

BAD FAITH – THE PSYCHOLOGICAL LIFE
OF A SATANIST WHO COMMITTED MURDER

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J.P. DU TOIT

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I wish to dedicate this work to Hester, my wife.

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“Terrible experiences make one wonder whether he who experiences them is not something terrible.”

Friedrich Nietzsche
Beyond Good and Evil

ABSTRACT

Traditional methods of psychological and forensic research fail to adequately provide an account of the psychological meaning that perpetrators of crime derive when appropriating their actions to Satanic involvement. In February 2001, a young man appeared in a South African High Court and testified that he had committed murder as a result of his involvement in Satanism. The aim of this study is to gain a phenomenological understanding of how this man appropriates the act of murder to involvement in Satanism. A review of literature elucidates Satanism as a context for meaning, provide a framework for defining murder as a criminal act, and situate this study in the broader field of phenomenological-existential, psychological research. An emergent design case-study approach was applied to data gathered from a single subject, by means of a three-interview series. An empirical phenomenological methodology was used during the interpretive phase to arrive at both a descriptive account of the subject's phenomenological experience and how the eidetic structure of the experience of Satanism as a context for meaning emerged. A discussion of the subject's appropriation of murder with Satanism illustrates how the subject imposed a dichotomy of good and bad on his life-world in an attempt to derive meaning from his experience of inadequacy. Involvement with Satanism is meaningful, in that it affords its followers an increased sense of power, a safe environment to explore individuality, shared responsibility associated with exercising free choice, social situatedness and an affirmation of being through an increased awareness of finitude. The research subject experienced committing murder as an act of loyalty to the perceived gains he had been afforded as result of his involvement with Satanism.

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INTRODUCTION

Violent crime related to Satanism has been extensively researched internationally (Feldman, 1995) but not in South Africa. This study explores how an individual appropriates committing murder in terms of the meaning he derived from his involvement in Satanism. The field of research includes Satanism and forensic psychology. The research proceeds from the stance that Satanic worship affords its followers an existentially meaningful environment that impacts on their conscious and intentional experience of the life-world (Moody, 1974).

Most of the traditional research conducted on Satanism focus on broader social aspects (Richardson, Best & Bromley, 1991), on the adverse impact it has on adherents to Satanic ideology (Katchen, 1992) and on victims of Satanic ritual abuse (Sakheim & Devine, 1992). This study, in contrast, explores the meaning Satanic involvement had for a particular individual. It is submitted that he associated his Satanic involvement with both positive and negative effects. His decision to commit murder, although influenced by his phenomenological-existential experience, ultimately remained an act of conscious free will (Ricoeur, 1966).

The literature review serves to contextualise this study in terms of providing an overview of Satanism and murder as an intentional criminal act. In the methodology section, the implementation of a phenomenological research method will be discussed within the context of a qualitative case-study approach. The findings of this research will be discussed in the forms of (a) a descriptive account depicting how the subject appropriated the act of murder in terms of Satanic involvement, (b) a synthesis of the eidetic meaning structure of Satanic involvement and (c) a brief discussion of forensic considerations pertaining to the study.

Satanic involvement becomes meaningful for adherents as they gain a better understanding of their life-world, experience empowerment and personal growth, feel socially situated and come to experience an awareness of finitude in a life-affirming fashion (Moody, 1974; Corey, 1996). Existential theorists assert that individuals who experience a meaningful existence have a greater sense of agency in shaping their lives, as they more readily exercise freedom to choose between projects of action. Such choice,

however, is associated with responsibility for the consequences (Frankl, 1978). Satanic practices often focus on immediate experience and responsibility is often diffused in collective participation.

The subject of this study experienced his involvement in Satanism as meaningful and empowering. It is submitted that his being is primarily situated in the here-and-now and that he associates his actions with shared responsibility. It is further submitted that his appropriation of murder in terms of Satanic involvement is an act of “bad faith”, in that the subject fails to accept responsibility for his way of being (Sartre, 1971).

CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

1.1. Overview

As has been intimated in the introduction, the aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of how a young man grounds his experience of committing murder in Satanic involvement. In this chapter, information that may assist in the contextualisation of this study will be presented. More specifically, Satanism will firstly be elucidated as an overdetermined context for meaning. In the second part of the chapter, a framework for defining murder as a criminal act in terms of South African Criminal Law will be presented.

1.2. Satanism

1.2.1. Is Satanism real?

The phenomenon of Satanism appears to be marked by many complexities. A conceptual understanding of the ideology, incidence and approaches to Satanic belief systems require an exploration of a host of related phenomena. These phenomena, in turn, may be approached from a variety of discursive paradigms. Before one attempts to venture into an exposition of any sort, it may be useful to take a critical step back and ask: To what extent does Satanic ideology provide substantial subject matter worthy of scientific investigation?

In reviewing recent literature on Satanism, one is struck by a great number of scholars from diverse disciplines grappling with this very question. Titles such as the following abound in associated research: "Does Satanism exist?" (Matzner, 1991), "Satanism: fact or fiction?" ("Satanism: fact or fiction," 1992) and "Besete of siek? 'n Pastoraal-sielkundige perspektief op Satanisme" (Possessed or ill? A pastoral-psychological perspective on Satanism; Rossouw, 1992). On the one extreme there are scholars who seem to unconditionally accept the existence of Satanism and who seek to shed light on the ideology and/or management strategies aimed at dealing with such

phenomena (Hicks, 1991, Richardson, 1991). On the other extreme some writers argue that there is very little substantial and empirical evidence to suggest a secret network of worshippers of Satan, and who is held responsible by them for social deviance and even crime (Victor, 1993, Crouch & Damphousse, 1991).

Greaves (1992) distinguishes between the following four theoretical approaches to claims of Satanic cult activity: Nihilists, Apologists, Heuristics, and Methodologists. He states “*Nihilists* seem to see their function as explaining how the presentation of satanic cult survivors (SCS) *cannot* be true.” (Ibid, p. 46). These writers argumentatively claim that there is no noteworthy empirical evidence to support the existence of Satanic cult activity. Rather than providing empirical and verifiable evidence to support their claims the nihilists place the onus on researchers and fieldworkers to empirically disprove their arguments.

“*Apologists* seem to conceive their task as explaining why the SCS productions *must* be true.” (Greaves, 1992, p. 46). They argue that independent observations of narratives by Satanic cult survivors yield results too similar to be accounted for by anything other than the actual existence of Satanic cult activity. Greaves further divides these apologists into two subgroups: (a) “harder” apologists (who unequivocally claim the existence of Satanic cult activity) and (b) “softer” apologists (there exists at least the probability of credence to many of the reports of Satanic cult survivors).

Heuristics are defined as mainly consisting of “a large group of clinicians who are uncommitted to any objective conclusion..., but who have found that treating their SCS patients’ reports in a confirming manner has resulted in favorable outcomes in treatment.” (Greaves, 1992, p. 47).

The current study may best be framed within the approach of the *Methodologists*, who argue, “in any scientific investigation observation always precedes method.” (Greaves, 1992, p.47). Although asking “Is Satanism real?” provides one with a critical approach to the overdetermined phenomenon of Satanism, a study within the field may be considered of value regardless of the answer to such a question. Young (in Greaves, 1992, pp. 49-50) summarises this view in stating:

If absolutely everything these patients tell us is false, we have stumbled onto a clinical phenomenon most worthy of study and we are honored to study it; if

anything these patients tell us is true, we have stumbled onto a phenomenon most horrible and are obliged to study it.

Satanism and its associated manifestations, whether direct (e.g., Satanic worship) or indirect (e.g., Satanic crime presentations by “experts”) appear real at least as far as it is a social construction (Richardson, Best & Bromley, 1991). While audiences of Satanic crime seminars are often expected to suspend “critical analysis and accept the entire package without dissection or challenge” (Hicks, 1991, p. 175), the aim of discussing whether Satanism is real or not, serves to encourage the reader to maintain such a critical stance.

The literature review of this study will focus on claims made by prominent writers in the field and which may be considered useful for the purpose of shedding light on what may arise from the research.

1.2.2. Definitions

Pavlos (1982, p. 3) defines Satanists broadly as a “relatively small religious group whose beliefs, values and practices are at variance with those of dominant or traditional forms of religion.” Some writers are of the opinion that a more focused definition of Satanism would incorporate the following characteristics: (a) It is a charismatic cult (Ivey, 1993a; Feldman, 1995; Belitz & Schacht, 1994), (b) It inverts Christian beliefs and practices (Clark, 1994; Louw, 1993; Terry, 1988), and (c) Satan is worshipped as a sovereign deity (Theron, 1994; Jonker, 1992; Moriarty, 1993). Satanic worship thus shares with charismatic religious practices the following factors (a) it is similar in having a codified supernatural belief system, (b) it is marked by strong cohesion of members, (c) it strongly influences the behavioural norms of its members and (d) both leaders and worshippers are seen to obtain divine power (Galanter, 1982). Ivey (1993a, p. 180) incorporates the above into a succinct definition of *Satanism* as “a specific religious cult, characterised by the inversion of Christian norms and ideology”.

Some writers find it useful to distinguish between two types of Satanic cults on the basis of overt and covert Satanic worship (Greaves, 1992). *Neo-satanic cults* proclaim the worship of Satan and the opposition of mainstream religious doctrines, but distance themselves from human sacrifice, animal sacrifice and blood rituals.

Membership is voluntary and Anton La Vey (founder of the Church of Satan) is seen as an example of a Neo-Satanic cult leader. *Transgenerational Satanic cults*, on the other hand, appear to span over several generations of worshippers. Membership is inherited. These cults are characterised by rigid practices involving “pagan, occult theosophy, which includes human and animal sacrifice...” (Greaves, 1992, p. 48).

Dabblers in Satanism can be defined as individuals (often disillusioned by mainstream beliefs and practices), who are attracted to a rudimentary undertaking of Satanic ideology and practices (Stevens, 1991; Moody, 1974). These individuals may become increasingly involved in more formalised Satanic activities or may revert to a different belief system (Kinschoff & Barnum, 1992; Nurcombe & Unützer, 1991).

Self-styled Satanic cult leaders may have left other Satanic cults as leaders, or may operate on their own initiative, initially gaining followers on a more informal basis. (Greaves, 1992).

Solitary Satanists proclaim that they have been “called” to do the will of Satan, yet do not readily associate themselves with organised Satanic cult activities. Greaves (1992) quotes Richard Ramirez (“The Night Stalker”, who linked his conviction of a series of murders to his involvement in Satanism), as a well-known example.

A review of literature reveals unclear boundaries between manifestations of Satanism and a host of occult practices (Rowe & Cavender, 1991). The influence of demons, for example, appears a common denominator in both Satanic practices and witchcraft. Robbins (1959, p. 126) defines *demonology* as “... the scientific study of demons... as the complement of witchcraft, not as the antithesis of theology...” Ivey (1993b) is of the opinion that *demonic possession* (for the purposes of this study broadly defined as an altered state of consciousness attributed to the perceived influence of demons infiltrating an individual’s being) is often associated with Satanism (Isaacs, 1987; Henderson, 1982). *Voluntary demonic possession* is characterised by a particular individual’s delights in the destructive external manifestations of Satan’s work. Such an individual “invokes, by ceremony, sacrifice, and ritual magic, the presence of evil within his/her own being” (Ivey, 1993b, p. 189). *Involuntary demoniacs*, in contrast, “typically experience themselves as being possessed against their will by alien forces which influence their thought and conduct, despite their conscious efforts to resist” (Ivey,

1993b, p. 189; Theron, 1994). Whereas the effects of voluntary demonic possession are experienced as ego-syntonic, the manifestations of involuntary possession are perceived as ego-dystonic.

Other social phenomena may often be associated with Satanic activity, but contradictory empirical evidence shows that not all of these are necessarily positively correlated with individual's involvement in Satanism (Victor, 1993; Bromley, 1991; Jenkins & Maier-Katkin, 1991). Some of these include: (a) *Crime and social deviance* attributed to Satanism and which are most often manifest when the results of such behaviour are exceptionally violent (e.g., the disembowelling of victims) or contrary to what is generally perceived as sacred (e.g., vandalism to churches and cemeteries; Emerson & Syron, 1995; Victor, 1991; Lowney, 1995); (b) The appropriation of Satanism with activities such as listening to certain types of *music*, involvement in fantasy *role-playing games* and the reading of *occult and Satanic literature* (Nurcombe & Unützer, 1991; Heathcote, 1997; Jonker, 1992; Martin & Fine, 1991); and (c) religious or quasi-religious *cult activities* that do not involve the worship of Satan as sovereign deity (Barret, 1996; Robbins, 1959; Wheatly, 1971). Feldman (1995, p. 343), for example, makes the distinction between Satanic worship and the practice of witchcraft when she states: "Although participants in witchcraft are not necessarily devil worshippers, all satanists use elements of witchcraft and magic in their ceremonies."

1.2.3. History

All cultures, to a lesser or greater degree, appear to have a conception of supernatural influences on the daily lives of its members. Such a belief serves to explain both the perceived "good" and "bad" occurrences that manifest in the socio-economic environment (Russell, 1991; Wheatly, 1971; Russell, 1977). Some cultures ascribe both benevolent and malevolent qualities to their supernatural forces, spirits or beings, while others have a dualistic conception in which particular supernatural entities are seen exclusively either as being benevolent or malevolent in character. These entities are often perceived as opposing factions locked in an eternal battle of opposites: good versus evil, right versus wrong, light versus dark, and so forth. The actions of these forces are

perceived to have an effect (whether directly or indirectly) on the everyday life of the individuals of that culture.

Carus (1969) expresses the opinion that the worship of evil supernatural forces is antecedent to that of benevolent forces, in that the fear of dire occurrences appears more fundamental than the striving for benevolent events. It follows that the worship of evil forces (e.g., the placating and appeasing of evil spirits) appears to originate from the need to prevent the possible malevolent consequences attributed to such supernatural entities.

Yahweh, in ancient Hebrew scriptures, was seen as the omnipotent and sole creator of the cosmos (Cavendish, 1967). Although subordinate evil entities (e.g., demons) were identified, all supernatural occurrences were attributed to Yahweh. Manifestations of evil in daily life, consequently, were attributed either to the direct will of Yahweh, or to minor malevolent spirits acting within his will (Brandon, 1977).

The notion of exclusive dualism of good and evil deities in Western religion dates back to approximately 600BC, in Persia (Brandon, 1973). This conception impacted strongly on the ancient Hebrew view of Yahweh, to whom would be ascribed exclusive benevolence. In opposition, Satan became an exclusively evil force at approximately 538BC, the time of the Return from Exile. This paradigmatic shift can clearly be seen in the translations of biblical text, as Robbins (1959, pp. 130-131) shows:

In the English translations, the Old Testament Hebrew *satan* as well as the New Testament Greek *satanas* were, following the Latin, both rendered 'Satan'... Thus two different conceptions were fused, causing many people to erroneously believe that the Christian idea of an evil demi-God was known to the Hebrews before Babylonian captivity, whereas the idea of an arch-fiend developed only later under Persian influence.

Whereas the original Hebrew *satan* was seen as a fallen angel who only became evil by identifying with its purpose to test people's fidelity to God, the Greek *satanas* "was used to mean... not an adversary against man (as in Job), but an adversary against God." (Robbins, 1959, p. 130).

Zacharias (1980) asserts that the first satanic cults emerged from the heretical Gnostic Christianity of the Middle Ages. Ritual Satanic worship, furthermore, is believed to have been influenced by ancient fertility rites practiced in Europe in the 15th

century (Feldman, 1995; Levack, 1987). Many of these Satanic ritual practices, in various forms, have been maintained to the present day. Examples include renouncing Christ, desecration of Christian symbols, demon worship, sexual orgies, human sacrifice and blood rituals (Feldman, 1995; O'Grady, 1989).

In the 16th and 17th centuries, much of the socio-economic adversity was ascribed to Satanic conspiracies. This led to a large-scale witch-hunt in an attempt to rid society of evil and, ultimately, to alleviate the associated poverty, disease, famine and wars. (Robbins, 1959). Katchen (1992) argues that these socio-economic pressures, in addition, caused people to look at the church for answers. As hardships continued people became increasingly disillusioned, which was compounded by the increased realisation of corruption in religious circles (e.g., the monetary gain made by priests to perform rituals). Public prosecution of alleged witches created an enormous emphasis and exposure to narratives of occult practices. Although some of these testimonies may have possessed a measure of credence, many confessions were obtained by means of public torture and leading questions by inquisitors (Levack, 1987). These graphic expositions may, paradoxically, have led to an increased awareness and lure to Satanic practices.

During the Reformation, Catholic rituals (the Catholic Mass in particular) were challenged. Although Protestantism addressed the perceived corruption of the Catholic Church to some extent, it also left its followers with the belief in predestination. "One's behaviors and fortunes on earth indicated whether one was saved or damned... For those at the bottom, or whose indiscretions were enough to convince them that they were hellbound, Satanism may have offered an alternative." (Katchen, 1992, p.8).

As Satanism has been closely linked with Christianity, it is not surprising to see both systems of worship losing favour during and after the Renaissance period of scientific enlightenment. During this period social, economic and psychological problems became increasingly framed as being the result of "ignorance and insufficient control of scientific laws that regulated mind and matter..." (Ivey, 1993a, p.181).

From approximately the 1960's, possibly due to both disillusionment in the belief that science would provide all the answers and increasing socio-political and economic uncertainty, there appears to have been a resurgence of mystical, spiritual and naturalistic beliefs in the West. This resulted in an increased interest in fundamentalist religion as

well as (with an emphasis on free expression during the hippie-era) the institutionalisation of an assortment of alternative religious cults which often incorporated ideologies of self-realisation from Eastern thought. Institutionalised Satanic worship emerged in the 1960's in the spirit of "... youth rebellion against a conservative, spiritually impoverished, Christian technocratic society." (Ivey, 1993a, p.182). Anton LaVey founded the *Church of Satan* on *Wulpurgisnacht* (the eve of the first of May – a festive day in the witchcraft calendar) in 1966 and professed the beginning of the Satanic era. Approximately one million copies of LaVey's *Satanic Bible* have been sold since 1969 (Feldman, 1995).

1.2.4. Ideology and practices

Satanic worship is not characterised by a single doctrine and is manifest in a variety of ideological schisms (Russell, 1991). As has already been mentioned, Satanism appears as the antithesis to Christian theology (see section 1.2.2. above). The inversion of Christian practices, consequently, forms the template from which Satanic ideology and practices are based. Ivey (1993a, p.) states that:

The church ideology comprises six aspects and emphases: hedonistic gratification of worldly desires; the ceremonial use of magic for gaining personal power and manipulating others; the worship of Satan as a symbol of that which is religiously forbidden and heretical; the iconoclastic desire to free oneself from conformist social norms, expectations and institutional restraints; the millenariast belief in the overthrow of Christianity and the coming of a new world order; and the imputation of charismatic authority to the religious leader, or high priest.

Feldman (1995) asserts that the violent and magical practices date back to the ancient blood offerings made in an attempt to appease certain gods. She adds that political expedience provides an explanation for religiously sanctioned murder. As some Satanic cults (e.g., the Temple of Set) incorporate strong political and racial beliefs, Feldman's assertions may be considered relevant even in modern society (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). Three types of offerings can be distinguished: (a) blood offerings (e.g., human and animal sacrifice), (b) bloodless offerings (e.g., vegetation and libations), and

(c) divine offerings (in which the offering is exalted to the power of the worshipped deity; Feldman, 1995).

The ritual abuse and sacrifice of living beings is associated with a belief in the release of an animated life force at the time of death (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). This force or energy allegedly empowers those who make the sacrifice. Associated reasoning has lead practitioners of the black arts to believe that such a life force is greater at times when the sacrificed being is (a) perceived to be “pure” in the traditional sense (e.g., children and virgins), (b) tortured (therefore, more acutely “alive” before death), and (c) at the actual time of death (as opposed to the use of corpses in rituals; Feldman, 1995; Katchen & Sakheim, 1992).

Whereas some Satanic cults emphasise violent practices (e.g., The Order of the Golden Dawn), others may stress fundamental goodness in a more traditional sense (e.g., the Puritans of Process sect) or sexual practices (e.g., the Luciferians of the Process sect; Terry, 1992).

A common denominator in Satanic cult practices, however, appears to be the underscoring of a loyalty and sincerity to “human nature”. It is thus not surprising that a variety of practices have been strongly influenced by Eastern conceptions of self-realisation. An emphasis on the actuality of being true to human nature, however, may be interpreted in a variety of phenomenal ways. In response to Christian teaching, Katchen (1992, p. 15) quotes Anton LaVey stating: “Satanists are encouraged to indulge in the seven deadly sins as they need hurt no one; they were only invented by the Christian Church to insure guilt on the part of its followers.” The Marquis de Sade (although not a practicing Satanist) believed that inflicting torture is part of being true to human nature (Feldman, 1995). She further quotes the following practices (all which have been reported by individuals allegedly involved in Satanic practices) from *The 120 Days of Sodom*, in which the Marquis de Sade professes “locking in cages, death threats, burying in coffins, holding under water, threatening with weapons, drugging and bleeding, tying upside down and burning, wearing of robes, and costumes, staging of mock marriages, defecating and urinating on victims, killing of animals, having victims witness torture, having victims witness homicide, pouring or drinking blood, and taking victims to

churches or cemeteries.” (Feldman 1995, p.348; Katchen & Sakheim, 1992; Terry, 1993; Zacharias, 1964).

Moody (1974) argues that, from the initiation into Satanic cults, members increasingly experience an alleviation of psycho-social tension arising from societal mores. The individual steadily gains confidence and assertiveness as s/he becomes desensitised (through the repetitive performing of rituals in increasing levels of involvement) to Christian-based conventions. These rituals are performed in a culturally-sanctioned environment where social cohesion is enhanced by, among other, (a) communal living, (b) members referring to each other as family and (c) sanctioned deviant behaviour (Zacharias, 1974; Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). Belief systems and consensual validation, furthermore, is strengthened by thought and milieu control, transcendental and mystical experiences and the charismatic and grandiose style of leaders (Galanter, 1982).

Despite the variance of Satanic cult activities, Ivey (1992a) is of the opinion that South African Satanism is largely based on the doctrine professed in *The Satanic Bible* (1969) and *The Satanic Rituals* (1972) written by Anton LaVey. Ivey (1992a, p. 182) notes two key points of departure from LaVey’s formalised ideology in the South African manifestation of Satanic practice: “... firstly, it is an underground phenomenon and, secondly, illegal acts of drug ingestion, paedophilia, as well as animal and human sacrifice are allegedly committed. These contradict LaVey’s strict prohibitions against drug use and unlawful activities.”

1.2.5. Incidence and demographic variables

Cross-culturally, Satanism appears only to exist in religions where dualistic expressions of supernatural entities are adhered. As both benevolent and malevolent qualities are incorporated into deities of, for example, the Hindu faith, Satanist practices remain unrecorded in religious and academic literature (Russell, 1977).

Determining an accurate estimate of the prevalence of Satanism is rendered impossible due to: (a) the extreme variance of Satanic cults and associated practices (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992); (b) the high level of secrecy surrounding cults who partake in unlawful activities (Terry, 1993); (c) inflated estimates made by sources lacking

verifiable data (Victor, 1993); and (d) the ascription of deviant and criminal manifestations to Satanic involvement where statistical validation of positive correlates are dubious (Emerson & Syron, 1995; Victor, 1993; Carlson & Larue, 1990). These constraints have not, however, led to the absence of estimates regarding Satanic activity.

Various writers argue that estimates are marked by extreme counts of false positives (if not conclusively) based on speculative grounds (Bromley, 1991; Mulhern, 1991; Victor, 1993). A broad review of literature, however, seems highly suggestive that, although precise figures may be inflated, it nevertheless may indirectly have some bearing on actual manifestations of Satanic cult activity (Ivey, 1993a).

Many “experts”, particularly those involved in employment directly associated with the management of Satanism (e.g., self-professed police experts, clergy and victim advocates, as opposed to researchers conducting scientifically validated research) provide high estimates of incidence (Hicks, 1991, Richardson, 1991). Related articles, often published in popular magazines and newspapers, are rife with reports of satanic conspiracies. The following figures (although not substantiated) present some examples that appeared in the South African media: (a) Pastor D. Nel is quoted to estimate the amount of Satanic worshippers in South Africa at two hundred thousand in 1988 (*Personality*, 8th August, 1988, in Heathcote, 1997); (b) Colonel K. Jonker, superintendent of the South African Police Occult Unit is reported to have made a direct link between Satanic involvement and nineteen murders, five attempted murders, thirty six cases of cruelty to animals and five hundred acts of vandalism to graves from February 1992 to December 1993 (*Insig*, 13th August, 1994, in Heathcote, 1997); (c) Colonel Jonker, quoted by reporter Pat Candido, estimates that three hundred youths belong to one of four active Satanic cult cells in the Port Elizabeth area (*Star*, 20th January, 1991, in Heathcote, 1997); (d) Colonel Jonker reportedly estimates that there are a hundred and sixty five thousand active Satanists countrywide (*Transvaler*, 2nd June, 1992, in Heathcote, 1997). It is worth noting that, even though these sources were quoted as claiming an alarming increase in the incidence of Satanic activity at the time, the 1988 estimates (estimated by a different person) are higher than those of 1992.

Bromley (in Ivey, 1993a, p. 182) describes a subversion myth as a type of cultural narrative which arises from a “perceived breakdown of social order” and contains “... a

description of a danger, identification of a group of conspirators and of their pernicious motives, processes by which conspirators do their bidding, the actual threat to society, and the remedy that citizens must pursue”.

Although the Satanic conspiracy theory in South Africa can be considered a subversion myth, Ivey (1993a, p. 182) argues, “At most, it would appear that claims of an increase of real Satanic practices can only be inferred from an increase in social factors associated with the emergence of Satanic subversion myths. He concludes that socially uprooted white adolescents, in particular, become susceptible to the lure of magic solutions offered by Satanic cults.

Estimates concerning demographic variables of Satanic involvement, despite confounded by the variables discussed above, are largely based on reports from Satanic cult survivors. The majority of these individuals have been reported to be: (a) from a Western culture (Zeddies, 2000; Terry, 1993; Zacharias, 1980); (b) in the adolescent age-range (Emerson & Syron, 1995; Moriarty, 1993; Bourget, Gagnon, & Bradford, 1988); and (c) from a middle-class background (Galanter, 1982). No conclusive evidence regarding a distinction in the representation of either gender was found, although Rogo (1974) reports a higher incidence in reported cases of demonic possession of women.

In addition to the demographic variables stated above, researchers found that reports show the following psycho-social aspects common in practitioners of Satanism: (a) members were often raised in a troubled family environment (Ian, 2000; Moriarty & Story, 1990; Galanter, 1982); (b) they had been exhibiting deviant behaviour prior to their involvement (Lowney, 1995; Ivey, 1993a; Bourget, Gagnon, & Bradford, 1988); (c) they showed maladaptive social skills (Belitz & Schacht, 1994; Moriarty, 1993; Moody, 1974); and (d) they lacked feelings of adequacy (Emerson & Syron, 1995; Clark, 1994; Galanter, 1982). As reports are usually obtained either from individuals who have ceased to be actively involved in Satanism or from victims of Satanic ritual abuse, one may critically ask whether maladaptive social skills and feelings of inadequacy can reliably be generalised to be characteristic of ongoing practitioners of Satanism.

1.2.6. Psycho-social predisposition to Satanic involvement

In the section 1.2.5. Incidence and demographic variables above, it was shown that individuals involved in Satanism often (a) were raised in trouble families, (b) had exhibited behavioural deviance, (c) possessed inadequate social skills, and (d) suffered feelings of inadequacy (Ladin, 1998). Olsson (1983, p. 236) adds that Satanists seek (e) clear and simple answers to the meaning of life, f) instant community identity (with a “sense of communally derived self-worth”), and (g) a feeling of well-being derived from charismatic cult practices. He adds that, although these factors are commonly found in any fundamentalist religion, the following psychological needs are uniquely met by their involvement in Satanism: (h) “religious sanction for the gratification of desires normally considered taboo in other religions”, (i) legitimate “rebellion against traditional orthodox authority figures and moral systems”, (j) the alleviation of guilt despite “expression of hostility and transgression of internalized values”, and (k) the opportunity to worship an alternative and powerful figure as the “declining social influence of Christianity and the escalation of social problems make the Christian God seem weak and out of control...”.

1.2.7. Media portrayal and public perception

Richardson, Best & Bromley (1991) argue that the social construction of Satanism is largely fuelled by antisatanist claimsmakers with their own political agenda. They state that contemporary antisatanism has as its fundamental basis the following five precursor movements: (a) *fundamentalist Christianity* (“a powerful political and economic force;” Ibid, p. 6), (b) the *Anticult Movement* (that “focused on getting young people out of new religious groups that proliferated in the 1960’s;” Ibid, p. 7), (c) *growth in Satanic churches* (e.g., Anton LaVey’s “Church of Satan”), (d) the *New Child Savers* (a group of movements that had in common a “series of campaigns to protect child victims;” Ibid, p. 10), and (e) the *Survivor/Recovery Movement* (which arose out of a medicalisation of social problems by child-protection agents).

Richardson (1991) holds that the media grossly over represents crimes associated with Satanic involvement. He argues that such media coverage is often instrumental in structuring public opinion which, in turn, fuels governmental action to investigate related claims. Ultimately, he concludes that, as “what we expect to find we are more prone to

see” (Ibid, p. 207), accusations of Satanism become inflated and, to complete the cycle, over represented in the press.

Various writers agree with this notion of over-representation of Satanism in the media (Victor, 1992; Crouch & Damphousse, 1991) and are of the opinion that overrepresentation occurs particularly in “sectors of the press that run less ‘hard news’ and more feature stories and sensationalism” (as opposed to the “prestige press;” Richardson, Best & Bromley, 1991, p. 11-12; Jenkins & Maier-Katkin, 1991). Richardson et al. (1991, p. 5) further argue that claimsmakers of Satanism often present allegations in ways to “compete in a social-problems marketplace”, which provides the critical reader with valuable information about the (a) audiences, (b) interests, and (c) dialectical methods of claimsmakers more often than it provides information about the practices and incidence of Satanism.

It could be argued that an overrepresentation of Satanism in the mass media may not only fuel the anti-Satanist campaign, but also, in “glamorising” such claims, indirectly attract increased interest to dabbling in related practices. Such dabbling, in turn, may provide more “evidence” to those claimsmakers.

1.3. Murder as a Criminal Act

1.3.1. Definitions

For the purposes of this study, *murder* may be defined as an unlawful and intentional act initiated by a culpable person and which was seen to be the factual and legal cause of another person’s precipitated death. In terms of South African Criminal Law, murder is considered to be a materially defined crime (associated with the prohibition of conduct which results in a defined condition, e.g., the death of a human being) and is thus distinguished from a formally defined crime (associated with conduct is prohibited regardless of the consequences of such conduct – e.g., the possession of illegal drugs; Snyman, 1995a). Liability to materially defined crimes comprise of the following: (a) conduct, (b) compliance with the definition of a proscription, (c) unlawfulness, and (d) culpability (Snyman, 1995a).

The *conduct* of a person accused of having committed a material crime may either be the commission or omission, which was seen to lead to both the factual (based on empirical investigation) and legal (based on legally defined considerations) causation of, in the case of murder, the death of another person (Snyman, 1995a).

Compliance with the definition of proscription entails that the crime needs to meet the terms set out for that specific crime (currently) in the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977. The definition of proscription for murder is “the unlawful and intentional causing of death of another human being” (Snyman, 1995a, p. 401).

An act is considered to be *unlawful* if it is in conflict with the current societal and legal order as a whole entity. Instances where the intentional causing of death of another human being may thus be considered lawful include acting in private defence, out of necessity, with consent, in official capacity, in obedience to orders, and with spontaneous agency (Snyman, 1995a).

“By ‘*culpability*’ [italics added] is meant that there must, in the eyes of the law, be grounds for blaming X personally for this unlawful conduct” (Snyman, 1995a, p. 130). Culpability can be seen as an umbrella term that incorporates (a) intention (deliberate purpose to act in a certain way), (b) freedom of will (where, in terms of South African law, a person is regarded to be the agent of his/her will), and (c) criminal capacity (a person’s ability to appreciate the wrongfulness of an act and his/her ability to act in accordance with such an appreciation). Culpability can be influenced by a person’s diminished biological and psychological capacity (e.g., youthful age, temporary mental disability, mental illness and/or mental defect; Snyman, 1995a).

1.3.2. Mitigating factors

Snyman (1995b) argues that the defence council of an individual already being found guilty of murder may forward any mitigating factors argued to be relevant to the murder and which may show that these factors had impacted negatively on the guilty party’s moral judgement. He does, however, cite the following specific examples of mitigating factors that have been successfully used to motivate for a diminished responsibility and, consequently, lightened sentences of individuals found guilty of murder:

1. Cases where the perpetrator (X) was provoked.
2. The fact that X was intoxicated at the time of committing murder.
3. The fact that X was of youthful age, albeit that s/he was older than eighteen years.
4. The fact that X, at the time of committing the murder, suffered from mental incapacity or defect, albeit that such an incapacity did not warrant the total exclusion of culpability.
5. The fact that X committed murder while subject to coercion.
6. The fact that the murder was not premeditated.
7. The fact that X had been influenced by others (usually older people or people with a stronger character).
8. The fact that the murder had been committed as result of X's belief in magic or witchcraft, in particular where such beliefs are consistent with the faith, biases and practices of the socio-cultural community of which X is a member.
9. The fact that death as consequence was not the primary aim of X's actions.
10. The fact that the murder was committed as result of the actions of a group of people, and where X's participation is considered minor related to the actions of other members of the group.
11. The fact the victim either consented or requested to be murdered.
12. The fact that the murder was an instance of euthanasia.
13. The fact that X had no or few previous criminal convictions.
14. The fact that X showed remorse after committing the murder as is evident by X assisting relatives of the deceased, or by his/her cooperating with police investigations.
15. The fact that the murder was politically motivated, as is evidenced by X's moral reasoning that his/her actions may bring about political change that would lead to perceived moral justice.
16. The fact that X's actions were part of emotionally laden group behaviour.
17. The fact that X was a mother who had murdered her newly born child.
18. Any number of arguments, relevant to the act of murder, that may motivate that X's moral judgement had been impeded by, for example, diminished intellectual capacity,

lack of a proper moral upbringing, being brought up in a poor socio-economic environment, and so forth.

In contrast, Snyman (1995b) further quotes the following possible examples where a heavier sentence may be considered:

1. The fact that X has previous criminal convictions.
2. The fact that the murder was premeditated and carefully planned.
3. The gruesome and heinous nature of the murder.
4. The fact that X had received remuneration to commit murder.
5. The fact that X murdered more than one person on the same occasion.
6. The fact that, upon having committed the murder, proceeded to further violate the corpse.
7. The fact the victim was elderly or suffering from a physical disability.

In cases where the defence council motivated for diminished responsibility, the onus of proving beyond reasonable doubt (that there is no diminished responsibility) lies with public prosecution. Conversely the public prosecution has to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the factors leading to the consideration of a heavier sentence (as mentioned above) played a part in the murder (Snyman, 1995b).

1.3.3. Murder and Satanism in medico-legal contexts

Richardson (1991, p. 205) is of the opinion that of the estimated twenty thousand murders committed each year, "only a miniscule proportion involve satanic beliefs or practices, but those cases usually receive wide publicity". He states that discussions of Satanism are heard in courts as they may shed light on a) what had transpired during the alleged offence, b) the motive for the alleged offence and c) possible grounds for defending pleas of mental incapacity or diminished responsibility. There appears only one instance in the entire history of the American legal system, Richardson concludes, where the court's ruling suggested that murder appeared to be directly linked to Satanism. A recent review of South African legal literature, in contrast, is marked by the total absence of such conclusive findings.

1.4. Synthesis

Forensic psychology with an emphasis on violent crime appears well established on the international stage (Garrido, 1994). Similar research conducted in South Africa, however, has only more recently come to a rapid growth, particularly due to the high incidence of violent crime (Louw & Allan, 1996). More specifically, violent crime with particular reference to criminals' involvement in Satanism has been an area of focus internationally (Feldman, 1995). The value of this study thus appears twofold: (a) It provides research material within a specific area of violent crime in South Africa and (b) it sheds light on how a specific individual contextualises a violent criminal offence in terms of his involvement with Satanism.

This chapter contextualises Satanism as a context for meaning and provides a working definition for murder as a criminal act. Satanism was presented as a real (moreover at least as a social construction) phenomenon most worthy of social scientific inquiry. Key concepts pertaining to Satanic involvement were defined and distinguished, after which an historical review of Satanic ideology and practices was presented. It was shown that an accurate estimate of the incidence and demographic variables of adherents of Satanism remain problematic largely due to a lack of rigorous scientific research. After psycho-social predispositions to Satanic involvement were discussed, it was shown that both media portrayal and public perception of Satanism appear over represented and speculative.

A working definition of murder in terms of South African Criminal Law was presented with particular attention paid to conduct, compliance with the definition of proscription (of murder), unlawfulness and culpability. It was finally shown that, during court sentencing of someone found guilty of having committed a murder, certain factors may be considered to either shorten or lengthen the possible term of sentence.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

2.1. Overview

This chapter deals with the methodological considerations of this study. The rationale for a phenomenological approach to psychological research will be situated within the aim of this study and within the field of forensic psychology. A brief discussion of the philosophical foundations of phenomenology will then be presented. The chapter further illustrates an emergent design case-study approach to data gathered from a singular research participant, and by means of a three-interview series. The Empirical Phenomenological Psychological Method (Karlsson, 1993) was used during the interpretive phase of the research. It will be shown how a descriptive account of the subject's phenomenological experience was achieved, and how the essential structure of the experience of Satanic involvement emerged through the phenomenological reduction.

2.2. Rationale for a Phenomenological Method

2.2.1. Aim of this study

The research question of this study is: "What is the phenomenological nature of the subject's appropriation criminal behaviour in terms of his Satanic involvement?"

For the purposes of this study, appropriation is understood as the conscious (i.e., intentional) way in which the subject makes sense of his experience of being (including his actions) in terms of how he finds himself in a particular life-world. A qualitative research approach embedded within a phenomenological-existential perspective was followed in order to address this question.

Qualitative research yields descriptive data and enables subjects to express their own meaning in their own terms (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996). The spoken data (from the subject's own words) requires of the researcher a phenomenological investigation into the subject's psychological being (Karlsson, 1993; Taylor & Bogdan,

1998). Maykut & Morehouse (1994, p.46) describe "... two important characteristics of qualitative data analysis: (a) It is an ongoing research activity, in contrast to an end stage, when the design is emergent; (b) it is primarily inductive." Karlsson (1993) in support, argues that the Empirical Phenomenological Psychological (EPP) Method primarily employs eidetic induction through interpretation. The researcher thus aims to delineate the meaning of the actualities presented by the subject and to induce how such meanings arise from the experienced phenomenon. Such subjective experience of human being (being human) cannot be adequately examined by means of more positivist psychological methods of inquiry (Richardson, 1998). These more traditional and naturalistic approaches, Miller & Dingwall (1997) argue, provide deductive-nomological explanations in terms of supposed causal relations between isolated variables and is therefore not conducive to understanding the individual's subjective experience.

As a point of clarification, it should be noted that the aim of this study is not to (a) conclude whether the subject would have committed the murder had he not been a Satanist, (b) to discern whether, despite an involvement in Satanism, he may have decided against committing the murder, nor to (c) establish what causative factors may have lead to the offence.

Rather, this study is aimed at an understanding of the way in which a violent criminal act (i.e., murder) is personally appropriated in terms of a framework of meaning, in this case, Satanism. A qualitative method of inquiry and, in particular from a phenomenological stance, is well suited to achieve this aim.

2.2.2. A phenomenological approach to forensic psychology

Mcquarrie (1973, p. 11) argues that:

... phenomenology is not a method of proof. It describes what is seen. Furthermore, it may be a case that in making such a description, different people see things differently. Of course, the techniques of phenomenology and its concentration on essences and universal structures are designed to reduce the effect of personal preferences and idiosyncrasies.

A critical reader may question the suitability of applying a phenomenological methodology (characterised by a descriptive inquiry into subjective experience) as a

means to investigate forensic psychology (which could be seen as dealing with “objective facts” and the uncovering of “objective truth;” Martin, 1994). In answer, McQuarrie (1973, p. 12) further argues:

... although phenomenology does not offer proof or demonstration, its truth-claim is nevertheless open to testing. The test is to compare the description to our own first-hand understanding of existence, i.e., to confront the phenomenological account with the phenomena themselves as we have access to them.

As any person’s account of an experience is thus marked by his/her own phenomenological awareness (including accounts of those accused of having committed a crime, as well as those who accuse such a person), so it can be argued that the legal system (itself a social construction) has its own subjective, phenomenological character. In support, Richardson et al. (1991, p. 4) argue that “There is no phenomenon ‘crime’; all crimes are identified through social processes” and continue “all other social problems are constructed in a similar fashion.”

It would thus appear that both the accounts of an accused, as well as that of the socially constructed legal system present phenomenologically constructed realities. It follows that a phenomenological inquiry may provide valuable information on how these realities meet in the field of forensic psychology.

2.3. Philosophical Basis of a Phenomenological Method

Phenomenological psychological research (such as the EPP method used in this study) is situated in the broader approaches of psychological and philosophical inquiry (Giorgi, 1998; Kvale, 1983). Mainstream psychological research, however, appears greatly influenced by the approaches derived from naturalistic and positivist scientific traditions (Karlsson, 1993, Kruger, 1988). Karlsson (1993) provides an exploratory useful distinction between such mainstream psychological approaches (which he refers to as “traditional”) and phenomenological psychological approaches, even though both are found in the broader school of psychological research.

In what follows, a discussion of the key elements of a phenomenological inquiry will be based on the way in which it departs from traditional methods of research. This

contrasting of the phenomenological and traditional approaches to psychological research is intended to both show how these approaches diverge, as well as to explicate the core characteristics of the EPP method used in this study.

One of the key features of a phenomenological approach to research is that it involves a critical stance not only to the phenomena being investigated (Ashworth, 1996), but also to the philosophical foundations of the construction of the research methodology (Giorgi, 1998; Spiegelberg, 1975). Such an approach would thus provide guidelines to the way in which psychological phenomena are studied, as well as to shed light on how these psychological phenomena may be described in terms of the subject's experience (Giorgi, 1998; Ashworth, 1996; Spiegelberg, 1970). On the other hand, as the objects of natural scientific research are natural phenomena (with a particularly defined structure in terms of scientific theory) and traditional psychology appears to be modelled on such an approach, there appears the assumption that natural and psychological phenomena share a similar structure. This assumption is challenged by adherents of phenomenology (Giorgi, 1998; Kruger, 1988).

It is proposed that the structure of psychological phenomena (i.e., that which pertains to the psyche, or consciousness) differs from the structure of natural phenomena (Romanyshyn, 1982; Schutz, 1962). It follows that an approach that differs from the natural scientific paradigm and is tailored in accordance with the structure of psychological phenomena is better suited to psychological investigations (Giorgi, 1997; Kruger, 1988; Spiegelberg, 1975).

Karlsson (1993) argues that some of the implications of a phenomenological approach to psychological research differ in the following ways from the traditional approaches based on natural scientific methods:

2.3.1. Qualitative as opposed to quantitative data is used

Kvale (1994) states that both qualitative and quantitative studies have value in attempts to gain knowledge through research. He states: "Quality refers to what kind, to the essential character of something" and "Quantity refers to how much, to how large, the amount of something" (Ibid, p. 162). In conclusion, Kvale states that qualitative data can thus be seen as a premise from which quantitative aims can be addressed. Indeed, in

most research projects, whether qualitative or quantitative, a review of literature is used to qualitatively situate the study. It follows that, due to the examining of the essential nature of studied components (i.e., by means of qualitative research), the need to qualify appears primary to the need to quantify.

In qualitative research, data is used as a text, is analysed in a qualitative-interpretive (in contrast to a quantitative-statistical) fashion, and the results are, accordingly, presented in a qualitative structure (e.g., a case-study; Giorgi, 1998). Kruger (1988, p. 4), in support of the primary utility of qualitative research, argues:

But any natural scientific psychology will come up against the fact that very few human characteristics, if any, are unambiguously and exactly measurable. In fact, the ambiguity of much of human behaviour, experience and discourse, is one of the basic features with which psychology, trying to be true to its subject matter, namely, the human being, will have to reckon.

2.3.2. Results are descriptive rather than explanatory

The significance of the descriptive task of phenomenology is best understood in contrast to the alternatives of explanation, construction and interpretation (Giorgi, 1997). He shows that *explanation* entails not only what is presented to the consciousness, but also what “departs from it in order to account for it” (Ibid, p. 241). Explanation, furthermore, often entails a supposed pre-understanding of antecedents to the phenomenon. Traditional psychological approaches (based on naturalistic and positivist methodologies) endeavour to yield such explanatory results (Karlsson, 1993). Giorgi (1997, p. 241) further shows that “*constructive activity* (italics added) is usually another way of accounting for a phenomenon rather than describing it” and is, consequently, often marked by hypothetical or speculative premises. *Interpretation*, he concludes, differs from description in that it entails, beyond description, the introduction of a perspective “either from theory or for pragmatic research”.

Phenomenological investigations thus yield descriptive results, whereas traditional psychological approaches endeavour to yield explanatory results. All descriptive results, however, are not necessarily phenomenological. Whereas a

phenomenal account pertains to a straightforward description of a phenomenon, a *phenomenological* account has as its aim to trace out “the structure, or essential constituents, entailed in the experience” (Karlsson, 1993, p. 14).

2.3.3. The aim is to search for meaning, as opposed to facts

The interest of traditional, quantitative psychological research is to gather factual data. Whereas in some such studies these “facts” are considered subjective and context-bound, a naturalistic approach would aim at finding “objective” and verifiable facts. A phenomenological inquiry (such as the EPP method) rather seeks to describe the meaning imbued in the subject’s experience of these “facts” (Karlsson, 1993).

Phenomenologists would argue that being (human) is unavoidably marked by conscious experience. Consciousness, in turn, may be described as an intentional, meaning-making act (Giorgi, 1997; Ehring, 1997). Thus, in order to study the subject matter of psychology (i.e., conscious being), meaning units, as the fundamental constituents of conscious experience, are to be described. For example: Two people enter a room that is painted a specific colour. X experiences this colour as a “revolting pink”, which she might describe as “tasteless”. Y, on the other hand, experiences the colour as a “soft pink”, that he sees as “refreshing and calm”. A methodology in search for facts may attempt to find out what the factual colour is. The phenomenological researcher would, in contrast, not be concerned whether the colour is either pink or peach (it could be both), but would rather be interested only in the phenomenon for the person who experiences it. Giorgi (1997, p. 237) affirms this in stating: “An accurate description of the presence is the phenomenon, and it usually contains many phenomenal meanings”.

To synthesise: Phenomenological-existential theorists propose that one of the essential features of the human psyche is that it endeavours to derive meaning from existence in the life-world (Halling & Nill, 1995; Roth, 1999). Related research, accordingly, has as its goal the exposition of a typical *meaning-structure* of a phenomenon (Hopkins, 1997; Ihde, 1971). This stands in contrast to an approach that seeks to distinguish “*facts* [italics added] (that) are conceived of as being objective and independent of consciousness” (Karlsson, 1993, p. 16).

2.3.4. The research question is open, in contrast to the specificity of hypothesis testing

From the onset of the research project, traditional mainstream psychological approaches are guided by a research question that (in keeping with a positivist orientation) is stated in terms of a hypothesis that is either confirmed or rejected. Phenomenological data gathering techniques, in contrast, lend the research an openness to unexpected findings, as the researcher temporarily suspends theoretical paradigms (bracketing). Data gathered is described as it is presented to the subject's conscious experience. van Maanen (in Giorgi, 1994, p. 213) uses the following humorous examples to differentiate between the types of questions asked by a qualitative inquiry ("What is going on here?"), and a hypothesis-orientated question ("I will posit that X is going on and shall try to prove it, or else hope that Y is actually taking place").

Phenomenological research is thus oriented to discovery. Researchers working within this orientation endeavour to provide accurate descriptions of (meaning) structures that appear to their consciousness, exactly as they present themselves. Phenomenological researchers use "reduction and bracketing so that they can be self-critical in a systemic way... They are neither to speculate, nor interpret" (Giorgi, 1994, p. 201). It is only in the final stages of the project (i.e., when all that data has been described as accurately as possible) that the researcher may introduce explicitly stated knowledge to situate the findings in, for example, the field of psychology (Ashworth, 1996).

2.3.5. Findings are reported in terms of the subjects' subjective experience, rather than from an objective perspective

Phenomenological researchers aim to trace out the essential structure of meaning as a phenomenon presents to a human subject in a "lived" experience. This stands in contrast to the assumption that a theoretical, a priori, or objective reality can be identified in absence of an experiencing subject. Giorgi (1997) states that experience (particularly as understood by Husserl) denotes the way in which objects (found in space and time and which are subject to laws of causality) are presented to a (human) subject via consciousness. He further argues that experience forms part of (and should be distinguished from) intuition, which (in a Husserlian sense) includes how human

phenomena that transcend space, time and laws of causality, are presented to us by means of consciousness. Such phenomena (derived from the discipline of psychology) include delusions, hallucinations, false memories and fantasies. Giorgi (1997, pp. 236-237) concludes by stating, "Even when 'real objects' are the reference points, the human sciences concentrate on how such objects are perceived or what they mean, and not so much on the 'isness' or real character".

It can be concluded that, as naturalistic approaches to studying human experience derive conclusions from theoretical assumptions about a priori phenomena, human existence is, accordingly, described in much more abstract terms and removed from the experienced life-world (Churchill, 2000).

2.3.6. Phenomenological research has a hermeneutical, as opposed to a technical, interest

"Jurgen Habermas (1968) argues that science is not simply a neutral enterprise, but that there are certain guiding interests in research which may be divided into the technical (or manipulative), the understanding or practical-social (sic) and the emancipatory interest." (Kruger, 1988, p. 8). Traditional psychology is guided by technical interests which, in the natural scientific school, has as goals manipulation, control and prediction (Karlsson, 1993). Although such technical interests have legitimacy in terms of serving as a practical aid, Karlsson (1993) further argues that the hermeneutical interest (as is characteristic of a phenomenological approach) provides a unique deepening of understanding of human experience.

In support, Kruger (1988, p. 8) states:

By going back to the phenomena themselves through the explication of experience, we restore to our study three vital parts of man (sic) which have been neglected in the dominant current approaches of psychology, namely, the meaningfulness of life as lived, its sociality (i.e., its social-communicative character), and its historicity.

The hermeneutic interest of phenomenological inquiry is, however, often criticised by traditional researchers, who argue that different interpreters may delineate different meanings from the same data. In response to such criticism, Kvale (1994) argues that, provided the researcher makes his/her "perspectival subjectivity" explicit, such different

findings may in fact serve to enhance the richness and strength of the research. In conclusion, the same writer states: “Contrary to this demand of unequivocally, a hermeneutic mode of understanding allows for a legitimate plurality of interpretations” (Ibid, p. 157).

2.3.7. Life-world studies take preference over laboratory set-ups

Traditional methods often make use of experimental conditions in controlled environments to study human behaviour, in order to exclude the influence of extraneous variables. Critically, however, such an isolation of the subject from a lived environment consequently exposes the individual to a whole set of new variables, that is, those present in the experimental situation. Although phenomenological methods may also make use of controlled conditions (e.g., laboratory set-ups), their aim is to make explicit the influence that such conditions may have on the consciousness of the subject. This is in keeping with the broader goal of phenomenological research to provide descriptive accounts of the subject’s life-world experience, that is, the way in which phenomena are experienced in a given environment (Churchill, 2000). In contrast, there often appears the assumption in traditional methods that controlled conditions guarantee observable behaviour free from external influences.

2.3.8. Consciousness is understood in terms of intentionality, rather than as an object

Karlsson (1993, p. 18) asserts:

Phenomenology emphasizes the meaning bestowing activity of consciousness, man is seen as determining the meaning of his/her world, and not as a passive receiver of stimuli. The experienced stands always in relationship to an experiencing subject. Consciousness is not like any other worldly entity, but is that which makes a world possible at all. In traditional psychology, consciousness is, roughly speaking, conceived more of as a “thing-like” self-enclosed entity.

It has been shown that the natural scientific approach is characterised by studying “factual objects”. Using related means in psychological inquiry would, as result, require the identification of “factual objects” of being human. Some phenomenological writers are of the opinion that psychological understanding of human consciousness often

involves the use of metaphors as a means to clarify its meaning-structures (Romanyshyn, 1982; van den Berg, 1975). Psychological researchers who follow a naturalistic approach, appear to have unwittingly literalised such metaphors in attempts to find “factual objects” to study (Romanyshyn, 1982). In support, de Boer (in Kruger, 1988, p. 7) states: “Many natural scientific psychologists accept that the human being cannot really be regarded as part of nature but for the purpose of studying him, they treat him as a phenomenon of nature”.

To clarify the contrasting phenomenological conceptualisation of consciousness, and to illuminate key concepts in phenomenology, Giorgi (1997, p. 238) states:

Consciousness (italics added) refers to the awareness of the system, ‘embodied-self-world-others,’ and all of which (and aspects and parts of which) are intuitable, that is, presentable; and precisely as they are presented, without addition or deletion, that is the strict meaning of phenomenon. *Phenomenon* (italics added) within phenomenology always means that whatever is given, or present itself, is understood precisely as it presents itself to the consciousness of the person entertaining the awareness. *Intentionality* (italics added) means that an act of consciousness is always directed to an object that transcends it. *Phenomenology* (italics added) is concerned with the phenomena that are given to experiencing individuals, because nothing is possible if one does not take consciousness into account, but all of the givens must be understood in their given modalities, as phenomena, that is, not as real existents.

2.4. Research design

2.4.1. Emergent design case-study approach

The case-study design is well established in qualitative psychological research (Yin, 1984). In essence, the case-study design aims to provide a thorough understanding of “... a decision, or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result.” (Schramm, 1984, p. 23). Although such a design may yield useful data in terms of a broader understanding of human nature, Ziesel (1984, p. 65) states that

the primary aim is to provide an in-depth understanding that is “specific to the particular study object and context.”

An emergent design case-study approach is characterised by an inductive, qualitative inquiry. Patton (1984) argues that the case-study method of reporting data not only provides a rich narrative of individuals’ personal experience, but it also requires of the researcher additional analyses which provides the illumination of emerging themes during and after the data collection procedure (in Yin, 1984). In keeping with this, the results of this study (that pertain to the research subject’s phenomenological experience) will be presented in the form of a narrative that will be reconstructed around recurrent themes that emerged from the collected data (see section 4.2. for a detailed discussion).

The researcher adopted the emergent design case-study approach put forward by Maykut & Morehouse (1984), embedded in the EPP method of analysis in order to examine an individual’s personal experience of his involvement in Satanism and the way in which he appropriated a violent criminal act (murder) in terms of this experience. Similar studies making use of case-studies yielded valuable information regarding individuals’ experience of motivation in criminal behaviour (Corey, 1996; Revitch, 1980; Steck, Anderson & Boylin, 1992).

2.4.2. Research subject

Kvale (1996), in commenting on the selection of subjects for a qualitative study, states that the most suitable research subjects are cooperative, motivated and consistent in their responses. When subjects are selected for a phenomenological inquiry, Stones (1979) adds two additional conditions: (a) They should share the same home language as the researcher, and (b) they should be relatively naïve with regard to psychological theory. The single subject used in this study met all these criteria.

The research subject was a young adult Afrikaans-speaking male. While in the custody of the correctional services awaiting trial on account of murder, he was approached by the researcher to participate in this study. Access was secured through the MTN Centre for Crime Prevention Studies. The subject was informed of the researcher’s qualifications, as well as the following issues regarding signed voluntary consent to participate: confidentiality, privacy, relative anonymity and the dissemination of research

findings (Kazdin, 1998). Refer to Appendix A for a copy of the informed consent form that was signed by the subject.

During initial contact, the subject was prepared for the data gathering, in that he was provided with a detailed and transparent explanation of the nature and process of the study (Green & Gilhooly, 1996, p. 57).

2.5. Data collection

2.5.1. Overview of the three-interview series

The researcher made use of a data collection technique based on the three-interview series proposed by Seidman (1991). He describes this as “a model of in-depth, phenomenological interviewing, (that) involves conducting a series of three separate interviews” with the subject. Each of these interviews should ideally be of self-determining duration. Whereas the first interview focuses on the subject’s life history, the second centres around the details of the experience being investigated and the third on the subject’s reflection of meaning regarding this experience.

The primary aim of the qualitative interview is to gather information regarding the subject’s “subjective understanding of a phenomenon as it provides a context for the behaviour, reconstructs experiences of others, and extracts the meanings made in and through the particular experience.” (Moodley, 1998, p. 35). Stones (1979, p.126) states: “the open-ended interview should be conducted in an informal, non-directive manner, the interviewer attempting to influence the subject as little as possible.” Although the proposed structure provided by Seidman (1991) formed the basic framework of the series of interviews, care was taken to enhance the quality of the data gathering process by implementing these considerations. Each interview was digitally recorded, transcribed, and will be discussed below.

2.5.2. Interview one

During the initial interview, care was taken to develop a “real” relationship (one in which a constructed framework for meaning can arise) with the subject (Karlsson, 1993). Although the three-interview series advocated by Seidman (1991) formed the

basic structural guideline of all three the interviews, the researcher found it of use to incorporate elements suggested by Atkinson (1998), particularly in conducting the initial two interviews. He states that the life-story interview is “a reality-constructing process, (in which) the interview cultivates meaning-making as much as it prospects for information.” (p. 40). In order to successfully facilitate both the “meaning-making” and “prospecting for information”, Atkinson (1998) further suggests asking helpful questions (open-ended, descriptive, structural and contrast questions, which encourage more thoughtful, developed answers.” [Ibid, p.41]). The researcher found it constructive to incorporate the following types of questions as highlighted by the same author (a) birth and history, (b) cultural settings and traditions, (c) social factors, (d) education, (e) love and work, (f) historical events and periods, (g) inner life and spiritual awareness, (h) major life themes, (i) vision of the future, and (j) closure questions. Care was taken that these questions did not disrupt the natural process in which the content of the interviews unfolded.

The manner in which the interview was conducted (e.g., non-directive and using informal language) had as aim the preparation of the subject to voluntarily collaborate in a way that would be conducive to a qualitative, phenomenological inquiry (Seidman, 1991). As the interview drew to a close, an appointment for the second interview was set up.

2.5.3. Interview two

More detailed information regarding the subject’s account of his personal history was obtained in the course of the second interview. The main content that was reconstructed, however, pertained to his personal experience of (a) being involved in Satanism and (b) his re-remembering of committing the act of murder. The subject’s narrative was marked by a cursory glance at the way in which the murder was eidetically appropriated in terms of his involvement in Satanism. Some issues that arose in Interview one were linked with the content of the second interview. An appointment for the final interview was set up at the end of the interview.

2.5.4. Interview three

At the start of the third interview, the subject was presented with a brief sketch of the proposed study. The main focus, however, was on the subject's reflection on the constructed meaning of his experience of Satanism and of having committed murder. In adherence to the EPP method of inquiry, this reflection of meaning emerged naturally during the subject's actual re-collection and re-membering of experience (Karlsson, 1993). The level of non-interference from the researcher was extended in that the interview was increasingly more non-directive and open-ended. It was marked by more periods of reflective silences that were often followed by a descriptive amplification of experience. At the end of the interview, the researcher provided a brief synthesis of the three-interview series and commented on his personal experience thereof. A follow-up appointment for feedback regarding the research process was made (Peterson, 1994).

2.5.5. Transcribing of interviews

All three interviews were digitally recorded with the subject's informed, written consent. Recorded information was subsequently transcribed in a verbatim fashion and that includes notes on hesitations, irregularities of speech and pauses (Silverman, 1997). Non-verbal behaviour and qualitative observations, which emerged naturally and were significant to the expressed meaning, were included (see Appendix B for the full transcripts of each session). Only a relatively small passage of the recorded interviews (approximately 7 minutes) was unclear could not be transcribed.

Karlsson (1993) states that one of the fundamental differences between qualitative (and, consequently, the EPP method) and quantitative research lies in the manner in which the data is analysed: In a qualitative approach, data is seen as text (e.g., retrospectively written protocols or transcribed interviews), whereas in a quantitative analysis, data is approached in terms of statistical means. In the former, the protocol has the structure of a text, he argues, as descriptive results (derived from the meaning-structure in the protocol) illuminate "the intentional relationship between the subject and the object of experience." (Ibid, p.78).

Miller (1997, p. 77) describes the dynamic meaning-structure of texts as follows: "Texts are one aspect of the sense-making activities through which we construct, sustain,

contest and change our senses of social reality. They are socially constructed realities that warrant study in their own right...” Applied to this study, it may thus be argued that the transcripts of the three interviews have the meaning structure of a text, which, viewed as an analysable whole, revealed the constructed meaning framework of the subject’s experience of (a) committing a murder and (b) his involvement in Satanism.

2.6. Interpretive Procedures

2.6.1. Overview of the empirical phenomenological psychological method

In order to explicate the meaning structure of the subject’s phenomenological appropriation of having committed murder in terms of his involvement in Satanism, the researcher made use of the EPP method advocated by Karlsson (1993). The process of this method of analysing qualitative data is summarised in terms of the following five steps: (1) Reading the protocol until the researcher has a sufficient understanding, (2) Discrimination and division of the protocol into smaller meaning units (MUs), (3) Implementation of “partial phenomenological psychological reduction” and the use of “eidetic induction through interpretation”, (4) Synthesis “of the transformed MUs into a situated structure” and (5) Moving “from the situated structure to a so-called ‘general structure’, which incorporates those eidetic constituents of a phenomenon which run across all situated structures” (Karlsson, 1993, pp. 96-108).

The meaning-structure of a phenomenon is the invariant ‘thread’ which runs through all diverse manifestations of a phenomenon. To discover these structures one must reflect; structures cannot be grasped in the non-reflective phenomenal living-through. The subject’s concrete description of the phenomenon is on a phenomenal level. The subject describes something that is merely lived through, whereas the researcher attempts to bring the subject’s phenomenal level to a phenomenological level (Ibid, p.93).

This implies that it is the researcher’s task to tease out the meaning-structure of the research subject’s lived experience as it arises during the his/her conscious process of remembering. Such a meaning structure Karlsson (1993, p.93) continues, may best be understood as comprising either of a general structure (“... a structure that encompasses

all the protocols of the phenomenon, included in the study.”), or of a typological structure (different abstract structures which emerge as “typologies of one and the same phenomenon”). In this study, the explication of the subject’s phenomenological experience will be presented in the form of a general structure (see section 4.3. for a discussion of the general structure).

2.6.2. Step one - reading the protocol for an initial understanding

The first step in approaching qualitative data following the EPP method consists of reading the transcribed material until the researcher has a sufficient comprehension of it (Karlsson, 1993). This is in keeping with qualitative data analysis, in that it requires of the researcher a “familiarisation” and “emersion” in the data as text (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999, p. 141). Karlsson (1993) further argues that the phenomenological understanding required rests on the premise that the researcher refrains from introducing a theoretical perspective at this point. In support, Kruger (1990, p.140) asserts: “It is necessary to give up manipulation of the phenomenon in favour of allowing this to show itself by an intimate communion with it.”

Despite all attempts to remain unbiased, Karlsson (1993) states that it is inevitable that a measure of cultural and historical variables in the researcher’s own phenomenological experience will be part of his/her reading of the text. In order to minimise this as confounding factor, the subject of this study was purposefully chosen as one who shares with the researcher the same home language and broad cultural background. Giorgi (1984, p. 205) further argues that implementing free imaginative variation in the phenomenological reduction ensures that the researcher’s “prejudices, hopes and ambitions” are, furthermore, overcome.

2.6.3. Step two - discrimination and division into meaning units

It has already been argued that the protocol is viewed as a text which, when analysed, will reveal a particular meaning-structure (cf. section 2.5.5. above). Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 128) state: “The process of qualitative data analysis is one of culling for *meaning* [italics added] from the words and actions of the subjects of the study, framed by the researcher’s focus of inquiry.”

The second step of analysis in implementing the EPP method involves the differentiation of smaller *meaning* units (MUs; Karlsson, 1993). In the respect that these units are distinguished on the basis of different meanings, it resembles elements of discourse analysis in that “the focus is not on language as an abstract entity such as a lexicon and set of grammatical rules (in linguistics), a system of differences (in structuralism), a set of rules for transforming statements (in Foucauldian genealogies).” (Potter, 1997, p. 146).

Karlsson (1993) sees the second step of the EPP method primarily as a procedure that assists the researcher in sustaining focus in shifts of meaning (which will ensure an improved execution of the third step of analysis). As the EPP method of data analysis has a hermeneutic interest, he draws attention to the fact that “the division of text into MUs is not a discrimination of *elements* [italics added]”, since “...the MUs are not independent elements making up the text... (Rather) each unit is itself a discernable ‘part’ of the contextual wholeness of the protocol.” (Karlsson, 1993, p. 97). Refer to Appendix C for a presentation of step two.

2.6.4. Step three - implementation of the partial phenomenological psychological reduction by means of eidetic induction

“In step three (of the EPP method) the analysis proper takes place, in the sense that the partial phenomenological psychological reduction is implemented and the researcher uses eidetic induction through interpretation.” (Karlsson, 1993, p. 97). This step emerges as crucial with regard to addressing the aim of the study (i.e., to gain an indepth understanding of the nature of the subject’s appropriating committing murder in terms of his Satanic involvement). Step three directly involves the researcher’s exploration of the way in which the meaning imbues the facts (Karlsson, 1993). He further asserts, “... the point of an eidetic analysis is to trace out the *implicit and explicit* (italics added) psychological meaning that the subject has lived through and described in the protocol.” (Ibid, p. 97). The major point of departure from step two lies in the fact that the researcher’s inductive understanding now takes preference to his empathic understanding (Karlsson, 1993, p. 97).

In concluding his explanation of the implementation of step three, Karlsson (1993) notes that the language use of the phenomenological psychological researcher should be transformed from the every-day language of the protocol into the language of the researcher. This language, he warns, should (a) stand in relation to the whole protocol, (b) take into account the reader when results are formulated and, at the same time, should neither be (a) theory-laden, nor (b) too vague and ungrounded. See Appendix D for a presentation of step three.

2.6.5. Step four - synthesis of the transformed meaning units into a situated structure

Upon completion of step four, the researcher will have drawn together the transformed MUs into a “situated structure” (i.e., the meaning units were shifted by the researcher into a significant phenomenological structure; Karlsson, 1993). In this study, the presentation of phenomena will be in the form of the structure (as opposed to the process). The motivation for this decision will be explained below. Karlsson (1993, p.106) states:

The researcher (in carrying out this step of the EPP method) goes ‘beyond’ the situation described by the subject in order to disclose a meaningful world. It is the text’s non-ostensive reference that is to be displayed in the analysis. Meaning then permeates not just a specific situation, but a mode of the world, or simply a world.

It has already been noted that the the results of the study will be presented in the form of the structure (as opposed to process) of the subject’s phenomenological experience. To clarify: A report focusing on the process will be descriptive in terms of the noetic experience (i.e., *how* the phenomenon is lived), whereas focusing on the structure will yield descriptive results in terms of noematic experience (i.e., *what* the phenomenon is; Van Vuuren, 1989; Churchill, 2000). Karlsson (1993, p. 106) further argues that such a distinction is, however, an analytic one, as “noesis and noema are mutually dependent upon one another.”

Applied to this study, one may find it useful to return to the *aim* of the research question in order to choose which manner of reporting the data would yield the most appropriate results. The researcher opted for a synthesis of the subject’s noematic

experience (i.e., the meaning structure of the way in which the subject experienced committing murder in appropriation with involvement in Satanism).

2.6.6. Step five - moving from a situated to a general structure

Karlsson (1993, p. 108) defines the general structure of the protocol as "... (many protocols of the same phenomenon), which incorporates those eidetic constituents of a phenomenon which run across all situated structures."

During the process of implementing step five, the researcher is required to both return to the initial transcripts, as well as to meticulously compare different protocols in order to arrive at the eidetic constituents of the meaning of phenomenological experience (Karlsson, 1993). The results yielded by step five will be synthesised in terms of themes reflecting a general structure of the subject's noematic experience (see section 3.5. for a synopsis of the results yielded by implementing step five in this study).

2.7. Data Interpretation

It has already been noted above (see section 2.6.3.) the researcher's personal view of the data is addressed by the verifiable process of phenomenological reduction. Giorgi (1997, p. 235) asserts that "in order for a qualitative scientific method to qualify itself as phenomenological in a descriptive Husserlian sense" it has to be characterised by (a) a detailed and concrete description of specific experiences, (b) being situated within the attitude of phenomenological reduction, and (c) a search for the "most invariant meanings for a context." In what follows, a brief discussion of these elements will be presented.

2.7.1. Detailed and concrete description of specific experiences

The initial phase of phenomenological research involves an accurate description of the subject's experience. Such a description, Giorgi (1997, p. 241) argues, can best be understood in the way it differs from alternative approaches to data, in that: "alternatives – explanation, construction, and interpretation – are always accounting for the phenomenon in terms of some factor external to the given, whereas description is the articulation of the given as given."

Kvale (1994) states that the validity of such a descriptive procedure is often criticised by adherents to quantitative investigation. In such criticism, he further argues, validity “refers to the truth and correctness of a statement. A valid argument is well grounded, justifiable, strong, and convincing.” (Ibid, p. 166). The validity of qualitative data, Kvale (1994, p. 168) contends, differs in that “*Communicative validity* implies testing the validity of knowledge claims in the dialogue” and “verification is built into the research process with continual checks of credibility, plausibility, and trustworthiness of findings.” In the EPP method, more specifically, Karlsson (1993) shows that, validity is enhanced in that, the phenomenological researcher always treats discernable parts of data in relation to the research protocol as a whole (in accordance with a hermeneutic stance to the text).

2.7.2. Phenomenological reduction

Giorgi (1997, p. 241) states that an additional aim of an eidetic phenomenological inquiry is to move beyond the mere description of the subject’s reported experience and to “describe the intentional objects of consciousness from within the perspective of phenomenological reduction.” Such a reduction is descriptive, open to unexpected findings and explicates meaning, rather than attempting to pursue causal relationships between variables (Karlsson, 1993; Pidgeon, 1996; Van Maanen, 1979).

It is also in the implementation of the phenomenological reduction that the findings become verifiable, in that it moves beyond the researcher’s personal prejudices (Schutz, 1962; Hutto, 1999). Refer to CHAPTER 3 for a presentation of the results obtained in implementing the phenomenological reduction in this study.

2.7.3. The search for “scientific” essences

Giorgi (1994, pp, 206-207) states:

After the description that is obtained within the attitude of the reduction, the researcher begins the process of free imaginative variation, whereby aspects of the concrete phenomenon are varied until its essential or invariant characteristics show themselves. The researcher then describes the invariant characteristics and

their relationship to each other, and that becomes the structure of the phenomenon.

Kvale (1994, p. 150) defines science as “the methodological production of new, systematic knowledge”. In addition, he argues for a postpositivist perspective of science, citing Polkinghorne (1983):

Science, is not seen as an activity of following methodological recipes that yield acceptable results. Science becomes a creative search to understand better, and it uses whatever approaches are responsive to the particular questions and subject matters addressed. Those methods are acceptable which produce results that convince the community that the new understanding is deeper, fuller, and more useful than the previous understanding.”

Giorgi (1997) argues that the delineation of phenomenological essences affords the method scientific status insofar it is systematic, methodological, general and critical. Refer to section 4.3. for a discussion of the essential meaning structure (integrated with existing literature) that arose from the results of this study.

2.8. Synthesis

This chapter deals with the methodology used in this research project. Following the rationale for using a phenomenological method to address the aim of this project, the philosophical underpinnings of a phenomenological methodology were explicated as it stands in contrast to psychological inquiry based on methodologies adapted from approaches to natural scientific research. After a brief introduction to qualitative research from a phenomenological perspective was presented, a discussion of the research design in terms of the implemented emergent design case-study approach (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) and the selection of the research subject, followed. Data collection was based on the three-interview series advocated by Seidman (1991). It was further shown how the data were processed by means of the five-step analysis of the empirical phenomenological psychological method (Karlsson, 1993). Finally, this chapter was concluded by comments on the interpretation of data by incorporating (a) a concrete, descriptive account of the subject’s phenomenal experience, (b) phenomenological

reduction to show the subject's personal and contextual experience of meaning, and (c) the implementation of free imaginative variation to reveal the scientific essences of a phenomenological experience.

CHAPTER 3

Results

3.1. Overview

The focus of this chapter is to show how data obtained by the EPP method (Karlsson, 1993) was transformed during subsequent steps of analysis. More specifically, the following presented: (a) An excerpt from the second interview to illustrate how the raw protocol was divided into meaning units, (b) the entire situated structure (as it comprises a synopsis), (c) a brief summary showing the core concepts of the general structure and (d) a synthesised list of themes running through the subject's reported experience. As step one of the EPP method involves an overview of the interview to gain familiarity and a broad understanding, it will not be presented here (full transcripts of the three interviews can be found in Appendix B).

Step two of the EPP method entails the discrimination of meaning units from the interview transcripts. As only an excerpt from the second interview will be presented here (in Table 1), the reader can refer to Appendix C for the implementation of step two across all the interviews. For ease of reading, the researcher's words in the dialogue will be presented in italics.

Step three involves the way in which the researcher had interpreted and rewritten (by implementing eidetic induction) the meaning in each meaning unit to show the phenomenological experience (in contrast to the *phenomenal* experience presented by the subject in step two). An excerpt from the second interview will be presented (Table 2) and will be contrasted to step two. Refer to Appendix D for a full presentation of the implementation of step three.

As step four (the transformation of meaning units into a situated structure) forms a synopsis of the whole protocol, the entire synopsis will be presented in this chapter.

Finally, a brief summary of the core concepts derived from the implementation of step five (the condensation of the whole protocol into a general structure) will be presented. A detailed exploration of step five will follow in CHAPTER 5.

Throughout the presentation of data in this chapter, clarifying comments (used to illustrate how the data was transformed by implementing the EPP method) will be presented in brackets.

3.2. Tabular Presentation of an Excerpt from Steps Two and Three of the EPP Method (Meaning Units)

Table 1. Division into Meaning Units
(Step 2)

Table 2. Psychological Meaning
(Step 3)

<u>Meaning Units</u>	<u>Psychological meaning</u>
<p><i>/ En gaan hulle jou vra om te pleit?</i></p> <p>Ek weet nie, seker.</p> <p><i>Mmh..., en wat dan?</i></p> <p>Dan moet ek skuldig pleit, want ek is skuldig. Ek kan nie onskuldig pleit nie. (silence) (MU 162) /</p>	<p>162. S intends to plead guilty as he states that he is guilty.</p> <p>[<i>Researcher's comment:</i> Interviews were conducted in the subject's first language, namely, Afrikaans. The researcher (who is fully bilingual) thus transformed the text both by translating it into the language of the study (English), as well as to delineate the meaning by means of phenomenological reduction.]</p>

<u>Meaning Units</u>	<u>Psychological meaning</u>
<p><i>Mmmh... As jy moet sê, vyf dinge wat in jou lewe uitstaan, die vyf... belangrikste dinge wat met jou gebeur het, maak nie saak of hulle goed of sleg is nie... Vyf goeters wat vir jou uitstaan...</i></p>	
<p>/ Wat vir my lekker is?</p>	
<p><i>Lekker of sleg... Maar die vyf grootste goed wat met jou gebeur het.</i></p>	
<p>Die vyf lekkerste goed?</p>	<p>163. Spending time with his father in nature and being mentored by his father, stand out as highlight's of S's life.</p>
<p><i>Ehm, of sleg. Of wat jy kan doen, is jy kan vir my die vyf lekkerste goed en die vyf slegste goed sê, as jy wil.</i></p>	<p>[<i>Researcher's comment:</i> In MU 163, the transformation from step 2 to step 3 of the EPP method of analysis (Karlsson, 1993) show how S's description of an experience (ostensive reference of the phenomenal experience of fishing and hunting with his father) is translated into the non-ostensive reference of meaning (spending quality time with his father as mentor) through the implementation of eidetic induction through interpretation. To illustrate how this meaning unit is transformed in terms of the whole protocol (hermeneutic interest), refer to (a) MU 182, which reflect's S's</p>
<p>O.K., die vyf lekkerste goed vir my is...</p>	
<p>Toe ek en my pa saam visvang of gaan jag het... Ons het altyd saam vis gaan vang...</p>	
<p><i>En wanneer het dit gebeur?</i></p>	
<p>Ek was baie klein – dit was in vakansies gewees – ek was so ses of sewe. Dan het ons altyd bos toe gegaan en gaan jag of so. Ek kan onthou, toe ek vyftien was het ek en my pa ook gaan jag. Dit was vir my lekker</p>	

<u>Meaning Units</u>	<u>Psychological meaning</u>
<p>gewees. Dan het ons in die bos rondgeloop, dan vertel my pa vir my stories... En dan vertel hy vir my hoe om te maak – sê ek moet versigtig wees... (silence)</p>	<p>perceived need for having a guiding figure and (b) MU 245, which shows an instance where S's father acted as a mentor.]</p>
<p><i>O.K., dis een lekker ding...</i></p>	
<p>Daardie is al... (silence)... (MU 163) /</p>	
<p>/ Of partykeer, as ek saam met my vriende uitgegaan het – diskos toe. (MU 164) /</p>	<p>164. S says he enjoyed frequenting nightclubs with his peers.</p>
<p>/ En natuurlik om gemeenskap met 'n meisie te hê.</p>	<p>165. S states that heterosexual intercourse is one of the most pleasant experiences he has had.</p>
<p><i>Ehm... Is daar een spesifiek wat jy onthou?</i></p>	
<p>Ja, Josie (smiles). Ehm, dis al. (MU 165) /</p>	
<p>[<i>Researcher's comment:</i> MU 165 - Pseudonyms were used throughout the protocol to ensure anonymity.]</p>	
<p><i>O.K., en slegt-</i></p>	
<p>/ O ja, en natuurlik om saam met my broers</p>	

Meaning Units

en susters te wees. Soos om Kersfees saam by die huis te wees – al kry ons nie lekker goed nie, dis net lekker om saam by die huis te wees. As my pa daar is en goed. Dan is ons saam en sing ons liedjies en goed. Nie noodwendig drank nie, ons vier Kersfees soos dit gevier behoort te word – saam met die familie. En dan sit ons saam Ou-Kersaand en goed... En Kersfees braai ons saam – sonder drank. En nou's dit verby. (MU 166) /

En die vyf slegste goed?

/ Satanisme. (MU 167) /

Psychological meaning

166. S fondly remembers spending time with his family. He enjoyed bonding with family members when no alcohol was consumed. S feels that these experiences now unequivocally belong to the past.

[*Researcher's comment:* MU 166 deals with the description of a pleasurable experience (spending Christmas with his family at home). S's phenomenal description, being fairly specific, is transformed in such a way that the following imbued existential meanings can be distinguished: (a) S's need for being-with-others, (b) the impact of the here-and-now (S's experience of being in prison) on how experiences are re-membered (showing description as a meaning-making process). It may, for example, be argued that S's re-membering of the same situation (Christmas with the family) would have been very different had he related it to Satanic peers (see, e.g., MUs 300, 301).]

167. With hindsight, S recalls his involvement in Satanism as a particularly unpleasant experience.

<u>Meaning Units</u>	<u>Psychological meaning</u>
/ En die drugs en gangster-besigheid. (MU 168) /	168. S claims that he did not enjoy being involved in gangsterism and the abuse of drugs.
/ En ek was altyd ver... ver weg van almal af, van my ouers af. (MU 169) /	169. S feels that he did not enjoy being separated from his parents.
/ En toe ek altyd afgedruk was by die skool... Hulle het my altyd eenkant gedruk. Die ouens het my altyd verkleineer en my geterg – getart. Baie keer het hulle my geslaan... (MU 170) /	170. An unpleasant life experience that stands out for S was being bullied and teased at school.
/ En dan nog hierdie ding van die tronk. (MU 171) /	171. S finds being in prison difficult to cope with.
/ En dan was een ding nog gewees... O ja, dis toe hulle my weggevat het... Van my ma-hulle af. Toe hulle my in die tronk gesit het... (MU 172) /	172. S did not enjoy being separated from his family.
/ As ek darem net nog een kans kon kry! Ek dink dis beter om met die judge self te praat om 'n kans te kry. As ek net met die judge kon praat om nog een kans te kry... As ek miskien net een kans... Een kans kan kry om die judge alleng te kry. (MU 173) /	173. S wishes to be granted another chance prior to receiving his sentence. He believes in his ability to lighten his sentence, given the opportunity to speak to the judge in private. <i>[Researcher's comment: MU 173 involves</i>

Meaning Units

Voel jy nie jy het 'n kans gekry nie?

/ Ek voel...Ek... Ek... Ek voel... Ek weet... As hulle my nie na JJ toe gestuur het nie... Dit kon anders gewees het. Hulle het my... Ek kan ook nie die blaam op hulle sit nie, ek weet jy kies jou vriende, ja, maar dis nie maklik nie om nee te sê vir jou vriende nie. Dis nie maklik nie. (MU 174) /

/ Dis nie lekker as jy geterg word by die skool nie. As hulle vir jou sê jy's 'n sissie of 'n bangbroek, of so nie. En dan lag die ander kinders... Dit maak my kwaad as die ander lag... (MU 175) /

Psychological meaning

S's expression of the wish to speak to the judge in private. Seen in terms of the protocol as a whole, the imbued meaning is interpreted to reflect (a) awareness of freedom and choice ("As ek darem nog net een kans kon kry" is read in relation to MUs 59, 179, and 262), (b) a sense of self-awareness, and (c) S's sense of agency as it pertains to feelings of power or powerlessness (compare e.g., MUs 59, 60, 199, 322).]

174. S argues his life would have taken a different course had he not befriended certain people in the industrial school.

175. It was unpleasant for S to be called names and to be teased at school. He states that he became particularly angry when other children laughed at him.

<u>Meaning Units</u>	<u>Psychological meaning</u>
<p>/ En baie keer het ek en my pa 'n uitval gehad oor die klere wat ek moet dra. Dan sê ek vir my pa dis anders vandag... Vandag se mode is anders as in julle tyd... Maar in daardie tyd het hulle maar dieselfde goed gedoen... Nou wil hulle nie hê ek moet nie. Daardie tyd, O.K., dit was anders, maar hulle het ook maar goed gedoen... (MU 176) /</p>	<p>176. S feels that his father did not allow him the freedom to choose a lifestyle of his own (as his father was able to do).</p> <p>[<i>Researcher's comment:</i> MU 176 - S's narrative involves a description of an incident that applies to his relationship with his father. The meaning unit is here transformed in a way to reflect also S's recognition of a need for being-with-others ("... vandag se mode is anders...").]</p>
<p>/ Maar my pa-hulle moet net by my staan. (MU 177) /</p>	<p>177. S demands the support of his parents.</p>
<p>/ Miskien... As ek net naweke kan uitgaan onder korrektiewe toesig – kan huis toe gaan, en dan sit ek in die week in die tronk... Kan hulle nie dit doen nie? (MU 178) /</p>	<p>178. S expresses the need to escape from his current situation (which he sees as the consequence of conforming to peer pressure).</p>
<p><i>Tommy, dit sal jy maar vir jou prokureur moet vra... Ek weet nie van daardie goed nie, jong.</i></p>	
<p>/ Maar ek kan nie so aangaan nie... Ek moet net uitkom uit hierdie gemors waarin ek nou is.</p>	<p>179. S find it difficult to cope with the consequences of what he perceives as having been the result of his inability to</p>

<u>Meaning Units</u>	<u>Psychological meaning</u>
<i>Hoe het jy daar ingekom, Tommy?</i>	withstand peer pressure.
Dis deur vriende... Na vriende geluister.	
<i>En jy sê die Satanisme is een van die slegste goed wat met jou gebeur het?</i>	
Ja, daar het alles gebeur... (MU 179) /	
<i>Nou wat het gemaak dat jy teruggegaan het na hulle toe?</i>	
/ Ag, dis verskeie goed. Dis die goed van, ag... glasier-glasier en daardie goed. Jy kan verskillende goed doen, dis soos powers wat jy kry... Dit gee vir jou powers. Wat ander mense nie kan doen nie, kan jy doen. En dan kan jy vir hulle goed vra. En dan luister hulle vir jou. (MU 180) /	180. S maintains that he was attracted to the power supposedly offered by occult practices. He recalls contacting supernatural spirits and them responding to his requests.
/ Maar ek wou wegkom uit JJ Serfontein... Ek het my ouers gevra, maar hulle wou nie. En elke keer het ek gesê ek wil ophou met die dagga en drinkery. (MU 181) /	181. S allegedly approached his parents in an attempt to leave the secondary industrial school, as he wanted to break away from substance abuse.
/ Maar elke naweek, dan koop die ouens drank, en dan rook hulle dagga... En glasier-glasier en die goed. Elke keer dink	182. During his stay in the industrial school, S reportedly participated in regular bouts of substance abuse and occult



<u>Meaning Units</u>	<u>Psychological meaning</u>
<p>ek ek gaan nou ophou, maar dan het ek nie. Dis soos, sê nou ek doen iets verkeerd, is daar net iemand was wat vir my kon sê: “Wat jy nou doen, is verkeerd, jy moet so maak en so maak...” Maar daar was niemand nie. (MU 182) /</p>	<p>activities. S further states that, although wanting to break away from these practices, he argues he lacked the authority of a guiding figure.</p> <p>[<i>Researcher’s comment:</i> MU 182 – S describes involvement in deviant behaviour and Satanic practices at school. Although the actual dialogue shows no reference to S’s attending an industrial school at that time, this element is incorporated into the transformation of the meaning unit, in that it serves to contextualise S’s experience in temporality and spatiality. Occult practices, in step 3, is seperated from other deviant behaviour, as it may also show a reflection of elements of good and evil (a theme that runs through the whole protocol and which is considered essential in forming a phenomenological understanding of S’s experience).]</p>

3.3. Step Four of the EPP Method (Situating Structure)

S finds himself in prison. Despite attempts at mastery, he is unable to transcend from a situation in which he is continuously confronted with alienation (S unsuccessfully

attempts contact with others outside prison), boredom (S's attempts at hobbies and sports remain unsatisfying) and his own finitude (S entertains suicidal ideation and engages in self-destructive behaviour). Attempts at finding meaning are marked by recapitulating themes of good and bad (although being converted, S is plagued by feelings of guilt surrounding his crime). S faces a sense of powerlessness to the extent that he is unable to experience being good enough and identify with an authentic mode of being.

[*Researcher's comment:* This section regards S's current experience of being in prison (see e.g., MUs 1, 59, 63, 178, 281) and his reflections on the here-and-now (see e.g., MUs 3, 155, 158, 202, 227, 281). The content of his experience include themes of alienation (see e.g., MUs 63, 150, 199, 228, 297, 321), boredom (see e.g., MUs 5, 203, 231, 257), guilt (see e.g., MUs 8, 162, 205, 273, 320), good and bad (see e.g., MUs 42, 43, 127, 167, 255), powerlessness (see e.g., MUs 59, 153, 159, 160, 179), and his awareness of his own finitude (see e.g., MUs 12, 127, 273, 282, 306).]

S's first experience of his life world is situated within a chaotic family environment where meaning is sought through a differentiation between good and bad (S perceives both parents as being good, but they occasionally encourage bad behaviour in order to cope with a challenging environment). From an early age, S's being is contrasted with that of an already more powerful nemesis (his older half-brother). Despite ongoing attempts, S lacks the power and agency to measure up to his nemesis and to be good enough (i.e., to obtain sufficient recognition from his parents). His nemesis has already secured the favour of the final authority (both parents). In an attempt to find meaning, S categorises the world in terms of good and bad. As his nemesis holds favour and is defined as being good, S (being in competition) has to see himself as being bad. A significant confrontation with his nemesis leads to a crucial incident in which S (as the personification of being bad) is removed from his social environment (S is sent to an industrial school in a different province). The fact that the good nemesis remains (S's older half-brother stays with the other siblings) serves to reinforce the dualistic differentiation.

[*Researcher's comment:* This section reflects S's re-remembering of childhood experiences. He recalls an awareness of forces of good and bad from an early stage of life (see e.g., MUs 10, 74, 102, 183), where he grew up in a difficult family environment

(see e.g., MUs 74, 101-105, 108, 183, 224). From an early age, S had to look up to his older half-brother (see e.g., MUs 94, 95, 246, 278), whom he alternately saw as good (see e.g., MUs 198, 208, 210, 278) and bad (see e.g., MUs 81, 197, 198, 214, 247). His parents' showing favouritism towards his older half-brother (in S's experience; see e.g., MUs 194, 207, 208, 210, 211, 254), however, causes S to see his older half-brother's behaviour as being good (i.e., that which secures acceptance and acknowledgement; see e.g., MUs 71, 198, 278). S consequently wants to become more like his older half-brother (see e.g., MUs 95, 208, 215, 252, 278). Being in conflict with his older half-brother identifies S as the opposite, namely bad (see e.g., MUs 64, 70, 82, 143, 186). The result of a confrontation with his older half-brother is the perceived removal of S from his social support (see e.g., MUs 82, 85, 86, 88, 90), which reinforces S's identification with being the bad one (see e.g., MUs 88, 117-119, 183, 195).]

S's understanding of good (his older half-brother, who exhibits deviant behaviour and nonetheless secures social recognition and affirmation) is reinforced in a new social environment (deviant behaviour leads to popularity at the industrial school). In the new environment, S seeks to become good (by copying his older half-brother's idolised, deviant behaviour). His search for meaning and struggle against alienation and boredom are initially satisfied (S is accepted into a peer group that engages in deviant and occult practices) but his attempts at gaining a sufficient sense of power to achieve mastery continue (S seeks more involvement in the occult than afforded by his peer group. He engages in deviant behaviour on his own). S's involvement in the occult serves a dual purpose: It allows him to search for meaning in an environment where the roles of good and bad are reversed (not afforded by traditional systems, such as attending church) and he is able to access power. As S becomes more powerful, he becomes increasingly alienated. The payoff received for sacrificing a sense of being-with-others for a sense of power is frustrated (S is expelled from school – he has no friends and loses power). S's initial sense of being bad and powerless is thus recapitulated and reinforced.

[*Researcher's comment:* This section regards S's stay in a new social environment (see e.g., MUs 18, 86, 88). He bases his behaviour on that of his older half-brother (see e.g., MUs 95, 184, 215, 251, 252), which he perceives as necessary to gain social acceptance (see e.g., MUs 198, 207) and power (see e.g., MU 198). These

behaviours initially have the desired effect (see e.g., MUs 19, 110, 118, 173), but S is not able to satisfactorily experience a sense of sufficient power. In attempting to access more power (and to become a stronger individual; see e.g., MUs 19, 111, 112, 114, 252), S sacrifices social recognition (see e.g., MUs 113, 114, 115, 186). The ultimate result of a perceived lack of power (see e.g., MUs 97, 115, 170, 220, 302), as well as the loss of social acceptance (see e.g., MUs 113, 114, 115, 186), serves to reinforce S's beliefs about being bad and inferior.]

S returns to his family home as a powerless figure. He re-experiences the alienation and being bad as his nemesis' superiority is affirmed and reinforced (S's older half-brother proudly shows his occult tattoos and flaunts his deviant prowess to the admiration of S). At school S equated access to social acceptance with exhibiting deviant behaviour, but he is too powerless to transcend his nemesis. The home situation becomes intolerable as S's deviant behaviour (aimed at winning favour) is rejected by his father (S experiences being denounced as a member of the family). He leaves the intolerable family environment expecting to start afresh in the city.

[Researcher's comment: This section describes the period between S's initial removal from his known social environment and the time he decided to leave this environment (see e.g., MUs 14, 15, 16, 115). During his stay at home, S re-experiences his older half-brother's favouritism (see e.g., MUs 91, 207, 208, 254) and his own inability to experience being recognised as good enough (see e.g., MUs 14, 15).]

In the city S experiences conflict between needs for being-with-others and being a unique, powerful and good individual. He seeks familiarity in starting work where his father used to work and by rekindling his involvement with the occult. S is accepted into a Satanic coven. His need for belonging is temporarily met as being accepted rewards his deviant behaviour. As happened in school, S seeks to gain more power as an individual (he performs various rituals). This leads to the decision to sacrifice his parents (S believes that, in order to become a priest in the Satanic coven, one has to make a human sacrifice) to Satan (the personification of ideological deviance, i.e., good). S, however, lacks the sense of power to go through with the deed. He opts to murder a prominent Christian figure instead, despite realising that this is not good enough. As the act of murder is being completed, S is confronted with the notion of good and evil (the

woman's speaking in tongues unsettles S and, as soon as he completed the act, he faces religious artefacts). Instead of gaining power, S experiences growing alienation (he fears rejection and persecution from the Satanic coven). He decides to go to a different city where he wishes to be able to break from his past (S states that Gauteng is the ideal place to go if you had committed murder).

Arriving in the city, S immediately seeks social acceptance in a situation where he feel comfortable (a world of crime). As he is only accepted on a superficial level and unable to rise as a powerful figure in a world where his deviant behaviour is inferior to gain sufficient recognition (S stays in a suburb of Gauteng that is particularly notorious for crime and, as a result of his persecutory fears, he is unable to join a Satanic coven – where he had been accepted in the past). S consequently turns to the town where his nemesis stays in an attempt to identify with the acknowledged source of power familiar to him. This attempt fails as, upon his arrival, S is arrested due to his nemesis informing the police. These events serve to both reinforce the power and “being good” of his nemesis, as well as to disempower and identify S as evil.

[Researcher's comment: This section regards S's search both for individuality (see e.g., MUs 15, 16, 17, 20) and social acceptance (see e.g., MUs 20, 28, 41, 305, 320) in a social environment of his own choosing (see e.g., MUs 15, 16, 41). His experience closely resembles that of the first separation from the family environment, in that (a) his behaviour is largely based on that of his older half-brother (see e.g., MUs 182, 215, 251, 252, 254, 278), (b) he initially gains social acceptance (see e.g., MUs 22, 24, 25, 41, 266, 267), (c) attempts to experience a greater sense of individuality and power (see e.g., MUs 22, 30, 120, 122, 180, 272) have as effect a recapitulated sense of powerlessness (see e.g., MUs 24, 25, 27, 32, 33, 42, 52, 303), and (d) alienation (see e.g., MUs 16, 31, 265).]

During his imprisonment, S's search for meaning continues. Being alienated (S receives no communication from his past social circle) affirms his being bad. The roles of good and bad are redefined in prison: Deviant behaviour is punished, and consequently is construed as bad, whereas his older half-brother's cooperation with the police is construed as good. In an ongoing attempt to become good enough, S undergoes a dramatic conversion experience. As in school and in the Satanic coven, he receives an immediate sense of acceptance, but strives for increased power (S's eagerness to write an

autobiography, his insistence to stop abusing illegal substances). Presently, S appears to remain feeling inferior to his nemesis (S was imprisoned, while his older half-brother has started a family – which S feels is one of the most cherish-able experiences). S continues to strive for meaning (S ruminates about his past and future) in a world of good and bad (being in prison and being free, being a criminal and being someone who is active in the community). S remains alienated (in prison with no contact), bored (unsuccessful in attempts to counteract boredom) and feeling inferior (S is in prison, while his older half-brother is not). Despite attempts to master his own sense of finitude (self-destructive behaviour and failed suicide attempts), S remains an alienated, bored and powerless figure.

[*Researcher's comment:* This section explores S's here-and-now experience (see e.g., MUs 4, 115, 157, 202, 281), which, as a framework for meaning, can be seen to influence the way in which past experiences are reported. S faces existential issues that include (a) self awareness (see e.g., MUs 62, 297, 298), (b) freedom and responsibility (see e.g., MUs 160, 162, 179, 280, 283), (c) individual identity (and power; see e.g., MUs 153, 160, 257, 275, 280), contrasted to a need for meaningful relationships (see e.g., MUs 59, 66, 199, 235, 264), (d) a search for meaning (see e.g., MUs 195, 202, 203, 205, 206, 259, 260), (e) existential anxiety (see e.g., MUs), (f) guilt (see e.g., MUs 8, 156, 205, 301, 320), (g) alienation (see e.g., MUs 53, 169, 262, 264, 319), and (h) awareness of death and non-being (see e.g., MUs 60, 127, 154, 274, 306).

3.4. Recurrent Themes (in Situated Structure)

1. *Boredom* – S feels bored whilst in prison and at not being afforded the opportunity to engage in sports. He reports that he has always been attracted to action which he associates with, for example, frequenting nightclubs and participating in fights.

2. *Escapism* – Since childhood, S has experienced the need to escape from a life-world he experiences as too challenging to deal with. Attempts at transcending his immediate situation have included the acting out of heroic fantasies, long-term drug abuse, and attempts to “keep busy so as not to think too much”.

3. *Regret* – S's narrative is marked by repeated expressions of regret. These include regret at "making it easy for the police" to arrest him, at becoming like his older half-brother, and at having been involved in Satanism.

4. *Externalisation of responsibility* – S speculates that much of his current predicament is the consequence of, for example, his older half-brother's influence, his not being afforded more opportunities in life, the influence of the Satanic coven, his not receiving Ritalin as a child, and his childhood separation from his family.

5. *Alienation* – S experienced a sense of alienation from his parents, siblings, school peers and fellow employees.

6. *Not being heard* – S feels that his fate may have been different had his parents, school teachers and previous employer taken his word seriously.

7. *Feeling inadequate* – S's life appears marked by attempts at gaining social acceptance. From childhood, he experienced being in competition with his older half-brother, who he feels was more popular than S, both at home and at school.

8. *Conflict with figures of authority* – As a child, S was in constant conflict with his parents and older half-brother. This pattern appeared to have been repeated at school (due to conflict with teachers), and in his work environment.

9. *Poor sense of agency* – S feels that his behaviour has never been quite good enough. This appeared to have started when, as a child, he experienced not being able to live up to his older half-brother. Although reporting that he performed well at school, he feels that he could have done better. S also failed to make the ultimate sacrifice to Satan (i.e., by murdering his parents).

10. *Diffused responsibility for free choice* – S feels that most of the decisions he had made and that had dire consequences, were greatly the result of external factors over which he had very limited control.

11. *Destructive and self-destructive behaviour* – S has an ongoing pattern of destructive behaviour, which includes drug abuse, self-mutilation, repeated suicide attempts, and anger outbursts that often result in S damaging his immediate environment.

12. *Powerful and deviant role models* – As a child, S admired his older half-brother for his deviant behaviour and popularity. At school, he admired friends who also

exhibited misconduct. S feels that he based much of his behaviour on such examples set by role models he had perceived to be powerful and popular.

13. *Search for identity* – Since childhood, S has not been able to discover or create an authentic sense of self and one that has not been based on what he experienced as others' expectations of him.

14. *Lack of power* – S experiences not having the power he believes his role models have. He states that he was attracted to occult practices largely as a result of this supposed ability to gain more power, particularly to control other people.

15. *Charismatic personality* – Despite experiencing a poor sense of agency and feeling that he is not “heard”, S strongly believes that, given the opportunity to speak to the judge in private, he would be able to bring about a favourable outcome in his upcoming trial.

16. *Chaotic relationships* – S reports that most of his relationships, for example with his parents, older half-brother and friends, are marked by inconsistent levels of loyalty and affection.

17. *Need for a guiding figure* – S contends that his life would have taken a different course, had he had access to someone who could have kept him on the right track.

18. *Self-sacrifice* – S's social life is marked by extreme attempts to gain social acceptance and recognition, often to the extent that S engaged in behaviours that had made him feel uncomfortable.

19. *Search for something familiar* – Whenever S finds himself in a new environment he seeks something familiar.

20. *Perceptual distortions* – S reports visual and auditory perceptual distortions associated with drug abuse, Satanic involvement, and what was judged to be consistent with socio-cultural beliefs.

21. *Substance abuse* – S's long-standing history of substance abuse has served a number of different functions, including attempts at peer affiliation and social recognition, a means of escaping from his experienced reality, and a means for self-destructive behaviour.

22. *Despair* – S experiences his life as a failure. Although not deemed to be actively suicidal at the time of the research interviews, he reports earlier suicide attempts and ideation.

3.5. Synopsis of Step Five of the EPP Method (General Structure)

As a full discussion and integration of the general structure with existing literature will follow in CHAPTER 4, a synopsis of the general structure will be presented here. This is in keeping with the format used by Karlsson (1993).

1. The meaning of committing murder: A narrative depicting S's phenomenological-existential experience
2. Existential elements in Satanic involvement
 - 2.1. Satanism and power
 - 2.1.1. Power derived from Satanic involvement
 - 2.1.2. The power Satanic ideology exercises over its followers
 - 2.2. Satanism and individual being
 - 2.2.1. Satanism promotes being an individual
 - 2.2.2. Satanism provides a framework for individual growth
 - 2.3. The social context of Satanic worship
 - 2.3.1. Context for group affiliation
 - 2.3.2. Social hierarchy in the Satanic coven
 - 2.4. Satanism, freedom and responsibility
 - 2.4.1. Satanism and individual choice
 - 2.4.2. Satanism and responsibility
 - 2.5. Satanism as a context for existential meaning
 - 2.5.1. Substitute for traditional frameworks of meaning
 - 2.6. Different levels of involvement in Satanic and quasi-Satanic ideology
 - 2.6.1. Predisposing factors and conceptualisation of the life-world
 - 2.6.2. Occult dabbling and related behaviour
 - 2.6.3. Initial involvement in Satanic ideology

- 2.6.4. Satanic coven initiation and membership
- 2.6.5. Initiative of members of a Satanic coven
- 2.7. Satanism as a context for an awareness of the finitude of being
 - 2.7.1. Continuous awareness of death and non-being
 - 2.7.2. Awareness of death and the immediacy of being

3.6. Synthesis

This chapter deals with the research results obtained in implementing a phenomenological research methodology to analyse data that was gathered by means of three qualitative interviews. More specifically, it focuses on the implementation of the EPP method (Karlsson, 1993) and (a) how a detailed description of verbal responses (that was intended to remain true to the subject's phenomenological experience) was achieved, (b) how the descriptions were reduced to reveal the phenomenological-existential experience of the subject and (c) illustrated a synthesis of essential character of the data, as it was delineated by means of phenomenological reduction.

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

4.1. Overview

The main aim of this study is to provide an explorative description of how the subject appropriated his act of committing murder in terms of his involvement in Satanism (as a phenomenological framework for meaning). In keeping with phenomenological research, this study also addresses the essential features of the Satanic life-world that can be generalised beyond the subject's own phenomenological experience (Ivey & Simpson, 1998). It should be noted that the aim is not to conclude whether the subject would have committed the murder, had he not been a Satanist, nor is it to discern whether, despite an involvement in Satanism, he may have decided against committing the murder. Although arguments for such hypotheses will briefly be commented upon in what follows, the intention remains to provide a descriptive exploration that remains true to the qualitative data that was gathered.

In this chapter the results will, firstly, be discussed in terms of the subject's reported experience and the way in which he experienced the act of murder (as framed within a broader context of meaningful Satanic involvement). In the second part of this chapter, a critical and descriptive account of the key phenomenological-existential elements, which arose from subjecting the data to imaginative variation (as explained in Chapter 2), will be presented. Whereas the first section of this chapter thus deals with the subject's personal experience, the second part focuses on a discussion of the eidetic constituents that emerged as essential, noematic themes pertaining to a Satanic life-world. The final part of the chapter deals with a brief discussion of forensic considerations that could be considered in the subject's reported experience.

4.2. The Meaning of Committing Murder in terms of Satanic Involvement:

A Discussion of S's Reported Experience

4.2.1. Predisposition to Satanic involvement

Factors associated with predisposing individuals to the ideology offered by Satanism (cf. section 1.2.6. in the literature review) abound in the subject's life history. As a child, S was raised in a chaotic family environment. Poor socio-economic circumstances and growing up in a chaotic family environment put S at a disadvantage to make sense of his world in terms of traditional moral questions, as is particularly evident in S's attempts to distinguish between good and bad and right and wrong. Instead, as S failed to gain the approval sought from his parents, he strived to become more like his older half-brother, whose deviant behaviour S came to associate with popularity and acceptance.

It is a recurrent theme in S's reported history that he based much of his conduct on that of deviant role models. He also continually attempted to overcome feelings of inadequacy (that developed in his early childhood) by engaging in increasingly deviant behaviour to gain a sense of self-worth and approval from deviant role models. As was shown in section 3.3., S experienced his older half-brother's perceived adequacy as being related to delinquent behaviour. S thus, in an attempt to access a similar sense of adequacy, turned to delinquent behaviour. In both following deviant role models and seeking social acceptance and recognition, S's behaviour became characterised by petty crime, substance abuse, and dabbling in occult practices. S's ongoing sense of inadequacy, moreover, ensured that he failed to realise that his level of behavioural misconduct measured up to (and in certain instances surpassed) that of his role models'. While his older half-brother, for example, reportedly committed petty crime and smoked cannabis, S subsequently chose to engage in violent crime (assault and murder) and the abuse of hard drugs. These appear to have been failed attempts at mastery, fueled by an underlying and pervasive sense of inadequacy.

After a particular school holiday S had spent at home, pursuing literature concerning Satanism and witchcraft, S eagerly shared his newly found knowledge with the friend who had introduced him to occult practices. To his disillusionment, S found

that his friend not only failed to be excited, but also seemed reluctant to put this knowledge to practice, as he feared the possibility of being discovered by school authorities. The knowledge S had gained, he felt, surpassed that of his mentor's own expertise. S had thus arrived at a crucial juncture in his search for meaning: On the one hand, he had successfully managed to secure a meaningful sense of social affiliation and affirmation (from peers who abused substances, played truant from school and engaged in occult practices) in what used to be a chaotic world. On the other hand, he had only started discovering a sense of power in terms of individual being. In securing a sense of social situatedness and in gaining some sense of what had been a chaotic life-world, S had grown in confidence as an individual. He now faced the dilemma of having to choose a further course in his personal development.

If, on the one hand, S decided to further pursue his need for acceptance, he had to face stagnation in his individual growth (i.e., his perceived sense of self-worth). On the other hand, if he decided to pursue individual growth, it meant that he had to sacrifice the gains he had made from being affiliated to the group. S experienced ambivalence in facing this decision and, as had happened in similar situations in the past, he sought a guiding figure. Instead of discovering or creating his own defined way of being, he based his behaviour on perceived expectations of others in an attempt to find a ready-made set of values, goals and a sense of purpose. S further pursued the life-style which he based on the perceived example set by his older half-brother, namely one marked by misconduct, substance abuse and Satanic involvement.

Whereas S previously equated drug abuse with a sense of belonging, intoxication subsequently became a way of escaping from feelings of inadequacy, boredom and anxiety. Instead of discovering a unique identity, S opted to avoid the associated fear of introspection (and possibly discovering feelings of inadequacy) by means of escapism, as he did in his preschool years, where he acted out heroic fantasies.

S's striving to become like his older half-brother again led to perceived failure as he was expelled from school before he could write his Senior Certificate examination. He returned to his family home, where he experienced being received as a failure. His older half-brother, on the other hand, was still at school and, as a result, maintained the role as family favourite. While staying with his parents in a small town without the

recognition of peers he had come to appreciate, S found himself feeling alienated, bored, and inadequate. He reported longing for recognition and action. Keeping busy enabled S to avoid introspection, which he experienced as anxiety-provoking. S's behaviour became increasingly marked by self-destructive tendencies which negatively impacted on his own sense of well-being and his relationship with his father. These behaviours included abusing more drugs more often and bouts of uncontrolled anger in which he often inflicted injuries on himself. S previously abused drugs as a means to ensure peer situatedness. Having subsequently also afforded him a way to avoid facing his place in the world, drug abuse subsequently became associated with self-destructive tendencies. S recognised the way in which his abuse of drugs lowered his sense of personal agency and negatively impacted on his relationship with his father. As his misconduct persisted, it culminated into a pivotal confrontation with his father. During a volatile argument, S's final sense of belonging – his ties with his family – was annihilated, as his father denounced him as his child and instructed him to leave the home.

4.2.2. Acceptance of Satanic ideology

The ideology of Satanism both accommodated and reinforced S's understanding of the world and his way of relating socially. The traditional conceptualisation of good and bad and good and evil was inversed as had happened when S equated the deviant behaviour of both his mother and older half-brother with emotional and material gains.

The traditional view of Satan is that he was a fallen angel, who was cast out of heaven due to his non-conformity and rebellion. He became the personification of evil, was rejected, confronted alienation and was cast into an unfamiliar environment, where he had to rediscover a sense of purpose. S gradually learnt that Satan did not remain an alienated and inadequate outcast. He came to realise that Satan grew in power, managed to receive a following and was subsequently worshipped as a sovereign deity. Having started off as a fallen angel, Satan had managed to gain enough power to become the nemesis of God. Moreover, as S's understanding of the world was largely shaped by experiencing social deviance, disorder and suffering injustice, he started deducing that God's control over the world (which according to traditional teaching should be associated with benevolence) may well have been superseded by Satan's influence. S

further came to realise that Satan's followers, like Satan himself, could grow in stature despite being labelled by some as outcasts and failures.

Members of the coven did not only accept S, but also idealised and encouraged his delinquent way of being. S had thus found meaning in securing social affiliation and recognition. He had also found a powerful mentor in the form of the high priest and a deity, with whom he could identify, that he could worship. He had found a supreme being who, he believed, understood his world and his way of being, and one who was willing to show his presence and grant his followers power that could be felt, heard and seen.

In the course of his Satanic involvement S regained a sense of belonging as he engaged in shared projects where Satanic rituals were performed in the social context of the coven. During the initiation ceremony, in which he was confirmed as a practicing member of the coven, he reports cutting himself so that members of the coven could drink his blood. S thus symbolically became part of the body of the Satanic coven. To further affirm his affiliation to the group, he proceeded to cover his arms in tattoos depicting Satanic symbolism (as he would later do to show his fraternity to a prison gang). As had happened during his stay at the industrial school, once these needs had been met, S looked for a mentor to assist in his quest for uncovering the purpose of his being. He found the powerful and cloaked figure of the Satanic high priest.

Consistent with current literature on motivating factors associated with Satanic involvement (Olsson, 1983), S experienced that Satanism facilitated his search for meaning, offered him an instant sense of community identity, access to power, a feeling of well-being derived from occult practices, religious sanction of taboo behaviour, legitimate rebellion against orthodox belief systems and authority figures, and an alleviation of feelings of guilt.

S's ongoing conceptualisation of personal identity appeared tainted by his need for belonging and social affirmation. He both strived to conform to others' perceived expectations and based much of his way of being on examples set by the role models whose examples he chose to follow. As he continuously failed to achieve a satisfactory sense of self-worth, S's attempts at mastery became increasingly deviant and paralleled with a sense of loyalty that he felt towards the Satanic coven. At some point during his

involvement in Satanism, he reportedly understood that he would secure the favour of coven members, the high priest and Satan, if he murdered his parents. When he failed to make this sacrifice, he felt compelled to murder a prominent Christian figure instead.

4.2.3. The act of murder

Although S reported being ambivalent up to the act of murder, the following factors contributed to the completion of the act: (a) ongoing feelings of inadequacy (e.g., the failure to murder his parents and considering to overpower, rather than murder the Christian figure), (b) fear of social abandonment and persecution (by the coven), (c) fear of being annihilated (i.e., by the victim's access to supernatural forces beyond S's perceived power), and (d) a sense of loyalty to the coven.

Despite the apparent negative influence of both a tumultuous personal history and his involvement in a deviant ideology, it can be concluded that the subject's act of murder, as indeed the levels of his involvement in deviant and criminal conduct, substance abuse and occult practices ultimately appeared to remain a function of his free will.

4.3. A Dialogue Between Eidetic Phenomenological-Existential

Themes and Literature

4.3.1. Satanism and power

4.3.1.1. Power derived from Satanic involvement

Practitioners of Satanic rituals experience empowerment. Moody (1974, p. 355), for example, argues that practitioners of Black Magic and Satanism persist in Satanic worship despite the "community's scorn and aggression" as the magic "works by helping them to achieve the goals they desire." In researching the psychosocial needs of adolescents involved in Satanism, Clark (1994) found that allegiance to a Satanic cult afforded adolescents a sense of self-esteem, mastery and control. The subject of this study described how he personally experienced a sense of increased power while being involved in Satanic activities. On the one hand, he experienced power directly and in the here-and-now, as he felt Satan and demonic spirits enabled him to exercise control over

other individuals lives. The subject, for example, claims participation in rituals that afforded him the ability to gain supernatural knowledge about others' whereabouts, as well as the potential to manipulate their thoughts and behaviours by means of controlling supernatural entities, which would make their presence felt in targeted individuals' lives.

On the other hand, and on a more covert level, practicing Satanism offers an increased sense of power for adherents in that they experience greater self-esteem. Lowney (1995) conducted ethnographic research on a group of adolescent Satanists and found that their Satanic involvement afforded them the self-esteem to challenge the dominant culture's norms and values. Greater self-esteem appears to be associated with a greater sense of situatedness within a group of individuals sharing a similar belief system and behaviour, as well as increased self-efficacy; in that the individual's personal behaviour (which may have been frowned upon by the broader community) is affirmed and positively reinforced. Moody (1974, p. 371), in support, describes how a member of The Church of Satan undergoes his initial experience of a Satanic ritual:

They persuade him that he is not different or detestable. He begins to relax and modify his defensive posture. When at last he is invited to view the ritual it is a further symbol of acceptance and warmth, of belonging.

Group participation in Satanic rituals provided S with a sense of belonging and social situatedness. His deviant behaviour, which normally met with the disapproval of his parents and figures outside the coven, was applauded and encouraged. This led to an increased sense of self-worth, to the extent that S experienced having a voice that was heard. He describes participating in rituals where he would pose questions or requests either to demonic spirits or Satan himself, and that these supernatural entities would listen and reply in an observable fashion (e.g., by his experiencing hearing a verbal reply, or by observable signs, such as candles burning with increased intensity). S's experience of being heard and acknowledged by powerful supernatural forces stands in contrast to the sense of insecurity felt, as he did not experience being taken seriously by his parents, school peers or authority figures.

4.3.1.2. The power Satanic ideology exercises over its followers

Satanic ideology exerts a powerful influence over its members on both manifest and latent levels. On a manifest level, practitioners of Satanism experience a threat of persecution associated with their non-compliance to Satanic ideology (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). S, for example, feared that breaking from the coven, disobedience of orders and a failure to comply with stipulated practices would result in supernatural persecution. He reports that, as expected, he experienced the influence of demonic spirits both after he had failed to murder his parents and when he left the coven. This stands parallel to their experience of power over others' lives. If, for example, members of the coven are able to exert control and manipulation over lives of non-members, they can do the same for members who fail to act in accordance with their shared belief system. This fear is both legitimised and enhanced by the individuals' personal experience of supernatural power in the course of performing rituals, as was described above.

On a more latent level, the individual fears abandonment from the coven (Pavlos, 1982). Not only did S fear the loss of meaningful social affiliation, but also the loss of a sense of efficacy, in that ceasing his involvement in Satanic worship meant losing the power he had been able to access as an active member of the coven.

4.3.2. Satanism and individual being

4.3.2.1. Satanism promotes being an individual

Becoming a member of a Satanic coven affords the individual the privileged opportunity to break from his/her past. As most rituals and practices focus on indulgence in pleasures of the here-and-now experience, little room is left for dwelling on past failures. The individual thus experiences immediate gratification of basic needs (e.g., sexual and aggressive impulses as is evident in the rituals practised by members of The Church of Satan; LaVey, 1972), which are reframed and maintained as an authentic way of being. Such a perceived breaking from their pasts, however, appears marked by irony, in that, as has been shown, Satanic practices often recapitulate practitioners' past behaviours (cf. section 1.2.6. Psycho-social predisposition to Satanic involvement).

S experienced a sense of alienation, first in his family environment, later in his school environment and while he was working. His inability to conform to social norms

and mores resulted in his perception of being an outsider. The ideology of Satanism accommodates the outsider, as Satan himself is considered an outsider, whose deviance had led to social isolation. This is in keeping with research conducted by Moody (1974), from which he argues:

And so the potential Satanist, anxious and socially inept, exhibiting behaviours and having feelings (so they say) which are forbidden and which cause them to doubt their own worth, are kept at the margins of society, denied feedback other than negative responses.

As Satan was, however, able to find meaning and strength despite being an outcast individual, this powerful hope of regaining a sense of individual meaning, appears to be transmitted to his followers. The deviant and non-conformist behaviour (that was ostracised by adherents to traditional values and rules), furthermore, is accepted, affirmed and encouraged within the context of Satanic worship (Feldman, 1995; cf. section 4.3.1.1. above). The individual thus understands that it was not his/her nonconformity that resulted in alienation, but that it was rather traditional society that was at fault for not recognising the authentic nature of being human (i.e., indulgence in natural impulses, as proposed in *The Satanic Rituals*; LaVey, 1972).

Another way in which Satanic worship affirms the experience of the individual, is that it provides a social context in which the Satanist can express anger without the fear of social disapproval. In *The Satanic Bible*, LaVey (1969), for example, writes: “if a person smite you on your left cheek smash him on his right cheek.” Social validation and an opportunity for the expression of anger is consistently supported by Clark (1994) in research aimed at the psychosocial needs of adolescent Satanists, where subjects reported that their needs for expressing anger were met within the context of Satanic worship. Belitz & Schacht (1994) further found that adolescent Satanists, who were victims of childhood abuse, found Satanic cults a haven in which they freely expressed their feelings of anger and betrayal.

4.3.2.2. Satanism provides a framework for individual growth

Satanic ideology, as has been shown above (see section 4.3.2.1.) provides a framework for meaning in which the individual's deviant behaviour is normalised,

affirmed and construed as an authentic way of being (LaVey, 1972). The individual thus understands that nonconformity to traditional value systems is part of being true to his/her nature as a unique human being. In this study, S experienced practicing Satanic rituals as commonplace activities, in that he stated: “Dit is daaglikse goeters wat gebeur” (It is everyday things that happen). It was also shown that the individual experiences an increased sense of personal power (see section 4.3.1. above). The result is that the individual is enabled to experience a greater sense of freedom, coupled with a perceived contained and accommodating environment, to exercise choice. Moody (1974), in conducting participant observation on a Satanic church, describes how an individual’s psychological needs (to overcome a sense of sexual inferiority) were overcome by a process similar to systematic desensitization that was incorporated into the individual’s participation in Satanic rituals. Ricoeur (1966) argues that exercising free choice affords the individual an opportunity to enhance his/her ability to play an active role in shaping his/her life. Through Satanic involvement, the Satanist is thus afforded an enhanced sense of agency that ultimately will render him/her confident to exercise choice regarding his/her being.

4.3.3. The social context of Satanic worship

4.3.3.1. Context for group affiliation

Although Greaves (1992) points out that there are solitary Satanists (see section 2.2. above) Satanic worship appears more often than not practiced in a group context. In this study, the research subject reported being a member of a Satanic coven consisting of approximately thirty members. He further noted that members would often worship and interact with other Satanic covens in the area. The performing of rituals involves group activities (or group witnessing of activities) and can thus be seen as collective projects.

It has already been showed (see section 4.3.2. above) that individuality is accommodated within the social context of the Satanic coven. The individual is afforded the opportunity to both experience a sense of social belonging and affirmation of personal feelings and behaviours, as well as perceived meaningful interaction with others believed to share values, interests and patterns of behaviour. The individual’s sense of situatedness is enhanced by rituals such as the sharing of blood of new members in the

coven. Such rituals are consistently found in S's report (see interview transcripts) and in relevant literature (see section 2.4.). Zacharias (1964) argues that the initiate thus, symbolically, becomes part of each member of the body of the coven.

Being the member of the social context (also of a Satanic coven) can be seen to influence the individual's being in two fundamental ways, namely, that it provides a sense of meaningful being-with-others (as an individual; Corey, 1996) and also that it may provide the individual with a protected environment in which facing individuality (which can be anxiety-provoking) is downplayed in being-for-others (Tillich, 1952). S described his situatedness in the social context of the coven, but also alluded to his experience that individuality is accommodated (e.g., the tailoring of initiation rituals for each individual). Individuals can thus either excel in living what they perceive to be their authentic mode of being (i.e., as encouraged by Satanic rituals described by LaVey; 1972) or, if they fear introspective self-awareness, find comfort in a way of being defined by a shared system of values, beliefs, purpose and behaviour (Lowney, 1995).

4.3.3.2. Social hierarchy in the Satanic coven

Researchers of Satanic cults often describe a hierarchical social structure in which worship takes place (Pavlos, 1982; Wheatly, 1971). In this study, S places the Satanic high priest (who directs the proceedings at meetings) at the top of the hierarchy. He continues by describing that below the high priest, a number of priests facilitate the performance of rituals in accordance to the ideology and leadership of the high priest. Under the priests, members of the coven communally worship Satan and participate in proceedings. Pavlos (1982) argues that such a social hierarchy formalises Satanic practices and legitimises authority. It can also be seen to covertly enhance individual growth, in that it provides a structure for upward mobility, which Moody (1974) argues, appeals to individuals in search for more power.

S posited that each member of the coven was encouraged to keep a log of rituals (some of which were tailored for the specific individual) s/he performed. This determined the standing of the initiate, member, priest or high priest. S further believed that all the priests in the coven had, for example, committed murder. It may thus be

argued that, in addition to other motives, S's act of murder was an attempt at upward mobility in the coven.

4.3.4. Satanism, freedom and responsibility

4.3.4.1. Satanism and individual choice

Members of a Satanic coven, as was shown above (refer to section 4.3.1.), experience obtaining power in performing certain rituals, as well an increased sense of self-worth and efficacy in their affiliation to a group and affirmation as an individual. Moody (1974), for example, argues that the individual gradually gains more confidence when they find that their deviant and blasphemous behaviour does not lead to their experience of God's wrath.

The ability to exercise choice can be seen in S's description of how he became increasingly involved in occult dabbling and Satanic practices. He reports, for example, self-styled occult practices that he based on deviant behaviour and information he obtained from consulting associated literature. S states that he consulted such literature out of his own accord, and as a result of his growing interest to become more involved in occult practices. Such self-styled practices have been described by Greaves (1992), who argues that although Satanic worship mainly occurs in a group context, individuals occasionally operate on their own initiative.

As the individual experiences greater worth and efficacy, s/he becomes more confident in making life decisions, which could previously have been associated with disabling existential anxiety (Ricoeur, 1966). From his own participation in and research of Satanic rituals, Moody (1974) found that "As a result of religious rituals within the Inner Circle, the new Satanist is now going through a 'personality' transformation, a modification of many formerly maladaptive anxiety-producing behaviors." Being willing to take risks in life decisions enables the individual to exercise greater control over his/her destiny which, if positive, further enhances confidence and growth (Corey, 1996). Exercising free choice in action is not, however, necessarily associated with positive consequences.

4.3.4.2. Satanism and responsibility

Existential writers argue that the amount of freedom the individual experiences is balanced by a sense of belonging to a subcultural group with its own shared values and norms (Mcquarrie, 1973). Rather than perceiving group affiliation as restrictive, the individual member of the Satanic coven is afforded a context in which responsibility (associated with an increased freedom to choose his/her actions) becomes diffused. The majority of S's descriptions of Satanic rituals, for example, are marked by S alluding to group practices, in that he uses the plurals "us" and "we" more readily than the first person "I". The individual thus experiences the privileged sense of being able to exercise free choice, which s/he perceives to be associated with shared responsibility for his/her actions, rather than having to face the possible negative consequences as an individual. In a study aimed at investigating the correlation between social learning in Satanists, Damphousse and Crouch (1992) found that as Satanists' behaviour become more based on their perception of the coven's expectations, their attachment to peers grow, while they become less attached to conventional ideas offered by parents and schools. Perceived expectations and shared responsibility based on others (at the expense of a diminished sense of accepting responsibility for his/her own actions, shows an inauthentic way of being-for-others. In discussing Sartre's (1971) notion of *bad faith* (inauthentic being characterised by a failure to accept responsibility for choice) Corey (1996, p. 174) states individuals shun responsibility for their way of being often by accounting for their actions, thought and feelings in terms of fatalistic statements, for example: "Naturally I'm this way, because I grew up in an alcoholic family."

4.3.5. Satanism as a context for existential meaning

4.3.5.1. Substitute for traditional frameworks of meaning

An individual's search for existential meaning includes striving to make sense of: (a) his/her individual and authentic mode of being, (b) relationships with others, (c) meaning in existence, (d) apparent paradoxes (inconsistencies) in everyday being, and e) his/her experience of tragic aspects of human existence (Corey, 1996). It was shown above how individuality and social relatedness is experienced in the context of Satanic worship. As had also been intimated, Satanic practices and rituals emphasise indulgence

in basic biological drives, which, in a Satanic ideology, is framed as being true to human nature (meaning in existence).

Human consciousness, existential writers argue, is marked by an awareness and an attempt to make sense of paradoxes in everyday being. These include dichotomous concepts such as life and death, success and failure, freedom and necessity, and certainty and doubt (Corey, 1996). S's responses regarding his Christian church involvement prior to his conversion to Satanism, allude to his experience that traditional belief systems failed to meet his existential needs. Satanist ideology provides an alternative explanation to that offered by the traditional faith of, most prominently, Christianity. It not only reiterates the dichotomies provided by traditional views but also normalises the perceived "negative aspects" of the dichotomies as part and parcel of authentic human being (Ivey, 1993a). These paradoxes are framed within a supernatural context, in which the individual is afforded an opportunity to understand both aspects of the dichotomy in terms of the influence of supernatural forces on his/her existence. Where explanations of personal agency and social interaction fail, the individual, in a similar way to those who ascribe to mainstream religious practices, is able to derive meaning from calling upon teleological explanations (Nietzsche, 1973).

In terms of the motivation for Satanic involvement, Moody (1974) argues:

And yet they [pre-Satanists] have a sense of there being something moving and influencing both themselves and the world around them. It is difficult to accept a chaotic world. A world in which all is unpredictable, is an anxiety-provoking world. And so they strain to structure the world and to make it systematic and consistent. They attempt to give a name to the unnamed forces which they feel moving and influencing them, the forces of sorcery, perhaps, or conscience; and they attempt to find an explanation for misfortune.

Mcquarrie (1973) argues that the validation of tragic aspects of being, such as perceived failure, lack of agency, alienation, loneliness and lack of meaning, provides the individual with a hope of transcendence. Satanic ideology offers its adherents a similar hope in that they are able to identify with the figure of Satan, who was able to transcend his position as a marginal figure (cf. sections 2.6. and 4.2.).

4.3.6. Different levels of involvement in Satanic and quasi-Satanic ideology

4.3.6.1. Predisposing factors and conceptualisation of the life-world

Prior to their involvement in Satanism, individuals often experience themselves as outcasts in a life-world that fails to adequately provide them with a framework of meaning (Moody, 1974). S's first experience of the world was set in the context of a chaotic and inconsistent family environment. He described occasions where he would attempt to transcend this threatening world by enacting make-believe fantasies. In this physical expression to both escape from a hostile and inconsistent environment, as well as to save his younger sister, S conveyed feelings of inadequacy and a wish for magical solutions to the anxiety characteristic of his life-world. Various researchers of Satanism found that these needs are consistent with those found in adherents to Satanic ideology (Ian, 2000; Emerson & Syron, 1995). It would thus appear that S's feelings of inadequacy to cope with an overwhelming environment, coupled with fantasies of magical solutions, may have rendered him more receptive to the perceived supernatural power offered by Satanic worship.

It has already been shown that Satanic involvement is associated with a normalising and positive reframing of social deviance, as well as social affiliation of individuals who have behavioural deviance and social isolation in common. Olsson (1983) found that a psycho-social history of deviant behaviour, coupled with the individual's feeling of alienation and debasement, served as predispositions to an acceptance of Satanic ideology. These factors were consistently present in the history provided by the research subject. Linear causality between deviance and Satanism, however, cannot be inferred as clearly not all alienated deviants become Satanists. It would, however, suffice to deduce that such individuals may more readily be susceptible to find the framework for meaning offered by Satanic ideology compatible with their experience of the world.

In this study, S's misconduct and sense of alienation started in his early childhood, while staying in his family home. As this was reinforced and exacerbated during his school career and in his work environment, it became an enduring theme running through his life. This enhanced S's susceptibility to both the ideology and practices associated with Satanic worship.

4.3.6.2. Occult dabbling and related behaviour

Many Satanists had been involved in less formalised sects and cults and/or social deviance prior to their involvement in more structured Satanic worship. Through investigative journalism, Terry (1993), for example, found that Satanic churches often recruit members from organisations that purport to facilitate self-growth. S reported a familiarity with most of the practices he had been exposed to in the course of Satanic rituals. It appears that there are a number of specific behaviours in which S had engaged prior to his Satanic involvement, that were consistent, if not similar, to Satanic practices. These include: (a) familiarity with occult ideologies as an alternative to traditional faith, (b) deviant behaviour associated with rebellion directed at traditional authority, (c) destructive behaviour, (d) breaking and entering, (e) cruelty to animals, (f) drug abuse, (g) sexual promiscuity, (h) self-mutilation, (i) summoning of supernatural spirits, and (j) experimenting with different social roles. Although these beliefs and practices may have differed in association with the situational context, they appear grossly similar to what S had come to know as a way of being. One difference, however, is that these behaviours received greater social recognition and meaningful significance when performed in the context of Satanic worship. S thus not only found himself in a familiar environment as far as his behaviour was concerned, but also perceived a greater sense of power in maintaining what he had been inclined to perceive as an authentic way of being.

4.3.6.3. Initial involvement in Satanic ideology

At school, S sought literature on Satanic ideology which he found exciting and meaningful. When he was later introduced to Satanic practices by a group of acquaintances, who engaged in witchcraft, he experienced a familiar sense of excitement and an opportunity to gain access to power. Initial participation in activities appeared voluntary and S exercised the choice to further increase his level of involvement to the extent that he became an initiated, practicing member of an organised Satanic coven. Such a gradually increasing level of involvement with Satanic practices is in keeping with research conducted by Moody (1974), who found that, although members of the coven were encouraged to participate in rituals, they were not coerced to do so during

their initial period of involvement. S was also aware of the social structure within the coven and showed an understanding of the requirements for upward mobility (cf. section 4.3.3.2. above).

4.3.6.4. Satanic coven initiation and membership

After an initial period of involvement in Satanic worship, the novice is offered the opportunity to become a practicing member of a coven. In the course of initiation, specified rituals are performed (Zacharias, 1964). Moody (1974) describes standardised rituals (i.e., where the initiate's blood is consumed by all members of the coven) that ensure a sense of social affiliation. Specific rituals, tailored for each individual initiate, serve to provide the aspiring member with a sense of achievement and that coven members recognise his/her uniqueness as an individual. This is consistent with Satanic initiation rites reported by S and research conducted by Moody (1974). According to the ideology of The Church of Satan, once the prescribed rituals have been performed and have been perceived to meet with the approval of Satan, the initiate is welcomed as a fully practicing member of the coven (LaVey, 1972).

4.3.6.5. Initiative of members of a Satanic coven

Based on the results of this particular study, it is difficult to conclusively discuss the level of initiative the Satanic coven affords its members. Initiative and personal choice in the performance of rituals (i.e., making sacrifices or participating in sexual acts) does, however, appear to be accepted and acknowledged. This is supported by Moody (1974), who conducted participant observations in a Satanic church. S's initial claim, alluding to the fact that he was instructed to murder his parents, was framed in rather a broad and generalised fashion (that later one has to murder one's parents). Only once he was directly asked whether he, in particular, had been instructed to murder his parents, did he respond in the affirmative. It is worth noting that S offered no further elaboration on the alleged instruction (e.g., who it was that had instructed him, in what context and when it allegedly occurred). A more conclusive statement would be that "S understood that he had to murder his parents" rather than "S was instructed that he had to murder his parents". As the interview progressed, S appeared more adamant that he had no choice

but to murder his parents, despite not clarifying whether the lack of choice was governed by external or internal motivation.

The lack of freedom alluded to in S's report (described in the previous paragraph) stands in contrast to S's statement that he did not participate in acts of bestiality in the course of Satanic rituals and his reports of initiating self-styled rituals. He volunteered no elaboration on the outcome of his decision not to participate in such activities (whether positive, i.e., acknowledgement of his free will, or negative, i.e., persecution or exclusion).

As concerns the level of choice and initiative afforded to individual members of the Satanic coven, it would thus suffice to conclude that: (a) members of the Satanic coven are of the opinion that they receive instructions that have a bearing on their behaviour (i.e., whether actually coerced to conform, or whether merely acting in accordance with suggestions or subjective understandings); Katchen, 1992), and (b) members are able to exercise at least some measure of choice in participating in rituals (Moody, 1974).

4.3.7. Satanism as a context for an awareness of the finitude of being

4.3.7.1. Continuous awareness of death and non-being

Satanic rituals are often associated with activities that maintain an ongoing awareness of death and the finitude of being. These include ritual sacrifices of animals, interaction with spirits of deceased individuals and, on a more abstract level, destructive behaviour such as self-mutilation and the abuse of drugs, all of which are found in S's reported Satanic involvement. All these acts, which were reported by S in the course of the research interviews, were in keeping with findings reported by Feldman (1995).

Corey (1996) argues that such an awareness of death is part of conscious human experience in an attempt to derive existential meaning. Yalom (1980), in support, argues that it is through such an awareness of non-being that being becomes meaningful. An awareness of the limited nature of existence affords the individual being motivation to maximise the opportunities given in life. Katchen (1992) argues that Satanic practices, accordingly, emphasise what is construed as experiences fundamental to human nature.

As Satanic ideology furthermore focuses on a spiritual realm, adherents become aware of how their actions in life may impact on a world that transcends their immediate being.

4.3.7.2. Awareness of death and the immediacy of being

An awareness of the limited temporal nature of being can provide an impetus for maximising the immediate nature of being (Yalom, 1980). This appears illustrated in the here-and-now focus of many Satanic activities which stress the importance of the gratification of immediate and basic human drives (such as sexual indulgence, which is encouraged by the ideology of LaVey, 1972). Although in this study S reported participation in blood rituals and sexual orgies during Satanic practices, no clear references were made to an awareness of how actions in the present are considered to impact on the future. In fact, an ongoing theme through S's narrative is that his conscious experience is primarily focused in the here-and-now, with some reference to how the past had influenced the present, but very little awareness of the future. Although the primacy of immediate experience can be empowering in that it allows the individual to transcend his/her preoccupation with past failures, Fischer & Fischer (1983) argue, some focus on the consequences of present actions is necessary to make meaningful decisions.

4.4. Forensic Considerations

Before commenting on some forensic considerations pertaining to the subject's reported experience, it may be useful to reiterate that the aim of the study was to examine the way in which S appropriated the act of murder in terms of his involvement in Satanic ideology. Although an indepth discussion of specific forensic issues thus remains beyond the scope of this study, the findings do allow cursory considerations regarding the subject's culpability, criminal responsibility and factors that could be reviewed when a criminal sentence is deliberated.

4.4.1. Culpability

When the content of the subject's report is read in relation to the proscription for culpable homicide in terms of the South African Criminal Procedures Act 51 of 1977, three conclusions can be drawn: (a) S's actions comply with the proscription for culpable homicide; (b) S's behaviour was unlawful in terms of the current legal order; (c) S can be considered culpable, in that he intended to commit murder, acted out of free will and appeared to have full criminal capacity (cf. section 1.3.1. in the literature review).

4.4.2. Factors contributing to the term of sentence

In terms of (a) the premeditated murder of (b) an elderly woman, S may receive a heavier sentence. The following factors, however, may provide grounds for an argument for extenuating circumstances: (a) S is of youthful age; (b) Although S appeared culpable, his level of mental functioning may have been influenced by a strong fear of being overwhelmed by supernatural forces, which he believed to be at the disposal of the victim; (c) S's beliefs appear to have been influenced by his involvement in Satanic ideology; (d) The murder may partly have been committed as result of S's belief in magic and witchcraft (as this can be considered consistent with the faith shared to the Satanic coven); (e) S did not report any previous criminal convictions; (f) Although S clearly expressed regret at having committed murder, the extent to which he experiences remorse could be further explored and, if found to be appropriate, may be considered a mitigating factor; (g) S suffered a deprived social, moral and economic upbringing (cf. section 1.3. in the literature review).

The extent to which the factors mentioned above may contribute to extenuating circumstances in the crime, although worth mentioning, cannot be fully considered when based solely on the results of this study, as it falls beyond its intended aim. These factors could, however, be explored in a systematic way (e.g., by means of comparing results of appropriately structured interviews with relevant legal research).

CONCLUSION

1. Concluding Comments

The findings of this study challenge the popular belief that individuals who are involved in Satanism revel in meaningless acts of sex, aggression and blasphemy. The phenomenological-existential experience of the Satanist, rather, becomes a conscious and intentional search for meaning in a world that is perceived to be meaningless, alienating and disempowering.

The review of literature used in this study elucidates the phenomenological reality of Satanic involvement in terms providing working definitions, a historical review of Satanism, a critical look at Satanic ideology and practices, incidence and demographic variables, psycho-social predispositions of practitioners, and the way in which Satanic activity is portrayed in the media and received by the public. As this study, furthermore, aimed to elucidate the eidetic structure of the way in which the research subject appropriates committing murder in terms of Satanic involvement, the nature of the criminality of murder was discussed. After factors associated with the nature and length of sentences for murder were presented, attention was focused on the medico-legal context of Satanism and murder. It was shown that, although an increasing number of deviant and criminal behaviours are appropriated in terms of Satanism, there remain very few cases in which legal procedures positively showed involvement in Satanism to be an exculpatory factor in justifying criminal behaviour.

The phenomenological methodology used in this study provided an understanding of the way in which the subject appropriates committing murder in terms of Satanic involvement. This was discussed in the form of a descriptive account based on recurrent themes in the subject's responses. Eidetic constituents of meaning that arose furthermore showed that Satanic worshippers are afforded an opportunity to derive meaning of their life-world which, prior to their Satanic involvement, is experienced as alienating and lacking in existential meaning. The research subject of this study, in particular, experienced both being empowered in the course of his involvement in Satanism, as well as being subjected to the powerful influence he perceived Satanic

practitioners to have over him. He further experienced social situatedness in that aspects of his behaviour (regarded deviant by society) were affirmed within a group of people with similar interests. An ongoing self-awareness of Satanists' finitude, it was shown, strengthened their sense of immediate agency, in that their finitude serves a life-affirming function (i.e., a greater awareness of being in the here-and-now).

Following an increased sense of agency and social affiliation, which he associated with shared responsibility, the subject of this study gradually became more loyal to the Satanic coven of which he was a member. He understood that committing murder would gain the favour of fellow worshippers and Satan alike. In exercising conscious and intentional free will, he murdered an acquaintance as a result of perceived loyalty to an inauthentic self he had based on a series of prominent, deviant figures in his life-world. This act of murder, he believed, would secure him an ongoing sense of power and social situatedness.

2. Evaluation of a Phenomenological-Existential Approach

The aim of this phenomenological study was to delineate a descriptive meaning structure that is consistent with the subject's lived experience. Although a qualitative approach based on incorporating information obtained from collateral sources (e.g., court reports and a personal history from significant others) may have provided a descriptive account of the subject's personal history, it would not have adequately provided an indepth understanding of his lived experience. An existential reading of the results show that the subject's act of committing murder was closely linked with his attempts at striving for meaning in a Satanic life-world.

This study proved effective in addressing three aims of a phenomenological inquiry: (a) The method and content of the phenomenological-existential approach explored and contributed towards an understanding of human existence; (b) A qualitative and descriptive account of the subject's life-world and meaning-making experience was achieved; and (c) Essential themes pertaining to meaningful involvement in Satanism (i.e., shared experience) were distilled.

Firstly, phenomenological-existential research aims to reflect the meaning of human existence. This was achieved by employing a phenomenological methodology that yielded descriptive results which, in turn, were analysed in terms of themes reflecting the meaning of human existence in a lived context. Secondly, the subject's appropriation of the act of committing murder in terms of his Satanic involvement was achieved in that his described experience was read in the hermeneutic context of his personal history. Finally, the shared experience of eidetic phenomenological-existential themes of Satanic involvement was made clear through implementing imaginative variation. These essential themes were dialogued with existing literature on Satanism and existentialism.

It should be noted that in the course of the research interviews, the subject reported a number of perceptual distortions he had experienced in the past. Experiences such as hallucinations, delusions and dreams are, Giorgi (1997) argues, as phenomenologically significant as any other lived experience. The subject's associated experiences were, consequently, not considered to have impacted negatively on the reliability of the findings. These experiences, moreover, were clinically deemed to be better accounted for by the subject's history of substance abuse, Satanic experiences and socio-cultural beliefs, rather than by a process of mental illness.

3. Shortcomings of this Study

Four methodological considerations have impacted on the validity and reliability of this study. Firstly, the process of imaginative variation, which was applied in implementing an empirical phenomenological investigation, ensures a nomothetic understanding of appropriating murder in terms of Satanism. Generalisability to the way in which other perpetrators of violent crime appropriate their actions in terms of different frameworks for meaning, however, remains limited.

Secondly, the fact that interviews were conducted in a different language than was used for the study did not pose a methodological problem for this research, as the researcher, who is fully bilingual, was able to grasp the finer nuances of meaning in the subject's reports. The use of Afrikaans in the interviews and English for the reporting of

the data appears a limitation only insofar as the *verification* of the findings requires readers who have a grasp for both languages.

In the third place, the research subject was informed that this study was not foreseen to impact on legal proceedings. His response style, however, may have been affected by the context in which the interviews were conducted (i.e., the subject was in prison and was awaiting trial). It might, for example, be possible that the subject's narrative may have been influenced by counsel he had received from his legal representative. Although such counselling would have been directed at the subject's upcoming court appearance, it may, to some extent have impacted on his conscious experience (including the research interviews) while he was awaiting trial.

Finally, because of the subject's imprisonment, interviews had to be conducted in a consulting room in the prison (the only setting made available to the researcher), a relatively short passage of one of the three interviews (lasting approximately seven minutes) was inaudible due to noise and could not be transcribed. Research findings were largely based on recurrent themes of meaning. Although this unclear passage can thus be argued to have a very limited impact on the findings, a more suitable context for data gathering (quiet and undisturbed) would have ensured a more natural flow of the interviews.

An additional consideration is that the subject's flow of speech fluctuated across interviews. During the initial stages, the spontaneity of his responses were limited, in that he appeared to rely on the researcher to provide structure to the interview. Subsequently, however, the content and flow of his responses became more expressive in terms of his phenomenological experience. The subject's general level of articulatedness and affectual expression may nonetheless be considered somewhat limited in terms of gathering rich, subjective data.

4. Recommendations for Further Research

The aim of this study was to explore the phenomenological way in which murder was appropriated in terms of Satanic involvement. Although the literature review briefly

focused on mitigating factors for murder, it is beyond the scope of this study to comment on the extent to which the subject's experience provides grounds for an exculpatory argument. This question may, however, be productively pursued within the context of legal research.

Comparative phenomenological investigations of individuals' experience of involvement in religious movements (e.g., fundamentalist religion), sects and cults may prove valuable in gaining an in-depth understanding of their existential value for the individual and how the individual appropriates his/her actions in terms of such involvement.

There appears to be a shortage of scientifically validated research focusing on the incidence of Satanic involvement in the general South African population.

The research subject in this study was eighteen years old. Most of the literature appears to focus on Satanists in the adolescent age-range. Studies focusing on Satanists outside the adolescent and young adult age ranges may provide valuable findings about the role of life-stage development in Satanic involvement.

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APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Form

The purpose of this study is to understand the personal experience of someone who has been involved in Satanism and had been found guilty on a charge of murder. If the research produces useful information, it may serve to assist forensic and health professionals in dealing with similar cases. It may also provide the research participant with insight into his personal experience of his behaviour, thoughts and emotions.

During the course of this study, interviews will be conducted with the participant. Although some matters that may arise will be explored in further detail, the content of the interviews will largely be provided by the research participant himself.

There will be no pain, embarrassment, offence, or discomfort involved in participation. There is no risk to the safety of the participant. Potential benefit in participation includes the possible insight into the participant's personal life experience.

The information obtained in this study will be used to prepare a research report in the form of a case study. All the information obtained will be audio-recorded and transcribed. The only changes to be made will be done to ensure anonymity (for example, the changing of names and personal identifying information). These transcripts will be available to the research participant upon his request. Research material will be kept confidential and, should the study be published, the participant's name and personal information will not appear on any part of the data forms, nor in the report itself.

Participation in this study is voluntary. If the proposed participant should decide to participate, he is free to withdraw his consent and discontinue participation at any time. The researcher will answer any additional questions that the participant may have regarding the study and will give feedback to the participant as the study progresses.

YOU ARE MAKING A DECISION WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE OR NOT PARTICIPATE. YOUR SIGNATURE INDICATES THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE, HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOVE. YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM TO KEEP.

Signature of participant

Date

J.P. du Toit, Clinical Psychology Intern (Researcher)

APPENDIX B

Interview Transcripts

1. Transcript of Interview 1

Date: 06 February, 2001
 Time: 13H00-14H20
 Place: Grahamstown Prison
 Interviewer: J.P. du Toit

Maar ek worry nie eintlik oor die datum nie. Die dae moet net verbygaan in hierdie plek. Ek worry nie, solank die tyd net verbygaan. Dis verskriklik in hierdie plek.

Jy wil net hê die dae moet verbygaan.

Ja, dis verskriklik. Ek worry nie eintlik oor die datum nie. Ek sit al van verlede jaar af. Maart maand.

Mmh, dis 'n lang tyd...

Ja, ek kon my eie lewe gevat het in hierdie plek. Ek wou.

Rêrig?

Ja, ek het my stukkend gesny. 'n Paar keer al.

Mmmh?

Pulls up his sleeve, shows multiple scars.

Mmh... Maar dis ou merke daardie...?

Ja, die een was in Cradock gewees. Dit was verlede jaar – in Desember – dit was net voor Kersfees gewees. Dit was nog in die enkelselle gewees.

Dit moet sleg wees om Kersfees so alleen te wees?

Nee, dis nie lekker nie... (Contemplative silence)

O.K., ja. Dis nou drie weke wat ek hier is. Maar dis nie lekker hierso nie.

Hoe so?

Hier's nie lekker goed om sport mee te speel nie.

Watse sport is hier?

O.K., ja, hier is sokker, maar die bal is nie lekker nie. Hy is pap. Hulle speel in die veld. In Cradock het ons baie sport gespeel. Hier is nie baie tyd nie. Ek was by die juveniles gewees ook, maar daar gaan niks aan nie. Daardie ouens kan nie speel nie.

Nou Tommy, hoe is die juveniles, waar is dit?

Dit is die jeugdige afdeling.

Is jy nou daar?

Nee, ek is in die enkelselle.

Hoe so?

Nee, ek't altyd baklei daar binnekant. Hulle het begin vuil name skel daar. Hulle't begin met byname en ek like dit nie. Toe raak ek geïrriteerd en toe sê ek hulle moet my weghaal daar.

So jy't gevra?

Ja, toe sit hulle my daar by die enkelselle. Maar jy kry nie T.V. nie. Maar jy kan jou eie T.V. hê. Ek gaan my ouers vra, want daar is 'n T.V. daar by die huis. Ek gaan hulle vra om hom vir my af te bring.

Mmmh. Nou wat kan jy nog doen.

Enige iets. Jy kan goed opsit. Ek het goed opgeplak.

Mmmh, soos wat?

Enige iets. Ek het renosters... en olifante...

O.

Ja, ek soek maar goed om te doen... Of ek teken prente of enige iets om die tyd verby te laat gaan.

Mmmh.

My ouers, hulle is ook nie vooruitstrewend nie. Ek moet maar kyk wanneer hulle kan afkom. My pa, ek dink hy's nou in die Baai, hy't my nou-die-dag gebel... Nou weet ek nie wanneer my ma-hulle vir my iets gaan stuur nie. Ek het vir my prokureur gesê om my ouers te laat weet. My pa sit nog steeds sonder werk.

Is dit? So jy hoor darem van hom?

Ja, so nou-en-dan. Maar hulle sukkel maar. So teen die einde van die maand, as hulle kan, gaan hulle dalk vir my geld stuur. My pa is afgedank op so duisend-drie-honderd 'n maand. En my ma kry maar vierhonderd 'n maand.

Mmmh.

Maar daardie ou vir wie my ma werk maak nie reg nie. Soos as daar nuwe voorraad inkom, dan moet sy die heeldag... Veral as jy 'n blou ka... As jy werk, moet jy 'n blou kaart hê...

Mmmh.

Veral as jy werk... My ma werk nou al... Dis nou al haar derde jaar wat sy vir daardie ou werk... Dis nou al amper drie jaar. En daar was nooit een maand 'n salarisverhoging nie. My ma werk elke dag in daardie winkel: Van die oggend af. Van die oggend nege-uur af tot die aand vyf-uur toe.

Sy werk elke dag. My ma moet die winkel uitvee, en skoonmaak. Maar daar's nie meer voorraad nie. Die mense wil nie meer koop in daardie winkel nie, want daar's niks nie. Dis nou al vir twee jaar dat my ma niks meer kry nie. As my ma nog nie Junie-maand 'n salarisverhoging gekry het nie, moet sy haar blou kaart... My ma het nog nie haar blou kaart gekry nie. My ma moet soos 'n meid werk daar elke dag. Sy skrop die winkel, maak skoon, doen alles.

Mmmh, dis maar moeilik, jong... Tommy, behoort jy aan 'n kerk?

Ja, die NG kerk. Maar ek was baie lanklaas daar.

Het hulle kerkdienste hierso?

Ja, maar dis net Sondae. Dit was laas Sondag... Daar by Cradock, elke derde Sondag, of elke tweede Sondag, kom daar 'n man van die dorp af om kerk te hou. En dan kom praat hy met die mense. En dan kom hy en hy praat in Afrikaans, of in Xhosa, of Engels...

Jaa... En jy sê jy was lanklaas in die kerk?

Jaa... Seker so drie jaar terug. Drie of vier.

En het jy toe gereeld kerk toe gegaan?

Ja, toe ek nog in my ouerhuis was. Maar later het ek baie ander dinge gedoen. Ek het uitgegaan met meisies en na kerk het ek begin dagga rook en al daardie goeters...

Het jy baie dagga gerook?

Ja, ek was verslaaf aan die goed gewees. Pille ook, cocaine ook, al daardie goed. Ek het dagga gerook en mandrax en cocaine en ecstasy en al daardie goed. Ek het later van my kop af geraak met daardie cocaine.

Mmmh? Nou wat gebeur as jy van jou kop af raak?

Ek raak m... Hoe sal ek nou sê...? Ek raak... aggressief. As iemand my pla, dan wil ek... dan vloek ek partykeer sommer. Ek raak vreeslik aggressief. Partykeer... Een keer toe sny ek my ook...

Hoe so?

Ek raak so aggressief, dan sny ek sommer my polse of so. Ek weet nie wat om met myself te doen nie. Op 'n stadium het ek nie geweet of ek wil lewe nie, toe rook ek vir twee weke, elke dag. Of ander kere, dan raak ek vreeslik aggressief. As iemand my iets sê, dan weier ek om dit te doen.. Ek raak vreeslik aggressief. Nou-die-dag toe breek ek amper my vinger... Dis soos... As ek gerook het, dan... dan kry ek soos – hoe sal ek sê – abnormale krag...

Nou waar kom daardie krag vandaan?

Ek weet nie. Maar dis nie meer so nie. Dis hoekom ek daardie Satanisme gelos het. Ek was nou in PE gewees vir 'n ruk. Toe't ek vir my... ouer broer gaan soek...

Nou wanneer was dit?

Dit was verlede jaar – in Maart. Maartmaand toe gaan ek... April, ja, dit was April. Toe gaan ek daarnatoe. Ek en my pa het baie rusie gehad. Baie keer dan het hy my geslaan en goed. Veral as ek dagga gerook het daar by die huis en goed. Dan het ek honger geraak en goed – Kyk as jy dagga gerook het, raak jy vreeslik honger...

Mmmh...

En dan vat ek van die kos. Sê nou ons het vleis gebraai of iets, dan vat ek van die vleis na my kamer toe. Of ek sê die kat het dit gevat...

En toe?

My pa kom nie agter dis weg nie. Hy kom nie eintlik in my kamer nie, maar dan lê die bene onder die bed. Maar toe kom die kat en hy krap en hy krap en hy krap. Toe krap hy die bene oop. En toe kom my pa agter van die bene, ai! (laughs)

En toe?

Nee man, en toe't ek en my pa baie erg 'n uitval gehad. En eenkeer het hy gedreig om my uit te gooi. En toe eenkeer kom ek dronk daar aan... En toe't ek my pa gevloek en gesê ek gaan myself vrek maak en goed...

Mmmh...

Toe... Toe't my pa nie geweet wat gaan aan met my nie... Hy't geweet ek't gedrink, maar... En toe later het hy my vertel wat ek gedoen het. Toe kon ek nie glo wat ek als gedoen het nie.

Mmmh... En dit was nou terwyl jy dronk was?

Ja, terwyl ek dronk was en toe ek dagga gerook het. En toe gaan ek nou... Toe stuur my pa my weg om te kyk of ek kan gaan werk soek en toe gaan ek af na die Baai. Dit was die oggend vroeg... Toe sê my pa hy wil nie meer sy seun hê nie... Ek moet die pad vat en goed... Jy sien ek het kwaad geraak daardie oggend. Toe staan ek vroeg op – jy weet, baie kere, dan word ek vroeg wakker. Toe staan ek vroeg op en toe vat ek my goed en toe hike ek, toe gaan ek af Baai toe.

Mmmh.

En toe ek by die Baai kom, toe't ek vir 'n paar dae... Toe't ek daar by die hawe werk gekry. Toe't ek daar geslaap by die hawe tussen die goeters...

Alleen?

Alleen. Toe't ek werk gekry daar by die hawe en 'n paar dae daar gewerk. My pa't gesê ek moet direk gaan na hierdie twee mense daar in die Baai, maar toe eindig ek in die mission. Dit was... verskriklik lekker gewees daar. Daarso kon ek... dit was soos my eie huis gewees daar. Daar was altyd werk wat vir my gegee was. Dit was ook lekker gewees. Dit is lekker om ook jou eie werk te kan doen. Maar in elk geval, toe bly ek in die Baai, en toe kry ek hierdie werk by die hawe. Toe kry ek hierdie werk by Portnet, toe kry ek hierdie salaris van drie-vyf en toe drie-agt, toe vier-sewe. Op die ou end het ek vyfduisend-driehonderd gekry – daarrond. Toe stuur ek vir my ma die geld.

Gmff?

Ja, ek het in die begin die helfde van die geld gekry. Kyk, ek het daar begin... Ek dink die sestiende of die sewentiende, toe't ek nie vol pay gekry nie. Toe sê daardie een senior as jy dit nie like nie, moet jy weggaan. En toe die een Maandag is dit wat ons

baklei het. Ek het nog van die goed afgelaai. Kyk, ons het goed afgelaai, soos bokse en vrugte en goed...

O.K...

En toe's daar een ou wat die heel tyd moeilik wil maak... 'n Kleurling of so. Met my en hy sê toe die heelyd "kaffirs" en so.

En toe?

Hy't die heelyd moeilikheid gesoek met my en op die ou end, toe sê ek vir hom, ek's nie lus hiervoor nie, ek sal jou bliksem, moenie moeilikheid maak nie. Maar hy't dit die heelyd gedoen. En toe't hy van die goed gesteel. En toe't ek – dingeses – O.K., eers het ek niks gedoen nie, maar toe elke dag as ek aan skof kom, dan lê daar 'n sak uie of 'n sak goed... En hy het die lockers gebreek – jy weet hierdie lockers? Ja, dan het hy hulle gebreek en goed gevat. Die ouens dra 'n klomp goete weg daar: Skoene, klere... Toe sê dis ek wat dit gedoen het. Toe sê ek vir hulle kyk hierso, ek werk baie hard en ek het nie die goed gevat nie. Kyk hier, ek dra dieselfde klere elke dag, ek het nie die klere gevat nie... Ek het nog in 'n kort broek gewerk.

Dit was nou die begin van die jaar?

Ja. Toe sê hulle ag dis oraait, ek hoef nie terug te betaal nie. Maar toe raak daar nog goed weggeraak, toe sê hulle ek het dit gevat. Daar was hierdie ander swart ouens wat met sakke goed daar weggeloop het. En toe vat hulle van die goed en druk dit in my sak en wys dit vir die ou. Toe sê ek, ek het al baie goed gesteel in my lewe, maar ek het nie hier by die werk goed gevat nie.

Mmmh.

Dit was nie lekker nie. Ek het nog nooit in my lewe so hard gewerk nie. Voor dit het ek my agterent afgewerk. Voor ek daar by Portnet gewerk het – dit was vir ses... Seshonderd en sewentig rand 'n maand. Dit was by Cradock. Plumbing, welding, motor mechanic, houtwerk, daardie tipe goed. En, nou, toe werk ek daarso. Baie tipe werk... Elke aand as ek by die huis kom, is ek moeg. Dan lê ek op my bed en slaap. Dan collapse ek op my bed.

Van werk by Portnet?

Ja... Maar nee, dis toe ek nog van Cradock af gewerk het.

Ja, by Portnet. Maar ek kon nog daar by Cradock gewerk het, het ek met treinspore ook gewerk. Daar by De Beers. Dit was 'n helse werk. Maar dit was 'n lekker tyd daar by Cradock gewees.

En jy sê jy's toe Baai toe. Is dit daar wat jy deurmekaar geraak het met Satanisme?

Ja..., dit was nou... Ag nee, maar dis nog voor dit... Toe ek daar was by die skool. In JJ Serfontein.

JJ Serfontein, is dit waar jy skool gegaan het?

Ja, dis waar ek moes skool loop.

En waar is dit?

Queenstown.

O.K., en toe jy in die Baai kom?

Ja, maar dit het by die skool al begin. Ons het te doen gehad met witchcraft en glasier-glasie en so. Ons het rotte en muise gevang en geoffer. Dit was saam met 'n vriend van my – sy naam was Werner Fourie. En partykeer, as jy glasier-glasie speel of geeste oproep sien sy oe raak so groen. Dan kan jy sien daar kom so glow in sy oe. En toe, daarna, gaan ek saam met hom na Cathcart toe, toe mediteer en goed die heeldag. Maar toe ons later kalmere met daardie goed. O.K., en toe het ek later begin boeke uitneem oor Satanisme oor wat om te doen en goed. Ek het 'n boek gekry van al die goed. Al die tekens en wat om te doen en so.

En in die Baai toe?

En toe ek uit die skool is, toe gaan ek Baai toe. Toe ek vakansies by die huis was, het ons ook altyd Baai toe gegaan. Soos Junie-vakansies en goed, dan gaan ons Baai toe, na die mense toe. Hoe ek daarby betrokke geraak het, was by die disko gewees. Dit was met die mense van die Baai gewees. Dit was saam met 'n meisiekind gewees. Ons het 'n klomp dagga gerook en goed – cocaine gedoen en dit. Toe kom sy na my toe en gee vir my iets om te drink. Ek was nog lekker deurmekaar gewees toe – ek het lekker gelag en nie eintlik omgee nie en dit. Maar sy't seker drugs daarin gegooi en dit. Al wat ek weet is dat ek aan die slaap geraak het. In die kar was ek in 'n beswyming gewees. Toe worry ek nie, toe slaap ek maar verder. En toe ek wakker word, was ek in daardie ander mense se plek.

Waar word jy toe wakker? By 'n huis of wat?

Sentraal. Daardie ou afgebrande hotel wat daar is. Toe was daar 'n paar van hulle – meisiekinders in swart aangetrek. Hulle't sulke swart goed oor hulle skouers gehad. Dit was binne die gebou. En ek was kaal. En toe het ons kaal rondgeloopt in daardie gebou. Ek het later begin bloed drink saam met hulle.

Watse bloed drink julle toe?

Verskillende. Mensbloed, diere se bloed... Almal se altyd katte, katte, katte... Dis nie so nie. Dis sommer 'n bygeloof die ding van katte se bloed drink. O.K., ons het baie katte gebruik, ja, maar enige kat, dit hoef nie noodwendig 'n swart kat te wees nie. Daar was baie katte daar gewees. Die dinge wat daar gebeur het, was erg, jong. Baie keer, O.K., ek het nou nog nie met diere gemeenskap gehad nie, dis wat hulle doen: Om met diere gemeenskap te hê, haal hulle binnele uit, gebruik dit vir die orgies en goed. Allerhande sulke dinge. Dan moet jy hulle bloed drink en die bloed offer. En ons het babas geoffer. Dit was beter om babas te offer, want dis 'n offer wat die dui... wat Satan... wat Lucifer dadelik aanvaar het. Hy aanvaar dit vinniger.

Nou waar kry julle die bloed vandaan?

Van diere af. Of as mense gevang word of iets.. Gewoonlik as daar 'n nuwe... Kom ons sê nou daar's 'n nuwe meisie wat daar aankom... Wanneer mense gevang word. Sê nou daar kom 'n nuwe meisie of 'n nuwe ou in die coffin in. Maar verkieslik 'n meisiekind. Dan sny sy haar en dan drink ons haar bloed. Daardie tyd was daar nogal baie mense, sê so drie en dertig of ses en dertig mense in een coffin. Daar was verskillende coffins gewees. Daar is ses honderd ses en sestig coffins.

In die Baai of oor die land of wat?

In die land. Baie min mense weet dit. Dis volgens die getal van die Bees. Die getal van die Dier, dis om die Here te spot... En sonde te bedryf.

En jy sê dit het jou in die moeilikheid gekry?

Ja, dit het dit nog erger gemaak om die dagga te drop en goed. Daar het ons ecstasy en mandrax en sulke goed... Al daardie goed gevat. Rocks, flower power... Dan kry ons, hoe sal ek sê, aggressiwiteit in ons... Ek dink dis waar alles begin het. Almal moet seks hê met een meisiekind. Partykeer drie en dertig of veertig mense of wat ookal. Al die mans. Later het dit erger geraak. Dan moet jy met diere seks hê... en bloed drink en mensvleis eet... Daardie goed het my... Hoe sal ek sê? Later sê hulle jy moet goed doen voor hulle jou kan aanvaar. Dat jy jou geloof moet bewys, anders aanvaar hulle jou nie. Later het hulle gesê jy moet jou ouers vermoor en sulke goed... Jy moet jou ouers offer.

So wie 't gesê jy moet jou ouers vermoor?

Die hoofpriester... van die Sataniste. Die hoof... die 'n... die hoëpriester van die groep (stutters, not very clear). Ons weet nie eintlik wie hy is nie. Hy't so ding... so kap bo-oor sy gesig, of oor sy kop. Veral in die dag. Maar mens sien hom nie eintlik nie. En dan moet ons mense offer en goed en tekens... Pentagramme teken op hulle koppe of hulle harte. Of kaal rondloop en orgies hê... swart kerse by die kopenent en pentagramme en goed... Dit was nie lekker vir my gewees nie.

En toe sê hulle as jy nie jou ouers offer nie, gaan hulle jou offer?

Ja, of hulle gaan geeste oproep dat, as jy dit nie doen nie, die geeste jou iets sal aandoen. Dan toor hulle jou. Dan stuur hulle goed van jou na die waarseers of hekse toe. Die hekse is boos. Ag, hulle roep geeste op en praat met die duiwel en goed. Ag, hulle kan met jou hare toor, of jou voetspore steel of so. Kom ons sê jy loop op die strand, of jy loop op sand of iets, dan kom daar 'n ou agter jou aan en daar waar jy trap, vat hy die sand, of die stof of waar jou voetspore val, of wat ookal. Jy weet nie daardie ou kom agter jou aan nie. Ag, ons het dit altyd gedoen. En dan vat hy... Dan roep hy jou naam op en dit. En dan begin hy jou te martel... ag, jou g... jou gees... Dan sit hy 'n bose gees op jou. Slim goed, ne?

Mmmh.

En toe sê hulle ek moet my ouers doodmaak. Toe sê ek O.K., ag... en toe ek by my ouerhuis kom, toe hoor ek my pa se stem – hoe hulle gepraat het en so. Toe kon ek dit nie doen nie. Toe dink ek ek wil die Satanisme los en toe gaan ek Johannesburg toe. En van Johannesburg het ek teruggegaan Baai toe. En toe was dit daardie Maandag, of Woensdag, ek's nie seker wanneer nie...

Watter maand was dit?

Junie maand. Ek dink die twaalfde Junie.

In watter jaar? Twee-duisend?

(coughs, nods). Toe was ek al klaar by die huis en ek het geweet hulle sal my nie terugvat nie. Dis toe ek na die vrou gegaan het. En toe los ek 'n klip by die hek - ek het seker gemaak ek kan wegkom.

En wie is die vrou?

Dit was Mevrouw Stander. Sy was die grootste Christen in die gemeente – seker die hele gemeente... Sy was baie gelowig, sy het gepreek vir mense – sy het in skole gaan preek... Sy was 'n dierbare tannie gewees.

En toe gaan jy na haar huis toe?

Ja, in Cradock. Toe gaan ek na haar huis toe – my pa-hulle... ek het die tannie geken. En toe het ek by die tannie gekom en toe het ons gesels en tee gedrink en goed... En toe het ons oor resepte gesels... En ek het resepte afgeskryf en goed, net om haar gerus te maak.

Was jy alleen daar?

Ja. Maar toe het ek die idee van moord laat val. Toe het ek besluit om die tannie te oorweldig. Ek wou haar net laat uitpass en dan weghardloop.

So jy't gedink as jy haar oorweldig, kan jy teruggaan en vir hulle vertel...?

Nee, ek moes haar doodmaak. En toe dink ek ek moet van haar hare of iets... Of 'n stuk van haar vel of iets vat... Maar hulle sal weet ek het haar nie doodgemaak nie. Toe het ek die tannie... ek dink laat val op die grond. Maar sy het nie hard geval nie, sy het sag geval. Toe begin sy in tale te praat. Christene praat mos in sekere tale.

Kan jy daardie tale verstaan?

Nee, ek verstaan dit nie, meer ek weet waaroor dit gaan. Seker van dit was Here help, Here help. En toe skree sy wild. En daardie tale is hier in my kop. Ek het... Ek het goeters... Ek het blank geslaan. Ek het swart voor my gesien. Want ek het geweet: Vandag gaan ek gestraf word – hier's 'n vrou wat my gaan vashou.

Mmmh?

Ek het geweet hier's goed wat my gaan vasvang.

Hoe vasvang?

Hoe kan ek nou.... Dit... Dit... Dit... gaan my laat... uitpass... Dit gaan my... heeltelmal laat wegval...

En jy sê dit het swart geraak voor jou?

Ja, dit het swart geraak voor my. Dit het donker geraak. En ek het geweet as ek uitpass gaan hulle my daar kry en hulle sal weet... Hulle sal weet ek wou die tannie doodmaak of iets. Toe steek ek haar in haar nek. Toe sien ek daardie engeltjies. En 'n man wat staan en bid. Daar was soos balgoeters. Sulke porseleingoeters wat soos balle lyk. Toe sien ek 'n kruis en engeltjies en goed. En toe draai ek dit om dat dit na die muur wys, want ek kon nie daarna kyk nie.

O, so dis goed wat in haar huis was?

Ja, dis goed wat teen die muur was.

En die bal?

Ja, dis soos 'n bulb. 'n Globe. Om die lamp. Mens wil nie sulke goed sien nie. En toe lê die tannie daar. Toe is sy al klaar dood en... En toe besef ek wat het ek gedoen. En toe begin ek te huil en toe gaan ek uit. En toe gaan ek na die slaapkamer toe – maar sy was al klaar dood – toe het ek die tannie eers toegemaak met 'n kombes. En 'n kussing onder haar kop ingedruk. Toe vat ek die tannie se sleutels. Toe ek buite kom, toe kry ek

die tannie jammer. Ek het geweene daaroor. Ek het berou gehad oor daardie ding... En toe't ek uitgehardloop uit die huis uit. En toe't ek afgehardloop in die pad en toe gooi ek die sleutels langs die pad weg. Ek het die sleutels gevat. Die huis se sleutels en die garage oopgesluit. En... die kar was nie daar gewees nie. Toe hardloop ek en toe hardloop ek dat ek wegkom. Toe hardloop ek tot op die hoofpad uit Cradock toe. Toe't ek daar langs die pad neergeval en uitgepass.

Hoe laat was dit gewees?

Dit was so in die aand gewees. Net na sewe of so. Dit het net begin donker word. En toe ek uitgepass het, was dit alreeds donker. Toe't 'n man daar gestop en toe voel ek hoe tel hy my op. Dit was 'n man en 'n vrou wat saam trok ry. Toe tel hy my op en sit my in die trok. En toe't ek lekker koeldrank gedrink en goed... En ek het pies geheet en goed... Toe vra hulle wat het ek gedoen. Toe sê ek, nee ek het uitgepass langs die pad. Toe vra hy vir my waar kom ek vandaan. Toe sê ek van Cradock af. Toe laai hulle my daar by Cadock af – by die hotel. En daarvandaan het ek gehike Queenstown toe, toe vang hulle my daar. Die polisie het my gevang toe my broer my weggee het. Hulle het my kaal uitgetrek en geslaan daarso. Met so rottangstok. Alles wat gebeur daar by die polisie word met 'n videokamera opgevang in elk geval. Hulle't 'n stukkend geslaan. Die merke sit nou-nog op my kop ook. Hulle't my geslaan met 'n yster torch op my kop. My geskop ook. Ek het myself natgemaak soos hulle my geslaan het. Toe met 'n pistool ook. En my geskop met sulke yster skoene.

Dis darem 'n rowwe storie...

Ja, hulle het my lelik geslaan daar. Hulle het my gemartel. Ek het koud gekry ook.

Dit was die eerste aand, toe?

Ja, toe hulle my gevang het. Toe gooi hulle yswater oor my ook. Dit was minus twee gewees. Toe gooi hulle yskoue water oor my. Toe wou hulle kookwater ook oor my gooi. Toe kom hierdie kaptein... Trollip, toe kom hy van Cradock af. Toe sê hy hy weet ek het dit gedoen. Toe sê hy ek is Satan, ek sal jou wys wat ek kan doen. Toe slaan hy my met 'n stok. Ek moes eintlik hospitaal toe gaan. Kyk hierso... Waar die groot merke is... (shows arm). Dis hierso, van die stoel. Dis 'n sny van die stoel. Ek het lelik seer gekry.

Mmmh... Nou, Tommy, hoekom is jy Johannesburg toe? Jy sê jy...

Na Cradock wou ek na my tannie toe gegaan het. In Welkom. Ek het gehike. Toe word ek skielik wakker in Johannesburg. Ek weet nie wie't my opgelaai nie, dit was 'n man en vrou gewees. Dit was 'n ander man se vrou... Maar sy't saam met die man gery, Bloemfontein toe en so. Nou toe het ek saam met die vrou en man gery en drank gekoop. Twee bottels Klipdrift en twee bottels Red Heart Rum en twee bottels springbokkies en so... Ons het al daardie drank gedrink op die trip. Tot by Johannesburg. Toe ons aankom by Johannesburg was ons lelikabelaas. Toe skrik ek wakker in Johannesburg.

Sy't my wakker gemaak en gesê ons is in Johannesburg. Toe vra ek vir haar wat maak ons hier? Toe sê sy ons is nou hier. Toe het ek al my goed gevat en my sakke. Ek het al my sakke gevat en toe weet ek nie waarheen om te gaan nie. En toe sê die vrou ons moet haar daar los. En toe los ons haar maar en toe kuier ons verder. En toe het ek daar geslaap.

En die volgende dag was daar hierdie twee nigeriese ouens... Hierdie Nigerians, toe kry hulle my daar in Hillbrow. Ek het daar in Hillbrow rondgehang. Hulle het rocks en goed verkoop en het te doen gehad met prostitusie. En dan vat hulle die ou op en dan gaan ons agter om en dan roof ons hom. Dan slaan ons hom en vat al sy goed. Toe die polisie daar kom, toe sê ons: Ons het nie gesê hy moet 'n hoer nai nie. Sorry vir die woorde, maar dis hoe dit werk.

Sure.

Wat kan hulle maak? Dis hulle eie skuld. Dan los die polisie ons. Want hulle kan niks maak nie.

O.K., Tommy, hoekom het jy uit die Baai uitgegaan?

Ek het... Ek het... weggekom. Ek wou wegkom.

Wegkom van die Satanisme af, of van die Baai af, of wat?

Weg van almal: Die Satanisme, die mense daar, alles. Van die dagga, die moord, alles – toe het ek weggehardloop Johannesburg toe. Johannesburg is die perfekte plek vir moord.

Het jy dan vir hulle gesê jy't dit gedoen?

Nee. Nee, ek het nie vir hulle gesê nie. Ek's reguit Johannesburg toe. En toe hulle my vang in Queenstown... Toe ek in die gevangenis is in Queenstown, toe kon ek voel... nog voor dit al, toe ek op die pad is in Johannesburg, toe kon ek voel hulle's besig met witchcraft... hoe kan ek sê... hulle bese geeste en goed op my sit. Ek het so geloop... Dan het ek reg voor 'n kar ingeloop. Ek weet nie daarvan nie. Ek loop net... Dan loop ek in 'n pad in vol karre. Dan loop ek en hoor hulle hoeters druk – ek loop net, worry nie... Ek dink nie so mooi nie. Dis soos 'n gees wat hulle op jou sit. Dis of ek in iets taais loop, of vassit...

Nou, hoe voel jy dan?

As ek dink: Dis soos ek liggies duiselig raak. Dan loop jy net...

Voel jy dit aan jou lyf?

Nee, ek weet nie. Dis net of ek nie dink nie. Dan loop jy net ewe skielik voor alles in. Jy weet nie wat om jou aangaan nie, jy loop maar net. Dan skielik dink ek wat gaan nou aan? Dan kyk ek om my rond, dan lyk alles weer normaal. Maar terwyl ek so loop, dan voel dit amper of ek so sweef. Asof ek al klaar dood is.

Nou kan jy onthou dit het gebeur? As jy nou, soos jy sê, na die tyd regkom.

Nee, ek weet nie. Die meisiekind het my voor 'n kar weggetrek. Toe vra sy of ek oraait is. Die meisie het seker gedink ek is dronk.

Nou, jy reken dis die bose geeste?

Ja, dis al wat ek kan dink. Ek weet nie anders hoe nie. Toe ek eenkeer in die tronk was, het ek bybel gelees. Toe is dit asof die bybel warm raak in my hande. Toe gooi ek die bybel weg. Toe kom bid daar 'n dominee vir my in die tronk. Toe het hulle my weggevat PE toe na James Lottering toe, toe het hulle daardie demons en goed uitgedryf.

En wat het daar gebeur?

Daar by James Lottering? Ek het net daar aangekom, toe vra hulle vir my wat is fout. Toe sê ek ek's nog steeds met hierdie bose geeste en goed... Die goed treiter my... Toe sê hulle by die polisie ek moet met James Lottering daaroor gaan praat, dan sal hy verder met my werk. En toe het hy vir my gebid en ek het gehuil en goed.

Hoe doen hy dit?

Nee, ek weet nie, maar dis 'n wonderlike gevoel. En hy het sulke olie op my kop gesmeer – ek weet nie watse olie nie, seker olyfolie. En toe vat hy my so aan my kop en toe val ek reg agteroor. En toe hulle my vang was ek so-te-sê duiselig... Heeltemal duiselig gewees.

Was daar ander mense ook?

Ja, daar was ander mense. En toe ek daar – ek weet nie of ek wakker geword het of wat nie, maar toe lag ek. Mense het seker gedink ek's gedrug. Toe vra hulle vir my wat gaan nou aan. Toe sê ek ek dink ek's gered. Ek kan onthou ek het gelag. Ek was baie gelukkig.

En toe daarvandaan, het jy nie weer voor karre ingeloop en goed nie?

Nee, niks nie. Dis wonderlik, daar was niks weer van daardie nie. Dis van daardie tyd dat ek weer begin bybel lees het ook.

En James Lottering, waar is hy?

Hy's van die Baai, ek dink van die Gemeenskapkerk of iets. (Shows business card: James Lottering Ministries, Linton Grange).

Nou wie het jou na hom toe gevat?

Die polisie. Die ouens van Kobus Jonker.

Het jy hom gesien?

Ja, toe't ek met hom gepraat en goed. En na die tyd het hy (James Lottering) my elke dag kom sien in die gevangenis.

O.K., Tommy, ek gaan net gou vir jou 'n paar ander vrae vra. Jy sê daar het al 'n paar snaakse goed met jou gebeur en jy reken dis die bose geeste en goed wat hulle op jou gesit het. Was daar enige tyd wat jy dalk al stemme gehoor het?

O.K., nou dat jy so sê... Baie keer, soos laat in die aand, dan is dit of... Ek en my ma kommunikasie het met mekaar.

Kan jy actually haar stem hoor?

Jaaa... Ek hoor iets.... Soos sy sê iets vir my. Dan hoor ek my ma se stem: Tommy... Tommy... Tommy... (whisper, sort of like echo). Asof sy probeer deurkom. En dan... Gaan dit weg. Baie keer is dit asof sy vir my iets wou sê... Asof sy iets wou gehad het... Dan dink ek wat was dit nou weer...? Of baie keer probeer my ma my waarsku oor iets. Ek weet nie hoe dit gebeur het nie, maar... andertyd is dit soos dinges wat met my praat... Hoe kan ek nou sê? Mens kan nie eintlik sê nie. Dis nie soos regte stemme nie, dis soos eggo-stemme. As hulle jou order om goed te doen, dan's dit die geeste.

Nou het jy al met jou ma gepraat? Soos, het jy al vir haar gesê: hier's ek nou.?

Ja, baie maal. Soos hier in die sel.

Maar weet sy sy het jou geroep, of roep sy jou sonder dat sy dit beseft?

Nee, kom ons sê nou my ma roep my, daardie selfde tyd soek ek haar. Dit is soos 'n link wat ons het. Ons het mekaar op dieselfde tyd nodig. Ek roep my ma en dan roep my ma na my.

O.K., en jy sê partykeer kry jy soos stemme wat vir jou orders gee?

Ja, kom ons sê ons loop nou hier. Ons gaan nou 'n inbraak doen of iets. Jy weet, en dan almal van ons kry daardie gevoel van bang wees ons gaan gevang word of iets. Dan's dit asof ek hierdie gevoel kry nee, dis oraa, ons kan maar gaan.

Asof die stem sê jy gaan nie gevang word nie?

Nee, nie asof ek nie gevang gaan word nie, meer iets soos: Ek gaan sorg dat jy regkom. Jy sal veilig wees in ons hande... Jy sal veilig wees in ons hande... Dis soos daardie mense wat met die sterre kommunikeer en goed. Of soos my ouma. My ouma is al lankal dood.

En die stemme waarvan jy praat, is dit mans of vrouens?

Nee, meer soos mans stemme. Maar ek kan nie eintlik sê nie, dis soos diep stemme.

Is dit meer as een stem?

Ja, kyk, dis soos 'n klomp stemme saam. Dis anders as Satan se stem.

Nou hoe gereeld gebeur dit?

Net so nou en dan, dan klink dit of ek my ma se stem hoor. Maar nou en dan verbeel ek ek kry krag van my ouma af.

Maar die stemme wat vir jou orders gee – hulle praat nie meer met jou nie?

Nee.

Wanneer is die laaste keer dat dit gebeur het?

Toe ek gevang was.

Wat het hulle toe gesê?

Wie?

Die stemme.

Nee, hulle het opgehou. Ek het nie gehoor nie.

En het hulle met jou gepraat daardie dag toe jy vir die tannie gaan kuier het?

Nee, uh-huh (shakes his head).

Maar jy sê dis anders as Satan se stem?

Ja, maar ons het baie min met Satan gepraat. Satan het so diep stem. 'n Volle stem, sal ek sê. Maar dis 'n diep stem. Anders as die klomp stemme, dis soos 'n gedruis of iets. Dis eggo's, amper asof dit jou wil mal maak. Maar Satan het so 'n diep, mansstem. 'n Helder stem.

Maar jy sien hom nie?

Nee, ons sien hom nie. Ons praat net met hom wanneer ons soos offers maak of goed. En dan sal hy sê of hy die offer aanvaar of nie. Ek was baie keer bang vir hom.

(Interruption, prison guard walks in and switches kettle on. Researcher switches kettle off. Resumes interview, but respondent appears "absent", staring into empty space.)

Ehm... O.K., ons het nou gepraat van goed wat jy hoor, Tommy... Is jy oraat?

Ja. (distant)

Wat het nou gebeur?

Nee, ek weet nie, Oom. (laughs in embarrassed fashion).

Mmmh?

Nee, ek weet nie, Oom. (shakes his head, looks down). Silence. Dit gebeur partykeer. Ek dink aan ander goed, Oom. Ek dink aan die huis. Baie keer dan sit ek en dagdroom, dan dink ek aan die huis, dan skrik ek wakker en sien ek's in die plek. Kom ons gaan maar aan, Oom.

O.K., het jy al goeters gesien wat ander mense nie sien nie?

Nee wat..., nog nie baie nie...

Nie baie nie?

Ek het al partykeer goed gesien. Soos eenkeer... Soos brandende mense. Op die strand en so. Soos mense wat brand. Of partykeer van mense wat voor die tyd dood is. Dan roep ons geeste op, dan kom daar mense op.

So, toe jy met die Sataniste was, het jy partykeer goed gesien?

Ja, soos geeste-oproep.

En buitekant dit?

Nee, buitekant dit het ek nie sommer goed gesien nie.

En op die strand?

Dis net eenkeer op die strand, toe ek brandende mense gesien het... Wat skree en tekere gaan...

Wanneer was dit?

Dit was in PE daar by die Bridge – ag nee, nie die Bridge nie, wat noem jy daardie plek? – die peer. Hoekom sê ek nou Bridge? Nee, eenkeer, daar by die peer, sit ek en my meisie daar op die strand, soos jy afluop na die strand... Hoe kan ek sê, daar waar die plante groei op die heuwels... Toe sit ons daar, toe sien ek soos mense wat afgehardloop kom, see se kant toe.

Was dit in die aand gewees?

Ja. Mense wat brand. So drie of vier mense wat afgehardloop kom na die see. Maar ek weet nie wat dit is nie. My pa het ook al so iets gesien, eenkeer toe hulle daar bokant Uniondale was. En toe ry my pa so en toe slaan die kar se ligte af en die kar se enjin af en als het afgeslaan.

Hulle sê mos dit spook daar?

Ja, toe sien my pa 'n kar wat ry daar, met 'n trok wat agter hom ry. Die trok se deure was oop, toe klim daar mense uit die trok. Toe staan hulle daar langs die pad. En toe gaan die kar se ligte weer aan en toe ry hulle weer.

Hoe sou jy sê voel jy vandag? Net so oor die algemeen...?

Sad.

Sad? Hoe so?

Nee, Oom, dis maar nie lekker om hier te wees nie. Ek lê al hier in die selle, dis nou al amper 'n jaar gewees. As ek maar liever net 'n ander straf kan kry. Soos korttermyn diens of iets. As ek net so veertig dae kan uit kry of so... Ek kan miskien iets doen ook. Soos goed maak met my hande, wat ek kan verkoop of iets. Sê nou ek sit elke week in die tronk en naweke kan ek uitkom, onder korrektiewe toesig. En dan slaap ek in die selle, en die Sondag gaan ek weer huis toe, onder korrektiewe toesig... En dan kom ek weer die Maandag terug...

Jy sê dit sal beter wees?

Dit sal beter wees, ja. Ek kan nie veertig jaar in die tronk sit nie. Ek sal dit nie hou nie. Oom moet kyk wat Oom kan doen.

Ek weet nie eintlik van daardie goed nie, jong.

Maar ek weet nie of hulle dit sal toelaat nie.

Ehm, ek weet nie... Maar jy sê jy's sad vandag.

Ja, Oom, ek is nie meer gelukkig nie. Partykeer voel ek ek kan my lewe neem. Ek sal nie so lank in die tronk kan sit nie.

(Interruption, prison guard enters office to fetch kettle and mugs)

Tommy, so raak jy partykeer baie, baie sad?

Net nou en dan.

Jy sê jy voel partykeer jy kan jou lewe neem?

Ja, dit is nou as ek dink ek moet in die tronk sit... Hoe lank ek in die tronk moet wees...

En wanneer gebeur dit?

Ek weet nie... gereeld... Partykeer voel ek kwaad, Oom sien. Baie keer, dan voel ek net kwaad.

Mmmh. Dis maar moeilik... Dis nie lekker om hier te wees nie... En hoe sal jy jousef oor die algemeen beskryf? O.K., kom ons sê jy moet vir iemand 'n brief skryf – iemand wat jou nie ken nie – en jy moet jousef in so twee sinne beskryf... Wat sal jy sê?

Sê nou dis 'n onbekende meisie: Ek sal vir haar sê ek's 'n aantreklike ou, en ek het 'n goeie persoonlikheid. As dit vir 'n man is, sal ek sê ek's 'n jongerige ou met 'n goeie persoonlikheid. En ek is goed gemanierd.

O.K., nou, Tommy, jy sê daar is tyd wat jy sad voel, en daar's tye wat jy aggressief raak... En jy sê daar's tye wat jy goed voel. Wat gebeur as jy goed voel?

Ja, daar's tye wat ek goed voel. Soos wanneer ek van my ma-hulle hoor. Daar is tye wat ek bly voel. Maar hierso is dit min. Ek's nie eintlik gelukkig hier nie.

O.K., onthou, ek het net nou vir jou gevra as jy jousef moet beskryf aan iemand anders... En as jou pa-hulle jou moet beskryf aan iemand anders...?

Ek weet nie hoe sou my pa my beskryf nie. Hy sou seker sê... O.K., ek's 'n baie mooi mannetjie, maar... ek's baie aggressief. ...ek het lang vingers..., en daardie tipe goed.

O.K... Tommy, wat het gebeur met jou oog?

Dis was hierso... Ek het nou die dag met my bybel gesit. En ek het sulke boeke van speurder en goed. En toe kom daar 'n ander outjie en wil dit vat. Toe ek hom met die kop geslaan. En teen die kant van die bed en met die deur.

Emmh... En die tattoos wat jy het?

Dit is alles van die watsenaam... die nommers van die tronk en van die satanistiese tekens en goed.

Kan ek sien?

Ja, Oom kan sien (pulls up his sleeves).

Hierdie een? Dis van Sondag, dis daardie ses en twintig gang, in die gevangenis. Hierdie is soos... ses en twintig en sewe en twintig en ag en twintig. Dis van Cradock. Die verskillende ouens in die tronk. Die vywe is dit big five – hulle gaan klik jou by die beamptes, die ses en twintig is soos die (unclear, siren in background)... die ses en twintig is die beste. En die ag en twintig is soos die... moffies.

En wat is jy?

Ek is ses en twintig.

En hierdie is satanistiese tekens. En hierdie is van drugs en goed.

Maar die meeste is op jou regterarm – hoe so?

Ek het baie van dit self gedoen. Maar ek wil die goed nou uithaal.

Kan jy?

Ja, met kondensmelk. Ja, jy vat 'n speld, dan maak jy dit oop. En dan kook jy kondensmelk en gooi dit daarin. En dan druk jy dit toe.

Mmmh. Nou Tommy, ek dink ek het jou nou eers genoeg vrae gevra vir vandag. Ek gaan jou nou eers mooi verduidelik hoe dit hiervandaan gaan werk. Ek het jou nou vandag vrae gevra...

O ja, Oom, daar's iets wat my ma gesê het ek moet vertel. Van kleins af, toe ek nog jonk was, was ek al deurmekaar met drank. Ek was vyf – omtrent vier jaar oud, toe het dit begin. Baie keer as my pa werk toe was, dan het my ma vir ons drank gegee. Of baie keer het my ma ons gehelp om te steel. Dan sê sy ons moet vir haar goed kry. Kry vir haar 'n lighter... Kry vir haar dit... Kry vir haar dat... En dit gaan gebeur as ons nie dit doen nie. En baie keer het my pa ons geslaan – baie hard. Blou geslaan partykeer. En my broer is ook 'n groot krimineel. My groot broer, Jack. Hy was ook in Satanisme gewees.

(Interruption from prison guard, needs to use office)

O.K., Tommy, vandag het ek eintlik maar net vir jou kom ontmoet en vir jou 'n paar vrae gevra. En jy het vir my allerhande goed vertel van hoekom jy hier is en wat met jou gebeur het. Maar ek gaan jou weer kom sien.

Gaan dit hierdie week wees? Want volgende week is die hofsaak.

Ja, dit sal voor die hofsaak wees.

Want daar's nog 'n paar goed wat ek Oom wil vertel.

Ja, ek gaan jou nog 'n bietjie vra oor jou familie en so en ons gaan nog gesels.

Ja, dis nou juis waarom ek met Oom wil gesels.

Jy sien, ek wil vir jou leer ken. Ek gaan met jou gesels. Ek het nie na jou files gekyk en so nie. Ek wil graag jou storie hoor soos wat jy dit vertel. Maar volgende keer gaan ons 'n bietjie gesels oor jou familie en hoe jy grootgeword het, en so. Hopelik more. O.K.?

Ja.

Tommy, baie dankie. Ons het nou baie gepraat...

Mmmh. O.K., dankie Oom. (Gets up and shakes researcher's hand).

APPENDIX B

Interview Transcripts

2. Transcript of Interview 2

Date: 07 February, 2001
 Time: 14H00-15H15
 Place: Grahamstown Prison
 Interviewer: J.P. du Toit

Gister het ek jou gevra 'n paar dinge van hoe jy voel en jou geheue en so aan... Vandag gaan ek jou 'n bietjie meer vra oor hoe jy grootgeword het... en jy't gesê jy't 'n paar dinge wat jy vir my wil vertel. Nou as dit oraaï is met jou, gaan ek jou net vra oor jou familie en jou lewe tot dusver, en wat jy alles kan onthou en so.

Ehm-hm.

O.K. Jy het gesê jy's gebore op 18 Desember 1982... Wat kan jy onthou voor jy skool toe is?

Dit was daardie ding met my ma... Ek was vyf jaar oud gewees en die kleintjie was in die stootwa. Ons het daardie aand afgegaan na Harry sê huis toe... Hy't 'n vrou gehad, maar sy was daardie aand by 'n vergadering of iets. Toe gaan ons af na Harry toe – daardie ou met die kombi – Ek en my ma en 'n ander ou wat saam met Harry was. En toe klim hulle uit by so paadjie wat in die bosse afgaan. En toe sê die ou wat agter sit ek mag nie nou uitklim nie, hulle sal nou terugkom. En toe kom hulle terug na so 'n kwartier of 'n half-uur en toe gaan ons terug. En toe ons huis toe gaan, toe gee daardie ou my – dit was een rand tien sent gewees – en toe sê hy ek moet net stilbly oor wat ek gesien het.

Waaroor moes jy stilbly?

Ek weet nie, dit was aand gewees en hulle het in die bosse ingegaan, ek het niks gesien nie.

Mmmh, nou wat dink jy het gebeur?

Ek weet nie, ek kan nie sê nie.

Mmmh, maar hy't gesê jy moet stilbly, so daar het seker iets gebeur...

Ja, die een wat agter in die van gesit het... Hy't net gesê jy moet stilbly, hier's vir jou geld.

Mmmh. Dis toe jy vyf was?

Ja.

Goed. Nou, weet jy hoe jy gebore was, of dit 'n keisersnit was, of 'n gewone geboorte...?

Nee (smiles, shaking his head)

O.K., dis oraait.

Ek onthou net van kleuterskool.

Nee goed, dis oraait. So, voor skool het julle in die Baai gebly...

Mmmh (nods).

Wie het almal in die Baai gebly?

Dit was ek, en my pa, my ma, my groot broer, Jack, en Ben en Linda.

En Brenda?

Ja.

En julle het in die Baai gebly... Waar in die Baai het julle gebly?

Eers het ons in Forest Hill gebly.

Mmh.

En toe gaan ons af Algoapark toe.

O.K., en wanneer was julle af Algoapark toe?

Dit was so negentig sê kant gewees... Negentig, daarrond.

Mmmh... Nou goed. Waar's die eerste plek waar jy skoolgegaan het?

Dit was... Kleuterskool of wat?

Ja.

Dit was daar by die ACVV plek.

En hoe oud was jy toe?

Ses of sewe.

Mmh, en kan jy enige iets onthou van die kleuterskool?

(silence)

Dit was lank terug...

Ja, ag dit was lekker gewees.

Het jy baie pals gehad?

Ja, ek het baie vriende gehad. Dit was lekker gewees.

O.K., en toe jy skool toe is...?

Toe was ek in Cunningham gewees. Dis daar in die baai, as jy uit Forest Hill ry, oor die groot brug... En jy draai links... Aan die Walmer kant.

En tot wanneer was jy in daardie skool?

Van sub A af, tot so standerd een.

En toe?

Toe was ek Tjaart van der Walt toe.

Tjaart van der Walt?

Ja, S-T-J-A-R-T van der Walt.

Dis 'n ander skool?

Ja, dis daar in Algoapark se kant.

O.K., en jy's soontoe omdat julle Algoapark toe getrek het?

Ja. Ons het toe Algoapark toe getrek.

So min-of-meer Sub B, Standerd Een?

Ja.

O.K., en hoe lank was jy daar?

So twee of drie jaar.

So, tot so standerd drie, Standerd Vier?

Ja. Nee-nee-nee, tot so standerd een. Ek was 'n jaar of twee daar, toe stuur hulle my weg Natal toe.

Mmmh?

Ek was in Natal van Standerd een af, dink ek.

Hoekom was jy Natal toe gestuur?

Dit was daardie tyd toe my ma-hulle weg was daardie Desember vakansie, met my oupa se dood. Ons het by die mense langsaan gebly, toe't my groot broer begin om moeilikheid te maak. Hy't gestry en baklei in moeilikheid gemaak en ek het saam met hom goed gedoen. Ons het hand-uit geruk en so. En toe't iemand anders, ek weet nie wie dit was nie, die Welsyn gebel... En toe't hulle ons kom wegvat.

O.K., jou ma-hulle het... Jy sê jou oupa was dood, toe het jou ma-hulle weggegaan...

Ja. Hulle het na die begrafnis gegaan, dit was oor Kerstyd gewees...

Waarheen?

Welkom.

Mmh. En was dit jou ma se pa, of jou pa se pa?

Pa se pa.

En toe bly julle by die bure?

Dis reg ja.

Dis jy en Jack en...?

Dis ek en Jack en Ben en Linda en... Brenda.

En toe 's daar 'n stryery... Tussen wie?

Ek's nie seker of die kleintjies daar was nie, ek dink hulle was saam met my ma-hulle.

O.K., en toe was daar 'n stryery?

Ja.

En wie 't gestry?

Dit was ek en my groot broer.

Net jy en jou groot broer, nie die bure nie?

Nee, net ons.

En waaroor het julle gestry?

Ek kan nie nou onthou nie. Ek kan net onthou het hondestront gevat en ons gegooi met die goed en so... En toe kom die Welsyn – want iemand het gebel – en toe vat hulle ons weg.

Mmh...

En toe gaan jy daarvandaan Natal toe?

Nee, Protea plek van Veiligheid.

O.K...?

Protea Plek van Veiligheid, so plek in die Baai...

O.K., en hoe lank was jy toe daar?

...Ses maande daar gewees.

Toe stuur hulle jou Natal toe?

Ja, en my boeties en sussies was kinderhuis toe.

En jy 't alleen gegaan?

Ja.

Nou hoekom het jy alleen gegaan?

Ek weet nie. Dit, die ding is, ek weet nie... Die ding is: My groot broer, Jack, hy was in die kinderhuis gewees. En my pa het selfs 'n paar keer gesê ek was onbeheerbaar...

Het jou pa so gesê?

Ja. Maar my broer was tien keer erger as wat ek nog was.

Mmh, dis Jack, nou?

Ja (excited voice). Maar toe stuur hulle my weg. Toe sê ek, maar hoe kan ek... Hoe kan daar plek vir my broer in die kinderskool wees, maar vir my is daar dan nie plek nie? Toe sê hulle daar's 'n kinderskool in Natal waar ek kan heengaan, maar eintlik was dit 'n nywerheidsskool. En toe stuur hulle my weg.

Nou wat het jou pa bedoel toe hy gesê het jy's onbeheerbaar?

Ek weet nie. Net my pa sal kan sê.

Mmh, maar watse rede het hy gebruik.

Ek weet nie, maar... hy't, hy't, hy't, ek weet nie, maar hy't so gesê (excited). Hy't sommer so gesê... Ek, ek, ek was nie bygewees nie.

Mmh...

Maar ek't eers na die tyd gehoor.

By wie't jy gehoor?

My pa't na die tyd vir my gesê.

Mmh, O.K.

Miskien as dinge voorheen anders was sou dinge nie gewees het wat dit vandag is nie...

Mmmh?

Maar hulle't my weggestuur... Ek was die enigste een wat van Queenstown af na 'n nywerheidsskool verplaas was.

Soos jou broer?

Ja.

Mmmh... O.K., nou die skool in Natal, wat is sy naam, waar is dit?

Bergsig, so sestig kilo's van Newcastle.

O.K., en hoe lank was jy daar?

Ek was daar so omtrent vyf jaar – vier of vyf jaar.

Ehm-mmh...?

So vier jaar in Bergsig, toe stuur hulle my Queenstown toe.

O.K., maar sê eers vir my, hoe was dit daar in Bergsig?

Dit was lekker gewees daar.

Ehm? Wat was lekker?

Alles was lekker gewees daar. Daar was spruitjies en goed. Ons het altyd afgegaan na die spruitjies en daar gaan speel... Ons het altyd in die natuur ingegaan, ons het slange gevang en kleilat gespeel... Stokbroode gebraai..., hase se hokke skoongemaak, hase gevoer...

Op julle eie?

Ja, baie keer het ons afgegaan, dan gaan haal ons klei uit daar en maak goeters... Ag, dit was net baie lekker daar. Dis die lekkerste skool waar ek nog was.

Maar... toe stuur hulle jou iewers anders?

Ja, dis toe het hulle my oorgestuur het omdat ek by my broer wou wees.

Mmmh...

Hulle't my oorgestuur omdat ek by hom wou wees. Toe stuur hulle my J.J. Serfontein toe, maar ek moes nie, dit was 'n fout gewees.

Mmmh... En wanneer het jy soontoe gegaan.

Dit was... vyf en negentig gewees.

En jy was in standerd...?

Ek was in vier of vyf gewees daardie tyd.

Mmmh, maar jy sê dit was 'n fout gewees...

Ja, want toe ek daar kom, het my broer weggeloop daar.

Toe jy daar kom was hy al klaar weg?

Ja, toe't hy gedros.

Waarheen was hy toe?

Ek weet nie.

O.K...

Ja, die eerste keer toe ek daar kom, was hy al klaar weg, toe kom hy twee dae daarna daar aan. Ja, toe was ek in elk geval alleen gewees. Hy't gereeld weggeloop.

En jy was toe in standerd vier of vyf?

Ja, en ek het gereeld saam met hom weggeloop toe hy nog daar was... En ons het gedrink, naweke uitgeslip disko's toe... (silence).

Nou jy sê julle het dagga gerook. Hoeveel het julle gerook?

Klomp. Ons het daagliks geboer met die dagga. Ons het daardie dag klomp gekoop – omtrent vier/vyf koeverte.

Mmmh... Hoe groot is die koeverte – 'n bankie?

Nee, meer as 'n bankie, 'n groot koevert. 'n Koevert is omtrent so groot (shows approximately a fist full).

O.K...

En hy's styf gestop... As jy hom oopmaak, maak dit so groot hoop (shows).

Mmmh...

Dan koop ons so vier of vyf – partykeer tot ses of sewe van daardie koeverte, elke dag. En dan rook ons so vyf of ses zolle – styf gestop.

Sjoe... en net dagga en drank?

Net dagga en drank. Dis al wat daar was by daardie skool.

En tot wanneer was jy daar?

Waar?

By J.J. Serfontein?

Tot 98. Of 2000, of nee, 99.

O.K., en hoe was dit daar?

Ag, nie lekker nie. Die skool self was baie lekker, maar ek was baie afgeknou daar. Daar was baie groot ouens.

Afgeknou?

Ja, daar was baie groot ouens. Hulle het my afgeknou en uitgetart en geterg.

Nou, dit was nie 'n nywerheidsskool nie?

Dit was 'n nywerheidsskool, ja, maar dit het nou verander.

Maar dis nie 'n kinderhuis nie?

Nee, dit was 'n nywerheidsskool, nie 'n kinderhuis nie. Maar dit het nou verander na 'n kindersorgskool. Hulle het nou – onlangs – 'n standerd vier en vyf ook gekry.

Nou, Tommy, so jy was eintlik min by die huis?

Ja, ek was omtrent nooit by die huis nie.

Vakansies en naweke en die?

Ek was nooit naweke by die huis nie. Net vakansies, soos Desember en Junie vakansies...

Net die lang vakansies? En September en April, dan bly jy daar?

Ja.

En wat maak jy dan?

Ag, speel maar daarrond. (More excited) Daar's baie meer goed om te doen by daardie skool...

...as by die huis?

Ja, Drie Susters is maar 'n dom dorpie. Nou... As ons nog in die Baai was... Alles kon so anders gewees het, maar nou. Daar was altyd 'n gestryery in die huis. Toe ons gebly het in die Baai, het daar moeilikheid gekom. My ma en pa het baie baklei. Toe ons daar gebly het en ons het ingebreek, het my ma die goed weggesteek... Klere en goed in die

dak... En toe ons winkels toe gegaan het – O.K., ons het swaar gekry daardie tyd, toe ons baie goed gevat. My ma het baie keer... By die agterkant van die winkel, daar waar hulle vleis en goed verkoop...

Mmmh...

Dan vat sy vleis en goed en sit dit sommer net in haar handsak... En dan loop sy uit. En dan sê sy ons moet sommer van daardie Oil of Oley goeters kry... En so het ek van kleins af goed leer steel.

Mmh. Jy sê jou ma en pa het baie gestry?

Ja, hulle het baie rusies gehad. Oor die ou dinge van die familie waaroor niemand praat nie.

Soos...?

Soos die ding wat my pa uitgevind het oor my ma se suster.

Mmmh...

Haar naam was Santjie.

Santjie?

Ja.

Jou ma se suster?

Jaa... Niemand het dit geweet nie, ons het nie een dit geweet nie... Dit was my ma se regte kind gewees nie. Ons het almal gedink dis my ma se suster. Want sy't vir my pa so gesê...

Mmmh...

Maar toe my pa en my ma daaroor praat, sê my ma my pa is eintlik haar tweede man. En dit was die eerste keer dat my pa hiervan hoor. My pa was... Dit was in 92... 93 gewees, toe sê my tannie vir my pa Santjie was nie eintlik haar dogter – ag, haar suster nie, sy was my ma se dogter. Dit was my ma se kind gewees. Ons suster eintlik.

Mmmh... Toe was jou pa kwaad daaroor?

My pa was briesend gewees.

Wat het hy gedoen?

Hy kon niks doen nie.

Mmmh, maar jy sê hy was briesend – wat beteken dit?

Oom, ek weet nie hoe om dit te stel nie: As mens kwaad is, word jy kwaad sonder maniere. Baie keer as ek by die huis is, dan hoor ek hierdie gestryery... En dan stry hulle tot laat in die nag. En dan slaan my pa my ma... Of my ma vat 'n hakskoen en slaan haarself oor die kop...

Mmmh...

Ek weet nie presies wat gebeur nie... Maar... As daar 'n stryery is... Baie keer dan begin hulle te huil en dit. Dan kom ek en dan troos ek hulle. Ek het dit altyd reggekry om grappe te maak by die huis. Terwyl my pa en ma stry.

Mmmh....

Altyd, dat my suster-hulle 'n bietjie kan lag.

Soos wat?

Soos He-man stunts en vlieende karate moves. Net om hulle 'n bietjie op te cheer, dat hulle nie hoef te luister na my pa en ma nie.

Jy praat nou van jou susters?

Ja, want as hulle 'n bietjie kan lag, vergeet hulle van goeters. Maar partykeer het dit te erg geraak – soos toe my pa my ma twee keer toegesluit het in die selle... Toe trek my pa die saak terug teen haar.

Toe was jou pa twee dae in die selle omdat hy jou ma geslaan het?

Nee, my pa het my ma twee dae toegesluit in die selle.

Hoekom?

Want daar was 'n gestryery en daar was 'n interdik.

Het jou pa 'n interdik gehad?

Ja... Teen my ma. Ja, ag my pa en my ma het amper geskei... In ag-en-negentig, maar hulle het toe nooit geskei nie. Maar die skei was aan gewees...

Mmmh.

(silence)

Nou... Gister toe jy my vertel het van die Satanisme, ne... Jy het in die Baai later kwaai betrokke geraak, maar jy't vantevore al daarmee te doen gehad...

Ja.

Nou wanneer het jy die eerste keer daarmee te doen gehad?

Dit was in J.J. Serfontein gewees – in die skool.

Mmmh. En wat het toe daar gebeur?

Dit was toe ek met die witchcraft gespeel het. Dan speel ons glasier-glasier en roep geeste op en praat met die geeste... Toe't ons rotte gevang – en muise... en dan vat ons die muise.

O.K..., maar jy sê dit was nie so ernstig nie?

Nee, dit was nie so ernstig soos in die Baai nie.

O.K., dit was in J.J. Serfontein, toe't jy so 'n bietjie daarmee te doen gehad.

Ja.

En was dit saam met vriende by die skool of wat?

Dit was saam met Werner Fourie gewees.

Mmh.

'n Outjie wat saam met my in die koshuis was. Hy was 'n goeie vriend van my. En hy was diep in die witchcraft ingeweess.

Nou waar het hy gehoor daarvan?

Ek weet nie waar hy gehoor het daarvan nie. Sy suster – sy was my meisie ook – sy sê hy't idees gekry van die goed. Hy – as hy huis toe gegaan het, dan neem hy boeke uit van witchcraft.

Maar jy't ook boeke uitgeneem?

Ja, maar dit was in Drie Susters. En oor Satanisme. Soos vakansies as ek huis toe gaan. In die dorp se biblioteek. En dis waar ek die boeke gekry het.

En toe?

En toe't ek die boeke gelees... Van al die bloeddrinkery en die seksuele goeters, en... al daardie witchcraft stuff.

Mmmh...

En toe sien ek satanisme is baie dieselfde as wat witchcraft is. En toe begin ek met Dungeons en Dragons en glasier-glasie en daardie goed. En toe begin ek al dieper ingaan in die goed. Tot jy hare kan vat en meng met sulke goed en spells op kan sit en so.

Mmmh. Maar toe't jy weer terug gegaan skool toe?

Ja, en toe wys ek vir hom die boeke en goed. En toe sê hy nee, ons kan nie in die skool so ver ingaan in die goed nie.

Mmmh.

Want hy weet ons gaan gevang word. En toe ek verder gegaan as hy in die goed, want toe't ek gaan rotte slag en daardie goed... En toe begin ek klubs en diskos en goed toe gaan. En toe't ek begin uitslip na diskos toe en met meisiekinders gejol en baie minder skool gelike. En toe skors hulle my. En dis toe ek af Baai toe is.

Na hulle jou geskors het by die skool?

Ja.

Tot watter standerd was jy by die skool?

Sewe.

Standerd sewe?

Toe't ek standerd ag twee keer gedoen, maar ek het nooit die finale eksamen vir standerd ag geskryf nie.

En dit was negentien...?

Nege-en-negentig.

En toe's jy Baai toe?

Ja, toe't ek gehike tot in die Baai en in die hawe gebly.

En hoe't jy toe uitgekome by die sataniste in die Baai?

Ek't jou mos gesê ek het daardie drank gedrink van daardie meisie...

Jy't haar mos by 'n klub ontmoet?

Jy by daardie disko.

O.K., en toe word jy wakker by hulle?

Ja, maar voor die tyd het ek altyd saam met vriende gegaan... Dan van ons diere en slag hulle en dan gaan ons huis toe en dan kyk ons movies... Ons het altyd movies gekyk van... Jason goes to hell... En Freddie Kruger movies en daardie goed.

Mmh. Nou waar het julle die idee gekry om diere te slag?

Ag, ons het dit maar net gedoen. Dit was in die boeke ook... Van diere slag en sulke goed.

Watse diere het julle geslag?

Aag... Katte, honde, muise, enige ding.

En dan slag julle hom...?

En dan lag ons as ons die bloed sien.

O.K... En dan offer julle hom?

Ja. En dan sit ons hom op 'n altaar. Daar's verskillende altaars... Kerse op die koppenend... Dan moet die bloed van die diere nou gedrink word... Ag en dan bid ons en bid ons... En dan begin ons te huil, partykeer lag ons weer... Totdat satan self antwoord.

Mmh.

En as hy begin praat, begin die vlamme hoer raak.

Mmmh. So hoeveel mense is daar dan?

So dertig. Drie-en-dertig.

En dis elke keer dieselfde mense?

Ja, dit hang net af watter coffin dit is.

En het julle partykeer met ander coffins te doen gehad ook?

Ja, partykeer dan ruil ons uit. Dan ruil ons weer met mekaar.

O.K... En jy sê julle het bloed gedrink, maar dis nie net 'n swart kat nie? Dis maar net 'n storie?

Ja, dis nie net 'n swart kat nie, dis enige bloed. Van enige dier... Troeteldiere gewoonlik – van mense. Want die ingewande en goed – die entrails – gee ons magiese kragte. Magiese towerkragte en goed.

Soos?

Jy kan verskillende goed doen. Jy kan spells op mense sit... Soos jy vat die goed, die bloed en ingewande en speeksel en goed en dan meng jy dit... En soos die voetspoor... En jy kan 'n spell op iemand sit. Of hare, jy kan hare gebruik, en dan val sy hare uit.

Mmh, en nou 't jy my vertel van Werner Fourie. Jy't met sy suster uitgegaan, sê jy. Was sy jou eerste meisie?

Nee, maar sy was my meisie. My eerste meisie was in die Baai gewees.

Mmh...?

Waar was dit... In Algoapark?

Nee, dit was in Forest Hill gewees. Haar naam was Nadia gewees. (silent)

Jaa...? En hoe oud was sy?

Ons was saam op kleuterskool gewees. Ek was ag en sy was seker so sewe. En toe was ons saam in Cunningham gewees. En toe gaan ek Natal toe. En toe die eerste ding wat ek doen... Toe vra sy haar ma of sy ook Natal toe kan gaan. Want dit was 'n meisieskool en 'n seunsskool. En toe was ek saam met haar tot in standerd vier. En toe gaan ek weg daar.

Mmh. En het jy by haar geleer van die feite van die lewe?

Nee, nie eintlik nie (smiles and looks down). Daardie tyd is jy te klein om eintlik van daardie goed te leer. Ek het eintlik later geleer by die ander skool.

By die ouer outjies?

Ja. Dis toe ons gepraat het oor meisiekinders... Maar dit het vroeër ook gebeur... Ja, dit was in Natal gewees...

Mmmh?

Ja, dis die eerste keer toe ek geslagsgemeenskap gehad het met 'n meisie. Toe word ons gevang – en die skool het dit nie gelike nie.

Dit was in die skool gewees?

Ja, dit was in die vakansie gewees. Ons het almal saam in een koshuis geslaap, want daar was min kinders in die vakansie gewees. Sy't in 'n enkelkamer geslaap en toe's ek een aand in haar kamer en toe vang die oom ons... Die hoof van die plek... Van die koshuis...

En toe...?

En toe't hy dit die volgende dag rapporteer. En toe... Daar't nie eintlike iets gebeur aan die saak nie.

Hoe oud was jy toe?

Dertien.

Mmh...?

En, dit was nie eintlik my meisie nie.

En was Werner se suster jou eerste meisie?

Nee, dit kan nie eintlik wees nie. Dis, hoe sal ek sê... Nie eintlik 'n meisie nie, meer soos in casual... Ek het meer gejol en so... Ek het nie eintlik uitgegaan met 'n meisie nie.

Nou wat is die verskil?

Jol is meer soos in vry vanaand met die een meisie en môre-aand met 'n ander een...

En 'n meisie?

'n Meisie is wanneer jy 'n vaste verhouding het... Wanneer jy regtig lief is vir haar.

Mmmh... O.K. Tommy ek vra jou nogal persoonlike goed...

Nee, dis doodreg (emphatically).

O.K., maar jy sê partykeer het gemeenskap ook te doen gehad met ritual van die satanisme?

Ja, dit is... Daar is sekere goed wat jy noem orgies... Orgies is wanneer jy... Bonatuurlike geeste en goete... Soos wanneer jy met hulle seks het.

Mmmh?

Dit was daar in Cradock gewees – toe ek in die tronk was. Dit was so Junie-maand...

Laasjaar?

Ja.

En jy't ook nie weer satan se stem gehoor nie?

Dis baie keer of mens goeters sien – vlamme en dit... Figure, maar ek kan nie eintlik uitmaak wat is dit nie. Dit was in die enkelsel.

Nou, hierso?

Nee, daar in Cradock. Dis toe ek my eie lewe wou neem het. Toe kom die dominee, toe bid die dominee vir my dat ek tot bekering kan kom. Want toe is ek onder die invloed van bese geeste en goed. Dit was nog in die tronk gewees. Toe... Toe't ek besluit om tot bekering te kom. Daarso, toe ek tot bekering gekom het, het ek gebid vir die Here en Hy't my gehelp.

Nou wanneer het jy tot bekering gekom?

Dit was in die sel gewees, toe die dominee met my kom praat het.

En wat sê dominee was dit?

Dominee Blom.

En van toe af het jy nooit weer probleme gehad nie?

Nee.

Tot vandag toe?

Ja, net my ouma wat nog met my praat.

Nou wat sê sy dan.

Partykeer sê sy net "Hallo my seun" – dis soos wanneer ek met my ma praat.

Nou wanneer gebeur dit – in die aand, of wat?

Gewoonlik in die aand, ja, maar partykeer in die dag.

Mmmh?

Dan sit ek so, dan kom my ouma se stem in my kop en dan praat sy met my. Dan gaan sy weg. Dan praat sy weer so na twee of drie dae met my.

En dit gebeur nou-nog?

Ja, dit gebeur baie nog.

Mmmh.

En jy sê jy't baie sport gedoen op skool, Tommy?

Ja, ek't baie sport gedoen. Rugby, sokker, krieket... Spiesgooi, gewigstoot, diskus, verspring...

O.K., nou gaan ek jou gou vra om my te help. Ek gaan gou 'n prentjie teken van jou familie... (explain genogram). Nou sê jy vir my jou ma het 'n ander kind gehad...

Dis Jack.

En wat van Santjie?

Ja, en Santjie.

Nou is hulle broer en suster?

Nee, hulle het ander pa's gehad... My ma het al drie mans gehad.

O.K. (draws on genogram), nou wie's die oudste – Santjie of Jack?

Santjie. Ek dink Santjie was 'n jaar of twee ouer as my broer.

O.K., dan's julle vier.

Ja, ek, dan Ben...

O.K., dan's dit Linda, dan Brenda?

Ja.

O.K... Weet jy hoe oud jou pa en ma is?

Joe, ek dink my pa's nou.... Vier-en-veertig en my ma is vyf-en-veertig.

En jou ma se naam is...?

Charlotte.

O.K. Nou jou pa – hoeveel broers en susters het hy?

Hy het... Dis Martin, dis John... Peter, Anton...

Martin?

Dis Martin, dis Anton, dis Peter – John, dis al.

John en Peter, of is dit dieselfde?

Nee, dis John-Peter. O.K., en dan's dit sy suster – dis tannie Linda... en Lynette en dan's dit tannie Rolene.

O.K.

En daar was nog 'n kleiner suster gewees, sê my pa, maar ek weet nie wat het van haar geword nie. Ek dink sy's dood gewees op 'n sekere tyd. Ek weet nie of dit met geboorte-tyd is nie.

O.K. Nou jou pa se pa, hy was ook Thomas Veldman?

Ja.

En jou ouma, jou pa se ma, wat was haar naam?

Wil... Wille... Willemina... Angelica...

En wat het jou oupa gedoen?

My oupa was... Joe, hy't in die myne gewerk.

En waar was dit?

In Welkom.

O.K. En jou ouma?

Joe, ek weet nie wat my ouma gedoen het nie. Ek dink my ouma was 'n huisvrou.

Weet jy hoe oud hulle is?

My ouma was in die sestigs en my oupa was ook in die sestigs.

Is hulle dood?

Ja.

Waarvan?

My oupa het 'n hartaanval gehad... en... ek dink my ouma het ook 'n hartaanval gehad. Of my ouma het 'n oordosis pille gebruik – niemand sal kan sê nie.

O.K., en jou oom Martin... Wat doen hy?

Hy's in die tronk. Tronk.

Nou...

(Interrupts) Ag nee wat hy't sommer... Ag nee wat, hy't sommer goudstof en goed gesteel van die myne af. Dinamiet en goed.

In Welkom?

(Nods)

Bly hy nog steeds in Welkom?

Ek weet nie! Ek weet nie wat het van daardie oom-hulle geword nie!

O.K. En Anton?

Ek weet nie wat doen hy nie.

O.K., jy weet nie wat doen hy nie. Weet jy waar hy bly?

Ook in Welkom.

O.K., en John-Peter?

Hy't nou... Lewensgevangenisstraf.

Mmmh?

In P.E.

O.K... En wat het hy gedoen?

Ek weet nie... Moord.

O.K., en wat se job het hy gehad.

Dis al wat hy gedoen het.

Moord?

Ja, ek's ernstig – dis al wat hy gedoen het. Dis waarvoor hy in die tronk is. Dis al wat hy gedoen het.

Mmmh. O.K. En tannie Linda?

Sy was daar by... So ander electric plek gewees.

En waar's dit?

Ook in Welkom.

O.K....

En Lynette het haar eie besigheid – 'n haarsalon... Ook in Welkom. En Tannie Rolene, ek weet nie waar daardie tannie is nie.

O.K.

Hulle het getrek... Hulle is nie meer in Welkom nie. Hulle het getrek... Was dit nou...? Ek dink Lichtenburg of iets.

O.K., en jou ma – broers en susters?

Jaa... Joe, wie's dit nou...? Nee, ek weet ook nie. Ek ken nie my ma se broers en susters nie. Ek weet daar was 'n suster – wie's dit nou...? Margaret. Margaret is een van haar susters. Ek kan nie nou... Ek ken nie hulle nie.

Mmmh. En ouma en oupa aan jou ma se kant?

Dit was oupa... Ek kan nie nou... Dit was oupa Pottie. En ouma Pottie of iemand, ek weet nou nie. Ek ken nie hulle regte name nie.

Mmmh. En waar's hulle nou?

Hulle's in die Transvaal.

En hulle lewe altwee nog?

Ja. Ek weet nie, ek dink my oupa is in die tronk.

En weet jy wat hy gedoen het?

Nee, ek weet nie.

Mmmh. Nou jy sê jou oom Martin was in die tronk... En jou oom Anton weet jy nie van nie...

Anton was ook in die tronk gewees.

Waarvoor?

Ek dink hy't sy vrou geslaan.

Sy eie vrou?

Ja. Dis 'n aantreklike vrou. Hulle't 'n dogtertjie ook gehad, maar sy's weggevat. Hulle's alkoholiste ook.

En jou pa, was hy ook al in die tronk?

Nee, hy't nog nooit eers 'n rekord teen hom nie.

O.K. En jy sê hy's op pensioen. Nou is dit 'n ouderdom-pensioen, of is dit 'n disability grant, of wat?

Ek weet nie. My pa was by die dokters gewees ook, toe't hy gesê hulle moet hom board.

Mmmh... Vir wat?

Ek weet nie.

Nou watse werk het hy gedoen voor hy geboard was?

Hy't by die customs gewerk.

By die hawe?

Ja. In P.E.

O.K., en Jack, wat doen hy nou?

Ek weet nie.

En weet jy waar hy is?

Sover ek weet in Queenstown.

En Ben?

Hy's op skool.

O ja, jy't gesê hy en jou susters is op skool. Tommy, nou... Met wie't jy die beste oor die weg gekom in die familie?

(pauses) Van almal my susters – Brenda.

O.K... En die slegste?

Jack. (long pause) O.K., ook nie eintlik Jack nie, eintlik my pa. Maar eintlik net omdat my pa so streng was op ons, het ek die slegste oor die weg gekom met hom. Want ek kon nie die streng ding vat nie.

Mmmh. En jou ma?

Ek't goed met my ma oor die weg gekom. Ek het goed met almal oor die weg gekom, daardie tyd. Maar die beste met my klein sussie.

Hoe so?

Ag, ek het altyd met haar gespeel.

Jy en jou He-man-ding.

(smiles, somewhat shy). Ja. Ag, ons het dieselfde goed gelike. Altyd gespeel met klein diertjies... En daardie dag toe ek moes tronk toe gaan... Toe kom... Toe huil sy by my en toe kom druk sy my vas. En toe gee sy my drie rand om sweets te gaan koop. En sê ek moet terugkom.

En dan, hoe voel jy dan?

Dan voel ek sleg. (silence)

Mmmh. Wat het van Werner geword?

Hy het gebly in... Bloemfontein. 29 Bismarck straat, ek onthou nie nou die area nie. Maar hulle... Hy't op 'n plot ook gebly – hy en 'n ander outjie, hulle het 'n karbesigheid gehad.

In Bloemfontein?

Ja. (silence)

*O.K., ek gaan jou nou net 'n paar ander vrae vra. Jy sê jy raak partykeer aggressief...
Of kwaad... Nou, wat maak jou kwaad?*

Baie dinge. Gewoonlik as mense praat en dan verwag hulle daardie ding moet nou
gedoen word. Of hulle wil nie na my luister nie. Ag, soos nou as ek vir iemand iets vra
en daar gebeur niks nie.

So... Nou wat gebeur as jy kwaad raak?

Ag ek raak... Ek slaan goeters stukkend, dan gaan lê ek op my bed, dan huil ek.

Dan huil jy?

Ja, van kwaadheid.

Dan huil jy van kwaadheid?

Ja.

Nou wat maak dan dat jy ophou huil?

Niks. Ek hou vanself op. Sommer net.

Moeg?

(Nods)

Mmmh... En die arms?

Dis toe ek selfmoord probeer pleeg het. Oor 'n meisiekind. Daardie eerste meisiekind –
Jackie, daar in Queenstown.

Watter arm?

Die een (points to right arm).

Sal jy my wys?

Ja. (rolls up sleeve to expose multiple scars)

Watter een was die meisie?

Hierso (strokes over most prominent scar)

Daardie lang een?

Nee, hierso en hierso en hierso (Shows scars)

Het al daardie in dieselfde tyd gebeur?

Ja. Die ander was tussen... Dit het in die tronk gebeur, toe ek nie in die tronk wou wees nie. En die kant (rolls up left sleeve) was in Cradock gewees, toe ek nie meer in Cradock wou wees nie. (Pauses, sits back)

Nou hoe voel jy as jy dit doen?

Kwaad.

Kwaad vir jouself?

Nee, ek kan nie dit uithou in die tronk nie. Hoekom moet dit so wees? Daar's so baie mense wat kanse kry.

Mmmh?

Ja, kyk so daardie ander ouens. Hulle kry kanse. Dan kan hulle uitgaan op bail en dit. En al daardie goed. Hoekom word ek nie ook daardie kans gegee nie? (more animated) Maar, ag, Oom, ek gaan nie... Ek sweer, ek gaan nie lê nie. Ek kan nie. Hoe werk dit?

Mmmh. Jy sien, ek's nie 'n prokureur nie, ek kan ongelukkig nie sê hoe die legal system werk nie.

Nee, oom, hierdie dinge wat so onregverdig is... Kyk haai ander oues wat hier sit... Tw.. Drie jaar gekry vir moord. 'n Ander ou van Drie Susters, hy't twee moorde gepleeg en vir elke moord kry hy 'n honderd-en-vyftig rand.

Mmmh... Nou wat dink jy moet gebeur?

(Animated) Hulle kon my (emphasise) bail gegee het! Daardie ouens... Dan moet hulle mos ook soos ek behandel word.

Mmmh... Dit klink nie regverdig nie...?

Ek was geslaan en geskop en met guns teen my kop en goed, daar by Queenstown gewees – daar by die kommando's. Dis daar waar die polisie my so gemartel het.

Dis toe hulle jou arresteer het?

Ja. (calmer, pauses while staring at the ground)

En nou hierdie ouens?

Nee, ek weet nie. 'lyk my die saak gaan nog aan. (pauses) Hulle't gesê hulle gaan my enige nag nog kom uithaal. (refers to threats made by policemen in Queenstown). Hulle het gesê hulle gaan vir die hobos en tsotsis en goed sê om vir my aan te rand.

Mmmh. Maar jy sê jy gaan nie lê nie...?

Nee, ek sal nie kan lê nie. Ek sal nie so lank kan lê nie.

Nou wat gaan jy doen?

Ek weet nie (spoken slowly). (followed by silence)

Wanneer is die saak?

Maandag. (silence)

En wat gaan dan gebeur?

Ek weet nie.

Nou is dit nou die eerste keer dat die saak voorkom?

Ja.

Hoe so?

Ag, dit was die heelyd uitgestel – oor dokumente wat weg was, en ander goed. En dit was in die landdroshof, maar is uitgestel na die hooggeregshof en wag tot daar plek is.

En nou is daar plek in die hooggeregshof?

Mmh (nods).

In die Baai of in Grahamstad?

Hierso.

En gaan hulle jou vra om te pleit?

Ek weet nie, seker.

Mmh..., en wat dan?

Dan moet ek skuldig pleit, want ek is skuldig. Ek kan nie onskuldig pleit nie. (silence)

Mmmh... As jy moet sê, vyf dinge wat in jou lewe uitstaan, die vyf... belangrikste dinge wat met jou gebeur het, maak nie saak of hulle goed of sleg is nie... Vyf goeters wat vir jou uitstaan...

Wat vir my lekker is?

Lekker of sleg... Maar die vyf grootste goed wat met jou gebeur het.

Die vyf lekkerste goed?

Ehm, of sleg. Of wat jy kan doen, is jy kan vir my die vyf lekkerste goed en die vyf slegste goed sê, as jy wil.

O.K., die vyf lekkerste goed vir my is... Toe ek en my pa saam visvang of gaan jag het... Ons het altyd saam vis gaan vang...

En wanneer het dit gebeur?

Ek was baie klein – dit was in vakansies gewees – ek was so ses of sewe. Dan het ons altyd bos toe gegaan en gaan jag of so. Ek kan onthou, toe ek vyftien was het ek en my pa ook gaan jag. Dit was vir my lekker gewees. Dan het ons in die bos rondgeloop, dan vertel my pa vir my stories... En dan vertel hy vir my hoe om te maak – sê ek moet versigtig wees... (silence)

O.K., dis een lekker ding...

Daardie is al... (silence)... Of partykeer, as ek saam met my vriende uitgegaan het – diskos toe. En natuurlik om gemeenskap met 'n meisie te hê.

Ehm... Is daar een spesifiek wat jy onthou?

Ja, Jackie (smiles). Ehm, dis al.

O.K., en slegt-

O ja, en natuurlik om saam met my broers en susters te wees. Soos om Kersfees saam by die huis te wees – al kry ons nie lekker goed nie, dis net lekker om saam by die huis te wees. As my pa daar is en goed. Dan is ons saam en sing ons liedjies en goed. Nie noodwendig drank nie, ons vier Kersfees soos dit gevier behoort te word – saam met die familie. En dan sit ons saam Oukersaand en goed... En Kersfees braai ons saam – sonder drank. En nou's dit verby.

En die vyf slegste goed?

Satanisme. En die drugs en gangster-besigheid. En ek was altyd ver... ver weg van almal af, van my ouers af. En toe ek altyd afgedruk was by die skool... Hulle het my

altyd eenkant gedruk. Die ouens het my altyd verkleineer en my geterg – getart. Baie keer het hulle my geslaan... En dan nog hierdie ding van die tronk. En dan was een ding nog gewees... O ja, dis toe hulle my weggevat het... Van my ma-hulle af. Toe hulle my in die tronk gesit het... As ek darem net nog een kans kon kry! Ek dink dis beter om met die judge self te praat om 'n kans te kry. As ek net met die judge kon praat om nog een kans te kry... As ek miskien net een kans... Een kans kan kry om die judge allenig te kry.

Voel jy nie jy het 'n kans gekry nie?

Ek voel... Ek... Ek... Ek voel... Ek weet... As hulle my nie na JJ toe gestuur het nie... Dit kon anders gewees het. Hulle het my... Ek kan ook nie die blaam op hulle sit nie, ek weet jy kies jou vriende, ja, maar dis nie maklik nie om nee te sê vir jou vriende nie. Dis nie maklik nie. Dis nie lekker as jy geterg word by die skool nie. As hulle vir jou sê jy's 'n sissie of 'n bangbroek, of so nie. En dan lag die ander kinders... Dit maak my kwaad as die ander lag... En baie keer het ek en my pa 'n uitval gehad oor die klere wat ek moet dra. Dan sê ek vir my pa dis anders vandag... Vandag se mode is anders as in julle tyd... Maar in daardie tyd het hulle maar dieselfde goed gedoen... Nou wil hulle nie hê ek moet nie. Daardie tyd, O.K., dit was anders, maar hulle het ook maar goed gedoen... Maar my pa-hulle moet net by my staan. Miskien... As ek net naweke kan uitgaan onder korrektiewe toesig – kan huis toe gaan, en dan sit ek in die week in die tronk... Kan hulle nie dit doen nie?

Tommy, dit sal jy maar vir jou prokureur moet vra... Ek weet nie van daardie goed nie, jong.

Maar ek kan nie so aangaan nie... Ek moet net uitkom uit hierdie gemors waarin ek nou is.

Hoe het jy daar ingekom, Tommy?

Dis deur vriende... Na vriende geluister.

En jy sê die Satanisme is een van die slegste goed wat met jou gebeur het?

Ja, daar het alles gebeur...

Nou wat het gemaak dat jy teruggegaan het na hulle toe?

Ag, dis verskeie goed. Dis die goed van, ag... glasier-glasier en daardie goed. Jy kan verskillende goed doen, dis soos powers wat jy kry... Dit gee vir jou powers. Wat ander mense nie kan doen nie, kan jy doen. En dan kan jy vir hulle goed vra. En dan luister hulle vir jou. Maar ek wou wegkom uit JJ Serfontein... Ek het my ouers gevra, maar hulle wou nie. En elke keer het ek gesê ek wil ophou met die dagga en drinkery. Maar elke naweek, dan koop die ouens drank, en dan rook hulle dagga... En glasier-glasier en die goed. Elke keer dink ek ek gaan nou ophou, maar dan het ek nie. Dis soos, sê nou ek

doen iets verkeerd, is daar net iemand was wat vir my kon sê: “Wat jy nou doen, is verkeerd, jy moet so maak en so maak...” Maar daar was niemand nie. En as ek naweke by die huis was, was dit ook nie so nie... Dan sê my ma ek moet gaan goed steel. Ek moet dit steel of dat steel. En van kleins af al het ek gedrink, drink, drink, drink... Ag, ek drink seker nou al... Hoeveel jaar al? Seker twaalf jaar al. Twaalf of vyftien jaar al, nou wat ek drink.

En van kleins af het jy gedink dit was lekker?

Ja, maar dis al wat ek geken het. Dis soos, sê nou ‘n kind sien sy pa drink drie biere of wat ookal ‘n dag... Dan dink hy mos dis lekker. Maar sê nou iemand se pa drink een keer ‘n maand, of een bier elke drie weke, of drie maande, dan gaan jy mos ook nie so baie drink nie. Ag, dis ook nie dat ons kaste en kaste bier gedrink het nie. Baie keer, dan kom my pa by die huis aan met drank en dan drink ons saam, maar nie baie nie. Maar later, dan wou ek nog hê. En so het ek aangegaan en aangegaan en aangegaan agter my ma en my broer aan... Maar, O.K., baie keer het my ma na my broer geluister. Baie keer as my ma gesê het ons moet gaan steel, is dit omdat my broer so gesê het. Soos as ons kos gesteel het of goed. Ons het baie gesteel. Baie keer het ons straat toe gegaan en gebedel vir geld. Dit was ‘n swaar tyd gewees...

Mmmh... En jy sê baie keer het die ander ouens jou... Verkleineer en geterg en geboelie...

Dit was in die skool.

Mmmh? Het dit nie by die huis gebeur nie?

Nee... O.K., my pa het ons baie geslaan, ja. Maar nie met die vuig nie. O.K., hy het my eenkeer geslaan, ja, maar dit was toe ek... Dit was my eie skuld, daar was dit my eie skuld.

Het hy jou pak gegee?

Hy het my baie pakgegee, ja. Maar hy het my net eenkeer met die vuig in die gesig geslaan. Maar dit was toe ek... Dit was as gevolg van... Ek het baie van sy goed by die huis gesteel, dan vat ek dit skool toe. Sy tools... en sy visvang gereedskap en goed...

Maar daar was nie een keer wat hy jou lelik geslaan het nie?

Nee, net daardie een keer.

Was jy al ooit gemolesteer?

Nee, nooit nie. Daar was een keer in die skool – toe is daar ‘n ou wat gesê het ek het homoseksuele neigings. Hulle het eenkeer ‘n saak gemaak teen ons in die skool... Toe

sê hulle ek het homoseksuele goeters gedoen – ek was betrokke by die goed. Maar die saak was toe teruggetrek.

Wat het gebeur?

Ag, die ou het die saak teruggetrek. O.K., ek was by gewees eenkeer toe dit gebeur het. Toe die ouens dit gedoen het. Dit was Tommy Koekemoer. Ek weet daarvan, ja, maar ek het nie gaan praat daaroor nie. Maar dit was nie ek nie. En toe gaan sê ‘n ander ou ek was ook daar. Toe gaan maak hulle ‘n saak teen drie van ons. Maar die saak is toe teruggetrek, want hulle het goed gesê wat heeltemal onwaar was. Dat ons hom geslaan het oor die kop en so... En toe het daar nog stories gekom van so-en-so en ek is ‘n moffie... Dit het my redelik – hoe kan ek sê? – afgepis. O.K., ek het baie dagga gerook by die skool, maar as mens gaan kla by die skool by die hoofprefek, of by die prefekte of goed... Baie van hulle het dit self gedoen. Daar was ‘n outjie – André Le Roux, en... As gevolg van my dagga rook en omdat ek goed gesteel het en so, het die mense my nie geglo nie. Dis seker my eie skuld. Maar ek het goed geweet van die hoofprefek, van goed wat hy agteraf doen... Dan sê hy net ons moet almal saamstaan en sê “Nee, dit het nie so gebeur nie.” Dit gaan nou-nog so. Dit gebeur met baie van die kinders.

En met jou?

Nee, ek het na myself gekyk. Dis elke ou vir homself.

Kan ek nie self die judge sien nie?

Ek weet nie, Tommy, ek weet nie hoe werk die hof goed nie.

Maar as ek net self die judge kan sien. As ek net self met die judge kan praat en vir hom kan sê hoe ek voel... Miskien sal hy dan dalk – hoe kan ek sê – barmhartigheid kry of iets. Hierdie tyd was ek nou al in die tronk is – dit voel al of ek drie – vier jaar in die tronk is. Dit is nie lekker nie – elke dag dieselfde kos, ‘selfde kos, ‘selfde kos... Elke dag lê in die sel, lê, lê, lê... Oom ken nie my prokureur nie?

Nee, ek het hom nog nie self ontmoet nie.

Mmh... Ek het vir die skoolhoof gevra ook, en dit... Hulle moet my op Ritalin sit en dit...

Jy het self gevra?

Ja.

Hoe so?

Nee, ek het mos ‘n hoe aggressiwiteit en dit.

Nou waar het jy gehoor van Ritalin?

My broer, Jack, het dit gedrink. Ja, dis daardie tyd, toe't hy – hoe kan ek sê? – beter geword en dit... My broer het... Toe hy uit die skool uit is, gevra dat ek ook op Ritalin behandeling gaan. Toe sê hulle nee, hulle kan nie vir my op Ritalin sit nie, dis nie goed vir my nie. Dalk as hulle dit gedoen het, het ek nie vandag daardie moord gepleeg nie.

Mmmh... Is daar enige iemand in die familie wat jy van weet, wat psigiatriese behandeling ontvang het?

My pa, hy was by dokter Smith – ek weet nie of Oom hom ken nie...?

Mmmh..., waarvoor was hy daar?

Ek weet nie – hoe kan ek sê – hy was mal verklaar. My pa het baie by die hawe gewag – as die skepe inkom – ek het dit self ook gedoen – dan het hy baie daar gewag vir die skepe om in te kom. En as hulle inkom, dan gee hulle vir hom 'n sak meel, of vis, of wat ookal. So het hy gesorg dat daar altyd iets was om te eet by die huis.

En jy sê hy's toe mal verklaar.

Ja, hy het... Daar was 'n ou by die werk wat 'n grudge gehad het teen my pa omdat hy so eerlik was. Hy't dit gedoen.

Mmmhh... En enige iemand anders?

Nee, nie wat ek van weet nie. Maar ek weet nie, my broer – my groot broer – hy't vreeslik baie moeilikheid gemaak. Hy het baie moeilikheid gemaak tussen my ma en my pa. Partykeer dan vertel hy vir my ma een storie en dan vir my pa 'n ander storie. Hy het self baie moeilikheid gemaak. En dan het hy daar gekom en gespog en goed... Oor Satanisme en sy tatoos en geld en dit... En dis al van kleins af wat hy gesteel het en goed... En dan het my ma vir hom geluister, vir hom geluister... En dan het ons vir hom geluister en by huise ingebreek en goed. Nou draai hy alles om en sy my pa was sleg, omdat my pa nie by die huis was nie. Maar hy was die een wat sleg was, hy was daar.

As jy so in die sel is, dan dink jy seker baie...

Ai, Oom, ek weet nie hoeveel langer ek nog gaan hou nie.

Nou wat dink jy?

Alles – baie dinge – al die lekker tye wat ek gehad het buite... En dan dink ek toe ek by die huis was en by my ouers... En aan my kat – Hey, Oom, daardie kat was baie lief vir my gewees. Dis Tiger gewees.

Nou wat het van die kat geword?

Nee, hy is nog daar by die huis, maar ag, daardie kat sal seker nou doodgaan... Miskien volgende maand, of so. Ek lê mos nou in die tronk en so. Ek lê en dink aan al die goed – hoe lank gaan ek nog slaap en so.

Dink jy te veel?

Hopeloos te veel.

Voel jy dit partykeer moeilik om te dink?

Nee, nie moeilik nie, maar dit raak irriterend. Maar wat kan ek anders doen as om te dink. Hier in die tronk kan mens niks anders doen as om te dink nie. Ek lê en dink en dink en dink... Ek raak moeg daarvoor, ek kan dit nie meer langer vat nie... (silence). Baie keer, dan dink ek dis beter om liewer dood te wees as wat jy in 'n tronk lê en jou lewe gaan verby jou. Jaar vir jaar vir jaar... Dis dalk beter om nie te lewe nie. Hoekom het hulle my nie liewer doodgeskiet nie? Dit sou beter gewees het – dan het mens nie worries gehad of niks nie. Elke dag worry jy – waar gaan jy rookgoed kry, waar gaan jy dit kry, wat gaan jy doen vandag, hoe gaan jy aan die slaap raak vanaand...

Sukkel jy om te slaap?

Ek kan nie slaap in die aand nie.

Nou wat maak jy as jy nie kan slaap nie?

Ek dink te veel. Baie keer kry ek nagmerries oor hierdie moord wat ek gedoen het (agitated, in a loud voice). Dan sien ek hierdie tannie wat ek doodgemaak het in my drome. Dan dink ek: Hoe kon ek so iets aan haar gedoen het? Wat het sy gedoen, dat ek haar moes leed aandoen? Dan sit en dink ek oor hierdie goed en dan... Dit maak my van my verstand af. (silence). Hulle moes vir my by die skool nog 'n kans gegee het, man.

Ja, hulle moes vir my gestuur het dat ek anders kon geleer het. Daar was hulle, hulle maak beloftes en sê daar was niks gedoen aan die kinderhuis nie – en my broer kon dan gaan. Kyk waar sit hy vandag.

Nou hoekom dink jy het hulle jou weggevat van jou broer af?

Nee, dit help nie. Hulle was partydig. Hulle het my broer se part gevat. Hulle sit my broer in die kinderhuis – my broer het saam met ons ingebreek... hy het saam met ons goed gedoen – dagga gerook ook. Hy was agter al die goed, die stelery... My ma het na hom geluister ook. En hy gaan kinderhuis toe. Dis mos nie reg nie?

Moes dit andersom gewees het?

Hulle moes hom weggestuur het na daardie skool toe! Hulle kon my in die kindershuis gesit het. Dan het ek nie nou in die plek gesit nie.

Mmmh. Dit klink my dat, as jy en 'n ander ou dieselfde gedoen het, dat hulle jou anders treat?

(animated). Ja, dit was dieselfde. Ek bly al lankal so sê – my broer is voorgetrek! Sy hele lewe al is hy voorgetrek!

Deur wie?

O.K., ...

Jou ma?

My ma... My pa... My pa het hom ook nie so baie, baie... O.K., my pa het hom ook voorgetrek, maar nie so baie nie. Hoe kan ek sê – hy't baie goeters gekry, wat ons nie kon kry nie. Hy't met baie goed weggekrom, wat ons nie kon nie. Hy is vier jaar ouer as ons. Toe ek veertien was, toe's hy agtien. Ek meen, ek's 'n kind, en hy kan doen wat hy wil.

En dis nie reg nie...?

Dit voel nie reg nie... Hy kan meer... goeters doen.

En jy sê hy het slegte goed gedoen.

Ja, hy het my pa gedreig. Hy het gesê hy gaan die huis aan die brand steek en hy gaan my pa doodmaak en goed... Daardie goed het hulle nie in die hof genoem nie. (animated). Daardie goed het hulle nie in die koerante genoem nie. O.K., maar miskien gaan dit oor wat ek gedoen het... Maar hulle sê nie hoe ek soos Jack geword het nie. Hulle sê nie watter soort gek Jack was nie. En hy's die oorsaak oor ons... Vir al die goed wat ons vandag is. As dit nie vir daardie goed is wat Jack vir ons laat doen het nie – as dit nie was vir daardie goed wat Jack veroorsaak het nie, dan was ek dalk nie hier nie. Dan het ons dalk 'n kans gehad in die lewe.

Jaa... Tommy, ek sien ons tyd is ook nou al amper op. Ek weet ook nou nie of ek weer gaan kans kry om jou te sien hiervandaan nie, maar ek gaan try. Ek kan ongelukkig nie baie vir jou gee nie, maar ek kan probeer om jou storie te vertel. En jy sê dis een van die dinge wat jy gemis het: Dat jy nie kans gekry het om jou storie te vertel nie, en dat hulle net na ander mense se stories geluister het. Ek gaan probeer om jou weer te kom sien – hopelik voor die hofsaak.

(The researcher thanks the respondent for his willingness to participate and expresses the wish for a follow-up session, providing the necessary arrangements can be made with the help of the prison authorities.)

APPENDIX B

Interview Transcripts

3. Transcript of Interview 3

Date: 09 February, 2001
 Time: 13H00-14H30
 Place: Grahamstown Prison
 Interviewer: J.P. du Toit

(Before the recording starts, the respondent walks into the office holding a pair of boots he made from soap and shoe polish, which he was going to sell to one of the prison guards. He proudly shows this to the researcher while he sits down. At this point the researcher had already greeted the respondent.)

Wanneer het jy hierdie bootsies gemaak?

Eergister en gistraand.

Jo, en waaruit het jy hulle gemaak?

Seep.

Dis baie oulik.

Nee, ek het my eie soort van besigheid hier.

Mmmh?

Ja, maar dit gaan moeilik hier. Die seep is min. Maar ek maak allerhande goed. Ek het daardie daarbo ook gemaak (points at sculptures on filing cabinet in office), daardie bootjie en daardie renoster en goed. Die mense het die ander goed al gekoop – asbakkies en hartjies en goed. Glasies en goed.

Sjoe, hierdie bootsies is baie oulik.

Ja, daardie chieff hier voor sê hy gaan hulle vat.

Mmmh?

Ja, hy gaan hulle vir sy vrou gee.

Dis baie oulik. Waar het jy geleer om dit te doen?

Ag sommer. Ek het geweet van die bootsies en goed en daar was 'n ou – ek dink dit was negentien... nege en tagtig, of negentien-neentig, toe gee ek vir hom presies sulkes. Maar ek het nog nie geweet hoe om sulkes te maak waar die sool los is nie. Toe wys hy my en toe maak ek sulke kleintjies. En hierdie lyk vir my nes 'n skoen wat oop is.

Mmmh. Tommy, kan jy onthou waarom het ons laas gepraat toe ek hier was?

Ja... Ons het gepraat oor goed. Oom het toe my geheue getoets en my I.K. en...

Ek het darem nie jou I.K. getoets nie...

Nee, oom het my geheue getoets en toe het ons gepraat oor goed. Oor Satanisme en oor meisies en goed...

Mmmh. En toe ons gepraat het oor die huisgesin en so... Toe sê jy vir my – jy het 'n paar keer vir my gesê – dinge kon baie anders gewees het as jy nie, ehm... Daardie tyd Natal toe gestuur is nie.

Ja, dit is as ek eerder na 'n kinderskool toe gestuur is.

Mmmh?

Ja, want dan kon ek eerder die geleentheid gekry het – as ek eerder na 'n kinderskool as na 'n nywerheidsskool gestuur is – daar is dit baie harder en erger as wat dit in 'n kinderskool is.

Mmmh?

Ja, daar was al my jare wat ek in die nywerheidsskool was en die ander was almal na kinderskool gestuur. En as jy kyk waar is hulle vandag... Hulle het mooi uitgeloopt daar. My boetie het sterk geword en my sussie 'n leier – hulle het ambagte en goed gehad om na uit te sien.

Mmmh?

Toe ek in 'n nywerheidsskool is, het ek te veel tyd saam met die ander ouens spandeer. Goed gedoen – dagga gerook en pille gerook, uitgeslip disko's toe... Dit het my lewe omgegooi.

Mmmh.

En toe ek hoor, toe het ek gevra, ek het aansoek gedoen en so, toe ek hoor my boetie was kinderskool toe gestuur... Toe sê daardie mense van die skool hulle sal dit nooit toelaat dat ek oorgeplaas word van die nywerheidsskool nie.

Mmmh. Nou hoekom het hulle jou na die nywerheidsskool toe gestuur en nie na so plek nie?

Dit was nou weer toe ek... Ons almal was mos... Dis toe my... My ma-hulle het mos ons alleen gelos – daar by die huis.

En toe't die welsyn ons kom wegvat. En toe het my broer-hulle... Toe't hulle my broer in 'n kinderhuis gesit en my twee sussies en my ander boetie, in die kinderhuis gesit. Net ek alleen was oor, toe sê hulle... Nee hulle... hulle gaan nie... Nee, daar's nie plek vir my nie. In die kinderhuis nie.

Mmmh.

Maar hoe kan dit wees? Hoe kan hulle almal in die kinderhuis sit, maar ek word nie in die kinderhuis gesit nie? Toe sê hulle O.K. maar daar's plek in Natal in 'n nywerheidsskool.

Mmmh.

Maar hulle kon my saam met my broer gesit het. Of saam met my ander boetie. Dan kon dinge nou dalk anders gewees het. (silence)

Mmmh. Nou jy sê jou ma-hulle het julle alleen daar gelos?

Ja, hulle was mos weg gewees?

Nou het hulle julle by die huis gelos...?

By die huis. By die... By die mense langsaan...

Mmmh. En toe sê daardie mense julle baklei te veel?

Ja en toe't hulle die welsyn gebel.

Mmmh. Nou... Het julle dan nie voor die tyd by die huis ook baklei nie?

Jaaa, maar dit was onder my ouers se toesig. Ja, onder my ouers se toesig.

So dit was maar oraaait as julle baklei?

Nee, my pa't partykeer ons laat baklei met boxing gloves... Ja, ek en my broer het mekaar eenkeer geklits. Maar nee, dit was... Toe ons klein was het ons begin stry in die huis. Ja, toe ons langsaan gebly het en hulle het geluister hoe stry ons. My broer het die grootste moeilikheid begin maak. Een aand ingebreek daar aan die agterkant. By die huis ingebreek. Toe steel ons goed en toe't hulle uitgevind daarvan.

Mmmh. So dit was jy en jou broer?

Ja, dit was Jack. (long silence 15s, respondent stares at the floor)

Mmmh. Toe 's hy ook maar na 'n nywerheidsskool toe?

Hy was nie na 'n nywerheidsskool toe nie, hy was in JJ gewees, maar nie vir lank nie.

Mmmh. Nou Tommy, jy sê dinge kon baie anders gewees het...

(Nods in silence, staring at the floor)

O.K... Ek het nou 'n bietjie gedink oor hierdie hele storie. En ek is nie net 'n sielkundige nie, ek kan navorsing doen ook. En ek het so gedink oor jou storie. Jy het 'n lang pad geloop en dit was nie altyd lekker nie. En ek het gedink daar is ander ouens ook wat hierdie paadjie kan loop en miskien van jou kan leer... Dat hulle nie dieselfde foute hoef te maak nie. As ons jou storie kan gebruik en daarvan leer, kan ons hulle miskien help...

Om soos van 'n boek te skryf of iets?

Ehm-mmh.

Oom... (animated) Oom vat die gedagtes uit my kop uit.

Hoe so?

Elke dag as ek in die tronk is, dink ek daaroor. Ek het al drie name... Ek het hulle nie nou in my kop nie, maar ek het hulle neergeskryf...

En toe 't ek gedink ek moet 'n boek skryf. Oor alles – oor al die dinge wat met my gebeur het – van die begin tot die einde. Kyk, daar ons mos baie wat met my gebeur het. Toe dink ek, as ek so 'n boek kan skryf en goed... Dit kan baie mense help – kyk ek het met die koerant ook gepraat oor die goed.

Mmmh. En dit kan mense help. As ek 'n boek skryf.

Mmmh. Nou ek sê jou wat: Nou wat ek kan doen, kyk, ek's nou nie 'n skrywer nie, maar ek kan navorsing doen. En as ek 'n storie van jou kan skryf, dan gaan dit vir navorsingsdoeleindes wees. Met ander woorde, dis nie 'n boek wat jy noodwendig kan koop nie, maar dis 'n boek wat jy kan gebruik... Ander sielkundiges...

Mmmh?

Ja, wanneer hulle met mense werk wat baie soos jy is. Jy sien, dan kan hulle leer van jou storie. En dan kan hulle miskien van daardie inligting gebruik. Dink jy dit sal oracit wees?

Mmmh (nods). Dit sal reg wees.

Mmmh, O.K., maar as jy onthou, toe ek jou gesien het aan die begin, toe moes ek jou toestemming kry.

Mmmh.

Jy sien, ek kan nie enige iets doen sonder jou toestemming nie. So, as ek nou jou lewensverhaal gaan gebruik vir navorsing, moet ek ook jou toestemming kry.

Ja.

O.K., so ek gaan nou-nou vir jou 'n vormpie gee wat jy – as jy wil – kan teken. En as jy nog goeters vir my wil vertel van jou lewensverhaal, wat belangrik is, kan jy my nou vertel. Ek bedoel ons het baie tyd om te gesels. Of jy kan ook vir my goed neerskryf, het jy papier?

Nee, ek het niks nie. Ek het vir my ouers geskryf. Maar my pa gaan nou kom, ek het reeds gebel om te hoor of hy gaan kom. Maar omdat hulle nie vervoer het nie, gaan dit maar moeilik gaan. Ek weet nie, ek het gedink dit sal so drie dae vat... Drie Susters is nie so ver van hier af nie, PE is ook nie so ver nie. Ek het gedink so vier dae dan moet die brief daar wees. Maar die brief het nog nie daar uitgekome nie.

Mmmh.

Ek het vir my ouers geskryf hulle moet vir my 'n pen en papier en kleurkryte en alles bring.

Mmmh, mag jy dit hê?

Ja, ek mag dit hê. Ek mag 'n TV ook hê en 'n radio ook hê.

O.K... Nou, as jy nou jou storie wou skryf... Wat jy kan doen is... Ek kan vir jou 'n pen en papier gee... Ek kan probeer organise... En dan kan jy jou storie skryf en dan kan ek dit kom haal as ek weer met jou gesels.

Ja.

Maar ek sal jou seker nie kan sien terwyl die saak aan is nie.

Ja, seker eers as die saak klaar is.

En sal dit oraaït wees – sal ons mekaar dan weer kan sien?

Ja, dis O.K.

En dan sal ek 'n draai kom maak en hoor hoe gaan dit. En dan kan jy solank neerskryf wat jy dink belangrik was in jou lewe. En dan sal ek dit ook inwerk.

Ja... Daar is 'n redelike klomp goeters, maar...

Maar jy kan mos nou mooi daaroor dink, jy gaan mos nou tyd hê.

Ja, dit sal my seker besig hou in die aande...

Mmmh.

Dis nie lekker om net so te sit nie.

O.K., maar jy moet onthou dat die tipe boek wat ek gaan skryf is nou nie presies soos die tipe boek wat jy gaan koop en sit en lees nie...

Ja, maar ek het in elk geval gedink: Terwyl ek in die tronk is, gaan ek sit en skryf en skryf...

Mmmh, dit is 'n goeie idee.

Ja, en dan, wanneer daar nie meer goed is om te skryf nie, gaan ek dit instuur, dat hulle dit kan sort... Die punte en kommas en goed. Dat hulle dit net reg kan sit – in posisie en goed, en kyk wat se titel hulle daaruit kan maak.

Mmmh, ons kan kyk of ons dit kan doen. Maar nou, die navorsing wat ek gaan doen, dit gaan 'n bietjie anders wees. Ek gaan kyk of ek daar kan skryf hoe ek as 'n sielkundige, verstaan wat met jou gebeur het. Hoe jy voel.

Ja, dis baie soos... Ek het Kobus Jonker se boek gelees. Hoe hy alles gedoen het met Satanisme – hoe hy dit in die werklikheid uitgeroei het en so... Maar ook hoe hy die mense gehelp het en al daardie goed.

Mmmh. So jy weet min-of-meer waarvan ons praat... O.K., maar nou wat ek gaan doen is: Ek gaan die inligting gebruik waaroor ons gepraat het, en ek gaan dalk die goed gebruik wat jy geskryf het. En ek gaan miskien na jou file kyk, en miskien... Ek is nog nie heeltemal seker nie, miskien gaan ek vir jou ma en pa ook 'n paar vrae vra. Is dit oraaït?

Mmmh (nods). Ja, dis reg.

Mmmh, en waar is daardie klein boekie wat jy van gepraat het – daardie blou een?

Ek het hom daar... (louder) by die kamer vergeet. (sighs)

Rêrig?

Ja, en die ander mense gebruik daardie kamer. En toe het ek vergeet om hom daar op te tel. En toe sê ek vir daardie wag my boekie lê nog daar. En toe't ek gister probeer, maar toe is hy weg.

Nou wat is alles in die boekie?

Daar's klomp tekens van Satanisme en goed nog daar in. En... goeters wat ons nog gedoen het en... 'n helse klomp goed. Maar daardie ding moet ek nog kry, want daar's telefoonnommers en adresse in wat belangrik is.

Mmmh, nou hoe 's dit belangrik?

My meisie se telefoonnommer, en my vriende se nommers en my ouers... My ma se werksadres... En ander vriende en vriendinne se telefoonnommers. Daardie tipe goed. My meisie se naam...

Mmmh. Wie 's jou meisie?

Nicolette.

Nicolette?

Ja, sy's van Pretoria.

Mmmh? En wat doen sy?

Sy's nou op kollege. Sy maak volgende jaar klaar.

Is dit? En dan?

Dan gaan sy pa haar pa by die firma werk.

En waar het jy haar ontmoet?

PE. Daar by die beach. Hulle was vir die naweek... Nee, hulle het vir die vakansie afgekom PE toe. Toe was hulle daar by die jeug... Toe't hulle daar by die jeug... Hoe kan ek nou sê? Daar by die jeug disko of iets. Daar by Indigos. Toe was ons almal daar en toe't ek haar ontmoet. Maar toe's hulle terug Pretoria toe.

(Interview interrupted by prison guard walking in to fetch something from office)

En toe's sy terug Pretoria toe.

Pretoria?

Ja, dis 'n mooi plek daardie. Dis nie soos Johannesburg nie.

En jy was 'n tyd in Johannesburg?

Mmmh.

Hoe lank?

Omtrent so... Twee weke. Maar ek was baie keer vroeer ook in Johannesburg met vakansies. Toe ek op skool was in Natal, dan gaan ons vir vakansies Johannesburg toe.

Saam met wie?

Vriende. Ek het vriende gehad daar van Hillbrow... (silence)

En dis by Johannesburg waar jy saam met die prostitute gewerk het.

Ja, dit was eintlik twee meisiekinders – hulle het soos... robberies gedoen.

En dan was dit jy en nog 'n paar ouens?

Nee, dit was ek, en daardie twee meisiekinders en daardie ander... Nigeriese ou. (silence) Ag, maar hulle is ook dom, die mense...

Hoekom?

Hulle is dom... Ag man, dit gebeur drie keer... Drie keer met dieselfde meisiekind dan vang hulle hom uit. Nee, maar daardie goed het mens alles ingely in die tronk in...

Nou... Wat gebeur? Die ou gaan saam met haar...

Nee, die meisiekinders staan op die hoek of langs die straat, dan kom die ou verby en dan hike hulle, of dan fluit hy... Dan stop hulle. En as hulle sien daar's twee mans, of drie mans dan sê hulle nee, en laat hulle maar verbygaan. Maar as dit een man is, dan roep hulle hom en sê, honderd rand of tweehonderd rand, dan gaan hulle op boontoe, na die hotel toe. Dan maak hulle die deur toe. Dan skielik lag hulle, dan kom ons overwags in... Dan stamp ons die deur oop. Dan roof ons hom uit.

Roof hom uit?

Ja. Uit sy skoene uit, uit sy karsleutels uit, uit sy broek, sy hemp uit, uit sy selfoon uit, uit als uit. Dan kom hy daar onder, dan't hy niks by hom nie, dan bel hy die polisie en goed, dan kom die polisie... Dan sê ons ons het nie gesê hy moet saam met 'n hoer slaap nie.

Mmmh.

Mmmh..., maar dit gebeur so baie nou.

Nou is julle gewapen as julle hom roof?

Mmmh.(nods)

Met?

Guns. Partykeer messe.

Mmmh. Het jy al 'n ou gesteek?

Paar keer al.

Daar was 'n fightery gewees. Eenkeer, dit was in Oos Londen gewees, toe't ek 'n ou gesteek. Hy het my met 'n skroewedraaier in die rug gesteek.

Wat het gebeur?

Nee, ons het daar onder rondgeloop. By die beach, saam met meisiekinders, toe't ons disko toe gegaan. En toe ons daar uitkom - ons was dronk gewees- was daar 'n bakleiery gewees - ek kan nie onthou wie't dit begin nie. Toe was daar sommer 'n helse bakleiery, toe klim ons ook sommer in. Toe kry ek 'n hou in my rug, toe sien ek wie dit is, toe steek ek hom terug. Toe hardloop ek, toe kom die polisie daar aan. (pauses) Ander keer was dit in Kaapstad gewees.

Wat het in Kaapstad gebeur?

Ons was daar by die beach gewees, toe gooi ons 'n meisie met koue water. Toe kom ons daar en hulle lê mos toplless daar op die beach, daar met hulle lussies oopgemaak. En dan gooi jy koue water op hulle en dan staan hulle op.

Mmmh.

En toe't die ander mans daar - hulle boyfriends en goed - kwaad geraak. Toe jaag twee van hulle ons. Toe slat hulle my een vriend. Toe gaan haal ons nog 'n ou. Toe't die een ou vir die een ou geskiet in die bene. Toe hardloop ek en toe vertel ek vir die polisie dit was hulle. (silence)

Mmmh... Nou daar in Oos Londen, toe spring jy sommer in die fight in?

(Laughs). Ja, ek het sommer ingespring.

Nou hoe so?

Nee, ek het daar (louder)... Ek en die outjie het daar gestaan en kyk hoe fight hulle... En van ons vriende het ook gefight daar en van die ander ouens het ook gefight, en toe staan ons en dink maar dis mos 'n lekker fight hier buite... (Laughs). En toe spring ons net in. Ons het ons bende en goed in elk geval, en toe's daar hierdie groep ouens, hierdie Beach Boys of iets, of Cabana Boys...

'n Gang?

Mmmh. En doen dink ons, ag ons is nou lus vir aksie.

Mmmh. En wat is nog alles aksie?

Aggg... Videos... TV kyk, ag, lekker action games... Ag dis lekker avontuur, man. Soos Sun City..., of Lost City... Ek was al twee daar gewees – dis lekker daar.

Ja?

Daar's branders... Hulle maak sulke goed – dis soos die see, man, dan's daar sulke boks... sulke hout karretjies, waarmee jy afgaan met so groot slide, dan gly jy tot binne in die water in... Daardie ding, dit voel of dit jou uitmekaar uit ruk. Dan gaan jy, dan kan jy goud optel... 'n h-e-l-e b-l-o-k goud hou jy so in jou hand in (demonstrates).

Nou wanneer was jy daar?

Dit was... Twee jaar terug.

Mmmh?

Skool. Ons het weggegaan Oos Londen toe. Toe word van ons uitgenooi om Johannesburg toe te gaan. 'n Paar ouens het na ons skool toe gekom...

Watter skool was dit?

JJ... Fort Rex... al die skole.

Dis lekker.

Dit was lekker gewees. Op 'n stadium het hulle betaal vir ons. (contemplative silence)

Mmmh. En so jy sê jy was al met 'n skroewedraaier gesteeek...?

Ja. En met 'n mes en 'n bottel ook.

Rêrig?

Ja... (laughs in embarrassed way). Daardie merke waar die polisie my geslaan het op my arm – dit was 'n steekwond wat nog nie gesond was nie. Wat weer oopgegaan het.

Van wat?

Messteek.

Waar het dit gebeur?

Queenstown... Ook by die disco (laughs, eyes cast downwards). Ja, daardie ouens by die discos – hulle ken van fight. Altyd as daar 'n fight begin of die ouens begin moeilikheid maak, dan haal hulle messe uit. En as ons fight, haal ons ook messe uit. Nee, ons kan mos nie laat hulle ons steek en ons sit daar en niks doen nie...

Mmmh... En het jy al 'n fight begin?

Ek? Nie sommer nie. Huhhh... Huuhu... (Shakes his head slowly, looks contemplative) Nee, ek kan nie nou dink dat ek al 'n fight begin het nie. (pauses) Dis meestal my vriende wat 'n fightery soek. As ek miskien gedrink het, like ek van eenkant sit... Stilsit... Of aangaan en dans en goed... Maar as daar moeilikheid is, spring ek in, ek sal nie los nie. (tells story with pride, laughs)

Hoe so?

Nee, ek slaan hulle uitmekaar uit. Ek het van kleintyd af al baklei.

Waar het jy geleer?

My pa. My pa het my geleer baklei – te koes, te keer, te slaan... Ek en my broer. Eenkeer toe vat ek drie Du Preez aan. Eenkeer was ons in die parkie gewees – ek en my broer. Daar was drie Du Preez lighties gewees. Ons was nog klein, hulle was al in standerd drie of vier... Toe was ek nog sub A gewees. Toe kom daardie lighties, toe slaan hulle my broer. Toe hardloop ek op, toe slaan ek. Al die pad huis toe skree hulle en hardloop weg. (tells the story with pride)

Is dit lekker?

Dis lekker, ja. Maar daardie tyd het ek nie geworry oor gangs en goed nie. Ek was meestal met my boeties en sussies. Maar as iemand my kwaad maak, ek verloor my

humeur sommer heeltemal. Maar my groot broer, ek worry nie oor hom nie. Hy's nie my regte broer in elk geval nie.

Nou hoekom worry hy nie oor hom nie?

Hy worry nie oor ons nie. Hy't moeilikheid gemaak by die huis – hy's die een wat begin steel het. Toe't ons hom gevolg. Hy't ons ingelei in die blerrie versoeking in, elke keer. Hy't my weggegee by die polisie ook. En hy is self in die Satanisme in en rook self dagga en daardie goed... Hy't my weggegee.

Jy sê hy het jou ingelei in inbreek en die tipe goed?

Ja.

Maar hy het nie vir jou geleer van Satanisme nie?

Ag, ek het altyd hierdie tattoos gesien. En dan het hy gepraat daarvan. Ons het baie keer daaroor gesels, dan lag hy en maak grappe daaroor in die huis.

En jy wou ook daar gewees het?

Baie keer wou ek. En nou het ek uitgedraai net soos hy... Hy is nou maar twee en twintig, toe trou hy met 'n vrou wat sewe en dertig is, met drie kinders. Wat nog getroud was met haar man.

Nou hy't nog nooit in die moeilikheid gekom nie?

Hy was al baie in die moeilikheid. Die polieste het hom al baie gevang. Vir dagga... Dagga smokkelary, gangsters, polieskarre gestamp... Polieskarre gesteel en gestamp. En hy het altyd iemand wat hom bejammer en uit die tronk uit haal. Hy sou nou vyf jaar gekry het – vir bestuur sonder 'n lisensie, hy is alreeds gewaarsku, mos. Drie keer gevang sonder lisensie. Maar daar kom niks van nie. Maar eendag sal hy nog sy ondergang kry...

Hoe sal hy sy ondergang kry?

Die Here sal dit vir hom gee. Hy sal sy straf nog kry. Dan gaan ek ook nie worry oor hom nie – skryf of worry of vir hom soek of iets nie... Ek wonder hoekom het hulle my nogal nie bail gegee nie. Dis nou al amper 'n jaar lank en ek's op awaiting trial, awaiting trial... Die tronk maak my al siek.

Hoe so?

(silence)

Wat is vir jou die slegste van die tronk?

Baie goed is die slegste. Eerstens kry jy nie geld in die tronk nie. Jy kan nie goed koop nie. Soos in my geval kan jy nie eers seep koop om goed te maak nie. Elke dag moet jy net sit. Jy's nie 'n cleaner nie, so jy word nie betaal nie. Dis nie lekker om sonder rookgoed te sit nie. Dis nie lekker om so toegesluit te sit in 'n sel nie. So tussen mure te wees elke dag nie.

En jy sê jy't al daaraan gedink om jou eie lewe te neem?

Mmmh.

Nou wat keer jou?

Ek weet nie. Daar's elke keer iets wat my keer, maar ek weet nie wat nie.

Wat maak die lewe die moeite werd?

Dit weet ek nie... (silence)

Wat van die? (shows boots)

Dit maak nie my lewe die moeite werd nie. Dis net goedjies wat ek doen as ek vervelig is. Buite doen ek dit nie. Buite dink ek nie eers daaraan nie. Wat kan ek anders doen as om dit hier binne te maak? Die tronk laat dink jou aan alles.

Is dit lekker om die goedjies te maak?

Nee, dis nie lekker nie, baie keer dan flop hy. Dan breek die goed. Dan gooi ek dit sommer teen die muur.

Jy sê dis nie lekker nie...

Nee, wat is daar nou wat lekker is?

Ja, Tommy, maar toe jy hier inkom, toe was jy vol smiles, jy was trots gewees toe jy hier instap en dit vir my wys.

Jaaa, ek was trots gewees. Dis die eerste keer in my lewe dat ek dit gemaak het.

En dis baie mooi.

Maar dit sal ek ook nie altyd doen nie. Kyk, dis lekker om die goedjies te maak (more animated), as jy dit vir jouself maak. Maar dan bestel mense goed by jou – olifante en dit en dat en dit en dat... Dan raak jou seep op. Dan raak ek kwaad. Ek hoop nou die vrou

bring vir my nog seep. (holds boots in his hands, staring at them in silence). Die chieff het gesê hy wil hulle hê.

Is jy alleen, Tommy?

Ja.

Het jy nie pals nie?

Nee, ek worry nie oor vriende nie. Dit help in elk geval nie jy kry vriende in die tronk nie. Almal rook net dagga en goed.

Rook jy nie meer dagga nie?

Nee, ek rook lankal nie meer dagga nie. Ek kan, ja, maar ek wil nie. As ek uitkom, dan's ek weer verslaaf aan die goed. Dagga gaan net dat ek moeilikheid maak... En drink.

Was jy alleen gewees voor jy in die tronk gekom het?

Mmmh-mmh (shakes his head). Ek het by my meisie gebly. En ek het daar in die hawe ook gebly, by daardie fisheries ouens. Daardie doeane mense wat hierdie ouens wat die perlemoene en goed steel, vang. Ek het saam met hulle gebly ook. Dit was lekker saam met hulle gewees.

Dit klink vir my dis nogal belangrik vir jou om vriende te hê... Om iemand te hê by wie jy tuis voel.

Ja, dit is nogal belangrik, ja. O.K., daar is my ouers, ja. Maar as ek buitekant is, dan kry ek nou miskien 'n flat alleen... Of ek bly saam met mense, dan worry ek nie. Maar as ek so alleen is, dan moet ek iemand kry saam met wie ek kan wees.

Hoekom moet jy by iemand wees?

Dit is... Ag, dis net nie lekker om alleen te wees nie. Veral as jy alleen is daar buitekant en jy loop rond in die straat. Dan is daar allerhande versoekinge...

Miskien is dit hoekom jy die Sataniste gejoin het?

N-jaa, ek weet nie.

Hulle het jou aanvaar...

Hulle sal enige iemand aanvaar...

Mmmh..., maar jy het vir my gesê partykeer is iemand nie reg nie...

Jaa..., maar hulle sal enige iemand aanvaar as jy deur die rituele en goed gaan. Soos die offers doen, en goed. Sekere mense wil nie verder ingaan nie. Hulle raak bang en skrikkerig...

Nou is jy nie bang en skrikkerig nie?

(shakes his head slowly)

En toe jy die eerste keer daar gekom het? Toe jy daar aankom en jy het daardie goed gedrink?

Ja, maar voor die tyd het ek mos al gemeng met die goed. Dis hoekom ek nie bang was nie.

En toe jy wakker word?

Toe was ons by die huis. Vandaar het ons gegaan na die tempel toe en goed... Baie keer was dit in kerke, baie keer was dit net buitekant...

Nou die eerste keer, waarheen het hulle jou gevat?

Kerk toe. Eers in 'n huis, toe na 'n kerk toe. Enige kerk. Dit is soos 'n kerk, 'n gewone kerk. Hulle vat jou in die aand na mense se kerk toe. Ons breek in 'n kerk in. Of baie keer is dit 'n ou kerk, dan gaan ons daar in en doen offers en brand kerse en goed.

En jy sê jy was nie skrikkerig die eerste keer nie?

Nee, dit is... Hoe kan ek nou sê? Dit is daaglikse goeters wat gebeur. Daar is verskillende goed wat jy moet doen. Verskillende offers... Verskillende tekens wat jy moet skryf...

Soos daardie wat jy het?

Nee, dis nie so nie man. Hoe sal ek nou sê? Dis verskillende tekens wat jy moet ontvang.

Soos watse tekens?

(Laughs loudly, embarrassed). Dis die... Dis die... Hoe kan ek nou sê? Dis die... Dis soos wanneer... As jy vir antwoorde vra... As jy wag dat die vlam moet hoer gaan of so... Dit is 'n teken. Soos enige iemand kan tekens kry. Soos aanleiding, amper.

O.K., maar ek wonder: Jy sê daar is 'n hoepriester. En daar is ander priesters, ook...

Ja, die hoepriester, hy's in beheer van die groep. En die ander priesters kyk maar dat alles gehandhaaf word wat gehandhaaf moet word.

En onder hulle?

Nee, daar's nie onder hulle nie. Al die ander mense is onder hulle.

Nou hoe word jy 'n priester?

Dit hang af watse rituele jy doen – hoeveel rituele jy gedoen het... Hoeveel bloed jy al gedrink het, hoeveel offers jy al gedoen het, hoeveel mense jy al doodgemaak het...

Moet jy mense doodmaak?

Ja.

Het al die priesters al mense doodgemaak?

(long silence – 30s). Hoekom het hulle nie eerder die mense gestraf soos in die ou dae nie? Jy moet of daardie een terugkoop, of iets vir hulle doen.

Hoe bedoel jy "terug koop"?

Nee, in die bybel is daar mos baie mense wat, as hulle iemand doodgemaak het, hulle moet terugkoop... Daardie eienaar van wie daardie man was, dan moet hy vir hom geld gee... Honderd sikkels, of iets. Of mense opgehang. Hoekom doen hulle dit nie meer vandag nie?

Wil jy eerder opgehang wees?

Ja.

Wat gaan gebeur as jy opgehang word?

Dan gaan ek dood.

En dan?

Dan weet ek nie.

Sou dit beter wees?

Ja, dit sou baie beter wees. Om so in die tronk te sit – huh-uh, dis nie die moeite werd nie... Hulle kon my eerder buite gelos het. Onder toesig. Korrektiewe toesig of iets. Hoe sal ek dit ooit hier staan?

Nou hoekom los hulle jou nie buite nie?

Ek weet nie – mense wat saamsweer, seker. Hoekom kry ek nie borg nie? Dis seker sekere poliesmanne wat saam in die ding is. Ek moet hier uitkom.

Hoekom sal jy sê daar is poliesmanne wat iets teen jou het.

Ek weet hulle het. Dis omdat hulle 'n grudge teen jou het. Families en daardie goed. Veral in Drie Susters, daar's baie mense wat nie saam met my pa werk in Drie Susters nie. Omdat hy te eerlik is en goed.

Jy sê jou pa was nog nooit in die moeilikheid nie?

(Shakes his head slowly, deliberately.)

Dis nou 'n interessante ding, Tommy: Jy sê jou pa was nog nooit in die moeilikheid nie, en hy is 'n baie eerlike ou... Maar jy sê jy wou soos jou broer gewees het.

Ek wil nie soos hy gewees het nie man (agitated). Ek wou dinge gedoen het soos hy. Almal het hom gelike, almal het dinge saam met hom gedoen, almal... Hy was groot in almal se oe gewees. Ek wou ook probeer groot wees. Maar nou's hy... Ek weet nie waar hy gaan eindig nie.

En jy sê jy wou ook groot gewees het?

Ja, maar ek weet nie hoekom dink ek sulke goed nie. Ek is stupid. (silence)

Is jy kwaad vir jouself?

Nee, nie vir myself nie. Vir al die goed. Vir mense.

Is jy kwaad vir die wêreld?

Nee, die wêreld het my niks gedoen nie. Dis die mense wat in die wêreld is. Mense vat kanse in die lewe. Ek kan nie nou sê die mense het my nie 'n kans gegee nie. Na die hofsaak kan 'n mens dit sê. As hulle my nog 'n kans gee – ek sal nie weer daardie kans weggooi nie. Ek sal nie weer daardie kans weggooi nie. As hulle my daardie kans aanbied...

Is dit die eerste keer wat jy in die tronk is?

Ja... Die tronk is nie die plek vir 'n mens nie... (silence).

Jy sê, die eenkeer toe jy jouself gesny het, dit was oor jou meisie, ne?

Ja.

En die ander keer is oor jy nie in die tronk meer wou wees nie?

Ja, dis al.

So, jy het jouself net twee keer gesny?

Nee, die een keer het ek my gesny toe ek by die Sataniste was.

Waar?

(Pulls up his sleeve to show multiple scars). Hier's so baie, ek kan nie onthou... Ek dink dit was hier... Dit moes een van hierdie gewees het...

Van die grotes?

Ja.

Het hulle gesê jy moet?

Ja, dit is soos wat ons bloed saam meng en goed.... As ek miskien nou vier jaar terug dit gedoen het, kon ek dalk so vyftien jaar tronkstraf gekry het. Dan kon ek elke naweek uitgaan... Maar daar's baie straf wat hulle mens kan gee, man... Maar ek ken nie al die strawwe nie – ek moet eers so 'n bietjie uitvind wat al die strawwe is.

Maar jy kan mos nie kies nie, Tommy.

- Ja. My prokureur het gesê hy kan dat ek kan self... Dingeses... Self iets sê oor die straf. Dan moet ek net vir hom sê... Dan gaan hy dit oorgee aan die judge, dan gaan die judge kyk wat hy... kan doen.

Mmmh. Maar hulle sal seker eers 'n bietjie moet praat daaroor.

Ja. (silence). Die tronk is nie die plek nie. (silence)

Waar is die plek?

Buitekant.

Waar buitekant?

By my huis. (almost whispering)

Wie's almal by die huis? (almost whispering).

My ma, my pa, my diere...

Diere...? Jy het nog net gepraat van jou kat.

Nee, my kat, my twee honde, my budgie, my krimpvarkie, my likkewaan... (smiles in child-like fashion, louder). My twee slangetjies...

Jy't my nog nie vertel van al die diere nie?

Aag, van die goed is seker al weg. Want ek weet – die budgies was daar... Ek weet die een budgie was nog daar... En dan, die kat – ons het twee katte gehad: Die een was Tiger en die ander een was Strepies. Strepies het gedisappear, hy's nou weg. Maar Tiger is 'n kat. Partykeer dan loop hy so skeef soos 'n leeu. Partykeer dan staan hy en kyk vir 'n hond, dan grom hy vir die hond – dis te oulik. Daardie kat het my gekies – hy't my gekies om by te slaap. Elke aand dan slaap hy by my voete. Klokslag tien-uur, dan gaan hy af kamer toe, dan weet ek, ag nee wat, nou moet ek gaan slaap. Dan klim ek ook in die bed en wag tot die kat diep aan die slaap is. As ek nie kamer toe gaan nie, kom sit hy by my voete tot ek gaan. Dan lê ek maar en wag tot hy diep aan die slaap is, dan staan ek stilletjies op om TV te gaan kyk.

En dan wag jy tot hy aan die slaap is voor jy gaan TV kyk?

Ja. Anderster kom hy weer – kom lê hy weer daar voor die deur. Baie keer sit hy daar in koud kry – as daardie kat koud kry, hy sal nie gaan slaap nie. Dan wag hy vir my. En dan, dan gaan ek na die kamer toe en ek sê kom, kom sit hier, dan klim hy op die bed. Of as ek op die bank lê, dan kom lê hy hier langs my op die bank.

Dis baie interessant.

Eenkeer, toe het Tiger gegaan om 'n muis te gaan vang. Wragtag, daardie dag begin dit toe te reen. Toe kom hy binnetoe, toe kom wys hy my. Daardie kat, as hy 'n muis soek, dan kry hy hom, altyd. Hy gaan veld toe, dan sit hy daar. Tot hy terugkom, dan het hy 'n duif gevang, of 'n muis, of 'n slang, of 'n ding.

In die honde?

Nee, die honde speel ook maar net. Dan lag mens vir hulle. Hulle rol op hulle rug as die wind waai en goed. As die wind waai, dan lyk dit hulle raak mal. (laughs). En die budgies... En ons het 'n slang gevang daar... Ons het baie goed gevang, daar, kobras en goed. Baie mense sê kobras is so gevaarlik en goed – O.K., kobras is baie giftig, ja – maar hy is maklik om te vang, as jy net weet hoe. Die kat vang ook dan 'n kobra.

En dan, wat maak jy met hom?

Baie keer verkoop ek hulle aan die slangpark, of ek hou hom. Eenkeer kry ek 'n koraalslang.

En wat sê jou ma as jy daar by die huis aankom met 'n slang?

Niks. My ma is baie lief vir diere.

Maar slange?

Nee, niks. My ma worry nie. My ma kan nie lelike dinge sê oor diere nie. My ma skrik net vir die slange partykeer (laughs). Jaa, ek en my ma lag lekker saam... Maar dit gaan darem nou beter tussen my ouers. O.K., my pa wil nog skei, maar dit gaan darem nou beter.

Wil jou pa skei?

Ja.

En jou ma?

Ek glo nie. My ma weet, as sy my pa verloor, dan verloor sy so te sê... so te sê... Sy kry nie die helfde van my pa se salaris nie, in elk geval. Die huis en die begrafnispolisie en goed is in elk geval op my naam.

Hoe so?

My pa het dit op my naam gesit daardie dag.

Watter dag?

Laasjaar, of wat, ek kan nie onthou wanneer dit was nie. Daar in Cradock, by Standerd Bank. Begrafnispolisie en al daardie goete... My pa't gesê hy wil blykbaar die huis verkoop en goed. Hy wil hê ons moet niks erf nie... Hy't so iets gesê. Hy't gesê hy gaan alles verkoop en die geld dan gelykop verdeel. So iets.

Hoe so?

Ek weet nie. Daar's... drie goed wat ek van my pa wil erf: Die garage met sy gereedskap en goeters, sy amplifier, en sy khitaar. Dan wil ek aangaan met sy musiek.

Maak hy musiek?

Ja, hy speel baie musiek en goed met sy khitaar. Ek hou nou van raves en goed, maar daardie musiek van my pa, dis ook mooi musiek.

Watter soort musiek is dit?

Al daardie musiek van die ou tye... Al die Springbokhits... Bee Gees en daardie goed. Hy't pakke en pakke tapes. Bokse met tapes. Ek wil nie hê hy moet daardie goed

verkoop nie, die mense gaan dit vir goedkoop pryse koop. Daardie goed het baie waarde – ek gaan nie dit toelaat nie. (paragraph spoken in hushed voice, many pauses). O.K., ek kan ook nie sê nie, dis my pa se besluit. (silence). Dis hoe ek dit sou verkies het. (silence).

Wanneer hoor jy van die vonnis?

Die elfde is hierdie straf oor. Dit was drie maande.

So jy gaan hier bly tot die elfde Maart?

Huh-uh, ek kan nou Cradock ook toe gaan, na die hofsaak. Maar ek gaan nie.

Hoekom is jy hierso? Is dit omdat die hooggeregshof hier is?

Mmmh.

So dis die enigste rede hoekom jy in Grahamstad is?

Mmmh, ek het ook gevra... Om in Grahamstad te wees. Sodat ek nader kan wees aan die Baai. Sodat vriende vir my goed... kan opstuur en so. Ek kry nooit geld nie, ek kan nie skryf en sulke goed nie. Dit help ook nie ek skryf nie, want die briewe gaan ook nie weg nie. Ek het hoeveel briewe geskryf al, maar dit kom nie by die mense uit nie. Dit is hoe dit werk in die tronk. Mense luister nie... Jou briewe word nie gehoor nie... Ek weet nie... (silence, while he sits playing with one of the boots).

Wat het daar gebeur? (points at boot the respondent is holding)

Nee, dis waar hy geval het gisteraand. Hy't op sy sy geval, toe maak ek hom reg. Ek het net weer die seep natgemaak.

O, dis nogal oraaït – dat jy hulle kan regmaak. Waarmee kleur jy dit?

Polish. Skoenpolish, bruines.

Is daar ander ouens ook wat dit doen?

Ek weet nie.

Nou waar het jy geleer?

Ek het myself geleer. Ek is die eerste ou wat hierdie goedjies maak, ek het daarmee begin.

Rêrig, wanneer?

Nou, hier in die tronk. Ek het maar die idee gehoor hier by 'n oom wat hier werk. Toe besluit ek ek gaan dit maar doen. (contemplative silence). Dit is nogal 'n groot persentasie (sic) vir my om hierdie goed te maak, hier in die tronk. Vir myself. Ek wil nog allerhande goedjies maak, glase en goed. En dan verf – ek wou nog daardie bootjie ook geverf het (looks at sculpture of boat on filing cabinet). Sy roeispane en goed is ook nog binne-in..., sy gaatjies aan die kante...

So jy het darem iets geleer... Jy maak mooi goedjies...

Ja, ek maak kruise, en sulke hartjie-bakkies. Dis mooi, daardie hartjies. Ek wil nog so groot ding maak, met die Onse Vader in. En bokke en goed.

So jy's 'n outjie wat lief is vir diere, sê jy?

Ja. Ek het baie vir diertjies gesorg op skool.

Nou Tommy, hier's 'n ding wat ek nie so mooi verstaan nie... Was dit dan nie vir jou moeilik om diere dood te maak nie?

Nee, nie daardie tyd nie. As jy in die Satanisme is... Eers, toe ek klein was, kon ek nie 'n dier doodmaak nie. Toe ek klein was, was ek lief vir diere gewees. Ons het altyd diertjies gevang... Toe ek in daardie skool was, in Natal – dit was vir my 'n baie lekker skool gewees daardie – toe ons vir die diere gesorg. Maar... Toe't ek eenkeer gesien 'n outjie hang 'n rot op. En toe kon ek nie verstaan hoekom maak hy rotte so dood nie... En toe't ons begin lag daaroor. En toe het ek weggegaan uit daardie skool. En toe sien ek dit in JJ ook – ouens maak 'n rot dood en hang dit op teen 'n outjie se kas. En toe eendag doen ek dit ook.

'n Lewendige rot?

Ja... En dan bewe die rot so (demonstrates). En dan steek sy tande so uit. En dan begin ons te lag. En dan wriemel die rot op 'n sekere manier en dan lag ons en lag ons... Maar ons het dagga gerook en goed ook. En dan lag ons so. En daardie tyd het ek nie eintlik 'n gevoel gehad vir diere nie. Maar na die tyd het ek spyt gekry oor al die goed wat ek gedoen het.

En honde en katte, en die goed?

Nee, ek het mos nie geworry oor die goed nie. Ek het maar doodgemaak oor ek moes.

Honde en katte?

(Nods). Meestal honde en katte en mense.

Mense?

Ag, ek het nog nie mense doodgemaak nie, net hierdie een. (silence). Tot hoe laat toe mag Oom bly?

So vier-uur.

Dis darem nog 'n lang tyd. (barely audible).

Nou vertel gou vir my wat beteken daardie tekens – het hulle verskillende betekenisse?

Die prentjie hier is die gebreekte kruis. Dan is hierdie die lyf, en hierdie is die kop wat afgekap is. Die kop is afgekap en die kruis is gebreek. En hierdie is die trippel ses. Die ander is maar net wapens en goed. Nommers. En name van gangsters en goed. In AmNadia... Nommer, nommer, nommer (points). Die gebreekte kruis. Sonop – dis ook 'n ou wat 'n gangster was...

En daardie merk daarbo?

Dis ook 'n steek-wond.

Mes?

Ek kan nie nou onthou nie. Seker. En hierdie is waar ek my gesny het.

Waarmee?

Glas. Dit is waar ek 'n venster gebreek het.

En jy sê jy was in 'n gang gewees?

Ja, in die Baai.

En in Drie Susters?

Nee, in Drie Susters is nie gangs nie (laughs at silly remark). In die Baai. Die Boom Shakas.

Is dit 'n groot gang?

Daar's 'n paar Boom Shakas hier ook. Maar ek steur my nie daaraan nie.

Ehmm, en wat het julle gedoen?

Cocaine verkoop, sulke goed. Dagga verkoop, pille...

En jy's nooit daarvoor gevang nie?

(Shakes his head.)

Nou hoe 's dit dat hulle jou op die einde gevang het, Tommy.

Ek sê jou mos, my broer het my oorgegee aan die polisie. Ek was in Queenstown gewees.

En hoe het hy geweet jy het dit gedoen?

Ek weet nie hoe het hy dit geweet nie. Ek weet nie – die polisie het seker na hom gegaan en gevra waar is ek. As hy my sien, moet hy my oorlewer aan die polisie.

So die polisie het geweet.

Of course het die polisie geweet. Maar ek weet nie hoe het hulle geweet nie. Ek weet nie hoe het hulle uitgevind nie...

Het jy dit probeer wegsteek... Dat dit jy was?

(does not respond, sits in silence).

Het jy handskoene gehad of iets?

Hulle het seker my vingerafdrukke gekry man. Dis al wat hulle kon doen om my te kon gevang het. (silence). Daar's nie 'n ander manier hoe hulle my kon gevang het nie... Sonder vingerafdrukke nie...

Hoe so?

Ek het mos nie ander merke gelos nie. Hulle kon my nie anders gevang het nie. Daar's nie 'n manier nie.

Maar hulle het dadelik geweet dis moord?

Ja, hulle het geweet dis moord, maar hulle het nie geweet wie nie. Hulle't seker ondersoek ingestel en uitgevind. Hulle sou my nie gekry het as hulle nie my vingerafdrukke gekry het nie... (shakes his head) So hulle is baie gelukkig ek het die saak vir hulle so maklik gemaak. (silence)

(phone on desk starts ringing, researcher ignores it. Then respondent looks at researcher)

Ek dink nie dis vir my of vir jou nie.

(silence).

Waarvoor gebruik hulle Ritalin?

Vir kinders wat hiperaktief is, wat nie kan stilsit of konsentreer nie.

Ek het gevra vir Ritalin op skool, maar hulle het geweier. (silence). Hulle moes maar vir my gegee het...

Dink jy dit sou gehelp het?

Dit sou. Miskien sou ek beter gekonsentreer het op my werk. Miskien op alles. Miskien sou dinge dan anders gewees het...

Hoe 't jy gedoen op skool?

Nie goed nie. Te veel dagga gerook. (almost whisper)

En voor jy dagga gerook het?

Toe't ek oraait gedoen – ek het eerste in die klas gestaan ook al.

Wanneer was dit?

Daar in Natal, laerskool. Elke jaar eerste gestaan... Vir vier jaar. (silence). Tot standerd vier.

Is dit wanneer jy begin dagga rook het?

Nee, dit was toe ek oorgeplaas is JJ Serfontein toe. Toe't ek begin dagga rook.

En toe 't jy nie meer so goed gedoen nie...

Huh-uh.

Het jy nie miskien maar net op ander goed begin konsentreer nie?

Dis mos logies... As mens dagga rook, as jy dagga rook, dan raak jy lomerig. Jy worry nie oor werk in die klas nie, jy worry nie oor niks nie. As iets aangaan in die klas, jy konsentreer nie op wat aangaan in die klas nie.

Nou het jy gerook voor jy klas toe gegaan het?

Ja. Elke dag. Voor ek klas toe gegaan het, rook ons, pouse rook ons, na skool rook ons... Kort pouses rook ons...

En hulle het julle nooit gevang nie?

Nee, hulle kan ons mos nie vang nie. Hulle het ons nooit gevang nie.

En ander goeters... Wat het julle nog gedoen?

Dagga... Dagga gerook, en dit... En uitgeslip en dit...

En hulle vang julle nooit nie?

Nou en dan, dan het 'n slim enetjie ons miskien gevang.

'n Slim enetjie...

Ehm. Iemand wat miskien weet ons gaan uit... Of iemand wat op pos staan om te kyk of ons uitgaan. Nee! Hulle kon ons nie vang nie – nie as jy slim is nie.

Slim is?

Dan gaan ek voor die tyd uit.

Voor die tyd?

(laughs at researcher's apparent incomprehension). 'n Sekere tyd... Sê nou ons besluit om sesuur uit te gaan, dan gaan ek al vyfuur.

Aah, ek sien! So, dan word die ander ouens gevang?

Ja, hulle word gevang, nie ek nie. Ek praat aspris uit. Ses vir almal ons gaan sesuur uit, nee, vyfuur, dan gaan ek al. Dan's ek lankal sesuur terug in die koshuis. Dan sesuur, staan hulle by die hekkie.

Het jy baie keer alleen gegaan?

Ja, ek het die meeste van die tyd alleen gegaan. As jy saam met ander ouens gaan, word jy net gevang.

So jy sê jy was te slim vir hulle?

Ja. (laughs) (silence).

Jy sien, miskien het jy goed gekonsentreer. Miskien het jy net nie op jou werk gekonsentreer nie.

(Laughs, seemingly embarrassed). Nee... Dis nie... Dis nie... Dis maklik om so te sê...

Mmmmh?

Maar as Oom daar was, sou Oom nie dieselfde gesê het nie.

Mmmh... Nee, ek sê nie eintlik nie, ek vra maar net...

Sien, in die skool kan mens nie eintlik leer nie. (silence, shakes his head slowly).

Mmmh... Waar is al jou vriende nou?

Ek weet nie.

Jy sê Werner Fourie is in Bloemfontein...

Mmmh. Maar ek worry nie oor vriende nie – as ek uitkom gaan ek my eie pad gaan. Dis oor vriende wat ek in die tronk sit. Toe ek buite was, het ek baie vriend gehad... As jy in die tronk sit, vergeet hulle van jou.

Mmmh... Dit klink asof hulle nie vir jou nog 'n kans wil gee nie...

Nee, ek worry nie oor dit nie... Hulle gaan my in elk geval straf, so wat moet ek worry... (silence).

O.K... Nou maar oraait, Tommy. Ek gaan nou net weer vir jou daardie vorm wys. Ek het mos nou klaar vir jou verduidelik wat in hom staan, nou gaan ek jou net weer wys.

(Researcher shows and discusses informed consent form in detail. Respondent agrees and signs the form. Also notifies the researcher that he will make notes on his life story and make that available to the researcher, should such information be required.)

APPENDIX C

EPP Analysis Step 2: Division into Meaning Units (MUs)

1. Transcript of Interview 1

Date: 06 February, 2001
 Time: 13H00-14H20
 Place: Grahamstown Prison
 Interviewer: J.P. du Toit
 Respondent: Tommy Veldman

/ Ek worry nie eintlik oor die datum nie. Ek sit al van verlede jaar af. Maart maand.
 (MU 1) /

Mmh, dis 'n lang tyd...

/ Ja, ek kon my eie lewe gevat het in hierdie plek. Ek wou.

Rêrig?

Ja, ek het my stukkend gesny. 'n Paar keer al.

Mmmh?

Pulls up his sleeve, shows multiple scars.

Mmh... Maar dis ou merke daardie...?

Ja, die een was in Cradock gewees. Dit was verlede jaar – in Desember – dit was net voor Kersfees gewees. Dit was nog in die enkelselle gewees.

Dit moet sleg wees om Kersfees so alleen te wees?

Nee, dis nie lekker nie... (Contemplative silence) (MU 2) /

/ Dis nou drie weke wat ek hier is. Maar dis nie lekker hierso nie.

Hoe so?

Hier's nie lekker goed om sport mee te speel nie.

Watse sport is hier?

O.K., ja, hier is sokker, maar die bal is nie lekker nie. Hy is pap. Hulle speel in die veld. In Cradock het ons baie sport gespeel. Hier is nie baie tyd nie. Ek was by die juveniles gewees ook, maar daar gaan niks aan nie. Daardie ouens kan nie speel nie.

Nou Tommy, hoe is die juveniles, waar is dit?

Dit is die jeugdige afdeling.

Is jy nou daar?

Nee, ek is in die enkelselle. (MU 3) /

Hoe so?

/ Nee, ek't altyd baklei daar binnekant. Hulle het begin vuil name skel daar. Hulle't begin met byname en ek like dit nie. Toe raak ek geïriteerd en toe sê ek hulle moet my weghaal daar.

So jy't gevra?

Ja, toe sit hulle my daar by die enkelselle. Maar jy kry nie T.V. nie. Maar jy kan jou eie T.V. hê. Ek gaan my ouers vra, want daar is 'n T.V. daar by die huis. Ek gaan hulle vra om hom vir my af te bring.

Mmmh. Nou wat kan jy nog doen?

Enige iets. Jy kan goed opsit. Ek het goed opgeplak.

Mmmh, soos wat?

Enige iets. Ek het renosters... en olifante...(MU 4) /

O.

/ Ja, ek soek maar goed om te doen... Of ek teken prente of enige iets om die tyd verby te laat gaan. (MU 5) /

Mmmh.

/ My ouers, hulle is ook nie vooruitstrewend nie. Ek moet maar kyk wanneer hulle kan afkom. My pa, ek dink hy's nou in die Baai, hy't my nou-die-dag gebel... Nou weet ek nie wanneer my ma-hulle vir my iets gaan stuur nie. Ek het vir my prokureur gesê om my ouers te laat weet. My pa sit nog steeds sonder werk.

Is dit? So jy hoor darem van hom?

Ja, so nou-en-dan. Maar hulle sukkel maar. So teen die einde van die maand, as hulle kan, gaan hulle dalk vir my geld stuur. My pa is afgedank op so duisend-drie-honderd 'n maand. En my ma kry maar vierhonderd 'n maand. (MU 6) /

Mmmh.

/ Maar daardie ou vir wie my ma werk maak nie reg nie. Soos as daar nuwe voorraad inkom, dan moet sy die heeldag... Veral as jy 'n blou ka... As jy werk, moet jy 'n blou kaart hê...

Mmmh.

Veral as jy werk... My ma werk nou al... Dis nou al haar derde jaar wat sy vir daardie ou werk... Dis nou al amper drie jaar. En daar was nooit een maand 'n salarisverhoging nie. My ma werk elke dag in daardie winkel: Van die oggend af. Van die oggend nege-uur af tot die aand vyf-uur toe.

Sy werk elke dag. My ma moet die winkel uitvee, en skoonmaak. Maar daar's nie meer voorraad nie. Die mense wil nie meer koop in daardie winkel nie, want daar's niks nie. Dis nou al vir twee jaar dat my ma niks meer kry nie. As my ma nog nie Junie-maand 'n salarisverhoging gekry het nie, moet sy haar blou kaart... My ma het nog nie haar blou kaart gekry nie. My ma moet soos 'n meid werk daar elke dag. Sy skrop die winkel, maak skoon, doen alles. (MU 7) /

Mmmh, dis maar moeilik, jong... Tommy, behoort jy aan 'n kerk?

/ Ja, die NG kerk. Maar ek was baie lanklaas daar. (MU 8) /

Het hulle kerkdienste hierso?

/ Ja, maar dis net Sondae. Dit was laas Sondag... Daar by Cradock, elke derde Sondag, of elke tweede Sondag, kom daar 'n man van die dorp af om kerk te hou. En dan kom praat hy met die mense. En dan kom hy en hy praat in Afrikaans, of in Xhosa, of Engels... (MU 9) /

Jaa... En jy sê jy was lanklaas in die kerk?

/ Jaa... Seker so drie jaar terug. Drie of vier.

En het jy toe gereeld kerk toe gegaan?

Ja, toe ek nog in my ouerhuis was. Maar later het ek baie ander dinge gedoen. Ek het uitgegaan met meisies en na kerk (MU 10) // het ek begin dagga rook en al daardie goeters...

Het jy baie dagga gerook?

Ja, ek was verslaaf aan die goed gewees. Pille ook, cocaine ook, al daardie goed. Ek het dagga gerook en mandrax en cocaine en ecstasy en al daardie goed. Ek het later van my kop af geraak met daardie cocaine. (MU 11) /

Mmmh? Nou wat gebeur as jy van jou kop af raak?

/ Ek raak m... Hoe sal ek nou sê...? Ek raak... aggressief. As iemand my pla, dan wil ek... dan vloek ek partykeer sommer. Ek raak vreeslik aggressief. Partykeer... Een keer toe sny ek my ook...

Hoe so?

Ek raak so aggressief, dan sny ek sommer my polse of so. Ek weet nie wat om met myself te doen nie. Op 'n stadium het ek nie geweet of ek wil lewe nie, toe rook ek vir twee weke, elke dag. Of ander kere, dan raak ek vreeslik aggressief. As iemand my iets sê, dan weier ek om dit te doen.. Ek raak vreeslik aggressief. Nou-die-dag toe breek ek amper my vinger... Dis soos... As ek gerook het, dan... dan kry ek soos – hoe sal ek sê – abnormale krag... (MU 12) /

Nou waar kom daardie krag vandaan?

/ Ek weet nie. Maar dis nie meer so nie. Dis hoekom ek daardie Satanisme gelos het. Ek was nou in PE gewees vir 'n ruk. Toe't ek vir my... ouer broer gaan soek... (MU 13) /

Nou wanneer was dit?

/ Dit was verlede jaar – in Maart. Maartmaand toe gaan ek... April, ja, dit was April. Toe gaan ek daarnatoe. Ek en my pa het baie rusie gehad. Baie keer dan het hy my geslaan en goed. Veral as ek dagga gerook het daar by die huis en goed. Dan het ek honger geraak en goed – Kyk as jy dagga gerook het, raak jy vreeslik honger...

Mmmh...

En dan vat ek van die kos. Sê nou ons het vleis gebraai of iets, dan vat ek van die vleis na my kamer toe. Of ek sê die kat het dit gevat... (MU 14) /

En toe?

/ My pa kom nie agter dis weg nie. Hy kom nie eintlik in my kamer nie, maar dan lê die bene onder die bed. Maar toe kom die kat en hy krap en hy krap en hy krap. Toe krap hy die bene oop. En toe kom my pa agter van die bene, ai! (laughs)

En toe?

Nee man, en toe't ek en my pa baie erg 'n uitval gehad. En eenkeer het hy gedreig om my uit te gooi. En toe eenkeer kom ek dronk daar aan... En toe't ek my pa gevloek en gesê ek gaan myself vrek maak en goed...

Mmmh...

Toe... Toe't my pa nie geweet wat gaan aan met my nie... Hy't geweet ek't gedrink, maar... En toe later het hy my vertel wat ek gedoen het. Toe kon ek nie glo wat ek als gedoen het nie.

Mmmh... En dit was nou terwyl jy dronk was?

Ja, terwyl ek dronk was en toe ek dagga gerook het. En toe gaan ek nou... Toe stuur my pa my weg om te kyk of ek kan gaan werk soek en toe gaan ek af na die Baai. Dit was die oggend vroeg... Toe sê my pa hy wil nie meer sy seun hê nie... Ek moet die pad vat en goed... Jy sien ek het kwaad geraak daardie oggend. Toe staan ek vroeg op – jy weet, baie kere, dan word ek vroeg wakker. Toe staan ek vroeg op en toe vat ek my goed en toe hike ek, toe gaan ek af Baai toe. (MU 15) /

Mmmh.

/ En toe ek by die Baai kom, toe't ek vir 'n paar dae... Toe't ek daar by die hawe werk gekry. Toe't ek daar geslaap by die hawe tussen die goeters...

Alleen?

Alleen. Toe't ek werk gekry daar by die hawe en 'n paar dae daar gewerk. My pa't gesê ek moet direk gaan na hierdie twee mense daar in die Baai, maar toe eindig ek in die mission. Dit was... verskriklik lekker gewees daar. Daarso kon ek... dit was soos my eie huis gewees daar. Daar was altyd werk wat vir my gegee was. Dit was ook lekker gewees. Dit is lekker om ook jou eie werk te kan doen. Maar in elk geval, toe bly ek in die Baai, en toe kry ek hierdie werk by die hawe. Toe kry ek hierdie werk by Portnet, toe kry ek hierdie salaris van drie-vyf en toe drie-agt, toe vier-sewe. Op die ou end het ek vyfduisend-driehonderd gekry – daarrond. Toe stuur ek vir my ma die geld.

Gmff?

Ja, ek het in die begin die helfde van die geld gekry. Kyk, ek het daar begin... Ek dink die sestiende of die sewentiende, toe't ek nie vol pay gekry nie. Toe sê daardie een senior as jy dit nie like nie, moet jy weggaan. En toe die een Maandag is dit wat ons baklei het. Ek het nog van die goed afgelaai. Kyk, ons het goed afgelaai, soos bokse en vrugte en goed...

O.K...

En toe's daar een ou wat die heel tyd moeilik wil maak... 'n Kleurling of so. Met my en hy sê toe die heeltyd "kaffirs" en so.

En toe?

Hy't die heeltyd moeilikheid gesoek met my en op die ou end, toe sê ek vir hom, ek's nie lus hiervoor nie, ek sal jou bliksem, moenie moeilikheid maak nie. Maar hy't dit die heeltyd gedoen. En toe't hy van die goed gesteel. En toe't ek – dingeses – O.K., eers het ek niks gedoen nie, maar toe elke dag as ek aan skof kom, dan lê daar 'n sak uie of 'n sak goed... En hy het die lockers gebreek – jy weet hierdie lockers? Ja, dan het hy hulle gebreek en goed gevat. Die ouens dra 'n klomp goete weg daar: Skoene, klere... Toe sê dis ek wat dit gedoen het. Toe sê ek vir hulle kyk hierso, ek werk baie hard en ek het nie die goed gevat nie. Kyk hier, ek dra dieselfde klere elke dag, ek het nie die klere gevat nie... Ek het nog in 'n kort broek gewerk.

Dit was nou die begin van die jaar?

Ja. Toe sê hulle ag dis orait, ek hoef nie terug te betaal nie. Maar toe raak daar nog goed weggeraak, toe sê hulle ek het dit gevat. Daar was hierdie ander swart ouens wat met sakke goed daar weggeloop het. En toe vat hulle van die goed en druk dit in my sak en wys dit vir die ou. Toe sê ek, ek het al baie goed gesteel in my lewe, maar ek het nie hier by die werk goed gevat nie.

Mmmh.

Dit was nie lekker nie. Ek het nog nooit in my lewe so hard gewerk nie. Voor dit het ek my agterent afgewerk. (MU 16) // Voor ek daar by Portnet gewerk het – dit was vir ses... Seshonderd en sewentig rand 'n maand. Dit was by Cradock. Plumbing, welding, motor mechanic, houtwerk, daardie tipe goed. En, nou, toe werk ek daarso. Baie tipe werk... Elke aand as ek by die huis kom, is ek moeg. Dan lê ek op my bed en slaap. Dan collapse ek op my bed.

Van werk by Portnet?

Ja... Maar nee, dis toe ek nog van Cradock af gewerk het.

Ja, by Portnet. Maar ek kon nog daar by Cradock gewerk het, het ek met treinspore ook gewerk. Daar by Murray and Roberts. Dit was 'n helse werk. Maar dit was 'n lekker tyd daar by Cradock gewees.

En jy sê jy's toe Baai toe. Is dit daar wat jy deurmekaar geraak het met Satanisme?

Ja..., dit was nou... Ag nee, maar dis nog voor dit... Toe ek daar was by die skool. In JJ Serfontein. (MU 17) /

JJ Serfontein, is dit waar jy skool gegaan het?

/ Ja, dis waar ek moes skool loop.

En waar is dit?

Queenstown. (MU 18) /

O.K., en toe jy in die Baai kom?

/ Ja, maar dit het by die skool al begin. Ons het te doen gehad met witchcraft en glasië-glasië en so. Ons het rotte en muise gevang en geoffer. Dit was saam met 'n vriend van my – sy naam was Werner Fourie. En partykeer, as jy glasië-glasië speel of geeste oproep sien sy oë raak so groen. Dan kan jy sien daar kom so glow in sy oë. En toe, daarna, gaan ek saam met hom na Cathcart toe, toe mediteer ons en goed die heeldag. Maar toe het ons later kalmeer met daardie goed. O.K., en toe het ek later begin boeke uitneem oor Satanisme oor wat om te doen en goed. Ek het 'n boek gekry van al die goed. Al die tekens en wat om te doen en so. (MU 19) /

En in die Baai toe?

/ En toe ek uit die skool is, toe gaan ek Baai toe. Toe ek vakansies by die huis was, het ons ook altyd Baai toe gegaan. Soos Junie-vakansies en goed, dan gaan ons Baai toe, na die mense toe. Hoe ek daarby betrokke geraak het, was by die disko gewees. Dit was met die mense van die Baai gewees. Dit was saam met 'n meisiekind gewees. Ons het 'n klomp dagga gerook en goed – cocaine gedoen en dit. Toe kom sy na my toe en gee vir my iets om te drink. Ek was nog lekker deurmekaar gewees toe – ek het lekker gelag en nie eintlik omgee nie en dit. Maar sy't seker drugs daarin gegooi en dit. Al wat ek weet is dat ek aan die slaap geraak het. In die kar was ek in 'n beswying gewees. Toe worry ek nie, toe slaap ek maar verder. En toe ek wakker word, was ek in daardie ander mense se plek. (MU 20) /

Waar word jy toe wakker? By 'n huis of wat?

/ Sentraal. Daardie ou afgebrande hotel wat daar is. Toe was daar 'n paar van hulle – meisiekinders in swart aangetrek. Hulle't sulke swart goed oor hulle skouers gehad. Dit was binne die gebou. En ek was kaal. En toe het ons kaal rondgeloop in daardie gebou. Ek het later begin bloed drink saam met hulle. (MU 21) /

Watse bloed drink julle toe?

/ Verskillende. Mensbloed, diere se bloed... Almal se altyd katte, katte, katte... Dis nie so nie. Dis sommer 'n bygeloof die ding van katte se bloed drink. O.K., ons het baie katte gebruik, ja, maar enige kat, dit hoef nie noodwendig 'n swart kat te wees nie. Daar was baie katte daar gewees. Die dinge wat daar gebeur het, was erg, jong. Baie keer,

O.K., ek het nou nog nie met diere gemeenskap gehad nie, dis wat hulle doen: Om met diere gemeenskap te hê, haal hulle binnedele uit, gebruik dit vir die orgies en goed. Allerhande sulke dinge. Dan moet jy hulle bloed drink en die bloed offer. En ons het babas geoffer. Dit was beter om babas te offer, want dis 'n offer wat die dui... wat Satan... wat Lucifer dadelik aanvaar het. Hy aanvaar dit vinniger.

Nou waar kry julle die bloed vandaan?

Van diere af. Of as mense gevang word of iets... (MU 22) // Gewoonlik as daar 'n nuwe... Kom ons sê nou daar's 'n nuwe meisie wat daar aankom... Wanneer mense gevang word. Sê nou daar kom 'n nuwe meisie of 'n nuwe ou in die coffin in. Maar verkieslik 'n meisiekind. Dan sny sy haar en dan drink ons haar bloed. Daardie tyd was daar nogal baie mense, sê so drie en dertig of ses en dertig mense in een coffin. Daar was verskillende coffins gewees. Daar is ses honderd ses en sestig coffins.

In die Baai of oor die land of wat?

In die land. Baie min mense weet dit. Dis volgens die getal van die Bees. Die getal van die Dier, dis om die Here te spot... En sonde te bedryf. (MU 23) /

En jy sê dit het jou in die moeilikheid gekry?

/ Ja, dit het dit nog erger gemaak om die dagga te drop en goed. Daar het ons ecstasy en mandrax en sulke goed... Al daardie goed gevat. Rocks, flower power... Dan kry ons, hoe sal ek sê, aggressiwiteit in ons... Ek dink dis waar alles begin het. Almal moet seks hê met een meisiekind. Partykeer drie en dertig of veertig mense of wat ookal. Al die mans. Later het dit erger geraak. Dan moet jy met diere seks hê... en bloed drink en mensvleis eet... Daardie goed het my... Hoe sal ek sê? Later sê hulle jy moet goed doen voor hulle jou kan aanvaar. Dat jy jou geloof moet bewys, anders aanvaar hulle jou nie. Later het hulle gesê jy moet jou ouers vermoor en sulke goed... Jy moet jou ouers offer. (MU 24) /

So wie 't gesê jy moet jou ouers vermoor?

/ Die hoofpriester... van die Sataniste. Die hoof... die 'n... die hoëpriester van die groep (stutters, not very clear). Ons weet nie eintlik wie hy is nie. Hy't so ding... so kap bo-oor sy gesig, of oor sy kop. Veral in die dag. Maar mens sien hom nie eintlik nie. En dan moet ons mense offer en goed en tekens... Pentagramme teken op hulle koppe of hulle harte. Of kaal rondloop en orgies hê... swart kerse by die kopenent en pentagramme en goed... Dit was nie lekker vir my gewees nie. (MU 25) /

En toe sê hulle as jy nie jou ouers offer nie, gaan hulle jou offer?

/ Ja, of hulle gaan geeste oproep dat, as jy dit nie doen nie, die geeste jou iets sal aandoen. Dan toor hulle jou. Dan stuur hulle goed van jou na die waarsêers of hekse toe. Die hekse is boos. Ag, hulle roep geeste op en praat met die duiwel en goed. Ag, hulle kan

met jou hare toor, of jou voetspore steel of so. Kom ons sê jy loop op die strand, of jy loop op sand of iets, dan kom daar 'n ou agter jou aan en daar waar jy trap, vat hy die sand, of die stof of waar jou voetspore val, of wat ookal. Jy weet nie daardie ou kom agter jou aan nie. Ag, ons het dit altyd gedoen. En dan vat hy... Dan roep hy jou naam op en dit. En dan begin hy jou te martel... ag, jou g... jou gees... Dan sit hy 'n bouse gees op jou. Slim goed, nè? (MU 26) /

Mmmh.

/ En toe sê hulle ek moet my ouers doodmaak. Toe sê ek O.K., ag... en toe ek by my ouerhuis kom, toe hoor ek my pa se stem – hoe hulle gepraat het en so. Toe kon ek dit nie doen nie. Toe dink ek ek wil die Satanisme los en toe gaan ek Johannesburg toe. En van Johannesburg het ek teruggegaan Baai toe. En toe was dit daardie Maandag, of Woensdag, ek's nie seker wanneer nie...

Watter maand was dit?

Junie maand. Ek dink die twaalfde Junie.

In watter jaar? Twee-duisend?

(coughs, nods). Toe was ek al klaar by die huis en ek het geweet hulle sal my nie terugvat nie. (MU 27) // Dis toe ek na die vrou gegaan het. En toe los ek 'n klip by die hek - ek het seker gemaak ek kan wegkom.

En wie is die vrou?

Dit was Mevrouw Stander. Sy was die grootste Christen in die gemeente – seker die hele gemeente... Sy was baie gelowig, sy het gepreek vir mense – sy het in skole gaan preek... Sy was 'n dierbare tannie gewees. (MU 28) /

En toe gaan jy na haar huis toe?

/ Ja, in Cradock. Toe gaan ek na haar huis toe – my pa-hulle... ek het die tannie geken. En toe het ek by die tannie gekom en toe het ons gesels en tee gedrink en goed... En toe het ons oor resepte gesels... En ek het resepte afgeskryf en goed, net om haar gerus te maak. (MU 29) /

Was jy alleen daar?

/ Ja. Maar toe het ek die idee van moord laat val. Toe het ek besluit om die tannie te oorweldig. Ek wou haar net laat uitpass en dan weghardloop. (MU 30) /

So jy't gedink as jy haar oorweldig, kan jy teruggaan en vir hulle vertel...?

/ Nee, ek moes haar doodmaak. En toe dink ek ek moet van haar hare of iets... Of 'n stuk van haar vel of iets vat... Maar hulle sal weet ek het haar nie doodgemaak nie. Toe het ek die tannie... ek dink laat val op die grond. Maar sy het nie hard geval nie, sy het sag geval. (MU 31) // Toe begin sy in tale te praat. Christene praat mos in sekere tale.

Kan jy daardie tale verstaan?

Nee, ek verstaan dit nie, meer ek weet waarom dit gaan. Seker van dit was Here help, Here help. En toe skree sy wild. En daardie tale is hier in my kop. Ek het... Ek het goeters... Ek het blank geslaan. Ek het swart voor my gesien. Want ek het geweet: Vandag gaan ek gestraf word – hier's 'n vrou wat my gaan vashou.

Mmmh?

Ek het geweet hier's goed wat my gaan vasvang.

Hoe vasvang?

Hoe kan ek nou.... Dit... Dit... Dit... gaan my laat... uitpass... Dit gaan my... heeltemal laat wegval... (MU 32) /

En jy sê dit het swart geraak voor jou?

/ Ja, dit het swart geraak voor my. Dit het donker geraak. En ek het geweet as ek uitpass gaan hulle my daar kry en hulle sal weet... Hulle sal weet ek wou die tannie doodmaak of iets. Toe steek ek haar in haar nek. (MU 33) // Toe sien ek daardie engeltjies. En 'n man wat staan en bid. Daar was soos balgoeters. Sulke porseleingoeters wat soos balle lyk. Toe sien ek 'n kruis en engeltjies en goed. En toe draai ek dit om dat dit na die muur wys, want ek kon nie daarna kyk nie.

O, so dis goed wat in haar huis was?

Ja, dis goed wat teen die muur was.

En die bal?

Ja, dis soos 'n bulb. 'n Globe. Om die lamp. Mens wil nie sulke goed sien nie. (MU 34) // En toe lê die tannie daar. Toe is sy al klaar dood en... En toe besef ek wat het ek gedoen. En toe begin ek te huil en toe gaan ek uit. En toe gaan ek na die slaapkamer toe – maar sy was al klaar dood – toe het ek die tannie eers toegemaak met 'n kombes. En 'n kussing onder haar kop ingedruk. Toe vat ek die tannie se sleutels. Toe ek buite kom, toe kry ek die tannie jammer. Ek het geweet daarvoor. Ek het berou gehad oor daardie ding... (MU 35) // En toe't ek uitgehardloop uit die huis uit. En toe't ek afgehardloop in die pad en toe gooi ek die sleutels langs die pad weg. Ek het die sleutels gevat. Die huis se sleutels en die garage oopgesluit. En... die kar was nie daar gewees nie. Toe

hardloop ek en toe hardloop ek dat ek wegkom. Toe hardloop ek tot op die hoofpad uit Cradock toe. Toe't ek daar langs die pad neergeval en uitgepass. (MU 36) /

Hoe laat was dit gewees?

/ Dit was so in die aand gewees. Net na sewe of so. Dit het net begin donker word. En toe ek uitgepass het, was dit alreeds donker. Toe't 'n man daar gestop en toe voel ek hoe tel hy my op. Dit was 'n man en 'n vrou wat saam trok ry. Toe tel hy my op en sit my in die trok. En toe't ek lekker koeldrank gedrink en goed... En ek het pies geëet en goed... Toe vra hulle wat het ek gedoen. Toe sê ek, nee ek het uitgepass langs die pad. Toe vra hy vir my waar kom ek vandaan. Toe sê ek van Cradock af. Toe laai hulle my daar by Cradock af – by die hotel. (MU 37) // En daarvandaan het ek gehike Queenstown toe, toe vang hulle my daar. Die polisie het my gevang toe my broer my weggegee het. (MU 38) // Hulle het my kaal uitgetrek en geslaan daarso. Met so rottangstok. Alles wat gebeur daar by die polisie word met 'n videokamera opgevang in elk geval. Hulle't 'n stukkend geslaan. Die merke sit nou-nog op my kop ook. Hulle't my geslaan met 'n yster torch op my kop. My geskop ook. Ek het myself natgemaak soos hulle my geslaan het. Toe met 'n pistool ook. En my geskop met sulke yster skoene.

Dis darem 'n rowwe storie...

Ja, hulle het my lelik geslaan daar. Hulle het my gemartel. Ek het koud gekry ook.

Dit was die eerste aand, toe?

Ja, toe hulle my gevang het. Toe gooi hulle yswater oor my ook. Dit was minus twee gewees. Toe gooi hulle yskoue water oor my. Toe wou hulle kookwater ook oor my gooi. Toe kom hierdie kaptein... Trollip, toe kom hy van Cradock af. Toe sê hy hy weet ek het dit gedoen. Toe sê hy ek is Satan, ek sal jou wys wat ek kan doen. Toe slaan hy my met 'n stok. Ek moes eintlik hospitaal toe gaan. Kyk hierso... Waar die groot merke is... (shows arm). Dis hierso, van die stoel. Dis 'n sny van die stoel. Ek het lelik seer gekry. (MU 39) /

Mmmh... Nou, Tommy, hoekom is jy Johannesburg toe? Jy sê jy...

/ Na Cradock wou ek na my tannie toe gegaan het. In Welkom. Ek het gehike. Toe word ek skielik wakker in Johannesburg. Ek weet nie wie't my opgelaai nie, dit was 'n man en vrou gewees. Dit was 'n ander man se vrou... Maar sy't saam met die man gery, Bloemfontein toe en so. Nou toe het ek saam met die vrou en man gery en drank gekoop. Twee bottels Klipdrift en twee bottels Red Heart Rum en twee bottels springbökkies en so... Ons het al daardie drank gedrink op die trip. Tot by Johannesburg. Toe ons aankom by Johannesburg was ons lelikabelaas. Toe skrik ek wakker in Johannesburg. Sy't my wakker gemaak en gesê ons is in Johannesburg. Toe vra ek vir haar wat maak ons hier? Toe sê sy ons is nou hier. Toe het ek al my goed gevat en my sakke. Ek het al my sakke gevat en toe weet ek nie waarheen om te gaan nie. En toe sê die vrou ons moet

haar daar los. En toe los ons haar maar en toe kuier ons verder. En toe het ek daar geslaap. (MU 40) /

/ En die volgende dag was daar hierdie twee nigeriese ouens... Hierdie Nigerians, toe kry hulle my daar in Hillbrow. Ek het daar in Hillbrow rondgehang. Hulle het rocks en goed verkoop en het te doen gehad met prostitusie. En dan vat hulle die ou op en dan gaan ons agter om en dan roof ons hom. Dan slaan ons hom en vat al sy goed. Toe die polisie daar kom, toe sê ons: Ons het nie gesê hy moet 'n hoer naai nie. Sorry vir die woorde, maar dis hoe dit werk.

Sure.

Wat kan hulle maak? Dis hulle eie skuld. Dan los die polisie ons. Want hulle kan niks maak nie.

O.K., Tommy, hoekom het jy uit die Baai uitgegaan?

Ek het... Ek het... weggekom. Ek wou wegkom.

Wegkom van die Satanisme af, of van die Baai af, of wat?

Weg van almal: Die Satanisme, die mense daar, alles. Van die dagga, die moord, alles – toe het ek weggehardloop Johannesburg toe. Johannesburg is die perfekte plek vir moord.

Het jy dan vir hulle gesê jy't dit gedoen?

Nee. Nee, ek het nie vir hulle gesê nie. Ek's reguit Johannesburg toe. En toe hulle my vang in Queenstown... (MU 41) // Toe ek in die gevangenis is in Queenstown, toe kon ek voel... nog voor dit al, toe ek op die pad is in Johannesburg, toe kon ek voel hulle's besig met witchcraft... hoe kan ek sê... hulle bese geeste en goed op my sit. Ek het so geloop... Dan het ek reg voor 'n kar ingeloop. Ek weet nie daarvan nie. Ek loop net... Dan loop ek in 'n pad in vol karre. Dan loop ek en hoor hulle hoeters druk – ek loop net, worry nie... Ek dink nie so mooi nie. Dis soos 'n gees wat hulle op jou sit. Dis of ek in iets taais loop, of vassit...

Nou, hoe voel jy dan?

As ek dink: Dis soos ek liggies duiselig raak. Dan loop jy net...

Voel jy dit aan jou lyf?

Nee, ek weet nie. Dis net of ek nie dink nie. Dan loop jy net ewe skielik voor alles in. Jy weet nie wat om jou aangaan nie, jy loop maar net. Dan skielik dink ek wat gaan nou aan? Dan kyk ek om my rond, dan lyk alles weer normaal. Maar terwyl ek so loop, dan voel dit amper of ek so sweef. Asof ek al klaar dood is.

Nou kan jy onthou dit het gebeur? As jy nou, soos jy sê, na die tyd regkom.

Nee, ek weet nie. Die meisiekind het my voor 'n kar weggetrek. Toe vra sy of ek oraait is. Die meisie het seker gedink ek is dronk. (MU 42) /

Nou, jy reken dis die bose geeste?

/ Ja, dis al wat ek kan dink. Ek weet nie anders hoe nie. Toe ek eenkeer in die tronk was, het ek bybel gelees. Toe is dit asof die bybel warm raak in my hande. Toe gooi ek die bybel weg. Toe kom bid daar 'n dominee vir my in die tronk. Toe het hulle my weggevat PE toe na James Lottering toe, toe het hulle daardie demons en goed uitgedryf. (MU 43) /

En wat het daar gebeur?

/ Daar by James Lottering? Ek het net daar aangekom, toe vra hulle vir my wat is fout. Toe sê ek ek's nog steeds met hierdie bose geeste en goed... Die goed treiter my... Toe sê hulle by die polisie ek moet met James Lottering daarvoor gaan praat, dan sal hy verder met my werk. (MU 44) / / En toe het hy vir my gebid en ek het gehuil en goed.

Hoe doen hy dit?

Nee, ek weet nie, maar dis 'n wonderlike gevoel. En hy het sulke olie op my kop gesmeer – ek weet nie watse olie nie, seker olyfolie. En toe vat hy my so aan my kop en toe val ek reg agteroor. En toe hulle my vang was ek so-te-sê duiselig... Heeltemal duiselig gewees.

Was daar ander mense ook?

Ja, daar was ander mense. En toe ek daar – ek weet nie of ek wakker geword het of wat nie, maar toe lag ek. Mense het seker gedink ek's gedrug. Toe vra hulle vir my wat gaan nou aan. Toe sê ek ek dink ek's gered. Ek kan onthou ek het gelag. Ek was baie gelukkig.

En toe daarvandaan, het jy nie weer voor karre ingeloop en goed nie?

Nee, niks nie. Dis wonderlik, daar was niks weer van daardie nie. Dis van daardie tyd dat ek weer begin bybel lees het ook. (MU 45) /

En James Lottering, waar is hy?

/ Hy's van die Baai, ek dink van die Gemeenskapkerk of iets. (Shows business card: James Lottering Ministries, Linton Grange).

Nou wie het jou na hom toe gevat?

Die polisie. Die ouens van Kobus Jonker.

Het jy hom gesien?

Ja, toe't ek met hom gepraat en goed. En na die tyd het hy (James Lottering) my elke dag kom sien in die gevangenis. (MU 46) /

O.K., Tommy, ek gaan net gou vir jou 'n paar ander vrae vra. Jy sê daar het al 'n paar snaakse goed met jou gebeur en jy reken dis die bese geeste en goed wat hulle op jou gesit het. Was daar enige tyd wat jy dalk al stemme gehoor het?

/ O.K., nou dat jy so sê... Baie keer, soos laat in die aand, dan is dit of... Ek en my ma kommunikasie het met mekaar.

Kan jy actually haar stem hoor?

Jaaa... Ek hoor iets... Soos sy sê iets vir my. Dan hoor ek my ma se stem: Tommy... Tommy... Tommy... (whisper, sort of like echo). Asof sy probeer deurkom. En dan... Gaan dit weg. Baie keer is dit asof sy vir my iets wou sê... Asof sy iets wou gehad het... Dan dink ek wat was dit nou weer...? Of baie keer probeer my ma my waarsku oor iets. Ek weet nie hoe dit gebeur het nie, maar... andertyd is dit soos dinges wat met my praat... Hoe kan ek nou sê? Mens kan nie eintlik sê nie. Dis nie soos regte stemme nie, dis soos eggo-stemme. As hulle jou order om goed te doen, dan's dit die geeste.

Nou het jy al met jou ma gepraat? Soos, het jy al vir haar gesê: hier's ek nou.?

Ja, baie maal. Soos hier in die sel.

Maar weet sy sy het jou geroep, of roep sy jou sonder dat sy dit beseft?

Nee, kom ons sê nou my ma roep my, daardie selfde tyd soek ek haar. Dit is soos 'n link wat ons het. Ons het mekaar op dieselfde tyd nodig. Ek roep my ma en dan roep my ma na my. (MU 47) /

O.K., en jy sê partykeer kry jy soos stemme wat vir jou orders gee?

/ Ja, kom ons sê ons loop nou hier. Ons gaan nou 'n inbraak doen of iets. Jy weet, en dan almal van ons kry daardie gevoel van bang wees ons gaan gevang word of iets. Dan's dit asof ek hierdie gevoel kry nee, dis oraait, ons kan maar gaan.

Asof die stem sê jy gaan nie gevang word nie?

Nee, nie asof ek nie gevang gaan word nie, meer iets soos: Ek gaan sorg dat jy regkom. Jy sal veilig wees in ons hande... Jy sal veilig wees in ons hande... Dis soos daardie

mense wat met die sterre kommunikeer en goed. (MU 48) / / Of soos my ouma. My ouma is al lankal dood. (MU 49) /

En die stemme waarvan jy praat, is dit mans of vrouens?

/ Nee, meer soos mans stemme. Maar ek kan nie eintlik sê nie, dis soos diep stemme.

Is dit meer as een stem?

Ja, kyk, dis soos 'n klomp stemme saam. Dis anders as Satan se stem.

Nou hoe gereeld gebeur dit?

Net so nou en dan, dan klink dit of ek my ma se stem hoor. Maar nou en dan verbeel ek ek kry krag van my ouma af.

Maar die stemme wat vir jou orders gee – hulle praat nie meer met jou nie?

Nee.

Wanneer is die laaste keer dat dit gebeur het?

Toe ek gevang was.

Wat het hulle toe gesê?

Wie?

Die stemme.

Nee, hulle het opgehou. Ek het nie gehoor nie.

En het hulle met jou gepraat daardie dag toe jy vir die tannie gaan kuier het?

Nee, uh-huh (shakes his head). (MU 50) /

Maar jy sê dis anders as Satan se stem?

/ Ja, maar ons het baie min met Satan gepraat. Satan het so diep stem. 'n Volle stem, sal ek sê. Maar dis 'n diep stem. Anders as die klomp stemme, dis soos 'n gedruis of iets. Dis eggo's, amper asof dit jou wil mal maak. Maar Satan het so 'n diep, mansstem. 'n Helder stem. (MU 51) /

Maar jy sien hom nie?

/ Nee, ons sien hom nie. Ons praat net met hom wanneer ons soos offers maak of goed. En dan sal hy sê of hy die offer aanvaar of nie. Ek was baie keer bang vir hom. (MU 52)
/

(Interruption, prison guard walks in and switches kettle on. Researcher switches kettle off. Resumes interview, but respondent appears "absent", staring into empty space.

Ehm... O.K., ons het nou gepraat van goed wat jy hoor, Tommy... Is jy oraalit?

/ Ja. (distant)

Wat het nou gebeur?

Nee, ek weet nie, Oom. (laughs in embarrassed fashion).

Mmmh?

Nee, ek weet nie, Oom. (shakes his head, looks down). Silence. Dit gebeur partykeer. Ek dink aan ander goed, Oom. Ek dink aan die huis. Baie keer dan sit ek en dagdream, dan dink ek aan die huis, dan skrik ek wakker en sien ek's in diè plek. Kom ons gaan maar aan, Oom. (MU 53) /

O.K., het jy al goeters gesien wat ander mense nie sien nie?

/ Nee wat..., nog nie baie nie...

Nie baie nie?

Ek het al partykeer goed gesien. Soos eenkeer... Soos brandende mense. Op die strand en so. Soos mense wat brand. Of partykeer van mense wat voor die tyd dood is. Dan roep ons geeste op, dan kom daar mense op.

So, toe jy met die Sataniste was, het jy partykeer goed gesien?

Ja, soos geeste-oproep. (MU 54) /

En buitekant dit?

/ Nee, buitekant dit het ek nie sommer goed gesien nie. (MU 55) /

En op die strand?

/ Dis net eenkeer op die strand, toe ek brandende mense gesien het... Wat skree en tekere gaan...

Wanneer was dit?

Dit was in PE daar by die Bridge – ag nee, nie die Bridge nie, wat noem jy daardie plek? – die peer. Hoekom sê ek nou Bridge? Nee, eenkeer, daar by die peer, sit ek en my meisie daar op die strand, soos jy afloop na die strand... Hoe kan ek sê, daar waar die plante groei op die heuwels... Toe sit ons daar, toe sien ek soos mense wat afgehardloop kom, see se kant toe.

Was dit in die aand gewees?

Ja. Mense wat brand. So drie of vier mense wat afgehardloop kom na die see. Maar ek weet nie wat dit is nie. (MU 56) // My pa het ook al so iets gesien, eenkeer toe hulle daar bokant Uniondale was. En toe ry my pa so en toe slaan die kar se ligte af en die kar se enjin af en als het afgeslaan.

Hulle sê mos dit spook daar?

Ja, toe sien my pa 'n kar wat ry daar, met 'n trok wat agter hom ry. Die trok se deure was oop, toe klim daar mense uit die trok. Toe staan hulle daar langs die pad. En toe gaan die kar se ligte weer aan en toe ry hulle weer. (MU 57) /

Hoe sou jy sê voel jy vandag? Net so oor die algemeen...?

/ Sad. (MU 58) /

Sad? Hoe so?

/ Nee, Oom, dis maar nie lekker om hier te wees nie. Ek lê al hier in die selle, dis nou al amper 'n jaar gewees. As ek maar liever net 'n ander straf kan kry. Soos korttermyn diens of iets. As ek net so veertig dae kan uit kry of so... Ek kan miskien iets doen ook. Soos goed maak met my hande, wat ek kan verkoop of iets. Sê nou ek sit elke week in die tronk en naweke kan ek uitkom, onder korrektiewe toesig. En dan slaap ek in die selle, en die Sondag gaan ek weer huis toe, onder korrektiewe toesig... En dan kom ek weer die Maandag terug...

Jy sê dit sal beter wees?

Dit sal beter wees, ja. Ek kan nie veertig jaar in die tronk sit nie. Ek sal dit nie hou nie. Oom moet kyk wat Oom kan doen.

Ek weet nie eintlik van daardie goed nie, jong.

Maar ek weet nie of hulle dit sal toelaat nie. (MU 59) /

Ehm, ek weet nie... Maar jy sê jy's sad vandag.

/ Ja, Oom, ek is nie meer gelukkig nie. Partykeer voel ek ek kan my lewe neem. Ek sal nie so lank in die tronk kan sit nie.

(Interruption, prison guard enters office to fetch kettle and mugs)

Tommy, so raak jy partykeer baie, baie sad?

Net nou en dan.

Jy sê jy voel partykeer jy kan jou lewe neem?

Ja, dit is nou as ek dink ek moet in die tronk sit... Hoe lank ek in die tronk moet wees... (MU 60) /

En wanneer gebeur dit?

/ Ek weet nie... gereeld... Partykeer voel ek kwaad, Oom sien. Baie keer, dan voel ek net kwaad. (MU 61) /

Mmmh. Dis maar moeilik... Dis nie lekker om hier te wees nie... En hoe sal jy jousef oor die algemeen beskryf? O.K., kom ons sê jy moet vir iemand 'n brief skryf – iemand wat jou nie ken nie – en jy moet jousef in so twee sinne beskryf... Wat sal jy sê?

/ Sê nou dis 'n onbekende meisie: Ek sal vir haar sê ek's 'n aantreklike ou, en ek het 'n goeie persoonlikheid. As dit vir 'n man is, sal ek sê ek's 'n jongerige ou met 'n goeie persoonlikheid. En ek is goed gemanierd. (MU 62) /

O.K., nou, Tommy, jy sê daar is tyd wat jy sad voel, en daar's tye wat jy aggressief raak... En jy sê daar's tye wat jy goed voel. Wat gebeur as jy goed voel?

/ Ja, daar's tye wat ek goed voel. Soos wanneer ek van my ma-hulle hoor. Daar is tye wat ek bly voel. Maar hierso is dit min. Ek's nie eintlik gelukkig hier nie. (MU 63) /

O.K., onthou, ek het net nou vir jou gevra as jy jousef moet beskryf aan iemand anders... En as jou pa-hulle jou moet beskryf aan iemand anders...?

/ Ek weet nie hoe sou my pa my beskryf nie. Hy sou seker sê... O.K., ek's 'n baie mooi mannetjie, maar... ek's baie aggressief. ...ek het lang vingers..., en daardie tipe goed. (MU 64) /

O.K... Tommy, wat het gebeur met jou oog?

/ Dis was hierso... Ek het nou die dag met my bybel gesit. En ek het sulke boeke van speurders en goed. En toe kom daar 'n ander outjie en wil dit vat. Toe ek hom met die kop geslaan. En teen die kant van die bed en met die deur. (MU 65) /

Emmh... En die tattoos wat jy het?

/ Dit is alles van die watsenaam... die nommers van die tronk en van die satanistiese tekens en goed.

Kan ek sien?

Ja, Oom kan sien (pulls up his sleeves).

Hierdie een? Dis van Sondag, dis daardie ses en twintig gang, in die gevangenis. Hierdie is soos... ses en twintig en sewe en twintig en ag en twintig. Dis van Cradock. Die verskillende ouens in die tronk. Die vywe is die big five – hulle gaan klik jou by die beamptes, die ses en twintig is soos die (unclear, siren in background)... die ses en twintig is die beste. En die ag en twintig is soos die... moffies.

En wat is jy?

Ek is ses en twintig. (MU 66) /

/ En hierdie is satanistiese tekens. En hierdie is van drugs en goed.

Maar die meeste is op jou regterarm – hoe so?

Ek het baie van dit self gedoen. Maar ek wil die goed nou uithaal.

Kan jy?

Ja, met kondensmelk. Ja, jy vat 'n speld, dan maak jy dit oop. En dan kook jy kondensmelk en gooi dit daarin. En dan druk jy dit toe. (MU 67) /

Mmmh. Nou Tommy, ek dink ek het jou nou eers genoeg vrae gevra vir vandag. Ek gaan jou nou eers mooi verduidelik hoe dit hiervandaan gaan werk. Ek het jou nou vandag vrae gevra...

/ O ja, Oom, daar's iets wat my ma gesê het ek moet vertel. Van kleins af, toe ek nog jonk was, was ek al deurmekaar met drank. Ek was vyf – omtrent vier jaar oud, toe het dit begin. Baie keer as my pa werk toe was, dan het my ma vir ons drank gegee. (MU 68) // Of baie keer het my ma ons gehelp om te steel. Dan sê sy ons moet vir haar goed kry. Kry vir haar 'n lighter... Kry vir haar dit... Kry vir haar dat... En dit gaan gebeur as ons nie dit doen nie. (MU 69) // En baie keer het my pa ons geslaan – baie hard. Blou geslaan partykeer. (MU 70) // En my broer is ook 'n groot krimineel. My groot broer, Jack. Hy was ook in Satanisme gewees. (MU 71) /

(Interruption from prison guard, needs to use office)

O.K., Tommy, vandag het ek eintlik maar net vir jou kom ontmoet en vir jou 'n paar vrae gevra. En jy het vir my allerhande goed vertel van hoekom jy hier is en wat met jou gebeur het. Maar ek gaan jou weer kom sien.

/ Gaan dit hierdie week wees? Want volgende week is die hofsaak.

Ja, dit sal voor die hofsaak wees.

Want daar's nog 'n paar goed wat ek Oom wil vertel. (MU 72) /

Ja, ek gaan jou nog 'n bietjie vra oor jou familie en so en ons gaan nog gesels.

/ Ja, dis nou juis waarom ek met Oom wil gesels.

Jy sien, ek wil vir jou leer ken. Ek gaan met jou gesels. Ek het nie na jou files gekyk en so nie. Ek wil graag jou storie hoor soos wat jy dit vertel. Maar volgende keer gaan ons 'n bietjie gesels oor jou familie en hoe jy grootgeword het, en so. Hopelik more. O.K.?

Ja.

Tommy, baie dankie. Ons het nou baie gepraat...

Mmmh. O.K., dankie Oom. (Gets up and shakes researcher's hand). (MU 73) /

APPENDIX C

EPP Analysis Step 2: Division into Meaning Units (MUs)

2. Transcript of Interview 2

Date: 07 February, 2001
 Time: 14H00-15H15
 Place: Grahamstown Prison
 Interviewer: J.P. du Toit
 Respondent: Tommy Veldman

Gister het ek jou gevra 'n paar dinge van hoe jy voel en jou geheue en so aan... Vandag gaan ek jou 'n bietjie meer vra oor hoe jy grootgeword het... en jy't gesê jy't 'n paar dinge wat jy vir my wil vertel. Nou as dit oraait is met jou, gaan ek jou net vra oor jou familie en jou lewe tot dusver, en wat jy alles kan onthou en so.

Ehm-hm.

O.K. Jy het gesê jy's gebore op 18 Desember 1982... Wat kan jy onthou voor jy skool toe is?

/ Dit was daardie ding met my ma... Ek was vyf jaar oud gewees en die kleintjie was in die stootwa. Ons het daardie aand afgegaan na Harry sê huis toe... Hy't 'n vrou gehad, maar sy was daardie aand by 'n vergadering of iets. Toe gaan ons af na Harry toe – daardie ou met die kombi – Ek en my ma en 'n ander ou wat saam met Harry was. En toe klim hulle uit by so paadjie wat in die bosse afgaan. En toe sê die ou wat agter sit ek mag nie nou uitklim nie, hulle sal nou terugkom. En toe kom hulle terug na so 'n kwartier of 'n half-uur en toe gaan ons terug. En toe ons huis toe gaan, toe gee daardie ou my – dit was een rand tien sent gewees – en toe sê hy ek moet net stilbly oor wat ek gesien het.

Waaroor moes jy stilbly?

Ek weet nie, dit was aand gewees en hulle het in die bosse ingegaan, ek het niks gesien nie.

Mmmh, nou wat dink jy het gebeur?

Ek weet nie, ek kan nie sê nie.

Mmmh, maar hy't gesê jy moet stilbly, so daar het seker iets gebeur...

Ja, die een wat agter in die van gesit het... Hy't net gesê jy moet stilbly, hier's vir jou geld.

Mmmh. Dis toe jy vyf was?

Ja. (MU 74) /

/ Ek onthou net van kleuterskool. (MU 75) /

Nee goed, dis oracit. So, voor skool het julle in die Baai gebly...

/ Mmmh (nods).

Wie het almal in die Baai gebly?

Dit was ek, en my pa, my ma, my groot broer, Jack, en Ben en Linda.

En Brenda?

Ja.

En julle het in die Baai gebly... Waar in die Baai het julle gebly?

Eers het ons in Forest Hill gebly. (MU 76) /

Mmh.

/ En toe gaan ons af Algoapark toe.

O.K., en wanneer was julle af Algoapark toe?

Dit was so negentig sê kant gewees... Negentig, daarrond.

Mmmh... Nou goed. Waar's die eerste plek waar jy skoolgegaan het?

Dit was... Kleuterskool of wat?

Ja.

Dit was daar by die ACVV plek.

En hoe oud was jy toe?

Ses of sewe.

Mmh, en kan jy enige iets onthou van die kleuterskool?

(silence)

Dit was lank terug...

Ja, ag dit was lekker gewees.

Het jy baie pals gehad?

Ja, ek het baie vriende gehad. Dit was lekker gewees. . (MU 77) /

O.K., en toe jy skool toe is...?

/ Toe was ek in Cunningham gewees. Dis daar in die baai, as jy uit Forest Hill ry, oor die groot brug... En jy draai links... Aan die Walmer kant.

En tot wanneer was jy in daardie skool?

Van sub A af, tot so standerd een. (MU 78) /

En toe?

/ Toe was ek Tjaart van der Walt toe.

Tjaart van der Walt?

Ja, S-T-J-A-R-T van der Walt.

Dis 'n ander skool?

Ja, dis daar in Algoapark se kant.

O.K., en jy's soontoe omdat julle Algoapark toe getrek het?

Ja. Ons het toe Algoapark toe getrek.

So min-of-meer Sub B, Standerd Een?

Ja.

O.K., en hoe lank was jy daar?

So twee of drie jaar.

So, tot so standerd drie, Standerd Vier?

Ja. Nee-nee-nee, tot so standerd een. Ek was 'n jaar of twee daar, (MU 79) // toe stuur hulle my weg Natal toe.

Mmm?

Ek was in Natal van Standerd een af, dink ek. (MU 80) /

Hoekom was jy Natal toe gestuur?

/ Dit was daardie tyd toe my ma-hulle weg was daardie Desember vakansie, met my oupa se dood. Ons het by die mense langsaan gebly, toe't my groot broer begin om moeilikheid te maak. (MU 81) // Hy't gestry en baklei in moeilikheid gemaak en ek het saam met hom goed gedoen. Ons het hand-uit geruk en so. En toe't iemand anders, ek weet nie wie dit was nie, die Welsyn gebel... En toe't hulle ons kom wegvat. (MU 82) /

O.K., jou ma-hulle het... Jy sê jou oupa was dood, toe het jou ma-hulle weggegaan...

/ Ja. Hulle het na die begrafnis gegaan, dit was oor Kerstyd gewees...

Waarheen?

Welkom.

Mmh. En was dit jou ma se pa, of jou pa se pa?

Pa se pa.

En toe bly julle by die bure?

Dis reg ja.

Dis jy en Jack en...?

Dis ek en Jack en Ben en Linda en... Brenda.

En toe 's daar 'n stryery... Tussen wie?

Ek's nie seker of die kleintjies daar was nie, ek dink hulle was saam met my ma-hulle. (MU 83) /

O.K., en toe was daar 'n stryery?

/ Ja.

En wie 't gestry?

Dit was ek en my groot broer.

Net jy en jou groot broer, nie die bure nie?

Nee, net ons.

En waarom het julle gestry?

Ek kan nie nou onthou nie. Ek kan net onthou hy het hondestront gevat en ons gegooi met die goed en so... En toe kom die Welsyn – want iemand het gebel – en toe vat hulle ons weg. (MU 84) /

Mmh...

En toe gaan jy daarvandaan Natal toe?

/ Nee, Protea plek van Veiligheid.

O.K...?

Protea Plek van Veiligheid, so plek in die Baai...

O.K., en hoe lank was jy toe daar?

...Ses maande daar gewees. (MU 85) /

Toe stuur hulle jou Natal toe?

/ Ja, en my boeties en sussies was kindershuis toe.

En jy't alleen gegaan?

Ja. (MU 86) /

Nou hoekom het jy alleen gegaan?

/ Ek weet nie. Dit, die ding is, ek weet nie... Die ding is: My groot broer, Jack, hy was in die kindershuis gewees. En my pa het selfs 'n paar keer gesê ek was onbeheerbaar... (MU 87) /

Het jou pa so gesê?

/ Ja. Maar my broer was tien keer erger as wat ek nog was.

Mmh, dis Jack, nou?

Ja (excited voice). Maar toe stuur hulle my weg. Toe sê ek, maar hoe kan ek... Hoe kan daar plek vir my broer in die kinderskool wees, maar vir my is daar dan nie plek nie? Toe sê hulle daar's 'n kinderskool in Natal waar ek kan heengaan, maar eintlik was dit 'n nywerheidsskool. En toe stuur hulle my weg. (MU 88) /

Nou wat het jou pa bedoel toe hy gesê het jy's onbeheerbaar?

/ Ek weet nie. Net my pa sal kan sê.

Mmh, maar watse rede het hy gebruik.

Ek weet nie, maar... hy't, hy't, hy't, ek weet nie, maar hy't so gesê (excited). Hy't sommer so gesê... Ek, ek, ek was nie bygewees nie.

Mmh...

Maar ek't eers na die tyd gehoor.

By wie 't jy gehoor?

My pa't na die tyd vir my gesê. (MU 89) /

Mmh, O.K.

/ Miskien as dinge voorheen anders was sou dinge nie gewees het wat dit vandag is nie... (MU 90) /

Mmmh?

/ Maar hulle't my weggestuur... Ek was die enigste een wat van Queenstown af na 'n nywerheidsskool verplaas was.

Soos jou broer?

Ja. (MU 91) /

Mmmh... O.K., nou die skool in Natal, wat is sy naam, waar is dit?

/ Bergsig, so sestig kilo's van Newcastle.

O.K., en hoe lank was jy daar?

Ek was daar so omtrent vyf jaar – vier of vyf jaar.

Ehm-mmh...?

So vier jaar in Bergsig, toe stuur hulle my Queenstown toe.

O.K., maar sê eers vir my, hoe was dit daar in Bergsig?

Dit was lekker gewees daar. (MU 92) /

Ehm? Wat was lekker?

/ Alles was lekker gewees daar. Daar was spruitjies en goed. Ons het altyd afgegaan na die spruitjies en daar gaan speel... Ons het altyd in die natuur ingegaan, ons het slange gevang en kleilat gespeel... Stokbroode gebraai..., hase se hokke skoongemaak, hase gevoer...

Op julle eie?

Ja, baie keer het ons afgegaan, dan gaan haal ons klei uit daar en maak goeters... Ag, dit was net baie lekker daar. Dis die lekkerste skool waar ek nog was. (MU 93) /

Maar... toe stuur hulle jou iewers anders?

/ Ja, dis toe het hulle my oorgestuur het omdat ek by my broer wou wees.

Mmmh...

Hulle't my oorgestuur omdat ek by hom wou wees. Toe stuur hulle my J.J. Serfontein toe, maar ek moes nie, dit was 'n fout gewees.

Mmmh... En wanneer het jy soontoe gegaan.

Dit was... vyf en negentig gewees.

En jy was in standerd...?

Ek was in vier of vyf gewees daardie tyd.

Mmmh, maar jy sê dit was 'n fout gewees...

Ja, want toe ek daar kom, het my broer weggeloop daar.

Toe jy daar kom was hy al klaar weg?

Ja, toe't hy gedros.

Waarheen was hy toe?

Ek weet nie.

O.K...

Ja, die eerste keer toe ek daar kom, was hy al klaar weg, toe kom hy twee dae daarna daar aan. Ja, toe was ek in elk geval alleen gewees. Hy't gereeld weggeloop. (MU 94) /

En jy was toe in standerd vier of vyf?

/ Ja, en ek het gereeld saam met hom weggeloop toe hy nog daar was... En ons het gedrink, naweke uitgeslip disko's toe... (silence).

Nou jy sê julle het dagga gerook. Hoeveel het julle gerook?

Klomp. Ons het daagliks geboer met die dagga. Ons het daardie dag klomp gekoop – omtrent vier/vyf koeverte.

Mmmh... Hoe groot is die koeverte – 'n bankie?

Nee, meer as 'n bankie, 'n groot koevert. 'n Koevert is omtrent so groot (shows approximately a fist full).

O.K...

En hy's styf gestop... As jy hom oopmaak, maak dit so groot hoop (shows).

Mmmh...

Dan koop ons so vier of vyf – partykeer tot ses of sewe van daardie koeverte, elke dag. En dan rook ons so vyf of ses zolle – styf gestop.

Sjoe... en net dagga en drank?

Net dagga en drank. Dis al wat daar was by daardie skool. (MU 95) /

En tot wanneer was jy daar?

/ Waar?

By J.J. Serfontein?

Tot 98. Of 2000, of nee, 99. (MU 96) /

O.K., en hoe was dit daar?

/ Ag, nie lekker nie. Die skool self was baie lekker, maar ek was baie afgeknou daar. Daar was baie groot ouens.

Afgeknou?

Ja, daar was baie groot ouens. Hulle het my afgeknou en uitgetart en geterg. (MU 97) /

Nou, dit was nie 'n nywerheidsskool nie?

/ Dit was 'n nywerheidsskool, ja, maar dit het nou verander.

Maar dis nie 'n kindersorgskool nie?

Nee, dit was 'n nywerheidsskool, nie 'n kindersorgskool nie. Maar dit het nou verander na 'n kindersorgskool. Hulle het nou – onlangs – 'n standerd vier en vyf ook gekry. (MU 98) /

Nou, Tommy, so jy was eintlik min by die huis?

/ Ja, ek was omtrent nooit by die huis nie.

Vakansies en naweke en die?

Ek was nooit naweke by die huis nie. Net vakansies, soos Desember en Junie vakansies...

Net die lang vakansies? En September en April, dan bly jy daar?

Ja.

En wat maak jy dan?

Ag, speel maar daarrond. (More excited) Daar's baie meer goed om te doen by daardie skool...

...as by die huis?

Ja, (MU 99) / /Drie Susters is maar 'n dom dorpie. Nou... As ons nog in die Baai was... Alles kon so anders gewees het, maar nou. (MU 100) / / Daar was altyd 'n gestryery in die huis. Toe ons gebly het in die Baai, het daar moeilikheid gekom. My ma en pa het baie baklei. (MU 101) / / Toe ons daar gebly het en ons het ingebreek, het my ma die goed weggesteek... Klere en goed in die dak... En toe ons winkels toe gegaan het – O.K., ons het swaar gekry daardie tyd, toe ons baie goed gevat. My ma het baie keer... By die agterkant van die winkel, daar waar hulle vleis en goed verkoop...

Mmmh...

Dan vat sy vleis en goed en sit dit sommer net in haar handsak... En dan loop sy uit. En dan sê sy ons moet sommer van daardie Oil of Oley goeters kry... En so het ek van kleins af goed leer steel. (MU 102) /

Mmh. Jy sê jou ma en pa het baie gestry?

/ Ja, hulle het baie rusies gehad. Oor die ou dinge van die familie waaroor niemand praat nie. (MU 103) /

Soos...?

/ Soos die ding wat my pa uitgevind het oor my ma se suster.

Mmmh...

Haar naam was Santjie.

Santjie?

Ja.

Jou ma se suster?

Jaa... Niemand het dit geweet nie, ons het nie een dit geweet nie... Dit was my ma se regte kind gewees nie. Ons het almal gedink dis my ma se suster. Want sy't vir my pa so gesê...

Mmmh...

Maar toe my pa en my ma daaroor praat, sê my ma my pa is eintlik haar tweede man. En dit was die eerste keer dat my pa hiervan hoor. My pa was... Dit was in 92... 93 gewees, toe sê my tannie vir my pa Santjie was nie eintlik haar dogter – ag, haar suster nie, sy was my ma se dogter. Dit was my ma se kind gewees. Ons suster eintlik.

Mmmh... Toe was jou pa kwaad daaroor?

My pa was briesend gewees.

Wat het hy gedoen?

Hy kon niks doen nie. (MU 104) /

Mmmh, maar jy sê hy was briesend – wat beteken dit?

/ Oom, ek weet nie hoe om dit te stel nie: As mens kwaad is, word jy kwaad sonder maniere. Baie keer as ek by die huis is, dan hoor ek hierdie gestryery... En dan stry hulle tot laat in die nag. En dan slaan my pa my ma... Of my ma vat 'n hakschoen en slaan haarsel oor die kop... (MU 105) /

Mmmh...

/ Ek weet nie presies wat gebeur nie... Maar... As daar 'n stryery is... Baie keer dan begin hulle te huil en dit. Dan kom ek en dan troos ek hulle. Ek het dit altyd reggekry om grappe te maak by die huis. Terwyl my pa en ma stry.

Mmmh...

Altyd, dat my suster-hulle 'n bietjie kan lag.

Soos wat?

Soos He-man stunts en vlieende karate moves. Net om hulle 'n bietjie op te cheer, dat hulle nie hoef te luister na my pa en ma nie.

Jy praat nou van jou susters?

Ja, want as hulle 'n bietjie kan lag, vergeet hulle van goeters. (MU 106) / / Maar partykeer het dit te erg geraak – soos toe my pa my ma twee keer toegesluit het in die selle... Toe trek my pa die saak terug teen haar.

Toe was jou pa twee dae in die selle omdat hy jou ma geslaan het?

Nee, my pa het my ma twee dae toegesluit in die selle.

Hoekom?

Want daar was 'n gestryery en daar was 'n interdik. (MU 107) /

Het jou pa 'n interdik gehad?

/ Ja... Teen my ma. Ja, ag my pa en my ma het amper geskei... In ag-en-negentig, maar hulle het toe nooit geskei nie. Maar die skei was aan gewees...

Mmmh.

(silence) (MU 108) /

Nou... Gister toe jy my vertel het van die Satanisme, ne... Jy het in die Baai later kwaai betrokke geraak, maar jy't vantevore al daarmee te doen gehad...

/ Ja.

Nou wanneer het jy die eerste keer daarmee te doen gehad?

Dit was in J.J. Serfontein gewees – in die skool.

Mmmh. En wat het toe daar gebeur?

Dit was toe ek met die witchcraft gespeel het. Dan speel ons glasier-glasier en roep geeste op en praat met die geeste... Toe't ons rotte gevang – en muise... en dan vat ons die muise.

O.K..., maar jy sê dit was nie so ernstig nie?

Nee, dit was nie so ernstig soos in die Baai nie. (MU 109) /

O.K., dit was in J.J. Serfontein, toe't jy so 'n bietjie daarmee te doen gehad.

/ Ja.

En was dit saam met vriende by die skool of wat?

Dit was saam met Werner Fourie gewees.

Mmh.

'n Outjie wat saam met my in die koshuis was. Hy was 'n goeie vriend van my. En hy was diep in die witchcraft ingewees.

Nou waar het hy gehoor daarvan?

Ek weet nie waar hy gehoor het daarvan nie. Sy suster – sy was my meisie ook – sy sê hy't idees gekry van die goed. Hy – as hy huis toe gegaan het, dan neem hy boeke uit van witchcraft. (MU 110) /

Maar jy't ook boeke uitgeneem?

/ Ja, maar dit was in Drie Susters. En oor Satanisme. Soos vakansies as ek huis toe gaan. In die dorp se biblioteek. En dis waar ek die boeke gekry het.

En toe?

En toe't ek die boeke gelees... Van al die bloeddrinkery en die seksuele goeters, en... al daardie witchcraft stuff. (MU 111) /

Mmmh...

/ En toe sien ek satanisme is baie dieselfde as wat witchcraft is. En toe begin ek met Dungeons en Dragons en glasie-glasie en daardie goed. En toe begin ek al dieper ingaan in die goed. Tot jy hare kan vat en meng met sulke goed en spells op kan sit en so. (MU 112) /

Mmmh. Maar toe 't jy weer terug gegaan skool toe?

/ Ja, en toe wys ek vir hom die boeke en goed. En toe sê hy nee, ons kan nie in die skool so ver ingaan in die goed nie.

Mmmh.

Want hy weet ons gaan gevang word. (MU 113) / / En toe ek verder gegaan as hy in die goed, want toe't ek gaan rotte slag en daardie goed... En toe begin ek klubs en diskos en goed toe gaan. En toe't ek begin uitslip na diskos toe en met meisiekinders gejol en baie minder skool gelike. En toe skors hulle my. En dis toe ek af Baai toe is.

Na hulle jou geskors het by die skool?

Ja. (MU 114) /

Tot watter standerd was jy by die skool?

/ Sewe.

Standerd sewe?

Toe't ek standerd ag twee keer gedoen, maar ek het nooit die finale eksamen vir standerd ag geskryf nie.

En dit was negentien...?

Nege-en-negentig.

En toe 's jy Baai toe?

Ja, toe't ek gehike tot in die Baai en in die hawe gebly. (MU 115) /

En hoe 't jy toe uitgekome by die Sataniste in die Baai?

/ Ek't jou mos gesê ek het daardie drank gedrink van daardie meisie...

Jy't haar mos by 'n klub ontmoet?

Jy by daardie disko. (MU 116) /

O.K., en toe word jy wakker by hulle?

/ Ja, maar voor die tyd het ek altyd saam met vriende gegaan... Dan van ons diere en slag hulle en dan gaan ons huis toe en dan kyk ons movies... Ons het altyd movies gekyk van... Jason goes to hell... En Freddie Kruger movies en daardie goed. (MU 117) /

Mmh. Nou waar het julle die idee gekry om diere te slag?

/ Ag, ons het dit maar net gedoen. Dit was in die boeke ook... Van diere slag en sulke goed.

Watse diere het julle geslag?

Aag... Katte, honde, muise, enige ding. (MU 118) /

En dan slag julle hom...?

/ En dan lag ons as ons die bloed sien. (MU 119) /

O.K... En dan offer julle hom?

/ Ja. En dan sit ons hom op 'n altaar. Daar's verskillende altaars... Kerse op die koppenend... Dan moet die bloed van die diere nou gedrink word... Ag en dan bid ons en bid ons... En dan begin ons te huil, partykeer lag ons weer... Totdat Satan self antwoord.

Mmh.

En as hy begin praat, begin die vlamme hoër raak. (MU 120) /

Mmmh. So hoeveel mense is daar dan?

/ So dertig. Drie-en-dertig.

En dis elke keer dieselfde mense?

Ja, dit hang net af watter coffin dit is.

En het julle partykeer met ander coffins te doen gehad ook?

Ja, partykeer dan ruil ons uit. Dan ruil ons weer met mekaar. (MU 121) /

O.K... En jy sê julle het bloed gedrink, maar dis nie net 'n swart kat nie? Dis maar net 'n storie?

/ Ja, dis nie net 'n swart kat nie, dis enige bloed. Van enige dier... Troeteldiere gewoonlik – van mense. Want die ingewande en goed – die entrails – gee ons magiese kragte. Magiese towerkragte en goed.

Soos?

Jy kan verskillende goed doen. Jy kan spells op mense sit... Soos jy vat die goed, die bloed en ingewande en speeksel en goed en dan meng jy dit... En soos die voetspoor... En jy kan 'n spell op iemand sit. Of hare, jy kan hare gebruik, en dan val sy hare uit. (MU 122) /

Mmh, en nou't jy my vertel van Werner Fourie. Jy't met sy suster uitgegaan, sê jy. Was sy jou eerste meisie?

/ Nee, maar sy was my meisie. My eerste meisie was in die Baai gewees.

Mmh...?

Waar was dit... In Algoapark?

Nee, dit was in Forest Hill gewees. Haar naam was Nadia gewees. (silent)

Jaa...? En hoe oud was sy?

Ons was saam op kleuterskool gewees. Ek was ag en sy was seker so sewe. En toe was ons saam in Cunningham gewees. En toe gaan ek Natal toe. En toe die eerste ding wat ek doen... Toe vra sy haar ma of sy ook Natal toe kan gaan. Want dit was 'n meisieskool en 'n seunsskool. En toe was ek saam met haar tot in standerd vier. En toe gaan ek weg daar. (MU 123) /

Mmh. En het jy by haar geleer van die feite van die lewe?

/ Nee, nie eintlik nie (smiles and looks down). Daardie tyd is jy te klein om eintlik van daardie goed te leer. Ek het eintlik later geleer by die ander skool.

By die ouer outjies?

Ja. Dis toe ons gepraat het oor meisiekinders... Maar dit het vroeër ook gebeur... Ja, dit was in Natal gewees...

Mmmh?

Ja, dis die eerste keer toe ek geslagsgemeenskap gehad het met 'n meisie. Toe word ons gevang – en die skool het dit nie gelike nie.

Dit was in die skool gewees?

Ja, dit was in die vakansie gewees. Ons het almal saam in een koshuis geslaap, want daar was min kinders in die vakansie gewees. Sy't in 'n enkelkamer geslaap en toe's ek een aand in haar kamer en toe vang die oom ons... Die hoof van die plek... Van die koshuis...

En toe...?

En toe't hy dit die volgende dag rapporteer. En toe... Daar't nie eintlike iets gebeur aan die saak nie.

Hoe oud was jy toe?

Dertien. (MU 124) /

Mmh...?

/ En, dit was nie eintlik my meisie nie.

En was Werner se suster jou eerste meisie?

Nee, dit kan nie eintlik wees nie. Dis, hoe sal ek sê... Nie eintlik 'n meisie nie, meer soos in casual... Ek het meer gejol en so... Ek het nie eintlik uitgegaan met 'n meisie nie.

Nou wat is die verskil?

Jol is meer soos in vry vanaand met die een meisie en môre-aand met 'n ander een...

En 'n meisie?

'n Meisie is wanneer jy 'n vaste verhouding het... Wanneer jy regtig lief is vir haar.

Mmmh... O.K. Tommy ek vra jou nogal persoonlike goed...

Nee, dis doodreg (emphatically). (MU 125) /

O.K., maar jy sê partykeer het gemeenskap ook te doen gehad met ritual van die satanisme?

/ Ja, dit is... Daar is sekere goed wat jy noem orgies... Orgies is wanneer jy... Bonatuurlike geeste en goete... Soos wanneer jy met hulle seks het. (MU 126) /

Mmmh?

Unclear passage, 7mins 12s

En jy't ook nie weer Satan se stem gehoor nie?

/ Dis baie keer of mens goeters sien – vlamme en dit... Figure, maar ek kan nie eintlik uitmaak wat is dit nie. Dit was in die enkelsel.

Nou, hierso?

Nee, daar in Cradock. Dis toe ek my eie lewe wou neem het. Toe kom die dominee, toe bid die dominee vir my dat ek tot bekering kan kom. Want toe is ek onder die invloed van bose geeste en goed. Dit was nog in die tronk gewees. Toe... Toe't ek besluit om tot bekering te kom. Daarso, toe ek tot bekering gekom het, het ek gebid vir die Here en Hy't my gehelp. (MU 127) /

Nou wanneer het jy tot bekering gekom?

/ Dit was in die sel gewees, toe die dominee met my kom praat het.

En wat sê dominee was dit?

Dominee Blom.

En van toe af het jy nooit weer probleme gehad nie?

Nee. (MU 128) /

Tot vandag toe?

/ Ja, net my ouma wat nog met my praat.

Nou wat sê sy dan.

Partykeer sê sy net "Hallo my seun" – dis soos wanneer ek met my ma praat.

Nou wanneer gebeur dit – in die aand, of wat?

Gewoonlik in die aand, ja, maar partykeer in die dag.

Mmmh?

Dan sit ek so, dan kom my ouma se stem in my kop en dan praat sy met my. Dan gaan sy weg. Dan praat sy weer so na twee of drie dae met my.

En dit gebeur nou-nog?

Ja, dit gebeur baie nog. (MU 129) /

Mmmh.

En jy sê jy't baie sport gedoen op skool, Tommy?

/ Ja, ek't baie sport gedoen. Rugby, sokker, krieket... Spiesgooi, gewigstoot, diskus, verspring... (MU 130) /

O.K., nou gaan ek jou gou vra om my te help. Ek gaan gou 'n prentjie teken van jou familie... (explain genogram). Nou sê jy vir my jou ma het 'n ander kind gehad...

/ Dis Jack.

En wat van Santjie?

Ja, en Santjie.

Nou is hulle broer en suster?

Nee, hulle het ander pa's gehad... My ma het al drie mans gehad.

O.K. (draws on genogram), nou wie's die oudste – Santjie of Jack?

Santjie. Ek dink Santjie was 'n jaar of twee ouer as my broer.

O.K., dan's julle vier.

Ja, ek, dan Ben...

O.K., dan's dit Linda, dan Brenda?

Ja. (MU 131) /

O.K... Weet jy hoe oud jou pa en ma is?

/ Joe, ek dink my pa's nou.... Vier-en-veertig en my ma is vyf-en-veertig.

En jou ma se naam is...?

Cheryl. (MU 132) /

O.K. Nou jou pa- hoeveel broers en susters het hy?

/ Hy het... Dis Martin, dis John... Peter, Anton...

Martin?

Dis Martin, dis Anton, dis Peter – John, dis al.

John en Peter, of is dit dieselfde?

Nee, dis John-Peter. O.K., en dan's dit sy suster – dis tannie Lisa... en Lynette en dan's dit tannie Rolene.

O.K.

En daar was nog 'n kleiner suster gewees, sê my pa, maar ek weet nie wat het van haar geword nie. Ek dink sy's dood gewees op 'n sekere tyd. Ek weet nie of dit met geboorte-tyd is nie. (MU 133) /

O.K. Nou jou pa se pa, hy was ook Thomas Veldman?

/ Ja.

En jou ouma, jou pa se ma, wat was haar naam?

Wil... Wille... Willemina. Antoinette.

En wat het jou oupa gedoen?

My oupa was... Joe, hy't in die myne gewerk.

En waar was dit?

In Welkom.

O.K. En jou ouma?

Joe, ek weet nie wat my ouma gedoen het nie. Ek dink my ouma was 'n huisvrou.

Weet jy hoe oud hulle is?

My ouma was in die sestigs en my oupa was ook in die sestigs.

Is hulle dood?

Ja.

Waarvan?

My oupa het 'n hartaanval gehad... en... ek dink my ouma het ook 'n hartaanval gehad.
Of my ouma het 'n oordosis pille gebruik – niemand sal kan sê nie. (MU 134) /

O.K., en jou oom Martin... Wat doen hy?

/ Hy's in die tronk. Tronk.

Nou...

(Interrupts) Ag nee wat hy't sommer... Ag nee wat, hy't sommer goudstof en goed
gesteel van die myne af. Dinamiet en goed.

In Welkom?

(Nods)

Bly hy nog steeds in Welkom?

Ek weet nie! Ek weet nie wat het van daardie oom-hulle geword nie! (MU 135) /

O.K. En Anton?

/ Ek weet nie wat doen hy nie.

O.K., jy weet nie wat doen hy nie. Weet jy waar hy bly?

Ook in Welkom. (MU 136) /

O.K., en John-Peter?

/ Hy't nou... Lewensgevangenisstraf.

Mmmh?

In die Kaap.

O.K... En wat het hy gedoen?

Ek weet nie... Moord.

O.K., en wat se job het hy gehad.

Dis al wat hy gedoen het.

Moord?

Ja, ek's ernstig – dis al wat hy gedoen het. Dis waarvoor hy in die tronk is. Dis al wat hy gedoen het. (MU 137) /

Mmmh. O.K. En tannie Linda?

/ Sy was daar by... So ander electric plek gewees.

En waar's dit?

Ook in Welkom. (MU 138) /

O.K....

/ En Lynette het haar eie besigheid – 'n haarsalon... Ook in Welkom. En Tannie Rolene, ek weet nie waar daardie tannie is nie.

O.K.

Hulle het getrek... Hulle is nie meer in Welkom nie. Hulle het getrek... Was dit nou...? Ek dink Lichtenburg of iets. (MU 139) /

O.K., en jou ma – broers en susters?

/ Jaa... Joe, wie's dit nou...? Nee, ek weet ook nie. Ek ken nie my ma se broers en susters nie. Ek weet daar was 'n suster – wie's dit nou...? Mathilda. Mathilda is een van haar susters. Ek kan nie nou... Ek ken nie hulle nie. (MU 140) /

Mmmh. En ouma en oupa aan jou ma se kant?

/ Dit was oupa... Ek kan nie nou... Dit was oupa Lappies. En ouma Lappies of iemand, ek weet nou nie. Ek ken nie hulle regte name nie.

Mmmh. En waar's hulle nou?

Hulle's in die Transvaal.

En hulle lewe altwee nog?

Ja. Ek weet nie, ek dink my oupa is in die tronk.

En weet jy wat hy gedoen het?

Nee, ek weet nie. (MU 141) /

Mmmh. Nou jy sê jou oom Martin was in die tronk... En jou oom Anton weet jy nie van nie...

/ Anton was ook in die tronk gewees.

Waarvoor?

Ek dink hy't sy vrou geslaan.

Sy eie vrou?

Ja. Dis 'n aantreklike vrou. Hulle't 'n dogtertjie ook gehad, maar sy's weggevat. Hulle's alkoholiste ook. (MU 142) /

En jou pa, was hy ook al in die tronk?

/ Nee, hy't nog nooit eers 'n rekord teen hom nie.

O.K. En jy sê hy's op pensioen. Nou is dit 'n ouderdom-pensioen, of is dit 'n disability grant, of wat?

Ek weet nie. My pa was by die dokters gewees ook, toe't hy gesê hulle moet hom board.

Mmmh... Vir wat?

Ek weet nie.

Nou watse werk het hy gedoen voor hy geboard was?

Hy't by die customs gewerk.

By die hawe?

Ja. In P.E. (MU 143) /

O.K., en Jack, wat doen hy nou?

/ Ek weet nie.

En weet jy waar hy is?

Sover ek weet in Queenstown. (MU 144) /

En Ben?

/ Hy's op skool. (MU 145) /

O ja, jy't gesê hy en jou susters is op skool. Tommy, nou... Met wie 't jy die beste oor die weg gekom in die familie?

/ (pauses) Van almal my susters – Brenda. (MU 146) /

O.K... En die slegste?

/ Jack. (long pause) O.K., ook nie eintlik Jack nie, eintlik my pa. Maar eintlik net omdat my pa so streng was op ons, het ek die slegste oor die weg gekom met hom. Want ek kon nie die streng ding vat nie. (MU 147) /

Mmmh. En jou ma?

/ Ek't goed met my ma oor die weg gekom. Ek het goed met almal oor die weg gekom, daardie tyd. (MU 148) / / Maar die beste met my klein sussie.

Hoe so?

Ag, ek het altyd met haar gespeel.

Jy en jou He-man-ding.

(smiles, somewhat shy). Ja. Ag, ons het dieselfde goed gelike. Altyd gespeel met klein diertjies... En daardie dag toe ek moes tronk toe gaan... Toe kom... Toe huil sy by my en toe kom druk sy my vas. En toe gee sy my drie rand om sweets te gaan koop. En sê ek moet terugkom.

En dan, hoe voel jy dan?

Dan voel ek sleg. (silence) (MU 149) /

Mmmh. Wat het van Werner geword?

/ Hy het gebly in... Bloemfontein. 29 Bismarck straat, ek onthou nie nou die area nie. Maar hulle... Hy't op 'n plot ook gebly – hy en 'n ander outjie, hulle het 'n karbesigheid gehad.

In Bloemfontein?

Ja. (silence) (MU 150) /

O.K., ek gaan jou nou net 'n paar ander vrae vra. Jy sê jy raak partykeer aggressief... Of kwaad... Nou, wat maak jou kwaad?

/ Baie dinge. Gewoonlik as mense praat en dan verwag hulle daardie ding moet nou gedoen word. (MU 151) / / Of hulle wil nie na my luister nie. Ag, soos nou as ek vir iemand iets vra en daar gebeur niks nie. (MU 152) /

So... Nou wat gebeur as jy kwaad raak?

/ Ag ek raak... Ek slaan goeters stukkend, dan gaan lê ek op my bed, dan huil ek.

Dan huil jy?

Ja, van kwaadheid.

Dan huil jy van kwaadheid?

Ja.

Nou wat maak dan dat jy ophou huil?

Niks. Ek hou vanself op. Sommer net.

Moeg?

(Nods) (MU 153) /

Mmmh... En die arms?

/ Dis toe ek selfmoord probeer pleeg het. Oor 'n meisiekind. Daardie eerste meisiekind – Josie, daar in Queenstown.

Watter arm?

Die een (points to right arm).

Sal jy my wys?

Ja. (rolls up sleeve to expose multiple scars)

Watter een was die meisie?

Hierso (strokes over most prominent scar)

Daardie lang een?

Nee, hierso en hierso en hierso (Shows scars)

Het al daardie in dieselfde tyd gebeur?

Ja. (MU 154) / / Die ander was tussen... Dit het in die tronk gebeur, toe ek nie in die tronk wou wees nie. En die kant (rolls up left sleeve) was in Cradock gewees, toe ek nie meer in Cradock wou wees nie. (Pauses, sits back) (MU 155) /

Nou hoe voel jy as jy dit doen?

/ Kwaad.

Kwaad vir jouself?

Nee, ek kan nie dit uithou in die tronk nie. Hoekom moet dit so wees? Daar's so baie mense wat kanse kry.

Mmmh?

Ja, kyk so daardie ander ouens. Hulle kry kanse. Dan kan hulle uitgaan op bail en dit. En al daardie goed. Hoekom word ek nie ook daardie kans gegee nie? (more animated) Maar, ag, oom, ek gaan nie... (MU 156) / / Ek sweer, ek gaan nie lê nie. Ek kan nie. Hoe werk dit? (MU 157) /

Mmmh. Jy sien, ek's nie 'n prokureur nie, ek kan ongelukkig nie sê hoe die legal system werk nie.

/ Nee, oom, hierdie dinge wat so onregverdig is... Kyk haai ander oues wat hier sit... Tw.. Drie jaar gekry vir moord. 'n Ander ou van Drie Susters, hy't twee moorde gepleeg en vir elke moord kry hy 'n honderd-en-vyftig rand.

Mmmh... Nou wat dink jy moet gebeur?

(Animated) Hulle kon my (emphasise) bail gegee het! Daardie ouens... Dan moet hulle mos ook soos ek behandel word. (MU 158) /

Mmmh... Dit klink nie regverdig nie...?

/ Ek was geslaan en geskop en met guns teen my kop en goed, daar by Queenstown gewees – daar by die kommando's. Dis daar waar die polisie my so gemartel het.

Dis toe hulle jou arresteer het?

Ja. (calmer, pauses while staring at the ground)

En nou hierdie ouens?

Nee, ek weet nie. 'lyk my die saak gaan nog aan. (pauses) Hulle't gesê hulle gaan my enige nag nog kom uithaal. (refers to threats made by policemen in Queenstown). Hulle het gesê hulle gaan vir die hobos en tsotsis en goed sê om vir my aan te rand. (MU 159) /

Mmmh. Maar jy sê jy gaan nie lê nie...?

/ Nee, ek sal nie kan lê nie. Ek sal nie so lank kan lê nie.

Nou wat gaan jy doen?

Ek weet nie (spoken slowly). (followed by silence) (MU 160) /

Wanneer is die saak?

/ Maandag. (silence)

En wat gaan dan gebeur?

Ek weet nie.

Nou is dit nou die eerste keer dat die saak voorkom?

Ja.

Hoe so?

Ag, dit was die heelyd uitgestel – oor dokumente wat weg was, en ander goed. En dit was in die landdroshof, maar is uitgestel na die hooggeregshof en wag tot daar plek is.

En nou is daar plek in die hooggeregshof?

Mmh (nods).

In die Baai of in Grahamstad?

Hierso. (MU 161) /

En gaan hulle jou vra om te pleit?

/ Ek weet nie, seker.

Mmh..., en wat dan?

Dan moet ek skuldig pleit, want ek is skuldig. Ek kan nie onskuldig pleit nie. (silence) (MU 162) /

Mmmh... As jy moet sê, vyf dinge wat in jou lewe uitstaan, die vyf... belangrikste dinge wat met jou gebeur het, maak nie saak of hulle goed of sleg is nie... Vyf goeters wat vir jou uitstaan...

/ Wat vir my lekker is?

Lekker of sleg... Maar die vyf grootste goed wat met jou gebeur het.

Die vyf lekkerste goed?

Ehm, of sleg. Of wat jy kan doen, is jy kan vir my die vyf lekkerste goed en die vyf slegste goed sê, as jy wil.

O.K., die vyf lekkerste goed vir my is... Toe ek en my pa saam visvang of gaan jag het... Ons het altyd saam vis gaan vang...

En wanneer het dit gebeur?

Ek was baie klein – dit was in vakansies gewees – ek was so ses of sewe. Dan het ons altyd bos toe gegaan en gaan jag of so. Ek kan onthou, toe ek vyftien was het ek en my pa ook gaan jag. Dit was vir my lekker gewees. Dan het ons in die bos rondgehoop, dan vertel my pa vir my stories... En dan vertel hy vir my hoe om te maak – sê ek moet versigtig wees... (silence)

O.K., dis een lekker ding...

Daardie is al... (silence)... (MU 163) / / Of partykeer, as ek saam met my vriende uitgegaan het – diskos toe. (MU 164) / / En natuurlik om gemeenskap met 'n meisie te hê.

Ehm... Is daar een spesifiek wat jy onthou?

Ja, Josie (smiles). Ehm, dis al. (MU 165) /

O.K., en slegt-

/ O ja, en natuurlik om saam met my broers en susters te wees. Soos om Kersfees saam by die huis te wees – al kry ons nie lekker goed nie, dis net lekker om saam by die huis te wees. As my pa daar is en goed. Dan is ons saam en sing ons liedjies en goed. Nie noodwendig drank nie, ons vier Kersfees soos dit gevier behoort te word – saam met die familie. En dan sit ons saam Ou-Kersaand en goed... En Kersfees braai ons saam – sonder drank. En nou's dit verby. (MU 166) /

En die vyf slegste goed?

/ Satanisme. (MU 167) / / En die drugs en gangster-besigheid. (MU 168) / / En ek was altyd ver... ver weg van almal af, van my ouers af. (MU 169) / / En toe ek altyd afgedruk was by die skool... Hulle het my altyd eenkant gedruk. Die ouers het my altyd verkleineer en my geterg – getart. Baie keer het hulle my geslaan... (MU 170) / / En dan nog hierdie ding van die tronk. (MU 171) / / En dan was een ding nog gewees... O ja, dis toe hulle my weggevat het... Van my ma-hulle af. Toe hulle my in die tronk gesit het... (MU 172) / / As ek darem net nog een kans kon kry! Ek dink dis beter om met die judge self te praat om 'n kans te kry. As ek net met die judge kon praat om nog een kans te kry... As ek miskien net een kans... Een kans kan kry om die judge allenig te kry. (MU 173) /

Voel jy nie jy het 'n kans gekry nie?

/ Ek voel...Ek... Ek... Ek voel... Ek weet... As hulle my nie na JJ toe gestuur het nie... Dit kon anders gewees het. Hulle het my... Ek kan ook nie die blaam op hulle sit nie, ek weet jy kies jou vriende, ja, maar dis nie maklik nie om nee te sê vir jou vriende nie. Dis nie maklik nie. (MU 174) / / Dis nie lekker as jy geterg word by die skool nie. As hulle vir jou sê jy's 'n sissie of 'n bangbroek, of so nie. En dan lag die ander kinders... Dit maak my kwaad as die ander lag... (MU 175) / / En baie keer het ek en my pa 'n uitval gehad oor die klere wat ek moet dra. Dan sê ek vir my pa dis anders vandag... Vandag se mode is anders as in julle tyd... Maar in daardie tyd het hulle maar dieselfde goed gedoen... Nou wil hulle nie hê ek moet nie. Daardie tyd, O.K., dit was anders, maar hulle het ook maar goed gedoen... (MU 176) / / Maar my pa-hulle moet net by my staan. (MU 177) / / Miskien... As ek net naweke kan uitgaan onder korrektiewe toesig – kan huis toe gaan, en dan sit ek in die week in die tronk... Kan hulle nie dit doen nie? (MU 178) /

Tommy, dit sal jy maar vir jou prokureur moet vra... Ek weet nie van daardie goed nie, jong.

/ Maar ek kan nie so aangaan nie... Ek moet net uitkom uit hierdie gemors waarin ek nou is.

Hoe het jy daar ingekom, Tommy?

Dis deur vriende... Na vriende geluister.

En jy sê die Satanisme is een van die slegste goed wat met jou gebeur het?

Ja, daar het alles gebeur... (MU 179) /

Nou wat het gemaak dat jy teruggegaan het na hulle toe?

/ Ag, dis verskeie goed. Dis die goed van, ag... glasie-glasie en daardie goed. Jy kan verskillende goed doen, dis soos powers wat jy kry... Dit gee vir jou powers. Wat ander mense nie kan doen nie, kan jy doen. En dan kan jy vir hulle goed vra. En dan luister

hulle vir jou. (MU 180) / / Maar ek wou wegkom uit JJ Serfontein... Ek het my ouers gevra, maar hulle wou nie. En elke keer het ek gesê ek wil ophou met die dagga en drinkery. (MU 181) / / Maar elke naweek, dan koop die ouens drank, en dan rook hulle dagga... En glasie-glasie en die goed. Elke keer dink ek ek gaan nou ophou, maar dan het ek nie. Dis soos, sê nou ek doen iets verkeerd, as daar net iemand was wat vir my kon sê: "Wat jy nou doen, is verkeerd, jy moet so maak en so maak..." Maar daar was niemand nie. (MU 182) / / En as ek naweke by die huis was, was dit ook nie so nie... Dan sê my ma ek moet gaan goed steel. Ek moet dit steel of dat steel. En van kleins af al het ek gedrink, drink, drink, drink, drink... Ag, ek drink seker nou al... Hoeveel jaar al? Seker twaalf jaar al. Twaalf of vyftien jaar al, nou wat ek drink.

En van kleins af het jy gedink dit was lekker?

Ja, maar dis al wat ek geken het. Dis soos, sê nou 'n kind sien sy pa drink drie biere of wat ookal 'n dag... Dan dink hy mos dis lekker. Maar sê nou iemand se pa drink een keer 'n maand, of een bier elke drie weke, of drie maande, dan gaan jy mos ook nie so baie drink nie. Ag, dis ook nie dat ons kaste en kaste bier gedrink het nie. Baie keer, dan kom my pa by die huis aan met drank en dan drink ons saam, maar nie baie nie. Maar later, dan wou ek nog hê. (MU 183) / / En so het ek aangegaan en aangegaan en aangegaan agter my ma en my broer aan... Maar, O.K., baie keer het my ma na my broer geluister. Baie keer as my ma gesê het ons moet gaan steel, is dit omdat my broer so gesê het. Soos as ons kos gesteel het of goed. Ons het baie gesteel. Baie keer het ons straat toe gegaan en gebedel vir geld. Dit was 'n swaar tyd gewees... (MU 184) /

Mmmh... En jy sê baie keer het die ander ouens jou... Verkleineer en geterg en geboelie...

/ Dit was in die skool. (MU 185) /

Mmmh? Het dit nie by die huis gebeur nie?

/ Nee... O.K., my pa het ons baie geslaan, ja. Maar nie met die vuis nie. O.K., hy het my eenkeer geslaan, ja, maar dit was toe ek... Dit was my eie skuld, daar was dit my eie skuld.

Het hy jou pak gegee?

Hy het my baie pakgegee, ja. Maar hy het my net eenkeer met die vuis in die gesig geslaan. Maar dit was toe ek... Dit was as gevolg van... Ek het baie van sy goed by die huis gesteel, dan vat ek dit skool toe. Sy tools... en sy visvang gereedskap en goed...

Maar daar was nie een keer wat hy jou lelik geslaan het nie?

Nee, net daardie een keer. (MU 186) /

Was jy al ooit gemolesteer?

/ Nee, nooit nie. (MU 187) / / Daar was een keer in die skool – toe is daar ‘n ou wat gesê het ek het homoseksuele neigings. Hulle het eenkeer ‘n saak gemaak teen ons in die skool... Toe sê hulle ek het homoseksuele goeters gedoen – ek was betrokke by die goed. Maar die saak was toe teruggetrek.

Wat het gebeur?

Ag, die ou het die saak teruggetrek. O.K., ek was by gewees eenkeer toe dit gebeur het. Toe die ouens dit gedoen het. Dit was Tommy Swanepoel. Ek weet daarvan, ja, maar ek het nie gaan praat daaroor nie. Maar dit was nie ek nie. En toe gaan sê ‘n ander ou ek was ook daar. Toe gaan maak hulle ‘n saak teen drie van ons. Maar die saak is toe teruggetrek, want hulle het goed gesê wat heeltemal onwaar was. Dat ons hom geslaan het oor die kop en so... En toe het daar nog stories gekom van so-en-so en ek is ‘n moffie... Dit het my redelik – hoe kan ek sê? – afgepis. (MU 188) / / O.K., ek het baie dagga gerook by die skool, maar as mens gaan kla by die skool by die hoofprefek, of by die prefekte of goed... Baie van hulle het dit self gedoen. Daar was ‘n outjie – André Le Roux, en... As gevolg van my dagga rook en omdat ek goed gesteel het en so, het die mense my nie geglo nie. Dis seker my eie skuld. Maar ek het goed geweet van die hoofprefek, van goed wat hy agteraf doen... Dan sê hy net ons moet almal saamstaan en sê “Nee, dit het nie so gebeur nie.” Dit gaan nou-nog so. Dit gebeur met baie van die kinders. (MU 189) /

En met jou?

/ Nee, ek het na myself gekyk. Dis elke ou vir homself. (MU 190) /

/ Kan ek nie self die judge sien nie?

Ek weet nie, Tommy, ek weet nie hoe werk die hof goed nie.

Maar as ek net self die judge kan sien. As ek net self met die judge kan praat en vir hom kan sê hoe ek voel... Miskien sal hy dan dalk – hoe kan ek sê – barmhartigheid kry of iets. Hierdie tyd was ek nou al in die tronk is – dit voel al of ek drie – vier jaar in die tronk is. Dit is nie lekker nie – elke dag dieselfde kos, ‘selfde kos, ‘selfde kos... Elke dag lê in die sel, lê, lê, lê... (MU 191) / / Oom ken nie my prokureur nie? (MU 192) /

Nee, ek het hom nog nie self ontmoet nie.

/ Mmmh... Ek het vir die skoolhoof gevra ook, en dit... Hulle moet my op Ritalin sit en dit...

Jy het self gevra?

Ja.

Hoe so?

Nee, ek het mos 'n hoe aggressiwiteit en dit. (MU 193) /

Nou waar het jy gehoor van Ritalin?

/ My broer, Jack, het dit gedrink. Ja, dis daardie tyd, toe't hy – hoe kan ek sê? – beter geword en dit... My broer het... Toe hy uit die skool uit is, gevra dat ek ook op Ritalin behandeling gaan. Toe sê hulle nee, hulle kan nie vir my op Ritalin sit nie, dis nie goed vir my nie. (MU 194) /

/ Dalk as hulle dit gedoen het, het ek nie vandag daardie moord gepleeg nie. (MU 195) /

Mmmh... Is daar enige iemand in die familie wat jy van weet, wat psigiatriese behandeling ontvang het?

/ My pa, hy was by dokter Smith – ek weet nie of Oom hom ken nie...?

Mmmh..., waarvoor was hy daar?

Ek weet nie – hoe kan ek sê – hy was mal verklaar. My pa het baie by die hawe gewag – as die skepe inkom – ek het dit self ook gedoen – dan het hy baie daar gewag vir die skepe om in te kom. En as hulle inkom, dan gee hulle vir hom 'n sak meel, of vis, of wat ookal. So het hy gesorg dat daar altyd iets was om te eet by die huis.

En jy sê hy's toe mal verklaar.

Ja, hy het... Daar was 'n ou by die werk wat 'n grudge gehad het teen my pa omdat hy so eerlik was. Hy't dit gedoen. (MU 196) /

Mmmhh... En enige iemand anders?

/ Nee, nie wat ek van weet nie. Maar ek weet nie, my broer – my groot broer – hy't vreeslik baie moeilikheid gemaak. Hy het baie moeilikheid gemaak tussen my ma en my pa. Partykeer dan vertel hy vir my ma een storie en dan vir my pa 'n ander storie. Hy het self baie moeilikheid gemaak. (MU 197) / / En dan het hy daar gekom en gespog en goed... Oor Satanisme en sy tattoos en geld en dit... En dis al van kleins af wat hy gesteel het en goed... En dan het my ma vir hom geluister, vir hom geluister... En dan het ons vir hom geluister en by huise ingebreek en goed. Nou draai hy alles om en sê hy my pa was sleg, omdat my pa nie by die huis was nie. Maar hy was die een wat sleg was, hy was daar. (MU 198) /

As jy so in die sel is, dan dink jy seker baie...

/ Ai, Oom, ek weet nie hoeveel langer ek nog gaan hou nie. (MU 199) /

Nou wat dink jy?

/ Alles – baie dinge – al die lekker tye wat ek gehad het buite... En dan dink ek toe ek by die huis was en by my ouers... En aan my kat – (MU 200) / / Hey, Oom, daardie kat was baie lief vir my gewees. Dis Tiger gewees.

Nou wat het van die kat geword?

Nee, hy is nog daar by die huis, maar ag, daardie kat sal seker nou doodgaan... Miskien volgende maand, of so. Ek lê mos nou in die tronk en so. (MU 201) / / Ek lê en dink aan al die goed – hoe lank gaan ek nog slaap en so.

Dink jy te veel?

Hopeloos te veel.

Voel jy dit partykeer moeilik om te dink?

Nee, nie moeilik nie, maar dit raak irriterend. Maar wat kan ek anders doen as om te dink. Hier in die tronk kan mens niks anders doen as om te dink nie. Ek lê en dink en dink en dink... Ek raak moeg daarvoor, ek kan dit nie meer langer vat nie... (silence). (MU 202) / / Baie keer, dan dink ek dis beter om liewer dood te wees as wat jy in 'n tronk lê en jou lewe gaan verby jou. Jaar vir jaar vir jaar... Dis dalk beter om nie te lewe nie. Hoekom het hulle my nie liewer doodgeskiet nie? Dit sou beter gewees het – dan het mens nie worries gehad of niks nie. Elke dag worry jy – waar gaan jy rookgoed kry, waar gaan jy dit kry, wat gaan jy doen vandag, hoe gaan jy aan die slaap raak vanaand... (MU 203) /

Sukkel jy om te slaap?

/ Ek kan nie slaap in die aand nie.

Nou wat maak jy as jy nie kan slaap nie?

Ek dink te veel. (MU 204) / / Baie keer kry ek nagmerries oor hierdie moord wat ek gedoen het (agitated, in a loud voice). Dan sien ek hierdie tannie wat ek doodgemaak het in my drome. Dan dink ek: Hoe kon ek so iets aan haar gedoen het? Wat het sy gedoen, dat ek haar moes leed aandoen? Dan sit en dink ek oor hierdie goed en dan... Dit maak my van my verstand af. (silence). (MU 205) / / Hulle moes vir my by die skool nog 'n kans gegee het, man.

Ja, hulle moes vir my gestuur het dat ek anders kon geleer het. (MU 206) / / Daar was hulle, hulle maak beloftes en sê daar was niks gedoen aan die kindershuis nie – en my broer kon dan gaan. Kyk waar sit hy vandag. (MU 207) /

Nou hoekom dink jy het hulle jou weggevat van jou broer af?

/ Nee, dit help nie. Hulle was partydig. Hulle het my broer se part gevat. Hulle sit my broer in die kindershuis – my broer het saam met ons ingebreek... hy het saam met ons goed gedoen – dagga gerook ook. Hy was agter al die goed, die stelery... My ma het na hom geluister ook. En hy gaan kindershuis toe. Dis mos nie reg nie? (MU 208) /

Moes dit andersom gewees het?

/ Hulle moes hom weggestuur het na daardie skool toe! Hulle kon my in die kindershuis gesit het. Dan het ek nie nou in die plek gesit nie. (MU 209) /

Mmmh. Dit klink my dat, as jy en 'n ander ou dieselfde gedoen het, dat hulle jou anders treat?

/ (animated). Ja, dit was dieselfde. Ek bly al lankal so sê – my broer is voorgetrek! Sy hele lewe al is hy voorgetrek!

Deur wie?

O.K., ...

Jou ma?

My ma... (MU 210) / / My pa... My pa het hom ook nie so baie, baie... O.K., my pa het hom ook voorgetrek, maar nie so baie nie. (MU 211) / / Hoe kan ek sê – hy't baie goeters gekry, wat ons nie kon kry nie. Hy't met baie goed weggekom, wat ons nie kon nie. Hy is vier jaar ouer as ons. Toe ek veertien was, toe's hy agtien. (MU 212) // Ek meen, ek's 'n kind, en hy kan doen wat hy wil.

En dis nie reg nie...?

Dit voel nie reg nie... Hy kan meer... goeters doen. (MU 213) /

En jy sê hy het slegte goed gedoen.

/ Ja, hy het my pa gedreig. Hy het gesê hy gaan die huis aan die brand steek en hy gaan my pa doodmaak en goed... Daardie goed het hulle nie in die hof genoem nie. (animated). Daardie goed het hulle nie in die koerante genoem nie. (MU 214) // O.K., maar miskien gaan dit oor wat ek gedoen het... Maar hulle sê nie hoe ek soos Jack geword het nie. (MU 215) // Hulle sê nie watter soort gek Jack was nie. En hy's die oorsaak oor ons... Vir al die goed wat ons vandag is. As dit nie vir daardie goed is wat Jack vir ons laat doen het nie – as dit nie was vir daardie goed wat Jack veroorsaak het nie, dan was ek dalk nie hier nie. Dan het ons dalk 'n kans gehad in die lewe. (MU 216) /

Jaa... Tommy, ek sien ons tyd is ook nou al amper op. Ek weet ook nou nie of ek weer gaan kans kry om jou te sien hiervandaan nie, maar ek gaan try. Ek kan ongelukkig nie baie vir jou gee nie, maar ek kan probeer om jou storie te vertel. En jy sê dis een van die dinge wat jy gemis het: Dat jy nie kans gekry het om jou storie te vertel nie, en dat hulle net na ander mense se stories geluister het. Ek gaan probeer om jou weer te kom sien – hopelik voor die hofsaak.

(The researcher thanks the respondent for his willingness to participate and expresses the wish for a follow-up session, providing the necessary arrangements can be made with the help of the prison authorities.)

APPENDIX C

EPP Analysis Step 2: Division into Meaning Units (MUs)

3. Transcript of Interview 3

Date: 09 February, 2001
 Time: 13H00-14H30
 Place: Grahamstown Prison
 Interviewer: J.P. du Toit
 Respondent: Tommy Veldman

(Before the recording starts, the respondent walks into the office holding a pair of boots he made from soap and shoe polish, which he was going to sell to one of the prison guards. He proudly shows this to the researcher while he sits down. At this point the researcher had already greeted the respondent.)

Wanneer het jy hierdie bootsies gemaak?

/ Eergister en gistraand.

Jo, en waaruit het jy hulle gemaak?

Seep.

Dis baie oulik.

Nee, ek het my eie soort van besigheid hier.

Mmmh?

Ja, maar dit gaan moeilik hier. Die seep is min. Maar ek maak allerhande goed. Ek het daardie daarbo ook gemaak (points at sculptures on filing cabinet in office), daardie bootjie en daardie renoster en goed. Die mense het die ander goed al gekoop – asbakkies en hartjies en goed. Glasies en goed.

Sjoe, hierdie bootsies is baie oulik.

Ja, daardie chieff hier voor sê hy gaan hulle vat.

Mmmh?

Ja, hy gaan hulle vir sy vrou gee.

Dis baie oulik. Waar het jy geleer om dit te doen?

Ag sommer. Ek het geweet van die bootsies en goed en daar was 'n ou – ek dink dit was negentien... nege en tagtig, of negentien-neëntig, toe gee ek vir hom presies sulkes. Maar ek het nog nie geweet hoe om sulkes te maak waar die sool los is nie. Toe wys hy my en toe maak ek sulke kleintjies. En hierdie lyk vir my nes 'n skoen wat oop is. (MU 217) /

Mmmh. Tommy, kan jy onthou waarom het ons laas gepraat toe ek hier was?

/ Ja... Ons het gepraat oor goed. Oom het toe my geheue getoets en my I.K. en...

Ek het darem nie jou I.K. getoets nie...

Nee, oom het my geheue getoets en toe het ons gepraat oor goed. Oor Satanisme en oor meisies en goed...

Mmmh. En toe ons gepraat het oor die huisgesin en so... Toe sê jy vir my – jy het 'n paar keer vir my gesê – dinge kon baie anders gewees het as jy nie, ehm... Daardie tyd Natal toe gestuur is nie.

Ja, dit is as ek eerder na 'n kinderskool toe gestuur is.

Mmmh?

Ja, want dan kon ek eerder die geleentheid gekry het – as ek eerder na 'n kinderskool toe gestuur is (MU 218) / /- daar is dit baie harder en erger as wat dit in 'n kinderskool is.

Mmmh?

Ja, daar was al my jare wat ek in die kinderskool was en die ander was almal na kinderskool toe gestuur. En as jy kyk waar is hulle vandag... Hulle het mooi uitgeloop daar. My boetie het sterk geword en my sussie 'n leier – hulle het ambagte en goed gehad om na uit te sien. (MU 219) /

Mmmh?

/ Toe ek in 'n kinderskool is, het ek te veel tyd saam met die ander ouens spandeer. Goed gedoen – dagga gerook en pille gerook, uitgeslip disko's toe... Dit het my lewe omgegooi.

Mmmh.

En toe ek hoor, toe het ek gevra, ek het aansoek gedoen en so, toe ek hoor my boetie was kinderhuis toe gestuur... Toe sê daardie mense van die skool hulle sal dit nooit toelaat dat ek oorgeplaas word van die nywerheidsskool nie. (MU 220) /

Mmmh. Nou hoekom het hulle jou na die nywerheidsskool toe gestuur en nie na so plek nie?

/ Dit was nou weer toe ek... Ons almal was mos... Dis toe my... My ma-hulle het mos ons alleen gelos – daar by die huis.

En toe't die welsyn ons kom wegvat. En toe het my broer-hulle... Toe't hulle my broer in 'n kinderhuis gesit en my twee sussies en my ander boetie, in die kinderhuis gesit. Net ek alleen was oor, toe sê hulle... Nee hulle... hulle gaan nie... Nee, daar's nie plek vir my nie. In die kinderhuis nie.

Mmmh.

Maar hoe kan dit wees? Hoe kan hulle almal in die kinderhuis sit, maar ek word nie in die kinderhuis gesit nie? Toe sê hulle O.K. maar daar's plek in Natal in 'n nywerheidsskool. (MU 221) /

Mmmh.

/ Maar hulle kon my saam met my broer gesit het. Of saam met my ander boetie. Dan kon dinge nou dalk anders gewees het. (silence) (MU 222) /

Mmmh. Nou jy sê jou ma-hulle het julle alleen daar gelos?

/ Ja, hulle was mos weg gewees.

Nou het hulle julle by die huis gelos...?

By die huis. By die... By die mense langsaan...

Mmmh. En toe sê daardie mense julle baklei te veel?

Ja en toe't hulle die welsyn gebel. (MU 223) /

Mmmh. Nou... Het julle dan nie voor die tyd by die huis ook baklei nie?

/ Jaaa, maar dit was onder my ouers se toesig. Ja, onder my ouers se toesig.

So dit was maar oraait as julle baklei?

Nee, my pa't partykeer ons laat baklei met boxing gloves... Ja, ek en my broer het mekaar eenkeer geklits. Maar nee, dit was... Toe ons klein was het ons begin stry in die

huis. Ja, toe ons langsaan gebly het en hulle het geluister hoe stry ons. (MU 224) / / My broer het die grootste moeilikheid begin maak. Een aand ingebreek daar aan die agterkant. By die huis ingebreek. Toe steel ons goed en toe't hulle uitgevind daarvan.

Mmmh. So dit was jy en jou broer?

Ja, dit was Jack. (long silence 15s, respondent stares at the floor) (MU 225) /

Mmmh. Toe's hy ook maar na 'n nywerheidsskool toe?

/ Hy was nie na 'n nywerheidsskool toe nie, hy was in JJ gewees, maar nie vir lank nie. (MU 226) /

Mmmh. Nou Tommy, jy sê dinge kon baie anders gewees het...

/ (Nods in silence, staring at the floor) (MU 227) /

O.K... Ek het nou 'n bietjie gedink oor hierdie hele storie. En ek is nie net 'n sielkundige nie, ek kan navorsing doen ook. En ek het so gedink oor jou storie. Jy het 'n lang pad geloop en dit was nie altyd lekker nie. En ek het gedink daar is ander ouens ook wat hierdie paadjie kan loop en miskien van jou kan leer... Dat hulle nie dieselfde foute hoef te maak nie. As ons jou storie kan gebruik en daarvan leer, kan ons hulle miskien help...

/ Om soos van 'n boek te skryf of iets?

Ehm-mmh.

Oom... (animated) Oom vat die gedagtes uit my kop uit.

Hoe so?

Elke dag as ek in die tronk is, dink ek daaroor. Ek het al drie name... Ek het hulle nie nou in my kop nie, maar ek het hulle neergeskryf...

En toe't ek gedink ek moet 'n boek skryf. Oor alles – oor al die dinge wat met my gebeur het – van die begin tot die einde. Kyk, daar ons mos baie wat met my gebeur het. Toe dink ek, as ek so 'n boek kan skryf en goed... Dit kan baie mense help – kyk ek het met die koerant ook gepraat oor die goed.

Mmmh. En dit kan mense help. As ek 'n boek skryf.

Mmmh. Nou ek sê jou wat: Nou wat ek kan doen, kyk, ek's nou nie 'n skrywer nie, maar ek kan navorsing doen. En as ek 'n storie van jou kan skryf, dan gaan dit vir navorsingsdoeleindes wees. Met ander woorde, dis nie 'n boek wat jy noodwendig kan koop nie, maar dis 'n boek wat jy kan gebruik... Ander sielkundiges...

Mmmh?

Ja, wanneer hulle met mense werk wat baie soos jy is. Jy sien, dan kan hulle leer van jou storie. En dan kan hulle miskien van daardie inligting gebruik. Dink jy dit sal oraaait wees?

Mmmh (nods). Dit sal reg wees.

Mmmh, O.K., maar as jy onthou, toe ek jou gesien het aan die begin, toe moes ek jou toestemming kry.

Mmmh.

Jy sien, ek kan nie enige iets doen sonder jou toestemming nie. So, as ek nou jou lewensverhaal gaan gebruik vir navorsing, moet ek ook jou toestemming kry.

Ja. (MU 228) /

O.K., so ek gaan nou-nou vir jou 'n vormpie gee wat jy – as jy wil – kan teken. En as jy nog goeters vir my wil vertel van jou lewensverhaal, wat belangrik is, kan jy my nou vertel. Ek bedoel ons het baie tyd om te gesels. Of jy kan ook vir my goed neerskryf, het jy papier?

/ Nee, ek het niks nie. Ek het vir my ouers geskryf. Maar my pa gaan nou kom, ek het reeds gebel om te hoor of hy gaan kom. Maar omdat hulle nie vervoer het nie, gaan dit maar moeilik gaan. Ek weet nie, ek het gedink dit sal so drie dae vat... Drie Susters is nie so ver van hier af nie, PE is ook nie so ver nie. Ek het gedink so vier dae dan moet die brief daar wees. Maar die brief het nog nie daar uitgekome nie.

Mmmh.

Ek het vir my ouers geskryf hulle moet vir my 'n pen en papier en kleurkryte en alles bring.

Mmmh, mag jy dit hê?

Ja, ek mag dit hê. Ek mag 'n TV ook hê en 'n radio ook hê. (MU 229) /

O.K... Nou, as jy nou jou storie wou skryf... Wat jy kan doen is... Ek kan vir jou 'n pen en papier gee... Ek kan probeer organise... En dan kan jy jou storie skryf en dan kan ek dit kom haal as ek weer met jou gesels.

/ Ja.

Maar ek sal jou seker nie kan sien terwyl die saak aan is nie.

Ja, seker eers as die saak klaar is.

En sal dit oraaït wees – sal ons mekaar dan weer kan sien?

Ja, dis O.K. (MU 230) /

En dan sal ek 'n draai kom maak en hoor hoe gaan dit. En dan kan jy solank neerskryf wat jy dink belangrik was in jou lewe. En dan sal ek dit ook inwerk.

/ Ja... Daar is 'n redelike klomp goeters, maar...

Maar jy kan mos nou mooi daaroor dink, jy gaan mos nou tyd hê.

Ja, dit sal my seker besig hou in die aande...

Mmmh.

Dis nie lekker om net so te sit nie. (MU 231) /

O.K., maar jy moet onthou dat die tipe boek wat ek gaan skryf is nou nie presies soos die tipe boek wat jy gaan koop en sit en lees nie...

/ Ja, maar ek het in elk geval gedink: Terwyl ek in die tronk is, gaan ek sit en skryf en skryf... (MU 232) /

Mmmh, dit is 'n goeie idee.

/ Ja, en dan, wanneer daar nie meer goed is om te skryf nie, gaan ek dit instuur, dat hulle dit kan sort... Die punte en kommas en goed. Dat hulle dit net reg kan sit – in posisie en goed, en kyk wat se titel hulle daaruit kan maak.

Mmmh, ons kan kyk of ons dit kan doen. Maar nou, die navorsing wat ek gaan doen, dit gaan 'n bietjie anders wees. Ek gaan kyk of ek daar kan skryf hoe ek as 'n sielkundige, verstaan wat met jou gebeur het. Hoe jy voel.

Ja, dis baie soos... Ek het Kobus Jonker se boek gelees. Hoe hy alles gedoen het met Satanisme – hoe hy dit in die werklikheid uitgeroei het en so... Maar ook hoe hy die mense gehelp het en al daardie goed.

Mmmh. So jy weet min-of-meer waarvan ons praat... O.K., maar nou wat ek gaan doen is: Ek gaan die inligting gebruik waaroor ons gepraat het, en ek gaan dalk die goed gebruik wat jy geskryf het. En ek gaan miskien na jou file kyk, en miskien... Ek is nog nie heeltemal seker nie, miskien gaan ek vir jou ma en pa ook 'n paar vrae vra. Is dit oraaït?

Mmmh (nods). Ja, dis reg. (MU 233) /

Mmmh, en waar is daardie klein boekie wat jy van gepraat het – daardie blou een?

/ Ek het hom daar... (louder) by die kamer vergeet. (sighs)

Rêrig?

Ja, en die ander mense gebruik daardie kamer. En toe het ek vergeet om hom daar op te tel. En toe sê ek vir daardie wag my boekie lê nog daar. En toe't ek gister probeer, maar toe is hy weg.

Nou wat is alles in die boekie?

Daar's klomp tekens van Satanisme en goed nog daar in. En... goeters wat ons nog gedoen het en... 'n helse klomp goed. Maar daardie ding moet ek nog kry, want daar's telefoonnommers en adresse in wat belangrik is.

Mmmh, nou hoe 's dit belangrik?

My meisie se telefoonnommer, en my vriende se nommers en my ouers... My ma se werksadres... En ander vriende en vriendinne se telefoonnommers. Daardie tipe goed. (MU 234) / / My meisie se naam...

Mmmh. Wie 's jou meisie?

Nicolette.

Nicolette?

Ja, sy's van Pretoria.

Mmmh? En wat doen sy?

Sy's nou op kollege. Sy maak volgende jaar klaar.

Is dit? En dan?

Dan gaan sy by haar pa by die firma werk.

En waar het jy haar ontmoet?

PE. Daar by die beach. Hulle was vir die naweek... Nee, hulle het vir die vakansie afgekomp PE toe. Toe was hulle daar by die jeug... Toe't hulle daar by die jeug... Hoe kan ek nou sê? Daar by die jeug disko of iets. Daar by Indigos. Toe was ons almal daar en toe't ek haar ontmoet. Maar toe's hulle terug Pretoria toe.

(Interview interrupted by prison guard walking in to fetch something from office)

En toe's sy terug Pretoria toe. (MU 235) /

Pretoria?

/ Ja, dis 'n mooi plek daardie. Dis nie soos Johannesburg nie.

En jy was 'n tyd in Johannesburg?

Mmmh.

Hoe lank?

Omtrent so... Twee weke. Maar ek was baie keer vroeër ook in Johannesburg met vakansies. Toe ek op skool was in Natal, dan gaan ons vir vakansies Johannesburg toe.

Saam met wie?

Vriende. Ek het vriende gehad daar van Hillbrow... (silence)

En dis by Johannesburg waar jy saam met die prostitute gewerk het.

Ja, dit was eintlik twee meisiekinders – hulle het soos... robberies gedoen.

En dan was dit jy en nog 'n paar ouens?

Nee, dit was ek, en daardie twee meisiekinders en daardie ander... Nigeriese ou. (silence) Ag, maar hulle is ook dom, die mense...

Hoekom?

Hulle is dom... Ag man, dit gebeur drie keer... Drie keer met dieselfde meisiekind dan vang hulle hom uit. (MU 236) / / Nee, maar daardie goed het mens alles ingely in die tronk in... (MU 237) /

Nou... Wat gebeur? Die ou gaan saam met haar...

/ Nee, die meisiekinders staan op die hoek of langs die straat, dan kom die ou verby en dan hike hulle, of dan fluit hy... Dan stop hulle. En as hulle sien daar's twee mans, of drie mans dan sê hulle nee, en laat hulle maar verbygaan. Maar as dit een man is, dan roep hulle hom en sê, honderd rand of tweehonderd rand, dan gaan hulle op boontoe, na die hotel toe. Dan maak hulle die deur toe. Dan skielik lag hulle, dan kom ons overwags in... Dan stamp ons die deur oop. Dan roof ons hom uit.

Roof hom uit?

Ja. Uit sy skoene uit, uit sy karsleutels uit, uit sy broek, sy hemp uit, uit sy selfoon uit, uit als uit. Dan kom hy daar onder, dan't hy niks by hom nie, dan bel hy die polisie en goed, dan kom die polisie... Dan sê ons ons het nie gesê hy moet saam met 'n hoer slaap nie.

Mmmh.

Mmmh..., maar dit gebeur so baie nou.

Nou is julle gewapen as julle hom roof?

Mmmh.(nods)

Met?

Guns. Partykeer messe. (MU 238) /

Mmmh. Het jy al 'n ou gesteeek?

/ Paar keer al.

Daar was 'n fightery gewees. Eenkeer, dit was in Oos Londen gewees, toe't ek 'n ou gesteeek. Hy het my met 'n skroewedraaier in die rug gesteeek.

Wat het gebeur?

Nee, ons het daar onder rondgeloop. By die beach, saam met meisiekinders, toe't ons disko toe gegaan. En toe ons daar uitkom - ons was dronk gewees- was daar 'n bakleiery gewees - ek kan nie onthou wie't dit begin nie. Toe was daar sommer 'n helse bakleiery, toe klim ons ook sommer in. Toe kry ek 'n hou in my rug, toe sien ek wie dit is, toe steek ek hom terug. Toe hardloop ek, toe kom die polisie daar aan. (pauses) (MU 239) / / Ander keer was dit in Kaapstad gewees.

Wat het in Kaapstad gebeur?

Ons was daar by die beach gewees, toe gooi ons 'n meisie met koue water. Toe kom ons daar en hulle lê mos toplless daar op die beach, daar met hulle lussies oopgemaak. En dan gooi jy koue water op hulle en dan staan hulle op.

Mmmh.

En toe't die ander mans daar - hulle boyfriends en goed - kwaad geraak. Toe jaag twee van hulle ons. Toe slat hulle my een vriend. Toe gaan haal ons nog 'n ou. Toe't die een ou vir die een ou geskiet in die bene. Toe hardloop ek en toe vertel ek vir die polisie dit was hulle. (MU 240) / (silence)

Mmmh... Nou daar in Oos Londen, toe spring jy sommer in die fight in?

/ (Laughs). Ja, ek het sommer ingespring.

Nou hoe so?

Nee, ek het daar (louder)... Ek en die outjie het daar gestaan en kyk hoe fight hulle... En van ons vriende het ook gefight daar en van die ander ouens het ook gefight, en toe staan ons en dink maar dis mos 'n lekker fight hier buite... (Laughs). En toe spring ons net in. Ons het ons bende en goed in elk geval, en toe's daar hierdie groep ouens, hierdie Beach Boys of iets, of Cabana Boys...

'n Gang?

Mmmh. En doen dink ons, ag ons is nou lus vir aksie. (MU 241) /

Mmmh. En wat is nog alles aksie?

/ Aggg... Videos... TV kyk, ag, lekker action games... Ag dis lekker avontuur, man. Soos Sun City..., of Lost City... Ek was al twee daar gewees – dis lekker daar.

Ja?

Daar's branders... Hulle maak sulke goed – dis soos die see, man, dan's daar sulke boks... sulke hout karretjies, waarmee jy afgaan met so groot slide, dan gly jy tot binne in die water in... Daardie ding, dit voel of dit jou uitmekaar uit ruk. Dan gaan jy, dan kan jy goud optel... 'n h-e-l-e b-l-o-k goud hou jy so in jou hand in (demonstrates).

Nou wanneer was jy daar?

Dit was... Twee jaar terug.

Mmmh?

Skool. Ons het weggegaan Oos Londen toe. Toe word van ons uitgenooi om Johannesburg toe te gaan. 'n Paar ouens het na ons skool toe gekom...

Watter skool was dit?

JJ... Fort Rex... al die skole.

Dis lekker.

Dit was lekker gewees. Op 'n stadium het hulle betaal vir ons. (contemplative silence) (MU 242) /

Mmmh. En so jy sê jy was al met 'n skroewedraaier gesteeek...?

/ Ja. En met 'n mes en 'n bottel ook.

Rêrig?

Ja... (laughs in embarrassed way). Daardie merke waar die polisie my geslaan het op my arm – dit was 'n steekwond wat nog nie gesond was nie. Wat weer oopgegaan het.

Van wat?

Messteek.

Waar het dit gebeur?

Queenstown... Ook by die disco (laughs, eyes cast downwards). Ja, daardie ouens by die discos – hulle ken van fight. Altyd as daar 'n fight begin of die ouens begin moeilikheid maak, dan haal hulle messe uit. En as ons fight, haal ons ook messe uit. Nee, ons kan mos nie laat hulle ons steek en ons sit daar en niks doen nie... (MU 243) /

Mmmh... En het jy al 'n fight begin?

/ Ek? Nie sommer nie. Huhhh... Huhu... (Shakes his head slowly, looks contemplative) Nee, ek kan nie nou dink dat ek al 'n fight begin het nie. (pauses) Dis meestal my vriende wat 'n fightery soek. As ek miskien gedrink het, like ek van eenkant sit... Stilsit... Of aangaan en dans en goed... Maar as daar moeilikheid is, spring ek in, ek sal nie los nie. (tells story with pride, laughs)

Hoe so?

Nee, ek slaan hulle uitmekaar uit. (MU 244) / / Ek het van kleintyd af al baklei.

Waar het jy geleer?

My pa. My pa het my geleer baklei – te koes, te keer, te slaan... (MU 245) / / Ek en my broer. Eenkeer toe vat ek drie Du Preez aan. Eenkeer was ons in die parkie gewees – ek en my broer. Daar was drie Du Preez lighties gewees. Ons was nog klein, hulle was al in standerd drie of vier... Toe was ek nog sub A gewees. Toe kom daardie lighties, toe slaan hulle my broer. Toe hardloop ek op, toe slaan ek. Al die pad huis toe skree hulle en hardloop weg. (tells the story with pride)

Is dit lekker?

Dis lekker, ja. Maar daardie tyd het ek nie geworry oor gangs en goed nie. Ek was meestal met my boeties en sussies. Maar as iemand my kwaad maak, ek verloor my

humeur sommer heeltemal. (MU 246) / / Maar my groot broer, ek worry nie oor hom nie. Hy's nie my regte broer in elk geval nie. (MU 247) /

Nou hoekom worry hy nie oor hom nie?

/ Hy worry nie oor ons nie. Hy't moeilikheid gemaak by die huis (MU 248) / / – hy's die een wat begin steel het. Toe't ons hom gevolg. Hy't ons ingelei in die blierie versoeking in, elke keer. (MU 249) / / Hy't my weggegee by die polisie ook. (MU 250) / / En hy is self in die Satanisme in en rook self dagga en daardie goed... Hy't my weggegee. (MU 251) /

Jy sê hy het jou ingelei in inbreek en die tipe goed?

/ Ja.

Maar hy het nie vir jou geleer van Satanisme nie?

Ag, ek het altyd hierdie tattoos gesien. En dan het hy gepraat daarvan. Ons het baie keer daarvoor gesels, dan lag hy en maak grappe daarvoor in die huis.

En jy wou ook daar gewees het?

Baie keer wou ek. En nou het ek uitgedraai net soos hy... (MU 252) / / Hy is nou maar twee en twintig, toe trou hy met 'n vrou wat sewe en dertig is, met drie kinders. Wat nog getroud was met haar man. (MU 253) /

Nou hy't nog nooit in die moeilikheid gekom nie?

/ Hy was al baie in die moeilikheid. Die polieste het hom al baie gevang. Vir dagga... Dagga smokkelary, gangsters, polieskarre gestamp... Polieskarre gesteel en gestamp. En hy het altyd iemand wat hom bejammer en uit die tronk uit haal. Hy sou nou vyf jaar gekry het – vir bestuur sonder 'n lisensie, hy is alreeds gewaarsku, mos. Drie keer gevang sonder lisensie. (MU 254) / / Maar daar kom niks van nie. Maar eendag sal hy nog sy ondergang kry...

Hoe sal hy sy ondergang kry?

Die Here sal dit vir hom gee. Hy sal sy straf nog kry. (MU 255) / / Dan gaan ek ook nie worry oor hom nie – skryf of worry of vir hom soek of iets nie... (MU 256) / / Ek wonder hoekom het hulle my nogal nie bail gegee nie. Dis nou al amper 'n jaar lank en ek's op awaiting trial, awaiting trial... Die tronk maak my al siek.

Hoe so?

(silence)

Wat is vir jou die slegste van die tronk?

Baie goed is die slegste. Eerstens kry jy nie geld in die tronk nie. Jy kan nie goed koop nie. Soos in my geval kan jy nie eers seep koop om goed te maak nie. Elke dag moet jy net sit. Jy's nie 'n cleaner nie, so jy word nie betaal nie. Dis nie lekker om sonder rookgoed te sit nie. (MU 257) / / Dis nie lekker om so toegesluit te sit in 'n sel nie. So tussen mure te wees elke dag nie. (MU 258) /

En jy sê jy't al daaraan gedink om jou eie lewe te neem?

/ Mmmh.

Nou wat keer jou?

Ek weet nie. Daar's elke keer iets wat my keer, maar ek weet nie wat nie.

Wat maak die lewe die moeite werd?

Dit weet ek nie... (silence)

Wat van dië? (shows boots)

Dit maak nie my lewe die moeite werd nie. Dis net goedjies wat ek doen as ek vervelig is. Buite doen ek dit nie. Buite dink ek nie eers daaraan nie. Wat kan ek anders doen as om dit hier binne te maak? (MU 259) / / Die tronk laat dink jou aan alles. (MU 260) /

Is dit lekker om die goedjies te maak?

/ Nee, dis nie lekker nie, baie keer dan flop hy. Dan breek die goed. Dan gooi ek dit sommer teen die muur.

Jy sê dis nie lekker nie...

Nee, wat is daar nou wat lekker is?

Ja, Tommy, maar toe jy hier inkom, toe was jy vol smiles, jy was trots gewees toe jy hier instap en dit vir my wys.

Jaaa, ek was trots gewees. Dis die eerste keer in my lewe dat ek dit gemaak het.

En dis baie mooi.

Maar dit sal ek ook nie altyd doen nie. Kyk, dis lekker om die goedjies te maak (more animated), as jy dit vir jouself maak. Maar dan bestel mense goed by jou – olifante en dit en dat en dit en dat... Dan raak jou seep op. Dan raak ek kwaad. Ek hoop nou die vrou

bring vir my nog seep. (holds boots in his hands, staring at them in silence). Die chieff het gesê hy wil hulle hê. (MU 261) /

Is jy alleen, Tommy?

/ Ja.

Het jy nie pals nie?

Nee, ek worry nie oor vriende nie. Dit help in elk geval nie jy kry vriende in die tronk nie. Almal rook net dagga en goed. (MU 262) /

Rook jy nie meer dagga nie?

/ Nee, ek rook lankal nie meer dagga nie. Ek kan, ja, maar ek wil nie. As ek uitkom, dan's ek weer verslaaf aan die goed. Dagga gaan net dat ek moeilikheid maak... En drink. (MU 263) /

Was jy alleen gewees voor jy in die tronk gekom het?

/ Mmmh-mmh (shakes his head). Ek het by my meisie gebly. En ek het daar in die hawe ook gebly, by daardie fisheries ouens. Daardie doeane mense wat hierdie ouens wat die perlemoene en goed steel, vang. Ek het saam met hulle gebly ook. Dit was lekker saam met hulle gewees.

Dit klink vir my dis nogal belangrik vir jou om vriende te hê... Om iemand te hê by wie jy tuis voel.

Ja, dit is nogal belangrik, ja. O.K., daar is my ouers, ja. Maar as ek buitekant is, dan kry ek nou miskien 'n flat alleen... Of ek bly saam met mense, dan worry ek nie. Maar as ek so alleen is, dan moet ek iemand kry saam met wie ek kan wees. (MU 264) /

Hoekom moet jy by iemand wees?

/ Dit is... Ag, dis net nie lekker om alleen te wees nie. Veral as jy alleen is daar buitekant en jy loop rond in die straat. Dan is daar allerhande versoekinge... (MU 265) /

Miskien is dit hoekom jy die Sataniste gejoin het?

/ N-jaa, ek weet nie.

Hulle het jou aanvaar...

Hulle sal enige iemand aanvaar...

Mmmh..., maar jy het vir my gesê partykeer is iemand nie reg nie...

Jaa..., maar hulle sal enige iemand aanvaar as jy deur die rituele en goed gaan. Soos die offers doen, en goed. Sekere mense wil nie verder ingaan nie. Hulle raak bang en skrikkerig... (MU 266) /

Nou is jy nie bang en skrikkerig nie?

/ (shakes his head slowly)

En toe jy die eerste keer daar gekom het? Toe jy daar aankom en jy het daardie goed gedrink?

Ja, maar voor die tyd het ek mos al gemeng met die goed. Dis hoekom ek nie bang was nie. (MU 267) /

En toe jy wakker word?

/ Toe was ons by die huis. Vandaar het ons gegaan na die tempel toe en goed... Baie keer was dit in kerke, baie keer was dit net buitekant... (MU 268) /

Nou die eerste keer, waarheen het hulle jou gevat?

/ Kerk toe. Eers in 'n huis, toe na 'n kerk toe. Enige kerk. Dit is soos 'n kerk, 'n gewone kerk. Hulle vat jou in die aand na mense se kerk toe. Ons breek in 'n kerk in. Of baie keer is dit 'n ou kerk, dan gaan ons daar in en doen offers en brand kerse en goed. (MU 269) /

En jy sê jy was nie skrikkerig die eerste keer nie?

/ Nee, dit is... Hoe kan ek nou sê? Dit is daaglikse goeters wat gebeur. Daar is verskillende goed wat jy moet doen. Verskillende offers... Verskillende tekens wat jy moet skryf...

Soos daardie wat jy het?

Nee, dis nie so nie man. Hoe sal ek nou sê? Dis verskillende tekens wat jy moet ontvang.

Soos watse tekens?

(Laughs loudly, embarrassed). Dis die... Dis die... Hoe kan ek nou sê? Dis die... Dis soos wanneer... As jy vir antwoorde vra... As jy wag dat die vlam moet hoër gaan of so... Dit is 'n teken. Soos enige iemand kan tekens kry. Soos aanleiding, amper. (MU 270) /

O.K., maar ek wonder: Jy sê daar is 'n hoëpriester. En daar is ander priesters, ook...

/ Ja, die hoëpriester, hy's in beheer van die groep. En die ander priesters kyk maar dat alles gehandhaaf word wat gehandhaaf moet word.

En onder hulle?

Nee, daar's nie onder hulle nie. Al die ander mense is onder hulle.

Nou hoe word jy 'n priester?

Dit hang af watse rituele jy doen – hoeveel rituele jy gedoen het... Hoeveel bloed jy al gedrink het, hoeveel offers jy al gedoen het, hoeveel mense jy al doodgemaak het... (MU 271) /

Moet jy mense doodmaak?

/ Ja. (MU 272) /

Het al die priesters al mense doodgemaak?

/ (long silence – 30s). Hoekom het hulle nie eerder die mense gestraf soos in die ou dae nie? Jy moet of daardie een terugkoop, of iets vir hulle doen.

Hoe bedoel jy “terug koop”?

Nee, in die bybel is daar mos baie mense wat, as hulle iemand doodgemaak het, hulle moet terugkoop... Daardie eienaar van wie daardie man was, dan moet hy vir hom geld gee... Honderd sikkels, of iets. Of mense opgehang. Hoekom doen hulle dit nie meer vandag nie? (MU 273) /

Wil jy eerder opgehang wees?

/ Ja.

Wat gaan gebeur as jy opgehang word?

Dan gaan ek dood.

En dan?

Dan weet ek nie.

Sou dit beter wees?

Ja, dit sou baie beter wees. (MU 274) / / Om so in die tronk te sit – huh-uh, dis nie die moeite werd nie... Hulle kon my eerder buite gelos het. Onder toesig. Korrektiewe toesig of iets. Hoe sal ek dit ooit hier staan? (MU 275) /

Nou hoekom los hulle jou nie buite nie?

/ Ek weet nie – mense wat saamsweer, seker. Hoekom kry ek nie borg nie? Dis seker sekere poliesmanne wat saam in die ding is. Ek moet hier uitkom.

Hoekom sal jy sê daar is poliesmanne wat iets teen jou het.

Ek weet hulle het. Dis omdat hulle 'n grudge teen jou het. Families en daardie goed. (MU 276) / / Veral in Drie Susters, daar's baie mense wat nie saam met my pa werk in Drie Susters nie. Omdat hy te eerlik is en goed.

Jy sê jou pa was nog nooit in die moeilikheid nie?

(Shakes his head slowly, deliberately.) (MU 277) /

Dis nou 'n interessante ding, Tommy: Jy sê jou pa was nog nooit in die moeilikheid nie, en hy is 'n baie eerlike ou... Maar jy sê jy wou soos jou broer gewees het.

/ Ek wil nie soos hy gewees het nie man (agitated). Ek wou dinge gedoen het soos hy. Almal het hom gelike, almal het dinge saam met hom gedoen, almal... Hy was groot in almal se oë gewees. Ek wou ook probeer groot wees. Maar nou's hy... Ek weet nie waar hy gaan eindig nie.

En jy sê jy wou ook groot gewees het?

Ja, maar ek weet nie hoekom dink ek sulke goed nie. Ek is stupid. (silence) (MU 278) /

Is jy kwaad vir jouself?

/ Nee, nie vir myself nie. Vir al die goed. Vir mense.

Is jy kwaad vir die wêreld?

Nee, die wêreld het my niks gedoen nie. Dis die mense wat in die wêreld is. Mense vat kanse in die lewe. (MU 279) / / Ek kan nie nou sê die mense het my nie 'n kans gegee nie. Na die hofsaak kan 'n mens dit sê. As hulle my nog 'n kans gee – ek sal nie weer daardie kans weggooi nie. Ek sal nie weer daardie kans weggooi nie. As hulle my daardie kans aanbied... (MU 280) /

Is dit die eerste keer wat jy in die tronk is?

/ Ja... Die tronk is nie die plek vir 'n mens nie... (silence). (MU 281) /

Jy sê, die eenkeer toe jy jouself gesny het, dit was oor jou meisie, nè?

/ Ja.

En die ander keer is oor jy nie in die tronk meer wou wees nie?

Ja, dis al.

So, jy het jouself net twee keer gesny?

Nee, die een keer het ek my gesny toe ek by die Sataniste was.

Waar?

(Pulls up his sleeve to show multiple scars). Hier's so baie, ek kan nie onthou... Ek dink dit was hier... Dit moes een van hierdie gewees het...

Van die grotes?

Ja.

Het hulle gesê jy moet?

Ja, dit is soos wat ons bloed saam meng en goed... (MU 282) / / As ek miskien nou vier jaar terug dit gedoen het, kon ek dalk so vyftien jaar tronkstraf gekry het. Dan kon ek elke naweek uitgaan... Maar daar's baie straf wat hulle mens kan gee, man... Maar ek ken nie al die strawwe nie – ek moet eers so 'n bietjie uitvind wat al die strawwe is.

Maar jy kan mos nie kies nie, Tommy.

- Ja. My prokureur het gesê hy kan dat ek kan self... Dingeses... Self iets sê oor die straf. Dan moet ek net vir hom sê... Dan gaan hy dit oorgee aan die judge, dan gaan die judge kyk wat hy... kan doen.

Mmmh. Maar hulle sal seker eers 'n bietjie moet praat daaroor.

Ja. (silence). (MU 283) / / Die tronk is nie die plek nie. (silence)

Waar is die plek?

Buitekant.

Waar buitekant?

By my huis. (almost whispering)

Wie 's almal by die huis? (almost whispering).

My ma, my pa, my diere...

Diere...? Jy het nog net gepraat van jou kat.

Nee, my kat, my twee honde, my budgie, my krimpvarkie, my likkewaan... (smiles in child-like fashion, louder). My twee slangetjies... (MU 284) /

Jy't my nog nie vertel van al die diere nie?

/ Aag, van die goed is seker al weg. Want ek weet – die budgies was daar... Ek weet die een budgie was nog daar... En dan, die kat – ons het twee katte gehad: Die een was Tiger en die ander een was Strepies. Strepies het gedisappear, hy's nou weg. Maar Tiger is 'n kat. Partykeer dan loop hy so skeef soos 'n leeu. Partykeer dan staan hy en kyk vir 'n hond, dan grom hy vir die hond – dis te oulik. (MU 285) / / Daardie kat het my gekies – hy't my gekies om by te slaap. Elke aand dan slaap hy by my voete. Klokslag tien-uur, dan gaan hy af kamer toe, dan weet ek, ag nee wat, nou moet ek gaan slaap. Dan klim ek ook in die bed en wag tot die kat diep aan die slaap is. As ek nie kamer toe gaan nie, kom sit hy by my voete tot ek gaan. Dan lê ek maar en wag tot hy diep aan die slaap is, dan staan ek stilletjies op om TV te gaan kyk.

En dan wag jy tot hy aan die slaap is voor jy gaan TV kyk?

Ja. Anderster kom hy weer – kom lê hy weer daar voor die deur. Baie keer sit hy daar in koud kry – as daardie kat koud kry, hy sal nie gaan slaap nie. Dan wag hy vir my. En dan, dan gaan ek na die kamer toe en ek sê kom, kom sit hier, dan klim hy op die bed. Of as ek op die bank lê, dan kom lê hy hier langs my op die bank. (MU 286) /

Dis baie interessant.

/ Eenkeer, toe het Tiger gegaan om 'n muis te gaan vang. Wragtag, daardie dag begin dit toe te reën. Toe kom hy binnetoe, toe kom wys hy my. Daardie kat, as hy 'n muis soek, dan kry hy hom, altyd. Hy gaan veld toe, dan sit hy daar. Tot hy terugkom, dan het hy 'n duif gevang, of 'n muis, of 'n slang, of 'n ding. (MU 287) /

In die honde?

/ Nee, die honde speel ook maar net. Dan lag mens vir hulle. Hulle rol op hulle rug as die wind waai en goed. As die wind waai, dan lyk dit hulle raak mal. (laughs). (MU 288) / / En die budgies... En ons het 'n slang gevang daar... Ons het baie goed gevang, daar, kobras en goed. Baie mense sê kobras is so gevaarlik en goed – O.K., kobras is baie giftig, ja – maar hy is maklik om te vang, as jy net weet hoe. Die kat vang ook dan 'n kobra.

En dan, wat maak jy met hom?

Baie keer verkoop ek hulle aan die slangpark, of ek hou hom. Eenkeer kry ek 'n koraalslang. (MU 289) /

En wat sê jou ma as jy daar by die huis aankom met 'n slang?

/ Niks. My ma is baie lief vir diere.

Maar slange?

Nee, niks. My ma worry nie. My ma kan nie lelike dinge sê oor diere nie. My ma skrik net vir die slange partykeer (laughs). Jaa, ek en my ma lag lekker saam... (MU 290) / / Maar dit gaan darem nou beter tussen my ouers. O.K., my pa wil nog skei, maar dit gaan darem nou beter.

Wil jou pa skei?

Ja.

En jou ma?

Ek glo nie. My ma weet, as sy my pa verloor, dan verloor sy so te sê... so te sê... Sy kry nie die helfde van my pa se salaris nie, in elk geval. (MU 291) / / Die huis en die begrafnispolisse en goed is in elk geval op my naam.

Hoe so?

My pa het dit op my naam gesit daardie dag.

Watter dag?

Laasjaar, of wat, ek kan nie onthou wanneer dit was nie. Daar in Cradock, by Standard Bank. Begrafnispolisse en al daardie goete... My pa't gesê hy wil blykbaar die huis verkoop en goed. (MU 292) / / Hy wil hê ons moet niks erf nie... Hy't so iets gesê. Hy't gesê hy gaan alles verkoop en die geld dan gelykop verdeel. So iets.

Hoe so?

Ek weet nie. (MU 293) / / Daar's... drie goed wat ek van my pa wil erf: Die garage met sy gereedskap en goeters, sy amplifiser, en sy khitaar. Dan wil ek aangaan met sy musiek. (MU 294) /

Maak hy musiek?

/ Ja, hy speel baie musiek en goed met sy khitaar. Ek hou nou van raves en goed, maar daardie musiek van my pa, dis ook mooi musiek.

Watter soort musiek is dit?

Al daardie musiek van die ou tye... Al die Springbokhits... Bee Gees en daardie goed. (MU 295) / / Hy't pakke en pakke tapes. Bokse met tapes. Ek wil nie hê hy moet daardie goed verkoop nie, die mense gaan dit vir goedkoop pryse koop. Daardie goed het baie waarde – ek gaan nie dit toelaat nie. (paragraph spoken in hushed voice, many pauses). O.K., ek kan ook nie sê nie, dis my pa se besluit. (silence). Dis hoe ek dit sou verkies het. (silence). (MU 296) /

Wanneer hoor jy van die vonnis?

/ Die elfde is hierdie straf oor. Dit was drie maande.

So jy gaan hier bly tot die elfde Maart?

Huh-uh, ek kan nou Cradock ook toe gaan, na die hofsaak. Maar ek gaan nie.

Hoekom is jy hierso? Is dit omdat die hooggeregshof hier is?

Mmmh.

So dis die enigste rede hoekom jy in Grahamstad is?

Mmmh, ek het ook gevra... Om in Grahamstad te wees. Sodat ek nader kan wees aan die Baai. Sodat vriende vir my goed... kan opstuur en so. Ek kry nooit geld nie, ek kan nie skryf en sulke goed nie. Dit help ook nie ek skryf nie, want die briewe gaan ook nie weg nie. Ek het hoeveel briewe geskryf al, maar dit kom nie by die mense uit nie. Dit is hoe dit werk in die tronk. Mense luister nie... Jou briewe word nie gehoor nie... Ek weet nie... (silence, while he sits playing with one of the boots). (MU 297) /

Wat het daar gebeur? (points at boot the respondent is holding)

/ Nee, dis waar hy geval het gisteraand. Hy't op sy sy geval, toe maak ek hom reg. Ek het net weer die seep natgemaak.

O, dis nogal oraaait – dat jy hulle kan regmaak. Waarmee kleur jy dit?

Polish. Skoenpolish, bruines.

Is daar ander ouens ook wat dit doen?

Ek weet nie.

Nou waar het jy geleer?

Ek het myself geleer. Ek is die eerste ou wat hierdie goedjies maak, ek het daarmee begin.

Rêrig, wanneer?

Nou, hier in die tronk. Ek het maar die idee gehoor hier by 'n oom wat hier werk. Toe besluit ek ek gaan dit maar doen. (contemplative silence). Dit is nogal 'n groot persentasie (sic) vir my om hierdie goed te maak, hier in die tronk. Vir myself. Ek wil nog allerhande goedjies maak, glase en goed. En dan verf – ek wou nog daardie bootjie ook geverf het (looks at sculpture of boat on filing cabinet). Sy roeispone en goed is ook nog binne-in..., sy gaatjies aan die kante...

So jy het darem iets geleer... Jy maak mooi goedjies...

Ja, ek maak kruise, en sulke hartjie-bakkies. Dis mooi, daardie hartjies. Ek wil nog so groot ding maak, met die Onse Vader in. En bokke en goed. (MU 298) /

So jy's 'n outjie wat lief is vir diere, sê jy?

/ Ja. Ek het baie vir diertjies gesorg op skool.

Nou Tommy, hier's 'n ding wat ek nie so mooi verstaan nie... Was dit dan nie vir jou moeilik om diere dood te maak nie?

Nee, nie daardie tyd nie. As jy in die Satanisme is... Eers, toe ek klein was, kon ek nie 'n diere doodmaak nie. Toe ek klein was, was ek lief vir diere gewees. Ons het altyd diertjies gevang... Toe ek in daardie skool was, in Natal – dit was vir my 'n baie lekker skool gewees daardie – toe ons vir die diere gesorg. (MU 299) / / Maar... Toe't ek eenkeer gesien 'n outjie hang 'n rot op. En toe kon ek nie verstaan hoekom maak hy rotte so dood nie... En toe't ons begin lag daaroor. En toe het ek weggegaan uit daardie skool. En toe sien ek dit in JJ ook – ouens maak 'n rot dood en hang dit op teen 'n outjie se kas. En toe eendag doen ek dit ook. (MU 300) /

'n Lewendige rot?

/ Ja... En dan bewe die rot so (demonstrates). En dan steek sy tande so uit. En dan begin ons te lag. En dan wriemel die rot op 'n sekere manier en dan lag ons en lag ons... Maar ons het dagga gerook en goed ook. En dan lag ons so. En daardie tyd het ek nie eintlik 'n gevoel gehad vir diere nie. Maar na die tyd het ek spyt gekry oor al die goed wat ek gedoen het. (MU 301) /

En honde en katte, en die goed?

/ Nee, ek het mos nie geworry oor die goed nie. Ek het maar doodgemaak oor ek moes.
(MU 302) /

Honde en katte?

/ (Nods). Meestal honde en katte en mense.

Mense?

Ag, ek het nog nie mense doodgemaak nie, net hierdie een. (silence). (MU 303) / / Tot hoe laat toe mag Oom bly?

So vier-uur.

Dis darem nog 'n lang tyd. (barely audible). (MU 304) /

Nou vertel gou vir my wat beteken daardie tekens – het hulle verskillende betekenis?

/ Die prentjie hier is die gebreekte kruis. Dan is hierdie die lyf, en hierdie is die kop wat afgekap is. Die kop is afgekap en die kruis is gebreek. En hierdie is die trippel ses. Die ander is maar net wapens en goed. Nommers. En name van gangsters en goed. In Amerika... Nommer, nommer, nommer (points). Die gebreekte kruis. Sonop – dis ook 'n ou wat 'n gangster was... (MU 305) /

En daardie merk daarbo?

/ Dis ook 'n steek-wond.

Mes?

Ek kan nie nou onthou nie. Seker. En hierdie is waar ek my gesny het.

Waarmee?

Glas. Dit is waar ek 'n venster gebreek het. (MU 306) /

En jy sê jy was in 'n gang gewees?

/ Ja, in die Baai.

En in Drie Susters?

Nee, in Drie Susters is nie gangs nie (laughs at silly remark). In die Baai. Die Boom Shakas.

Is dit 'n groot gang?

Daar's 'n paar Boom Shakas hier ook. Maar ek steur my nie daaraan nie.

Ehmm, en wat het julle gedoen?

Cocaine verkoop, sulke goed. Dagga verkoop, pille...

En jy's nooit daarvoor gevang nie?

(Shakes his head.) (MU 307) /

Nou hoe 's dit dat hulle jou op die einde gevang het, Tommy?

/ Ek sê jou mos, my broer het my oorgegee aan die polisie. Ek was in Queenstown gewees.

En hoe het hy geweet jy het dit gedoen?

Ek weet nie hoe het hy dit geweet nie. Ek weet nie – die polisie het seker na hom gegaan en gevra waar is ek. As hy my sien, moet hy my oorlewer aan die polisie. (MU 308) /

So die polisie het geweet.

/ Of course het die polisie geweet. Maar ek weet nie hoe het hulle geweet nie. Ek weet nie hoe het hulle uitgevind nie...

Het jy dit probeer wegsteek... Dat dit jy was?

(does not respond, sits in silence).

Het jy handskoene gehad of iets?

Hulle het seker my vingerafdrukke gekry man. Dis al wat hulle kon doen om my te kon gevang het. (silence). Daar's nie 'n ander manier hoe hulle my kon gevang het nie... Sonder vingerafdrukke nie...

Hoe so?

Ek het mos nie ander merke gelos nie. Hulle kon my nie anders gevang het nie. Daar's nie 'n manier nie. (MU 309) /

Maar hulle het dadelik geweet dis moord?

/ Ja, hulle het geweet dis moord, maar hulle het nie geweet wie nie. Hulle't seker ondersoek ingestel en uitgevind. Hulle sou my nie gekry het as hulle nie my

vingerafdrukke gekry het nie... (shakes his head) So hulle is baie gelukkig ek het die saak vir hulle so maklik gemaak. (silence) (MU 310) /

(phone on desk starts ringing, researcher ignores it. Then respondent looks at researcher)

Ek dink nie dis vir my of vir jou nie.

(silence).

/ Waarvoor gebruik hulle Ritalin?

Vir kinders wat hiperaktief is, wat nie kan stilsit of konsentreer nie.

Ek het gevra vir Ritalin op skool, maar hulle het geweier. (silence). Hulle moes maar vir my gegee het...

Dink jy dit sou gehelp het?

Dit sou. Miskien sou ek beter gekonsentreer het op my werk. Miskien op alles. Miskien sou dinge dan anders gewees het... (MU 311) /

Hoe 't jy gedoen op skool?

/ Nie goed nie. Te veel dagga gerook. (almost whisper)

En voor jy dagga gerook het?

Toe't ek oraait gedoen – ek het eerste in die klas gestaan ook al.

Wanneer was dit?

Daar in Natal, laerskool. Elke jaar eerste gestaan... Vir vier jaar. (silence). Tot standerd vier.

Is dit wanneer jy begin dagga rook het?

Nee, dit was toe ek oorgeplaas is JJ Serfontein toe. Toe't ek begin dagga rook.

En toe 't jy nie meer so goed gedoen nie...

Huh-uh.

Het jy nie miskien maar net op ander goed begin konsentreer nie?

Dis mos logies... As mens dagga rook, as jy dagga rook, dan raak jy lomerig. Jy worry nie oor werk in die klas nie, jy worry nie oor niks nie. As iets aangaan in die klas, jy konsentreer nie op wat aangaan in die klas nie.

Nou het jy gerook voor jy klas toe gegaan het?

Ja. Elke dag. Voor ek klas toe gegaan het, rook ons, pouse rook ons, na skool rook ons... Kort pouses rook ons... (MU 312) /

En hulle het julle nooit gevang nie?

/ Nee, hulle kan ons mos nie vang nie. Hulle het ons nooit gevang nie.

En ander goeters... Wat het julle nog gedoen?

Dagga... Dagga gerook, en dit... En uitgeslip en dit...

En hulle vang julle nooit nie?

Nou en dan, dan het 'n slim enetjie ons miskien gevang. (MU 313) /

'n Slim enetjie...

/ Ehm. Iemand wat miskien weet ons gaan uit... Of iemand wat op pos staan om te kyk of ons uitgaan. Nee! Hulle kon ons nie vang nie – nie as jy slim is nie. (MU 314) /

Slim is?

/ Dan gaan ek voor die tyd uit.

Voor die tyd?

(laughs at researcher's apparent incomprehension). 'n Sekere tyd... Sê nou ons besluit om sesuur uit te gaan, dan gaan ek al vyfuur.

Aah, ek sien! So, dan word die ander ouens gevang?

Ja, hulle word gevang, nie ek nie. Ek praat aspris uit. Sê vir almal ons gaan sesuur uit, nee, vyfuur, dan gaan ek al. Dan's ek lankal sesuur terug in die koshuis. Dan sesuur, staan hulle by die hekkie. (MU 315) /

Het jy baie keer alleen gegaan?

/ Ja, ek het die meeste van die tyd alleen gegaan. As jy saam met ander ouens gaan, word jy net gevang. (MU 316) /

So jy sê jy was te slim vir hulle?

/ Ja. (laughs) (silence).

Jy sien, miskien het jy goed gekonsentreer. Miskien het jy net nie op jou werk gekonsentreer nie.

(Laughs, seemingly embarrassed). Nee... Dis nie... Dis nie... Dis maklik om so te sê...

Mmmmh?

Maar as Oom daar was, sou Oom nie dieselfde gesê het nie. (MU 317) /

Mmmh... Nee, ek sê nie eintlik nie, ek vra maar net...

/ Sien, in die skool kan mens nie eintlik leer nie. (silence, shakes his head slowly). (MU 318) /

Mmmh... Waar is al jou vriende nou?

/ Ek weet nie. (MU 319) /

Jy sê Werner Fourie is in Bloemfontein...

/ Mmmh. Maar ek worry nie oor vriende nie – as ek uitkom gaan ek my eie pad gaan. Dis oor vriende wat ek in die tronk sit. (MU 320) / / Toe ek buite was, het ek baie vriende gehad... As jy in die tronk sit, vergeet hulle van jou. (MU 321) /

Mmmh... Dit klink asof hulle nie vir jou nog 'n kans wil gee nie...

/ Nee, ek worry nie oor dit nie... Hulle gaan my in elk geval straf, so wat moet ek worry... (MU 322) / (silence).

O.K... Nou maar oraat, Tommy. Ek gaan nou net weer vir jou daardie vorm wys. Ek het mos nou klaar vir jou verduidelik wat in hom staan, nou gaan ek jou net weer wys.

(Researcher shows and discusses informed consent form in detail. Respondent agrees and signs the form. Also notifies the researcher that he will make notes on his life story and make that available to the researcher, should such information be required.)

APPENDIX D

EPP Analysis Step 3: Implementation of the Partial Phenomenological
Psychological Reduction1. Interview 1

Date: 06 February, 2001
Time: 13H00-14H20
Place: Grahamstown- Prison
Interviewer: J.P. du Toit
Respondent: Tommy Veldman

MU 1. S shows no temporal concern while being in prison.

MU 2. S has faced the finitude of his existence, in that he had harboured suicidal ideation while in prison. On various past occasions, S had engaged in self-destructive behaviour.

MU 3. S experiences frustration at not being able to engage in recreational activities while being imprisoned. He feels dispirited regardless of the prison setting.

MU 4. S experiences conflict with fellow prisoners. He maintains that he becomes irritable mostly when his dignity is challenged. Whenever possible he exercises the freedom to transform his living environment in accordance with his personal interests.

MU 5. S attempts to engage in menial activities to cope with his lived experience in prison.

MU 6. S describes his parents as financially poor. Although he had tried to make contact with them in order to obtain material goods, he is aware of their financial constraints and the impact that he has on the difficulty to obtain commodities.

MU 7. S sees his mother as suffering injustice in her work environment. He is of the opinion that, despite her persistent hard work, she has not been able to gain financial security.

MU 8. S reports that he is a member of a Christian church, but has not attended church functions for an extended period of time.

MU 9. Regular church services are held in prison.

MU 10. S states that he last attended church while staying with his family of origin. As he felt his needs were not met by church services, he sought meaning in social interaction instead.

MU 11. S maintains that his social deviance (i.e., drug abuse as an alternative search for meaning) and self-destructive behaviour extends back a long way. He deems this had negatively impacted on his normal experience of reality.

MU 12. According to S he becomes aggressive, destructive and defiant when he supposes his normal mode of experiencing becomes impaired (e.g., through drug abuse). This impacts negatively on his social relationships. When frustrated due to feelings of anger, S often engages in self-destructive behaviour. While intoxicated, he experiences a sense of abnormal power.

MU 13. S contends that he ceased his involvement in Satanism, as he was concerned about the negative influence of supernatural powers. After breaking away from Satanism, he sought contact with his older half-brother.

MU 14. S cites violent arguments with his father as a reason for leaving his family home. These arguments were often the consequence of his (S's) habitual drug abuse.

MU 15. S believes that his sense of agency (i.e., ability to outwit his father while misbehaving) was impaired by his drug abuse. This, he asserts, led to his inability to avoid conflict with his father. S's father often reminded S about the consequences of his intoxicated behaviour. During a particularly animated confrontation, S's father reportedly denounced S as his son and told him to leave the family. His self-destructive behaviour and social deviance, thus, led to alienation and a change in his life-world. Soon afterwards, S left his family home and made his way to the closest major city he was familiar with.

MU 16. After leaving home, S alleges that he found employment as a manual labourer in an environment his father used to work in. Instead of staying with acquaintances (as instructed by his father), S sought his own place of abode. Although S thus entered a new life-world, he chose to maintain some familiar ties. During his employment, S's social relations with both peers and authority figures were poor. This led to verbal arguments and threats of physical assault made by S. S maintained a simple life style, enjoyed hard, manual labour and reports sending some of the money earned to his mother.

MU 17. S reports that he is used to manual labour and used to work to the point of exhaustion in the recent past. His engagement in work activities were thus marked by an eagerness to perform, to the point that it became damaging to S's normal mode of being.

MU 18. S attended an industrial school where he acquired skills for manual labour.

MU 19. S states that his involvement in occult practices dates back to his attending an industrial school. He reportedly pursued occult practices under the influence of a school friend. After initially dabbling in occult practices, S further sought literature dealing with Satanism and the occult. S thus achieved a sense of personal agency only after having been mentored.

MU 20. During school holidays spent with his family of origin, S became familiar with the city he would later go to in order to seek employment. He further maintains that, during his employment in this city (after leaving his family home), S frequented nightclubs and regularly abused an array of drugs. S reports one such occasion during which he believes he was further drugged by a female acquaintance. This allegedly led to his losing consciousness. When S regained consciousness, he was in an unfamiliar environment. After leaving his familiar life-world, S sought a substitute social environment, which was characterised by a self-destructive behaviour and a loss of agency.

MU 21. S reportedly regained consciousness and noticed girls dressed in black robes, while he was naked. He found himself in the ruins of a hotel, wandering around with unfamiliar people while naked. In a new social environment, S found himself vulnerable and attempted to win the favour of others by conforming to their behaviour.

MU 22. S asserts that he participated in the drinking of blood, orgies, animal and human sacrifice, but denies engaging in bestiality. He considers some lay beliefs associated with Satanism as superstition (i.e., that only black cats are sacrificed during Satanic rituals), but knows that the sacrifice of human babies ensures immediate acceptance by Satan. S limited his conformity by exercising a measure of choice, based on previously gained information.

MU 23. According to S, the blood used in Satanic rituals is obtained from animal and human sacrifice; as well as from self-inflicted wounds by new members of the Satanic coven. In order to be accepted into a social environment, S allegedly consumed the blood of new members in the company of the coven. Although S does not know the exact amount of covens in the city, he assumes that there are six hundred and sixty-six countrywide. S contends the aim of Satanic covens to be the blasphemous inversion of Christian practices and beliefs.

MU 24. S reflects that his increased substance abuse in the course of Satanic practices made his attempts at refraining from drug abuse increasingly difficult. The behaviour that had led to his separation from his family environment was thus encouraged in his new social environment. He affirms that he consumed an assortment of hard drugs, animal and human blood, human flesh and participated in sexual orgies. S continues by stating that he felt obliged to engage in progressively deviant behaviour in order to gain acceptance from the coven. He maintains that he was eventually instructed to murder his parents as a sacrifice to Satan. In order to win the favour of the ultimate authority in his new social environment, S thus had to unequivocally sever social ties with the authorities in his previous social environment.

MU 25. Although his identity remains unknown to S, the Satanic high priest was described as the figure who directed the proceedings during Satanic rituals. S reports that he followed the commands of the high priest, despite his (S's) discomfort at doing so. Activities reportedly included participation in ritual sacrifice and sexual orgies and the drawing of runes on altars and victims. During all proceedings, the high priest's identity remained concealed under a hooded black cloak. Due to fear of persecution and a search for gaining power, S was willing to sacrifice his authenticity in order to conform to the directions of an unidentified authority figure.

MU 26. S feared spiritual persecution in reaction to his non-compliance during Satanic practices. He supposes that such non-compliance results in bewitchment, involuntary demonic possession and spiritual torture. These forms of persecution are reportedly achieved by practices of witchcraft in which S personally engaged during the past. S thus fears the same power he had been able to access in the past.

MU 27. S claims that he was instructed to murder his parents. Despite his intention to do so, he was unable to complete the task as he experienced the familiar sense of his familial home. Instead, he decided to flee to a different city, but failed to do so as he feared rejection from the coven. S's sense of agency is influenced by his need for social belonging.

MU 28. Upon failing to murder his parents or to flee to another city, S (on his own accord) intended to murder a prominent Christian woman in his parental hometown. His inability to comply with the ultimate instructions of an authority figure leads S to devise an alternative means to avoid feared persecution and rejection. On the way to her house, he secured an escape route.

MU 29. The woman S intended to murder was a family acquaintance, which S respectfully described as a dear, old woman. Upon entering her house, they allegedly engaged in conversation, had tea, and S proceeded to copy recipes from the woman in an attempt to put her at ease.

MU 30. While alone and conversing with the family acquaintance, S claims that he decided to overpower, rather than murder her. S's experience of familiarity renders him unable to comply with the demands of an unknown authority. He devises an alternative act in an attempt to avoid persecution and/or rejection. Upon her losing consciousness, S planned to flee.

MU 31. During their conversation, S reports that he became uncomfortable with the idea of murdering the woman. Instead, he maintains that he decided to make her faint in order to obtain some of her hair or skin to show to the coven. S fears that authority figures and peers would know of his inability to meet their terms, despite his attempts to devise an alternative course of action aimed at both appeasing them, as well as being in keeping with his own way of being.

MU 32. While overpowering the woman in an attempt to let her lose consciousness, S reportedly heard the woman speaking in Christian tongues and pleading for the help of the Lord at the top of her voice. S reasons that this reaction immobilised him. He allegedly realised that he would be punished by the woman who he believed was able to restrain him by making him lose consciousness and “fall away”. S feared the dire consequences of a persecutory and supernatural power.

MU 33. S experienced being enveloped in darkness. He inferred that his murderous intentions would become clear, should he lose consciousness and be exposed. He argues that he stabbed the woman as a result of these fears of persecution.

MU 34. After stabbing a prominent Christian woman and family acquaintance, S, allegedly to his discomfort, became aware of a variety of religious artefacts in the woman’s house.

MU 35. S realised that he had murdered the woman when he saw her motionless body lying on the ground. He states that he covered the body in a blanket and put a pillow under her head, before taking her keys in the process of fleeing. Once outside her house, he states that he fully realised the consequences of his actions and wept in remorse.

MU 36. After committing murder, S fled from the victim’s house. As he was unable to steal her car, he threw the keys he had taken aside. He then fled on foot and lost consciousness as he reached the highway leaving town.

MU 37. S asserts that he fled from the scene of the crime at dusk. He lost consciousness at the side of the highway and regained consciousness as a couple of truck drivers picked him up and put them in their truck. The pair of truck drivers provided S with food and drink, after which they inquired about his actions and hometown. S simply replied that he passed out and that he lived in a neighbouring town. The couple then took him to this town.

MU 38. S states that after he had committed murder, he hitched to the town in which he had attended school and where the police later arrested him. S believes that his arrest was as a result of his older half-brother’s handing him over to the police.

MU 39. Following S’s arrest, he claims being physically assaulted and tortured by members of the police force. The assault was allegedly video recorded and resulted in S’s loss of bladder control, hospitalisation and injuries, which would later result in scarred tissue. A high-ranking police officer from a neighbouring town reportedly informed S that he (the police officer) knew about S’s guilt in the murder and S’s involvement in crime. The officer then allegedly proceeded to physically assault S.

MU 40. After S had committed murder, he obtained a ride to the neighbouring town. From this town, S attempted to hitch a lift to a city in the Orange Free State, where S planned to meet with a distant relative. S recalls that, during the drive, he consumed large amounts of alcohol with the couple that had provided him with a lift. He reportedly

fell asleep only to awaken in Gauteng, rather than in the Free State. S continued drinking with the driver of the vehicle and then slept.

MU 41. S states that he met two Nigerian drug dealers in a notorious suburb of Gauteng. Together they became involved in organised crime (including robbery, drug trafficking and prostitution) and allegedly managed to avoid police arrest. S's decision to go to Gauteng was based on an attempt to escape from Satanism, drug abuse and his having committed murder. He was arrested in the town where he had attended school and where his older half-brother reportedly resided.

MU 42. S maintains that he experienced the influence of supernatural forces both during his stay in Gauteng and during the initial period of his imprisonment. He described incidences of derealisation and a loss of intentional behaviour, which he attributes to bewitchment. During these spells, S would become light-headed, careless and experience retarded motor behaviour. On one such occasion, a passer-by rescued S from unintentionally walking in front of a speeding car. S believes that observers would be under the impression that he was in a state of intoxication.

MU 43. S attributes spells of derealisation to the influence of evil spirits. While reading the Bible in prison, he experienced such a spell which resulted in his being taken to a prominent charismatic church leader for the purpose of exorcism.

MU 44. While awaiting trial during the initial period of his imprisonment, S reported being plagued by demonic spirits. The police provided an opportunity for S to undergo exorcism by a prominent charismatic church leader.

MU 45. S experienced a sense of euphoria during the exorcism. He recalls that he laughed and wept and believes that observers would perceive his actions as similar to those of a person being intoxicated. After the exorcism, S thought he was saved and was elated. From that time he started reading the Bible again.

MU 46. A prominent police figure dealing with the occult allegedly arranged S's exorcism. S states that he received daily visits from the church leader after the procedure.

MU 47. S claims past experiences of auditory perceptual distortions. He states that he occasionally hears his mother's voice calling his name and attempting to communicate a message of concern. S believes that he shares a link with his mother which enables them to communicate supernaturally. He also reports having heard a number of voices with an echo quality, allegedly instructing him to carry out certain orders.

MU 48. S experiences commanding auditory perceptual distortions as a kind of premonition, rather than an external authority imposing its will on his behaviour. S equates these voices with the affirmation of deviant behaviour. In an attempt to elucidate the experience, S metaphorically compares this experience with a belief in astrological projections.

MU 49. S reportedly experienced receiving communication from a deceased relative.

MU 50. Although allegedly experiencing perceptual distortions occasionally, S maintains that he did not receive hallucinatory commands at the time of committing murder. He reports that, on different occasions, he had heard the voice of Satan, various male voices and the voice of a deceased relative, but that these perceptual distortions are no longer present.

MU 51. S distinguishes between hearing unclear, echoing male voices (he used to find particularly disturbing) and the deep clear voice of Satan he used to hear in the course of Satanic rituals.

MU 52. S claims that he fearfully experienced Satan's presence during the performance of Satanic rituals, but states that he has never actually seen Satan.

MU 53. S sporadically daydreams about his family and home. Afterwards, and to his dismay, he realises that he is in prison.

MU 54. S has reportedly experienced visual disturbances in the course of summoning spirits.

MU 55. S asserts that he almost exclusively experienced visual distortions in the course of his involvement in Satanism.

MU 56. While sitting on the beach, S states that he once saw burning figures running towards the sea.

MU 57. S compares his purported visual disturbances with an experience his father had while travelling in the country. His father reportedly had unexplained automobile problems and saw human figures emerging from another vehicle. This is more or less in keeping with a cultural myth regarding a haunted country road.

MU 58. S reports feeling sad at the time of the interview.

MU 59. S experiences sadness largely as a result of his imprisonment and expected long-term prison sentence. He wishes to be eligible for a correctional supervision sentence, which would enable him to spend time outside prison and allow him to secure some form of income. Despite this wish, S realises that the chances of this happening, remains slim.

MU 60. When considering a possible long-term prison sentence, S becomes despondent, occasionally to the extent that he entertains suicidal ideas.

MU 61. In addition to subjective feelings of depressed mood, S occasionally faces feelings of anger.

MU 62. S would describe himself as a well-mannered, attractive young man with a pleasant personality.

MU 63. Although being sad in prison, S states that he feels happy when he hears from his mother and family.

MU 64. S assumes his father would describe him (S) as a pleasant young man who, nonetheless, is very aggressive and sporadically displays deviant behaviour.

MU 65. S affirms that he was recently involved in a physical confrontation with a fellow prisoner who attempted to take some of S's belongings.

MU 66. S's arm has various tattoos depicting different prison gangs. Although S associates himself with a prison gang that had the respect of other prisoners, he distances himself from gangs involved in homosexuality and those acting as informants for prison authorities.

MU 67. S has tattoos that he reports to depict Satanic symbolism, gangsterism and drug culture. S holds that he did most of the tattoos himself, but wishes to remove them at present.

MU 68. S reports a long-standing history of alcohol abuse that was allegedly encouraged by his mother and of which his father was unaware.

MU 69. S's mother reportedly encouraged and assisted in S's involvement in shoplifting and theft. S claims that his mother occasionally forced him to shoplift by threatening him with possible dire consequences should he fail to do so.

MU 70. S reflects that he was strictly disciplined by his father – occasionally to the extent that he sustained bruises.

MU 71. According to S, his older half-brother, who had also been involved in Satanism, has an ongoing history of criminal behaviour.

MU 72. As S becomes aware that the interview is drawing to a close, he expresses the urgent need to relate more information to the researcher.

MU 73. S thanks the researcher for the interview and expresses the wish to share more information regarding his family and upbringing.

APPENDIX D

EPP Analysis Step 3: Implementation of the Partial Phenomenological
Psychological Reduction2. Interview 2

Date: 07 February, 2001
Time: 14H00-15H15
Place: Grahamstown Prison
Interviewer: J.P. du Toit
Respondent: Tommy Veldman

MU 74. S states that he clearly recalls an incident that occurred when he was approximately five years old. While sitting in a kombi with an unknown man, S's mother and a male acquaintance disappeared into a thicket for approximately half-an-hour. S continues that although he does not know what had transpired between his mother and the acquaintance, the man (who remained seated in the kombi with S) allegedly instructed S to keep the incident a secret. S remembers being given a small amount of money in exchange for his cooperation.

MU 75. S's recollection of his preschool years are limited to his experience of attending nursery school.

MU 76. S spent his preschool years in the same city where he would later seek employment and become involved in Satanism. He stayed in a house with his immediate family and older half-brother.

MU 77. S's family relocated within the same city prior to his primary school attendance. He remembers enjoying nursery school where he had numerous friends.

MU 78. S spent the first three years of his primary school career in the same school.

MU 79. Due to his family's second relocation, S moved to a new primary school.

MU 80. At the approximate age of ten years, S was sent to an industrial school in a different province.

MU 81. The death of a close relative caused S's parents to leave their children in the care of their neighbours. During this stay, S's older half-brother reportedly started causing trouble.

MU 82. S and his older half-brother exhibited misconduct, which ultimately resulted in the intervention of the Social Welfare Department. S and his older half-brother were subsequently separated from their siblings.

MU 83. S is not able to recall which siblings were left in the care of the neighbours and which accompanied his parents to a relative's funeral. S does, however, recall sibling rivalry and arguments between those siblings who stayed with their neighbours.

MU 84. S recalls an animated argument with his older half-brother and one that led to their being separated from their family. He remembers his older half-brother's part in the fighting which ensued, and that his older half-brother threw faeces at S and others.

MU 85. Immediately following the separation from his siblings, S spent six months at a formal childcare institution in the same city.

MU 86. Following his removal to a formal institution, S's siblings were moved to a children's home while S was relocated to an industrial school in a different province.

MU 87. S has no insight into the reasons for his relocation to an industrial school, whereas his older half-brother (who was also described by their father as unmanageable) was sent to a children's home.

MU 88. S was moved to an industrial school in a different province. He was allegedly told that he would merely be taken to a different children's home, as there was not enough room to accommodate all the siblings in the children's home in their home city.

MU 89. S later discovered that his father described him (S) as unmanageable, but to the present day S has no insight into his father's reasons for doing so.

MU 90. S ponders that he may not have ended up in prison had he not been separated from his siblings.

MU 91. S feels that he might not have been in prison at present if he had received the same treatment as his older half-brother.

MU 92. S enjoyed the five years he spent in the first industrial school he attended.

MU 93. S fondly remembers the time he spent at the first industrial school he attended as the most pleasant part of his school career. He particularly enjoyed outings in nature and playing childhood games.

MU 94. Upon S's request to be transferred to another industrial school in order to be united with his older half-brother, he was moved closer to his parents' home. S immediately regretted his request for being transferred as he found that he was unable to spend quality time with his older half-brother.

MU 95. While at the second industrial school, S remembers spending time with his older half-brother while playing truant from school, visiting nightclubs, abusing alcohol and daily smoking large quantities of cannabis.

MU 96. S spent approximately four years in the second industrial school he attended.

MU 97. S states that he was often bullied and teased by older boys in the industrial school.

MU 98. S notes that the second industrial school he attended had undergone changes to the extent that it currently functions as a childcare facility.

MU 99. S recalls spending very little time at his family home during his school career. He preferred staying at the school during shorter school breaks, as he felt that it was more fun there.

MU 100. S preferred living in the city rather than in a small country town. He believes his fate may have been different had his parents not relocated to a smaller town.

MU 101. S remembers ongoing familial conflict dating back to his preschool years.

MU 102. Even before the age of ten years (and partly due to financial difficulty) S reportedly used to participate in shoplifting orchestrated by his mother and older half-brother. He recalls his mother as encouraging the shoplifting (for food and beauty products) and assisting him and his older half-brother in hiding stolen goods.

MU 103. S claims that his parents often argued about family matters. He recalls that his parents were not open with the children regarding some family secrets.

MU 104. After having been married to his mother for a number of years, S's father allegedly discovered that she (S's mother) had an illegitimate child whom the family thought was her sister. S maintains that his father was furious, but unable to do anything about his feelings.

MU 105. S describes uncontrollable bouts of anger. He recalls arguments between his parents that led to spousal abuse and self-injurious behaviour by his mother.

MU 106. S states that whenever his parents had arguments, he acted as a source of comfort to his younger siblings who would often become tearful. S comforted them by making them laugh as he engaged in heroic role-plays. S provided his siblings with a distraction from the reality of a chaotic family environment.

MU 107. During a particularly volatile argument, S's father reportedly obtained a restraining court order against S's mother, and had her removed to police custody for two days.

MU 108. S asserts that, although contemplating divorce, his parents never went through with their intentions.

MU 109. S appropriates his dabbling in occult practices (during his stay in the second industrial school he attended) in terms of his subsequent involvement in Satanism.

MU 110. S's first occult dabbling was allegedly with a school friend who was knowledgeable in the practice of witchcraft.

MU 111. During school breaks spent at home, S pursued knowledge of occult practices by consulting associated literature.

MU 112. In consulting literature on Satanism and the occult, S became increasingly involved in related activities.

MU 113. In relating newly found knowledge on occult practices to the friend who introduced him to the field, S's friend reportedly showed caution in increased involvement as he (S's friend) feared persecution from school authorities.

MU 114. S contends that his involvement in and knowledge of occult practices soon surpassed that of the friend who introduced S to the field. S's conduct now included an increase in playing truant from school, frequenting nightclubs, being involved in short term promiscuous relations and cruelty to animals. S suspects that these behaviours led to his expulsion from an industrial school and ultimately to separation from his family home.

MU 115. S's school performance progressively deteriorated to the extent that he was unable to obtain a senior certificate. After being expelled from school, he left his family home in search for employment in the city.

MU 116. During his stay in the city, S was reportedly introduced to organised Satanic worship and practices.

MU 117. Before becoming involved in organised Satanic worship, S claims that he was attracted to (and participated in) violent behaviour, which resulted in bloodshed.

MU 118. S states that the idea of slaughtering pets (before S started reading about such practices) came naturally to S and a group of school friends.

MU 119. S says that, as a child, he was excited at the sight of blood.

MU 120. S reflects that he participated in the slaughter and sacrifice of pets in order to win Satan's favour. In the course of such rituals, S described the behaviour of the Satanic worshippers as alternately being marked by spells of laughing and crying.

MU 121. S describes different Satanic covens operating in the city. Each coven consists of between thirty and forty members, who occasionally joined other covens in Satanic practices.

MU 122. S claims that he participated in the ritual sacrifice of pets as he believed this enabled him to obtain magical powers. By using body parts during Satanic rituals, S allegedly experienced control over other human beings.

MU 123. S states that he met his first girlfriend while attending nursery school. When he was transferred to a co-ed industrial school in a different province, S believes that he successfully persuaded his girlfriend's parents to let her be transferred to the same school. The relationship ended when S was transferred to a different industrial school in an attempt to be reunited with his older half-brother.

MU 124. S reports that his first sexual experience occurred when he was thirteen years old. During a school break and while staying in hostel, S reportedly had sexual intercourse with a female student. They were exposed by the housemaster who reported the incident to the school authorities. S has no recollection of the disciplinary consequences of the incident.

MU 125. S expresses no reservations in relating his sexual relations to the interviewer. He distinguishes between casual and sincere, long term sexual relations.

MU 126. S asserts that he engaged in ritualistic sexual orgies, which he reports involved sexual intercourse with supernatural spirits.

MU 127. During the initial period of S's imprisonment, he believes he experienced the influence of evil spirits to the extent that he entertained suicidal thoughts. Following the help of a minister of religion (who prayed for S and led him to conversion), these experiences disappeared.

MU 128. S affirms that he has not suffered the influence of evil spirits and supernatural forces since his experience of conversion.

MU 129. Despite a reported absence of evil spirits, S believes that he experiences ongoing communication from a deceased relative.

MU 130. S participated in a variety of sports at school.

MU 131. S's siblings consist of an older half-sister, an older half-brother, a younger brother and two younger sisters.

MU 132. Both S's parents are in their mid-forties.

MU 133. S has three paternal uncles and three paternal aunts.

MU 134. S states that his paternal grandfather, from whom both S and his father inherited their names, worked as a miner and died of natural causes in his mid-sixties. S knows less about his paternal grandmother, but believed she was a housewife who (also in her sixties) died either of natural causes or due to suicide. Both paternal grandparents lived in a mining city in the Orange Free State.

MU 135. S's eldest paternal uncle worked as a miner in the same city as S's paternal grandfather. He is said to be currently serving a prison sentence as he was allegedly found guilty of stealing either gold dust or mining explosives.

MU 136. S has little knowledge of his second eldest paternal uncle, other than the fact that he resided in the same city as S's paternal grandparents.

MU 137. S describes his youngest paternal uncle as having a career of murdering people. This uncle is reported to be serving a sentence of life imprisonment.

MU 138. S's eldest paternal aunt reportedly held an informal job in the same city as S's paternal grandparents.

MU 139. Although all three of S's paternal aunts initially stayed in the same city as his paternal grandparents, the youngest aunt moved to a town in the same province. The second eldest paternal aunt is said to be managing her own hair salon.

MU 140. Other than knowing the name of one maternal aunt, S has no information regarding the whereabouts of his maternal family.

MU 141. Although he does not know the real names of his maternal grandparents, S states that they lived in a different province from his immediate family and that his maternal grandfather had served a prison sentence.

MU 142. S's elder paternal uncle was allegedly imprisoned on account of spousal assault. Both spouses were said to abuse alcohol.

MU 143. S states that his father has no criminal record and has never spent time in police custody. S's father used to work for a government department, but has since been medically boarded.

MU 144. S's older half-brother stays in the same town where S was arrested for murder.

MU 145. S's younger brother is at school.

MU 146. The family member who is closest to S is his youngest sister.

MU 147. Although not sharing a fond relationship with his older half-brother, S reports finding it even more difficult to relate to his strict father.

MU 148. Despite fairly good relationships with his family members in the past, S related particularly well to his mother.

MU 149. S felt closest to his youngest sister, with whom he shares a fondness for animals. On the day when S left for prison, he remembers that he was distraught at the thought of being separated from her.

MU 150. S has very limited contact with the school friend who had introduced him to occult practices and who has since moved to a different province.

MU 151. S says he becomes aggravated when people impose immediate demands on his behaviour.

MU 152. S feels he becomes aggressive and impatient when people do not pay attention to him and fail to meet his demands.

MU 153. According to S, he engages in destructive behaviour when he becomes aggressive. Ultimately, during bouts of anger, feelings of powerlessness reportedly led to S's becoming tearful.

MU 154. S states that he unsuccessfully attempted suicide, on one occasion due to a failed heterosexual relationship.

MU 155. S affirms that he attempted suicide twice in an attempt to escape from being in prison.

MU 156. S reports that his suicide attempts (allegedly due to his imprisonment) were the result of S being angry at what he perceived as unjust treatment. S feels that other convicted criminals are offered opportunities that he is denied.

MU 157. S expresses determination not to be passive when he is treated unjustly.

MU 158. S claims being angry at the apparently lighter sentences given to criminals who were convicted of more violent crimes than his.

MU 159. In addition to S's report of having had been tortured by members of the police, S states that he had been threatened with assault while awaiting trial.

MU 160. Although determined not to passively accept his fate, S feels disempowered.

MU 161. S contemplates that, due to the slow course of the legal process, his case has been lingering for an extended period of time.

MU 162. S intends to plead guilty as he states that he is guilty.

MU 163. Spending time with his father in nature and being mentored by his father, stand out as highlight's of S's life.

MU 164. S says he enjoyed frequenting nightclubs with his peers.

MU 165. S states that heterosexual intercourse is one of the most pleasant experiences he has had.

MU 166. S fondly remembers spending time with his family. He enjoyed bonding with family members when no alcohol was consumed. S feels that these experiences now unequivocally belong to the past.

MU 167. With hindsight, S recalls his involvement in Satanism as a particularly unpleasant experience.

MU 168. S claims that he did not enjoy being involved in gangsterism and the abuse of drugs.

MU 169. S feels that he did not enjoy being separated from his parents.

MU 170. An unpleasant life experience that stands out for S was being bullied and teased at school.

MU 171. S finds being in prison difficult to cope with.

MU 172. S did not enjoy being separated from his family.

MU 173. S wishes to be granted another chance prior to receiving his sentence. He believes in his ability to lighten his sentence, given the opportunity to speak to the judge in private.

MU 174. S argues his life would have taken a different course had he not befriended certain people in the industrial school.

MU 175. It was unpleasant for S to be called derogatory names and to be teased at school. He states that he became particularly angry when other children laughed at him.

MU 176. S feels that his father did not allow him the freedom to choose a lifestyle of his own (as his father was able to do).

MU 177. S demands the support of his parents.

MU 178. S expresses the need to escape from his current situation (which he sees as the consequence of conforming to peer pressure).

MU 179. S find it difficult to cope with the consequences of what he perceives as having been the result of his inability to withstand peer pressure.

MU 180. S maintains that he was attracted to the power supposedly offered by occult practices. He recalls contacting supernatural spirits and them responding to his requests.

MU 181. S allegedly approached his parents in an attempt to leave the second industrial school, as he wanted to break away from substance abuse.

MU 182. During his stay in the industrial school, S reportedly participated in regular bouts of substance abuse and occult activities. S further states that, although wanting to break away from these practices, he argues he lacked the authority of a guiding figure.

MU 183. In addition to deviant behaviour at school, S states that his misconduct continued at home as his mother encouraged this. S further reports a long-standing history of alcohol abuse, which he contemplates, was compounded by his parents' drinking habits.

MU 184. Although attributing his deviant and criminal behaviour to the influence of both his mother and older half-brother, S believes his older half-brother was the main instigator of trouble.

MU 185. S contends that he was often teased and belittled at school.

MU 186. S states his father often physically disciplined him. He continues saying that acts of severe corporal punishment, however, were uncommon and occurred as the direct consequence of what he reasons was misconduct on his behalf.

MU 187. S reports that he has never been sexually abused.

MU 188. S claims that he was once accused of involvement in homosexual misconduct at school, but without disciplinary consequences. S was angered at being accused of homosexual tendencies. He was only implicated in homosexual actions within a peer group context and states that the report made to school authorities was fraught with inconsistencies.

MU 189. S states that he becomes annoyed when individuals, who engage in what he perceives as similar behaviour, reports his behavioural misconduct. He believes that school authorities did not give the necessary credence to his accounts of allegations, as he was ostracised on account of his ongoing misconduct. S is opposed to this phenomenon which he suspects happens regularly to others sharing his experience.

MU 190. S argues that he was self-reliant at school.

MU 191. S wants to consult with the judge in private, as he feels he might obtain sympathy in a more personal context. S finds the routine nature of prison life extremely frustrating.

MU 192. S inquires whether the interviewer knows S's legal representative.

MU 193. S allegedly asked his school principal for medication to control his (S's) aggressive behaviour.

MU 194. S believes his older half-brother's behavioural misconduct improved once he received medication. Despite purportedly requesting the same medication for his own behavioural problems, S did not receive it.

MU 195. S considers that he might not have committed murder had he received medication for the control of his misconduct while he was still at school.

MU 196. S's father was allegedly diagnosed with an unspecified mental disorder as the result of persecution by a jealous colleague. S believes that his father was an honest and humble man who went to extremes to provide for his family.

MU 197. S's older half-brother reportedly exhibited deviant behaviour and often instigated parental feuds.

MU 198. S believes he was attracted to the sense of power his older half-brother's misconduct portrayed to him (S). Together with the rest of his family, S allegedly followed his older half-brother's assertive leadership. In retrospect, S feels opposition towards his older half-brother, who currently accuses their father of neglecting the family.

MU 199. S expresses frustration at being isolated in prison.

MU 200. S fondly recalls good times spent with his family.

MU 201. S reports a close bond with his pet cat. He fears that the cat may die due to his (S's) imprisonment.

MU 202. S reports thinking excessively while in prison. He continues saying he becomes irritable at his inability to cease constantly thinking.

MU 203. S asserts that his thoughts about the boredom and material difficulties (associated with prison life) often lead to suicidal ideation.

MU 204. In addition to ruminating thoughts, S reports difficulty falling asleep.

MU 205. S reports nightmares with themes concerning the murder he committed. When he wakes up, he has remorse about his actions and is plagued by feelings of guilt.

MU 206. S regrets not having been afforded another opportunity at school. He believes this may have resulted in a more adaptive lifestyle.

MU 207. S is annoyed because his older half-brother received preferential treatment, which S believes led to the fact that S ended up in prison, whereas his older half-brother did not.

MU 208. S argues that his older half-brother not only participated in deviant and criminal behaviour, but also instigated it. S perceives his older half-brother as having had a more favourable future due to being the favourite of authority figures.

MU 209. S wishes he could have exchanged his past with that of his older half-brother's.

MU 210. S feels that his older half-brother was the family favourite who received preferential treatment, primarily from his mother.

MU 211. S holds that his father also showed favouritism towards S's older half-brother, but this was not as pronounced as S's mother.

MU 212. S contends that his older half-brother not only received more material goods from his parents, but both parents were more tolerant of his misbehaviour.

MU 213. S was annoyed at being afforded less freedom compared to his older half-brother. He perceives this as unfair treatment.

MU 214. S believes his older half-brother's misconduct was often downplayed in comparison to his own.

MU 215. S draws attention to the fact that no one recognised how he became like his older half-brother.

MU 216. S asserts that his older half-brother was never identified as the cause of the dire position in which S's family currently finds themselves. S believes that, without the negative influence of his older half-brother, the family may have been more fortunate. In addition, S feels that his own imprisonment may well have been avoided had his behaviour not been influenced by his older half-brother.

APPENDIX D

EPP Analysis Step 3: Implementation of the Partial Phenomenological
Psychological Reduction3. Interview 3

Date: 09 February, 2001
Time: 13H00-14H30
Place: Grahamstown Prison
Interviewer: J.P. du Toit
Respondent: Tommy Veldman

MU 217. S proudly shows the interviewer sculptures S had made from soap. He enjoys receiving recognition for his actions.

MU 218. S recalls the content of the previous research interview. He further reflects that he would have received better opportunities if he had been sent to a children's home rather than an industrial school.

MU 219. S argues that his siblings, who were sent to a children's home, were better equipped for their future and employment than he was. He suggests he may have shared a similar fate had he not been sent to an industrial school.

MU 220. S believes that his inability to withstand peer pressure was fundamental in ruining his life. He was angry when he discovered that his older half-brother had been sent to a children's home (rather than an industrial school) and when his (S's) requests for a transfer to the children's home were turned down.

MU 221. S is unable to comprehend why all his siblings had been sent to a children's home, while he had been told that there was no way that he too could be accommodated there. Instead, S was sent to an industrial school in a different province.

MU 222. S feels that, instead of being sent to an industrial school, he could have been sent to a children's home with either of his brothers.

MU 223. While S's parents were out of town to attend a funeral, S and his siblings were left in the care of their neighbours. Ongoing fights between siblings led to their formal separation by the department of welfare.

MU 224. S reports that arguments between siblings were tolerated by his parents. He remembers that his father used to let him and his older half-brother settle disputes with boxing gloves.

MU 225. S believes that his older half-brother instigated the trouble that led to formal intervention from the welfare department.

MU 226. S alleges that his older half-brother spent a relatively short period of time in an industrial school.

MU 227. S expresses excitement at the idea of participating in a research project. He is particularly keen to have his life story told as he has previously considered documenting his autobiography.

MU 228. S has very few personal belongings in prison. Despite having asked his parents for stationary (which S is allowed to keep in prison) he has not yet received any. He feels that, given the time that has lapsed since his request, he should already have received a parcel.

MU 229. S provides informed verbal consent for the research project.

MU 230. S consents to contact with the researcher once the court trial is completed.

MU 231. S wishes to keep busy while in prison, as he finds boredom particularly unpleasant.

MU 232. It is S's intention to write extensively while in prison.

MU 233. S claims that he is familiar with popular literature on Satanism, which involves both attempts at eradication and assistance provided to individuals who have decided to break away from Satanic involvement. S provides informed verbal consent for the researcher to collect collateral information, if necessary for research purposes.

MU 234. S reports that he lost a notebook containing contact numbers of significant others and a log of Satanic practices.

MU 235. S maintains being involved in a long-distance heterosexual relationship with a girl who he had met at a nightclub in the city.

MU 236. S reports no fondness for Gauteng, which he mainly associates with criminal behaviour.

MU 237. S reflects that an ongoing history of criminal behaviour ultimately resulted in his imprisonment.

MU 238. S alleges involvement in armed robbery. Victims were chosen by prostitutes and then led into an ambush.

MU 239. S recalls an incident where he stabbed a person in a smaller coastal city. Leaving a nightclub, S and some acquaintances noticed a brawl and decided to become involved in the fighting. S was stabbed with a screwdriver. He identified the assailant and reciprocated by stabbing him with a knife.

MU 240. S states that he had on a previous occasion provoked an armed assault in a major coastal city.

MU 241. S reports having been attracted to the action of street brawls, which led to his voluntary involvement in armed assault. Although fighting was often gang-related, S occasionally participated purely due to the enjoyment of violent behaviour.

MU 242. S asserts that he enjoys action and adventure, which he finds in watching television, videos and participating in arcade games and fun rides. He recalls subsidised visits to major fun parks while he was at school.

MU 243. S claims that he has been stabbed on numerous occasions and with different sharp objects. He remembers having been in different nightclub brawls that involved stabbings, also during instances when he was the instigator.

MU 244. S reports that he was usually not involved in instigating fights, but when these had ensued, he would eagerly and voluntarily participate.

MU 245. S states that, since his childhood, his father taught him how to fight and defend himself.

MU 246. S recalls having had a short temper from an early age. He proudly recounts an incident where he successfully defended his older half-brother against three older schoolboys.

MU 247. S reports little concern for his older half-brother.

MU 248. S feels his older half-brother is the cause of much of the trouble in their family.

MU 249. S reports that his older half-brother instigated deviant behaviour, which became characteristic of their family's actions. S feels that his older half-brother repeatedly tempted S to engage in misconduct.

MU 250. S suspects that his older half-brother handed him over to the police.

MU 251. S's older half-brother had allegedly been involved in Satanism, used cannabis and handed S over to the police.

MU 252. S reflects that his older half-brother introduced him to deviant and criminal behaviour. S remembers his older half-brother proudly talking about his misconduct, and wanting to be like his older half-brother. S feels that he has subsequently succeeded in becoming just like his older half-brother.

MU 253. S's older half-brother reportedly married a woman fifteen years his senior and who has three children from a previous marriage.

MU 254. S's older half-brother has reportedly been involved in repeated conflict with the law. He has been arrested for smoking and dealing with cannabis, gangsterism, vehicle theft, and unlicensed driving. Following each arrest, S feels that his older half-brother is pitifully bailed out by concerned family members. This, S believes, has saved his older half-brother from a recent prison sentence.

MU 255. S believes that his older half-brother will finally be punished for his misconduct. This, S feels, will be the result of divine intervention.

MU 256. S endeavours not to be concerned about his older half-brother and expresses the intention to cease all contact with him.

V257. S expresses frustration due to the boredom he associates with being in prison. He is unable to comprehend why he has not received the opportunity for bail and is annoyed by not having money to fund his habits and hobbies, while some other prisoners are afforded opportunities of earning.

MU 258. S does not enjoy the confines of prison.

MU 259. S acknowledges that there is an unidentified reason that has prevented him from successfully committing suicide. He reports that his participation in hobbies is solely a function of boredom.

MU 260. S states that prison life leads to contemplation.

MU 261. S feels that he would have enjoyed his hobbies more if he were able to make sculptures for himself. Instead, he sells these in order to obtain money to fund his smoking habit. He often experiences frustration in making sculptures from soap.

MU 262. S experiences loneliness in prison. He feels that it is futile to have friends, as all prisoners abuse substances.

MU 263. S reports having stopped abusing substances as he feels it may result in him instigating trouble. He aims not to be addicted to any substance at the time of his release from prison.

MU 264. S feels that the loneliness he suffers is due to his imprisonment and that he was not lonely before. He enjoys the company of others, which he regularly sought whenever he felt lonely.

MU 265. Prior to his arrest, S often found himself wandering around the streets being lonely and tempted to engage in deviant or criminal conduct.

MU 266. S is uncertain whether he became involved in Satanism in attempts to gain acceptance into a social group. He believes he was accepted on the basis of performing certain rituals and practices, rather than for being himself.

MU 267. S holds that individuals who showed fear and were consequently unable to perform certain rituals, were rejected by the Satanic coven. He believes that his own lack of fear (which was partly the result of his history of occult dabbling) led to his acceptance into a Satanic coven.

MU 268. After meeting with Satanists at a house, rituals were allegedly often performed in churches or in the outdoors.

MU 269. The first time S participated in an organised Satanic meeting, he was reportedly taken to a church that was broken into by the coven.

MU 270. S experienced participating in Satanic rituals as an occurrence that was marked by his perceived every-day life experiences. As he became more involved, he alleges that he experienced Satan's presence in increasingly suggestible ways, which he finds difficult to describe.

MU 271. S describes the high priest as being the authority figure who directs proceedings during Satanic practices. Priests are said to ensure that the high priest's instructions are carried out. Under the priests, the members of the coven reportedly participate in the Satanic proceedings. According to S, upward mobility in the hierarchy is achieved by experience gained through participation in unspecified quantities of Satanic rituals and sacrifices.

MU 272. S reports that the act of committing murder is a prerequisite for becoming a priest in the Satanic church.

MU 273. S expresses the wish that the acts of murder he committed be dealt with in ways described in the Biblical Old Testament (either by the death penalty or by the perpetrators compensating the victim's family).

MU 274. S contemplates that he would have preferred the death sentence as consequence for having committed murder, despite the finality of the punishment.

MU 275. S wishes that he could have served a sentence marked by correctional supervision, rather than imprisonment. He feels unable to cope with ongoing institutionalisation.

MU 276. S thinks that his ongoing imprisonment is the result of a conspiracy in which the police is reportedly involved. He believes that the conspiracy stems from a grudge held against his family.

MU 277. S feels that a conspiracy theory against his family is motivated by the fact that his father's colleagues hold a grudge against his father. This grudge is believed to be associated with jealous feelings directed at S's father's honesty. S reckons this is a fairly common phenomenon in small towns, such as the one in which his family lives.

MU 278. S states that, although he did not want to be like his older half-brother, he wanted to behave in the same way, as he equated his older half-brother's actions with social acceptance, recognition, and popularity. He regrets having idealised his older half-brother and attributes this idealisation to a lack of judgement on his part.

MU 279. S considers that his anger is directed at significant others, whom he sees as people who display poor judgement.

MU 280. S feels that he would only be able to legitimately say that he was not given another chance once the trial is completed. He maintains that he would not disappoint significant others if they were to afford him another chance.

MU 281. S reports that he has not been in prison before and experiences it as being inhumane.

MU 282. S reportedly cut himself on different occasions: The cuts made during suicide attempts appear more superficial than those inflicted in Satanic practices.

MU 283. S believes he would have received a lighter sentence had he committed the murder when he was younger. He wishes to obtain more information regarding different sentences, as he believes he may be able to personally play a role in the sentence he will receive.

MU 284. S feels at home in the company of his parents and pets.

MU 285. S fondly remembers keeping a variety of pets. He was particularly fond of a pet cat, which he admired for its ferocity.

MU 286. S's fondness for his pet cat stemmed from his belief that the cat voluntarily chose him (S) as his master. He recalls going to extremes to accommodate the cat to show appreciation for the cat's perceived loyalty.

MU 287. S admires his pet cat's hunting prowess, particularly his persistence in hunting.

MU 288. S allegedly kept a variety of pets and enjoyed catching snakes, which he either kept as pets or sold to the snake park.

MU 289. S reports a positive relationship with his mother and that they have much in common, particularly their fondness for animals.

MU 290. S believes that, despite ongoing marital difficulty, the relationship between his parents has improved recently.

MU 291. S feels that, whereas his father finds his marriage difficult, S's mother realises her dependence on his father.

MU 292. S asserts that his father recently transferred a number of the family's insurance policies onto S's name. S's father intends to sell the family possessions.

MU 293. According to S, his father wishes for his children to inherit an equal amount of money rather than family possessions.

MU 294. S wishes to inherit his father's garage tools and musical instruments in order to continue with his father's hobbies.

MU 295. S has supposedly come to appreciate his father's taste in music, despite the fact that he has an alternative music taste.

MU 296. S respects his father's intention to sell his property in order to divide the children's inheritance equally. Despite this, S is concerned that the value of some of his father's possessions may not be appreciated in the way S would have, had he inherited them.

MU 297. As S's pre-trial sentence draws to a close, he speculates about the remainder of his sentence. His stay in the current prison was the result both of a referral to the high court, as well as his request to be closer to the city – which S saw as a means of being closer to friends. S believes that his communication with friends and family remain one-sided due to his imprisonment.

MU 298. S feels that the hobby (of making sculptures from soap) was largely self-taught, although he had received the idea from someone in prison. He is proud of the detail of his achievements, but wishes to be able to make delicate finishing touches. S also wishes to continue making sculptures, among others, of animal forms and religious symbols.

MU 299. S claims that he has always been fond of animals and that, as a child, he was not able to do any harm to animals.

MU 300. Despite his fondness for animals, S once watched as a school friend killed and disembowelled a rat. Although he did not understand his friend's motivation, they found

themselves enjoying the cruelty. After being transferred to a different school, S reportedly witnessed similar behaviour by boys at school.

MU 301. S remembers that he enjoyed witnessing the twitches made by dying animals that were mutilated by S and his peers (often while they were intoxicated). S recalls no reservations while performing these acts of cruelty to animals, but reports that he felt regret afterwards.

MU 302. S reflects that he had no reservations while killing pets, as he felt obliged to participate in these deeds.

MU 303. S allegedly felt obliged to kill animals and commit murder, but states that he has only committed one murder.

MU 304. S expresses relief at knowing that there is substantial time of the interview remaining.

MU 305. S shows tattoos reflecting symbolism of gangsterism and Satanism.

MU 306. S reveals a multitude of scars made on his arm in what he described as suicide attempts and stabbing injuries.

MU 307. S maintains that he was the member of a gang that dealt in illegal substances in the city. Although he identified gang members in prison, he wishes not to become involved in gangsterism at present.

MU 308. S understands that he was arrested after his older half-brother informed the police of S's whereabouts.

MU 309. Although not sure why the police had been searching for him as a suspect, S assumes that the fingerprints he had left at the scene of the crime assisted in the police investigation.

MU 310. S infers that, by leaving fingerprints at the scene of the crime, he enabled police (who would not have been able to establish S's guilt) to make the arrest.

MU 311. S suspects that, had he received medication that would have enabled him to concentrate at school, his fate would have been different.

MU 312. Although having performed well academically in the past, S attributes the decline in his school performance to the abuse of cannabis.

MU 313. S says he was very seldom caught smoking cannabis at school.

MU 314. S believes in his ability to outsmart authority figures while engaging in illegal activities. At times where he was caught at school, S feels it was largely due to the lack of care at taking the necessary precautions not to get caught.

MU 315. S recalls how he was able to outwit authority figures at school by leaving trails that would lead to his peers getting caught in the act of misconduct.

MU 316. At school S allegedly used to play truant on his own in order to avoid being caught.

MU 317. S feels that he was cunning enough to avoid being caught for misconduct at school as he outsmarted school authorities. He does not feel that he would have been able to apply these wise manoeuvres in order to improve his academic performance.

MU 318. S feels that the school environment he was exposed to was not conducive to academic achievement.

MU 319. S has lost contact with his school peers.

MU 320. S wishes not to re-establish friendships after his prison sentence, as he reasons that it was due to the influence of peers that he ultimately ended up in prison.

MU 321. S has reportedly lost the sum total of a host of friends following his arrest.

MU 322. S affirms that he has accepted that he will be punished for his actions and displays a correspondingly carefree attitude.

APPENDIX E

EPP Analysis Step 4: Synthesis of the Transformed Meaning Units
into a Situated Structure

S finds himself in prison. Despite attempts at mastery, he is unable to transcend from a situation in which he is continuously confronted with alienation (S unsuccessfully attempts contact with others outside prison), boredom (S's attempts at hobbies and sports remain unsatisfying) and his own finitude (S entertains suicidal ideation and engages in self-destructive behaviour). Attempts at finding meaning are marked by recapitulating themes of good and bad (although being converted, S is plagued by feelings of guilt surrounding his crime). S faces a sense of powerlessness to the extent that he is unable to experience being good enough and identify with an authentic mode of being.

S's first experience of his life world is situated within a chaotic family environment where meaning is sought through a differentiation between good and bad (S perceives both parents as being good, but they occasionally encourage bad behaviour in order to cope with a challenging environment). From an early age, S's being is contrasted with that of an already more powerful nemesis (his older half-brother). Despite ongoing attempts, S lacks the power and agency to measure up to his nemesis and to be good enough (i.e., to obtain sufficient recognition from his parents). His nemesis has already secured the favour of the final authority (both parents). In an attempt to find meaning, S categorises the world in terms of good and bad. As his nemesis holds favour and is defined as being good, S (being in competition) has to see himself as being bad. A significant confrontation with his nemesis leads to a crucial incident in which S (as the personification of being bad) is removed from his social environment (S is sent to an industrial school in a different province). The fact that the good nemesis remains (S's brother stays with the other siblings) serves to reinforce the dualistic differentiation.

S's understanding of good (his older half-brother, who exhibits deviant behaviour and nonetheless secures social recognition and affirmation) is reinforced in a new social environment (deviant behaviour leads to popularity at the industrial school). In the new environment, S seeks to become good (by copying his older half-brother's idolised,

deviant behaviour). His search for meaning and struggle against alienation and boredom are initially satisfied (S is accepted into a peer group that engages in deviant and occult practices) but his attempts at gaining a sufficient sense of power to achieve mastery continue (S seeks more involvement in the occult than afforded by his peer group, he engages in deviant behaviour on his own). S's involvement in the occult serves a dual purpose: It allows him to search for meaning in an environment where the roles of good and bad are reversed (not afforded by traditional systems, such as attending church) and he is able to access power. As S becomes more powerful, he becomes increasingly alienated. The payoff received for sacrificing a sense of being-with-others for a sense of power is frustrated (S is expelled from school – he has no friends and loses power). S's initial sense of being bad and powerless is thus recapitulated and reinforced.

S returns to his family home as a powerless figure. He re-experiences the alienation and being bad as his nemesis' superiority is affirmed and reinforced (S's older half-brother proudly shows his occult tattoos and flaunts his deviant prowess to the admiration of S). At school S equated access to social acceptance with exhibiting deviant behaviour, but he is too powerless to transcend his nemesis. The home situation becomes intolerable as S's deviant behaviour (aimed at winning favour) is rejected by his father (S experiences being denounced as a member of the family). He leaves the intolerable family environment expecting to start afresh in the city.

In the city S experiences conflict between needs for being-with-others and being a unique, powerful and good individual. He seeks familiarity in starting work where his father used to work and by rekindling his involvement with the occult. S is accepted into a Satanic coven. His need for belonging is temporarily met as being accepted rewards his deviant behaviour. As happened in school, S seeks to gain more power as an individual (he performs various rituals). This leads to the decision to sacrifice his parents (S believes that, in order to become a priest in the Satanic coven, one has to make a human sacrifice) to Satan (the personification of deviance, i.e., good). S, however, lacks the sense of power to go through with the deed. He opts to murder a prominent Christian figure instead, despite realising that this is not good enough. As the act of murder is being completed, S is confronted with the notion of good and evil (the woman's speaking in tongues unsettles S and, as soon as he completed the act, he faces religious artefacts).

Instead of gaining power, S experiences growing alienation (he fears rejection and persecution from the Satanic coven). He decides to go to a different city where he wishes to be able to break from his past (S states that Gauteng is the ideal place to go if you had committed murder).

Arriving in the city, S immediately seeks social acceptance in a situation where he feel comfortable (a world of crime). As he is only accepted on a superficial level and unable to rise as a powerful figure in a world where his deviance is inferior to gain sufficient recognition (S stays in a suburb of Gauteng that is particularly notorious for crime and, as a result of his persecutory fears, he is unable to join a Satanic coven – where he had been accepted in the past). S consequently turns to the town where his nemesis stays in an attempt to identify with the acknowledged source of power familiar to him. This attempt fails as, upon his arrival, S is arrested due to his nemesis informing the police. These events serve to both reinforce the power and “being good” of his nemesis, as well as to disempower and identify S as evil.

During his imprisonment, S’s search for meaning continues. Being alienated (S receives no communication from his past social circle) affirms his being bad. The roles of good and bad are redefined in prison: Deviant behaviour is punished, and consequently is construed as bad, whereas his older half-brother’s cooperation with the police is construed as good. In an ongoing attempt to become good enough, S undergoes a dramatic conversion experience. As in school and in the Satanic coven, he receives an immediate sense of acceptance, but strives for increased power (S’s eagerness to write an autobiography, his insistence to stop abusing illegal substances). Presently, S appears to remain feeling inferior to his nemesis (S was imprisoned, while his older half-brother has started a family – which S feels is one of the most cherish-able experiences). S continues to strive for meaning (S ruminates about his past and future) in a world of good and bad (being in prison and being free, being a criminal and being someone who is active in the community). S remains alienated (in prison with no contact), bored (unsuccessful in attempts to counteract boredom) and feeling inferior (S is in prison, while his older half-brother is not). Despite attempts to master his own sense of finitude (self-destructive behaviour and failed suicide attempts), S remains an alienated, bored and powerless figure.

