

In order to deal with these often uncomfortable alterations to pre-existing cognitive schemata it was observed that interviewees employed a further range of related coping or defensive mechanisms. Reactions to the loss and development of core existential beliefs included fight or flight related schemata and in addition a tendency towards resignation and cynicism. There was also evidence of externalization of blame (similar to the phenomenon of displacement) and of generalization of blame, primarily in the form of anti-black racism.

Although the overwhelming tone of the interviews was in the direction of disillusionment and negativity, there was some evidence of an appreciation that the trauma had been growth promoting in specific instances. These positive outcome responses reflected valuing support from intimate others, the entertainment of the experience as a positive catalyst for change and a renewed enjoyment of life in recognition of survival.

11.12.3 Anger

All of the men interviewed reported having experienced and demonstrated uncharacteristic anger in the wake of the traumatic incident, and most of them were still cognisant of such tendencies. These manifestations of anger ranged from impatience and irritation to explosive rages and impulses to act out destructive urges. Two of the men had weapons available which they believed they were capable of using should they feel threatened. In the main this aggression was experienced as ego-dystonic and the displacement of anger onto significant others had apparently created further problems in some intimate relationships. Thus despite its widespread occurrence and apparent legitimacy, anger appeared to pose potentially serious problems for many of the men. Descriptions of anger tended to conform to psychiatric symptomology, but perhaps to be characterised by motivating forces beyond hyper-arousal, for example the need for compensatory mastery and/or revenge.

Having briefly summarized the most salient issues to emerge from the data analysis the final section of the chapter offers two overview commentaries on the data the first reflecting a more social psychological orientation and the second a more clinical perspective.

11.13 DISCOURSE ANALYTIC COMMENTARY

Given the volume of text exposed to analysis it is impossible to do full justice to a discourse analysis of the data without undertaking a separate study. However, the critical psychological and social constructionist approaches to the study of human functioning have been emphasized as providing an important perspective throughout the dissertation. Thus far the data analysis has fallen primarily within the realm of thematic content analysis and in many respects has subscribed to the rubric of narrative analysis, recently introduced into trauma research. The following discourse analysis offers a further level of analysis in order to provide a kind of meta-theoretical basis for understanding the social location of subjects responding to trauma, in this case more specifically white, middle class men who have been victims of violent crime.

Perhaps the most striking feature to emerge at this level of analysis was the discrepancy between socially appreciated perceptions or discourses and the experientially based responses of subjects. Throughout the study in various guises it was apparent that interviewees subscribed to commonly held social constructions of events and yet at the same time indicated that their experience was in many respects discrepant with such constructions. In most cases however, these two sets of ideas were held in conjunction, rather than experience serving as a basis to contest stereotypes, discourses or ideologies. Thus there was considerable evidence to suggest that the weight of social constructions was such that they operated to maintain a hegemonic version of events. This proposal tends to reinforce the analysis of discourses around rape provided by Lebowitz and Roth (1994) in which they suggest that dominant and latent schemata can exist simultaneously and be elicited differentially according to circumstances. In their article summarizing their findings in this regard they suggest that being directly exposed to rape as a victim/survivor can stimulate the re-emergence of latent schemata reflecting earlier exposure to social constructions of rape. The findings of the present study could be viewed as extending this finding to a different set of circumstances in which parallel processes reflecting apparent contradictions in construction were evident. Three areas which clearly illustrated these contradictions pertained to discursive material relating to the hero, gender differences and crime in South Africa.

11.13.1 The Hero Discourse

Of all the images pertaining to masculinity, that of the hero was most strongly evoked in interviewees' discussion of their response to trauma. The term "hero" was utilized by four of the men explicitly and other related constructions were evident in further interviews. The most common parallel construction was encapsulated in the term "macho". The only two media character representation of masculinity referred to in the study were those of "John Wayne" in relation to stoicism, and "Braveheart" in relation to risk and counter-attack. Otherwise the terms hero and macho were used generically to reflect a collective set of expectations and attributes. It of interest to note that in a recent article describing his own hijacking experience, a South African journalist describes the central dilemma as entailing whether one presents oneself as 'hero or victim' and concludes that both subject positions are unsatisfactory in coming to terms with the experience (Weekly Mail, 13-20th November, 1997). This reinforces the assertion that the invocation of the discourse of the hero appears to be a popularized social construction in such circumstances.

The term "hero" is synonymous with "champion, conqueror, exemplar and victor" and "heroism" with "boldness, bravery, courage, daring, fearlessness, fortitude, gallantry, intrepidity, prowess, spirit and valour" (Collins Pocket Reference Thesaurus, 1988, p.235). Interestingly the term heroine is described in much more limited vein as a "celebrity or ideal" (p.235). Two elements appear to emerge as central in the discourse of the hero, the first being some notion of performance in the context of contestation and the second being some notion of overcoming odds, even in the face of risk to the self. A third dimension representing the championing of persons or causes beyond oneself is often, but not always present.

The discourse of the hero as a central pillar in the construction of hegemonic masculinity has its origins as far back as Greek mythology and yet has remained a crucial leitmotif. While heroism has altered its forms across history the core dimensions described above appear to have remained intact. The discourse of the hero appears to maintain a form of individualism, since heroes are only such by virtue of standing out against the rest. It also legitimates competition, since heroism involves vanquishing or conquering; and similarly valorises proactive, aggressive, risk-taking (i.e.,

masculine type) behaviour. Heroes are therefore for example, willing to make sacrifices for causes and to fight wars. In these respects heroes are useful to society in representing an ideal of behaviour which precludes too much questioning of consequences for the self, and which impels other men to conform to similar aspirations and reinforces a set of gender relations in which it is understood that women are dependant upon men for protection. Perhaps the clearest example of how the hero discourse reinforces particular social relations relates to war. The discourse of the hero allows for the recruitment of men into combat roles and the idealization of aggressive behaviour, discouraging questioning of the legitimacy of war as a means of addressing social conflict and placing women in the debt of men who have "risked their lives" to protect them and their children. Thus, in terms of Parker's (1991) understanding of discourse, the social construction of the 'hero' may well serve ideological and political functions which silence alternate constructions.

Within the context of criminal violence and life threat, the invocation of the hero ideal carries some suggestion that men would not be victimized at all if they were to behave heroically. There is an implicit suggestion that men are expected to escape victimization or subjugation through heroic resistance (even if the potential consequence of this is risk of death or injury). Such constructions serve to reinforce a genderized construction of victimization, i.e., that men cannot really be victims since this goes against hegemonic power relations. As indicated previously, many of the men in the study appreciated the invocation on them to have been heroic, usually in retrospect rather than at the time of victimization. The discrepancy between such discursive expectations and their demonstrated behaviour produced discomfort in several men, although others were able to argue that such expectations were unrealistic. This latter point is illustrated in the following quotation:

"So um, that was another thing, when I'm going in the car they said: 'You could've pulled..', I said: 'Nooo, what happens, if they got hold of the gun they could've shot me anyway' (Mmm, mm). So you're back to square one (mm, mm). Everybody's got heroes at heart, from the outside, but when they are in the situation, nobody's a hero unless you're stupid." (Paul)

This statement beautifully captures the disjunction between social expectations (or discourse) and lived experience. It is also interesting to note that such injunctions are often most strongly upheld by others in response to victims' descriptions of their options.

In addition, the blueprint for heroism is constrained in particular ways which allow certain behaviour to be appreciated as heroic and other survival related behaviour to be discounted. This has already been highlighted in Miles' assertion:

"I'd actually done everything that a hero shouldn't have done. I hadn't jumped over the counter (mm), I hadn't bopped him one, I hadn't kinda done all the things a hero's meant to do (mm, mm). I had actually completely and utterly succumbed, um, just to make sure no-one got hurt (mm), and so (pause) for me that's one of the biggest issues that just completely threw my reality."

In this comment Miles seems to be reinforcing the notion that hegemonic views prevail over discrepant experience, even to the extent of discounting alternative behaviour which his fellow victims did perceive as heroic. His allegiance to a particular version of heroism, possibly encompassed in a latent set of schemata propelled into ascendancy by the trauma, leaves him feeling that his response was lacking in some way. The struggle between allegiance to two different sets of premises, the one representing a mainstream social construction and the other an alternative experientially based comprehension of events, appears to completely throw his reality.

This discursive understanding of trauma and cognition adds a new social dimension to the theoretical positions advanced by people like Lifton, Horowitz, Epstein and McCann and Pearlman. The burden of hegemonic social constructions of particular kinds of victims and traumatic events may place additional stress upon victims attempting to reconcile experience with pre-existing schemata. This last point is further illustrated by this piece of dialogue reflecting Glen's struggle in coming to terms with victimization:

"I: So the issue of fighting back is really a bit of a myth?

S: No, I think...

I: You know/

S: No if, provided, if somebody says to me should I, that I should have fought back. I'd say to them: 'But that's nonsense you know. If they had been there to decide whether I should have fought back or not they should have

been there, then they could've made the decision (mm). Then they could've lived with what, what, you know that hatred and that, that thinking of what you should have done. Um, I dunno."

Hopefully this section of commentary has illustrated the operation of a discourse encapsulated by the term "hero" which perpetuates social relations representing vested power interests and which tends to suppress contestation of the discourse.

11.13.2 Discourse and Gender Stereotypes of Response to Trauma

Although connected to the hero discourse in some respects, this next section deals more broadly with constructions of gender. Many of the comments pertaining specifically to gender were elicited in response to the set of interview questions explicitly asking participants to consider possible gender differences in response.

In the main the men's depiction of women's likely responses during trauma were as more panicky, irrational and fearful than men's. Women's post-trauma responses were characterised as more emotional, enfeebled and dependant. Some interviewees saw women as less resilient than men, not only in terms of requiring support, but also in terms of suffering more long term consequences as a consequence of trauma. Such perceptions were encapsulated in the following comments:

"Well I think a woman would've, I mean I think she would've been, ah, she would've been living in fear (mm) for the rest of her life I would say." (Paul)

"I reckon that, that she'd probably be now in long term counselling." (Matt)

"I think a woman is a much more emotional being." (James)

"No, what I actually, what frightens me is that I think as a woman, if you panic and you aren't listening to what the man is telling you, I think your life's in bigger danger." (Len)

"I think it would perhaps be more difficult to sort things out without say perhaps the help of a doctor by either getting tablets or something like that." (Len)

"I think er, women are a bit more emotional (mm) about (mm), er but, I don't know." (Roger)

These stereotypic descriptions tended to be counter-pointed by similar descriptions of typical male behaviour usually elicited in making explicit gender comparisons. Such statements included:

"Probably, 'cause again there's the old nonsense: 'You must fight'. Men aren't supposed to show their emotions." (Matt)

"Whereas I think as a man, in our situations like with the break-ins and things like that, you also feel you have the responsibility to say, do the looking-after, whereas a woman, you basically felt it's your husband's job to look after you." (Len)

"You know, whereas I think as a man you tend to perhaps feel if I do go see the doctor, if I do go for treatment at a clinic or something, um... you know, then perhaps I'm being a sissy. It's not, whereas a woman would feel she needs to get to see the doctor, needs to get a tranquillizer." (Len)

"I think it had a... my role in life as uh, provider and protector of my children, from that point of view yes (mm)." (James)

"I don't think that..., um, anyway we can communicate. I mean guys can't actually say to you: 'This is how I really feel', 'um you know, 'This is what I want to do', and then break down and cry and get it out of their systems. I don't think they ever do because they want to be seen as though they need to be in charge, um, responsible." (Matt)

Thus there appeared to be some consensus that for men expression of emotion and dependency were areas of difficulty, as were their attempts to fulfill role expectations. In contrast they perceived women's functional roles in such situations to be much less instrumental or well-defined. In the last mentioned quotation Matt makes an interesting link between display of emotion (more especially in front of men), and loss of status and authority. In this respect the injunctions pertaining to both masculinity (and femininity) in this context appear to constellate around mutually reinforcing clusters of attributes, i.e., emotional display, independence and role expectations are interlinked.

In relation to prior discussion about discourse analyses and gender it appears that both the normative and essentialist dimensions identified in Harris et al's (1995) study of male students and academics are also operative in this context. The kinds of assertions that women and men *are* and *do* certain distinct kinds of things suggests that such behaviour is assumed to be normative. In addition this norm is essentialized in the sense that it is presented as if it is naturally occurring, a fact of life, common knowledge. Thus although the nature and content of gender discourses may be peculiar to particular sites of investigation, at more abstract levels of analysis common discursive manoeuvres such as those just referred to may be operative.

A further observation about the discursive construction of gender in the study relates to the construction of the world in terms of binary oppositions. The problems inherent in such an assumed construction of ideas has been a focus of discourse analysis based largely upon the deconstructionist theoretical premises put forward by Derrida (1981). Simply interpreted, such an argument suggests that the construction of language and concepts in terms of binary oppositions tends to artificially constrain understanding, to obscure ambiguity, and importantly to set concepts up in such a way that one pole is usually devalued in relation to the other. This aspect of Derrida's critique has been applied at various degrees of complexity to feminist analyses of the construction of gender, the feminine pole usually being defined not only in relation to its masculine counterpart, but also at the same time in an inferior relation to it. Some aspects of the discussion of gender related material in the texts cited tend to reflect this kind of pejorative binary construction of male-female poles of attributes. Thus for example, it could be inferred that the following pairings are implicit in the quotations: panicky vs calm; irrational vs rational; naive vs experienced; emotional vs stoic; enfeebled vs resilient; dependant vs self-sufficient; amongst other possible constructions. In some cases the construction of such typically feminine behaviour in the course of the dialogue appeared to allow men to retain a sense that they had behaved in a masculine manner, in contrast to their somewhat abstracted versions of how women could typically be expected to respond. Such proposals seemed to subvert the tendency to examine their behaviour in terms of other less simple or polarized constructions.

In addition, as pointed out in several feminist critiques of psychological studies of gender differences, such differences are in many instances unnecessarily polarized and exaggerated

(Squire, 1981). Indeed the point has been made that in many respects within group differences may be more extreme than between group differences. Thus for instance in clinical practice the variations in degree of disablement following trauma vary as much across men as they do between women and men. It can be assumed that the function of the exaggeration of difference is to support essentialist and normative constructions of gender in the interest of maintaining specific forms of social relations. In this case it could tentatively be hypothesized that the general construction of men as tougher and women as disabled in situations of extreme stress, fosters a relationship of dependency of women upon men, not only in the home but also at the interface between the private and the public domains. Thus women feel reliant upon men for protection and this assumption of patriarchal power facilitates a further range of gender inequities based upon dependance. This kind of analysis has been directed at violence against woman by feminist researchers. These researchers have argued that social constructions of gender role and protection tend to make women assume protection from male partners. However, male partners may well be those who represent the greatest threat to women, as exemplified in wife battery and incest (Brownmiller, 1975; Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Russel, 1975).

In the context of the present research the aspects of gender construction highlighted above were not presented as unproblematic. Perhaps because of researching men positioned in Silverman's (1992) terms "at the margins", the fissures and contradictions in such gender stereotypes tended to also come into play in the discussion. Some extracts of text reflecting this more critical awareness are presented:

"A, woman... they, they (mm) they think deeply as well (mm). Men do, but so do women (nm). I (inaudible) women are, they've always got that stronger personality, they, they've got strengths in them that men haven't (mm hm), that's it, the men can work stronger on that femaleness in that situation, because they're not born to violence or fighting (mm mm) and hitting and ah... robbing cars and that (mm mm), ... very rarely." (Paul)

"Ah, look ah, a friend of mine's mother's been hijacked twice. God bless them they're living in Sydney, but they, I mean she was hijacked twice and I don't think she screamed any of the times. But you do hear of stories of the woman panicking and then there are men who are panicked, but you just won't hear of that because they're too macho to talk about it." (James)

"They've been through it (yah) and they know that, um, as platoon commander you go into a situation and you may be seeing charred bodies that have been blown apart next to each other and you have to deal with because another 30 guys are relying on your decision (mm, mm). Where I feel a lot of women in this country, um, haven't until recently, been forced into work and forced to get out (mm, mm) and, in serious conditions." (Matt)

"Yes, but there are times, I must say, perhaps through my upbringing and that, where things have upset me ... I have cried (Yes). You know, I haven't sort of seen it as a total sign of weakness or whatever. It's just been one of those things which perhaps I learned to accept." (Len)

These comments make for more dynamic reading when juxtaposed against the statements cited earlier, in many cases by the same interviewee. Each of these pieces of text represents a different form of resistance to hegemonic constructions of gender (and responses to trauma). Paul's example seems to highlight the relativity of hierarchical judgements in terms of gender poles, suggesting that feminine strength may be alternatively construed and valued, although it is still couched to some extent in binary terms. James' comment reflects the fact that there may be as much within group, as between group, difference in gender responses and that a conspiracy of silence operates to reinforce stereotypic perceptions. Matt's piece of text suggests that gender differences may be learned or acquired through experience rather than naturalized, thus tackling essentialist dimensions of gender discourse. Finally, Len's statement reflects the possibility of re-constructing aspects of masculine behaviour (in this case crying), in terms of a more flexible, possibly feminist influenced, "new age man" agenda. All these and other examples serve to further highlight points of rupture in hegemonic discourse brought into focus by the interface with human agency, and also reinforce a more post-modern understanding of identity as flexible and even contradictory.

The third example to be discussed at the level of discourse is that of constructions around South Africa and the rights of citizens.

11.13.3 South Africa and Citizen Rights

The thematic content analytic discussion of Frame of Reference dimensions within the study covered a range of material relating to interviewee's constructions of South Africa, their location

within the country and perceptions of law enforcement agencies. For the purposes of discourse analysis the dimension of rights has been extracted for illustrative analysis, although many other aspects could lend themselves to analysis at this level.

In many of the pieces of text coded under the heading **Frame of Reference**, mention was made of perceptions of the criminal attack as an abuse of rights. In addition the lack of efficiency of the police and the perceived inability of the government to eradicate crime was also construed as a negation of rights of citizenry. Finally the discourse of rights also tended to be invoked in justifying taking from, and leaving, South Africa, and in adopting more hostile or aggressive responses to black people and the government. Thus the idea of rights was operative at a range of levels many of these inter-related. Several examples of this kind of discursive construction have previously been illustrated, however some further examples are offered:

"And I think that's the hard part that you're actually trying to live with is that you don't have freedom. We say we're living in a free society, but there is no free society." (Len)

"Well, you, you just get cross like that, you, someone has invaded your privacy (mm) like that (mm) and, and um, I guess it's a racist thing too you know, you just say: 'I hate blacks', you know (mm, mm). And, there's no hope for the country (mm) and this and that. And you get angry 'cause you're kind of stuck in the situation (mm) too (mm). I mean what can you do about it unless you've got millions overseas (mm) and you want to leave. You, you're kind of trapped aren't you? (Mm, mm)." (Roger)

"... and I think the other thing that I was very angry about through this whole thing was that ... I thought you know I put my life on the line in some instances in the eighties for what I believed and this, this is what I get for it." (Miles)

"This is not a society for kids to grow up in. And it's a matter of, we've unfortunately been affected by it, we've got to benefit as much as we can from the situation, take what we can, and when it suits us we'll leave." (Garth)

"And now there's a big outcry and why all of a sudden two of them get killed that there's an outcry. We've been hijacked and killed for... 3 or 4 years and no-one does anything. The feeling I got was, that the, the comments they were making, um at the time, is, is anti-white (um hm). That, that you've got something, you're not supposed to

have it, doesn't matter if you worked for it or not, uh they take it and then they say end of story we don't want you here. And that's the distinct feeling I went away with." (Matt)

"No it's gotten out of hand. I pay rent, I pay rates and taxes (mm), I pay for services, I get taxed to death (mm)... I really don't give a damn anymore." (Matt)

"Yes, 'cause the big thing I realized is that if we don't change the system as it is, it's only going to get worse (uh huh). And you know I'd rather perhaps we get our system right than go into a civil war situation where I felt if things got really bad, I would definitely fight back." (Len)

What all these textual examples have in common appears to be some sense of an implicit bargain between the state and its citizens. Providing a state looks after the rights of its citizens, citizens owe some allegiance to the country and the government. If these rights are violated, unevenly distributed or compromised, citizens are entitled to exploit, abandon, disengage or fight back. Whilst the author is not intending to suggest in any way that a culture of rights, including Human Rights, is not a laudable goal for countries to achieve, what is being argued is that the notion of rights is a discursive construction with complex implications. In the case of South Africa there appears to be reason to argue that the transition from a repressive state in which very fundamental human rights were transgressed, to a democratic, multiracial society, involves very delicate balancing of different principles and sets of rights. For example constitutional, civil, human and individual rights may represent different interests. The debates about rights in relation to Affirmative Action provide a very clear example of the possibility that the exercise of rights in one respect may compromise rights in other respects. Similarly debates about how to address crime in South Africa reflect complex issues in relation to rights of citizens within the criminal justice system and the rights of citizens as victims.

The assumption that one has a *right* (as opposed to a common desire) to live in a country free of crime, perhaps reflects a middle class view of the world based on the assumption of access to law enforcement and protection from transgression (McShane and Williams, 1992), whereas in many impoverished communities crime is almost accepted as endemic. Once again, it is not being suggested that the latter perspective is constructive or even more real, but that understandings of rights and how these may be exercised is embedded in power relations. Assertions about the right

to be free from fear of crime, are not, for example, juxtaposed against concerns about the right to have access to jobs, housing or even welfare support. This is not to argue that all crime is motivated out of poverty or that it is incumbent upon victims to recognise the possible extenuating circumstances of victimizers, but rather to argue that the extrapolation of resentment towards the government from criminal experiences may fail to do justice to the complexity of the discourses relating to rights. In the case of the present sample: middle class, white men whose wealth and position had been acquired in the context of apartheid capitalism; their previous experience of exercising rights may have left them particularly angry and embittered about the perceived inability of the new government to maintain these rights. It is not surprising then that their responses reflected a sense of being trapped in an unacceptable set of circumstances and that this led to an exploration of the possibility of disengagement from allegiance to the country in the form of emigration. Of course other concerns about safety and future quality of life also played a role in shaping such responses, but disengagement was often justified in the discourse of rights having been infringed.

It would be arrogant and inappropriate of the researcher to attempt to weigh the relative merits of different understandings of rights and their role in contemporary South Africa. However, what is apparent is that a discourse or discourses of rights was/were operative in interviewees' responses. The perception that their rights had been violated was operative at a range of levels and in the main appeared to contribute to feelings of resentment and bitterness. The assumption of entitlement to rights also appeared to complicate an understanding of one's location as a victim of criminal attack. In many cases the discourse of infringed rights contributed to more generalized disillusionment and feelings of being disempowered. It is suggested that to feel deprived of rights to which one was previously accustomed may be particularly disturbing, and in the case of these men may have further contributed to a sense of loss of control and associated anger.

11.13.4 Summative Remarks

In concluding this section on discursive contributions to understanding the implications of the data, it is important to re-emphasize that the discussion was intended as illustrative rather than exhaustive. What the three discursive themes highlight is the operation of discourses in the

personal construction of experience. Thus more personal schematic aspects of adjustment to trauma are arguably imbricated, shaped and constrained to a large degree by social and ideological constructions of aspects of identity and context. What is also apparent in many cases is the operation of human agency and examples of resistance to hegemonic constructions. Thus the data appear to highlight both the dominance of discourse in personal constructions as well as some contestation of this. An awareness of this level of cognitive vacillation and preoccupation in trauma adjustment may be very helpful to trauma therapists attempting to do justice to the complexity of the experience of trauma and wishing to work in a truly integrative manner. The final section of the discussion highlights some of these clinically focussed considerations in relation to the data as a whole.

11.14 CLINICAL COMMENTARY

This brief section of the discussion is intended to highlight those aspects of the data which have particular bearing upon clinical intervention in relation to male criminal victims.

11.14.1 Symptomatic Implications

The intensity and form of symptoms present in the sample were in large part documented in the results chapter in the Tables 5 and 6 in the section outlining the findings in relation to the IES-R. What is of interest to note is the range of variation across interviewees with the lowest total score being 14 and the highest 93, out of a possible total of 105. It would appear that despite the 4 week post trauma cut-off point, several of the men were still experiencing quite severe symptoms related to posttraumatic stress, a few of them possibly diagnosable with posttraumatic stress disorder according to DSM-IV criteria (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). Nonetheless none of the participants had sought clinical treatment beyond initial debriefing and none of them were receiving any kind of treatment at the time of the interviews.

Of the symptoms assessed by the IES-R there were some patterns within item responses. Those symptoms endorsed as present (either Sometimes or Often) by seven or more interviewees at the time of the interviews included the following: "I thought about it when I didn't mean to (item 1);

I constantly found myself being on guard (item 7); I was startled by loud noises or surprises (item 11), Other things kept making me think about it (item 14); My body reacted when I was in a situation that reminded me of the event (item 15); and, I was more irritable or angry than usual (item 17). Thus there was a preponderance of intrusive and hyper-arousal related symptoms with quite strong evidence of physiological responses to the event. In addition the anger identified as important in the content analysis of the interview data seemed to be confirmed as an area of difficulty, item 17 being reported as occurring "Often" by 6 interviewees, "Sometimes" by 2, and "Rarely" by the remaining 2. While some men were largely a-symptomatic it appeared that certain typical response styles were present across the sample. These kinds of response styles were in keeping with thematic concerns identified, such as preoccupations with control, safety and anger. The specific nature of how symptoms were experienced was also elaborated under the thematic heading of Symptom. As indicated previously the size of this data category (196 coded units) suggested that symptomatic responses were of significance to participants and the range of frequency of responses across interviews, 9 to 37, appearing to correspond to the quite broad range in scores on the IES-R. In some respects the content analytic data could be understood as providing further empirical validation to clinical description and measurement of the symptomatic aspects of the impact of trauma.

Suffice it to say at this point that on the basis of the data it can be concluded that middle class, adult, white South African men exposed to life-threatening situations in the context of criminal victimization appear to be generally at risk for the development of specific symptoms predominantly related to intrusion and hyper-arousal, and that a sub-group of such men appear to be at risk for the development of full blown posttraumatic stress disorder which may well remain un-reported, undiagnosed and untreated.

At the level of discourse it is worth noting two trends in relation to symptomology. Firstly, it is of value to note that the discourse of symptomology appears to have become popularized to the extent that such descriptions represented a common aspect of describing responses to traumatization across interviewees. It is conceivable that at other points in history or in other cultural contexts, descriptions of the impact of trauma might take alternative forms, for example a sense of being alienated from one's god or ancestors. It seems that the medicalization or

psychologization of the experience of victimization has become a popularized discourse and means of describing or interpreting the impact of such experience. The use of the symptom discourse in the context of the study can be understood within both Parker's (1991) more ideological appreciation of discourse and Potter and Wetherell's (1987) speech act emphasis, since the elucidation of the impact of trauma in these terms not only reinforced a medically hegemonic framework of understanding, but also contributed to a particular dialogical interaction with the researcher (for example seeking normalization of experience). In this respect even these aspects of the data cannot be understood as value neutral.

The second observation about discourse and symptomology concerns a relation internal to medical/psychiatric/psychological frameworks for understanding. It is suggested that common classifications of symptoms may well represent some bias in what types of behaviour are considered symptomatic. It appears much easier to appreciate symptoms representing disablement of some kind, e.g., of an anxious or depressive nature, as problematic, than it does to appreciate for example, acting-out. In many instances aggressive behaviour and substance abuse are viewed as secondary consequences of primary symptoms rather than as symptomatic in their own right. Such categorisations of symptomatic behaviour appear to have an implicit gender bias which may perpetuate notions that women are more unstable and prone to mental illness than men. It is acknowledged that such debates are extremely complex and that there is a considerable body of theory relating to gender and mental illness which has explored these issues in depth (Bunker-Rorbaugh, 1980). However, as an observation flowing out of the study it is suggested that masculine responses to trauma may be of such a nature that they lead to less easy identification and diagnosis. Whilst some of the symptoms described in DSM categorisations appear to embrace more "masculine-type" symptoms, popular understandings of psychopathology may not do sufficient justice to masculine forms of disturbance. The emphasis of the argument here is that discursive constructions of symptoms may mean that men's distress is to some extent obscured which is the flip side of more feminist concerns of over-representation of female patients (Wolfe and Kimerling in Wilson and Keane, 1997). This hypothesis requires further scrutiny, but is offered as a possible point of debate.

11.14.2 Intervention Implications

Some of the implications of the study for clinical intervention have already been outlined in the course of the discussion. At the most overarching level it seems that some consideration of the role of gender identity in post-trauma adjustment is warranted in gearing intervention to meet the subjective needs of individuals. Whilst there is evidence of considerable variation in the manner in which masculinity may be interpreted and lived out by men (and some women), there appear to be some aspects of experience to which gender sensitive therapists should be attuned. With the proviso that they should be treated with circumspection and tailored to each specific case, the following pointers are offered in sensitizing therapists to working with male crime victims:

Firstly it should be understood that approaching or initiating intervention of a counselling nature may be more difficult for men. Approaches may need to be made through educative interventions and more widespread normalization of help-seeking for men. Clinicians have often noted that men find it easier to be *debriefed* than *counselled* for example, since the former term carries familiar operational associations for men. Men's ambivalence about receiving counselling may also need to be more clearly addressed in the initial session and face-saving devices respected rather than interpreted.

In the course of counselling or therapy the therapist may be faced with a range of double-binds. For example, it seemed that several men in the study experienced the act of crying as cathartic but also at the same time questioned their masculinity in such demonstrations of emotion. Interventions which seemed to prompt the expression of such emotion were perceived as simultaneously helpful and threatening. In addition many men appeared to feel some relief at being able to be vulnerable within the presence of a counsellor and to feel contained in a context in which they did not have to maintain their stoicism or sense of responsibility for others, and yet at the same time these men feared becoming dependant or revealing aspects of themselves which might create deeper attachment and need for further therapy. Even in the course of the research interviews the interviewer was aware of a tendency to embrace the opportunity to disclose and to focus on psychological dimensions of experience, and some sense of embarrassment which might follow such revelations. It is as if the suppression of emotion creates a paradoxical

vulnerability to disclosure which in turn reinforces fears that any expression of emotion or hint of neediness leads to dependency. This tendency in masculine-identified individuals requires careful juggling on the part of the therapist.

Short of dismantling the whole gender identity system the therapist is required to simultaneously reinforce aspects of control and a sense of efficacy on the part of the client, and to facilitate the acknowledgement of fear, helplessness and vulnerability. This stance is of course important in most trauma counselling since one is usually involved in countering regressive and undermining experiences, however in the case of masculinized clients this balance may be more delicate and crucial. Essentially, supportive and directive intervention styles need to be balanced with affirmative and alliance/partner oriented modes of intervention. Mastery aspects of counselling may need to be emphasized in such interventions. Most sensitive counsellors probably balance such tendencies intuitively, but it is worth noting the difficulties in counter-balancing the meeting of what are sometimes conflicting needs in the individual. This may need to be done both within sessions and across treatment. The use of supervision in this regard may be helpful since the counsellor may find themselves the object of contradictory transference and may experience similarly contradictory counter-transference perceptions.

In some instances it may be helpful to adopt what could be seen as a more feminist orientated style in therapy, in the sense of explicitly introducing the role of gender identity in trauma responses. Many men feel a sense of relief in having their role expectations identified and understood, particularly at the interface with trauma adjustment. Questions about their adequacy in meeting social expectations during the traumatic incident (for example the model of heroic behaviour and demonstrations of physical prowess), as well as concerns about post-trauma vulnerability to symptoms and fear of loss of control, may need to be raised in the context of the possibly unrealistic nature of such expectations. From clinical experience it seems that men often find it most difficult to resolve aspects of the trauma which represent their failure to fulfill masculine identity obligations. For example, men who have escaped harm by running away or partners who have been unable to protect women from rape, may be centrally preoccupied with these aspects apparently representing some rupture in identity which becomes very difficult to resolve. Debating such issues in the context of their own and broader social expectations may be helpful in bringing

such schematic vacillations into conscious awareness and providing support for entertaining ambiguity. In many instances such points of tension can only be resolved by developing the capacity to come to terms with, and hold, contradictory schemata in complex forms. The explicit acknowledgement of the contradictions inherent in such situations may facilitate adjustment without denial or avoidance, or alternatively acting-out.

At a more problem focussed level, intervention for men may also need to address two specific issues, those of intimacy and anger-management. On the basis of the study it would seem that while in several instances the impact of the trauma on relationships was an increase in intimacy, in many cases exposure to trauma lead to withdrawal, displacement of anger and emotional restriction. Such tendencies seemed to impact most severely on partner relationships. Often interviewees appeared to be unaware of the potentially negative impact of what could be viewed as self-protective behaviour, on others who were close to them. It seems that an awareness of interpersonal consequences of defensive styles may need to be introduced into therapy since such alienation is destructive to the client at another level and may result in long term relationship difficulties. It may also be important to promote educative counselling of partners in cases in which intimacy appears to be being compromised. In addition to focussing on intimacy there also seems to be some need to assist male survivors with identification and management of anger. Anger may need to be channelled more constructively, for example into competitive sport. The re-affirmation of potency in masculine domains may need to be facilitated as in the kind of wilderness trail interventions suggested previously. Both interpretive and behavioural interventions may be helpful. Identifying the source of anger may in some instances lead to its diminution and in yet other instances more conventional anger management techniques may be useful as a more practical intervention, and should be directed at the ego-dystonic aspects of anger and aggression discussed within the study.

Finally, in discussion of some technical points concerning counselling with one of the interviewees he suggested that in general men would find it easier to disclose to female counsellors, particularly at the level of emotional expression. However, he qualified this remark by indicating that the identification a male client might feel with a male counsellor might also be helpful. His preference seemed to lie with the male-female pairing nonetheless. Similarly he felt that group counselling

would be inhibiting for men particularly, since display of vulnerability would seem to be more difficult in the presence of other men. This observation appears to reinforce the observation that hegemonic expressions of masculinity are particularly severely policed by other men. In this instance he also acknowledged that identification with other male victims could be potentially useful but that this was likely to be precluded or limited by the inhibition. Proposals for intervention cannot be generalized from one interviewee, however his observations tended to confirm many similar debates entertained by clinical practitioners. It is suggested that there is no straightforward set of prescriptions for clinical intervention with male victims but that therapists need to be sensitive to these issues in making decisions about optimal conditions for intervention.

There are no doubt further implications for intervention which could be extrapolated from the study, however these appear to be some of the most essential considerations for clinical practitioners.

Concluding this chapter, it is hoped that this lengthy discussion and commentary on the data has provided a rich and comprehensive appreciation of the issues facing male crime victims and of the complex interplay between social and personal constructions of events. The final chapter of the thesis offers a critical overview and appraisal of the study as a whole.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it is important to highlight the most central implications to emerge out of the study as well as to apply some critical evaluation.

12.1 CENTRAL FINDINGS

An examination of the findings points to implications both for the traumatic stress field and for the understanding of gender and the constitution of masculinity.

Perhaps firstly, it is important to acknowledge the variation in presentation across the sample. Despite the identification of clear trends within the data, the author was struck by the differentiated interpretations of masculinity evidenced by interviewees and the range of impact this appeared to have on their capacity to process their traumatic experiences. To this extent the study confirmed the usefulness of conceiving of masculinity in terms of **masculinities** rather than in terms of a uniform category. In this instance despite their race and class similarities, there was still evidence of considerable diversity across the sample. However, having acknowledged this aspect, it also appeared that to the extent that men had embraced a conventional or hegemonic construction of masculinity as part of their identity, they appeared to have greater difficulty in engaging with the experience of victimization. It could be argued that in those respects that interviewees were most masculine-identified, they correspondingly had most difficulty in dealing with the traumatic incident. For example, the more a particular man had internalized a notion of himself as stoic the more difficulty he experienced with the expression of vulnerable emotion; and the more a man had identified with the role of protector, the greater his frustration with impotence to defend others. In this respect identification with masculine attributes seemed to place interviewees at greater risk for self-criticism, frustration and a sense of loss.

It could be argued that many of the features of response highlighted in the discussion are common to all trauma victims and survivors. For example, difficulties with helplessness and loss of control have been identified as almost endemic in traumatic exposure. However, on the basis of the study,

what is argued is that even if the experience of loss of control is common, the interpretation of this experience is liable to be gender-coloured. It is conceivable that the fear and anger dominated responses of women and men respectively, may represent alternative adaptations to the position of victim. For people who have in general occupied an oppressed or disempowered position in society, as has been argued of women's structural position, subjugation in the position of victim may act to entrench a sense of vulnerability. Hence the observation that many women respond to trauma with heightened fearfulness. However, for people who have occupied positions of relative power and control, masculine identified individuals in the main, loss of control may represent a more fundamental challenge to identity and produce some desperation to re-assert dominance. Such efforts are likely to entail avoidance of the painful and disarming aspects of the experience and the exaggerated display of masculine associated behaviours such as aggression. This trend was borne out in the data as discussed. Most of the interviewees experienced considerable difficulty with the expression of emotion which might disarm them and make them vulnerable. In addition, the common trend towards the display of anger could be construed as a means to demonstrate an active, resistant and dominating stance to the encounter.

Whilst there are of course exceptions to this suggested pattern of response, what is being argued is that different dimensions of traumatic response may be exaggerated depending upon whether an individual has broadly identified with a position of power or powerlessness in society. Furthermore, those who have been accustomed to holding authority or exercising volition may find the inversion of this accustomed aspect of identity particularly galling. The impact on self-schemata and aspects of identity may be complex and subtle. Arising out of the need to regain an image or sense of self-sufficiency, masculine identified individuals may be particularly adept at disguising distress and withholding information. Although elicited in the interests of the research study, excerpts from the interviews should have uncontrovertibly demonstrated that there was deep distress present amongst many of the men, and that invited to explore the nature of their responses, they were aware of conflicted areas of experience. However, it is unlikely that such a level of consciousness would have been brought to bear on their experiences without this encouragement towards examination. The intensity with which many interviewees spoke about specific aspects of traumatization, despite considerable time lapses since the event, suggested that this material was highly salient for them rather than produced to satisfy the researcher. The degree

of personal disclosure also appeared to suggest that interviewees welcomed the invitation to share their thoughts and feelings about being victimized. However, the fact that most of the interviewees would not have identified themselves as preoccupied with these issues would tend to confirm that an aspect of male response to traumatization may be to suppress the connotations evoked. Whilst processing the impact of traumatic exposure is not essential for recovery, it is generally recognised as desirable. In this respect the social construction of masculinity may preclude healthy engagement with the experience of traumatization, since both the experience, and the acknowledgement of its impact, are threatening to dominant versions of maleness.

Turning to social construction of trauma more explicitly, it is interesting to compare the findings of Lebowitz and Roth (1994) and Wood and Rennie (1994) with the analysis of this study. Drawing upon Wood and Rennie's application of Harre's concept of a matrix of definitions of situations entailing specific components which create social blueprints for events, it would seem that the victimization of men outside of combat (war or sporting) situations, lacks this kind of social definition. It is difficult to identify the prototypical victim and aggressor and the prototypical components of the event. This may well be because the victimization of men goes against the social order and therefore falls outside such social conventions. Perhaps the one dimension which is recognised as significant is that the aggressor must incontrovertibly demonstrate their "superior strength" in order for a male victim to justify being victimized. This may account for the degree to which men assessed the adversarial qualities of their attackers and emphasized the use of weapons in their non-resistance. However, more importantly, the lack of clear parameters for such encounters between men may well be what renders such events open to interpretation by means of related metaphors, even if such constructions are inappropriate. Thus the importation of notions of contest, rules of competition and fair-fighting, may stem from the need to fill a gap in the absence of other formulations. However, as was pointed out in the discussion, drawing upon social and cultural blueprints for gentlemanly contestation is inappropriate in such attacks, and tends to produce confused evaluations of the encounter.

As an alternative to "fair fighting", the further blueprint for activity which tended to be invoked was that of heroism. Although discussed quite extensively, it is important to reiterate that the role model of the "hero" tended to occupy a central status in the weighing of personal response to the

event. It would seem that being placed in a situation of potential danger and risk, evoked associations to images of men under duress. In such circumstances the route for men to retain self-esteem is to retaliate or transcend such adversity, i.e., to behave heroically. However, as was evident in interviewee's fairly automatically compliant responses, such death threatening encounters were more appropriately negotiated by submission. Nevertheless the comprehension of the hero blueprint for action lead to disjuncture in self-evaluation and questioning of options for action. In this respect this further social construction of men's expected roles in situations of danger also produced unsatisfactory models for behaviour. It would seem that the lack of social scaffolding upon which to hang the experience of victimization as a male leads to the invocation of alternative, but inappropriate, models for behaviour which further complicate men's attempts to come to terms with a discordant experience.

What is proposed is that male victimization needs to be acknowledged and rendered visible in society allowing for the development of appropriate formulations or matrices, even if these blueprints are to some degree restrictive. In addition, the recognition of male victims needs to extend beyond the field of sexual abuse and to be applied to adults as well as children. The recognition of normative patterns of male victimization may go some way towards rendering such experiences visible and less stigmatizing.

It would appear then, that in the main the social construction of masculinity makes it more difficult for masculine identified trauma victims to accommodate to and integrate their experience. Rather than the emergence of problematic latent schemata as suggested in Lebowitz and Roth's (1994) study of rape victims, there appears to be an absence of schemata through which to interpret male victimization and the ascendance of dominant schemata associated with a valorization of stereotypic portrayal of masculinity, which complicates adjustment.

The construct which most clearly captured the dominant discourses which were operative in these men's descriptions of their adjustment to this form of victimization was that of control. It appeared that loss of control in the numerous areas of functioning elaborated within the discussion represented the most evident rupture from a previous sense of self and from oneself as embodying masculine qualities. The construct of control thus emerged as central in the personal and social

construction of masculine identity. The importance of control as a leitmotif in masculine identification tends to support theoretical formulations which suggest that masculinity is predicated upon repression of vulnerability and dependency (Chodorow, 1994a; 1994b) and the active demonstration of mastery (Gilmore, 1990). Men may thus tend to repress the impact of trauma victimization not only because of the experiential distress evoked, but also because the acknowledgement of such distress is likely to challenge central aspects of identity and self presentation. This may in large measure account for observations about under-reporting (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze in Barnett et al, 1987) and the fact that few interviewees reported having explored any of these issues in any depth with anyone other than the interviewer.

In some respects it would seem that masculinity is both more resilient and more fragile a social construction than is generally understood. The fact that predominant versions of masculinity such as those encapsulated by the stereotypes of "No Sissy Stuff, The Big Wheel, The Sturdy Oak, and Give 'Em Hell" (Davis and Brannon cited in Solomon in Solomon and Levy, 1982) were identifiable in much of what was said by interviewees, attests to the prevalence of such discursive constructions. In addition, as has also been discussed, such discourses tended to be supported even in the face of conflicting evidence. There were indications that interviewees were willing to distort information or to contradict themselves in order to retain allegiance to such constructions. From this perspective it appeared that masculinist discourses were entrenched and resistant to change. However, in contrast, there was also evidence of contestation of such social constructions when disconfirmed by experience. In addition, the researcher was also moved by the degree to which almost all the men demonstrated aspects of vulnerability and owned difficulties in coming to terms with their experience. In this respect there was a degree of self-disclosure and acknowledgement of unease which produced a reciprocal sense of empathic distress and protectiveness in the interviewer. Whilst this may have been a subjective response, it seemed likely that this more unconscious aspect of interchange represented a real need for understanding and support amongst interviewees. Thus the interpretation of masculinity also appeared to be more fluid and permeable than is generally recognised.

Having emphasized the areas of difficulty which emerged from the data, it is important to counter-balance these observations with some positive aspects. In addition to identification of negative

ruptures in self, other and world view schemata, there was also evidence of resilience and growth. About a third of the sample seemed to have come to terms with the experience largely through the employment of minimization and to have found this to be helpful in preventing serious disruption to their lives. Another third reflected that the trauma had precipitated major questioning of themselves, relationships and their frame of reference, but had managed to use this upheaval to largely positive ends. These kinds of alterations to their existence were reflected in the discussion on growth. The remaining third of the sample could be viewed as still struggling to come to terms with the experience and to be characterised either by depressive or aggressive styles of functioning. It is recognised however, that generalizations cannot be made from a sample of ten men.

It is also important to mention some of the apparently context specific dimensions to emerge out of the study. It was apparent that direct exposure to crime had significant effects upon interviewees attitudes to South Africa, the government and black men in general. Almost without exception such attitudes were characterised by antagonism and disillusionment. All the interviewees had considered emigration more or less seriously and there were other respects in which the trauma appeared to have contributed to a sense of disengagement from the country. It was difficult to identify whether such attitudes had been generated out of their traumatic exposure and it's aftermath, or whether they reflected an exacerbation of previous cognitions. In this area it seemed possible that Lebowitz and Roth's (1994) formulation of latent schemata had some applicability. It is conceivable that many of these men held latent schemata about violence and anarchy if black people were to take control of South Africa and to an extent experienced this exemplified in the subjection to attack by black men. Although some men qualified this kind of prejudicial response, such negative sentiments were common and easily evoked. Although aspects of the content of schemata were clearly context related, there were also indications that these kinds of negative responses were in accord with other findings pertaining to crime victims (Bard and Sangrey, 1979; McCann and Pearlman, 1990). This level of analysis has implications for social policy as well as clinical practice. It was apparent that control of crime and appropriate responses to victims is important in pursuing the South African agenda of reconciliation and nation building. From a counter-perspective it is important to recognize that Apartheid was considered a crime

by most progressive thinkers and generated considerable anger amongst black people. Both historical and contemporary injustices need to be addressed in pursuing transformation.

12.2 CRITICAL EVALUATION

The most obvious limitation of the study is the small number of subjects, constraining generalization. However, as was argued at some length in chapter nine, much qualitative research tends to make use of small samples in order to elicit rich description from extensive subjective accounts. It is felt that generally the study was successful in producing such data and in identifying subtle and complex aspects of experience. The data set may have been enriched by the use of alternative sources of collateral such as interviews with partners. However, this may have conflated observations of accounts since the primary intention was to assess personal constructions and the manner in which these appeared to be influenced by social constructions, rather than to describe the behaviour of traumatized male crime victims. It is also conceivable that the findings may have been enriched by the complementary use of focus groups in which material elicited from an initial interpretation of the data was debated by similar participants.

A second difficulty lay in the combination of projects within the study. The process of executing the research and writing up the thesis highlighted the tension between clinical or individual interests and attempts to do justice to social constructionist perspectives. The selection of a quasi clinical population on which to conduct the research led to some difficulty in extracting and identifying discursive features. Discourse analysis appears to lend itself more easily to accounts directed more explicitly towards a public audience. Within the vast body of data generated out of the interviews it was difficult to decide which discursive features to focus upon, and to read the accounts as disembodied texts rather than as personalized accounts. In this respects the tension between realist and constructionist analyses of the data is present throughout the discussion and perhaps cannot be avoided in projects of this nature. Certainly the clinical training and orientation of the researcher lead to a particular bias in interpretation and very possibly a bias in the nature of material elicited within the interactional context of the interviews. However, it seems important to pursue this kind of research in order to create greater integration between fields of theory and intervention. Such formulations also appear to contribute to the interrogation

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of the ethical orientation of both critical social theory and clinical interventions, the former drawing attention to the role of political forces in psychology and the latter encouraging critical psychology not to lose sight of the individuals whose experiences they seek to understand and enrich.

A further critique concerns the employment of the construct of masculinity in the study. While attempting to justice to pluralistic notions of masculinity and trying to avoid the oversimplification of attributes as exemplified in some socialization models of masculinity, it was impossible not to draw upon such mainstream constructions in attempting to interrogate the role of masculine identifications in trauma adjustment. The fact that interviewees themselves made use of these kinds of constructs suggests that their employment in the analysis was warranted. However, the researcher acknowledges the fact that the construct of masculinity was perhaps not sufficiently problematized throughout the discussion of the data.

12.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH INVESTIGATION

It is apparent that further research in this area is required. Several of the findings demand more thorough examination, possibly through different research avenues. It would seem that the exploration of anger, its expression and origins, across different sex samples of victims, is an important avenue to pursue. In addition it may be useful to explore comparisons between different populations of male victims in this and other respects, for example differences in response between combatants and crime victims.

Other topics of interest which emerged out of the thematic analysis are the apparent absence of shame in these male victims; the role of exacerbating features, e.g., presence of dependent others, public scrutiny and use of inappropriate metaphors; and the relative adaptiveness of different defensive styles such as suppression and minimization.

The particular location of these subjects also makes the study difficult to generalize from the study. Thus it may also be useful to pursue comparative research with male crime victims of different national identities, race and class. It was interesting to note many parallels with the

Stanko and Hobdell (1993) study conducted in the United Kingdom but further comparisons would contribute towards building a more substantive body of theory. From a South African perspective it would be particularly interesting to conduct a similar study on black (African) crime victims who may have a different experience of living out masculinity and a greater degree of identification with their assailants. Given the high risk of African men to violent crime it would be very helpful to explore their experiences in order to guide clinical practice. However, it is hoped that aspects of the findings may offer some broad guidance to clinicians wishing to be sensitive to gender issues in counselling male victims of crime.

The conceptual model of latent and dominant schemata and their elicitation in the context of trauma also appears a fruitful area for research into traumatic stress. In this study the operation of racial prejudice in particular, was complex, and suggested a need for further exploration. In addition, the more systematic application of Harre's notion of social matrices for public events also appears a useful area of application to male victims and other populations. Although there are numerous other avenues which could be identified, these appeared to be the most salient dimensions to pursue as an extension of the findings.

Finally, in conclusion, it is suggested that the primary value of this research lies in its integrative perspective. Whilst this may have contributed to flaws in the study it is evident that the understanding of these victims' experiences was enriched by the integration of a range of material, both within and across fields. The emphasis on both realist and critical constructionist perspectives and the dual attention to personal and social dimensions of understanding, allowed for a unique perspective on a largely neglected population. Hopefully the study will contribute to further advancements of research and theory from an integrative perspective.

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Appendix A**MEMORANDUM: TO ALL STAFF**

8/8/96

Dear Colleagues,

This is a brief note to ask for your assistance in finding subjects for my PHD research. I am focussing my study on men who have been victims of violent crime. I believe that men's experience of criminal victimization has not been well understood and that a more thorough appreciation of the dynamics of men's responses will be helpful to therapists/counsellors in the field. My methodology requires that my subjects are English speaking, adult men between the ages of 25 and 50, who have a minimum of standard 8 education but preferably matric. Participants need to have been the victim of violent crime in which their lives were threatened and the trauma needs to have taken place between a month to 18 months ago.

I will be interviewing people over 2 to 3 hours and the usual protection of identity and right to withdraw at any point will be extended. In a similar study in England a colleague found that many men who were reluctant to go for counselling were willing to discuss their experience in the context of research, and found talking about their trauma to a third party very helpful. I have also undertaken to help people to find suitable counselling should this be part of their response to being interviewed. I would arrange times and venue for the interviews to suit the participants. The interviews will be tape-recorded.

I am aware that this is a very sensitive matter for people to discuss, but believe that the experience could have benefit for the participants as well as meeting the need to develop our knowledge base. If anyone has ideas about individuals who would/might be willing to be interviewed for the study I would very much appreciate your assistance and will discuss the best way of approaching the person with you.

Thanks very much,

Gill Eagle.

Appendix B**WANTED : PARTICIPANTS FOR STUDY INTO THE IMPACT OF
VIOLENT CRIME**

I am conducting a study into the psychological impact of violent crime on trauma survivors. I am particularly concerned about the experiences of adult men, a group who have been largely neglected in most psychological writing about violent crime. I wish to interview English speaking men between the ages of 25 and 50 whose lives have been threatened by a criminal incident within the last 18 months. I would guarantee confidentiality and protection of identity to any man willing to discuss his experience with me. Arrangements to interview participants would be made at a time and place to suit anyone willing to take part in the study. It is intended that the study should be of benefit to both the individuals who are interviewed and to other people who may have been through similar experiences. I would be most grateful to anyone who would be willing to volunteer to participate in such a study.

Please 'phone 716-2567 and leave a message for Gill Eagle.

(Placed in The University of the Witwatersrand in-house publication and in a suburban Johannesburg newspaper.)

Appendix C

MEN AND TRAUMA: RESEARCH STUDY

One of the gaps in our understanding of violence is knowing how men who have been victimized feel about these experiences. A lot of trauma studies have looked at men in war situations and the problems of women who have been raped. However, in South Africa at the moment large numbers of men and women are being affected by violent crime. I am interested in interviewing men about how they have dealt with being exposed to such crime.

I am a clinical psychologist working in the department of Psychology at The University of the Witwatersrand and part-time at the Trauma clinic. I am doing this research as part of my doctoral degree. I am looking for men who are willing to be interviewed who meet the following criteria:

Age: 25-50 yrs

Home Language: English

Education: Matric or further

Experience: Involved in some kind of violent crime in which their lives were threatened

Time: The event took place at least a month but not more than 2 years ago

The interview/s will take between an hour and a half to two hours and will be arranged at the convenience of the person to be interviewed at a suitable venue. Interviews will be tape-recorded. The person's identity will be protected in writing up the research. Most of the men I have interviewed thus far have described the experience of talking about it as helpful.

I would be most grateful for any contacts.

Gillian Eagle.

(Senior Lecturer/Clinical psychologist)

Contact number: 7162567 (W)

(Posted at a clinic serving victims of violence)

Appendix D

GUIDELINES FOR TRANSCRIPTION OF RESEARCH DATA

1. As far as possible transcribe everything verbatim, including using slang and the particular language of both interviewer and interviewee as far as possible.
2. Use "I:" to denote interviewer's words and "S:" with number attached as indicated on tape, e.g., "S6 :" to denote when interviewee is speaking.
3. Please try to note where there are lengthy pauses (long pause) and other significant non-verbals, e.g. (Subject laughed briefly).
4. Please also try to indicate where a word or statement is emphasized by printing this in bold, so as to stand out. This would usually be because the subject stressed the word by tone, pitch or loudness.
5. When there are interjections in the middle of one person speaking, such as encouragements in the form of "mmm" or "ah", you do not need to change to the other person in the dialogue but insert these in brackets within the text. For example if the subject were speaking:

S6: And then he came at me with the knife and I really thought this is the end (mmm, mm), but he seemed to change his mind and then he told me to move to the back of the shop and sort of, sort of pushed me onto the floor. (Longish pause) I'm not too sure, perhaps, . . no wait, that was when the other guy (the taller one?), yah, came in and started asking me questions about the money and the safe.

I: And then what happened?

Etc.

6. Please also indicate questions, pauses etc. by using punctuation as illustrated above.

7. Where one or other party interrupts the other please indicate by means of a backslash, i.e., / in order to show the break in the flow.

8. If you have any other queries or get stuck please phone me either at home 4826747 or work 7162567. Otherwise continue and make a note of your difficulty, e.g., (section inaudible here).

9. Please print out a hard copy of the final transcription as well as a copy on a stiffy disc which can be supplied by myself or the Psych secretaries with my permission.

THANKS VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND INTEREST
GILL EAGLE.

Appendix E**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

1. Please describe your traumatic experience and what impact it had on you in as much details as possible.
2. How has the experience affected you?
 - 2.1 Physically
 - 2.2 Emotionally
 - 2.3 Cognitively
 - 2.4 Interpersonally
 - 2.5 Spiritually/Beliefs/Values
3. How were you different before the trauma?
4. How were you immediately after the trauma?
5. How is it affecting you at present?
6. How do you imagine the trauma will affect you in the future?
7. How has the trauma affected you in the following specific areas (if not already covered sufficiently)?
 - 7.1 Frame of Reference
 - 7.2 Independence
 - 7.3 Trust/Dependency
 - 7.4 Power
 - 7.5 Intimacy

- 7.6 Safety
- 7.7 Esteem

- 8. How do you think the experience affected you as a man?

- 9. How do you think being a man influenced the way you
(a) experienced and (b) reacted to the trauma?

- 10. How do you think the experience may have been different for a woman?

- 11. How do you think the trauma influenced how other people see/saw you & other
men specifically & how women see you?
 - 11.1 Family
 - 11.2 Friends
 - 11.3 Work colleagues
 - 11.4 Acquaintances

- 12. If you have received some form of counselling/debriefing how do you think this
influenced how you dealt with the experience?

- 13. Is there anyone else who influenced your response particularly? If so who, why
and how?

- 14. Is there anything else important that you need to say that I haven't covered?

- 15. If you were to explain to a man in a similar predicament how you coped with the
experience, what advice would you give?

ON _____ YOU EXPERIENCED _____
(approx. date) (stressful life event)

1. I thought about it when I didn't mean to.

2. I avoided letting myself get upset when I thought about it or was reminded about it.

3. I had difficulty concentrating.

4. I tried to remove it from memory.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

5. I had trouble falling asleep or staying asleep because pictures or thoughts about it came into my mind.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

6. I had waves of strong feelings about it.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

7. I constantly found myself being "on guard".

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

8. I had dreams about it.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

9. I stayed away from reminders of it.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

10. I felt as if it hadn't happened or wasn't real.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

11. I was startled by loud noises or surprises.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

12. I tried not to talk about it.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

13. Pictures about it popped into my mind.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

14. Other things kept making me think about it.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

15. My body reacted when I was in a situation that reminded me of the event.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

16. I was aware that I still had a lot of feelings about it, but I didn't deal with them.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

17. I was more irritable or angry than usual.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

18. I tried not to think about it.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

19. Any reminder brought back feelings about it.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

20. I had trouble sleeping or falling asleep.

NOT AT ALL RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN

21. My feelings about it were kind of numb.

NOT AT ALL

RARELY

SOMETIMES

OFTEN

Note: Pseudonyms are used throughout

Appendix G

Interview 2: P. (Paul)

I: Perhaps just tell me a bit about what happened to you in as much detail as possible, I'll read the article later, but just to hear from you what actually happened to you?

S: Ok, um what actually happened to me was ahh I went to do a customer complaint. On the Tuesday night I went past the customer and the customer wasn't there. I decided cause I was staying in Bedfordview, it happened in Observatory (mm hmm) I drove up the next morning to go see the customer it was about 10 o'clock just after 10 o'clock in the morning, I went there obviously with a bit of [inaudible] Vita-plus, cal-c-vita sort of complained that some customer got an allergy from our products so there I had to take it back, doing a customer service to take it back to the company for um tests, you know to see if there was something wrong (mm) And on my way out I went to the first stop street, I went past the second stop street obviously I was on my phone call on my cellphone (mm hmm) As I approached slowly (*sighing*) the stop street on the corner of St Georges and Bezuidenhout Street which is the problem side of Observatory, (mm) I'll be east, I would say (mm mm) I came slowly, slowly, slowly, next minute um my doors obviously were open, [*clears throat*] excuse me, that gentleman with a gun, could call him a black gentleman, came through my passenger side, held a gun to my head and said to me "I'm going to kill you" Whew, I think I went blank, (mm mm) but in the ensuing battle I just um, you sort of fight for your life you know. Only then I turned on the **right** side of my door there was another guy, (gee, yah) and he'd been in the BMW - the guy said, umm, I can't really remember what he says, "I'm going to kill you, I'm going to shoot you dead" or something to that effect. And I think just the total, on the spur of the moment, I fought him off, because the gun jammed, the gun jammed.

I: Did you know that, as it happened?

S: Yah, because the gun was right by my head. (gee ja) It jammed and then he um, well obviously I mean, the tussle, then I quickly, I don't know what happened but I must have

used my strength because my body was bruised because I was stuck on the steering (mm) and I actually twisted my body to get out the car and there was another guy but I must've [inaudible] over. So I had this guy and this guy and then I saw another two (jeepers) (*Clears throat strongly*) And then I just, the other guys tried to grab me and I must've thrown them or something (mm hmm), and I just ran and the guy said "I'm going to kill you, I'm going to shoot you dead, come back!" And that was it, and they chased me (gee) down the main road, through, no cars stopped, I just ran and I ran into a block of flats and they ran back to my car, obviously now the, the keys were in my my ignition, obviously my cheque book, my wallet, my briefcase, all my work (mm mm) all that was... And when I ran down the road they ran back and then I quickly told people you know. People were sort of scared to interfere and they drove, drove away. But I actually got such a fright, [*clears throat*] excuse me, I got such a fright that um I didn't realise what had really happened - I couldn't think of my parents' number, I couldn't think of anything - I was blank (mm mm mm) And people came and said look you know, I said "no, there goes my car, I've been hijacked" and I could see them driving around (jeepers, ja ja) But I was worried they were going to come back, so that's why I ran into the back..(mm mm) And the one guy said, when the other guy was calling me, the other one, I don't know there was a big commotion, (mm mm) That's it, it happened so quickly (ok)

I: How long do you think it took altogether?

S: [inaudible] And that happened, it wasn't more than five minutes and it was finished. (really, ja ja ja) Um ja if the gun didn't jam my life would've been taken (mm hmm) I would've been stone dead (mm hmm) I can't remember if the other guy had a knife or a gun on him next to me and I only saw another two only when I was on the other side (mm mm) But I mean, ... I was just running (mm mm) I ran a, I ran a block and a half or something like that, (right mm mm) two guys, and then they gave up but I think the gun didn't go off, I think the gun was genuine, so [overlap] (worse off ja, you think they were still trying to shoot at you then) yes, well the guy leaned ah down, when I ran the other guy said "come back", and I just turned around and I looked and the other guy said they were going to shoot you and I just ran. (mm mm) That was it, I never looked again, I saw him he had the

gun, he had the gun you know, but I mean I know it was genuine, it wasn't like a plastic gun, (mm mm, you felt it against you) That's why I saw it cause.. and ah that was it and then I just phoned, I phoned Carol and I phoned my firm and they were worried and I went to the Yeoville police station (mm mm) and sat and gave the serial number to them and everything [inaudible, mumbling] And then what actually happened afterwards was um obviously now I was in a state of shock and I hadn't realised what had happened to me, (mm mm) not what normal day' like and then the following day I was ok and then the following day I was ok about it and then I got a phone call saying maybe they think they've found my car. (ja) So I was just wondering how they found it anyway, it was, I think it was, no, it wasn't the following day, it was the Friday, Friday I think, and um, they found it, sort of, it was in like a dung., it was like in a block of flats in Hillbrow, right at the bottom. Some officer, drove around and saw these four suspicious looking guys in my car and they quickly put my car down in the bottom of the garage and he was following this car and obviously checking to see if this car's been stolen and um they hid it in the bottom of the flats. So I went with this policeman - it was quite frightening because it was so dark (ja) and it was the only car in the building. It was all in a corner, and they had taken everything hey. My tyres were let down but the cop the policeman had let the tyres down, so they couldn't take the car, (mm), and he actually went back to the police station to tell them I've actually found the car and that. And then after that, I think three days later, then I realised sort of, I was upset about it, because they had invaded my privacy and ah, I'm not a guy who sort of, you know, they took possessions of mine, that didn't belong to them, (mm mm) and they took important work (mm) money wasn't the issue (mm). **At the end of the day nothing else was the issue my life was spared** (mm mm)... out of luck. (ja) And then um/

I: Ja I'll jus. quickly check if we, (sound of tape being switched on and off)

S: Ja and then um, after that we um, as I was explaining, three days later I went out with Carol for supper, and it actually only hit me then, now that I could think about it, I didn't feel that I wanted to stay in this country anymore. (mm mm) Crime was getting worse and worse, there was no value for life anymore you know. (mm mm) Things really looked sort of beyond me, you know (mm mm) And then I decided, well my firm decided for debriefing

to take me to a psychologist, ... the firms, and they were worried about me (mm mm) I was, I was you know with my shoulder - anyway they'd taken my keys, so they'd taken the keys to my flat, they'd taken all my keys, (Mm mm) and they had got my address, my telephone number, the whole works (mm mm). So from there obviously I was going home, and I was worried I had to change locks and that, but they had the card for the garage, they still had that, they could wait for me at night in the garage (mm mm) and try and get me again. And then I got a suspicious, um phone call on my cellphone, because they all had my cellphone and they said "Don't think you can get away with that. We're coming to get you!" (that must've been frightening hey) Ja so that even got worse. Obviously my life's changed (ja) Carol said I became difficult at home, I became, um, withdrawn. I still tried to play my sports and that but psychologically I think I was in (nm) I didn't realise it you know (um) The things that I was saying weren't right - so it caused us to have a bit of friction at home (mm mm) Although she had to try and understand me, you know she battled, but this is where these things came in, so she battled to understand me. I went to see some other gentleman at Rand Afrikaans University, recommended by my firm, where he um, he gave me psych., he gave me treatment to the extent you know that we spoke about it and its good that you can talk about it, which I said: "Yes I can talk about it, its not a problem" and I went through all those obstacles, ... when you saw this person, what happened, what did you think, so I went through the whole situation. I went for 3 or 4 sessions, I felt ok (mm hmm). And then um, I think after that I got on you know. That was the story I had to accept it. I was very, um, you know I drive my car now and I look around, I get very worried,.. you get **paranoid**, (mm) you look around - things were there that weren't even there in my life before (mm). So it changed my life to a certain degree (mm), certain effect, so its taken me a good few months, well maybe close to a year now, and I'm starting to feel better, (mm) better about the situation, but I'm still not confident about it, you know (mm mm) I'm still not, I don't know if I want to live in this country any longer. I'm so happy at my work, and with the head of my department, does get better (ja ja)

I: It sounds like it made a difference to feel their support,

S: Ja their support was very useful, [inaud] and that, because they said, even though I was

under pressure at work, I still came to work, I carried on working, I didn't take no days off. (mm) But they were a bit worried because psychologically I was affected, but I didn't realise it,

I: But what sort of things do you think other people noticed that you didn't know?

S: Oh, they said I was down, my face was drawn, I wasn't eating the same, I wasn't um, my personality had changed where I didn't laugh so much anymore, (mm hmm) um, I didn't get involved in all the talks or anything I just wanted to be sort of - you, you, you withdraw to your own niche, where you're thinking about things, I was thinking about ah I was working in the day and I was thinking if when I'm sleeping tonight they won't try and break in (mm hmm) You sleep at night, lying awake, not actually sleeping, miles away. So that was a bit of a problem. Because even though the locksmith changed the locks, I was still worried they'd be waiting for me downstairs in the garage, they'd be waiting around the corner cause they had the keys you know, although those keys didn't fit the flat they had the card which goes through into the machine that opens everything, so they still had that card (right), now that the building can't just change that, just for me, because it costs a fortune.

I: So you were constantly afraid really?

S: You live in fear, even though I'm not scared of anybody, you just live in fear, I mean, what for, why, you know there were question marks, (mm) and um and then, I think yah, and then I went, this guy, agh I can't remember his name properly now, he wasn't married you know, you know I went through it. It was very difficult, it was difficult for um Carol to accept certain things because she noticed a change in me. I think I was suffering from a change of paranoia or something or I was just thinking of the, I was losing, I was distracted, I was thinking of other things, of things were happening. My work, I lost a little bit of concentration **even though I still worked** (mm). I just went through 3 or 4 days of, at the beginning of, work and non-work, you know where my mind was completely somewhere else, (mm) and I went through, maybe 4 or 5 months of um, situations where

I was hard at work for 4 hours and then, then I couldn't concentrate for another four or three hours(?) because these things keep on popping in my head. (mm) It sounds that I, I've managed to gain in confidence, um, its not very easy I don't think, it depends on the person's mind strength, I would say (mm hmm) and their commitment to going for treatment and to relieve it. (mm) Three things in life I think, I think that was my major gain, [mumble] I worry about it, but I don't hey, its not even there anymore its just, I wouldn't like it to happen to anybody, I wouldn't like it to happen to me again, because that would really make my decision to leave this country. (ja ja) That's the last straw, so I've gone through one, hopefully um you don't wish it on anybody, I'm sure a lot of people in South Africa have decided that. The worst was, hah, I haven't really told you was when they used to phone me the police and say: "we think we've caught him" and I used to go for identification parades. And you know you always think there's a two-way mirror, or a two-way glass, whatever you call it, meanwhile you actually go there and you've actually got to go and point him out (I've heard that). Its quite a frightening experience (yes, so you're in the same room, with lots of people looking at you) Yes and what they do is they, most obviously it's the black guys involved in hijacking - they put 6 in a room maybe its just one suspect and the other 5 are plainclothes policemen, for you to pick out and its not very easy to recognise, (mm hmm) I could recognise, it would be hard for me to recognise the guy today, but at that stage I could, (you could've, you thought?) yes, yes, no at that stage I could, I might have it still, but you know what I never like to think about it, you know it puts me into a nervous... (makes you anxious) frame of mind (ah huh, does it) no I don't think about it (particularly if you think about the guy's face?). Yes, no that's where the problem is - oh the problem is I just feel like you feel like, its not that I've had to take offense at that time. (Mmmhmm, Mhm, so it brings up feelings of anger?) Ja very much so, (very strong feelings of anger) Well, this is what happened, I was suffering from anger, and I was cross and I was upset about it, - I think the anger, I took it out on all the close people, that went through, and especially Carol, I put all my anger out on her (mm mm) She just couldn't cope anymore. And we had to go for - well - I didn't say to her E (refers to therapist) was part of it, I thought I was handling it well but it could've had an effect on me.

I: Mmmm, mmm. So you were more irritable than you usually were, and you used to shout sometimes?

S: Yes, and getting, excuse me, **cross**, (mm mm) and said things that you'd never ever said (mm) and she said "I'm trying to help you, and you must go for treatment." (mm) Is - it, she thought maybe I handled it **too well** (mm) and wasn't actually feeling it, meanwhile, I was trying to say that: "You actually never asked me how I'm feeling about it" and um maybe I'm just hiding things, **I don't know** (mm) I'm just maybe human, you know me, (mm) A situation like that happened to me, I never ever thought it would happen to me. I was a guy who'd always thought about this and always conscientious about that and that, and when we went out, I always said "be careful here"; "don't go there; "I'll pick you up"; "it's daft to go there" and all that. I've been doing that all the time (mm) And all of a sudden it happens (happens to you) to me in **broad daylight**. (ja ja) So um, so all those aspects, you know they, they were quite hard on me (mm) they um had ...

I: Did it, did it change the way you, you saw life, I mean it seems like you you'd thought that if danger came, it would come from particular, it would come in a particular way, and it came at a time that was very unexpected. Do you think that changed how, how safe you felt in the world and,?/

S: Yes well I would think um, as a, as a person that's been living in South Africa, I enjoy the country so much, I mean I never ever thought it would happen to me, you know you just don't think its going to happen to you. (mm hmm) But you can never say never, (mm) It can change people's minds, I mean, mine, sorry, and their minds can be affected, it can take years to get out of it, its depends on the confidence, it depends on how much you wanna work at it It depends on **the support** you get, you know, it depends if you're prepared to go for treatment, (mm) I mean I don't think I'll ever forget about it, but um, life must go on, otherwise you'll just live in misery, (mm mm) Life becomes a misery and ah, doesn't matter if one person can handle it, you go to another partner and its going to be back again so you live there and ... That's my opinion.

I: Did you, did you feel your life was a misery, for a while?

S: Yes, I mean, I felt like the whole world was on me you know, it was just, it was a different feeling, I don't know how to explain it, a feeling of negativeness, which is bound to happen to anybody, um, I think she said to me, um the only day, it was about the fourth, it was only on the fourth day, that she actually said to me, we went out for dinner and you know we were talking and she said, you know, I don't know um" Paul, you haven't said much about it" - because I didn't speak about it, (mm mm) Agh it just used to make me angry so um what happened was then we were at the supper some Saturday and I enjoyed it and I said to her, um, you felt bad about it, you know I'll cope, but I felt bad towards her (mm) because she was trying to make me happy and I wasn't happy, um, so, it was, ja (and so you were really sad at times hey) ja I was sad, that's right. I don't know, I was, I wasn't myself, you know, (mm mm) and she was trying to tell me

I: So it was something about that supper, and her, her in a way caring about you (ja) but also not, not perhaps realising how deeply it had affected you ?

S: You know I think she, she said you don't, you don't mention about it, and I said no I didn't want to talk about it anymore, I thought it was, I've been trying to like sweep it under the carpet. But it wasn't that easy you know, (mm) I didn't want to put pressure on her either, so we came home after about 4 or 5 days and she said " you know, why don't you talk?" I just said "I don't know."

I Was it unusual for you to cry?

S: No my eyes were like this, they were watery inside. (mm mm) She said: "Well I can see", I said "ja I know, I'm just ..". Maybe I needed it, maybe (mm mm) I needed to get it out, cause I was holding so much in. (mm mm) And that's it hey. (mm mm hmm) (*slightly tearful, moist eyed at this point*)

I: Mmm. What do you think was the worst about that experience? What do you think really got to you?

S: The worst, the worst about it I would say is just there's no value for life hey, (*very subdued*) (mm mm) I mean for a person to do that to myself - or to anybody, just come in and blow your head off for your car, or your money, or something like that, to me, ...that's just uh, people are at the moment running around the country with guns or whatever they've got to do what they want (mm mm) and it's just not right. It's just not right, I mean - one person, let's say yourself, I mean you also work, you work for a living. You've got people that, I mean you get shot and you get people **distraught**. (mm mm) I mean I'm in a big firm and it's just

I: Mmm, mm. So the sort of the pointlessness of it really in a way or/?

S: Well what would they have got? They would've taken my money, they would've taken my money, my credit card, my briefcase, and my car - but my life's gone...

I: Did you, do you think you thought you could die in that situation?

S: Ja, of course, I mean that's what happened, my life flashed across my mind (mm mm) My life didn't even flash, desperation, you know, my adrenalin and my blood was pumping/ (Well it sounds like you, I mean it sounds like you just fought back amazingly (ja) in that situation hey, it was a kind of instinctive..) It wasn't planned you know. (mm mm) So it was hard, um,

I: Ja, no, it sounds I mean it's really, I think it's very hard to face death that closely hey

S: Yes., the other thing was um, I didn't want my car back hey (mm mmm). They gave me this car, and I said you know I don't want it back.

I: Mmm, mmm. Tell me about that

S: No, I thought it had an affect on me. I don't want my car back and and thinking about it. I had to, I didn't want to get in the car, (mm mm) I had all this in my head now, they went and they cleaned the car out (mm hmn). They must've had a fight in the car because there was a stab mark, well not a stab mark but a big hole in the seat. (mm mm) And then the other seat - was also damaged, but they recovered the seats for me, cleaned the car properly, you know wiped all the marks.. and I took the car back. The car that I really enjoyed, that I've got now, the same one - [nun ble] gave me such good service (mm) I was so happy with it (mm mm) - Alright, I'm due for a change shortly. All that had effects on me (mm mm) I don't know why but it came to me [overlap]

I: ...being in the car sort of felt, it just brought back very strong reminders of what had happened.

S: It was just, it was like something being given back that was dirty to me, (ja, like that sense that they'd been in there) ja - they'd invaded my Camry - (mm) taken something that's not even theirs and still wants it back. You know even though it's a company car, I still treat it as mine (mm). But I get a company perk from it you know, I get a car for nothing if I keep it. And it all happened, and it never ever came right.

I: So were there times when you were a bit worried that you, that you were kind of overreacting? Or you were...?

S: Yah, I would say um, you know I'm a sportsman, so I play a lot of sports. (mm mm And that probably was helpful ja) Was helpful, its like you know, You just feel um not tearful just like, my eyes always get like this, its just that cause I was, I became, you became a person that you weren't for...a few months. (*quite choked*) (ja ja ja) That's the worst part.

I: So it, I mean it sounds like you felt sort of quite out control of what was happening.

S: Oh you weren't, I was out of control um, we had, we had drinks, (mm), - started drinking more (mm hmn) All these things kept changing (mm mm mm) Try and sort of um, couldn't

sleep at night, (mm mm) you know what I mean (ja ja). And you still try and put on a face, you know you don't like want it to affect your work. But that all came out, you know, after hours (mm) you throw out terrible comments (mm), you know we don't know about this.

I: Sort of angry things, you would say?

S: Ja, you say angry things (mm mm)

I: How do you think you were different, before this happened?

S: How do you think I was different? (mm) Oh, I didn't worry about it, I mean, my, my confidence is still there, which I've still got now, (mm) I don't know,...I was just,... I was always a happy, sort of guy (mm) you know, I still, I suppose I'm still the same you know. (mm) I think its just, what changed, I don't know how to explain that I was, I was always happy in that way, I'm still happy now. (mm) Its just that will always come back to my mind. (mm hmm) No matter what, doesn't matter, ten years won't change it. (mm) I don't think ten years would change it to anyone (mm) If its a hijacking, a crime, a rape, (mm) you know (mm mm mm) Um, I just think that the other side of that effect is - maybe um....I've got a quicker temper now than I had, (mm hmm) I don't know why.

I: So that sort of stayed with you?

S: That stayed with me, ja, but I mean, I haven't got a bad temper, I've actually got a soft nature, and I've still got a soft heart, its just that made me harder. (Mmm, mm) It's made me hard.

I: Is it with particular people or is it generally?

S: I think its made me generally harder, I just say something straight out if that's the way I feel. Well I was never really like that, (mm mm) but, um, its slowly coming back to normal - you know coming back to normal (mm mm) You say some nasty things that you

actually don't mean. You think about that too late later. (inaud) You know you don't mean it. You just said it you know and sort of say things that you don't think hardly consciously, (mm mm) and make mistakes and obviously this I heard from Carol, and she had a terrible time.

I: So, it sounds, it sounds like you were worried that you became quite destructive in some ways?

S: Ja, and obviously whether you're ah, looking for um,...happiness. I, I that's why I say E (therapist) maybe I did go more into it but I said I didn't think the hijacking affected me, (mm mm) I just don't know why, if it did or not, (mm mm) you know. Ob, Obviously we had various other problems (ja ja -)

I: I mean I think sometimes it can make previous problems more difficult to manage you know I mean I - it seems there was quite a big change in your manner at that time, and some, some of that affected the relationship.

S: Ja, no definitely it would've affected some of the relationship, (mm) not all of it, (mm) some of its me, some of its that, um (mm mm). Look ah, I, I mean I've got nothing to complain, (mm) everything is ok at the moment (mm mm). Its much better, I saw E (therapist), it felt good - it felt good to be with E (mm mm) She made me feel good, (good).

I: Did, did it affect you physically at all, did it, I mean you said you were very bruised/?

S: Ja, no it was just my, my waistline - trying to get out the car in the struggle, (mm hmm) I was bruised right around because there's no way you can turn (mm mm) because (under a steering wheel) under a steering, ja, in that desperation just did it. How I did it I couldn't, I couldn't, if you see me sit in a car I've got such big legs, its impossible (mm mm mm but you did) But I did, ja (ja) [overlap]

I: Did you have headaches or anything like that?

S: I couldn't sleep well.

I: And you said your appetite changed

S: Ja, I didn't feel like, I didn't feel like eating much - I just felt like having a few drinks and not snacking much.

I: And has that come back to you, the way it was before? (what, um) Your eating and your sleeping/

S: No, yes, no, I'm, alright now/

I: For a long time (yes, um). And tell me a bit about sport you said you're a very sporty person (yes, no) what sort of sport do you play?

S: I play soccer, (mm hmm) I play soccer and I play golf (mm hmm) quite a bit. Played all my life (mm mm - did you stop that for a bit afterwards?) Yah, well my interest wasn't the same as what it was (mm). You know I used to go there, and I don't feel like playing (mm) I'd rather have a few drinks and watch it (mm) [overlap] You just don't feel like playing hey.

I: It sounds like you had classic post-traumatic stress hey, just that you were really, really quite depressed at the time, hey?

S: And you know, you, you don't realise it and you don't want to talk to anybody about it, although they used to ask how are you, and I used to feel confident and talk about it. Maybe that is, that is what helped (mm) to get it off my chest - you know and saying take your anger out and tell the person about it. Yah, sometimes I just got tired of talking about it you know. So you had different effects (ja ja ja) that was what threw me ... you know.

I: Did it change how you think about things?

S: No - I think it just made me....ahh....ahh I don't know, its so, its so hard. I always felt, um confident (mm mm) about things, I would say um, it didn't make me, no it didn't make me change about things. It only made me more sort of wary. (So more, more suspicious of people) people (ja ja). I mean if I see a guy, when they selling these newspapers or when they asking for money coming near me, I'm really watching the ous. (mm mm) I, just see this guy's not going to throw a gun or anything. Meanwhile the guy's only asking for money, so you've got those .../

I: So its sort of when people come up towards the car, that's one of the times you get anxious again?

S: Yah you get anxious, you haven't got four eyes and you can't look backwards at a robot so the worst part of is I think, the effect, because I'm always looking over my shoulder, getting out the car, and if somebody's standing around, (mm mm) Things that I never used to worry about (mm mm). Now its become less that. At the beginning it was, (very strong, yah, yah), you know you go back ... But I mean you should be able to live a life of calm and tranquility, you shouldn't be (ringing in background), why should you have to live a life of a person on the edge.

I: So that's your, your disappointment in a way, or frustration?

S: Yah I think, this is, this is difficult. You know there's so many things I could say, a - z, at the moment, that are explanatory facts, they, they stick in your feelings (mm mm), and in the body, and the mind's so powerful, it controls the body you know (mm hmm). Your mind can just jump to those situations really. Only if you go in deep thought you know (it still comes back to you) Oh yes, its fresh you know, its not like, as I said to you ...

I: Ya, ya, ya.... Did it, I mean, some people it, it sort of changes their beliefs about, you know about God or the meaning of life, or those sorts of things, did you think about that at all?

S: Yes, I mean I've thought about ...you know, life has value and why are you put on this earth to be here and, life to be taken? (mm mm) In a way its just because, its not even a game its, its just like a dead loss straight away, its not even a thought that a person, or the other person can't think of the other person's....um, **situation**, and when you do this, does that person know how much damage you can do to that person (mm mm) even if it was successful or a failure. Now obviously if it was successful the person's not alive, now how much does he know the trauma he could put through a guy, **he doesn't even know**. He doesn't know if I'm married, he doesn't know if I've got kids, (mm mm) doesn't know whatever's going on. (Mmm, mmm) That's all I'm saying. Are we of importance here? (Mmm, mm).

I: So have you made sense of that?

S: No, I think I mean, you know, I just think um, the different cultures in this country at the moment are not the same. Look, it happens all over world you can't throw us that South Africa's got a big problem ...need to solve it. (mm mm) They're not going to solve - ja, their education level especially on the, on the black situation is um they haven't got [mumble] - its not right for me to say this but, but that's I feel you know, their beliefs are not [mumble] You know I mean I think people are...are brought up in an environment where the stress levels of maybe apartheid, maybe they're suffering from and ahhm, you've been brought up, sort of... **with no choice**, I mean, it doesn't mean that slowly it wasn't meant for black and white to get together, it wasn't a sign that you know, listen this must be done because people suffering from, - poverty stricken, I don't know you know (mm mm) you know, you know what I'm saying is, I'm just here, I'm rattling off here, but its true you know you think about that.(mm mm)

I: Something about how people value human life really, hey?

S: That's what I'm saying you know (mm mm) I think the levels of education need to be sorted out as well, (mm mm) ... not cross [mumble]. That's what I feel.

I: How, how did you make sense of the fact that you survived that, that attack?

S: Shew, that's a difficult one... I think um [machine, intrusive noise]

I: We were talking about, you know, how you made sense of the fact that you survived that?

S: I tell you, I, I don't think um I don't want to - I think its a person's ...situation where, you can't gain, you just think of that time, that's, that's what happens (mm) its spur of the moment stuff there's no, things flash through your head that never flashed before. (mm mm) The momentum carried me (mm mm) and,...**luck's got to be there** (mm hmm). That's, that's my story, I don't know how else to explain it (mm, ok ok). Its difficult.

I: Cause you also have to say, why did it happen to you, (ja) or, as well as why did I survive, ja (ja)

S: Ja, that's the hard part (mm) You know, there's, I mean, people talk to you afterwards - you could have done this, you could have done that. I'll say to them, "You don't know how it feels." (mm mm) Cause I've got (that's absolutely true). I mean they say "Phillip, why don't you carry a gun?" I mean there's a lot more to a gun, and then I bought the gun, its made it worse now between me and Carol, Carol went mad because I bought a gun (mm hmm) I didn't ever bought the bullets for it, but I ordered a gun. Now all these things, I never had a gun in my life (mm mm and you didn't ever expect to) No, what, what for? (mm) I'm not there to um, go out and shoot people (mm mm) **or shoot anybody**.

I: So that was, it was sort of quite, it was something you did because that's what people recommended, but (ja) it didn't feel like it fitted with you?

S: Ja, it didn't fit my lifestyle ..., at all. I, I might have gone to the army and that was part of you know sort of growing up, and discipline and that, ... the country's situation at the time (mm mm) but um. I went to go buy this gun, and it also changed things around and

that and started making a big argument in the car and I might have lost it. Things I hadn't thought of.(mm mm) So um, that was another thing, when I'm going in the car they said "You could've pulled", I said "Nooo what happens, if they got hold of the gun they could've shot me anyway". (mm mm) So you're still back to square one (mm mm) Everybody's got heroes at heart, from the outside but when they in the situation, nobody's a hero unless you're stupid. And as I said a bit of luck. I think and the will to live and a lot of things you know.

I: I mean, did, are you satisfied with how you handled the situation?

S: I'm happy , I'm happy still to be here today, and talking to you, you know.

I: No, I mean, I think that's absolutely true, you know it seems like, the minute you had the opportunity, you used it hey?

S: Ja, you know just um, I still get um, you know if I really talk in detail to someone I still get upset about it (mm mm) Maybe it comes deeper down (mm mm), the temper and really came, the anger ...

I: Ok, tell me about that.

S: No, I just, just got the anger.

I: Was it like a rage in you?

S: It was worse than a rage, I tell you I just went, Carol said I just used to go blank for 10 minutes, screamed and shouting and all that and then I would sit down and say "No, I don't know why and this?" (*quite intense*) So you get those spells/

I: Did you used to imagine, ya ... I mean imagine going after them and... ?

S: No, no, I didn't, I just...became, I hated them.(mm) That's what happened.

I: So it was a very deep hatred?

S: Yah it became a hatred, you know, and I'm not, I'm not a racist hey (mm) I just hated the okes, hated the [mumble] that I mean it went you know, a black person did it to me and he was just going to especially, well you know my mom passed away but she was alive you know, that would have made my mother very sad, it made her very, very upset you know. They were overseas when this happened, they wanted me to leave this country, they were phoning me, they were prepared to buy this and pay this, to do anything for me to leave the country and I still didn't do anything (mm - so they were very upset at the time?) Shoo, they didn't want me to go near, my family's gone, I'm the only one left here. (mm mm) But what happened now my sister's come back, my dad's in Durban now, but the rest in this country all gone, the kids, everything (Mmm, mm) The only problem, what kept me here was, sport, my friends, my job..

I: And your job ja, ja, but it sounds like that anger really disturbed you, that rage that you used to have sometimes/

S: Yah, you know, I still don't, ya you know that ... I said you know Carol when I got upset the other day, I actually went blank, (mm hmm) and you know whatever I do then its just not me, its not the true part of me (Mmm, mm). But, its the situation that maybe I am in, affected in and somehow its still, I'm not sure. But you know if we talk to certain people, people don't understand me (mm). You've actually got to speak to a fresh person to understand it. (Mmm, mmm)

I: Cause it sounds like that's the part that still worries you a bit, its almost like it brought out some part of you that was ... kind of alien to you, (yah) that you didn't know yourself like that.

S: Yah, I think that's that's right, I think I've still got the softness remaining, got softer and softer, I'll forgive you know, and then I carry on, and I forget, but I don't you know, but

that anger still comes up now and again, but not very often. Its just, I **don't know if its that**, (mm) Something that makes me annoyed (mm), and its how I feel.

I: And that makes you sad?

S: Yah, I think **that makes me very sad**, because its like you're really being, specially the one that's so close to you and you're horrible (mm) just so horrible. And I don't know what happens (mm mm, ok), its like... , craziness.

I: That's, that's that's the har - is that you became a much more sort of, seems like, a more brutal person.

S: Yah, you become more brutal, with words, you know, (mm) and frustration hey I don't know you've gotta get it out of your system, its in my body (ja ja).

I: So its almost like the the feelings you couldn't express towards them in the attack would come out in other situations.(ja, in other situations, ja) um

S: You know I still played soccer, I play well, it doesn't affect my mentality, and, - oh my state of mind when I play golf, I'm calm and when I run. But I will, if there was a tight situation (mm mm) make me a raging bull you know, (mm mm) for nothing, raging bull, raging bull for five minutes, go blank, that's the way it happened.(really so that, ja) Ja that/

I: When you go blank, what, what, you just don't remember what happened?

S: Ja you just go completely blank (mm mm) and Carol said you go blank for nothing. (mm) For nothing you go blank, (mm hmm) and I can't accept, you know I didn't think straight at the time. But those things are starting to..(get less and less) **Yes, you know** I mean I'm just talking about it now, how it happened then, it was wild west in the beginning. But now its much better. Haven't done it lately. (ja ja)

I: I mean, did you ever see yourself as an, as an aggressive person, I mean what were you like before that?

S: I think maybe cause I got my mom being continental, I've got the continental sort of personality, (mm) could be a little bit ahh, ... a little say, not tense but a little bit of that continet/ (emotional) ja emotional (mm hmm). That's all, but I mean, I've still been the sort of same guy people know me [mumble] still the same you know, (mm hmm) You know you're well liked, I mean I've got no enemies (mm mm). I'm known all over, Carol will tell you she said I mean she's, they said I mean, I've got thou, well, hundreds and hundreds of friends, compared to her where she's very - selective. (mm hmm - so you're quite a popular person/) Yah, but she, ahh, I tend to be more with her now because we're trying to make it work, the partnership, to work out (mm mm) It means much more to me and I don't go out so much with my friends and that and then that also causes, gets disturbed, just transferring my whole pleasure there you know. But its ok now (mm mmm). Oh the tables turn you know (mm) she wasn't easy, nor was I. (Yah yah) You know it works both ways. But also two wrongs don't make a right as well (mm mm) so - You know it was hard, I mean we tried to have sessions with a nurse and then she was arguing and then I was arguing, we threw the worst out, (mm) And then we were both like sort of speaking to each other and found we both do these type of things (yah yah) and ended up going to a psychologist where you have to sort it out at home, but the problem is you can't because I won't back down and nor will she (then you can get into that kind of circle). Yah its a vicious circle, [mumble] round and round and you just wish it would stop, (mm) But its, now its ok, its been the best, because now if we get split we'd be friends, before I didn't want to be her friend (right, right). So it was all like that (yah yah) So now if we split we'd be friends, because (best to let it be, yah) she know's that um, um it gets hold of me, which most men haven't got, so I've got that credit, (mm hmm) um she doesn't like that bad side of me (mm), she'd rather get that out. Its quite hard (yah, that is quite hard/) - I also feel bad you know it's not that, it's not that ... (mm mm)

I: And you were never like that before, before the hijacking do you think?

S: Not really, no. I would think I was more constructive then, if I speak to her it just went, the first thing that went in my mind, and this thing started, and at the time as well, meanwhile you actually don't (mm) say horrible things.

I: Do you think it changed how other people saw you... I mean if you think about your family, do you think it changed the way they saw you/?

S: No

I: Did they see you as more vulnerable do you think?

S: No, that was ok - I think they, they said I handled it well, the way I, when I went to them I spoke about it, it was ok. That made it very relaxed (mm mm). I had no problems/

I: And your friends, do you think it changed how they saw you?

S: No (no) they thought I was still the same, because you know friends are friends. They said I must have been, (inaud) something of the experience had reached them. I know that I mean that's life (mm mm), but no they were fine they were good to me (mm mm) No, no problems.

I: And did, did other people who you didn't know, know about what had happened to you, I mean like other people in the company?

S: No, other people, some of them just didn't know, and they said "Why didn't you ever speak about it", but I didn't want to, the least said the better for me, because it just, every time I said, no it finished up. I started, I saw it first of all, this was the best part of - trying to make a joke out of it, but no joke, but we laughed about it, but actually I was affected, without realising it (yah yah).

I: How did you joke about it?

S: Oh just laughed and said no, you know, sort of joke, well just like... -

I: Like: " Jeez, know what happened to me."

S: Ja, that type of thing, you're acting like you're putting up a brave front (mm mm) but its not true (mm mm -did you do that more at work or/) yah more at work/ (or with friends or/) ja just cause I didn't want to actually get into the details (mm mm), to discuss anything, I just said yes its OK, its fine, meanwhile it wasn't fine. That you only know later, you don't know what to expect (that's right ja) till it happens to you. (ja ja)

I: Did you talk you know, talking to guys or to women would it be any different?

S: Yah there was a big difference, women, women were worried about it (ahh hah). They cared, they wanted to always do something for me. (mm hmm) The men were a bit different, there were different reactions, the women were (bit more devoted) remorseful, you know, they had feelings like you had feelings (mm mm), women have got that caring in them (mm mm) and they were worried about me. Being nearly, like I said they were so good to me (mm mm) I'm very friendly with all my admin and they really cared about me, they'd just come to see me and say how are you? and that, if you need anything we'll do it and right through, so that was very nice of them (mm m). [overlap] (yah) I mean its still a different ...[mumble] I think women have got something that the male hasn't (laughs) and I suppose [mumble] (mm mm)

I: Did it mean you could talk more easily to women about it?

S: Yes, yah. They felt, they felt how you felt (mmhmm) it was good that (mm). Men are men, you know when you're a man you actually don't want to show the other man that you, you're down, well not down, you're a baby or something (mm m) you know, you want to show that you're still strong, and you can handle it (mm mm)

I: Did, did, was there anytime when you felt ashamed of what had happened to you?

S: (ahh hmm) No (ahh hmm) it wasn't I mean, I, I never, it wasn't I didn't do anything to anybody (I know, I think that's true)

I: But I, it just seems strange sometimes, just to be a victim in that kind of situation, that people, its hard to have other people feeling sorry for you and worrying about you (Mmm), or, but I don't know, it seems like you, you also felt that, that made a difference when people cared about you - (yah) - did you feel like anyone pitied you or ?

S: Well, it did, I mean a lot of people pitied me, not in way, in a sense, it became a baby situation, (mm mm) I just, just felt, they said they, they just said at the time how could it happen, they never thought, I was the last one they think it would happen to, something like that.

I: Mmmm, mmm. Why do you think that?

S: That's what they say. (That you were the last person..), just that they said I wouldn't do any harm to anybody, and I'm always speaking and I always know somebody, and I'm always involved like that (mn.m). I just think they said it because well we didn't think it would happen to you.

I: Yah yah so it, I mean, on that day you were really quite shaky and you thought you could go back to work, and manage things.

S: I was shaky [mumble] [overlap] I don't even think I was, I think those 2 -4 days I was completely out of my mind [?] I don't even remember that stage very well. I remember what happened that day I mean I [mumble]

I: Have you ever been that frightened before?

S: Never, in my life [mumble] (mm, so even if it jammed that he might...) ja well that he would try to [mumble] two guys, I mean this guy's trying to hold the door closed (mm mm) Cause I mean they actually, they actually wanted to take me in the car.

I: Think that was, that was part of why the struggle was going on?

S: Yah (yah)

I: What did you think, why do you think they/(well) I mean did you think about that, ja?

S: Yah I just thought you know, because I mean you've got the one guy coming in the other side, the other guy's holding the door on the other side and they've got another two at the back (mm mm) It was so quick.

I: So did you ever imagine what might have happened to you?

S: Yah, that's what - I imagined they'd put me in the boot, dump me somewhere, or (mm mm) shoot me and make me go draw all my money, (mm mm) [overlap].

I: And that's horrible, sort of thinking through those possibilities.

S: Yah and or make me go and say go phone your, your younger wife [?] your girlfriend to come here and whatever, and maybe they would want to rape and all these things (mm) Hundreds of things came up [mumble] They could have left me locked up in the boot, I don't know (mm) Stupid things/

I: You, I mean you really had a sense that they were vicious people?

S: Yah there was no doubt about it, I promise you, I just ran away (mm mm) I couldn't care. (mm mm)

I: Luckily you were fit too hey [overlap] cause it also sounds like/ (ja the adrenalin was ahh) kind of threw you hey? (ja) mm, mm

S: I was shaken after that, (mm mm) gee I had (sure) a state of fear, it was, well I

I: .. the adrenalins's gone through you, that's quite a natural response, that you do get shaky afterwards because its like you know you've run a marathon in 3 seconds.

S: Yes, yes, that's what I found just/

I: And look often you're quite exhausted afterwards, (I was ja) very very tired and it sounds like I mean although people were concerned they weren't very helpful you know when you ran into the flats and,

S: Oh no they were worried that something was going to happen to them as well People don't want to know they don't want to interfere. (mm) Shame you don't blame them either, (mm) they also in that [inaud]

I: So there was a guy who came out with a gun?

S: No, no (no) he was actually filling up his, black people, [mumble] I couldn't think, I couldn't even think of ah, ah flying squad car, I couldn't think of it, (mm) my mind was so [?] (mm mm) I was just thinking - what the hells happening here (mm mm) I just thought they were going to come back for me, (mm mm) I was worried (mm mm) and [mumble] I was worried [mumble] ... security [inaud]

I: Well you thought fast, I mean you, you got away, (ja) [overlap] that's what helped you to survive, hey (yah) yah.

S: But, [inaud]

I: No, I understand, and I, I mean I'm sorry in way to do it to you (no, you're not) ja, although sometimes it does help each time you talk about it it sort of gets it out more and more, yah yah

S: [inaud] Carol, first thing she said to me, just phone me to see how you are, (mm mm) cause I think she's just worried how I'm going to feel or maybe when we go out tonight you know she says, I said "no I'll be alright". [overlap] I'm just emotional about it (ja) because, um,... I mean that's been the worst part of my life and besides - for Carol as well, (mm) it was lousy for her, - for 5 months I mean she had [inaud] she didn't say that word (mm) [inaud] horrible (said it was a difficult person, yah) Yah and you know not having correct morals [?], not thinking straight - and the gun, oh it made her mad at first, (mm) I mean she thought I was going to shoot her, and all these things came, all these things came into my mind that never were, that type of thing. (mm mm) Besides, obviously the hassles that, cause I didn't ever think on my hijacking you know (mm mm)

I: Well maybe, maybe [overlap] it is important to, to put in perspective just how much that did that has affected your relationship or did at the time.

S: Yah, I just said to her you know, this is, or I don't know if it did affect our relationship don't know, but she said I wasn't like that before and I said yes but it wasn't (yawns?) excuse me I didn't think like that (mm m)

I: So she was worried that if you bought the gun and then you got into one of these rages, where you went blank, you might/ [overlap]

S: Mumble .. "I'll shoot you" I used to say that, (mm hmm) [mumble]

I: And how did you understand that, did you know you were doing that?

S: I did it, I didn't think there was anything behind it, [mumble] but its a bad threat (mm mm) So those little stupid things, [mumble] for what reason I don't know (mm mm)

[overlap, I asks question] (shoot anyone?) I don't talk about, (mm) I don't know. I couldn't answer that because um, I don't think that I would just shoot to shoot, no, I won't, I would shoot um for ahh, self-defence, ja (mm hmm) - probably I would shoot then. Into the back [mumble] I don't know Paul maybe I'm just taking you wrong with all this nonsense, that you're actually not that person (mm) who said all these things, reason unknown. [mumble]

I: So was she frightened of you, do you think?

S: Yah, for sure, she had fear [mumble] scared of me (mm)

I: And that was hard for you?

S: Yah [overlap] because I said to her, "you've got no reason to fear me" So I really knew inside that I wouldn't do anything back, I said these things with - I said these things like - flashing, flashing (mm mm) You know you say things, but you're not going to do them. (mm m) I don't know

I: I mean that, that sounds like that's part of what upset you the most, are the effects that it had on you.

S: Yah I just said to E (therapist) cause E was there to sort out our relationship (mm mm) not really the hijacking, you know (mm mm) Although she said do you want to go and I said look I did go for therapy for it, (mm mm) But I [mumble] from it you know. No, I don't say those things anymore (mm) so those are all gone. (mm, that's gone, ja) I don't start breaking pieces and things like that. [mumble]

I: And you'd never done that before?

S: No, uh ahh (you'd never said those sorts of things to her?) No, if I was [mumble] its only been a few, its only been a few months (mm mm) now its better.

I: But I mean, before the hijacking, she wasn't frightened of you, she?

S: She was still a bit frightened of me (ah hah) she [mumble] (so it kind of made it worse) It kind of made it worse, [overlap]

I: You're also quite a big guy hey I mean she must've?

S: Yah no she's [?] knows I'm strong now. No, I don't take nonsense from anybody. She's hurt me (mm) But I mean I don't, um,.. I'm a gentleman as well you know, I've got that side of me. That's what she says "you've got that wonderful side too", ahh, nonsense which she doesn't like (mm mm) So she's always [inaud] keeping intact (laughs) [mumble] (ja ja) I don't like her to dominate you see (ahh) [mumble] She says "just leave me alone and I'm better" (mm mm) I make a mistake we talk about it when we're both in the right frame of mind (mm mm) and then I'll work myself through and I'll say "so I was wrong" (mm mm) [mumble] (laughs, ok)

I: Did you think it changed you as a man, I mean do you think there's anything, no, not particularly, (no no), in that kind of way - You didn't change the way you saw yourself. (no, no, I still) If, if you'd been, I mean do you think it would've been different if you'd been a woman in that situation, do you think you would have reacted differently?

S: [inaud] I wouldn't like for a woman to be in that situation, (mm hmm) I think a woman could've been kidnapped [inaud] I couldn't, I couldn't think of anything worse, (mm mm) poor woman?, [inaud] Well you'll always get the odd woman [?] who'll fight back, I don't know how (mm mm)

I: And you do you think in a way you reacted, if, do you think a woman would've reacted differently afterwards?

S: Yah

I: Mm hmm, how do you think?

S: Well I think a woman would've, I mean I think she would've been, ahh, she would've been living in fear (mm) for the rest of her life I would say, (mm mm) that's for sure. A, woman - they, they (mm) they think deeply as well (mm) Men do but so do women (mm), I woman are, they've always got that stronger personality, they they've got strengths in them that men haven't (mm hmm) that's it, the men can work stronger on that femaleness in that situation, because they're not born to violence or for fighting (mm mm) and hitting and ahh... robbing cars and that (nm mm) [mumble] very rarely (very rarely, ja)

I: Do you think they would've shown their feelings, more easily than you did?

S: Yes, I would say so, (mm mm) A woman can show her feelings more easily [inaud] both sides of the sex where they will both become [inaud] they will realise it, they need support, and I think you get the man [inaud]

I: Not, not the same in the way, ja

S: Ja, [inaud] cheating [inaud] cause that is correct you know (mm) [mumble] (mm mm) But you don't experiment (yah yah) Everybody's different (yah, they are)

I: You talked about your army experience, was that...a long time ago and was it? (ja ja) Did you make any connections between the two things? (no) Were there any similarities in those experiences? No (no) Were, were you in the, I mean were you in the bush war at all?

S: Well I was only a little bit, but nothing happened to anybody (mm m) I've seen bodies, blood and [inaud] but because I was a good sportsman I played soccer for defence, (mm hmm) I played softball, so they, they wanted good sportsman - I played for the army so they didn't want you to have a easy job (a different) In the beginning I did all the basics, when you play, when you're a good sports man, became good rank, and look after the troops and...

I: So its a different kind of world in a way?

S: Easy life yah, well, (yawns) excuse me (its alright) late-night, late-night slots of TV (mm)... You were saying about the army?

I: No, I was just, and when this thing happened did it bring back any memories from that time or not? No, So that stuff at the time you were able to deal with, and - dealing with bodies and those sorts of things, it didn't stay with you?

S: No, no. You know with this hijacking and that - after the hijacking, I mean the worst part is the other. Carol's ahh, I'm actually incorrect, [mumble] I think my mother was alive look, it just shows. What's it, '96 - '95, no my mother wasn't alive (mm mm) Before that my mom dies (mm) Carol's father died, we went through that, my mom had cancer for about 19 years before, then she died in December, and then Carol's father also had a liver problem - he never drank, he lost his liver though he's such a healthy man. [inaud] And then two months later her mother died because her father died (gee that must have been so hard) and then I had this hijacking, so we had a lot (a lot of pressure at that time, ja) So she's also been upset hey, so ja all this is a big bother (mm mm)

I: Yah that must've been very hard, yah. So maybe your relationship was already under quite a lot of pressure, (strain) strain.

S: Yah that's what I was saying, we were, we were quite stressed you know because we were running around (mm mm) At one stage her mom was there and her Dad was there, my mom was overseas, phone calls, and she was here, we ran around (mm m) you know to chemotherapy (mm mm) I mean we had to drive out to Pretoria, day and night (for the treatment, ja) ja survive, day and night (mm mm) In the morning early, [inaud] fetch her at night, (ma mm) Took off work, you know (Its very pressurising hey) ja and all that, I think all that...that um strength made her or made her and myself stay and protect each other [together] - we went through so much together, (ja ja) that we actually called for our relationship to be actually worth it because...although she was jealous, [mumble] I was a

womaniser you know so um (mm hmm) we had problem with that. (mm mm) You know, hell, I mean you've always got an ex-girl friend phoning but I told her the truth and she thought I was seeing her (mm mmm) you know this all built up. So we each other's relationship so its not so bad.

But even though we're very close friends - she'll never want to lose me as a person (right, right, right) Well, that's she did, she did say this (ja) She did say this (ja, so whatever happens it will be better) ja. I think you know we've got so much in common, I don't know what it is, sometimes we want to be together, sometimes we don't, (mm mm) But she's fought for things you know and I've fought for things (mm) And I said "no I don't think we should split because it's ok," (mm mm)

I: No, I think, I think relationships are hard, I think they, no its not always easy to do that, ja ja. (mumble)

S: Carry on asking, no I don't mind.

I: I, I was just wondering, I mean if you had any advice to give a man who'd been through a similar kind of situation what, what would you, what would you say to him?

S: Well, I would say, obviously um, you know obviously you're, you're not in the right frame of mind, I think the first thing you should do, I think you have to take a break, (mm hmm) You're I think you need the support of your family straight away. I think you need to go and consult (mm hmm) somebody that's in the field (mm hmm) of that treatment and go through the process and do it constructively, don't just do it and think that you're alright. I think as well you need um, to take, to take advice you know (mm hmm) I think you know you need to regain your confidence (mm) Its only yourself that can do it, nobody else can do it for you (mm) Other people can give you support and help and you (mmm) compromise and you've got to go through moments of despair, but you'll get there (mm mm) That's how I feel - I think also an important thing is you need to do things that are distractive, (mm hmm) to your thoughts and that means I play a lot of sport and I do a lot of activity [mumble] (mm mm) The worst thing is to drink (ja) [mumble] reaction go into

deep thought that you think of - actually your brain is not working correctly. (mm hmm) Uia, try and listen to other people's advice (mm hmm) specially ones [?] don't, don't let it, don't let go, you know, don't let it get out of hand (mm mm) There was something um, but I think you know, I think the main issue is you know I think you do need to consult people (mm mm).

I: How, I mean how do you think, the, going to see that counsellor, did it change how you saw things or how you dealt with things?

S: Yes, I think its, the person's more neutral, (mm hmm) its confidential, (mm) [you can choose things to tell about?] anger, (mm) I mean that's the important part and obviously um ... that does help to a certain extent. I don't say it can (mm mm) Um, the other part is the support, the kind of "so how's it going are you feeling better" those type of things, um.

I: Who, who helped you the most in dealing with it?

S: I think, um all of them - Carol ... obviously my, your partner, best friend, um, my firm (mm) - people, people in general, they came to my support, they were, they couldn't believe it happened to me. (mm mm) I mean thats, that's what helped me, well, that helped me and then obviously my confidence had to be regained (mm mm) I had to sort of sit down and start thinking about how to choose a correct path, you know you can't go there and just choose a path as well because its just going to go. You, you could, you lose focus on life (mm hmm) I mean that's the worst part, you can lose focus ... and maybe some [mumble] (mm hmm) I didn't take anything.

I: Generally, psychotherapy is more helpful than medicine?

S: Medicine, the danger about medicine, you get addicted to it, how you going to get out of it as well naturally (mm mm ja, its true, you did well to manage without it) Although, you know um I went through a stage when I thought to take it but she says you

know Paul don't take, just fight it (mm m) So I think a person needs to have the confidence to fight the system (mm mm)

I: You know you talk about losing confidence. How, how would you describe that, I mean um?

S: Straight away you lose confidence because um, when something like this happens to you, you naturally you've got negative stuff (mm) and that negative material is dangerous because you feel down straight away (mm) You feel that um, your whole life is come to an end - it really does, it comes to right the bottom of the scale (mm mm)

I: Did you feel helpless?

S: You feel helpless, because in your mind you don't want to go for help, (mm) cause you just think that you don't need help. You actually do need help but only people from the outside can see that (mm) They, you've got to look at yourself and do you also need help (mm mm) I think you've got to look in the mirror and have a good look at yourself. Because I thought I didn't need help (mmm) but I actually did because I hid things for days, (mm mm) but it just comes out (mm) Some people don't, [mumble] Carol ties in things for a - for a month she won't talk about it (no I think) dangerous, hey (ja) because it stays, stays, stays and then she'll talk about and no, why didn't you talk about it earlier, there's nothing there, so she held it for a month (mm mm) So now the only way [noise] If you hold things in - whew then the worst comes out (cause then you explode).

I: I mean did you feel like you lost some of your energy or some of your motivation? (yes) or your will to do things?

S: No, I tell you I became demotivated, I mean ... my soccer was my priority, I loved soccer, I could go watch, - for me not to be playing soccer, she saw a problem (mm hmm).

I: So that was the (ja), that (ja) was the main diagnosis?

S: Big one hey. Look I mean people, you, plus you, especially on my side, I'm a good player you know (mm mm) I was captain of the side and everything, for me to say "no I don't want to play" and not appear at training session and that then you start thinking alright, I'm not feeling well, not right for the game. But meanwhile I should actually have gone and trained (mm mm)[mumble]

I: But I think that's hard in the beginning hey? Feeling you've lost your, your power or something?

S: Yah, I tried to, I did go, sort of did go back and play the game but my mind wasn't right, I just didn't feel like playing.

I: Mm, so you couldn't focus?

S: I couldn't focus on the game I just couldn't.

I: You lacked pleasure in things.

S: Yah, you lost all that, all that enjoyment. Cause you've got to play you've got to play something to enjoy it you can't just play another job.

I: And has that come back now?

S: Oh yes, I mean just to tell you this week I've been ahh, Monday I've trained football, Tuesday I played golf, Wednesday I had a football game, yesterday I played golf and I had a game last night (gee, ja so that's) (little bit tired) I was watching TV, only went to bed at half past twelve, quarter to one (mm hmm).

I: Were you anxious at all about coming to talk about it today?

S: No, I was just thinking what, what was going to happen, (mm hmm) I was thinking about it but I didn't (mm) No I've already gone through so many sessions, I'm ok (mm mm) I think you, you start weak and then you get stronger and stronger (mm) and probably. No I haven't gotten weaker anymore, unless something really had to happen to me then (mm) could go weaker, which I don't think I could (mm) Not at this stage, this stage I'm ok, I've got confidence, and I've always lacked a bit of confidence in certain things but no there's no problem. I'm str, I'm actually stronger than what I was.

I: Do you think so, (ja) Tell me about that.

S: With Carol I was always the - ok, and yes, I was, became the weaker one but I'm the one who's showing the more strength now and she's the one that's um - I'll say [no you don't go out with a friend that she doesn't want to anymore?] (mm hmm) Before, I went out with my friends and she didn't like it and I said no leave me alone, and I should've [inaud] So I've got the strength now (mm hmm) and I'll say no.

I: Do you think its something about surviving something?

S: Yes, I think its just, - that knowing that obviously I mean, you know she's the fourth, obviously I haven't been married I've lived with four different women already, she's the fourth, so um ... I've gained from all of that, you've learnt from your mistakes, (mm mm) you've, this, but when I was first with her I saw something that wasn't there and I became weaker than her, reason unknown (mm hmm) She didn't want me to be weak and I said "I don't know what's wrong with me" (mm mm) Look, with all the drama that we were having, but now I've come back, I've come back stronger now, much stronger, she'll tell you, I'm too strong for her now, (mm mm) So that's that's a good sign (mm) Look every, look I'm not perfect either, there's always room but I'm much stronger than, I mean it is hard, you know there used to be a fight it used to go for three days now its quick quick, I just don't talk (mm mm) And that's the way I feel, and then she's not happy about it you know, she's sitting there [inaud] otherwise it goes on and on (mm)

I: The getting stronger, do you think that's linked to the hijack and how you coped with it?

S: Ja, I think to a certain extent, I don't think the whole thing, (mm mm) I think you, you know its ahh, its like um, when um, how do you say, when you've been ahh, when a person says to you "You'll never be able to play soccer again" and you come back and you play soccer and you're twice as strong (mm) and you've proved somebody wrong. (mm hmm) Then that's what it is, its the same as I had, I can tell you I had my achilles tendon, (mm) the doctor said "this guy can never play soccer again" I still have my achilles tendon completely (gee) I didn't play soccer for two years, and I was dying to go after about a year, but I didn't, I did the right treatment, I came back, I came back strong (mm mm) That's the will that you've got to have. (mm mm) And I think that's the goal that everybody's got to set (overcoming things, ja ja) Ja you've got to set objectives, and say "look I've got to do better" it will be better than what it was (mm), at my age now, you haven't got any more cause, cause you're getting older and you haven't got the legs, but although I've only got 90% turning cause I'm always, I mean the doctor said I could never play again (ja ja) I went to gym and I worked (mm mm, built up your strength again) That's it (hmm)

I: So are you generally quite a determined person?

S: Ja I think I've got that, I've got that strength and willingness to do things, especially if its for sports, for something I really enjoy in my life and that's the kind of argument Carol, I don't care what you say, you're going to leave me, you're leaving. I won't leave my soccer and I won't leave my golf so got that choice. (mm hmm) That's where it [overlap] Cause I don't want a person - you love that person you must accept them for that. I'm not having affairs on the golf course and having affairs at soccer, so you don't have to worry, you're welcome to come watch, you're welcome to be there, if you don't want to come, then sit at home and just wait till I come home, and that's it, - I mean not to be unreasonable. I come home if I come home at 11/12 o'clock, you know where I am, I'm at the club there, you can come there, whatever the story, and that's the way it must be (mm) Or go visit

your friends or whatever (mm) that's the story, I'm not going there to play soccer and then run home (mm)

I: So partly just, being with, with the team, and

S: Ja no, its also good for the relationship to strengthen by leaving there, there and you're looking forward to seeing each other (mm mm) You know that's also good (mm mm) not being on each other's feet (ja ja, laughs)

I: Perhaps just, just one more thing, if you were just to try sit and think what's the deepest way do you think the hijack affected you or changed you?

S: Ahh, I would say you're more alert, you're more alert (mm) than what I ever was, I really am, I still am today. (mm hmm) I think that's ..

I: That's the thing that stayed with you.

S: Ja that stayed with me, that that and that sort of um, look around sort of situation when you're going to your car, I'm always looking to see who's around, (mm) when, (mm hmm) and who's the person sitting in the car, what is it for, four blacks in a car, I wouldn't go park next to them, I'd park away and go look for another parking, all those type of things are still in my mind.

I: Has it affected how much you trust people?

S: Ja, um, look um you learn to trust people, but I can tell, I'm quite strong at with a [innumble] (mm mm) Carol and me are about the same in that direction, we can judge people. We can see if the person's a crook. We all make mistakes (mm hmm) but I can judge, I can judge and I can see if somebody, if the person's messing around or not, I don't even have to track him, I can just watch his actions, the way he's looking. So um (ok) I haven't got no - ok.

I: And if you need to lean on people you can do that?

S: Yes, yes, no, I'm open, I'm quick to say I'm down and I'll phone my friends and we'll go out for drinks. I don't like to sit at home alone (mm mm) Not like that, Carol's the other way around - she can - two different people (ja ja) But you've got to be like that to make a balance Cause if you both the same people it wouldn't work (mm mm) The one has to fight the other (mm hmm) to keep a bit of action (complement each other, ja) ja that's right (ja ja) With her sometimes you know, I'd say "No you can't have the perfect relationship - because if it was perfect there would be nothing to look forward to" (mm) sort you've got to have your ins and outs (mm) You've got to have your bads and your goods (mm) cause they actually, sometimes they make it they make it actually better (better, ja) Ja its always like that (mm mm) Not plain sailing (laughs)

I: Is there anything else that we haven't talked about that you think's important, that we didn't deal with or?

S: No, um I think basically we've spoken about everything, I would, I mean I don't wish it on anybody I would say (mm) because I don't think everybody's got the same level of confidence that maybe I've got (mm) And maybe I've got the strength also because I came from a divorced family, (mm) and I'm there to build myself up, I never asked for any money, I left matric and I went and I worked and I built my career and myself, I learnt the hard way (mm hmm) not the easy way, not spoilt. (mm hmm) So I think that also helps you a bit, (mm) you know you've got you have to learn the strength (resilient, you have to deal with things mm mm) I think that would be a plus factor, (mm) You know how some people are spoilt from the beginning and they don't know how to go further (mm) they can only do that. Ja we were divorced, well my folks were divorced, not me, (mm) My mom wasn't rich, you know I thought I must go out and earn more money at home (so you had some practice at surviving) ja and you've got to be prepared to work as well (ja ja). Also I mean ahh there were a lot of actors, [mumble] I can't change that No, otherwise, no (no, ok).

I: I mean you talked quite a long time ago I was just asking you about whether it sort of affected your beliefs or those sorts of things, are you a religious person at all?

S: No, (no)

I: Were you brought up Catholic or?

S: No, you see why, because my mom's Catholic and my dad's Protestant so there was a bit of confusion.

I: So you didn't, you didn't ever sort of (no) get pulled in one or other direction?

S: No I've never been really interested in that, people didn't, my mother never [?]

Its the way, its the way I've been living (mm) I'm not trying to cheat [mumble] We all know our own beliefs - I suppose I don't condemn anybody believe in that, its fine (mm) good luck to them (mm) They might believe in that and I believe in something, whatever (mm mm yes, laughs)

I: I'm laughing, ja ja, cause I think sometimes again when people have been through trauma or a sort of experience of (they tend to be religious) ja, but that wasn't something that?

S: Never ever came to my mind, nothing, [inaud] I still feel that it doesn't matter if you turn to religion ... that why should it bring you back your strength (mm) I think a person - to a certain extent so many people can help you (mm) and the rest has got to be done by you (mm) as a person. (mm mm)

I: Did you feel like you were doing work, I mean when you say you were, I was just trying to think, you say you had to bring yourself back to that position, did you feel you had to exert (ja) a lot of will power to?

S: Ja you had to you had to work, you know you can't - it just doesn't happen, but it leads to it (mm mm) It starts off very um, agonizing you know. That's how it worked for me anyway. (mm mm)

I: Like immediately after that you were sort of broken down in a way that you hadn't ever felt?

S: If it, it must've been the worst moment of my life, (mm mm) not even relationships, whatever, arguments, whatever, that was the lowest level I've been. (mm) And no, it was like nearly drowning, (mm mm) fighting to, to be above water (mm) And slowly but surely [inaud] (mm m) Its not always 100%, between 90 and 100 percent I'm not perfect, (mm)

I: I mean I think even that, you know with trauma, I think you said that you know you don't, you don't forget it, it isn't (ja I know) like it sort of goes away but what you hope is that you can get to a point where when you think about it, it doesn't overwhelm you in the same way, it doesn't upset you in the same way. And it seems like you feel you, you've got to that.

S: I think ahh, ahh, it I think really I can see it, it can make me sad (mm mm) when I talk about it (mm mm no I can see that) My eye, my eyes get um, um watery (mm mm) I think um for other people to know there were sad moments, there were very sad moments in my life and they were close to - moments where you could be, you want to take your own life (mm mm) - you could be suicidal (mm mm) You, your mind is not there, its gone, its strength has vanished (mm) - its strength has to be regained (mm mm) you know.

I: Well I mean that's a big loss, its like (ja) its like having something taken away from you by force, it wasn't your car, it was what it did to your life at that time, or your feeling about yourself, hey.

S: Its exactly what I was thinking (mm) Well my, that hurt I realised I was living afterwards about my life was at stake. (mm mm) The people who were doing it just had no value for life (mm mm) That's what hurt me. (mm mm)

I: A sort of being forced ... to see that ugly part of life (ja) ja ja

S: See and ah ... That's, that's why I say that I always had my lows in life (mm mm) it could never match. That's why I said between 90 and 100, there's always that 10% - the, the trauma side, where I think it made me sad (mm mm) It made me um oh made you, crying (mm mm) why ... and all those things. You're going to go through um... you know tears and love and ... I don't know, there are so many things to talk about. (ja)

I: I mean I sometimes say to people, I think sometimes it is a bit like grieving (it is ja) Its like losing something really important and you can't pretend it hasn't happened to you, you have to kind of ...

S: And the part of it, the worst part of it - my job was to be on the road so I'm in the car (mm mm)

I: That must have been hard too. Do you drive that route ever?

S: No,

I: Or do you avoid that intersection? (no, I never ever go there) You don't have to? [overlap] (I don't go there) or you just avoid it? (no I don't go there) ahh hah

S: Ja I don't really have to, it, it ahh, it can happen anywhere. It can happen in the best street (mm mm) with all the security in the world (mm mm) So that's, I think that's not even worth it because you - a friend of yours [inaud] Its very, um it can happen anywhere, anyplace, anytime I mean in the world (mm) No I think, ... I think its important for um people to know that um that it doesn't just, doesn't go away (mm) Maybe I could talk in ten years time and think its actually gone, (mm) but I don't think in a life-timespan that you'll ever forget it (mm) Maybe, ... but I think [you've just got to get stronger] I'm also a weak - I've got weaknesses, everybody's got weak feelings, (mm) but the weak feeling I've got, is it makes me sad (mm) (mumble) It makes you cry you know, (mm mm) it makes you ...

distraught you know what I mean (mm) to think about it. But um if you talk about it ... and you feel down and you talk about it [you come through better and better?]. I mean when I walk out of here its ... finished. It's inside here and now its gone. When I walk out I don't have to think about it (ja ja) I can switch, switch off (can switch off, close the door in a way) ja, ja (ja)

I: But I do think, I mean I think even talking more, or letting yourself feel the same is probably still constructive, cause that's that's what prevents you drinking and maybe prevents you, do you know what, I mean there, other, otherwise that's sometimes what you avoid. [overlap]

S: [you are?] avoid depressions and, when you think of depressions everything comes back to you (mm mm) at a rapid pace, and its not easy to forget that (mm mm) and it not easy to get back to - its easier to get depressed, it takes you harder to get confident again (mm mm) [inaud] and its easier to fall down in a hole, you can slump like that but then, - over, quick time (mm)

I: So does that still happen to you occasionally?

S: I think you know what I went through that depression, when I had that you know actually when I have a few too many I actually can go into (mm mm) [mumble]

I: So you know you've got to stop it.

S: Ja there's a limit, there's limits ja I don't know I think I'm talking about people on their own, lonely, from experience (laughs) I don't know, I would love to know - you always love to know how other people felt but I'm sure they must feel similar conditions? (mm mm) I don't know if you've spoken to anybody else (mm mm)

I: Ja I have and I mean I think in some ways some of the things you've said are just absolutely classic posttraumatic stress symptoms, the being jumpy, the being afraid, looking

around all the time, (ja) being irritable, (ja) wanting to withdraw, (mm) losing interest in things, (ja) all those things (all those things) Ja, ja - but I mean I do think I mean my, I think that maybe in some ways its harder for men to deal with, cause men are not used to being victims you know they.

S: Well that's what I said to you (ahh hah) Its a different situation with a woman and a man (ja) quite correct, I'm not happy because [inaud]

I: And I mean I'm not saying its any easier for women but I think in some ways it doesn't threaten the way they - they know themselves in in maybe in quite the same way as for a guy I think its very hard to have feelings of helplessness and feeling out of control and feeling sad and being weepy sometimes, I mean I think ...

S: That's it ja. Look they say you're not a man, you're not a man if you haven't cried you know that type of thing, which is true (mm) So you become a man and a man must show his feelings you know, cry and show his feelings (mm) so that's genuine you know, its not just, some people think [mumble] got a mask, behind the mask (mm mm) which is worse (mm mm)

I: So it was something you weren't used to but you'd manage to accept in yourself - that.

S: Yes, no I've managed to accept it you know, um, I've had a good working environment and that and its managed to help me a lot of the day and at night (mm) Of course you know your family and that, but you know my family don't like to talk about it, they don't like to see me upset and they just used to, after a while they leave you, so I don't want to talk about it anymore, enough's enough you know. (mm) But now I'm alright, I mean they talk to me about it and just plain and simple "no, I, ok". And they say "so how you feeling?" I say I'm fine (ja ja)

I: Well its probably it probably better that they don't ask you in quite such a deep way as I have, I mean they haven't sort of (ja no they don't) So you were, I mean you, do you think you'll be ok I mean when you leave here, I mean its not.

S: Yes, no no I'll be fine [overlap] I've got rugby tomorrow, (laughs) I've got my gun, (you've got things to do) I'm going out for supper tonight, tomorrow I go and spend a bit of time with Carol, have a bit of lunch with her and then I go to rugby, and then my customer, and Sunday I (laughs, oh alright)

I: Well, I mean if there's anything you want to talk about you've got, you wrote my phone number? I think hey (yes) I think its unlikely, ok, laughs

S: Unless you want to phone me, but I'm ok, and ah, thank you for everything as well

I: No, thank you, there's just one last, I just want to do one last thing, we don't need the tape recorder for that.

TAPE RECORDER SWITCH OFF

(Some immediate observations)

GILL: After filling in a symptom check list, one of the things that Paul mentioned is that he still sometimes has trouble sleeping, particularly if he sleeps in his own flat, and in fact, he avoids sleeping in his own flat and sleeps at Carol's mostly. He keeps the flat and a maid cleans it, but he doesn't actually spend very much time there, and that particularly when he's there on his own he still thinks about the possibility that they might come back and also when he reads newspaper articles about people who've been hijacked that it brings back the image of the man with the gun into his mind and he then said that he didn't know if the guy's ever been caught so he could be out there. Also talked a bit about the fact that that is part of the reason why he's still afraid that they could come back, even a year later, two years later. And then he talked a little bit about the fact that he doesn't let his family know how he feels about it - I think this might be on the tape already but if the family ask him about

it he just says he's ok because they can see he gets upset and he doesn't, he doesn't really want to show that he's upset in front of them anymore. It does seem like some of the symptoms are still quite strongly there and I did mention the EMDR to him but I also didn't want to impose treatment on him when he feels like he's handled things as well as he could. I think that's it.

One of the other things that was very clear was as he said he was often quite teary, well his eyes certainly watered and um there were points when he looked quite close to tears, particularly when he spoke about how it had affected Carol and her reports about him being very aggressive or losing his temper and also right at the end when we were talking about how difficult it is perhaps for men to deal with and the kind of sadness that he's felt about it. There's was also a point quite near the beginning, actually the point where he was talking about the identification parades and how difficult it was for him where he kind of started scratching his chest, as if there were some association between that that I don't know whether it was that he was particularly anxious but he sort of put his fingers in between the buttons of his shirt and was kind of rubbing his chest in quite a strong way and most of the interview he was very serious, except perhaps towards the last 20 minutes, he started to smile a bit and occasionally laughed but generally he did seem quite a disclosing or reasonably open kind of person. There wasn't much sense of awkwardness in the interview. I think I did feel some sense of protectiveness towards him and I was quite strongly aware of his vulnerability although he is physically a very big man. I think that's about it.

Appendix H

DESCRIPTIONS OF CODES CONSTITUTED OF LESS THAN 50 RECORDING UNITS

CLUSTER 2: REACTIONS TO TRAUMATIZATION

COOPERATION (44)

The category was used to encompass all references to responses to the situation which involved compliance on the interviewee's part. Thus Cooperation referred to deference to instructions, indications of complicity and avoidance of contestation with the assailant/s. Such descriptions of response were typical in every case, usually spontaneously mentioned in the re-telling of the actual circumstances of the incident.

FLIGHT (41)

The terms "fight" and "flight" have been used both theoretically and colloquially in the traumatic stress field. In this case the term Flight was used to encompass any response which involved the need to avoid or get away from the source of the traumatic threat. Unlike the symptom category of avoidance this code tended to reflect immediate responses to threat which involved escape. In addition to identifying material related to this impulse in the trauma context, the category also encompassed material related to leaving the country or region in which the trauma took place as this content was not strictly speaking within the frame of DSM-IV avoidance symptomology in which evasion is viewed as tied to more specific cues.

SELF-DOUBT (39)

As the heading suggests this theme encompassed statements reflecting interviewee's questioning of their own responses and behaviour. Whilst self-doubt is a phenomenon which has generally been described in the literature as it pertains to individual's preoccupation with the manner in which they coped with the traumatic event, in certain instances self-doubt also appeared to extend to questioning the appropriateness of responses to the trauma. All items reflecting any such questioning of the self were coded under this heading.

FANTASY (39)

This code heading was used to categorise material that related to imagined occurrences or outcomes either during or after the trauma. Fantasy material is common in response to traumatic incidents. During the incident fantasy is often related to attempts to anticipate how events might unfold and possible means of dealing with this. Following the traumatic incident fantasy material tends to pertain to anticipated future threat. Both these elements of fantasy were present in the data.

PHYSICAL (36)

The code heading Physical arose out of the observation that all the interviewees at some point made mention of the physical impact of the trauma, i.e., talked of bodily injury or other effects of the trauma upon the body. Most of these comments pertained to the traumatic incident itself or to some physical response manifested in the immediate aftermath of the trauma and in this way can be distinguished from what could be viewed as psychosomatic symptomatic responses to traumatization.

PERSONALITY CHANGE (34)

In contrast to Symptoms this theme referred to more pervasive and permanent dimensions of personal response to trauma, which in some cases the interviewees themselves perceived as changes in personality style or temperament. Such changes could be described as both positive and negative, but represented a perception of shift from a previous style of being in the world. Rather than referring particularly to beliefs (as encompassed for example under Disillusionment) such areas of change referred to temperament and behaviour.

SHAME (25)

In contrast to Self-doubt, Shame was related to a sense of public exposure and judgement as opposed to negative self evaluations of response. The construct of shame encompassed notions of being judged and found lacking in the eyes of other people and society. Shame entailed a sense of inferiority and disgrace.

FAILED ENACTMENT (25)

Failed enactment, as described in the literature review, relates to the common report of trauma survivors of an impulse or impulses to have behaved differently within the context of their victimization. As Lifton (in Wilson and Raphael, 1993) outlines, failed enactment represents the inability to have acted in accord with cognitive plans or possibilities, even if these were not entirely coherently conceptualized at the time. Thus the reporting of failed enactment can pertain to such thoughts as they were described as operative during the course of the traumatic event, or in retrospective evaluation, but remain centred on activity during the traumatic incident itself. In this respect Failed Enactment is more specific in its focus than Self-Doubt which may relate to functioning other than the impulse to action, and may reflect evaluations of response post the traumatic incident.

DISBELIEF (23)

The construct of Disbelief arose out of the observation of spontaneous reporting of a sense of unreality and estrangement as the trauma began to unfold. It is in the nature of traumatic stress that it is generally unexpected and unanticipated and involves an element of shock and incredulity. It is this aspect of exposure to the traumatic event that this theme encapsulated.

REGRESSION (21)

This category referred to a sense of disablement associated with the trauma which involved a sense of a return to a more primitive developmental level of functioning, usually implying vulnerability to extreme dependency. Whilst the code could perhaps be viewed as a sub-category of the code Independence, it was an aspect of experience that appeared to capture a particularly severe form of decompensation. Such extremity of helplessness was not commonly reported as the frequency dimensions indicate. In the case of this category this may have reflected a lack of preoccupation with this issue or some reluctance to own or report such experience. Terms such as being "babied or doctored" tended to be associated with this code.

CONTAMINATION (16)

This theme related to the sense of violation or contamination that often accompanies trauma. Whilst this aspect of psychological experience is probably most common in cases of sexual violation, such as rape, in which the self has been literally penetrated or misused as an object, such sentiments are not uncommon in victims of theft. In common with theft victims, the material most commonly expressed by the interviewees in this study related to damage to property and in some cases to personal space or integrity.

CLUSTER 3: PSYCHOLOGICAL DEFENCES AND COPING RESPONSES

CONTRADICTION (48)

The code Contradiction was designed to tap just this dimension of interviewee's presentation, i.e., the manifestation of contradictory assertions or behaviour. Units were coded as representing contradiction when it was apparent that there was a discrepancy between two aspects of presentation. The category is difficult to illustrate in single segments of text since it sometimes pertained to contradiction across the full text of the interview, or to incongruities in the interviewee's behavioural presentation and their verbal statements. For example, one interviewee stated that he never doubted his decisions despite clear evidence during the course of the interview that he had done so in several instances related to the trauma. Another interviewee stated initially that he was completely at ease to talk about the traumatic incident, but became quite tearful in recounting the events. It is recognized that a considerable degree of inference involving clinical observation and judgement was employed in assigning material to this category.

PAST ASSOCIATIONS (47)

This category should perhaps more accurately be termed "related associations" as it encompassed both past and present associations to the trauma, with an emphasis on the former. Broadly speaking this theme dealt with material that pertained to associations to other events or responses not directly related to the present incident. In psychoanalytic work with trauma it tends to be assumed that the current trauma will resonate with earlier developmental experiences of a similar nature, for example, prior experiences of helplessness and how these were negotiated may become implicated in the traumatic

response. Such associations may be conscious or unconscious. In the present study the category bore some resemblance to this analytic formulation but was less narrow in its formulation and pertained to conscious volunteering of such associations. Typical examples included reference to prior exposure to trauma or to related past or current stressors that the person was experiencing. In addition, there were also references to related incidences of trauma that acquaintances or people close to the interviewee had suffered. Material was only coded under this category if it appeared to have some direct relevance to the trauma. Thus digressions into tangential material, such as unrelated relationship difficulties, was excluded from such categorisation.

GROWTH (34)

Within the trauma literature and the generally field of stress and coping it is recognised that many individuals experience aspects of dealing with the situation as growth enhancing. As an aspect of adjustment, units were coded under growth if they represented some form of optimistic or transcendent outcome for the interviewee. This often took the form of expressions of lessons learned or wisdom gained.

EMPATHY (25)

This code was generated to encompass those statements which reflected the interviewee's perception of themselves as having gained a deeper sense of understanding and identification with other victims. Thus one of the more positive outcomes that participants felt they had acquired was a greater sensitivity to human suffering and a capacity for empathy based on their own experience.

HUMOUR (18)

Similar to the code Growth, this category was also created to capture an aspect of what is usually viewed as a fairly healthy psychological defence. Whilst this defence was identified in the interviews it was not a very frequently occurring phenomenon. Humour, as the term suggests, was used to code statements in which the interviewee attempted to make light of, or joke about, aspects of the situation. In some cases such an approach was reflected upon

in response to other's engagement with the interviewee or was demonstrated in the process of the interview.

CLUSTER 4: FRAME OF REFERENCE AND MEANING

JUST WORLD (34)

Based on the theoretical description of Just World perceptions as outlined by Lerner, this code comprised statements related to perceptions of "fairness" in the traumatic encounter, for example whether the degree of violence exercised was fitting to the behaviour of the victim/survivor. Notions of deserving and deservedness were coded under this theme.

CLUSTER 5: CONTEXT SPECIFIC ISSUES

INTERVENTION (43)

The category was engendered to incorporate material relating to interviewees' elaboration upon the kinds of professional and public services they received in response to the trauma. This included amongst other services, the involvement of the police, private security personnel, medical staff and politicians or office bearers. Whilst the category has resonance with aspects of the broad trauma literature which have dealt with secondary traumatization, it is viewed as context specific since the operation of such services was perceived as such by most of the interviewees. Whilst there are no doubt areas of overlap with international trends, there were also clearly localized aspects to such service provision, specific to how legal, security, political and health systems were perceived to operate within South Africa. Any statements relating to such public intervention were coded under this heading.

CLUSTER 6: MASCULINITY

ADVERSARY (46)

Units were assigned to this category if they reflected a sense of weighing up the circumstances, and the attacker/s in particular, in terms of their potency relative to the self. The notion of an adversary tends to relate to combat, i.e., the pitting of one or more people against each other in a competitive sense. The intention is to demonstrate dominance over the other, often physically. The statements so coded within the data set tended to reflect this

parallel perception of the situation as potentially combative and the weighing up of the assets of the other in terms of one's own options or lack of option to retaliate.

WORK (46)

This code pertained to all the material expressed relating to the interviewee's occupation and earning activities. Whether in industry or a profession all the men interviewed referred to their work as significant in some way in relation to the trauma. Any statement relating to such occupational status and activity was coded under this heading.

WEAPON (30)

Almost all the men evidenced some preoccupation with weaponry, usually in the form of guns. This concern tended to be in relation to their own armed capacity and issues to do with mastery of weaponry. However, in some cases knowledge of guns was brought to bear in assessing the degree of danger inherent in the trauma situation in terms of the firepower of the attackers. Thus preoccupation with weaponry was a theme both during and in the aftermath of the trauma.

CLUSTER 7: MISCELLANEOUS

COUNSELLING (46)

Any material pertaining to formal debriefing, counselling or psychotherapy was coded under this heading. The receipt of counselling from both lay and professional counsellors was included, for example, visiting a rabbi specifically for discussion of the impact of the trauma or attending a clinic for debriefing. Whilst the bulk of this material stemmed from interviewees who had made use of such services, the remainder often made some comment on such possible utilization and their general reflections upon counselling.

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