if you hide your anger you are going to do something that you might regret later. Our problem is that we hide our anger, it's not right, when you're angry you must show the people you are angry, at that particular moment.

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BH: Deal with the thing straight away.

SM: Mm [affirms]

BH: Just before these murders happened, what was the emotions you felt for each one? For Stella, you were angry, was it the same with Zondi and Portia?

SM: Yes.

BH: Always angry.

SM: Eh [affirms]

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BH: And than afterwards?

SM: [Pause] Like I said, I didn't know that Stella was going to die. But in Portia's case, I was not angry with myself after that one. I can I can say I

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sort of felt relieved, as if I have solved the most difficult problem I ever had. But in Zondi's case, I won't be able forgive myself, or to forget. [INAUDIBLE] for her it is the most difficult thing, don't know how she is going to take it [pause]

BH: When you had killed Portia and when you had killed Zondi, you just left them with the thing tied around their neck, just left?

SM: [quiet] Ja.

BH: You weren't interest afterwards?

SM: Ja.

BH: And you had Portia's cell phone. Why did you take that?

SM: I don't know.

90 BH: Was it the same for the gun?

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you try get rid of it, did you use it?

SM: I used the cell phone.

BH: Did you get rid of it later, or keep it until you were...?

SM: [interrupted] I got rid of it.

BH: What did you do with it?

SM: I gave it to a [INAUDIBLE] I exchanged it, for an [INAUDIBLE].

BH: Which killing didn't you mind doing? Was that Portia?

SM: Yes.

91 BH: Did you enjoy it?

SM: [stammers] I don't think enjoying it is the right word. I revenged.

BH: It was necessary.

SM: Ja.

92 BH: And for Zondi, how did you feel after you'd done it, was it the same feeling, you'd revenged?

SM: [Pause] I felt sorrow. For myself and for Zondi.

BH: How did you feel when the police came around?

93 SM: [Pause] I had no problems with the police. I knew they were bound to come, sooner or later, they were going to come, they were going to get me [INAUDIBLE] I must make myself ready to face the consequences of my deeds.

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BH: Did you try cover your tracks, did you take away fingerprints at the scene?

SM: No.

BH: Just leave it as it was, ja. Did you ever think back on any of the murders and fantasise about them?

SM: I wanted to forget them. I must forget them.

BH: If you had look back and give an explanation for why you killed, what would that explanation be?

SM: [Long pause, sigh] Maybe it was anger [pause]. And frustration. Maybe that's why.

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BH: I think that's covered most of it [sound of leafing through pages]. I don't have all that much more to ask about, but thank you for being so open. I understand it's been very hard for you. I can see that definitely, you're feeling it. [Pause] When you were young, did you ever get hurt on your head, at all? Car accident or fell off your bike, someone hit you with a spanner?

SM: I was hit with stone, not once, maybe two or three times.

BH: Big stone?

SM: Big stone.

BH: How old were you then?

SM: I was thirteen [SM laugh, BH echoes]

BH: What happened?

SM: I refused to, firstly I had a fight with another guy, and he threw me with a stone, and I fell down. Secondly, there was an uprising. I was in Std 6. They took us out of our classes, then I ask 'why don't they pick on the higher classes, to Std 10, before coming to Std 6?' [laugh]. That was the question I asked. Then I received a big stone on my head [laughs].

BH: Were you unconscious?

SM: Yes, I woke up in hospital.

BH: How long were you unconscious for?

SM: Maybe three to four hours.

BH: Concussed? Where did stone hit you?

SM: [INAUDIBLE, presumably indicates where stone hit].

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- 95 BH: OK, geez. Generally, if you look back on your life, how would you describe the way you came across to people? How would you describe yourself?  
SM: [Pause, makes questioning noise, as if confused by question]
- 96 BH: Would they think Simon was a shy man?  
SM: A shy man, very shy.
- BH: But you would sometimes be aggressive. Do you think that was often or behind closed doors?  
SM: [pause] No, I would think that was often.
- 97 BH: It was often, mmm. Were you only violent towards girlfriends, or towards other people also?  
SM: [Clear speech] I was violent towards other people, I would say that.  
BH: Ja. So you got in fights a lot, but you didn't drink.  
SM: No, even smoking is not a thing for me...
- 98 BH: And what do you think you come across to other people like? And if I got him [referring to cellmate] in here, and said what he what do you think of SM?  
SM: No, people would say that Simon he is a nice, friendly guy [laughs].
- 99 But I am also short-tempered... When angry will hit himself against wall, when angry.
- BH: So if you're getting a temper, you will beat on a wall or hit your head on a wall.  
SM: Ja.  
BH: Is that for whole life?  
SM: I do that, I do.  
BH: Is that the way you get it out.  
100 SM: Ja, I have to get it out me.  
BH: Did you run away from home a lot, or run away from school?  
SM: I used to run away from school.  
BH: So, was this all through your school.  
SM: No, when I reached high school I started to change. When I reached high school I started to change.  
BH: So up until you were about 12.

SM: Ja.

BH: Did you run away from home?

SM: No, the only time I used it, it's not 'run away' as such, it'd more to 'hide away from home' if I was going to get punished if I didn't go to school.

BH: So you would say generally, you didn't like the school and avoided it.

SM: Ja [mutual laughter].

BH: Did you ever steal anything? From brothers or sisters? Like money or sweets?

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SM: Never. I would never take something that doesn't belong to me, it's how I was raised. Not to steal. If you want something, you must ask.

BH: So you were raised quite strictly?

SM: Ja.

BH: Got in fights with other children, when you were growing up?

SM: Yes, I did.

BH: Always the same age as you, not... [Tape ends]... when you were a child, did you also get into fights with adults?

SM: Ja.

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BH: OK, often or just?

SM: [Interrupts] Just, maybe not like adults as such, just bigger boys.

BH: So it was more older children.

SM: Ja.

BH: So it was the same, they would say something to you and you would get...?

SM: Ja. [Mutual laughter]

BH:...Did you ever set fire to things? Like burn down a house or someone's car?

SM: Yes, when I was in, during the Struggle.

BH: OK, what, with petrol bombs?

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SM: Ja.

BH: So you were in the ANC.

SM: Yes.

BH: Where you part of the Comrades?

SM: I was part of the Comrades.

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BH: How high did you get up there? Were you the head of your group?

SM: Like I said, I was the political advisor.

BH: For the Comrades, and the ANC.

SM: Ja.

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BH: Did you often have fights with them? I mean, was there a lot of fighting? With sticks, or guns?

SM: Yes. Yes, there were guns but, like I said, I hate [emphatic] guns. But guns are not a problem, because there was a guy who once said ‘guns by themselves are not dangerous, it is the anger within man that is dangerous.’ I hated guns.

BH: So if you had to do something for the Struggle, you wouldn’t use a gun. Would you follow the orders? Or what would happen there?

SM: If that order is the right order I would follow it. But there is something that I don’t like about it, I would question it, the leader. I don’t take orders. If it is the right order, I would take that order, but if I believe it’s wrong, I don’t take it.

BH: OK, so people would, if they say ‘you should burn that house’...

SM: [Interrupts] They must get a reason, they must have a reason. And a good one.

BH: What reasons were usually the good ones?

SM: If someone maybe is working for the System, I would call that a good reason. And you have to be sure that that particular person is working for the System, then that’s a good reason. But if you are not sure, you going to tell us about something you heard some people say, then that’s not good.

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BH: What age were you when you did this? How old were you?

SM: 15.

BH: So you were still quite young.

SM: I was still very young.

BH: So you were 15 when you were a political advisor.

SM: Ja.

BH: How old were those around you? I mean, how old were those you were working with?

SM: No, they were all about 15. There were others too.

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BH: And the other Comrades in your group?

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

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

SM: Breaks things and all that stuff, ja.

BH: Were you young for a political advisor?

SM: Maybe it's because I like reading books. Even now, if I see there's something that interested me, I read about it. That is how I taught myself.

BH: What sorts of books are your favourite?

SM: [laugh] Religious books and psychological books.

BH: What interests you about them?

SM: Like I said, I would like to learn to know about people more, you see. Sometimes I look at people and I make my own analysis. I can look at someone and try analyse at 'what kind of person is this?' I like doing that. Even today I must go down and write what I think about you [mutual laughter].

BH: Ja, you have to go back and think, was he a skelm? [mutual laughter] ...so you like finding out more about people, working out what sort of person they are.

SM: Ja...

BH: Are there any other questions you have?

SM: No.

BH: Anything you'd like to know? Any requests?

SM: No, the thing is, the only thing I wanted to say is that there are people out there you have not yet come this, you don't know nothing about life. I [emphatic] what I wanted to do is to meet [INAUDIBLE] someone who is interested, who knows about prison. It is not going to help, to preach about crime outside, and then you here someone preaching about crime who knows nothing about crime. They must get someone who knows what is happening here, who is in prison, get someone who can say 'guys, he is right. It is like this, and this, and this. Crime doesn't pay at all'. You see,

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that's what I want to do, you see.

BH: Ja, what you would like to do.

SM: Ja, what I would like to do, if there was a chance of doing that...

BH: I think that's all the questions I've got to ask. So Ms. Mbuli, you had nothing to do with?

SM: [Emphatic] Nothing at all.

BH: So what do you think happened with her?

SM: [Pause] You see, people are like this. If you hear that something [means 'someone'] like that is doing this, and then people will come forward. Like when the people who were looking for me they said Simon Mandlenkosi is a serial killer, still people believe that. The judge who sent me down said there is no [INAUDIBLE]...

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BH: There is no?

SM: That I am not a serial killer, or a [stutters] a rapist or all that stuff. You see, because maybe they had more than six cases against me. So, I forgave them, those people. Because maybe, I knew that, like Mbuli said I was driving a Citi Golf and all that stuff and Nandi said She found Mbuli's clothes in her car and all that stuff. But they did not bring those cars to the court, or those clothes to the court, and all that stuff, and said 'these were Mbuli's things'. But I said, I don't mind.

BH: [Sympathetic] So you just had that case put on you?

SM: [Emphatic] Yes.

BH: You said you're not a serial killer, what would you describe yourself as?

SM: [Laughs] I don't know [small laugh again] really I don't know. But I'm not one, because I didn't go around killing people, without a reason, or enjoy killing people.

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BH: You say if you're a serial killer you would have done it without reason, or you would have liked doing it.

SM: Yeah.

[SM asks to be excused. Tape is turned off. When he returns...]

BH: Whenever you killed someone you had a reason?

SM: [Emphatic] Yes.

BH: So you never killed anyone who didn't make you angry?

SM: [Pause] And it was not my intention to go around killing people who have made me angry. Those [referring to victims] were not the only people who made me angry.

BH: Ja.

SM: Nandi made me angry. If I wanted to kill her I could have killed many a times. I had the chance. But I didn't want to kill Nandi. She's still alive today.

BH: What kept Nandi alive? Why didn't you kill her?

[Pause, mutual laughter at difficult question]

SM: No, I really like Nandi. Especially now. But, I think maybe the children. Let's say the children. My brother's children helped her stay alive.

BH: OK, so it's because she had your brother's children, you didn't...

SM: Ja

BH: Was there anyone else you would liked to have killed?

SM: [pause] No [quiet tone, emphatic].

BH: Could more murders have happened if there was, if things had gone wrong?

SM: No [emphatic]

BH: I honestly think that's all I'm got to ask, thanks very much for your time. Thanks very much for your help. Do you have any other questions? I understand you've been speaking to the prison psychologist, is that asking things about psychology?

SM: No, I want to get transferred from here. I want to go to [INAUDIBLE] prison.

BH: OK, is that closer to family?

SM: I think my girlfriend is sick. But she doesn't have money to come and see me. I would also like to go and see her. She's also sick.

BH: OK, which girlfriend is this?

SM: Amelia.

BH: Amelia, was this the girlfriend you were on the way to see, with Stella?

SM: I was staying with her, when I was arrested.

BH: Yes, OK. How long have you been with Amelia.

SM: Since 1995.

BH: So a long time.

SM: She's the only one I've never hit.

BH: Don't you fight with Amelia?

SM: Never.

BH: Do you like her?

SM: I like her.

BH: If you got a chance, would you marry Amelia?

SM: That's what I wanted to do [laugh].

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BH: Maybe you'll get the chance...Thanks very much for your help, if you've got any problems, just get in contact. Good luck and thanks for your time.

SM: Sure. It helps to talk.

### Transcription of interview with Jacques Eksteen

BH: The questions will cover a whole range of things, I don't know if there's any place you would like to start? For example, how you grew up. Or would you prefer I just ask?

JE: Ja, you can just ask [jy kan maar vra].

BH: How big was your family? Did you have brothers and sisters?

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JE: No, I'm the only son. OK, there were other children, but then they died at birth, or just after birth.

BH: Were the others older than you or younger than you?

JE: I think the one was older than me, and the other was younger than me.

That's what I think, I'm not completely certain.

BH: And they just died at birth or just after ...

JE: [interrupts] Ja, I think after birth, I don't know what [INAUDIBLE] they had or whatever [of wat ookal] they had, I didn't ask my parents about it.

BH: Did you get along well with your parents?

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JE: [pause] Umm, ja, there are no, it's just [searches for words] I'm not friends with my parents, you understand, they are my parents. And OK, my father's the sort of person who didn't talk much with me.

BH: He's introverted? [terruggetrokke]

JE: He's not introverted, OK, he talks [hy praat], but he's a quiet person ['n stil mens]. Umm, he will talk with you, but he won't, for example, help with school work or something like that [of so iets], or say, 'come, I'll teach you about cars' or something like that, 'look I'm going to work under the car and you can hold the spanners' or something like that. Ja. OK, my mother brought me up [grootgemaak].

BH: So your mother was the one who was very involved with you [baie met jou betrokke was]?

JE: Ja [interjects]

BH: And your father was more the one.

JE: He worked, he brought the money home, and that's is it [en dis klaar]. He didn't play with me. OK [pause] we didn't play with a ball, but we did play games, you understand, Monopoly or something like that. But not with a rugby ball, or soccer ball or, going fishing or anything like that.

BH: It was always just board games.

JE: Ja, just word games [praatspeletjies]

BH: Would you have wanted him to play with you more?

JE: No, I can't say yes or no to you, understand. It's very difficult to say. OK, any person could say 'yes, look, you'd want your father to have more involvement [betrokke] with you' OK, but for example, they don't know how to bring up a child because there's not a book which tells them how to bring up a child. Like one that says 'your child is now born', then they get the book which says [BH laughs], 'when he does his things [goede] you must clean him up with Vaseline otherwise he gets a baby rash, a nappie rash or something' OK. But I would say, yes, yes, I would have liked it if he had become more involved with me [meer betrokke met my geraak].

BH: Did you feel it growing up? [Pause] Did you think, 'hey, my Dad [Pa] is a little bit cold towards me' or something like that?

JE: No, I didn't think about it, not think hard about it. But if I think back now, I think he should have been more involved with me. Not that the time [op daai stadium], you understand, about my father. About my mother, I learnt more.

BH: Is that so?

JE: Ja, you understand. She would spank me [sy't my pak gegee] and stuff.

My father didn't spank me once, I can say.

BH: Was your mother more of the disciplinarian.

JE: Ja.

BH: With what sort of things would she discipline you?

JE: [pause, more hesitations] Ja, she, there was a time when I was, say, in primary school, when she would punish me, hit me with a belt, if I didn't do homework, or was naughty, and OK, she was a bit rough...just a bit rough, but didn't abuse me [mishandel] you understand.

BH: I know what you're saying, she was strict [streng].

JE: Ja, she was just strict, and one time she hit me on the head, you understand. Umm, but when I arrived in high school, then she changed, and umm then she came closer to me [toe het sy nader aan my gekom het], that's what I felt.

BH: Oh yes, you felt that when you got older she wanted to have more involvement with you [meer met u betrokke raak], is that correct?

117 JE: Well, she was involved with me, when I went to the Voortrekkers she also went to the Voortrekkers, OK, but I mean now that she maybe now thought that she was a bit distant from me, and she wanted to become closer to me. She began to play with me, you understand, that's what I mean.... But I didn't accept [aanvaar] it... She would just hug me, so 'hullo my child, I love you' and whatever but I said 'no' and went away, when she came to tickle you or something like that... She wanted to become more close to me, that's what I'm trying to say to you, because she saw that she was driving me away when I was younger. She saw that with the things she did, how strict she was, that I was moving away from her. Now she wanted to come closer to me.

BH: Was she very strict when you were growing up?

JE: Ja, ja, I that's how I felt.

118 BH: You couldn't be naughty, or something like that. If you were naughty, you got smacked.

JE: You could say that. For example, I could say that she wouldn't allow me to go and visit anyone on my own. OK, I would go out to friends, but she didn't allow me to sleep over, or something like that

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BH: So most of the time, she would want you in your place?

JE: Ja, I wouldn't be allowed to go to disco's and that sort of thing. It's not like I wanted to go, but ja, it's [tails off].

BH: You're always in the house.

JE: Ja.

BH: Is that how it happened?

JE: Ja.

BH: Were you lonely [eensaam] in primary school or high school?

JE: Ja, if you're an only child, you're always lonely. If you have a brother you can just, someone to talk to, I didn't discuss personal things with my parents. Even, for example, when I became a sergeant, in the police, I didn't go and say to her 'I am now a sergeant.'

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BH: Oh ja, was it always a bit...

JE: [interjects] The strictness [strengheid] I didn't like, and also when, say when she introduces me to her friends she always said 'this is my son, isn't he nice and big?' and whatever and I didn't like that. I didn't like her introducing me [voorstel] it really irritated me.

BH: Would you rather have that she wouldn't introduce you to others?

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JE: Ja, acquaintances, ja, then she can say; but complete strangers. She obviously just wanted to boast [spog] but I didn't want it. It [INAUDIBLE] OK, I didn't try run away, because of us becoming more distant from one another...

BH: You didn't want that she became more close to you, or introduce you to others...

JE: [interrupts] Ja, like I said, in primary school we were distant from each other [uitemekaar] but in high school she wanted to become more close

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BH: And it really irritated you.

JE: Ja, you could say, it isn't quite the right word to use.

BH: OK, so maybe you could say it made you feel uneasy [ongemaklik]?

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JE: Ja, ja [emphatic].

BH: Did doesn't feel nice, is that a better way of saying...

JE: Ja ja.

BH: You don't want her to make you known, you just want to be on your

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own, is that...?

JE: Ja, ja.

BH: Did you like people [INAUDIBLE]... Would you describe yourself as someone who always wanted to be on your own?

JE: Ja, you could say that, but I wanted to break out... I wanted to be alone, but it also wasn't nice [lekker] at that stage. I wanted to be alone, but also it wasn't nice, and I wanted to break out of it but I think who I am as a person, I'm introvert [ingewerk], so, umm, it, umm, say, I didn't communicate with many people. This why I'm so introverted, [INAUDIBLE] and wanted to break out, you understand.

BH: To put it this way, you were introvert and most of the time you were alone, and although you didn't hate it, there was something you wanted to change.

JE: Ja.

BH: To break out, but you were an introvert so it was hard.

JE: Ja ja.

BH: Did you get very frustrated over this, because you always want to break out of this thing.

JE: Ja, you could say that, if my parents were so strict, and if they maybe spanked me, I would maybe wish that I was dead, you understand. Because I wished myself dead, I cursed myself, through that, I killed my emotions. I didn't know how to act out love [liefde uittedoen] it was a difficulty.

BH: For you, did it always feel like your emotions were dead?

JE: Ja, because I can't [pause, struggling to express himself] know how to handle, certain feelings...for example, how to be cheerful [bly], or happy [gelukkig] ... OK, I knew how to be angry, understand, but I can't name all these feelings people get. But I know what they are, happiness [blyheid]

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BH: Or sadness [treurigheid]

JE: Or to love someone. Sadness is just part of anger.

BH: But all the smaller emotions...

JE: [interrupts] To be proud, or things that I regret, I didn't know how to do them, to live them out.

BH: So you got feelings but didn't know how to live them out [uitteleef]?



JE: I don't know if I got the feelings. I don't know if I could answer that. I'm not sure I got them. I wouldn't be able to recognise them as feelings ... I could name them, having looked at it on other peoples faces, but to live it myself, that's the thing. For example if you were first in the class, what should your reaction be? Or if you got a present, what should your reaction be?...Or if, say when I became a sergeant, how must you conduct yourself when you become a sergeant?

BH: So you got all the feelings but can't live them out.

JE: Ja, or if you for example get someone who loves you, and you want to love her back: you know how to woo her [vry], but to demonstrate that love, it's a completely different situation. To understand the true meaning of the words, 'I love you', to demonstrate and expound on it [uittebrei], to write words to say what's in your heart, that I didn't know how to do it. OK, I learnt it after I was involved with someone who gave these things to me, but I didn't handle it like an understanding person [verstandige mens]. Now I know what it is like to love a person, now I know if someone loves you, this is how it is done...But at the time I didn't have the things [dinges] to know how to do it. To say, 'I love you' is easy, but to really show it, and to do certain things to show you love her... that sort of thing.

BH: You didn't know about these things.

JE: I didn't have the knowledge.

BH: Did you have many friends at school?

JE: You could say I always had friends, but not many. There were always friends. But to say whether they were true friends, or more acquaintances, that you just did things with I am not so sure; if you would always be there for your friend, you understand, [or] they are just friends because they stay near to you...

BH: They are more friends...

JE: [interrupts] They are a friend [emphasises word] you can do things with them. They are prepared to help you, you can speak confidentially and you know he won't talk to anyone else, ummm, that is a friend. But I always had the other. They were always friends, but not many. Maybe the little guy [outjie] who lives next door. The kids who sit next to you in class, or who you

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chat with, or who you eat your lunch with at break; he is my friend, that's all.

BH: So, to put it this way, these people weren't your true friends, just the people who were near you.

JE: Ja, they were my acquaintances, and also my friends, but not my friend – friend. [BH laughs]

BH: Ja, I understand.

JE: You could say in primary school, I had two or three friends... I didn't go out searching to make friends. There was one friend at primary school who maybe, stood out compared to the other two. But I didn't discuss personal things with them, like for example 'I like that girl [meisie] and en would like to go out with her' or 'I took money from my mom's bag, let's go buy sweets' or something like that.

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BH: You wouldn't talk to them about that sort of thing. You can play with them, but couldn't discuss...

JE: [interjects] Ja.

BH:...personal things with them, that sort of thing.

JE: [interjects] Ja, ja.

BH: How long did you have these friends for, a couple of years each?

JE: Until I was out school. Now and then I'd have contact, when I was out the school, Now and then I'd have contact, not like every weekend or every month.

124 BH: In primary school, how would you describe yourself? Or do you feel, from when you were small, would you describe yourself as a lonely child, someone who felt lonely?

JE: No, I wouldn't say that I would try hide away if anyone approached me [ek probeer wegkruip as iemand kom].

BH: On the whole, how did you feel?

JE: I think I could say I felt alone [alleen].

BH: Was it a lonely [eensaam] feeling, or just the feeling of being alone [alleen-gevoel]? Good or bad?

JE: I think both [definite tone].

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125 BH: It's a feeling that has both good and bad in it.

JE: Ja, if you feel alone then you can take money from your mother's handbag

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and go to the cafe and play games on the machine [i.e. video games], but that sort of things...If you can't go to a friend, but you feel alone, so to make yourself feel, to make...you must make [verskaf] your own amusement, so you go to the cafe and play video games.

BH: Did you always felt alone, or lonely, since you were young?

JE: Ja, you can say that. I don't know if I perceived [besef] that I was feeling alone, at the time, now thinking back on it, I can say 'yes, it was like that'. But at the time you didn't know whether it was a feeling of aloneness or loneliness.

BH: So it was, to use the term, 'just the way things were'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Now, when you're thinking back, you think 'maybe I was a bit alone, a bit lonely'?

JE: Ja.

BH: Who was your favourite parent?

JE: I don't know. I couldn't say which one is my favourite. I lived with them, there wasn't one person I chose over the other.

BH: When they disciplined you, your mother was strict, did she spank you, scold [skel] you?

JE: Ja, she would scold, spank me, as I said, handle me a bit roughly [INAUDIBLE] hit [klap] a hand across the head. But it wasn't anything I would call abuse. Umm, because, OK, maybe I wasn't alone in that.

BH: But for you , it feel like it was abuse.

JE: For me, it felt like she was too strict.

BH: Ja.

JE: It was a bit hard for me. I wouldn't call it abuse but, like I said...maybe there were psychological consequences [sielkundige uitwerkings] when I think back on it now, but at that time I didn't know. I couldn't say for you whether it was abuse, or had psychological [TAPE ENDS]... only if I didn't if I didn't learn well, or did my school work, or didn't do certain things, or if I couldn't hold certain things in my head, couldn't remember, then she would say 'go learn some more'. Then when I come back, it is the same, that's how it happened.

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BH: Was it that sort of thing you were disciplined for, when you didn't learn well.

JE: Ja, OK and when I was naughty [stout].

BH: What sort of naughtiness would you get up to?

JE: Well, say maybe, [much hesitation] walking around in the street and forgetting to turn off oil on the stove, and when I come back the house is full of smoke...just like a child is naughty, you see, I can't remember all the things I did when I was naughty, but that sort of thing.

BH: Did you ever, for example, through a stone and shatter a window?

JE: So with a stone?

BH: Ja, ja.

JE: Ja, through a car's window, I threw a stone and shattered it. Or maybe staying in the café too long, and coming home after 6...

BH: When you threw the stone through the car's window, what was that, was it by accident?

JE: Ja, it was by accident [INAUDIBLE]...You look where you are, if it's an empty building then ja, you would smash a window, but not where people stay.

BH: Did you take things from Mom's bag, money? A bit of money now and then? [BH knew he did, in advance]

JE: Ja

BH: Did you take sweets, if they were there?

JE: Ja.

BH: Petty theft, would you say?

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you ever steal anything bigger, or was it only from the crimes? [referring to the crimes for which Jacques was arrested]

JE: Just at the crimes did I steal anything bigger, always just money, I didn't do it many times, just once or twice, most of the time just money out the handbags [based on next sentence, appears he is referring to when he was young and stealing from Mother's handbag].

BH: And when you grew up, in high school?

JE: Yes, the same thing. Just the money from handbag.

BH: Did you mother ever find out?

JE: I don't know, I couldn't say whether she knew. She didn't ever ask, there was an occasion [geleentheid] when I stole some money out her handbag, and she came there and I said 'it must be in the cupboard [kas] because it wasn't in the bag; she knew about that, because I said to her, I was nicely caught [mooi gevang]. That she knew about. Maybe on other occasions too, I can't remember. Maybe, when [INAUDIBLE] there wasn't money and I tried again, then she saw me, but I got out of there [skiet ek daaruit].

BH: At your mother's?

JE: No, at other people's [Jacques is mumbling, and is hard to follow, at this point in the interview]

BH: Oh, OK, ja.

JE: So, that time she thought [INAUDIBLE] [laughs]. [Appears that Jacques had been caught, by his mother, stealing money at another person's house].

129 BH: What did your mother think, was she angry with you?

JE: Ja, ja, she was angry. That was the one time my Dad hit me...I knew that they would spank me, but I wasn't afraid of them.

BH: Did you get very angry [kwaad]? Did you get angry easily?

JE: Ja, ja. Sometimes I got angry easily, other times I wasn't angry, but I didn't bring it out [het dit nie uitgebring nie]. Other times, I did bring it out and would scream, or talk loudly, I would show I was angry. It wasn't anger that would last a whole day. Say, I couldn't say how long, say maybe an hour and if I was still angry, a day. But the next day, I'm not angry, you understand.

130 BH: Ja, you're angry and then it's finished.

JE: Ja. I wouldn't not often get angry. To shout, yes, I wouldn't go sit to one side and get angry. I would move....I didn't hit things.

BH: Just got angry.

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you get angry often?

JE: No, I didn't get angry very often.

BH: You weren't the sort that could easily get angry.

JE: I don't have an idea if I got angry easily. OK, I got angry, but it's not

anger so that I would assault [aanrand] someone...I don't let it out, my anger, I held it inside.

BH: Was it always like this with you?

JE: Ja.

BH: If you were angry, you wouldn't show it to someone you would move around it...

JE: [interjects] Ja, or talk about it, why I got angry.

BH: Were you ever in fights at school?

JE: No, I wasn't involved in fights at school, OK, I once hit someone in the face, but he didn't want to fight back. Maybe he thought [besef] he was in the wrong, that's what I think, or just the fright [skrik] that I hit him maybe [BH laughs] meant that he didn't want to fight back, or something like that. I didn't fight other times.

131 BH: It was just that once.

JE: Ja.

BH: How old were you when that happened?

JE: I was in high school, standard 6 or 7.

BH: Were you at the same school for the whole of primary school?

JE: Ja, at primary school I was at one school, but at high school I was at two different schools because we moved. I was at one school in Witbank, then we moved in standard 7 or 8, then we were in the Cape, in Despatch. Then in 9 [i.e. standard 9] we came back... and I was then again going to school in Witbank...Did [standards] 9 and 10 in Witbank.

BH: Did you parents move around a lot?

JE: No.

BH: What was the reason for the Despatch...?

JE: Because they bought a business

BH: What sort of business?

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JE: A shop.

BH: Were both parents working there?

JE: Ja.

BH: All the time?

JE: Ja, for that year. They bought the shop, then the person they bought it

with moved [vertrek], and didn't want to buy it any more, and then we had to move back... OK for [INAUDIBLE] I just stayed in hostel [koshuis] at the school, near the house.

BH: Did you enjoy hostel?

JE: Ja. I was [INAUDIBLE]

BH: Why did you like hostel so much?

JE: I was alright, it's not a problem for me to fit in to that sort of place. You understand, I come to prison, and it's not hard [for me] to fit in. I know I must be at here at a certain time, [stammers]...I must learn here, I can't make trouble or make things hard for myself, punish myself.

BH: When you come to a new place, it is alright [ooraait] for you?

JE: Ja, it's alright. It's not a problem, you must fit in. it's not hard for me to fit in in a new place, like a hostel.

BH: Did you have lots of friends at the hostel?

JE: There were always friends, but not many. I always had friends but, as I said before, they were more acquaintances.

BH: More acquaintances than friends, would you say?

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you like hostel because it got you away from home?

JE: [pause] No, I don't believe so. I don't believe so, no. Because I went home on the weekends, so knew I must go to school, and I would go home soon. It wasn't a problem...

BH: [Did] you never had psychological treatment [sielkundige behandeling] before?

JE: No, no.

BH: Not during high school, for example.

JE: No, no, I didn't even have an idea there was that sort of thing [INAUDIBLE sentence] I saw mad people, but I didn't know about psychologists [BH laughs]. OK, so say I had problems, I couldn't discuss [bespreek] them with anyone, I held them inside [het hulle binne my gehou]. I didn't know that I could go over there to be free of my problems [soontoe om hierdie probleme los to kry]. I didn't know

BH: What sort of problems?

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JE: As I said to you, I didn't know how to do feelings [om gevoelens te doen]. I didn't perceive [besef] that what I was doing by stealing out the handbag was a problem and that it can get bigger.

BH: Did it get bigger?

JE: Ja.

BH: I just wondered whether it was something completely different, or just part of the same? [i.e. continuum that needed with murders]

JE: Ja. You could say it is like a person who starts smoking dagga at a young age, now I began stealing out handbags. So like that person then goes on the pills or [INAUDIBLE] or mandrax or whatever; I started stealing more money. I would not just steal R5, I would now go onto R50 or R100 or R200.... in handbags, and by people I knew. And then later I would go into stranger's houses, [I] didn't break windows or anything like that, and then I would take there savings cards, and I would get the numbers, then withdraw money from their savings accounts. So it got bigger [het al hoe groter gegaan] maybe I would have later gone on to rob a bank [BH laughs, though not sure if JE was making joke, seemed to be smile in voice]

BH: I understand, it started small but got bigger...

JE: [interjects] You don't know it's a problem, you understand, so you don't know where to go for help, or it's a problem because at that stage it's fun [lekker] for you, you enjoy it, being able to take money out of handbags. Like if you are an addict you enjoy smoking drugs. And as you get stronger, you begin to experiment. You experiment, you see if you can use the numbers to draw money from the bank.

BH: Did it feel good for you, the theft?

JE: Ja, it's fun [lekker], it was an adventure. You're enjoying yourself, you've got money to waste or whatever, you didn't work for that... It wasn't planned.

BH: You just thought 'I've got money, it's good'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you ever think about suicide?

JE: Ja, when I committed the murders. There was a stage when they thought it was a person who stayed in the barracks [police barracks near the a number of the scenes]. They were going to take fingerprints from everyone there. They



said you had to be there at a certain date and time, where they were going to do it. So that evening I thought I must shoot myself [INAUDIBLE] I was caught, then you think about committing suicide. But I didn't do it, you understand, I didn't think it was a solution, at that stage. Umm, it's also because it says in the Bible, if you commit suicide, then you go to hell.

BH: Were you always religious?

JE: I went to church regularly, attended youth services and whatever.

BH: Always like that?

JE: Ja, ja, every Sunday. OK, maybe now and again my parents went and I didn't go. If you were on holiday you didn't go. But I didn't read my bible at home. I didn't do the more religious things, like tell people about Jesus.

B: So you always at church, but weren't very involved [betrokke] with it.

JE: Ja, I did go to youth groups, that go to a places in the weekend. You would be in groups that have to do a play, sometimes...

BH: On the whole, are you moderately religious, or very religious?

JE: I am religious, but not very religious....

BH: Did you play a lot of sport at school?

JE: Ja, I played rugby now and again but I wouldn't do it regularly, I would maybe play for a year and then leave it for another year, then I would begin again. I wouldn't go to all the practices, so I wouldn't select me [mutual laughter]

BH: Any other sports, athletics or gymnastics?

JE: Ja, I took part in athletics, 800 [metres]. Now and then I would play squash with a friend, tennis with a friend. I really liked table tennis....it was at primary and high school.

BH: But there wasn't a sport you were really keen about?

JE: Ja. I would go to play there, my favourite was table tennis. I would lay that at home. I didn't go and become part of a club.

BH: You didn't do it to say, become a provincial player.

JE: Ja, just because I enjoy it. I didn't force myself to do certain things. OK, I enjoyed playing rugby, but maybe I was to lazy to practice [mutual laughter].

BH: You didn't worry much about it.

JE: It's important to you [jy stel belang] but after a while you don't really find

it important any more. So like for example, you study in a certain subject and then later, you don't enjoy it anymore, OK you still do it, to finish it. The importance of something isn't constant [die belangstelling is nie konstant nie].

BH: What activity, hobby or such like, did you most enjoy?

JE: I liked being in the Voortrekkers and all the things to do. To get badges...I enjoyed that, carved wood, and collected stamps but I didn't get into hugely, studying stamps and everything.

BH: How long in were you in Voortrekkers for example?

JE: 7 years. From when he began school up until std 5.

BH: At what standard to do you leave the school?

JE: I just made matric [grade 12]... then I went into the police. I joined the Railway Police.

BH: What made you decide on the Railway Police?

JE: No, look, I didn't decide 'now, I'm going to be that'. I didn't have a clue what I was going to do, when I was in school. There wasn't any specific thing I wanted to do... Then I decided to join the police, but the police didn't accept [aanvaar] me, then one friend of my side they were looking for people in the Railway Police, at the airport. Then I went there and got [INAUDIBLE].

BH: How come the other police didn't accept you?

JE: I don't know. They didn't tell me. I wanted to wait for my conscription papers for the Army, but then I decided 'I've already joined the police'. But it wasn't a big thing: 'I must go there, or I must go the other way.' I never had the idea to do that, I didn't know, I just went. If I decide to do something thing I'm going to do it. I just went, to do something, to do work. So I applied for the Railway [police]. OK, I did go to the Post Office, but they didn't get back to me, but they didn't get back to me to say whether I had been accepted, or whatever. So I went to one place, and then went to another and, they wanted me.

BH: You tried to get work at the Post Office and the Police but, for whatever reason, they didn't want you so...

JE: I went to a lot of places, not just the police and the Post Office. I made enquiries at a lot of places, and they said 'you're on a list, we'll contact you'.

BH: Ja, and they never called you back.

JE: Then I said I went to find people at the Railway Police. So I went, and had an interview, and they said they would contact me. Then I went on holiday, and when I came back they asked me if I was still interested, and I said yes and then I went.

BH: Did you like police work?

JE: Yes, when I worked at the airport, I enjoyed working there. But the others, like the Riot Squad [Onruseenheid] I didn't like much.

BH: How come you didn't like it [i.e. the Riot Squad], was it the danger of it?

JE: No, it's not the danger that bothered me. Ummm, it wasn't

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[INAUDIBLE] work, it's just the same thing every day. At the airport it's a completely different, you do don't do one job, there's different jobs [that you do]: you work at the terminal, or you work at the freight, or you drive vehicles around. Or you work at the charge counter, or you do office work, or you fly, as a courier.

BH: The others were boring.

JE: Ja, at the same place, every day, in the same situations. There's not the variety in your duties [verskil in jou werke].

BH: Ja. Did you see a lot of action there? Did lots of people shoot at you, for example?

JE: Ja, um, ja. People shot at us, and threw stones and threw petrol bombs [tone of voice doesn't change]

BH: Did you ever shoot anyone? Shot anyone dead?

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JE: No, I never shot anyone dead. [INAUDIBLE] We used rubber bullets and tear gas.

BH: Just shotguns and tear gas.

JE: Ja.

BH: Do you ever get nightmares?

JE: No.

BH: So you're not really worried about those things.

JE: No.

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BH: Do you ever get nightmares, about anything?

JE: No, I don't. But I do think about the things that I've done, it comes back to

me a lot. Like, for example, OK, when I think back to the woman I shot in the bath... It just comes into my thoughts [gedagte], I don't look [soek] to think about it, you understand, because it will always stay with me, it's a thing that happened in my life, you must think back about these things.

BH: Do you think more about those things than you do about anything else? Do you think about your crimes than you do, for example, your schooldays?

JE: [pause, thoughtful noise] I don't know. Ja, you could say that; but I don't think a lot about my school days.

BH: Oh ja, but you think...

142 JE: [interjects] I think back about the times I stole money from handbags, that comes very often. It comes, not every day, but it comes often. Say like, you're finished for the day and then you think back to your [INAUDIBLE] but I don't really speak about it. OK if someone asks me then we can sit and talk, but it won't come out of me.

BH: You wouldn't go find someone to speak to about this. How do you feel about your crimes, bad? Or was it [just] 'something that happened'?

143 JE: No, I wouldn't say it was something that happened. Ummm, Look, I know that what I did was wrong [pause]. At that stage what I did didn't bother me. I knew it was wrong, and that I must stop, you understand, but I couldn't. It was like a drug. You may know, but you can't stop yourself. I didn't perceive that I must talk, or go for help, you understand.

BH: You just thought it's wrong, but you can't stop.

144 JE: Ja. But I also didn't go, I didn't try stop or go for help. Talk about it, you understand. That's definitely a problem with me. Now I know, if I have a problem then I must go to that person and say I have a problem, help me, give me guidance, advice, help me.

BH: At the time of the murders, did it feel horrible [sleg] for you? Or was it more of a thrill ['thrill' said in English]?

JE: Ja, it was a thrill ['thrill' said in English].

BH: Did you feel very sad [treurig] about it?

145 JE: No [pause] no. I was concerned [bekkommerd] over the thing but I don't go out to stop it.

BH: Why did you feel concerned?...What type of concern?

JE: It's a hard question, you know. I couldn't say. If I say, I don't know if I'm telling the truth.

BH: OK, I understand. To put it this way, did you ever felt sad [treurig] or very regretful [berou]? Or was it just that you concerned because something is wrong?

JE: Ja, you could say [blows out air thinking] it bothered me [pla] but not terribly, you understand. [pause, struggles for words] You can say, come, I, [laughs, seemingly at own struggle] I didn't understand myself.

BH: Is this what concerned you, you couldn't understand why you were doing this?

JE: Ja. OK I knew, but at at that stage, I didn't know. Now I can say maybe it was an adventure, I don't know...maybe like stealing cash out the handbags. You're just in the thing, you're doing it, you don't really perceive [besef] it. You know what you're doing is wrong...

BH: [interjects] But you'll do it for the excitement? [opwinding]

JE: Nee [fast, quite adamant], nee, nee, not for the excitement [opwinding], that's a bit...[tails off] I felt that I wanted [emphasised this] to do it again. It half felt like I was forced. But It's not that someone told me to do it, you understand.

BH: It felt like you were forced, like if you use lots of drugs, so in the end it almost forced to use more to get those feeling feeling? Is that how it felt?

JE: No [long pause], no, I think the [INAUDIBLE] that caused it, I think that's what you are looking for. The danger of it. [Pause, speaks as if decided] Ja, I can say the danger. You don't know it, maybe, the person also has a firearm, and anything can happen [mumbles more here] You weren't always sharp, you weren't always worried about it, met, like I said...[tails off]

BH: [interjects] It's hard to say...

JE: [interjects, finishing the sentence] Precisely how you came to that point.

BH: On the whole, it was for the adrenaline, the feeling of danger [gevaar gevoel]?

JE: Ja, the feeling of danger.

BH: Now I'm doing something, and it's...

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JE:...[something] that you can't stop, you understand. That's what also the drives the thing.

BH: You just do 'more and more and more'.

JE: Ja.

BH: What were the reasons, would you say, that you couldn't stop?

JE: I don't know [pause] you could say it was like when you began stealing, it's half-fun [lekker] for you but I couldn't say the murder or the rapes were fun, you just do them because there was a chance there to do them. You don't feel forced, you just do it because you do it. Maybe you're searching for something, I don't know.

BH: Looking for?

JE: I don't have any idea. But it felt for me like I was half searching for something, I don't know.

BH: You didn't know what it was, but you were looking for something?

JE: Ja.

BH: If you think back, at that stage, were the offences fundamentally about sex? [sexuel van aard] Did you, for example, feel horny [jags]?

148 JE: No [pause] I didn't feel horny, not in the beginning, but later you go have to sex, but it wasn't horniness [jagsheid]. It was just maybe, you're looking for something in the sexual act. I don't know. I don't understand it myself. In the beginning, you come on the scene [much pausing, searching for words] and you think it's a woman, and then you think 'I must have sex with her'. It's not about horniness. It's about just having sex with the woman but it's not horniness, it's just the deed that you have decided to do. But later you go out to have sex, but it [INAUDIBLE]

149 JE: Ja, that you went there, like I said when I stole from handbags. Then you'd go for more things, for example steal CD's, and then you'd look around and see that a woman lives there alone, but I didn't look around to see if a man lived there also. When I took the money from the handbags, I didn't have thoughts ['gedagte', presumably around rape] but when I began with the murders and the rapes, and so on, then I had a weapon, and I think because I didn't have respect for the weapon, or for the people I did the things to, the rapes, and you just did it. You don't realise it at the time, but when you do this

things you're also destroying yourself. It's not like suicide you decided to do, over certain things you did in your live.

BH: [interject] But its almost like you're self-destructing.

JE: Ja, you didn't worry what you were doing, you didn't plan, to, but what you're doing is self-destruction

BH: You didn't worry about it, but this thing you're doing is busy destroying [vernietig] you.

JE: Ja.

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BH: What caused you to have these feelings of self-destruction [self-vernietiging]?

JE: Umm [pause] In the beginning, you can't to stop. Then you get bigger, like you said, with the handbags and then later I could go rob banks.

BH: It became harder to stop as you went along, once you had started.

JE: Maybe, the things that I stole out of women's handbags, began [the plans to] to have sex with women. I don't know, I just think that.

BH: To put it this way, it was part of the same act. You stole this thing, you saw a woman there and thought 'hey, I can have sex with her'?

JE: Ja, but it wasn't on the street I didn't follow people on the street, because she looked good to have sex with, you know. There was others where a man slept in the bedroom alongside, and the door was shut and you knew there could be someone, but it didn't bother you. If he had come out I would have shot him also, you understand [Jacques appears to be referring to one of his offences in the last two sentences]. It's not just, uh, I went there to rape, but because I began it, I wanted to do it again.

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BH: Did it feel good? On a physical level?

JE: [pauses] Umm, no, I couldn't say it felt good, you did it because you had to do it, talking about killing them, it's complicated. There are quite few reasons.

BH: If you could name them, what are those reasons?

JE: Because I began with the handbags and got bigger, that's one reason; and another reason, look is because the light was on, I killed them [doodgemaak]

152

BH: Because they saw your face?

JE: Ja, but I didn't wear glove, you understand. I couple of times you take the

cartridge, if you see it, then you think you take them. It's not like you look around for it, but if you saee it, you think 'I'll take it'.

BH: You didn't plan everything specifically, to put it that way.

JE: Ja, ja. You planned to go out, understand because if you begin with one, then you go with it for a while. Then you go to another thing, and continue with that for a while, you understand.

153 BH: For example, you start with handbags and go on...

JE: [interjects] You experiment, like with drugs.

BH: You do a bit more.

JE: You start with dagga, then go on to pinks, then to cocaine and whatever else... it's the same sort of thing.

154 BH: In the first case [referring to Thomasina Selepeng], would it worry you if you spoke more about the cases?

JE: We can speak

BH: In the first case... What happened there?

155 JE: [many pauses for thought initially, then speaks easily] The thing is, like this she came to ask for work. Then I saw she looks good. Then I, saw her the next day, I saw the woman whose house it was going to the shops, I didn't realise she [Thomasina] would still be in the house [or in servant's quarters out back] ...I was going in to house to look for money. I saw the door was open to the outside room and it was near the houses back door. It was just alongside my parent's house, over the wall. She was still sleeping, but the door was open.

BH: Was it the morning?

JE: It was in the morning.

BH: Early morning?

156 JE: Ja, it was early morning. I decided that I was going to have sex with her. Then I go into the room. Then she wakes up. Then she screams and I grab her by the throat, to get her to be quiet. Then I yanked [ruk] the blankets off, the night clothes off... She had on nightie on and sleeping shorts. But didn't have panties on her sleeping shorts. But she still struggled, still fought [last word said in English] and then I hit her on the stomach [maag] to get her calm [rustig]. She kept fighting, you understand, and we fell off the bed, struggling.



[pause] Ok, then she passed out, or something. I heard in court about the smothering from the fire, that the nightdress and the clothes fell on her face and they were on fire, and that caused her smothering. She then passed out. [INAUDIBLE] . Now I was exhausted from the struggling. So I wasn't keen [lus] to rape her...[INAUDIBLE] I didn't want to [belangstel] do the act. Then I set fire to the table, there were some newspapers on the table and I set them on fire

BH: Did you undress her?

157 JE: She was already naked there on the ground, as I said, I had already torn her clothes off. Then I set the place on fire and walked out. The fire spread from the table to the bedclothes, and then on to the night clothes or dress, I don't know which it was, that fell on her face. She lay like so, and the bed was here. And then I left. The woman living alongside saw the fire and called...

BH: Why did you set fire to the table?

JE: I don't know, it's just what I thought up [opgedink], I just I decided to do it.

BH: Not a specific reason.

JE: No..

BH: Before this, did you make lots of fires.

JE: No, set fire to places, no....

BH: How did you feel after this first crime?

158 JE: [pause, sighs] As I said, I hadn't known whether she was alive or dead. I was worried. It was the first time I did something like that. So I was very worried [bekommered] I didn't know, OK, was she alive, would she say it was me and so on, until I saw that no one was coming. Then I saw [struggles to express] that you'd strangled, killed her, or whatever. Raped, or whatever. And then when I saw nothing happens, at that stage I didn't have the weapon, then when I got the weapon I was living in the barracks. I was working in the Riot Squad. Ja, that's right. Then I had the weapon, and the weapon gave me the strength [mag] to go out again, maybe to have sex.

BH: So you thought now...

159 JE: [interjects] I had, ja, no, that's wrong [talking to himself]. Then I went out, and then went into the flat [woonstel]. I saw there were keys there, for a

car. So I took the keys, then went downstairs. I see it's BMW keys. Then I see there're 2 or 3 BMWs there. I use the keys, and then I find the right BMW. Then I ride around a for a little bit in the BMW, then ride it back and park it in the police parking... next to the station. Here's the police station, and the flat was just next door. Then I put the car in the police parking, and the woman reports it stolen, that's what I heard in the court case, the next day.

I think it was a week after that, it rained. I can't say precisely how much, but I can say it was rainy, I think it was a week. And when it rained I took the car and parked it in the parking place I got it from and I went and threw the keys away.

BH: Did the BM just sit by the police station.

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JE: Ja. OK, I don't know how many days after that, I went again to the same flat. Again there wasn't anyone there. OK, then I saw there was a one of those CDs, those Walkman you can play CDs with, and I took 2 or 3 CDs... just to take them. I don't know why I took them, [maybe] it's just because I liked them.

Then a few days after that, I then went later in the night. I had always gone about 8 o'clock [when took CDs and car] now I was going at 1 o'clock, I think.

BH: 8 o'clock when you took CDs.

JE: The car also. 8 o'clock, 9 o'clock.

BH: All on the same day.

JE: No different days. And [pause, thinking] I had by then already seen that there are men and women's clothes. I saw photos, but that's not what attracted me [there] ['aangetrek']. It was always enjoyable [lekker] to go there, and the windows were always open.

161

BH: It was easy to get in.

JE: Ja

BH: Can you climb well?

JE: When went in first time, when I took the car keys, I went in the front, where the entrance and the door are. I went in there the first time, the second time, and the third time. But the other times, [it is not clear whether he is referring to other offences, or to other times he visited that flat] I climbed up

the pipes outside. I didn't break windows to get in, they were just always open.

That evening I decided OK, now I'm going to see if there will be a woman there alone, then I will have sex with her.

162 BH: Before you decided to go there, how long did you think about it?

JE: No, I didn't decide to go there again [in advance], I just decided I would go back...on that night, to go to the flat.

So I get there, then I saw a woman, I saw a person lying on the bed, I didn't know if it was woman or a man, understand. Then I heard this person moan [*kreun*], or she wakes up, and she then saw me there ...[when] I heard that that sound, I hear it is a woman. Then, when I went closer in, the woman woke up and she saw me. And then I showed her the pistol, the weapon. Then [toe] she says 'Don't shoot, put the weapon down' She said she saw the red light on the pistol...[referring to a luminous dot on the sights]... I don't know how she saw it. She said 'put down the weapon', so I put down the weapon, then I pulled off the duvet. She was then just in her panties, then I yanked [ruk] the panties off. Then she put her hands over her breasts, and I climb on. But she kept her legs closed. Well that didn't really bother [pla] me I then penetrated and then came. My watch bothered me, and so I left it on the bed under the pillow [kussing] and I forgot about it. I got dressed, and i went out. I took the telephone, and placed it in the corridor. I don't want her to phone until I had time to get out of there.

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BH Did you say anything to her?

JE: Ja, during it she asked whether I wanted a smoke, or a drink, or a talk. I said no, no, and no. Then she also asked why I took her car, what had I done with her car. I told her I took it for a joyride, and that's it.

BH: How did you feel during this time? Good, or bad?

164

JE: I don't know whether I felt good or bad. What I can say [pause] I didn't want to do the act with her, to have sex with her, because I was horny or whatever [INAUDIBLE] but I didn't, OK I had seen her photo, but that didn't encourage me to her, to rape her. I was not directed at her, it was just that I wanted it.

BH: I see what you're saying, it had nothing to do with her.

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- JE: Ja, didn't matter if she was pretty or whatever... [INAUDIBLE] I did see her, she looked good. I can surely say, pretty. But it was just to do that sex act, I don't feel it was lust, because I was attracted to her or she was pretty or whatever. It was just because I wanted to have sex, you understand.
- BH: It was not a beauty thing.
- JE: Do you understand?
- BH: I understand precisely, it's not about how they look...
- JE: [interjects] Or anything against them, or [because I have] anything women, you understand.
- 166
- BH: It's just because you wanted sex.
- JE: I just wanted sex, you understand. Because maybe I stole money from women's handbags, maybe I had to now have sex with a women, you understand
- 167
- I had had sex [before] I had gone out with a girl, I did have sex with her. Maybe another thing I can name [with reference to offending] because I didn't, I didn't shoot my sperm into her. Maybe I did the sex [i.e. rapes] to feel how to feels to shoot [i.e. ejaculate] into a woman.
- BH: I know what you're saying, you just wanted it for the experience.
- JE: Ja.
- BH: The experience of how it feels.
- JE: Ja.
- 168
- BH: It's not about the prettiness of the woman, or the fact that he's angry with women...
- JE: Ja, ja.
- BH... You just want to have sex with her. She's there.
- JE: Ja, and maybe you get experience. To feel how it feels.
- BH: How did feel for you?
- JE: [pause] Umm, I didn't feel satisfied. It was just a sexual act. I didn't enjoy it, but it wasn't that I didn't enjoy it so much that I wouldn't do it again
- BH: Ja, I understand. It was didn't feel great, but wasn't so bad that you wouldn't do it again.

JE: Do it again... I was like when you masturbate, it's the same. It's the not the same as doing it with someone who loves you, when you're making out [vry] and you can just relax, to have sex and have her love you back. It's just an act you do to experience certain things.

As I said, I didn't shoot [ejaculate] in a girl before, but after, then I had shot inside a girl. For example, I wanted to shoot inside a girl to find out whether it made a difference.

BH: Did it make a difference to you?

JE: In the end, no. There was nothing special in it.

BH: I heard you had a fiancé, is this correct?

JE: Ja.

BH: How long were you in a relationship with her.

JE: Umm, I think four years, five years.

BH: Did you like her a lot?

JE: Ja, I liked her, ummm, I liked her a lot, because she showed [emphasises this word] that she loved me. She demonstrated it. She lived it out. I didn't have the knowledge [kennis] of that love, so maybe it confused me. I didn't know how to react. It didn't make me angry with her, so that now I'm going to take it out on women, you understand. I didn't have the ability to handle romance, or to react in an understanding way, towards a lady. The things I did maybe didn't show that I loved her, but I did love her.

BH: I see what you're saying.

JE: I'm trying to find ways to say this, but can't find the right words.

BH: Take your time, I know how it feels.

JE: Ummm [pauses, struggles for words] You see I got engaged. I did not know how to act with understanding [vertstandig optree]. I had the relationship there but I still did the deeds. She didn't know anything about it. I didn't talk to anyone about what I did.... People will see what I did, and say I didn't love her. But I really did love her. The relationship, I loved her and was prepared to marry her. Look, like for example, when a man is married and he has sex with another woman. Maybe because he really likes sex. I don't know what of sort of person thinks. Maybe I didn't have enough respect to value her.

BH: But you loved her?

JE: Maybe I didn't have the knowledge [kennis] to handle the relationship., but I did love her. You can say, it wasn't mad love, I don't know how to put it...

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BH: I know what you're saying, you felt love for her, there is no doubt of that your mind,

JE: Ja.

BH:...but you didn't know how to handle the relationship.

BH: Did the relationship end before you went to prison?

JE: No, I was arrested and then she came to me and said the relationship is off, the relationship is off. ...

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BH: How did you feel about you take it?

JE: I must accept it, because I hurt her very much and it is understandable that she doesn't have to, can't wait for me for twenty years or whatever. I can't expect it of her, she must get on with her life. I wouldn't bother her, or whatever.

BH: What sort of person was she?

JE: Ummm, [long pause, Jacques appears not to understand] with reference to what?

BH: Was she quiet, very intelligent, pretty, beautiful?

JE: She was beautiful to me. We enjoyed being together, and doing things together. We talked; but not a lot.. If she wanted to tell me important things, maybe she would write them on a piece of paper to tell me. She worked in computer processing and development. The chats weren't very intelligent, she was intelligent but not the sort that uses your brain to think about things.

172

BH: I see what you're saying she wouldn't speak...about philosophy for something.

JE: Or politics, or so on...if there were important things to say she would normally write them down. Love words, too, although a few times, she would expect them herself. Or speak, or whatever, it was just another way to communicate to with me, another part of the relationship.

BH: Did you like it a lot when she did this?

JE: Ja [INAUDIBLE]

BH: You said...that this, a person showing you how they felt, was something you hadn't come across before. It that so?

JE: Ja.

BH: It was never with your family, or something.

JE: Ja, that's right.

BH: They never said 'Jacques, you're alright'?

JE: My parents?

BH: Your parents.

JE: No, you could not in that way, but when my mother said 'I love you' or 'you're my son' or whatever.

173 BH: Did you feel good about it, or was it not so...

JE: I didn't pay attention, or say anything, like 'I also love you'. If we were finished talking and she would say 'I love you', OK, I would also say 'I love you' but that's just to say what is said.

BH: Ja.

JE: It's just to say it, not because the feeling is inside you...

BH: Was it different with your girlfriend?

JE: I said it [I love you] because I knew that she really loved me. Then I could say it, because I really felt it. But I wasn't sure at that stage what the feeling was, I didn't know what love really was... I had feelings for her, but I wasn't 100% sure what they were...

BH: You're not 100% sure can be called love, but you have them.

JE: Ja.

BH: Was she your first girlfriend?

JE: First one I went out with properly, not just go out for an evening.

BH: At what age did you get this girlfriend.

174 JE: When I had already left school. I can't remember precisely how old I was, but I was out of school before I got...

BH: I know this sounds strange, but was she the first girl you had sex [gemeenskap] with?

JE: Ja. Before, when you were young, that you "fool around with girls, play doctor-doctor, but you don't actually penetrate them, although you did their

vagina with your penis.

BH: How old were you then?

JE: About six, seven.

BH: But the first time you really had sex, to orgasm, was with...

JE: ...[interjects] the girl I got engaged to.

BH: This is also, also a question that sounds very strange, but did you masturbate a lot?

JE: Ja.

BH: A lot.

JE: Ja.

BH: From what age, from young?

JE: From when I saw, say, in high school.

BH: From 12, 13.

JE: Say, from about Std 5.

BH: Was it regular, every day.

JE: I wouldn't say every day. It's often, but not every day, maybe every three to four days. Sometimes a week or two would go by without it, then I would do it.

BH: Many fantasies at that time?

JE: [long pauses] When I masturbated?

BH: Ja.

JE: The fantasies were about, I would see a woman that was naked. [Jacques struggles to express himself] Maybe I would think about a woman I had seen naked. But not every time I masturbated, sometimes, I would just masturbate because it was nice, or if I felt 'he's hot now' [BH laughs] I must do the deed... Not every time, I would think about a woman I had seen, in town, or at school; or I would just do it because I was keen to, and had decided to... he bothered me, so...[mutual laughter, the 'he' Jacques refers to in the above passage being his penis]

BH: Before first incident, the one with the black woman, did you ever think about raping women?

JE: [pause] No, I never thought about rape, although I did think about having sex with a woman, but not thinking raping them. Maybe after the first



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incident [volume of voice drops, more pauses] I did think now, more [about? INAUDIBLE] rape.

BH: After the first one?

JE: Ja.

BH: With the first one, was it just a spur of the moment decision?

JE: Ja, at that moment, you decided you're going to do it. Like when you see there's a [INAUDIBLE] and decide, 'now I'm going in'.

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OK, in the beginning [it was like that] but later you would think 'that window's going to be open, I'll go in later'

BH: Oh yes, for example in the second incident.

176 JE: Ja. I would see there's a woman, with the windows open. I would then come back later and see if the windows are open.

BH: And if the windows are open, you go in?

JE: Ja.

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BH: We're going to speak more about your offences, if you want. With the second rape, how did you decided. Were all [victim's] flats near the [police] barracks?

JE: Ja, or near my house, my parents house. The one was near his fiancé's house.

BH: Which one?

JE: The second last.

BH: She was a old lady.

177 JE: Ja. The second one was the one were I used the car, and took the CDs...The third victim is the old granny, not far from the first incident [presume this is an error, and is referring to second victim]...[her house] was about 50 metres from the barracks, behind the houses behind the barracks there are more houses, until I saw there 'the windows are open, I'm going in. This was at 8 o'clock.

BH: Did you walk around the streets to...?

JE: [interjects] Ja, I climbed over walls, and walked around a bit in the area..

BH: Was it just for the adrenaline of it?

JE: Ja, maybe I had nothing to do, so then I walk.

178 OK, so I went into this flat, and then I was in the bedroom and can see no-

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one's there, then I saw a light on in the sitting room, kitchen area. I look through the door and I see there's a woman there, who's reading the newspaper. But I didn't see her face. I see there's a handbag, so I opened the handbag and saw there R20 or something, I'm not sure. I took it, and then I left. There was more money but I didn't take it.

BH: What were the reason for that?

JE: It was the same as with the handbags [when he was a child]. You see there's 100 or 200 but you just take R10 or so, so you can steal regularly.

BH: Because if you take all the money, then someone would notice there is nothing left over.

JE: They will realise that the money if gone. Then you can't go back there to get more money. There will always be money there. If I take everything, then there won't be a hand bag there any more.

BH: Was this just with you mother?

JE: With other people, too.

BH: What other people?

JE: Family, even strangers.

BH: Did you go into their houses to take money?

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JE: [pause] Ja, or if I see that the handbags are there, the people are not there, maybe in they are in the kitchen or have gone to the toilet, ja.

BH: Was that with people you were visiting, or do you just walk into the house.

JE: [long pause] Ja, it's family, friends, strangers.

BH: Everyone.

JE: Everyone.

BH: OK, I just wanted to check.

180

JE: OK, then I decided I will come back later, at midnight [referring again to his second rape]. But I didn't know how many people are there, I just saw the woman, I hadn't seen her face, you understand. Then I went back midnight, one, two, I don't know precisely. I went in, then she woke up and she screamed. The light was off. Then I grab her tightly and give her a little tap on the head. She got a fright [skrik] and kept quiet. I pulled the duvet off, and pulled her clothes off, and then see that she's an old woman.

BH: Did you undress her [afgetrek]?

JE: Ja, I undressed her. I didn't rip clothes off, I undressed her. OK, then I just came to the point and asked 'do you have AIDS?' because she looked skinny to me [smile in JE voice], I just decided to ask her, and she said she doesn't sleep around... Then I climbed on and she wanted to grab something, and I took her hand away, and saw there was a panic button there. Then she asked if she can tickle my backside... She didn't say that in court, she was obviously embarrassed [laughter]. Then I had sex with her. I had [more pauses] I lost my erection, it went limp.

BH: Why?

JE: Maybe because she was old and didn't excite me, but when you do the act you get excited... Then she took my penis and placed it in her vagina, then I got stiff and I penetrated and had sex with her. Then I was finished, I pulled my clothes on and left...

BH: Did you no speak much to her.

JE: No, I didn't, I didn't talk much to her...

BH: Did you speak English or Afrikaans?

JE: I spoke English.

BH: Was this because she was English?

JE: I don't know, I would say she was English. I didn't want to speak Afrikaans. I spoke English.

BH: You didn't want to speak Afrikaans because you didn't want people to know you were Afrikaans.

JE: But at that stage I didn't think I must now speak English, or mustn't speak Afrikaans. I just began speaking English. Maybe it was because I didn't want them to know I was Afrikaans-speaking. OK, if I speak English, you can work out that I'm Afrikaans ...

BH: You didn't think about it you just did it.

JE: Maybe I thought about it, I'm not sure. I can't swear that it is so... I began by speaking English, then later decided to keep doing it.

BH: After the two rapes, how did you feel? What did you do?

JE: Umm, I [INAUDIBLE], I decided not to talk about to anyone, so I didn't

- talk. And when I went back to the barracks, if someone spoke about it, I didn't talk, I just listened, I didn't talk
- BH: Did you feel worried, or very excited or...?
- JE: Ummm, no, I didn't. Ja, you can say I was still worried, I knew that they would catch me some time or other.
- BH: You already knew this?
- JE: Yes, I knew this. I knew I wouldn't always be able to get away with it. It  
182 was definitely a solution [oplossing] that they must catch me. That's why I didn't wear gloves, I didn't wipe out fingerprints or many marks. I still had the Walkman in my room...I knew they would catch me, but I didn't decide to let them have me, to catch hold of things, I couldn't stop myself. I didn't get advice or talk to anyone. At that stage I didn't know I couldn't stop, but later I realised that I would never have stopped.
- BH: Did these things thinking that they would catch him, but didn't realise at time that he could never stop.
- JE: I didn't think at that stage that I couldn't stop....I knew I couldn't stop  
183 with stealing cash from handbags, but it could have also been that I knew I couldn't stop but it hadn't really sunk in.
- BH: Oh ja, I know what you're saying. Just after this crimes, did you feel at lot of adrenaline?
- JE: While I busy sneaking around and doing these things, ja, but not  
184 afterwards
- BH: What excited you?
- JE: To sneak around [rondtesluis] and do things. Afterwards it bothered me that they would catch me, but not very much, not so much that I got all panic-stricken and thought 'oh hell, what have I done?' [Jacques' tone is 'jokey'], you understand, or get drunk.
- BH: And you were sober when you do the things?
- JE: I was sober
- BH: So it was a more a worry, thinking that they would catch you, 'this is a bit of a thing here.'
- JE: [Then] You leave it, and then you don't think about it anymore.
- BH:...Just before time of offence, was it a feeling of excitement?  
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JE: Ummm [struggles to express self], that umm, you decide to go out, then when you are there [i.e. just outside house] then the excitement begins...you don't really know what's going to happen before you go into a place

BH: How many places did you go into?

JE: Look I, [tone is unchanged] there are five murders and the two that lived were also raped and then the first one I didn't rape, I just killed her. The last one I tried to rape, but I couldn't penetrate, although I did ejaculate, or came. Let me say it like so, the first one I didn't rape, just killed [doogemaak]. The second one I just raped. The third one I also raped. The fourth one I tried to rape but couldn't penetrate, but did come. The fifth one I just killed her [stammers] because she showed resistance, so I decided to just shoot her dead. The last one I tried to rape, but couldn't penetrate, but I did come... In two cases I couldn't rape, just killed because they showed resistance. The first one passed out [INAUDIBLE] and I decided not to do it. The other one, fought back, and then I decided that I would just shoot her.

BH: Where did you shoot her, in the forehead? [location of shot would determine which victim he was referring to]

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JE: The first one I shot landed on the table, the second and the third one I raped, the fourth in was...in the house where the man [ou] stayed alongside, OK, you know I couldn't do it but I still came, and then I just turned the weapon and then shot her. I was still on her. The bullet went in here, on this side [Jacques indicates the underside of jaw]. The other one was in the bath when I shot her. She turned her head and then I shot her and then the bullet went in [indicates place on back of head]. She turned away when she saw I was holding the weapon so and then the shot went off. The next one I shot because she grabbed hold of my hands, like so, the old granny [tannie] the second last one. I didn't rape her. Then I shot and the bullet went into the mouth and shoots the teeth and the teeth flew into my face [BH recalls JE smiling at this recollection, which seemed incongruous]. The last one I put pushed the weapon there [indicates forehead]. I shot her in the head.

BH: And, in the fourth case, what made you decide to shoot her?

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JE:...I turned on the light. That's why I shot her.

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BH: Why did you turn on the light?

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JE: I saw the door was open, and then decided for some or other reason to turn on the light, and I saw there was a girl, a woman. Then I decided to rape her. OK, she also showed resistance but then I hit her on the head. Then, maybe, she became dazed, she didn't pass out completely, but she maybe became dazed. I didn't take all my clothes off, I just took my pants off.

BH: For the others you got completely undressed?

JE: Which ones?

BH: For the old granny and the first rape [referring to the rapes, using Jacques' terminology].

JE: Ja.

BH: For this one you just took your pants off.

JE: My reasons was because she showed resistance, I wanted to be quick. Then I couldn't penetrate, but I did come. OK, then she looked at me, then I pulled out the weapon and pulled off the shot.

BH: Did she die immediately?

JE: Ja, I can't remember, she was immediately in coma and don't know how long it took for her to die. I don't have all the facts...

BH: How did you feel once you had killed her?

JE: [tone drops slightly] I don't believe I felt anything about it. I just shot her dead, that's all. I can't say what I felt, whether I was happy or sad or angry. I just did it, and went away, tried to get away

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BH: Did you decide on the point of the moment to turn the weapon, or did think about when you were busy 'I must shoot her'?

JE: [pause] Umm, maybe, I couldn't say whether I decided to kill her: when I turned on the light, or when I was finished I decided to shoot her, I can't remember precisely when I decided...

BH: You didn't decide after the second rape that you'd kill the next one?

JE: I knew that if they saw me, then I would kill them.

BH: Did you now that from the first one already?

JE: Maybe, I can't say...

BH: So, for the two rapes, you didn't murder them because...

JE: [interjects] The lights were off.

BH: If the lights were on, they would be dead.

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JE: Ja, ja [no hesitation]. Maybe by the second case [first rape] I had already decided, if they see me, I'll shoot them.

BH: did you tell them 'I will shoot you'?

JE: No...

BH: Did you ever look at a place for a long time to see if there's a window open, or woman there?

JE: No, I didn't stand by a place a watch. I did walk past and see there are people in there. For about ten or fifteen minutes, I didn't stand there for hours. Then maybe went in, then saw maybe there are two people there, and I decide to go back later, if there was a window open.

BH: It was always on the same day?

JE: No.

BH: Maybe it was that you saw a place, saw a window open and that someone lives there, and then come back a few days later.

JE: Ja.

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BH: Did it happen that way on all the cases? You saw a place that you could get in?

JE: Ja, the windows were open. If I went back and I saw the windows were closed, well, I would just go back.

BH: If you went past again, and you saw the windows were open, would you go back the same night?

191 JE: If they were open, then I would back there again the same night, just later, around midnight or so.

BH: Did it happen the same way with all the cases?

JE: Ja.

BH: The same night.

JE: Ja. The last one [pause] I went in the day. I just saw that the back door was open and then I decided to go in.

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BH: What happened there?

JE: I didn't know who was in there. OK, I already saw there was a girl there.

192 BH: You saw her?

JE: Ja, I saw her. But when I went, I didn't know who was in there. There could have been two women there, a man.

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BH: What were your reasons for going there?

JE: Because the door was open, I knew that there would be someone in there, because I saw a girl.

There was someone else there, cleaning up, I didn't know whether it was a white man or black man who was outside cleaning, cutting the grass. That's what I heard in court.

BH: But you decided to go in because you saw a girl in there?

JE: Yes, at the rear [of the house], not at the front because the man was at the front. Then I just went [mumbles a bit, tone drops]... The second last one was near my fiancé's house. I had already seen that she lives alone. I just decided one night to go there. I hadn't seen her. I went to visit my fiancé. She took me home, but then I decided I wanted to go back by train, and go there, and then go in there [i.e. to break in to that house] ...It was a bit different there. The last one was also different, as it was in the day. It was certainly because I wasn't worried, was getting [tone drops, mumbles] reckless...

BH: What happened with the granny?

JE: She was the one that grabbed my hands tight and then I shot her in the mouth, and her teeth shot out like so.

BH: Did you want to rape her?

JE: Umm, ja.

BH: Was she dead before you could do anything with her?

JE: Ja, ja.

BH: Did you take anything from her house?

JE: Ja, umm, I took money. Not much. I can't remember how much, but not a lot.

BH: When you came into the house, did you see her lying there? Was she was in bed?

JE: She was lying in bed, the lights were all off ... she was wearing sleep clothes.

BH: Did you pull them off and then?

JE: When she was dead, then I saw, I would maybe still want to have sex with her, but then I saw OK 'I don't think I'll come right' so then I closed it ["het dit toegemaak" i.e. covered her].



BH: So you pulled the duvet off, climbed on her, and she grabbed your hands?

JE: No, no, OK, I'll say it like this

194 I went around the [back of the house], climbed the wall, and then felt for windows that were open. The first was locked, and then one around the corner was open so I went in. When I was in the room, I looked if someone was in the other rooms, then turned on the light. Then I saw there was a handbag there. She didn't wake up. I opened the handbag and saw there was money, and took R10, [although] I'm not sure it is R10. Then I saw there was a flashlight. I turned off the light and went to her, with the flashlight on. When I touched her so she woke up and screamed, then I hit her with the butt on the head...Then she gripped my hands and I decided now I'm going to shoot her.

BH: Did you get a fright? [geskrik]

JE: [pensive] Ummm, I didn't get a fright, but I maybe wasn't keen for a struggle and, then I shot her.

195 OK, then I turned the light on and turned the flashlight off again. Then I pulled the sheet off. She just had a night dress on, she didn't have panties on. Then I thought 'no, I don't think it will help to have sex with her'

Then I left it and threw the duvet shut. I shut up the room. A car drove by, and I saw there were cars outside, in the street. So I sat in living room and waited there until it was time for me to go and get the train back...

BH: In the last case, you decided to go in when you saw there was a girl in there, that all.

196 JE: I saw her there before, but not on the same day. I saw the door was open, and decided to go there. there were dogs there, small dogs... As I walked in, and saw that someone was coming out. So I stood back. Then she came out, and saw me, and run back and I grabbed her...she screamed. And she kicked me. Then I kicked her back, on the leg, and she stayed quiet... I pulled her, saw the living room, then decided to take her to the room [unclear which room he means]. I decided to take off her top, and then I took the top off. Then when I went to take her trousers [broek] off she said she'd do it herself. So she took her own trousers off. Then she said there was money in her mother's room. So I walked with her to her mother's room. She was naked, I

had all my clothes on... Then I put my arms around her shoulders and walked to her mother's room. When we got to the door she walked to her mother's cupboard [kas] and I stayed standing in the door. She took out R150 from the cupboard. So I took it and put it in my pockets, and told her to lie on the bed. Then I also took just my trousers off.

BH: Because you were in a hurry?

JE: I didn't know if, because she screamed, if someone had heard, or whatever... Then I tried to rape her, but I couldn't penetrate.

BH: did she keep her legs closed?

JE: No, she just lay there. I tried to penetrate her, but I couldn't. Maybe I was too excited.

BH: You were too excited, and you couldn't concentrate on that thing.

JE: On business, ja. Then I came anyway, 'from excitement' [said in English]. Then I got dressed, took the gun that I put down, and then pushed it so against her forehead and pulled the trigger. And then I ran out. When I came to the living room I also saw there were some bank cards lying there, and I took them because I saw that the PIN number was on the back of the card. There wasn't much money in it. Just R20.

197

BH: What made you decide to kill her, because she saw you?

JE: It's in the day, yes, because she saw me.

BH: And she just lay there when you pushed the pistol against her head. Was she afraid?

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JE: Ja. She just lay there, and looked [INAUDIBLE] what her reactions were.

BH: Didn't you notice her reactions?

JE: She just lay there, lay there like so, looking at me with small eyes.

BH: How long after this case were you caught?

JE: [sounds less sure of himself] Umm, I can't, I don't know.

BH: Did to try break into other house after that time [the last victim]?

199

JE: Ummm, I don't know. I didn't feel so keen now. I couldn't say whether I broke into another house. I didn't commit more murders. I told them about everything.... I was half-glad when they caught me.

BH: Did it feel bad because you had bottled everything up?

JE: Yes, and I couldn't let things out... I was glad that things came to that

	point
200	<p>BH: Did you feel 'outside reason' before you got caught?</p> <p>JE: Yes, I knew I could never give up on my own</p>
201	<p>Now I know, now I can talk with someone. Now I can talk with the problems I have, to know myself. To know myself, to know why I did this, what caused me to do this. So that if I ever come out, I can look for those points and if I see them, I can know to go and talk to someone It's all to help me learn to know myself, so I don't do it again. I've heard people do the same sort of thing again, and I don't want to do it again.</p>
202	<p>BH: Why don't you want to do it again?</p> <p>JE: Ummm, because, I know that just like a drug addict, he wants to give up but can't. It's something that you can't control yourself. I want to always know what I'm doing, and perceive what I'm doing, and can handle it. To understand myself, and perceive that if I'm going in that direction I can know it will happen again and I won't be able to stop. Like when you're drunk, you don't always know what you're doing. The next morning you don't know how you got to the house, you understand.</p> <p>BH: Ja.</p> <p>JE: [sounds adamant, almost impassioned] It was the same for me. I was drunk. It was not nice to be drunk, because I don't feel in control of myself. I now want to be in control of myself, so I can perceive what I did, it's not nice. Like I said, you want to be in control of yourself, you don't want to feel you can't control yourself.</p> <p>BH: Did it feel like that?</p> <p>JE: Ja, ja.</p>
203	<p>BH: So it was strange [einaardige] feeling for you, feeling out of control?</p> <p>JE: At the stage, I didn't care about the consequences, or that I wasn't in control.</p>
204	<p>I wanted to be in control, I wanted to get help, but I couldn't. Because I knew what the consequences were, you understand?</p> <p>BH: Ja.</p> <p>JE: Now I want to be in control, if I feel there's a problem, there are people that I can speak to about it, A preacher, a psychologist, someone I can</p>

trust...I know it's not nice, I know I hurt my parents, I don't know how the feel about it. Before I didn't worry about it. It didn't bother me. Now I see what they have been through, that's why. I want to better myself, get more information, to know myself and what my problems are and get solutions. The solution is important. So I can know where I stand. I'm trying to get help.

BH: Before, to put it like so, the offences happened because you didn't know what was going on in your head.

JE: Ja, I didn't understand myself and I also didn't want to talk with other people about personal things... Now I can do that, because I know what I'm about. I understand myself better...I didn't know about feelings maybe I searched for them, to have those feelings, to experience, but I couldn't handle them. I didn't have the knowledge [kennis]...During the offences I knew there were people, for example the pastor, I could talk to but I knew what the consequences...maybe that's why I wanted to get caught, because I can't stop myself, I can't go to someone ...maybe I was searching for something when I committed the crimes, but I didn't know what. Then I was busy, and I couldn't stop...

BH: What were you searching for in all these crimes?

JE: Like I said, I was searching something, but didn't know what it was I was searching for. Maybe to experience things. I don't know if it was like really like that, what I was searching for. I wasn't certain it was this. It was completely confused...I didn't think precisely what it was what I was I was searching for: was it sex? Was it just the act I was doing? But I know it wasn't lust, or because I hate women, it wasn't taking my frustrations out on woman. I just enjoyed the stealing and the sneaking around, and I couldn't tear myself free of it.

BH: And the rapes and the murders were just part of this sneaking around?

JE: Ja it's just part, I decided I am going [INAUDIBLE] I didn't have a feeling, [pause] I never had reason to worry what they were feeling. I know now they say it's like a second death being raped. A part of a woman dies, if she's raped. I have perceived this now. I didn't worry about this at the time, what the woman was going through, it was all about myself, to enjoying myself, don't worry about that person.

BH: Did you enjoy yourself?

JE: [much stammering] The stealing from the handbags was fun, I can say that. I know they say that if you don't enjoy something you won't do it again...

BH: Why did you do it many times [rape] if you didn't enjoy it? What are your reasons?

206 JE: Like I said, I felt like I was in cycle and couldn't get out, that's why I did it again. Like I enjoyed stealing handbags, you feel you want to it again, maybe it was nice [lekker] I couldn't say why it was nice. The excitement brought me to doing it. The sneaking around, to kill, to rape, to rape maybe to experiment, to find out how it feels to rape or ejaculate [skiet] inside a woman. But to kill is just to kill, I didn't, I didn't do it to experiment, I just did it because the light was on.

BH: The rapes were for the experiment, for the experience?

JE: Ja, maybe I sought something in the rapes.

BH: What did you search for?

207 JE: I don't know... [you're] searching for something, but [you] don't get it....

BH: You didn't know what it was, but you were looking for something?

JE: Ja...I'm searching for something and I don't know what it is, so I go on and on. That's what I think... I don't know what you're searching, you just do it.

BH: So it just felt, like when you did it the first time, that is was for the experience?

208 JE: No, the first time it just happened. The first one just happened, the reaction to do it was there. I don't get there to rape a woman. I went there to try get in the house for money. Then I saw there was a woman, then reacted then to [INAUDIBLE]

BH: It was more a reaction, than an action.

209 JE: Ok, then after that, when I had the weapon [firearm], the weapon gave me the strength [mag] to go, because now I have the strength in my hand, you understand.

210 BH: Ja, and then when you did the first offence you felt like you couldn't stop. You've done it once and then you must do it again. Was that how it felt

for you?

JE: The first time was just a reaction... the second one I got feelings, I had the firearm, now, I can go and do it. After that, I wanted to do it again, I couldn't control myself, the feeling to do it again. Then I couldn't stop myself.

BH: Is it impossible to say whether you enjoyed it or not? Or did you not think of that?

JE: Ja, I didn't think at that stage, maybe I did it again because it was fun [lekker].

211 BH: Was it?

JE: Ja, because if you do it again and again then it must be fun [lekker], but I didn't perceive that at the time...I struggled with emotions, I felt dead. I didn't feel [emotions] shown [vertoon] or displayed [verwys] or experienced [ervaar].

212 Maybe I could experience feelings a bit with my fiancé. Maybe I broke out because I wanted to experience. But I blocked the rest off, I don't understand. Because I didn't perceive my feelings of enjoyment, or I'm doing something and getting something good back.

BH: For you, when you were committing these offences, it was just that dead feeling.

JE: Ja, I just do it. I worry about [tails off]. I'm not thinking, at that stage.

213 BH: You didn't think that at stage 'I'm enjoying this' or revenge [wraak].  
You just do it.

JE: Ja...

BH: So during the offences, you just had this dead feeling, that you don't care at all.

JE: Ja, what I was doing to people but it was nice to sneak around, to feel the excitement, the adrenaline pumping, you don't know what's going to happen. In the act itself, of shooting someone dead, you just do it. There's not perception of 'this is not nice' or whatever.

214 BH: You like the adrenaline of the case, and all those things.

JE: Ja, it's a habit from when I scratched around in the handbags.

BH: Did you do it for the first time when you were five or six?

JE: I couldn't say, but it's probably when I was in Standard 3 or 4 when I

began taking money... I'm not sure, but I would say [I did it for the] for the adventure. I can't be sure, but I would say for the adventure... It became a habit [gewoonte]. Now, then you got further, and that also becomes normal.

BH: Was that how it was for you with the murders, as if it was almost a habit?

JE: But you can't control it, but yes, a habit [gewoonte].

BH: And you didn't know your reasons for doing it.

JE: At that stage, no. It's just sneaking around, you don't know what's going to happen.

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BH:...If you sit and think now, can you think of a reason you did it?

JE: [long pause] I didn't think at that stage that it was nice and exciting, an adventure or whatever, I just did it maybe it was out of habit or because I couldn't control myself...it was nice to steal money from handbags,

and just waste it on anything and, umm, ja. I could say what started small got bigger. I began to go into houses where the windows were open. Not just by family or friends, or people we were visiting and then seeing when they went to the kitchen or the toilet taking money from the handbags, just small. It got a bit bigger

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BH: It's almost part of the same thing, the money out the handbags went forward...

JE: [interjects]...it got a bit bigger.

BH: It was almost part of the same thing...

JE: Ja, ja.

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BH: The theft from the handbags went forward to the murders?

JE: Ja. At that stage it was fun [lekker] to steal from handbags...But as it goes on, going into houses, round by strangers', anything can happen, it's a habit that you learnt, you can't stop. You want to do it more and more, you can't control it. You do it more, as a habit

BH: And what happened with the fifth case, the second woman you shot dead?

JE: The one in the bath.

218

BH: Ja.

JE: [tone does not change when talking about offences] I also just walked past, and saw there were two women there. OK, then I just decided one night

to go there, and seen if the window was open. I had been there twice before, and couldn't see anyone there. So I decided to come back later. Not the lights are off. Then I go in. There are two rooms, both with half-closed doors...I went to the right hand one first, opened it, and saw there was no one there. Then I go to the left-hand one, and heard the woman wake up. She most probably wanted to go to the toilet. When I see her open [the door] I move in front her. She screams and I also hit her on the head with the butt. She falls down but doesn't pass out. We went to the bed. She had a night dress on. Then the dress is taken off and then she has panties on. Then the panties are taken off. Then she lies on the bed, then I just rape her.

BH: Did you say anything to her?

JE: No, didn't say anything to her. When I was finished, I saw the cigarettes, and took a cigarette and lit one. I gave one to her, and lit it. Then I smoked, and she smoked.

BH: Did you say anything to her?

JE: No, I just gave things to her. Then we smoked. When we finished smoking she said she wanted to go to the toilet. I went with her to the toilet. When she was finished on the toilet I said to her she must now go for a bath. I'm standing, and smoke again, when she's in the bath. But she didn't put the plug in, she just ran the bath and sat in the bath...Then I went to the bedroom and got dressed. I first checked that there wasn't any money in the handbag. There was nothing. Then I went back [pauses, stutters] and then I raise the weapon and shoot her in the head...

BH: Why did you tell her to go bath?

JE: I don't know. I just decided, I just said 'go bath'.

BH: You didn't think about it much at time.

JE: No...

BH: So you said it...just to say something?

JE: Maybe, I'm not sure. I couldn't say whether I had a plan that she should bath, or just said she must go bath.

BH: At what moment did you decide to shoot her?

JE: [pause] Ummm, well, I knew that if the light was on you have to shoot. So most probably [I knew I was going to shoot her] from the start.



BH: Then when you saw her in the bath, you decided 'now's the time'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Then you went out the way you came.

JE: Ja...

BH: When you were growing up, did you ever think of rape, or shooting?

JE: No.

BH: Why did the rapes happen?

JE: Probably because I wanted to feel what it feels like to rape.

BH: So it's just the experience of it.

JE: Ja.

BH: When did you decide to rape someone?

219 JE: I think because I had the weapon. That gave me the strength to go on and rape. Before that, I wouldn't have had the strength to do it.

220 But the first instance was an immediate choice. I saw the woman there. But it would have to happen some time or another when I bumped into someone in the house. You don't think about it every day, but now, after you've read things, then you see that some time or other it would have to happen...The first incident [voerval] happened, on the point of the moment, I saw there was an opportunity there. I wouldn't stalk a woman, or follow a woman and rape her... then had the weapon and it gave me the strength to *go* [emphasised word] do it.

BH: Did you think about more rapes before you got the weapon, and the weapon was just the strength?

JE: The weapon decided it for me, I can rape if I come across I woman. But I think it also changed in that now I can go [emphasised word] out for it.

BH: If you didn't get the weapon, wouldn't the rapes have happened.

221 JE: Maybe, I don't know...maybe I would have get them in a place and raped them many time, I don't know, it's always a possibility.

BH: Did you think about the first offence, after you did it?...Did you think about it a lot, did it bother you?

222 JE: Before I saw that I wasn't found out, up until the point when I thought I wouldn't be found out, I thought about the incident. After that, I didn't think about.

- It will always stay with me, because it's part of me life, you understand. Still, up to this day, you think about this, what you did, how you did it, how, maybe, how you enjoyed having sex with one particular woman like, for me, the one who I shot in the bath. I enjoyed having sex with her...It's a pity that I didn't always enjoy it like that, but the one who I shot in the bath, I enjoyed.
- BH: Why did you enjoy it?
- JE: Because, let's say, I had sex with her for half an hour....she didn't help me...Maybe it's satisfying. [tone drops, sounds almost coy, smiling] It's almost as if you know her.
- 223 BH: You didn't enjoy sex with any of the others?
- JE: Ja, it's just umm, just to have sex. It wasn't very satisfying. It's just a sex act, that's all.
- BH: As if you masturbated.
- JE: Ja.
- BH: Between the first and second cases, did you think about raping? Or think one day, I will rape a woman.
- JE: Ummm, [volume drops] I can't remember, I'm not sure. It's a [long time ago]. I can't say,
- BH: It's only when you got the weapon that you thought, I can go now.
- JE: [interjects] Ja, ja.
- 
- BH: I have a few questions about childhood illnesses. What childhood illnesses did you contract?
- JE: All the childhood illnesses.
- BH: All of them. Anyone that was serious?
- 224 JE: I don't know, I was young. When was in Std.3 spent, I spent a year in the hospital. A year, I think I had brain infection, chicken pox, German measles, mumps, had my tonsils removed...[tails off]
- BH: Sjoe [exclamation] a bit of a lousy year.
- JE: Ja. At one stage I also drank some pills because I thought they were
- 
- Smarties and then they had to pump my stomach.
- BH: At what age was this?
- 225 JE: Umm, I don't know. I was still young. I can't remember.
- BH: At that year when you had all the illnesses, you had to repeat that year at

school?

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you repeat any other Standard [Grade]?

JE: Umm, no. I didn't pass Standard 5. But because of my age I was put through.

BH: On the whole, how did you do [presteer] at school?

JE: I wasn't brilliant, I was also not rotten [vrot], I was in the middle, an average student. I didn't get A's or B's or C's, on the whole, I got D's....

BH: What were you favourite subjects?

JE: Well, I liked history, biology. Ummm, well, not hugely, but I liked history. I wasn't there to achieve [presteer]. Maybe the teacher was just a good teacher...who presented the subject well. If someone presented it well, then I achieved. If someone doesn't present it well, then I don't achieve...if they make it enjoyable, then you achieve.

BH: Did you get along well with teachers at school?

JE: Ja, I got along well. Sometimes I did things, and got a smack, but not much.

BH: But you weren't very naughty [stout] at school?

JE: No, no, I wasn't naughty.

BH: Did you fight with other children?

JE: No.

BH: You weren't the sort that got angry quickly.

JE: Or the sort that would just fight because I didn't like the person.

BH: So were you a more soft natured person at school?

JE: [long pause] Maybe, I don't know. [sounds unsure] you could say soft natured.

BH: Or quiet?

JE: [Very definite] I would say quiet, you can say, quiet.

BH: Where you very shy, wanted to alone a lot?

JE: No, I don't believe I'm shy, but maybe I didn't always have the confidence.

BH: Oh ja.

JE: To, you know, groups. If you stand and speak and then people arrive it's

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OK, but I wouldn't go and stand in a group.

BH: So you were a bit quiet, and didn't have lots of confidence, that sort of thing.

JE: You could say that, not lots of confidence, but it wasn't a big problem, you understand it didn't [INAUDIBLE] my life. I could manage. I didn't worry about it...it didn't bother me.

BH: Did you ever feel worthless [minderwaardig]?

JE: No, no.

BH: On the while, were you often on your own?

JE: No. At school there were always people, around me. There were also friends, school friends and so on around me. I didn't feel isolated. When you leave school, you lose contact with your friends.

228

[Jacques tone sounds less certain here] Maybe because you don't go to discos, I did go to "Youth Action" ['Yeug Aksie', a church youth group]... so when you leave school, you lose contact with your friends. Maybe because you don't go out much. Like disco's. I did go to Youth Action, so met groups, came into contact.

BH: After school, when you weren't at the house, was that where you went most often, Youth Action?

JE: Ja.

BH: When you were at school, you didn't you go disco's?

JE: Ja. I did go out, but I wasn't really a night person. If you go to a disco, and stay there until four in the morning, I couldn't do that. I'd get a headache. Maybe I'd be there an hour or two, then go. I wouldn't be there until Sunday...this was when I had left school, when I was working.

229

JE [Tape starts in mid-sentence. Jacques is discussing his duties while with the Railway police]...loading and going with the cash in an airplane. This was in Britain.

BH: That was the first time you went to a disco?

JE: Ja, in England. Went to Germany, Taiwan.

BH: Did you like the moving around?

JE: Ja, the travelling overseas, and places.

BH: Why did you leave the Railway Police?

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JE: I didn't leave. See, the Railway Police were amalgamated with the SAP (South African Police). I didn't know it was going to happen. I enjoyed working at the airport, working as a courier, taking gold to England...you stay for a day or two in London, then come back. If you courier to Germany, you stay a week. Some countries, like England, you stay a day. Others, like Portugal, Taiwan, you stay a week...

BH: Did you enjoy the SAP?

JE: Ja, I enjoyed my work when I was working at the airport, but when I moved to the Riot Squad, then I didn't enjoy it. But I still did the work...I was moved to work at the Riot Squad...

BH: Then you were transferred to Pretoria?

JE: No, I went to work in Pretoria, but because I stayed in the barracks [INAUDIBLE] there was not a house available, so I stayed in the barracks [INAUDIBLE]

BH: How would you describe your work record? Was it good, or bad?

JE: [long pause] At the airport, because I was interested, I wasn't a brilliant policeman but I did good work. But at the Riot Squad I didn't care about the riding around in the Caspirs [armoured personnel carriers]. I got my stripes at the airport.

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BH: For sergeant.

JE: Ja.

BH: Were you always a sergeant? [i.e. did you remain a sergeant]

JE: Ja. I can say that I wasn't content with my work at the Riot Squad.

BH: So to say, you delivered good work while at the airport, but when you moved to the Riot Squad...

230 JE: [interjects] I didn't feel content in my work.

BH: Were your superiors always content with you?

JE: Well I don't know, I can't speak for them, but I wasn't called into the called into office to say 'you did this wrong'. I didn't shoot anyone in the line of duty although, when was in the Riot Squad because I had to shoot.

BH: But that didn't worry you much.

JE: No. I didn't shoot anyone dead.

231 BH: When was the first time you drank [alcohol]?

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JE: Sometime I drank wine with dinner when I in high school, just on Sundays. After school, I drank beer at weddings and so on. I only once he was drunk, but I didn't like the feeling, and was never drunk after that, never drunk-drunk [repeated for emphasis]. I didn't drink to get drunk, I drank because I enjoyed it... the only time I was when I was sitting at home, decided how feel to get drunk. I also saw how people looked when drunk, his grandfather was an alcoholic, and thought 'no I don't want to look like that' ...

BH: And you never tried drugs?

JE: No.

BH: Experiment with them?

JE: No.

BH: Did you get many dreams when you were young?

JE:...I only dreamed up until I certain time. Now I don't dream at all any more, not at all. Maybe because the reality scares me, that I did these things... I do get wet dreams.

BH: Is that the only sort of dreams you get now?

JE: Ja...

BH: Why do you get more wet dreams now.

JE: Because it's a long time since I last saw I woman [mutual laughter]. Then you see a woman working here, as a woman, and you see she's pretty. Or you think back on the sex you had with your girl, your fiancé. Or you think back on the things you did [the offences], the sex you had with them.

BH: Why do you think that sex was good with that one [victim] ,that you shot in the bath [fifth victim]?

JE: It just happened, maybe because I had sex with her for a longer time. [tone drops, sounds unsure] I can't say...she just lay there. She didn't move or make noises, but I had sex with her for a longer time.

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BH: Was sex with fiancé always good?

JE: Yes. It was just the fact that I couldn't shoot my sperms inside. I didn't use condom.

BH: So you had to pull out, because you didn't want her to get pregnant.

JE: Ja...we didn't talk about it [sex] much. I would ask her do you want to do it? And if she said yes, then we'd do it....I didn't ask her if she enjoyed it...

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BH: Did you ever have problems? Like you weren't excited and couldn't penetrate?

JE: No, I wasn't unlucky like that. I could always penetrate, but didn't always shoot. I wanted to experience it, but didn't want to make her pregnant at this stage

BH: You didn't want to get her pregnant before you married.

JE: Ja.

BH: Did you ever see pornography?

JE: Ja, Sun City, overseas...

BH: Did you buy a few a magazines, and keep them?

JE: No, I just looked through them, I didn't buy them ... I think I was in Standard 9 when I first saw soft porn...

BH: When you got angry, did you break things, kick things?

JE: No, I never broke anything, or kicked it. I did just scream, at someone if I was angry. I would scream that's all. Like I said, that one person I got angry with I hit them once then he stood back, that's all.

BH: That's all the fights you were involved in.

JE: Ja.

BH: Were you a quiet child, or one that didn't run around a lot?

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JE: I could say a quiet [stil] person...

BH: If you think back, would people describe you as?

JE: [interjects] Quiet, yes... Sometime, maybe, I would play too rough with cats and dogs. A few times I enjoyed throwing a cat off the roof and seeing how they land, things like that, but I never seriously [emphasises this word] hurt them. Never set fire to them, hit them, or anything like that...

BH: How old were you, when you did this?

JE: I was in primary school.

BH: Was it ever experimenting?

JE: I don't know [pause] ja, you could say I was watching their reaction, but I never kicked them or anything...

BH: Was this with pets, at home?

JE: Ja...[First session ends]

235

BH: [after previous session] Do you have any questions about anything we

- spoke about.  
JE: No.  
BH: OK, if you do, you must just ask.
- 
- 236 BH: Were there any of the rapes that you did, that you weren't sentenced for?  
JE: No. OK, I tried to rape one, but they didn't want to carry on with the case and there were also another two that they wanted to charge me with, but then I said I didn't do it. One in Mayfair, said I broke mirrors there, OK and there's one in Stilfontein, on the train route from Springs, a bunch of women were thrown off the train. But I also didn't do that one.
- 
- OK then, what I did [emphasises word] do, which they said but didn't continue with the case, I went in the dwelling and [pauses, struggles for words], this was before all the things.  
BH: Before the first case?  
JE: Ja, before the first case. OK, uummm, the woman was there [INAUDIBLE] but then she screamed, and I ran away.
- 237 BH: What year was this in?  
JE: OK, the first one was in '90, so this must've been in '88, or '89, I'm not sure, around that time.  
BH: Was this near your parent's house?  
JE: Ja. We stayed in flats. It was near the flats.  
BH: Was it nearby the flats, about 100 metres?  
JE: It was just over the street, diagonally across.
- 
- 238 BH: What made you decide to enter [rob] a house for the first time?  
JE: OK, uummm, I can't remember what made me decide to do this. As I said, maybe it was an impulse, 'now I'm going in'. It wasn't a decision that I sat down and took 'OK, now I'm going to break into a house'. I just saw the window's open, the opportunity is there, I'd go in
- 
- 239 BH: How old were you when you walked into a house for the first time?  
JE: I don't know...say about '87...  
BH: The first few times was just walking in, stealing a bit of cash, then walk out.  
JE: Ja.



BH: Then that first time, when you ripped the [INAUDIBLE] from the woman, was that first time you found a women at the house.

JE: Ummm, ja. OK if I go in to get cash, there are people there. Men, women, children and what not. I just went in and opened the handbag and took cash, where it was in the bedroom or so on.

BH: Was it at night?

JE: At night...but [the people were] not sleeping... they were busy eating, or watching TV, or whatever...A couple of times I was busy, and people came in and they saw me, then I made tracks.

BH: Did you ever attack [aangetas] anyone to get away?

JE: No...

BH: How many times would you say you walked into a house, before the first incident? [i.e. before first murder]

JE: [Pause] Definitely a few times, say, ten times at the most.

BH: At what stage did you know, if I find a woman I'll rape her?

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JE: ummm, [pause] after the first case, but, when I got the weapon it gave me the strength to do this things. If I get a woman, I'll rape her... when I could take the pistol home, take my service pistol home, that gave me strength, to do things. To stand there and say 'I'm here to rape you'. I wouldn't do it without the weapon.

BH: Because you didn't have the strength [mag]?

JE: Yes, you can say that [tone drops]...because you have power [mag] over someone if you have a weapon.

BH: What made you decide, when you had the weapon, that you must rape and not, for example, steal more?

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JE: Like you said, because I had the strength, and the weapon was my strength. I never stole much, only a little bit, so I can always go back and get more cash...

BH: I was just wondering why you only stole small stuff and, when you got the pistol, didn't just steal more.

JE: Sometimes I took everything, like money, or money that was in the savings account...

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BH: Did you give anything you took there [i.e. during offence] to someone

else?

JE: No... You mean as a gift? No...

BH: When you were in a house, how did you feel?

JE: Well, it didn't make me feel brave or anything like that. I ummm, OK look, you're still not sure at that stage, you're still tense, because you don't know because you don't know who's in the house or whatever. You're still careful. But when you see there's no-one there, you're half-relieved.

BH: After the time, did you feel excited, with the adrenaline, from the thrill of it?

JE: if I go into a flat, or house?

BH: Whichever

JE: [pause] I couldn't say, I couldn't swear by it [bevestig]

BH: What was strongest emotion that was in you, or did you feel nothing?

JE: [pause] When I find someone, or when I'm just there and the place is empty.

BH: Did it make a difference for you?

243 JE: Ummm, I don't know... if it's empty you can't stay too long, because someone might see you. You look what's there and make tracks. If someone's there, you must also be quick and make tracks. So you're nervous. If I got money, I was glad. I'd go play games or waste the money or whatever, on anything, food, cold drink, while you're playing. You can say I was scared someone would catch me, or whatever, when I began. But eventually, you don't worry. It becomes a habit, and you just do it because it's fun [lekker], to do it, because you get something out...it was just fun to do.

BH: To break in, get money, have sex with woman?

244 JE: No, I'm just talking about stealing money from the places. [pause] OK, I didn't go there to do, but it was surely also nice [lekker], to rape woman.

BH: If you can remember, was it nice for you?

JE: It's not anything special, or wonderful. You enjoy it, but it's not transcendant [bomenslik] enjoyment you're getting, or actually why you're going there, the enjoyment of sex.

245 BH: So did you just go in for the thefts, or later was it a whole bunch a things, stealing a bit of money, rape, then go? Did the reasons change, or was it just

part of a habit?

JE: Ja, it was nice [lekker], and it becomes a habit. If you feel you want to go out and go out, and do the thing, find a window that's open. Alright, there was a place where I broke the windows to get in...behind my parent's house, when I broke in there. I think it's the only one...all the others were open windows, the door was open, ja.

BH: Afterwards, it just became a habit. After the first few times, you do it and you get a good feeling?

JE: Ja, it was nice [lekker] and the enjoyment of getting money, to spend it, waste it, it's just there and you didn't work for it. It became a habit, because I enjoyed getting something

BH: Your reasons for stealing things, was it for the money, or just for the fun?

JE: Well, it's for the money, because you can do something with it and keep yourself busy...

246 BH: So it wasn't taken as a souvenir of the thing.

JE: No, no, I didn't take any souvenirs from the person. OK, I took things from those woman's house...

BH: [interjects] But it was more money, something you can do stuff with.

JE: Ja.

BH: When did you decide that if woman saw you'd have to kill her?

247 JE: I'd say when I got the weapon, I have it, I can do it now. If I had to do it. The weapon gave me the strength to go and do it.

BH: So nothing specific happened to make you decide now you must begin to kill them.

JE: Ja, nothing specific made me decide.

BH: So it was a case, for the first case you shot, that she saw your face and it must be like this.

248 JE: Ja, ja.

BH: On long, on the whole, were you with each of the women's place of residence?...[from] when you went in for the crime

JE: About half an hour to an hour. I didn't keep time, and decide what time I would go in and what time I would go out. But I would say a half hour, hour.

BH: So you went in, walking around, took a few items, saw the woman there, raped, then left.

JE: Ja... OK, so I would go to sleep at eight, set the alarm clock, then wake up at 12. I would wake up, go, and come back and see it's now maybe 4 o'clock. Then I sleep. But that doesn't mean I spent 4 hours with the person.

BH: Because you walked around, checked that the window was open, checked that no-one could see you, before you went in.

JE: Ja.

BH: With that one in the bath you said that with her the sex was the best. What were the reasons for that, just because it was for the longest time?

JE: Ja, because I had sex with her for a long time. It was nothing, she didn't react, she didn't do anything. You can say, from the beginning, I was in control, maybe.

BH: Was this the one where you felt most in control?

JE: Ja...

249 BH: What were the reasons for telling her to go bath?

JE: There were no reasons for that, I just told her to go bath, that's all, so I could get dressed and check out her handbag and so one. There was no special reason, like 'I've had sex with you, now wash yourself because I don't want them to find the sperm'...it was just to get her out the way while I was busy.

BH: Then you thought 'she saw my face so I must kill her'.

JE: Ja.

BH: Which was the woman who fought most?

JE: Mmm, ja, the third one, in the house [Rebecca Marais, the fourth incident]; then the second last one [Margaret Welwyn]. The one in the house, the third one, I tried to rape but couldn't penetrate. The old granny I shot when she wrestled.

250 BH: For the ones who fought, did you take the duvet off first... ?

JE: The third one I hit with the butt of the gun and she was half-dazed, and then I took the duvet off and tried to rape. The old granny she grabbed my hands and I pulled the trigger and then afterwards took the duvet off.

BH: Because you thought, maybe she was still keen? [BH meant to ask

whether 'he' was still keen]

JE: [laughs] She was already dead, she couldn't still be keen... I just thought that maybe I could have sex with her, then decided no...

BH: For the third one, when you were finished, did you pull duvet up again?

JE: No, no. Just left it on the ground, for all of them, just left them [duvets] on the ground. Except for the granny I shot dead, I did pull up her duvet.

BH: What were your reasons [for doing that]?

JE...I looked and said it doesn't look right and put duvet on. There was no special reason.

BH: No reason, just automatic.

JE: Ja, automatic.

BH: When you tried to rape and couldn't what were the reasons that you couldn't

JE: Too worked-up, or too nervous because I think someone's nearby and I can't take too long. Scared too, excited or whatever, I don't know. It didn't worry me much.

BH: It was just one of those things.

JE: Ja, It was just one of those things.

BH: I just wondered whether it made you feel more nervous, or angry.

JE: No...there were no special reasons for it, I was excited and any moment someone could come... With that one [Rebecca Marais] there was a man in room next door, Ok I didn't know that [it was a man] but I knew someone was there; and then with that one there was someone in garden [in the case of Judith Schoeman] but I didn't know that...

BH: So if you feel more relaxed, you can have full sex...?

JE: Ja...I would never spend too long in a place. I would be as fast as possible...it's the basis that I began with, and later it was also like that. It was my habit, put it that way, to not stay in a place too long...

BH: How were you he caught by the police?

JE: When I murdered the last one, it was in the newspaper. A Norwood officer read it, and made contact with...[TAPE ENDS]... there was also police accommodation in that area, then they decide to look who left the Pretoria barracks. There were, say five... [police traced those five]... then

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they phoned me. I was working in the radio room...they said they wanted to come and talk to me about the murders that happened. I said yes, I've got the time...I knew OK, maybe, the time is now here to be arrested or whatever. I thought about going way, to make tracks, but then I decided it wasn't worth it... [pause] I stayed there. I swapped my weapon with the station's weapon...I hadn't cleaned my weapon [since the offences] there could be the teeth from the old granny's teeth, blood, I pushed the weapon into the last ones' head... after one and a half hours they come there. They asked me where I stayed. So I said Witbank. Then they got a bit suspicious. Then they asked me where I lived, and I said Main Street, and they got even more suspicious as the last one was just around the corner... They asked me my blood type, I said A+ and they had O+ because I have 2 blood types [perhaps due to semen sample]... Then they asked for my weapon... [Jacques hesitates more here]. Then they asked me if I heard of the murders, I said ja, I had heard about them [volume drops] from people, news reports, whatever. Then they said they wanted to take me to another station to take fingerprints. Then they arrested me, and took me out. Then they brought another man in to see if he recognised me... Then they took fingerprints, and then I said 'OK, it's me'. They had me made...it wouldn't help to make stories or whatever. I wanted to make it go by quicker, it's easier

BH: How did the police react to you then?

JE: They were alright [oorait]. They didn't mistreat me, or say nasty things. They treated me well ...they weren't afraid of me. I wasn't going to do anything. The police had [previously] decided to fingerprint everyone who stayed in the Pretoria barracks. But I didn't arrive. This was after the second or third incident...Then they could have caught him earlier.

BH: With your fiancé, why didn't you marry earlier? I had heard that was due to her Dad?

JE: Ja, OK, I should have got a flat, and he wasn't happy that I would first get a flat a month or two after we're married. Then, umm, he wasn't happy with that and then one night when I got back late he phoned me and shouted [skel] at me, so I said 'leave it, leave everything' and put the phone down and it's over. I didn't kill women for that. Then I phoned the minister and

told him about the problems and he said he would ask him and I to sit and discuss matters. Then they decided, wait for another year....

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BH: With her father, did you get along well with him.

JE: Ja, I got along moderately well, we weren't weren't buddies though. I knew we was strict, and so on...I didn't get angry with him. I wasn't keen [lus] for... scolding [skellery] that night...so I just put the phone down.

BH: What sort of person was he?

JE: He's a perfectionist', everything must be done just so..... When I asked for her [to marry], he said I must get a flat, I must get a car, and get this and get that and become a sergeant. There were certain things he said I must do.

BH: How did you feel about that?

JE: I said to him, yes-no, that's alright. I did these things...

BH: With that shouting [skellery], that's what caused the wedding to be postponed?

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JE: No, it's not about that. You could say it's part of that. But when his daughter was late, he couldn't handle it. We got back to the house after 10, say 10:30.

BH: So he was very strict with his daughter?

JE: Ja...It's understandable because she's the youngest of the daughters... A father has to be like that, but I wasn't keen for his scolding so I said 'just forget it, leave everything...goodbye'.

BH: Do you think things wouldn't have turned out differently if you had been married?

JE: No, I don't believe I would have stopped. I would have gone on.

BH: Do you ever wonder if it would have made a difference?

JE: No, it wouldn't have made a difference. I would have still gone on. She didn't know about these things.

BH: Was your fiancé's father the reason you decided to become a sergeant.

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JE: No, no no. He didn't say I must become a sergeant. I became a sergeant on my own but he said that if I was going to be married I must go further...I was already a sergeant for a long time. You can't be a constable for ever. You have to go further.

BH: When you left school, did you decide then to be something.

JE: I had no idea what I wanted to be so I just went everywhere to get work. I would do anything. I didn't worry [about what wanted to be]... I didn't care about anything specific... there wasn't anything I specifically wanted to do, but I would do any work if I was accepted for it.

BH: Did your parents worry about you, of force you to get work?

JE: Ja, they asked me to go look for work, and I went out and when I didn't find any I stayed at home and waited for the army papers [conscription call-up documents] but I wasn't in the first intake, I was in the second one so that's a six month time period you must wait. Then I tried to get work, and heard this person said they were looking for people at the Railway Police. So I went there to the office, then went on holiday. When I came back I heard they were still interested, so I just went.

BH: So it wasn't a decision, now, I will become a policeman.

JE: No...

BH: What did you do in your spare time, when you had no work to do?

JE: If I wanted to go visit a person, then I would go and visit, a friend or something. If I didn't want to go visiting, then I went to the movies, look at the shops for 'first day envelopes', like stamp collecting, where you get the envelopes with the stamps on. Could also go to town, to the video arcade and play games, pool.

BH: Most of this time, at this time, were on your own.

JE: Ja, most of the time I was on my own... I liked to relax with movies

BH: I just thought, when you were growing up, in high school and primary school, did you attend lots of social events? Or were your only social things the church and Voortrekkers?

JE: Ja, and I also liked selling to people at flea markets with my mother. We'd go, have a little stall, and sell things with her. [I'd] Even go on my own to sell Christmas cards, sweets.

BH: Did you like it a lot?

JE: I liked it a lot.

BH: Was it always with your mother.

JE: Ja, at the Youth Action too, we'd have a stall... I also went on lots of camps, school camps, they were also fun

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BH: Which one of your parents influenced you the most?

JE: [pause] Ja, it's my mother.

BH: Was she always near you?

JE: Ja.

BH: You said yesterday your mother was reasonably strict. Did your mother scold you a lot, or keep you in your place?

JE: [pause, more hesitation] Yes, well, she brought me up. I wouldn't say she scolded me a lot. Like if I didn't do school work she scolded me a lot, and so on...[but] she didn't scold me every day, or shout at me every day. OK, as I said, in primary school she did it more, but in high school she changed, she changed tactics.

BH: Do you believe the very strict tactics weren't working, and that's why she changed?

JE: No, I don't think so. She saw I was, maybe, avoiding her, and then she wanted to be closer to me, it could be that... as I said, she wanted to say she loved me and so on, and at that stage maybe I just didn't find this important anymore, like when you reach a certain age and don't want your mom to kiss you any more

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BH: When you were in primary school, did your Mom kiss you a lot, or was it strict?

JE: She was strict. I can't remember that she kissed me.

BH: If you think back, how would you describe your relationship with your mother?

JE: [struggles to find words] She was my mom, that's it. OK she was strict. I knew I had to study, maybe that caused me, when I was studying, to lose interest in what I was studying. Maybe it caused that to happen, because she was so strict. Maybe she caused that, I study, but after that I lose interest. Maybe because she scolded, told me to carry on, pass Matric and so on...I studied because I had to...

BH: So you always felt you were forced to study, and don't really care personally [stel persoonlik belang]

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JE: Ja, maybe I didn't worry about my future. Today I can see I made mistakes... [re. his studies] you get through, but not well. Like I said, when I

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was in Standard 6, I had a good teacher... [TAPE ENDS] but in Standard 7 my teacher, wasn't bad, but wasn't as good. So I didn't do well, I got through, but didn't come second in the class.

BH: So if you had a good teacher, you kept you interested... you achieved well.

JE: Ja.

BH: Was it always like that, if a teacher was good, then you did well, and if the teacher was bad then you did less well.

JE: Ja, that's right. I just learnt because I must learn, I must pass, I must get matric. That was what was told to me 'I must get matric' that's what my mother said to me 'I must get matric'. I made matric, I said OK, 'I will get matric'. As I said, I just learnt because I must [emphasis on, implying 'was obliged to'] do it. It's not something I strove for. I was told 'get matric' so I go matric.

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BH: Did you mother pay you a lot of attention?

JE: Umm, as I said, attention...What is attention? Attention is thinking it what you are doing is important, attention is saying 'come play with me'.

BH: Ja, what do you think attention is?

JE: The attention given to me is that I must do my schoolwork.

BH: Is that the attention you got?

261 JE: Ja, there wasn't good communication between me and my parents. We just said what had to be said and that's all. I couldn't talk to them about personal matters.

BH: Would you say there was a distance between you and your parents?

JE: Ja, ja.

BH: Both of them?

JE: Ja.

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BH: You said yesterday your mother was religious.

JE: Ja, she was religious.

262 BH: Was she the boss [baas] of the house?

JE: Ja, you could say that. My father just worked to pay for the house and whatever. He would come home, eat, go around to people houses, but he didn't pay special attention to me. He'd talk to me, but no special

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attention...[not] just you and me, let's go to the movies. Just you and me, let's go play sport.

BH: But your mother paid a bit more special attention to you.

JE: No, I wouldn't say special attention. She would do things for me she would make sure I did my homework, and cared for me [gesorg], bought clothes, and made sure I had food, and whatever... there was never really special attention paid, saying 'How can I help' you?' [struggles for example] or, telling me things about life...

BH: Were your parent's old when they had you?

JE: No, they're weren't old.

BH: In their twenties?

JE: Ja, say that, I don't care [stel belang] how old they were when they had me.

BH: Did your family go to church every Sunday?

JE: [pause] Ja, we would go to church on Sunday reasonably regularly. My father went to his church, and my mother went to her church... I went with my mother... I just went because I had to go, and it became a habit to go...Same as when I went to school, it became a habit to go...OK, I met my girlfriend at the Youth Action, we sang together in the choir, and whatever...I got to know her through Youth Action. OK, I decided at Youth Action to on walks with her with her...then I decided to talk with her, then I decided to take the plunge [die boog skiet]. We went out normally, I didn't decide immediately that I thought she was important [stel belang] but as we saw each other more, I said now, 'come, let's go see a movie together' and from then on we carried on with a relationship. After a year or two we, became sexually active... full sex. We were going out, you see....

BH: Was she your first girlfriend [nooi]?

JE: Yes, my first girlfriend-girlfriend [nooi-nooi]. The others were just, say, you kiss someone but just because you're in a group, and everyone gets a girl, you kiss her and then they say 'you're with them' but when the tour is over, you don't carry on with it...

BH: Didn't you care [belang stel] much about girls and that sort of thing?

JE: No, I did cared, but you can't take things further when you are still in

school, and take someone out for hours. I communicated with a girl from primary school because my dad and her's worked at the same place...We would go the library and takes books out together, or go out when our dad's went out together, and I would talk with her and so on...She was also my girlfriend, and we communicated well but didn't kiss, or go steady [was uitgegaan]...My [first] full relationship was with the one who became my fiancé.

BH: And the first girl you had full sex with was her?

JE: Ja, with my fiancé.

BH: Did your parents not allow you to go out with girls at school?

JE: No, they didn't not allow that, or worry about it, or tell me not to do that or speak with girls. They just said I can't go out in the evenings, alone or with a group...They didn't let me go out and party [jol]. This was in primary school, in high school they didn't specifically say, but then I also didn't ask. Maybe I knew they would say no, I don't know.

BH: You didn't care much at high school.

JE: Ja. Now and then I went out with Youth Action, or go see a film on Fridays...

BH: But you didn't go out that much, because in primary school the parents didn't allow it and in high school you didn't care.

JE: Ja.

BH: Did your mother, this is a question I heard from a newspaper and wondered if it was true, did your mother scold you about girls?

JE: No...

BH: Say that girls are sinful, or something?

JE: No, no...

BH: Did your mother, I know she was strict and religious, ever catch you while you were masturbating [skommel]?

JE: [sounds unconcerned] Ja, she said she'd tell my Dad about me...I was in matric, or [standard] 9... I was in the bath, and took too long, and she came in when I was busy. She said she'd tell my Dad, but my Dad never did anything about it.

BH: She didn't hit you.

JE: No, no.

BH: Also read that when you went to the toilet your mother wouldn't let you close the door, because she was scared you would masturbate in there.

JE: No, no

BH: Did your father have an influence on you?

265 JE: No, I don't believe he had any influence on me. OK, he hit me once when I was caught for stealing money. That was the only time he ever hit me... but he wasn't involved with me very much [betrokke] Like I could say, I don't know anything about cars and motorbikes and how they work, the things a father should tell you about that's a Mazda 323, that's the pistons... because we did not work on cars together [him saying] 'give me the monkey wrench, or the screwdriver' or whatever. I don't know how to repair a car [due to that] or just to stand and see what's wrong. I don't know anything...

BH: Did you feel different because the other boys could talk about cars and pistons?

JE: You see, why, your father just wants to talk to other people, and doesn't talk to you...he doesn't give you attention. I didn't think like that. I just thought he was that sort of person, I can't pay attention to it...

266 but sometimes you feel, when they [parents] visit, what can I talk about with them? Every day is the same day. In the prison, I try to communicate with them, but it's difficult. My mother can talk, and my father can talk...but we understand that we are standing far from one another, there's not a split [skeiding], but I wasn't brought up that way, to talk about personal things. So I can still, not even today, I can't talk to them about the things I did, because it looks like my mother is afraid of me... so I can't really talk with them about these things...

267 BH: You didn't grow up being able to communicate with them personally? Ja, we talk if we get something to talk about. I try to communicate with them...but soon we run out of things to say, and we look at each other, and I have to think of something to say, then they think of something to say. There's a gap, but it's not a big gap, but it's a gap that we can't close and form a bond.

BH: There was never a bond between yourself and parents, to put it that way.

JE: Ja.

BH: What parents think about all your offences?

JE: [indifferent tone, as if not caring] They told me they were worried, but they wouldn't throw me away, or so on, and come visit once a month, and stand by me and so on. But I think my mother's half-afraid of me. I don't know what my father thinks, because he, for me, is shut [toe]. He's a closed book.

BH: Your father is a quiet person.

JE: Ja, he will talk, and make jokes, but I can't see what he's thinking. OK, maybe you can see he's worried, this is all I can say for him. But my mother, it looks like she's afraid of me.

BH: Do you think it's funny [snaaks] that she's afraid of you?

JE: [laughs] Ja, I think it's funny... she doesn't need to be afraid of me

BH: What are the reasons you think she's afraid of you?

JE: Surely it's about the crimes I did.

BH: She thinks you hate woman?

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JE: It's possible, as I said, I haven't spoken to them properly about it. I don't know how to bring it up, or if I must do it, and so on...

BH: What were your reasons, do you think for selecting women in your offences, not men?

JE: As I said, it was the handbags they caused me to go into women's rooms

... I am not interested [stel nie belang] in men.

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BH: So it's more a thing, you don't want to rape a man, to put it that way.

JE: Ja...I'm not attracted to men.

BH: After the incident you told me about, before the first case, did you decide from that moment on to rape woman in they were there? Or did you decide before that?

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JE: Ja [many pauses, stutters] I, I thought I would try to rape a woman...if I saw her there, and she looked nice. But it wasn't like I saw a window open and decided to go in. But I didn't do it again until the first incident [very vague answer].

BH: How long before this first incident did this sort of thing [these thoughts] happen? A few months?

JE: No, I can't say...

BH: Did you think, before, about raping woman?

JE: Ja, with the first incident, when I tried it, ja.

BH: And before that incident, did you think...

JE: [interjects] It's from when you take money out the handbags. You don't do it at family and friends, you go out to flats to get money. Maybe that caused me to think, 'why don't I do this also'. Because you're going further...you are now busy in a process and you come to a point where you see, why don't I do this? There's no special reasons I want to rape woman, you understand. I just thought 'why don't I do this'?

Maybe you also enjoyed it, because you do it secretly [skelms].

BH: Is that it?

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JE: Maybe it's the sneakiness [skelmheid] You enjoy doing it, the sneakiness, no one knows about it. You don't tell anyone. You don't get drunk and hit it out, or tell anyone, the "skelms" you don't tell anyone about. To do sneaking things [om skelms te doen] you get something out of it.

[TAPE ENDS]... [speaks faster, more excited tone] to be sneaky [skelm], to sneak around at night, to search for money, then you come to stage where you see there's a woman, you see she's there, you don't know if she has a husband [man], because you didn't check whether there was a man there. You see through the window that there's one body on the bed, so you go through the window and pull the duvet off. But you don't have the wherewithal to know what to do next, then she screams, and you run away

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Then you stay in the area, because you know there's an opportunity there, you had seen it, and you [can] go into that house. You haven't yet decided to rape her, but then you see she's there. Then on the spur of the moment you decide 'why don't I do it?' and you decided 'yes'. And now you have the weapon, and now you can prevent her from screaming, and if she sees you, you can kill her. I didn't sit and think 'if that happens, I'll do this, or whatever. When it began, then I decided 'now do this'.

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BH: You didn't think about it lots or plan it, it was just...

JE: [interjects] Ja. Later you plan it, think, I'm going out...

BH: [interjects] To find a woman...

JE: To rape, or whatever

BH: Is this why waited a long time before first and second case, because you weren't sure?

274 JE: No, I just went back to stealing money, until I had the gun, so you can go further. The weapon decided me, now I knew if I get someone, I can...[tails off] or come back later to see if there was someone there. I still went to get money... You don't do it every night, you leave it for an evening, or a month, or two weeks, or so on and then you go out. I am ready to be sneaky [skelms] again, to go out and get money again, or whatever. You don't think about the sneaking, you think about the money.

BH: And later, you would think, now I'm keen to go and find a woman.

JE: No, I didn't think to get a woman. I would go out to get money, then go in, and come back later to see if she is there.

275 BH: So this is how it always happened?

JE: No, until I got the weapon.

BH: From the second case on, did it always happen like this, that you were there before?

JE: Ja, you could say so. From the second case on, when I had the weapon...

BH: In the second case...what made you decide to go back?

276 JE: I don't know, I just decided, but there was no reason. I just decided to go back maybe to see if I can get a woman there. To see if she's alone. I didn't know if she would be alone, I had never seen her. I had seen photos', but I didn't know if she would be alone...But she was alone. I had already decided, if she's alone, then I will rape her.

BH: When did you make this decision?

JE: When I came back for the CD. I went back...I hadn't looked around the whole place enough. I decided to go back and look on the other side, to see if there was money, but there wasn't, so I took the CD. Then I decided to come back later and see if she was there. If she was alone, then I would rape her.

BH: Was that on the same evening?

277 JE: I don't know, I couldn't say whether it was the same evening, or a few evenings later. OK, they say that all the incidents apart from the last one were done on a full moon. I don't know if the first one, that day, was on a full



moon. But they said that all the incidents apart from the last were on the full moon. So, there was time...

BH: [interjects] That goes past.

JE: That goes past, between then, to the next full moon.

BH: Did full moon influence him, you think?

JE: No, no, no. I didn't think 'there's the full moon I will find a woman to rape'...it was the same as they said 'I have two blood groups, I must be a werewolf' [BH laughs]. I have two types, my body's blood is A+, my sperm is O+, and OK there's just two other people in the world that have this type of blood groups. OK, the other's in Russia and he did almost the same, OK but he [INAUDIBLE] and ate people and whatever and I don't know.

BH: I know him, what's his name?

JE: I don't know, I just read about him.

BH: It's Andrei Chikatilo, I think. Do you think you are a serial murderer?

JE: Ja, I am a serial murderer, I don't think it, but they say I am a serial murderer...I don't feel I am a werewolf. That's now later, I didn't know that. I just searched for that for that feeling [much INAUBIDLE] when I go out

....After the second or third incident in Pretoria, they put policemen on the roof. OK, I heard it, but it didn't bother me, that there was a policeman on the roof. I knew they were looking for me. I also went out, not to look search myself, but just because there was the opportunity to turn up. I would say 'I'm looking for an opportunity to work' they would say yes, they would go into town to look for the person responsible for the Pretoria murders, and I would say 'OK' and go along with them. Now I'm sitting there and waiting for this murderer [BH laughs] which is half-funny. But I didn't go out to find myself, or say 'it's him, it's him, I saw him'. I listened to what they were saying that's all, I didn't go there to say I saw them.

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BH: How did it feel, this, going out looking for the Pretoria murderer?

JE: [much pauses] I just listened [stutters] I wasn't worried. Maybe, already, I hoped they would catch me

BH: Did you hope they would catch you?

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JE: I knew that some time or another they would catch me, but, I didn't think about it to much. It didn't bother me incessantly. I knew they would catch me

some time or another but I wanted them to catch me, I didn't want to give myself up...

BH: Growing up, did you every avoid women, or feel uncomfortable around them?

JE: No.

BH: Was it always alright with girls?

JE: Ja, I didn't avoid them, I didn't avoid them, there was no problem with them, the girls. If a girl spoke to me, I spoke with her, I didn't force a girl to speak with me.

BH: Did girls like you, on the whole?

JE: I don't know if they liked me, I couldn't saw what they thought, but they didn't demonstrate [toon] , the girls I was with, that they didn't want to be around me. They spoke with me, that's that.

There are things that still bother me about incidents. They said, I don't know if you read it, with the woman in the bath, they said I washed my hands in the basin, because my hands were full of blood, and so on, and blood was smeared in the basin's drain. I told them I know nothing about that, I didn't touch the woman after I shot her, understand, I said no, it must be the woman who found the body maybe looked what was wrong and got blood on her hands, and then washed them off. Or because the pipe from the basin connected to the bath, that's maybe how they got blood in the basin. I didn't, and they said I left keys on the last one's private parts, but I didn't handle any keys, the door was open, why would I be busy with keys? So it had to be her mother, you found the body, when she opened the house, car keys or something, and she left them. OK, maybe she wasn't conscious [of leaving the keys], didn't know she was doing it but I know for a fact I didn't do it [leave keys] [adamant tone]...I can remember well.

BH: This was also one thing I read, I don't know if it's true, and I just want to ask: that you, with the last girl, I heard that you found the star mark very funny [snaaks]. Was it funny for you?

JE: OK, I saw it, but I didn't think it was funny...I saw something develop, but I didn't wonder about it, or stand and think 'that's pretty' [oulik]. I shot, and I saw it before I was going. But I wouldn't describe it, or tell anyone

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about it. It was nothing special to me.

BH: It sounds, and you must correct me if I'm wrong, it sounds like when you shot the women, you didn't care [belanggestel] very much. You just shot them to make them dead.

JE: Ja.

BH: Was it like that?

JE: Ja.

BH: After that, she'd just dead, you can go.

JE: Ja

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BH: And with the cartridge cases, you just picked them up if you saw them.

JE: Ja, if I saw, if I turned my head or was getting dressed and saw there was a casing [doppie] I would take them. If I didn't see, I didn't get them. It was just a reaction.

BH: You didn't plan.

JE: Ja, I didn't plan, to...

BH: How did you feel after the cases?

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JE: I was worried and, nervous, because I thought maybe someone saw me but when the next day came then I didn't worry any more. Just for that time, before I slept, when I came in, I would worry 'maybe someone saw me?', 'maybe someone heard the shot?', 'maybe someone saw where I was walking?' or you think that anyone could call the police. But then you sleep, and when you wake up then you don't worry about it any more.

BH: Did you ever go back to the scenes?

JE: No, I didn't go back to the murder or rape scenes, but as I said, when I stole cash out the handbags, I went back. If I just stole a bit, I always went back. When I took everything, I didn't go back.

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BH: Apart from last two cases, before rapes, did you check the scenes to see what was going on?

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JE: A couple of times, not always. I would walk past and think 'that's where the woman must be', OK, the window's open but I walked by and then there is another opportunity so I go in there, look around, get cash, then later, a bit later, I would come back...The one, the first one I shot in the house [Rebecca Marais, I didn't [go in] I just stood around, and watched. The fourth one.

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BH: The first woman you shot?

JE: Ja.

BH: You watched that house a lot.

JE: Ja.

BH: How long before the case?

JE: I don't know how long. I was there four or five times before. Outside, outside the house from behind, from in front... there were a few people who lived there, men also lived there, not just one, two people. There was a small flat outside, a bit of a way from the rest of the people, I first watched that, that girl. It's in front of the house, but joined to it...I never had the opportunity with her I first looked to get money, but I never got money there...

OK there was an opportunity that I could have raped her but, I saw there were a man and woman there, there was a man and a woman there, they weren't married, but they ate together. Now I saw things had got quiet, and the doors open. Then I go in, and the lights on, and the woman is sleeping on the bed, but I didn't know what happened to the man. Then I went into the living room and saw he was sleeping on the sofa. So I could have shot him, raped the woman, and shot her, and gone, but I then I felt, against it. I didn't know if there were people in the house, the house was quiet, the curtains were closed, but I didn't know what was going on in there. So I thought, no, leave it. Then I went there again, now I go behind the place...I now go behind it [the house]. Now I see there's someone there but I don't know who it is, standing there. Then I looked if there was a door open. There was one, it was closed but unlocked. Then I go in, walk through the house...Then I go through a door, and turn the light one, and then there is a woman there. I didn't expect her to be there.

BH: The same woman as before?

JE: No, another woman, not the same one. And then then I went forward with this thing.

BH: Was she pretty [mooi]?

JE: Umm, well she was not ugly, not pretty. She was a ummm, a big woman, in the body. Not fat, just shaped like a woman. But I didn't look at her for beauty, or looked at her for long. Maybe it's just to get a score, just to have

sex I didn't think 'this woman is pretty, I'm horny for her'. I see it's a woman, I can have sex with her

BH: So did you shoot her, because you turned on the light [i.e. because she saw you]

284 JE: I turned on the light I didn't think there would be anyone there. I didn't really think what I was doing...There was a wall around the house, so they felt reasonable safe and they have a few people in the house, not just one. That's why, maybe, they didn't care about locking the doors. I don't know, that's just what I think. Then I see a door is open, a door is shut, it's not too dark. I didn't think to look in there first to see if someone was sleeping there, and in front of the door is a light switch, around the corner of the door. Then I turned it on, and now see the woman lying there and she wakes up, OK, and I couldn't do anything about it, so I first shut the door [because] she could scream and get someone up. It didn't bother me, I didn't think clearly

about it, this is what I thought about after the time. Then I do it, and shoot her. The man who was in the room alongside didn't wake up...[TAPE ENDS].. I just went and hit her with the butt, I didn't say anything, I was silent.

285 BH: Did mother ever threaten you with anything? For example 'God will...'

JE: [interjects] No, no.

BH: Did she ever say she wanted to kill you?

JE: No...she did say, with my fiancé 'don't have sex with her'. I believe like any parent would say.... what I can also say, because she said that, she once

once found a condom wrapper in my cupboard. She asked what it was and I said a sweet paper [mutual laughter]. OK, the first time I had sex with my fiancé was in my own house, in my own bed. She was still a virgin.

286 BH: You were also a virgin.

JE: Ja, you could say that, although I had wanked before so I wasn't a real virgin. I was a virgin in the sense that I the first time I had sex with any woman was with my fiancé

287 They [parents] weren't there. We were making out [vry] then we'd watch TV, then make out a bit more [vry] and, then, maybe she was getting frustrated. I had never asked her. Maybe I hadn't made out with her all the time, I'd make out, watch TV, make out again, watch TV...I didn't make a plan to have sex

with her, I had groped her...but never decided to have sex with her. Then we were making out, and she decided, then she took my hands, and stands up, and takes my hand to the bedroom...I kissed her everywhere, then decided to take off her pants. Then she decided to undress completely. Then I undressed... OK I didn't ask her, but she also didn't say, and then I had sex with her. OK, she's a virgin, she bled, because if you are a virgin [tails off, then long pause] And OK you could say that we were busy for some time, I don't know how long...and then I withdrew and came. I also decided that I didn't want to make her pregnant, so I shot on the ground. Then we got dressed. She then said, look, you must marry me. I said, yes, I will marry you...

BH: How often did you have sex with your fiancé after that?

JE: Well, I worked six days, and then flew for a while, and I was away for eight days before I would get to her. Then I spoke to her, 'Do you want to do it again?' Then she says yes or no. She if says nothing, it's alright, it's not a problem, because I know I'll ask some other time.

BH: It was no problem for you?

JE: No... it didn't make me angry I didn't get sex.

BH: With second case, did you decide to rape people because you had a gun?

JE: Yes.

BH: There were no other reasons, like pressure at work, or problems with the relationship?

JE: No, I didn't do it because there were problems with the relationship.

BH: You more did it because you could do it.

JE: Ja.

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BH: It was almost as if it wasn't part of your normal life

JE: Ja ja [strong agreement] it was, like they said, which was something very interesting they said in the newspaper I saw, OK...you could say I was two people, one was violent and the other was soft natured or whatever. That's how it was for me, but it's not like there is another person in me and says 'aaarg, I'm now a werewolf and kill go and commit murders' [JE pull face, mutual laughter]. I'm the same person, I just have two sides, one good side and one bad side that no one knows about apart from me.

BH: The one is normally separate from the other, is that how it normally feels for you?

JE: Ja.

BH: Was it as if your crimes were committed in another life, because it feels...

JE: [interjects] It was the same life, it was just a side that stood to one side when I decided to go out...

BH: [So] the day after, you didn't say 'I can't go work', you got on as normal.

JE: Got on as normal.

BH: If had an argument with your fiancé, it didn't...

JE: [interjects] I didn't have many arguments with my fiancé, we didn't fight, we got along well.

We went to marriage counselling with the preacher, when he asked what about her irritates me, and I said it was when she asks 'do you want to go to movies, or do this or do that' and she says 'I don't know' that irritates me. And she explained it was when she was growing up her father said they 'we will go there' and then they would go there....I didn't shout at her, I didn't tell her she at that stage what irritated me. Although after that, she didn't say it again.

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BH: You didn't fight with her much, or hit her?

JE: No...Sometimes I forget to do things, then she shouts [raas] at me. It's small fights, nothing terrible.

BH: Ja, it didn't become a big thing for you.

JE: Ja. I never hit her. Well, in play fights, but never so that she cries.

BH: Was your communication moderately good?

JE: Ja, there were times we didn't talk, when we had nothing to say. When you're playing table tennis with her, or watching TV, or listening to music. The communication it wasn't good.

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BH: It wasn't good.

JE: Ja, OK, I could say I got along well with her, and talked a reasonable amount with her, I, can I say, I was seeking more, more talking. From my side, I should also have talked more, found more to talk about, made more

opportunity. From both sides, there were times when we didn't talk. Like I said, there was communication but there wasn't good communication. I maybe expected more.

BH: If there were things that worried you, you wouldn't say to her?

JE: Or personal things, very personal...

BH: What sort of things would you have liked to talk more about?

JE: The future, the future more, if you maybe fight what her reaction would be, would she go back to her mother? Run? If the problems come. Or would she tell her mother about everything that's happened to us...

BH: Did you have lots of respect for your parents, or didn't feel much for them?

JE: [long pause] Look, [pause] if I mother told me to wash the dishes or dust the furniture, I just did it. What they asked, I would do, but beyond that, I didn't, know...[tapers off] OK, like I said, when they introduced me to strangers, I didn't like that, I don't think that is respect. I didn't openly demonstrate that I wasn't showing respect. OK...when they spanked me I would want to swear at them, but I never did.

BH: You said yesterday that once after your mother had punished you, you wished afterwards that you were dead. Did it happen often, or just that once?

JE: When I was small [ambiguous response]. It happens with all children.

BH: [She] usually scolded you, spanked you?

JE: Spanked me. A bit strict, and maybe unfair [INAUDIBLE] held my frustrations inside, held everything inside, and maybe couldn't communicate.

BH: Since you were small, have you always held your frustrations inside?

JE: Ja

BH: You didn't communicate with anyone.

JE: [very quietly] There was no one.

BH: You didn't, on the whole, talk much?

JE: Ja.

BH: Where you shy when you were growing up?

JE: Ja, when you're small you're shy, but you grow out of it. You don't hide away if someone comes round, I never did that.

BH: Did you ever cut yourself?



JE: No. It's not a solution, in itself. I didn't seek attention, because they were strict. I would rather they didn't pay me attention. And when they wanted to pay attention, that's why I didn't want it.

I wanted attention, then I decided I didn't want attention any more, now they want to give me attention but I'm not looking for it, I don't want them to pay me attention.

BH: You said yesterday you didn't like working for the SAP?

JE: I liked the airport, I didn't like the Riot Squad...[The Riot Squad] you were always driving around in the same area, it's not fun [lekker]. It's not because there was violence, that it wasn't fun.

BH: The violence didn't bother you.

JE: Ja. It didn't bother me, it's just a thing you must control and prevent, and see that there is order. But, as I said, at the airport you worked for a week in the terminal, a week on the vehicles, a week in the charge office, a week in the cargo area, then a week on the aircraft, different jobs. You can enjoy it, you don't get bored, you learn something every day. The flights are fun, almost like a holiday...it's very interesting, you stay busy. It kept me awake, as I said I'm not a night person, I struggle to stay awake. I drink a lot of coffee, smoke, read.

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BH: Did they train you well?

JE: Ja, they trained [me] well.

BH: Was it interesting?

JE: Ja, it was very interesting...I was trained well, fun also. You run lots, shoot lots, and when the evening comes you're half tired and not keen to study. But it's still nice and you tried your best. As I said, I wasn't a top student but I studied hard. I didn't struggle.

BH: Did you get lots of friends at work?

JE: Umm, ja, I didn't look for them a lot, but I had three friends that I [TAPE ENDS]...

BH: So you had a few of friends that you could spend good time with?

JE: Ja, we went out together, did things together... [tails off]

BH: And what happened to them, over the crimes [Jacques offences]?

JE: Umm, look, you get friends and then they ask for a transfer over to their

parent's place, or they marry, and then go to stay someone else, or they ask for a transfer to another Division, sort of work...OK, and when they go away you just get others, some who also lived in the barracks, who just get other friends

BH: Did you keep contact with your old friends?

JE: No...you just get other friends. I'm not the sort of person who says, he's my friend, I'll go with him, or stay in touch. If he goes, he goes. It doesn't bother me...

BH: Did you fit in well with the people you worked with?

JE: Ja. There were no problems with them. I worked well [lekker] with them. There wasn't special attention given to me, it was normal.

BH: Do you still see your fiancé?

JE: No, I have no contact with her any more. I have her phone number but I don't call it, because if I call it would hurt her I decided no, I wouldn't do it. She came to see me, and said 'I want to break our engagement', and that was that

BH: Did she say that to you, or you to her.

JE: She said that to me. Then I said she could keep the ring, but her Dad dropped it off, just put it in a letter and dropped it off by the house [Jacques' parent's house]... Her father decided he didn't want anything further to do with me. I understand, I won't kick up trouble there, or force her to see me, or talk, because I know I don't want to hurt her, I know it would really hurt her. It's better that she gets on with her life, because she has still got a live to live, get a husband, if she wants, although I don't know whether I hurt her so much she wouldn't want one. I don't have any contact any more... I feel, I am still love her and so on, but it's better that there is no contact with her, you know, that's how I feel, because I know I would just hurt her.

BH: So if you had more contact, it wouldn't be good for her.

JE: And it also wouldn't be good for me. OK, if I meet her on the street and she says hello, then I will do it. But I won't go out of my way to search her out.

BH: So she said to you personally?

JE: She came to see me in prison. She came with a preacher...She just wanted

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to know why I did it. Then I said to her, I can't remember [aanhou], I don't know, because I was in pieces [uitmekaar uit], I didn't know what answer to give her. She then me asked whether it had anything to do with her Dad, and I said no, because she'd also thought, or heard something or whatever, because the incident when we fought about the wedding. I said no, it's nothing to do with her Dad.

BH: Is that true?

JE: Ja, it's true. I told her I didn't know why I did it. I was still completely confused [deurmekaar] and didn't know myself why. But now that I've had the chance to speak to people, psychologists, speak over a time, to discover myself again, and get better [regkom] again and make a new beginning and know what happened, to make sense of things again and try to stop these things, so I wouldn't do them again. To know, uumm, what is the problem that, all this time, what caused this, so I can see the process and not do it again. To understand myself better, that's the whole point of why I'm prepared to speak to psychologists about the things I've done, to get pressure to move forward.

BH: You want to understand yourself better.

JE: Ja, to understand and to know so that if I again come into a process like this, I must go this way, not that way, to know that if this happens I will do it. [I want to] begin to change myself. I'm working towards that. It's not just a case of 'I won't do it again'. You must work at it, and find a solution. The solution is if you have a problem, you must find someone to talk to about it. I don't want to go into that thing again because if felt for me like I was going dead inside. You don't realise it then, you realise it now, you see that you were busy dying, not physical death, you're not going to fall over dead, but you're making yourself dead inside I'm trying to learn to discover emotions, to know that if I do well [presteer], then I must enjoy it, I must congratulate myself, say 'right, Jacques, nice one [mooi] you did the right thing, you're moving in the right direction.'

BH: So you felt before that you could almost not feel emotions?

JE: Ja, you held yourself inside, and didn't bring anything out. All your frustrations and your happiness, you pushed down, you didn't worry about

yourself. Do you understand what I mean by ‘not worry about yourself’? OK, like you know you would get caught, and that maybe something would happen, but you didn’t really care. So, I’m trying to strive to get these things away, so that they aren’t pressed under any more. That’s my whole aim, that’s what I see now, that I failed, that’s where I came short before. I still find things difficult...But I must preserve to the end, not just do it half way.

BH: If you could think, what were your reasons for keeping everything inside, and for not caring about yourself, and not feeling many feeling?

JE: It was because I grew up like that. But I’m not blaming people for that, I’m blaming myself for that. OK, I don’t say all these things ‘oh, I made a mistake, and so on’ just to say OK I went wrong and I mustn’t let it get me down. I must preserve and, if I go wrong, I mustn’t let it get me down...I didn’t have values, in life, to decide I’m going this way or that way.

BH: Did you feel you were just wandering? [rondsgewerf]

JE: Ja, just wandering.

BH: Do you feel it was about your parents, because they weren’t very close to you?

JE: [long pause, stutters]

BH: Or don’t you know why that is?

JE: [pause, sighs] Maybe, I never thought about it, so, nor has it worried me much. I was brought up that way and ummm, maybe it was because I was forced to study, and can see why was done, the reasons for it...I can see my mistakes [mislukkings] now and if I come out, I would know what to do

BH: You earlier said that your fiancé asked why you committed these deeds, can you know say why?

JE: Ja, as I said, it was because it was a habit, from childhood, to begin stealing, and it went further...

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BH: [interjects] It was all part of that, habit.

JE: Ja, it did become a habit that I couldn’t break away from. When you first begin you can’t stop. You want to do it more and more, you can’t stop yourself. You can’t stop yourself, the reasons is because you could

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never talk with anyone, from when you were small, you weren’t prepared to talk with anyone, to say, ‘I feel that you are too strict with me, you’re not

giving me the opportunity to make a success of myself'

BH: Do you think that your parents were too strict with you?

JE: Look, [searches for words] I think that parents need to be strict, but it is important that you get to know your child, see how he lives, see how he reacts, so you come to understand him. I don't think that happened. I can't blame them, as I said, I blame no one.

BH: They didn't know you, to put it that way.

JE: Ja.

BH: Was your fiancé the only person you felt at ease with.

298 JE: Ja, because I know she felt [ummm] for the reasons she showed that she thinks I'm important, she wanted to go out with me, she loved me, she showed it. Maybe that is what attracted me to her, that came through for me, I saw that.

BH: Do you miss for her?

299 JE: Ja, she's part of my life. They say when you marry when you have sex, you become one, and this is the same. When you are married and have sex with her it forms a bond with your wife. So she's part of my life, you can never forget her. But now it's past, and I leave it there.

BH: Do you find it easy to leave something in the past?

300 JE: You think, 'will it be something positive or will it bring negative?' I know if something bothers me, it will bring trouble, and I don't want to bring trouble, you know, to hurt her. It won't bring anything good, it will become an obsession if I pester her, and then she would swear at me or something, and I don't want it and that. It is not pretty.

BH: And with the other things in your life, for example, your court cases? Do you feel guilty about them, or...?

301 JE: [interjects] Look, they are part of my life, I'll never forget it. I can't do anything about them [INAUDIBLE] I can't [INAUDIBLE] people because I don't what they'd do if I bumped into the people [presumably rape victims] OK, I'd ask them, to, that they'd scream at me or whatever. I don't believe that they'll, maybe, want to make contact me about what I did. I know that they would maybe forgive me, they are only human. They will never forget what that person did to them. I don't know what their reactions would be. But

things were done, and I can't do anything about it. I can't live in the past. I have to start again. I have to start positively, not negatively, something that won't bring me down

BH: Did you drink a lot with your police colleagues?

JE: No, no. OK, now and then, yes, when I went to braai with them, I would have a drink. But when I felt my head start to spin, I would think 'no, I've had enough'.

BH: So you didn't like the drink a lot.

JE: No, I didn't want to get drunk, although I did drink, I was careful not to get drunk. I want to know what I'm doing

BH: Did you drink before or after the crimes?

JE: No, no. I never drank anything before I committed a crime. I never drank a lot, I was just a social drinker. Sundays at meal time, have a glass of wine. I never went to a bar to drink a beer or something. Drink wasn't in my house, you see.

BH: Your parents didn't find it important.

JE: Just table wine, but not every Sunday...

BH: What age did you start smoking?

JE: When I left school, and started working at the police. I didn't have opportunity, OK when I was at school I would see a stompie and have a quick smoke, but I only went out for cigarettes when I joined the police. For a while after, for night duty, the cigarettes helped keep me awake for night duty...OK, as I said, I did the things [offences] at night, but I didn't stay awake the whole day afterwards.

BH: You slept and set an alarm.

JE: I went out to rape, but it wasn't always like that. When I began I went out around eight o'clock, then come back around nine or ten, to sleep. But when I began with the rapes, sometimes I went at eight, walked around, slept, then drink coffee and went out to find someone, a woman [mumbles] to rape.

BH: How did you decide, tonight, I will go out?

JE: It's just I, I just came to a point OK, tonight I'm going out. It wasn't planned.

BH: You didn't think about it during the day before, 'tonight I'm going out'

JE: I didn't think about it during the day.

BH: Did you ever have what you described as a 'true friend', the sort of friend you could discuss any problem with?

JE: No. I never had a friend like that.

BH: There was no-one you could talk to about all the problems.

JE: No, I never found anyone like that, a special friend. OK, I had a person that I was with a lot and who I went and visited.

BH: Was it a school friend?

JE: Ja, it was a school friend. OK, he's dead now. Sickness, not an accident.

BH: At what age?

JE: He was out of school, but I didn't have frequent contact with him, as I did when I was in school when you were at school. We would spend time at each other's a lot, sometimes weekends...But when we were out of school, I see him now and then, just thinking 'I'll pop by his house and say hello', but it wasn't frequently. I just went to visit at his house, to talk.

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BH: Just have a good visit? [lekker kuier]

JE: Ja.

BH: How did you feel when he died?

JE: [pause] Well, I didn't, well, I thought it had to happen some time or another. I don't [INAUDIBLE]

BH: You felt, he's dead now, what can I do?

JE: Ja, ja

BH: What sickness was it, cancer?

JE: Ja, I think so. [TAPE ENDS]

BH: With the people who come visit you, is it just your parents?

JE: Ja, it's just my parents come to visit, but church people used to come visit, when I was in [another prison] and nearer to home. OK, church people, church aunties, a few people, the minister [dominee] also come. A preacher [predikant] once to visit came and then visited my parents afterwards. My one uncle, my mother's brother, came to visit. Even one of my mother's friends even came to visit. My friends haven't come to visit, but I can understand why. I don't have a problem of not enough visitors.

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BH: You don't worry too much about that.

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JE: Ja, I understand, that maybe they feel awkward coming here. As long as my parents come three times a month, that's enough for me. If they came more often, say once a week, you would find it hard to find things to talk about. It's always the same routine, so there's not much to tell... have to ask them lots of questions, because they don't say, then won't have anything to chat with them about.

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So I just talk about people I have written letters to, and so on.

BH: How do you feel when a pen pal stops writing.

JE: Well, it's her choice if she stops writing. I won't force her to write to me. I can write to others, there are plenty people I can write to. There are many names in the books that are asking to write to them. As they say, there are many fish in the sea...it's not a problem because there are still many people I can write to, or who want me to write to them.

BH: Do any of the people you write to know why, know that you're sitting in the prison?

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JE: Ja, all of them ask why, what did you do? And this is why I said, some of them stop writing [both laugh] In the beginning I didn't know how to put it nicely...

BH: How do you put it?

JE: There's a testimonial [getuienis] that I put together. In the beginning, I wrote, out a newspaper that someone sent in a letter, OK someone said this so I wrote that. But then I thought 'that's a bit rough' and people got frightened away. I can show it to you, I don't post it away.

BH: Oh, OK, thanks. [BH reads]

JE: In the beginning a sent that bit, you can read from there on. That's where I explained about what I did.

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BH: [reads, and laughs] Do you believe you had a [reading] 'chromosomal disorder' which meant he had no control over what you did?

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JE: Umm, what is it actually [eintlik]? As I described, there are there are two people in one person.

BH: Do you feel that?

JE: It's like I said, I had a soft side and a bad side, at that stage. But it's not two people, it's one person, just with different...

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BH: [interjects] for example, I'm speaking politely with you know, but on the road and get angry and swear at people. It's the same.

JE: Ja.

BH: That's what you say, you have a good side and a bad side, but it's not...

JE: [interjects] [INAUDIBLE] I agree with you.

BH: [reads on] Oh yes, so for you, would you agree with this? That it is the two poles of you, on this side stands the good and on that side the bad, and you alternated [wissel] between them in life.

JE: Ja

BH: [reads more] Do you feel like you had not control over this thing? As you said, it was like a habit.

JE: It's like a drug. That you had to have more and more. You can't say 'I must stop' and then just stop, you don't have that control.

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BH: And what bit was like a drug for you? The feelings, the danger, the sneaking around?

JE: Umm, ja, as I said, because it became a habit, you can't stop. You just go forward. You don't know where you're going. You don't have control, you don't think about it, you just go on.

BH: It's like a smoking something you do and do and aren't sure why. I've already asked a few times, 'was it good or bad for you?' and you don't sound sure, whether you enjoyed it or not. It is true? Was it like that?

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JE: Ja...

BH: You don't know what your feelings are?

JE: Ja, that's right

BH: [finishes reading letter] Do you still write to her? [penpal]

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JE: No, she's dead.

BH: What happened to her?

JE: She got cancer. I wrote to her daughter after, but she's also now dead.

BH: Eish. That's not a very lucky family.

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JE: [laughs] Yes.

BH: How many people did you write to, and how many wrote to you?

JE: I would say I wrote to about a hundred, but would just get twenty back.

Some just wrote for a short time. These are the ones I'm writing to now.

BH: [reads letters] Did you, at an earlier stage, feel that everything was against you? Or did you now know where you were going?

JE: I couldn't [ummm] control things.

BH: You just wandered around.

JE: I couldn't control my life. I couldn't stop. There [much stumbling for words] was a stage in life I couldn't control, when things went wrong. For example, you try to get a flat and then the subsidy goes wrong. You struggle, then you just leave it because you know you can't get it right, you didn't fight for it, you can't, you don't have that keen feeling to say: 'I must [emphasis] get it'. You just get stuck at a point and then leave it.

BH: So, you didn't feel that the world was against you, you just felt lost.

JE: Lost, yes.

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[BH reads on - no noise from JE]

BH: Do you feel glad the death sentence was done away with?

311 JE: Ja, because it would have ended my life. You want to know that you can make a new start, begin again... I'm thankful I can start again, go in with life, maybe make a success of it. I want to be cured I don't want to spend the rest of his life in prison and die here. I want to come out and make a life. The prison is not a nice place [lekker plek] to spend your life. I try to work on the problems I have so you can come out and make a new start, and know where you stand in life

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BH: You said earlier today that have made peace with yourself, is that how...

312 JE: [interjects] Now look that's, when I say I make peace with self, I forgive myself for what I did. The reason is because I couldn't control myself and I did it, OK, but made peace with myself, God forgives me for what I did and so on.

BH: Do you feel that God forgives you?

JE: Ja. I feel that he was involved in the court case, and helped me get through it. The time when I'm here, he still helps, and [he will help] when I get out.

BH: Are you more religious now than when you were outside?

JE: Ja, you can say I am a bit more religious now. I read the words in the

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Bible and I understand them. Before I just read the words, I did not go deeply into them. Now I'm growing in the faith. Before I wasn't growing, I just went to church because I must go to church or because it was a habit. But now I'm trying to understand what is standing there in the writing, what the message in the Bible is, so I can understand the message, to grow.

BH: What caused this change?

JE: Umm, ja, I just perceived that religion is important in your life, for perseverance [standvasbaarheid]. Now I have the opportunity to talk to people about what happened with me...

BH: So, you, on the stahe when you came to prison you decided that you must have religion, to help you preserve?

JE: Ja...It's important to have religion so that you can get up again when you fall. That's the reasons I'm telling everything about what I did. To make myself clean, so I can begin again, to not experience those things again because I feel they are killing me. Now I it feels like I'm alive. That's a process you must got through, so that's why you need religion, to help you have endurance, because without that in the life you can't make a success of your life.

BH: Is that how you feel, earlier in your life, that you didn't have that perseverance?

JE: Ja, and I was not a proper Christian. I just went because it was a habit...

BH: You don't go out your way to make friends in the prison?

JE: I would also not be their friends outside, or come and visit [kuier], or write...

I can show you the people I'm writing to [animated tone]. I draw pictures like this, flowers, maybe people's faces, positive things [referring to his letters to pen pals]...I put pictures in my letters, and poems and jokes, to them to make them more interesting, so I get one back. Sometimes if you just write a normal letter then you get maybe a page back, bit if you put in a picture you get more back. You must ask questions, to grab hold of the person [die persoon vas to hou], make them think 'it's nice writing to that person, it's interesting'...[TAPE ENDS]... [showing photographs of family] Here's my mother and my godmother. That's my mother, on the right hand side. And

here is my godmother and godfather.

BH: Did they ever visit you?

JE: Just during the court case, and once in the prison...

BH: Did you see a lot of his uncles and his cousins when you were growing up?

JE: [tone less enthusiastic than when discussing pen pals] Ja, I saw them when went on holiday to Durban, and they would take us out to dinner, and have Christmas together, you know, that sort of thing. Went swimming together, and when they went paragliding that would take me with.

BH: So you spent a lot of time with your uncles.

JE: Ja.

BH: Got along well.

JE: Got along well...[referring to photo's] this is my Dad's car, and the house where they are staying now.

BH: Are your father and mother still married?

JE: Ja, they are still married.

BH: Were there any problems in their relationship that he could see?

JE: Umm, no. OK, like normal couples they would have their frictions...This one [referring to photo of pen pal] is the one I wrote to for the longest. Three years.... she writes good letters, and she enjoys the letters I send. That's why I do pictures, and poems. I speak to her about anything, but I don't speak about what I did. I told her, in the testimony, but she didn't ask more. I asked her if she wanted to be in a relationship, but she said she wanted to just be friends. I send her love poems...

BH: On the whole, do you like writing letters?

JE: Ja, like I said, the letter's give me news about what the life outside is like, what she finds important, and gives me things to think about, because if you don't think you brain your stop, you will get lost, your knowledge will be minimal; because it breaks you away from everything, here [in prison]. You don't grow. So I write letters to grow more, to experience things. Like feelings, to experience feelings.

To find out more about them like, when she gets angry, what happens. Does she hit walls? Does she throw things? You ask these things, does she cry?

Then you also write, 'I also cry' when I think about how I did earlier, or when I saw a good movie; so then she would also say. It's a learning process, that I also use...

BH: [interjects] To find out more about feelings, and how they happen for other people express.

JE: Ja. It's something that's interesting, to write, and get some back.

BH: So you do all this letter writing to find out more about society [die samelewing] and to find out how other people feel.

JE: Ja, or how they react. Like I write and tell them what I did, what is their reaction? Then I learn from that: 'you mustn't put it so roughly, you most put it more softly'. Because every person is different, so you learn how to work with each person, so that you can learn to know people, and how people will react when you say a certain thing...so it's nice, this understanding you get, you pick up knowledge about people's relationships and such things. And what is going on outside, so you don't stand still, you still use your brain power.

BH: I forgot to ask, your parents and your family, were you poor? Or middle...?

JE: [interjects] Middling, we weren't rich and we also weren't...

BH: [interjects] Middle class.

JE: Ja, middle class.

BH: And what did your father do, for work?

JE: He was a council electrician and a delivery man. He also helped deliver things to school...then he worked as a council electrician, making things right...My mother was a cleaner at the old people's home, this was later, in the beginning she was a teacher, but she was always at home when I was young, before I went to school.

BH: She was always at home.

JE: Ja.

BH: Why did they not have more children after you?

JE: I don't know. I couldn't say.

BH: Did they ever tell you about sex.

JE: Umm, no, [apart from the] one time my mother told me 'don't have sex

before you're married'.

BH: How did you learn about sex?

JE: I read about it, heard from friends, and there was also a class at school where a person tells you about sex. I was in high school, [standard] six or seven.

BH: That wasn't at home, it was at school.

JE: Ja, what I heard, and what I learnt from friends. Hearing them speak.

BH: Did you parents ever fight, like physical fights?

JE: No.

BH: Did you every see anyone having sex, in reality, when you were growing up?

JE: At home? See my parents having sex? No. The only thing I saw was when I was young and played doctor-doctor, and put my penis there by didn't penetrate.

BH: I think that's all, that's all the questions I have to ask.

That's all that I can think to ask, if there are any other questions I will write, if I think about anything else, do you have any questions?

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JE: No, no. I will talk with [other researchers] I have finished talking with you, now I will speak with him [smile in voice, BH laughs]

BH: Alright. [TAPE ENDS]



APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW AND AUDIO TAPE CONSENT FORMS

**CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT**

The undersigned hereby consents to participate in a collaborative research project undertaken by the MTN Centre for Crime Prevention Studies (CCPS) at Rhodes University, the Department of Correctional Services, and the South African Police Services. This research is funded by MTN.

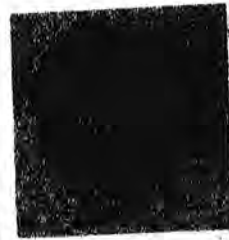
It is acknowledged that participation in this project is subject to the following conditions:

1. The subject is participating of his free will in the project and has the right to refuse to participate in the project.
2. Confidentiality of individual case material will be protected and maintained as far as the release of public information is concerned.
3. Collective information and psychometric test results may be made available to the collaborating institutions involved in the project, and may be used at their discretion (subject to clause (1) and (2), as outlined above). This includes the use of information for evaluation of future subjects for inclusion in rehabilitation programmes, evaluation for parole purposes or prison classification, and assistance with police investigations.
4. As catered for in legal statutes, the protection of privileged information must be waived in circumstances where the release of such information is deemed to be necessary for the protection of individuals or the community at large. Otherwise, participation in the above project will in no way effect prison privileges, eligibility for parole, or appeals processes.
5. No claim issuing from the use of information gathered during the course of this project will be entertained by the collaborative research parties
6. Personal information from Police and Prison records may be used.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_  
Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Prison number: \_\_\_\_\_

In the presence of \_\_\_\_\_ (researcher)  
Place: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Witnessed by: \_\_\_\_\_



**MTN CENTRE  
FOR CRIME  
PREVENTION  
STUDIES**

Department of Psychology  
Rhodes University  
Grahamstown, 6140  
South Africa

Tel: (046) 622 9009  
(046) 622 9011  
Fax: (046) 622 5356

E-mail: m.welman@ru.ac.za



RHODES UNIVERSITY







## TOESTEMMING VIR DEELNAME AAN NAVORSINGSPROJEK

Die ondergetekende gee hiermee sy/haar toestemming om deel te neem aan 'n samewerkende navorsingsprojek wat onderneem word deur die MTN Sentrum vir Misdaadvoorkomingstudies by Rhodes Universiteit, die Departement van Korrektiewe Dienste en die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie Diens. Die navorsing word gekonsolideer deur MTN.

Daar word erken dat deelname aan die projek onderworpe is aan die volgende voorwaardes:

1. Dat die subjek deelneem aan die projek van sy vrye keuse en die reg het om deelname te weier.
2. Vertroulikheid van individuele saak materiaal sal beskerm word aangaande die vrystelling van publieke inligting.
3. Kollektiewe inligting en psigometriese toetsresultate mag bekend gemaak word aan die deelnemende instellings betrokke by die projek en mag gebruik word volgens hulle oordeel. Dit sluit in die gebruik van inligting vir die evaluering van toekomstige proefpersone in rehabilitasieprogramme, evaluasie vir parool doeleindes of gevangenis klassifikasies en hulp in polisie ondersoeke.
4. Die bewaring van vertroulike inligting moet laat vaar in gevalle waar die bekendstelling van sodanige inligting beskou word as noodsaaklik vir die beskerming van individue of die algehele gemeenskap.
5. Geen eise ontspruitend van die gebruik van die versamelde inligting tydens die verloop van die projek sal oorweeg word deur enige van die deelnemende navorsingsparty nie.
6. Persoonlike inligting van Polisie and Gevangenis rekords mag gebruik word.

Geteken: \_\_\_\_\_  
Naam: \_\_\_\_\_  
Gevangenis no.: \_\_\_\_\_

In die teenwoordigheid van \_\_\_\_\_  
(navorsers).  
Plek: \_\_\_\_\_  
Datum: \_\_\_\_\_



**MTN CENTR  
FOR CRIME  
PREVENTION  
STUDIES**

Department of Psychology  
Rhodes University  
Grahamstown, 6140  
South Africa

Tel: (046) 622 9005  
(046) 622 9011

Fax: (046) 622 5354

E-mail: m.welman@ru.ac



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**CONSENT TO TAPE RECORD AN INTERVIEW**

The undersigned hereby consents to the audio/visual tape recording of this research interview. It is acknowledged that this consent is subject to the following conditions:

1. The subject is consenting of his free will to this recording, and has the right to refuse to consent to this recording.
2. Confidentiality of individual case material (in the form of these recordings) will be protected and maintained as far as the release of public information is concerned.
3. This consent is subject to all the conditions outlined in the "Consent to Participate in a Research Project" document.
4. Should permission for this recording not be given, the research interview will still be carried out, regardless.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_  
Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Prison number: \_\_\_\_\_

In the presence of \_\_\_\_\_ (researcher)  
Place: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Witnessed by: \_\_\_\_\_



**MTN CENTRE  
FOR CRIME  
PREVENTION  
STUDIES**

Department of Psychology  
Rhodes University  
Grahamstown, 6140  
South Africa

Tel: (046) 622 9009  
(046) 622 9011  
Fax: (046) 622 5356  
E-mail: m.welman@ru.ac.za



RHODES UNIVERSITY





**TOESTEMMING OM 'N BAND OPNAME TE MAAK VAN  
DIE ONDERHOUD**

Die ondergetekende gee hiermee sy toestemming om die navorsingsonderhoud te laat opneem op band. Dit word erken dat hierdie toestemming onderworpe is aan die volgende voorwaardes:

1. Die subjek se toestemming is van sy eie vrye keuse en het die reg om die bandopname te weier.
2. Vertroulikheid van individuele saak materiaal (in die vorm van hierdie bandopname) sal beskerm en behou word in verband met die vrystelling van publieke inligting.
3. Hierdie toestemming is onderworpe aan al die voorwaardes wat in die "Toestemming vir deelname aan Navorsingprojek" dokument omskryf word.
4. Indien toestemming vir die bandopname nie gegee word nie, sal die navorsingsonderhoud steeds voortgaan.

Geteken: \_\_\_\_\_

Naam: \_\_\_\_\_

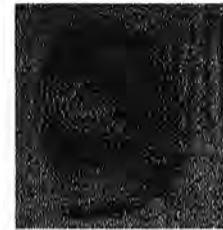
Gevangenis nommer: \_\_\_\_\_

In die teenwoordigheid van \_\_\_\_\_ (navorser)

Plek: \_\_\_\_\_

Datum: \_\_\_\_\_

Getuienis: \_\_\_\_\_



**MTN CENTRE  
FOR CRIME  
PREVENTION  
STUDIES**

Department of Psychology  
Rhodes University  
Grahamstown, 6140  
South Africa

Tel: (046) 622 9009

(046) 622 9011

Fax: (046) 622 5356

E-mail: m.welman@ru.ac.za



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**APPENDIX D**  
**IMAGO IDENTIFICATION FORM**

Participant:

Transcription Matrix Ref.

- 1. Name of imago:**
- 2. Brief Description** (incl. content, adjectives, structure, complexity, strength)
- 3. Origin Myth** (i.e. link to biography. In what period did it become ascendant?)
- 4. Associated personality traits**
- 5. Associated wishes, aspirations, goals.**
- 6. Associated emotions, tone.**
- 7. Associated significant others**
- 8. How do significant others relate to that imago?**
- 9. How does imago affect their behaviour?**
- 10. Examples of where imago is reflected in their behaviour.**
- 11. What is this imago's relationship to other imagos?** (incl. if it co-occurs with other imagoes; is 'anti' to another.)
- 12. In what ways did this imago change?**
- 13. Link to offending?**



## 14. Other Notes

**APPENDIX E**  
**THEORETICAL MEMO**

Participant:

*Think towards the construction of a Gestalt*

**Narrative tone**

**Imagery**

**Themes**

**Developing ideas and understandings**

**Imagos**

**List of imagoes**

**Changes in imagoes** (consider timelines)

**Relationships between imagos**

**Changes in relationships between them** (consider timelines, Feynman diagrams)

**Relationships to significant others**

**Relationships to behaviours**

**Which imagoes affected interview particularly?**

**Link to offending**



**Pen portrait of subject**

**Attitude towards others**

**Attitude towards interviewer**

**Mode of speech; how subject expressed self characteristically**

**Noteworthy reactions**

**Process notes on interview**

**Lead by interviewer or subject?**

**Flow, or question-lead?**

**Interviewer reactions / habits / tendencies**

**Interviewer emotion**



**APPENDIX F**  
**IMAGO AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE**

The consent section included on the first page of this questionnaire was not used, being superseded by the forms given in Appendix B.





IMAGO

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWER:

The offender should give the interviewer written permission for the interview.

I understand that this is not a confidential doctor/patient relationship. I understand that I am under no obligation to answer any questions.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Although the main bulk of the answers in this questionnaire should be obtained from the offender directly, the interviewer may use other sources to confirm the facts as well. Please indicate which of the following sources were used:

- Offender
- Police records
- Family member, who \_\_\_\_\_
- Psychological reports
- Court proceedings
- Prison records
- Public records (Newspapers, etc)
- Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

The interviewer is welcome to write on the back of the pages if there is not sufficient space.

The interviewer can just tick the appropriate block next to the answer, fill in the correct number or specify and answer in the space available.

1 Case Number \_\_\_\_\_

Name of offender (Optional) \_\_\_\_\_

A OFFENDER INFORMATION

2 Sex \_\_\_\_\_

Male

Female

3 Date of birth \_\_\_\_\_

Day \_\_\_\_\_ Month \_\_\_\_\_ Year \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown

4 Age at time of first offence in this series \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown

5 Age at time of last offence in this series \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown

6 Race: \_\_\_\_\_

7 Height: \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown

8 Weight: \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown

9 Physique: \_\_\_\_\_

Small built

Medium built

Large built

Athletic built

Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown

10 Does the offender have any outstanding features (physical deformities, speech impediments, tattoos, etc)?

Yes, describe: \_\_\_\_\_

No

UNKNOWN

11 Marital history

Never married

Married on one occasion

Married more than once, how many times \_\_\_\_\_

Divorced

Unknown

12 Education

Less than high school, grade \_\_\_\_\_

High school, grade \_\_\_\_\_

Technician \_\_\_\_\_

University \_\_\_\_\_

Post graduate \_\_\_\_\_

Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown



- 13 Age going to school  
 Unknown
- 14 Did the offender repeat any grades?  
 Yes, which \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown
- 15 Did the offender skip any grades?  
 Yes, which \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown
- 16 FAMILY STRUCTURE  
 Due to the complexity of some family structures the following may include step family members or any other member that was considered an influence in the nuclear family setting.
- 16 Number of siblings  
 Unknown
- 17 Offender place in birth order  
 Only child  
 Unknown
- 18 Number of older brothers  
 Specify ages: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown
- 19 Number of younger brothers  
 Specify ages: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown
- 20 Number of older sisters  
 Specify ages: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown
- 21 Number of younger sisters  
 Specify ages: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown
- 22 During the offender's childhood he lived mainly with  
 Natural parents  
 Adoptive parents  
 Mother and stepfather  
 Father and stepmother  
 Just mother  
 Just father  
 A relative, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 Foster home  
 Multiple foster homes  
 Hostel  
 Detention centres or reformatories  
 Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown
- 23 The offender's primary father figure during his childhood was:  
 Unknown
- 24 The offender's primary father figure was  
 Present most of the time  
 Present part of the time  
 Absent  
 Present, but emotionally uninvolved with the offender  
 Unknown
- 25 The offender's primary mother figure was  
 Unknown
- 26 The offender's primary mother figure was  
 Present most of the time  
 Present part of the time  
 Absent  
 Present, but emotionally uninvolved with the offender  
 Unknown
- 27 The dominant parental figure was:  
 Father  
 Mother  
 Both  
 Unknown
- 28 Who according to the offender had the strongest influence on his development (physical, mental and moral) and character?  
 Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_



- 29 Age of offender when mother exited his life  
 Years  
 Mother still present  
 Unknown
- 30 Reason for mother's exit  
 Death  
 Divorce or separation  
 Mother abandoned offender  
 Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown
- 31 Age of offender when father exited his life  
 Years  
 Father still present  
 Unknown
- 32 Reason for father's exit  
 Death  
 Divorce or separation  
 Father abandoned offender  
 Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown
- 33 Was offender adopted ?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 34 Age offender learnt of adoptive status  
 Years  
 Unknown
- C DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES
- 35 Was offender a planned child ?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 36 Birth:  
 Easy birth  
 Complications, explain \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown
- 37 Was offender breastfed ?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 38 For how long ?  
 Months  
 Years  
 Unknown
- 39 Was offender allergic to mother's milk?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 40 Was mother's milk supplemented with artificial milk ?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 41 Was offender allergic to mother's milk ?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 42 Did offender bite mother's breast while suckling ?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 43 Age offender started using toilet ?  
 Months  
 Years  
 Unknown
- 44 Who taught offender to use toilet ?  
 Unknown
- 45 Were there any problems regarding toilet use ?  
 Yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown



- 46 Did offender wet pants or bed during childhood years  
Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown
- 47 Was offender severely punished for wetting pants or bed ?  
Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 48 By whom and how ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown
- 49 Who was offender's favourite parent at ages 4 - 6 ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown
- 50 Was offender lonely during period before school ?  
Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 51 Offender's earliest memory before six years.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown
- 52 Did the offender have particular nightmares before age six ? Describe:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown
- 53 Was the offender lonely during primary school years ?  
Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 54 Offender's academic achievement during primary school  
 Good  
 Average  
 Bad  
 Unknown
- 55 Did offender participate in sport during primary school ?  
Yes, list: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown
- 56 List offender's childhood illnesses  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown
- 57 Did offender receive any sex education ?  
Unknown  
Yes  
 No  
 Unknown
- 58 At what age ?
- 59 By whom ?
- 60 As a child, what was offender's perception of where babies come from ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown
- 61 At what age did offender first masturbate ?  
Unknown  
Did not masturbate  
 Unknown
- 62 Did offender feel guilty about masturbation ?  
Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown



63	Was offender punished / threatened for masturbating ?	71	At what age ?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/> No		72	By whom ?
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown		<input type="checkbox"/>	
64	By whom ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
		73	What happened ?
65	How was offender punished / threatened for masturbating ?		
66	Who applied discipline during childhood and how ?	74	Did the offender have a special relationship with a member of the opposite sex (or same sex if offender is gay) at ages 13 - 18 ?
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	
		<input type="checkbox"/> No	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown		75	What was the nature of the relationship (friendship, intimate, sexual)?
67	Was offender lonely during high school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		76	List if more than one relationship, offender's age and how long relationship lasted ?
<input type="checkbox"/> No			
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown			
68	Contents of offender's daydreams during high school years:		
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown		77	Was offender's first sexual experience with his consent ?
69	Was offender involved in physical fights as a child and specify age:	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, specify		<input type="checkbox"/> No	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	
		78	Who initiated the experience ?
		<input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
<input type="checkbox"/> No		79	Age of offender and age of partner
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown		<input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
70	Was offender sexually abused or molested as a child ?		
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes			
<input type="checkbox"/> No			
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown			



80 Did offender ever observe parents or caretakers in the sexual act ?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown

81 Age when offender first observed the sexual act  
 Unknown

82 Age when offender first read pornography  
 Unknown

83 Was offender ever cruel to animals as a child ?  
 Yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown

**D INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY**  
 Did offender ever spend time in:  
 84 Orphanage or state homes  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown  
 If yes explain reason and total length of time: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

85 Detention centres / reformatories  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown  
 If yes, explain reason and total length of time: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

86 Foster home (s)  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown  
 If yes explain reason and total length of time: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

87 Prison  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown  
 If yes explain reason and total length of time: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

88 Other institutions  
 Yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown

**E INTELLIGENCE**  
 89 Intelligence quotient level (iq):  
 Below average  
 Normal  
 Above normal  
 Superior  
 Cerebral  
 Unknown  
 Name instrument that scores are based upon \_\_\_\_\_

90 \_\_\_\_\_

91 If no formal scores are available the interviewer should complete the following based upon their own observation ( speech patterns, vocabulary, facial expressions, logical thought patterns, general knowledge, etc )  
 Below average  
 Normal  
 Above normal  
 Superior  
 Cerebral

**F EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:**  
 92 Occupation(s) at time of first offence ( series (legal and illegal)  
 Unemployed  
 Unknown





108 Precipitating events to threats / attempts

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

109 What method did offender use or contemplate ?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

110 Has the offender been diagnosed with a psychiatric disorder ?

1 Yes

2 No

3 Unknown

111 Diagnoses given by mental professions starting with most recent and follow:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

112 Did offender receive any treatment for mental disorder / alcohol or drug abuse ?

1 Unknown

2 Yes

3 No

4 Unknown

113 Type of treatment

1 Individual counselling

2 Medication, specify \_\_\_\_\_

3 Hospitalization, specify \_\_\_\_\_

4 Group therapy

5 Unknown

114 Where was treatment received?

1 Private

2 Institution

3 Correctional facility

4 Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

5 Unknown

115 Did offender threaten / attempt suicide after the offence(s) ?

1 Yes

2 No

3 Unknown

116 Precipitating events to threats / attempts

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

117 What method did offender use or contemplate ?

1 Unknown

2 \_\_\_\_\_

3 \_\_\_\_\_

4 \_\_\_\_\_

5 \_\_\_\_\_

1 CHRONIC PATTERNS EXHIBITED BY OFFENDER

Indicate behaviour exhibited by the offender.

CHILDHOOD : BIRTH TO AGE 12:

NO	HABITS	NO	DOCUMENTED	ALLEGED BY OFFENDER	UNKNOWN
118	Eating disorders				
119	Overeating				
120	Bad wetting				
121	Night terrors				
122	Headaches, dizzy spells, blackouts				
123	Speech impediment				
124	Convulsions, seizures, fits				
125	Temper tantrums/ hyperactivity				
126	Marked phobias				
127	Isolation withdrawal syndrome				
128	Self mutilation				





148	Marked phobias				
149	Isolation withdrawal shyness				
150	Self mutilation				
151	Running away				
152	Chronic lying				
153	Stealing				
154	Arson				
155	Destruction of property of others				
156	Destruction of own property				
157	Cruelty to animals				
158	Cruelty to children				
159	Assaultive to adults				
160	Abuse of drugs				
161	Abuse of alcohol				

ADULTHOOD | AGE 18 + |

NO	HABITS	NO	DOCUMENTED	ALLEGED BY OFFENDER	UNKNOWN
162	Eating disorders				
163	Overeating				
164	Bed wetting				
165	Night terrors				
166	Headaches, dizzy spells, blackouts				
167	Speech impediment				
168	Convulsions, seizures, tics				

183	Indecent exposure Age of target ____ Sex of target ____				
189	Voyeurism Age of target ____ Sex of target ____				
190	Retarded ejaculation				
191	Conditionary ejaculation				
192	Premature ejaculation				
193	Erectile insufficiency				
194	Concerns over genital size Too small ____ Too large ____				
195	Sexual fears Describe ____				
196	Visit adult sex / video shops				
197	Visit public adult entertainment				
198	Collects detective magazines				
199	Collects video porn				
200	Collects magazine porn				
201	Necrophilia				
202	Zoophilia				
203	Frotterism				
204	Sexual interest in urine feces				
205	Prostitute (self)				
206	Prostitution as pimp				
207	Obscene phone calls Age of victims ____ Sex of victims ____				
208	Cross dressing				



209	Fetichism Specify _____			
-----	----------------------------	--	--	--

- 210 Dominant sexual preference of offender:
- Same sex as offender
  - Opposite sex as offender
  - Bisexual
  - Asexual
  - Unknown
- 211 Dominant age group at which sexual interest is directed:
- Significantly younger
  - Significantly older
  - Approximately same age
  - Any age
  - Unknown
- 212 Age at time of first significant consenting sexual experience to the point of orgasm?
- Unknown
- 213 Partner in this experience
- Father
  - Mother
  - Stepmother
  - Stepfather
  - Brother
  - Sister
  - Stepbrother
  - Stepsister
  - Adult male relative
  - Adult female relative
  - Adult male acquaintance
  - Adult female acquaintance
  - Male friend / age mate
  - Female friend / age mate
  - Pre-pubescent male
  - Pre-pubescent female
  - Adolescent male
  - Adolescent female
  - Adult male stranger
  - Adult female stranger
  - Pornotica
  - Other
  - Unknown
- K CRIMINAL HISTORY  
( JUVENILE 9 - 19 )  
These include crimes for which the offender has been arrested and convicted prior to this series

NO	CRIME	NO	DOCUMENTE D	ALLEGED BY OFFENDER	UNKNOWN
214	Fraud				
215	Burglary				
216	Sex crimes				
217	Assault				
218	Drug use / selling				
219	Shoplifting / petty theft				
220	Auto theft				
221	Vandalism				
222	Disorderly conduct				
223	Trespassing				
224	Other Specify _____				

(ADUL. T 18 + )

NO	CRIME	NO	DOCUMENTE D	ALLEGED BY OFFENDER	UNKNOWN
225	Fraud				
226	Burglary				
227	Sex crimes				
228	Assault				
229	Drug use / selling				
230	Shoplifting / petty theft				
231	Auto theft				
232	Vandalism				
233	Disorderly conduct				
234	Trespassing				
235	Other Specify _____				





251 Was there evidence of a precipitating stress event ?

Financial difficulties

Mental problems

Conflict with parents

Conflict with female NB other

Conflict with male NB other

Birth of a child

Injury or illness of self

Injury or illness of NB other

Employment problems

Death of NB other

Criminal / legal problems

Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown

252 How could the assault be described ?

Intentional, premeditated

Impulsive

Unplanned, opportunistic

Unknown

253 Did the offender dress in a special way for the assault ?

Yes, suit

Yes, casual, informal

Yes, uniform

Yes, disguise

Yes, other \_\_\_\_\_

No special way

Unknown

254 Was the offender acquainted with the victim ?

Yes, acquainted

Yes, date \_\_\_\_\_

Yes, lover

Yes, neighbour

Yes, \_\_\_\_\_ f a m i l y , \_\_\_\_\_ s p e c i f y \_\_\_\_\_

Yes, have seen the victim before

Yes, colleague

Other \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown

255 Times of present crimes:

1	5	11	16
2	6	12	17
3	7	13	18
4	8	14	19
5	9	15	20
Unknown	10		

256 Days of the week of present crime scenes:

1	5	11	16
2	6	12	17
3	7	13	18
4	8	14	19
5	9	15	20
Unknown	10		

257 Did the weather conditions have an influence during the crimes?

Yes, explain \_\_\_\_\_

No

Unknown

258 Place where the first contact between the victim and offender took place. ( Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Victim's residence: \_\_\_\_\_

Offender's residence: \_\_\_\_\_

Victim's work place: \_\_\_\_\_

Offender's work place: \_\_\_\_\_

Street/public road: \_\_\_\_\_

Public place: \_\_\_\_\_

Parking lot: \_\_\_\_\_

Recreation area: \_\_\_\_\_

Playgrounds: \_\_\_\_\_

Wed: \_\_\_\_\_

Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

259 Place where sexual assault or murder took place. ( Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Victim's residence: \_\_\_\_\_

Offender's residence: \_\_\_\_\_

Victim's work place: \_\_\_\_\_

Offender's work place: \_\_\_\_\_

Street/public road: \_\_\_\_\_

Public place: \_\_\_\_\_

Parking lot: \_\_\_\_\_

Recreation area: \_\_\_\_\_

Playgrounds: \_\_\_\_\_

Wed: \_\_\_\_\_

Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

0 TIME AND CRIME SCENE INFORMATION

255 Dates of present crimes:

1	5	11	16
2	6	12	17
3	7	13	18
4	8	14	19
5	9	15	20
Unknown	10		





270

Whisker: \_\_\_\_\_  
Public transport: \_\_\_\_\_  
Vehicle: someone else is driver: \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's vehicle: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

**P VEHICLE INFORMATION**

271

Vehicle used by offender (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Offender's vehicle: \_\_\_\_\_  
Someone else's vehicle, who: \_\_\_\_\_  
Rental vehicle: \_\_\_\_\_  
Stolen vehicle: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

272

Type of vehicle (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Four door sedan: \_\_\_\_\_  
Sports car: \_\_\_\_\_  
Bakkie: \_\_\_\_\_  
Cortina Hi Lux: \_\_\_\_\_  
Truck: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

**273 Vehicle condition**

Well cared for: \_\_\_\_\_  
Average wear and tear: \_\_\_\_\_  
Poor condition: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

274

How was vehicle involved in the incident? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Offender takes in victim's car: \_\_\_\_\_  
Offender forces victim into his car: \_\_\_\_\_  
Offender forces victim in victim's car: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unruly circumstances (uninvited or accidental): \_\_\_\_\_  
Car is crime scene: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

**275 Offender's driving habits**

276

Only when necessary:  
Never / can't drive: \_\_\_\_\_  
Long distances for job: \_\_\_\_\_  
Prone to causing accident at night: \_\_\_\_\_  
Aggressive driver: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

**Q GENERAL STRATEGY OF OFFENDER**

276

What was the length between the initial contact with the victim and the actual assault? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Sudden attack / blitz: \_\_\_\_\_  
Less than an hour: \_\_\_\_\_  
Some days: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 week to 1 month: \_\_\_\_\_  
1-6 months: \_\_\_\_\_  
6 months or more: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

277

What was the initial strategy used by the offender to approach the victim? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Recognised by prior victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
Escalate friendship or authority: \_\_\_\_\_  
Escalate open hostility (no pick-up): \_\_\_\_\_  
Escalate normal social situation (eg party, bar): \_\_\_\_\_  
Uses code of offering assistance (eg repairs): \_\_\_\_\_  
Uses code to get help from victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
Mimicry or disguise (eg photographer): \_\_\_\_\_  
Menace or threat: \_\_\_\_\_  
Stalks or lags in wait for victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
Breaching and entering: \_\_\_\_\_  
Sudden physical attack: \_\_\_\_\_  
Entices victim through newspaper ad: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

278

How did offender control victim during the event? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Physical force: \_\_\_\_\_  
Verbal threats: \_\_\_\_\_  
Manipulation: \_\_\_\_\_  
Enticement: \_\_\_\_\_  
Threat to harm someone close to victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

279

Which of the following restraints were used? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)



280 What happened to the restraints? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Rope: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Chain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tape: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belt: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clothing, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Chemical straps: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Handcuffs: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Goggles: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Blindfold: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No restraints: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

281 In what manner were the restraints applied? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

Brought to scene by offender: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Applied by offender: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Let on victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Let on scene, not on victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Removed from scene: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Weapon used: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Victim used: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Self defence: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

282 Offender traces found at crime scenes. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Finger prints: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Foot prints: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Car tracks: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Scuffs: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Scratches: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Seawater: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Hair: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Fibre: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Offender's clothing: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Offender's possessions: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No traces: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

283 Was there any key event that pressured offender to kill victim? (Fill in the

chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

GENERAL DATA ABOUT THE CRIME

284 Why was victim killed by offender? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Instigator: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Intentional: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Inadvertent: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Selfish: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Computer/fantasy: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Victim's defence agitated: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Offender: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

285 Type of weapon used. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Firearm: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sharp instrument: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Blunt instrument, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cutting instrument, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ligature, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Manual strangulation: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Strangulation: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Fire: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Drawing: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

286 Weapon used: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Brought along by offender: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Available at scene: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Self defence: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Weapon of victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

287 Sexual acts committed by offender. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the space.)

Oral sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Anal sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Vaginal sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cunnilingus: \_\_\_\_\_





- 287 Fording: \_\_\_\_\_  
Kissing: \_\_\_\_\_  
Masturbation on victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
Oral insertion: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 288 How did offender behave after sexual act with victim ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- 289 No change: \_\_\_\_\_  
Increased aggression: \_\_\_\_\_  
Untidy: \_\_\_\_\_  
No sexual act: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 289 Was victim forced to any of the following acts ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Oral sex on offender: \_\_\_\_\_  
Masturbation: \_\_\_\_\_  
Forced to say something specific: \_\_\_\_\_  
Forced to wear something specific: \_\_\_\_\_  
Raped by other men: \_\_\_\_\_  
Forced in sexual act with another victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
Forced to watch as offender commits sexual act with other victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 290 Did offender keep record of acts by using: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Writings: \_\_\_\_\_  
Audio tapes: \_\_\_\_\_  
Video tapes: \_\_\_\_\_  
Photographic: \_\_\_\_\_  
Sketches: \_\_\_\_\_  
Computer: \_\_\_\_\_  
Scrapbook: \_\_\_\_\_  
Newspaper clippings: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 291 Where were these records kept ?
- Home in open, specify where: \_\_\_\_\_  
Home, hidden, where: \_\_\_\_\_  
Rental storage, where: \_\_\_\_\_  
Work place, where: \_\_\_\_\_  
Other secret place, where: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 292 Did offender share these records with someone else ?
- Yes, who: \_\_\_\_\_  
No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 293 Sadistic acts committed during event ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 294 Masochistic acts committed during the event. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 295 Was there another person involved in the crime ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 296 What was this person's role ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Leader: \_\_\_\_\_  
Accomplice: \_\_\_\_\_  
Pretender: \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
Spouse, girlfriend/brother: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 297 Was alcohol used by offender prior to the crime ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes: \_\_\_\_\_  
No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 298 Did offender drink more than usual after the crime ?
- Yes: \_\_\_\_\_  
No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 299 Did offender use drugs prior to the crime ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)
- Yes: \_\_\_\_\_  
No: \_\_\_\_\_  
Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_





299  Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Did offender use more drugs after the crimes?  Yes  
 No  
 Unknown

300 How would the offender rate the sexual pleasure or satisfaction he experienced? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
 E  
 X  
 T  
 R  
 E  
 M  
 O  
 R  
 E  
 A  
 S  
 T  
 R  
 A  
 T  
 I  
 O  
 N  
 L  
 Y

301 How long did the actual offense take? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
 Minutes: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Hours: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Days: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown

302 What was the nature of the conversation during the actual offense? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
 Manipulative, conning: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Threatening, intimidating: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Abusive, insulting: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Asking victim personal questions: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Polite and friendly: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Complimentary: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Silent: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

303 What actions did the offender take to preclude identification / evidence retrieval? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
 B  
 L  
 I  
 N  
 D  
 O  
 I  
 D  
 I  
 N  
 G  
 T  
 H  
 E  
 V  
 I  
 C  
 T  
 I  
 M  
 :  
 Disguise: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clothes: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Victim forced to bathe: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Removed evidence: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Destroyed evidence: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

304  Money: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Personal items of victim of small value, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Victim's clothing: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Jewelry: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Photographs: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Victim's identification: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

305 Did offender take anything from the crime scene? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
 Kept souvenirs of victims  
 Contacted the victim  
 Contacted the victim's family  
 Contacted the victim's employer  
 Attended victim's funeral  
 Visited victim's grave  
 Inserted self into investigation  
 Did someone about the case  
 Changed residence  
 Changed religious activity  
 Returned to crime scene whether body was removed or not  
 Revisited crime scene after offense  
 Rebuilt or repaired  
 Feared guilty or sad  
 Dreamed about victim  
 Turned himself in  
 Comments about any of above: \_\_\_\_\_

306 Did offender show any of the following behaviour after the crimes?  
 Kept souvenirs of victims  
 Contacted the victim  
 Contacted the victim's family  
 Contacted the victim's employer  
 Attended victim's funeral  
 Visited victim's grave  
 Inserted self into investigation  
 Did someone about the case  
 Changed residence  
 Changed religious activity  
 Returned to crime scene whether body was removed or not  
 Revisited crime scene after offense  
 Rebuilt or repaired  
 Feared guilty or sad  
 Dreamed about victim  
 Turned himself in  
 Comments about any of above: \_\_\_\_\_

307 OFFENDER'S INTERACTION WITH THE MEDIA  
Did offender follow media reports on the crime?  
 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown

308 Did media reports cause offender to change his modus operandi or plans?  
 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown

309 Was identical of offender exposed to media?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown



310 Did offender change behaviour due to this ?  
 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Offender did not know this  
 Unknown

311 Was a profile of offender released to the media ?  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unknown

312 Did offender change behaviour due to this ?  
 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Offender did not know this  
 Unknown

313 Did any comments of the investigators cause the offender to change his modus operandi or plans ?  
 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown

314 Did the offender ever contact the media ?  
 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown

315 Did the offender ever communicate with the investigators during the investigation before arrest ?  
 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown

**VICTIM SELECTION**

316 Why did offender select victim ? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
**SEX, RACE**  
 Sex, female: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Age: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clothing: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Appearance: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Race: \_\_\_\_\_

317 Availability: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown

318 Were there similarities between victims ?  
 Yes, what: \_\_\_\_\_  
 No  
 Unknown

**DISPOSAL SITE DATA**

318 Dates when bodies were discovered: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

1	6	11	16
2	7	12	17
3	8	13	18
4	9	14	19
5	10	15	20
	Unknown		

319 Place where body was discovered: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Same place as murder: \_\_\_\_\_  
Offender's residence: \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's residence: \_\_\_\_\_  
Offender's workplace: \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's workplace: \_\_\_\_\_  
Street / alley: \_\_\_\_\_  
Parking lot: \_\_\_\_\_  
Public recreation area: \_\_\_\_\_  
In water: \_\_\_\_\_  
Woods: \_\_\_\_\_  
Veld: \_\_\_\_\_  
Open, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

320 Was body: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
 Dumped: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Hidden / concealed: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Displayed: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

321 What was body's state of dress ?(Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
 Completely naked  
 Only breasts exposed  
 Only genitalia exposed  
 Only buttocks exposed  
 Naked, but covered: \_\_\_\_\_



- 1 Fully dressed: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 322 Body position: (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 Face down: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Face up: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Side position: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Sitting: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 323 Was there any evidence of undoing of crime scene? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 No  
1 Unknown
- 324 How long did the offender spend time with the dead body? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 Minutes: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Hours: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Days: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 325 Are there evidence of sexual acts with the body after death? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 Yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 No  
1 Unknown
- 326 Did offender mutilate body after death?  
1 Yes  
1 No  
1 Unknown
- 327 Form of mutilation after death / torture before death. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 Body cavities probed: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Objects inserted in vagina: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Objects inserted in anus: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Objects inserted in mouth: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Breast mutilated: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Vagina mutilated: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Penis mutilated: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Buttocks mutilated: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Burns: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Carving on the victim: \_\_\_\_\_
- 1 Waiting on the victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Electrical shock: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Carriabellum: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Driven over victim / dragged with vehicle: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Victim's eyes removed: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Limbs amputated: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Organs removed: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Decapitated: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Head shaved/cut off: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Pubic hair shaved: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Skinned victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Bitten victim, where: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Chemical injuries to victim, what and where: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 328 Was the mutilation done to prevent identification of victim? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 Yes  
1 No  
1 Unknown
- 329 Did the offender keep the body/victim alive (delete unapplicable) for a period of time? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 Yes: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 No  
1 Unknown
- 330 For how long?  
1 Days  
1 Weeks  
1 Months  
1 Unknown
- 331 Where was the body/victim (delete unapplicable) kept?  
1 Unknown
- 332 Time between murder and first revisit to crime scene. (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 Days: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Weeks: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Months: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Years: \_\_\_\_\_  
1 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_
- 333 How many times did offender revisit the crime scene? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)  
1 \_\_\_\_\_



1 Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 Time: \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 3 - 4 lane: \_\_\_\_\_  
 4 5 or more: \_\_\_\_\_  
 5 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

334 Offender's purpose for revisiting the crime scene? (Fill in the chronological number of the crime in the space after the place.)

Cautiously: \_\_\_\_\_  
 1 Fantasy relief: \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 Masturbation: \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 Determine police investigation: \_\_\_\_\_  
 4 e n g a g e l n f u r t h e r s e x u a l a c t s : \_\_\_\_\_  
 5 Mutilate body: \_\_\_\_\_  
 6 C o m m i t s a c t s w i t h o t h e r v i c t i m s t h e r e : \_\_\_\_\_  
 7 To check on body: \_\_\_\_\_  
 8 To retrieve body: \_\_\_\_\_  
 9 Other: \_\_\_\_\_  
 0 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

**DATA ABOUT OFFENDERS IDENTIFICATION, ARREST, INTERROGATION AND TRIAL**

335 How was offender identified ?

1 Turned self in  
 2 By informant  
 3 By a witness  
 4 By a victim  
 5 Caught in the act  
 6 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 7 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

336 If offender was identified with a reward instrumental ?

1 Yes  
 2 No  
 3 Unknown

337 Place where offender was arrested ?

1 Crime scene  
 2 Escaping the crime scene  
 3 Offender's residence  
 4 Offender's work place  
 5 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 6 Unknown: \_\_\_\_\_

338 Offender's resistance to arrest:

1 Tried to escape  
 2 Physical struggle  
 3 Attacked police

1 Surrendered without resistance  
 2 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 Unknown

339 Offender's plea to charges:

1 Guilty  
 2 Not guilty  
 3 Changed from guilty to not guilty  
 4 Unknown

340 Offender's initial reaction to interrogation:

1 Confession  
 2 Denial  
 3 Denial then confession  
 4 Has no memory  
 5 Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 6 Unknown

341 TRIAL

1 Offender convicted, sentence \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 Acquitted  
 3 Not competent to stand trial

**W SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT**

342 Which circumstances could have prevented the offender from committing the offense ?

\_\_\_\_\_

343 Before this had happened, what did the offender want to do with his life ?

\_\_\_\_\_

344 Was there a time in his life when the offender did not drink or rape or kill ?

\_\_\_\_\_

345 Can the offender give a psychological explanation for his motive ?

\_\_\_\_\_

346 Does the offender feel that could have stopped himself from the committing the crime at any time ?

\_\_\_\_\_



347 Would the offender repeat the crime if he experiences the same urge again ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

348 Does the offender think that therapy would relieve him from the urge to commit the offense ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

349 If fantasy played a role, will the offender describe the perfect fantasy ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

350 Did he get support from family, friends or anyone after the offense ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

351 Did the offender seek psychological counseling for his problem and what he think thereof?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

352 Could the detectives or anyone else have done something to convince him to give himself up ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

353 Did the offender think he would have been caught ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

354 Does the offender have any advice for detectives investigating similar cases ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

355 Does the offender have advice for potential victims in similar crimes on how to save their lives or prevent the offender from harming them ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

356 Did the offender have knowledge about other people who committed similar crimes ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

357 Does the offender feel guilty about the crimes ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

358 Would the offender like to make contribution for the crimes and how ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

359 Does the offender have any questions ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

360 Is the offender satisfied with this interview ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



**APPENDIX G**

**LETTER OF PERMISSION TO VIEW CASE FILES**

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICES

Privaatsak/Private Bag X302 PRETORIA 0001  
Posbus/Post Office Bag

Verwysing Reference	Brin Hodgskiss
Navrae Enquiries	S/Supt (Dr) GN Labuschagne
Telefoon Telephone	012 401 3333
Faksnommer Fax number	012 320 4290

Investigative Psychology Unit  
Serious and Violent Crime  
Detective Service  
Head Office  
10-01-2005

The Research Committee  
University of Pretoria  
**PRETORIA**

**SERIAL MURDER RESEARCH: MR BA HODSKISS: REQUEST TO ACCESS FILES**

Mr Hodgskiss has requested access to certain files pertaining to serial murder for the purpose of his doctoral research. These files are in the possession of the Investigative Psychology Unit of Serious and Violent Crime National Head Office of the South African Police Service (SAPS), of which I am the commander.

Permission is hereby granted to Mr Hodgskiss to access the files and previously collected tape-recorded interviews necessary for his research as the results of his research will be of benefit to the SAPS in its investigation of the crime of serial murder. The Investigative Psychology Unit has previously had a research relationship with Mr Hodgskiss and he has proved to be a reliable, trustworthy and ethical researcher.

We look forward to assisting in this matter.

Regards,

**SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT**  
**COMMANDER: INVESTIGATIVE PSYCHOLOGY UNIT**  
**DR GÉRARD LABUSCHAGNE**