UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

IDENTITY, PTSD, & PSYCHOTHERAPY WITH POLICEMEN DURING THE TRANSITION FROM APARTHEID TO POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

By
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DECLARATION

I, Sharon Auld, declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This investigation is an attempt to locate traumatic experience within a socio-historically grounded context. I focus on a group of four South African policemen who were referred for psychotherapy with symptoms of PTSD (posttraumatic stress disorder). These men were drawn from a large number of policemen I worked with in my private psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapeutic practice between 1999 and 2005. There were particular similarities within this group: they were from white, Afrikaans-speaking upbringings, joining the police under the apartheid regime and remaining after its demise. They had long and successful police service prior to the onset of symptoms of PTSD.

At one level this investigation explores how the past experiences of this group of policemen played out in their police work in post-apartheid South Africa. However, at another level, I explore the impact of violent and oppressive external realities on their internal worlds, and how their internal worlds played themselves out in their external realities. My focus is on how white Afrikaner policemen, with their experiences of being policemen during the transition from the SAP (South African Police) during apartheid to the SAPS (South African Police Service) post-apartheid, could be understood by cultural narratives and also by unconscious dynamics.

This investigation aims to explore why *this* group of policemen presented in psychotherapy, why they presented at *this* particular moment in their well established police careers, and why they presented with symptoms of *PTSD*.

Qualitative research methodology is methodology of choice in this research as it emphasises the importance of context for understanding the world. People

create and sustain meanings of social categories such as gender, race, and class, through the process of interpellation. In the process they often 'talk back' to the dominant understanding of these categories. I employ psychoanalytic narrative analysis to explore this 'dialogue'.

This investigation links psychoanalysis with social theory, and develops a framework for understanding the importance of cultural and historical processes within psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapeutic practice (and the importance of the unconscious within cultural and historical processes). I highlight how socialisation - connected to these policemen's place and time in the on-going history of South Africa - may have led to certain internal predisposing factors. These factors were characterised by a particular kind of defensive splitting which functioned to keep idealised good objects and an internalised bad object system apart. I then go on to investigate what this group of policemen experienced as traumatic within the socio-historical context of post-apartheid South Africa. In doing so I explore, using clinical illustrations, how the external world is internalised and the internal world is externalised - acting back on the social world.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

BLOOD & GUTS: An introduction

The place to begin is with the men who were in the trenches of police work as members of the SAPS (South African Police Service). There was Wilhelm, a Sergeant who worked for the Search & Rescue Unit, collecting the bodies of the dead after accidents and disasters. His nightmares were filled with lifeless eyes staring blankly back at him. Francois, the Major whose friend - a Chaplain in the SAP (South African Police) - committed suicide, could not speak to his wife of the horrifying scenes he witnessed as part of his daily duties as a policeman. Riaan was a Warrant Officer with the Dog Unit. He saw himself as an angel, sent to guard the helpless and vulnerable, yet he did not attend church as he felt his actions could not be forgiven. Hendrick was a Warrant Officer in the Rapid Response Unit. He witnessed his colleague being shot, before being shot himself, after a high-speed freeway chase of a stolen vehicle culminated in a bloody ambush.

The general public - informed by the media and crime statistics – tend to view police work in South Africa as brutal and bloody. As a result of this general perception I was initially unsurprised to be referred a large number of police members with symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) when I started my private psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapeutic practice[1] in 1999. When these men and women engaged in psychotherapy my focus - informed by general perceptions of police work and psychoanalytically oriented theoretical models for treating combat-related PTSD - was on facilitating the incorporation of their distressing experiences into their everyday lives. These men and women were suffering from a variety of symptoms including nightmares, insomnia, phobic reactions, anger, anxiety, hyper-vigilance,

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[1] For ease of writing I shall refer to forms of psychotherapy which use Freudian theory in combination with other techniques as 'psychoanalytically orientated psychotherapy' in this chapter, before shortening it to 'psychotherapy' and 'therapy' for the remainder of the thesis.

depression and substance abuse. They had become isolated from their families and friends: they felt that no one could understand or cope with what they had been through. These men and women were particularly bitter towards the SAPS whom they largely blamed for their predicament. During the course of therapy some police members moved from being people whose lives held no meaning, who felt contaminated by death, and who were at the mercy of symptoms which fragmented their lives, to being people capable of rediscovering life, able to form and have new meaningful relationships, and able to rediscover part of the self they thought had died. Their symptoms dissipated and they began to appreciate how they had been transformed by their experiences. They were able to integrate this transformation into a new outlook on life. However, while some men and women were able to work through their experiences, some were not. This thesis is about those policemen, in particular, whose lives remained fragmented by symptoms of PTSD.

This investigation focuses on a group of four policemen – Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick. They stood out from their colleagues as they had long and successful police service with both the SAP and SAPS[2] prior to onset of their symptoms of PTSD. Their presentation in therapy was surprising as it was so out of character: they were burly, self-sufficient men, who were trained not to show emotion. There were other similarities within this group: in relation to factors from their pasts, their approach to life, their socialisation in terms of culture and gender, as well as the type of psychological defence organisation they adopted. These four men were from white, Afrikaans-speaking upbringings, joining the police under the apartheid regime and remaining after its demise – the so-called 'old guard'. They accepted horror and violence as *par for the course*. They were respected and admired by their peers, receiving promotions, extra responsibility, and media 'fame'. They took great pride in

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[2] The SAP was established with the Act of Union in 1910. Its members combined the role of law enforcer and soldier. With the rise of the NP (National Party) in 1948, and the movement towards South Africa's independence as a Republic, the SAP was used as a political instrument to maintain and uphold the violent and oppressive apartheid system. With the dawn of democracy in 1994, the SAP added the word 'Service' to its title. This was an attempt to move away from paramilitary law enforcement towards community policing.

their work, and were seen by family and friends as examples to emulate. They had previously made light of horrifying events, often collecting gruesome photographs of crime scenes to compare with colleagues, making notches in their firearms to tally the number of suspects they had killed, and apparently coping 'normally' with disturbing aspects of their job.

Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick reported a calling to join the police at a very young age. They saw themselves first and foremost as police 'officers' (the colloquial term these men used to refer to themselves), rather than this merely being their occupation. An apparent contradiction, however, was that they presented in therapy with requests for medical boarding[3]. This proved not to be a contradiction as they did not wish to leave the SAPS, nor did they want to be deferred to 'light' duties, such as desk bound office work. Instead, they wanted to remain policemen, but were prevented from engaging with their active duties due to PTSD.

Despite the longevity of their engagement with psychotherapy - each had over a year in once weekly psychoanalytically orientated psychotherapy - they failed to make any significant progress. In sessions they seemed to lack symbolic thought and expression, often being unable to see things from other perspectives. Their communications tended to be concrete and one-dimensional. As a result, my ability to engage with them was greatly curtailed. This example from the end of Hendrick's third session highlights his one-dimensional style of communication. By way of introduction, Hendrick was a thirty-four year old Warrant Officer in the Rapid Response Unit:

Case[4, 5]: Hendrick

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[3] A medically boarded SAPS member is a person who is incapacitated because of ill-health. No fault is attributed to the member. This enables the person to stay in employment if this is at all reasonably possible. The member can be boarded 'on' or 'off' duty: as a result of work related or unrelated events.

[4] Patients have a right to expect confidentiality. I have confined myself to clinical material from patients who have finished their treatment and from whom permission for publication has been sought. Pseudonyms have been employed and place names changed. A period of several years has passed since their last sessions. The hope here was to make provision for these men to return for further treatment if they had wished.

[5] The data in this study comprises therapeutic transcripts (narratives). From this point in the thesis I will be drawing on the data to highlight different areas of the discussion. Some data will be presented in summary form while other data will be precise therapeutic transcript.

Earlier in this session Hendrick mentioned he had a fear of the dark and confined spaces. Despite asking him to elaborate, I did not get a strong sense of what he meant.

Therapist   Tell me about the things that make you feel afraid.

Hendrick   [*Silence.*]

             You mean apart from driving?

Therapist   Ok. Tell me about driving.

Hendrick   [*Silence.*]

             Well, whenever I have to drive anywhere, I get tense. I grip the steering wheel tightly. I'm constantly checking to see what's going on around me. Sometimes I start to sweat.

Therapist   How long has this been going on for?

Hendrick   [*He smiles.*]

             A year or so I guess.

Therapist   What do you think the tight grip, the vigilance and the sweating are about?

Hendrick   I guess I'm ready for any action that may happen.

Therapist   You always are prepared to defend yourself and those you love. Do you ever do anything else?

Hendrick   No, I can't say I do.

Therapist   Rather than defending your fear, how else do you care for it?

Hendrick   What do you mean?

Therapist   Well, if your daughter told you she was scared because she'd had a bad experience at school what would you advise her?

Hendrick   I'd go to her school and speak to her teacher.

Therapist   That's not what I asked you. I mean, how would you help her to care for her feelings herself?

Hendrick   But it's my job to sort out stuff for her; she's only 9!

Therapist   You hide behind a lot of self imposed rules and regulations. This seems to stop you looking at things from other perspectives. Could you not say to your daughter that you know how scared she is? That you are thinking of her? Ask her what she wants to do? Or, ask if she needs you to face it with her?

Hendrick   Oh, I suppose so.

Therapist   Then could you share your fears with your loved ones so that you feel you're not alone?

Hendrick   [*He smiles.*]

Paulette [*his* wife] would never understand.

Therapist   How do you know that? Have you ever tried?

Hendrick   No. I just know she wouldn't. She can't handle scary things. I've got to look after her.

Therapist   Perhaps that's a role you have cast yourself in. Perhaps it doesn't allow you to look at your wife in another way or see yourself as a man who also gets scared. Perhaps that is something to think about.

Hendrick   Mmm.

As therapist I had to be very active in the session to try to get Hendrick to see other perspectives in his own communications. More complex interpretations were not useful at this point as there seemed to be no potential space for associations. In the session the silences felt vacuous as opposed to contemplative. Hendrick's body language (for example, his smile) felt stilted. I could not describe his smile as an "emotional response" as it lacked emotional content. Rather, his smile seemed merely to be an exercise in social etiquette.

Looking generally at the participants' psychoanalytic narratives, Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick appeared thoughtful and diligent. However, much of the time, the participants seemed to engage in therapy in rather "mindless" ways (Cartwright, 2002a, p. 178). Cartwright sees mindlessness as a way of protecting oneself from parts of the self that have been frozen by trauma or vexed by a sense of 'nothingness'. (I discuss the concept of mindlessness more fully in chapter seven).

As a result of Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick's lack of therapeutic

progress and their concrete, one-dimensional, and mindless therapeutic engagement, I as their therapist, returned to my psychodynamic formulations and reflected upon the following questions:

- Why did *these* men present in therapy?
- Why did they present at *this* particular moment in their well established police service?
- Why did they present with symptoms of *PTSD*?

My reflections ultimately caused me to broaden the search for meaning beyond the consulting room and subsequently undertake this research. As a consequence this work is not about what is usually construed as traumatic. It is, first and foremost, about this specific group of policemen's identity: who they are, were, and could be. I explore what *these* policemen experienced as *traumatic* within the *socio-historical context* of post-apartheid South Africa. For these reasons, the thesis is entitled: *Identity, PTSD & psychotherapy with policemen during the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa*.

Psychoanalytic discourses

As a psychotherapist my work is informed by psychotherapeutic relationships and psychoanalytically orientated theory. Psychotherapeutic relationships involve the interaction between *two participants*, the therapist and the patient. As Robert Langs (1990) explains:

> Psychotherapy is a relationship and interaction between an individual with an emotionally founded problem who is seeking help (a designated patient) and an expert who is capable of assisting him or her in effecting its resolution (a designated therapist). The nature of this therapeutic relationship, and of the transaction between the two participants, is structured and shaped by the implicit and explicit attitudes and interventions of the therapist and

secondarily by the patient. (Langs, 1990, p. 3)

Ivey (2009) explains that what distinguishes psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy from other therapeutic modalities is its aim of accessing the unconscious and its "insistence on exploring unconscious psychological processes, be they in the form of symptoms, free associations, dreams or patterns of interactions" with the therapist (p. 90). Patrick Casement, in his seminal book *On Learning from the Patient* (1985), describes the world of unconscious communication between people as "strange and often awesome" and "complicated and confusing" (p. x).

Of course there are theories which guide psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy. They define more clearly the framework in which psychotherapists work. Casement (1985) points out that these are necessary if analytic interpretation is not to become a matter of inspired guesswork. What Casement terms the *art* of psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy is "the therapist's trust in the analytic process to re-discover theory afresh with each patient" (p. 4). By doing so, any theoretical similarity to what formerly had been developed in relation to others will be arrived at through fresh discovery. However, as Bion (1974, p. 13) says:

> In every consulting room there ought to be two rather
> frightened people; the patient and the psycho-analyst. If
> they are not, one wonders why they are bothering to find
> out what everyone knows.

Casement (1985) points out that theory helps to moderate the therapist's helplessness of not-knowing, but that it remains important that theory "should be the servant to the work of therapy and not its master" (p. 4).

When Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick were patients my work with them as their therapist was informed by psychoanalytic theories. The underlying

premise of psychoanalytic discourses[6] on psychic trauma is that it involves loss of some sort – whether actual or symbolic. As Ivey (2005) notes, this loss can assume many forms – death, the loss of physical functioning through injury, the loss of one's home or homeland, the loss of an established identity, and the loss of the perception of the world as a safe space. Levy & Lemma (2004) explain that the mourning of this loss is imperative for psychological recovery. Bowlby (1961, p. 317) describes mourning as "[t]he psychological processes that are set in train by the loss of a loved object and that commonly lead to relinquishing of the object". Rycroft (1995) sees mourning as following bereavement and being accompanied by grief. He explains that it may be followed by attachment to a new object. In other words, mourning involves a working through of loss. The process of mourning requires facing the loss of the object[7] as well as the loss of its self and internal object representations[8], acknowledging them and dealing with them. My therapeutic work with Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick entailed facilitating their acknowledgement of their losses and their engagement with the process of mourning. However, while these men could acknowledge many losses (the loss of colleagues, their perception of the world as a safe and benign space, and the loss of their taken for granted ways of knowing themselves), they all ultimately failed to engage any further with the process of mourning.

Levy and Lemma (2004) believe that the mourning process can become waylaid if defences are erected against the pain of loss. Although the psychological aim of these defensive processes is for overwhelming psychic pain to be avoided, Levy and Lemma suggest that the defences ultimately reduce the ability for imaginative and emotionally fulfilling contact with self and

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[6] Swartz (1989) defines discourse as a "set of terms, statements, or signifiers reflecting a set of attitudes, meanings or beliefs. It moulds the individual's perspective in that particular area, and positions him/her, allowing certain things to be said/seen/known/communicated, and disallowing others. It creates areas of silence, ellipses in knowledge, gaps in lived experience, while drawing attention to experience/knowledge salient to that discourse" (p. 19).

[7] According to Rycroft (1995) an object is "[t]hat towards which action or desire is directed; that which the subject requires in order to achieve instinctual satisfaction; that to which the subject relates himself" (p. 113).

[8] Rycroft (1995) see internal object-representation as having acquired the significance of an external object. He describes them as images occurring in phantasies which are reacted to as 'real'. They are derived from external objects by introjections and are conceived to be located in internal reality.

others, the chance of psychological recovery, and the working through of the past. Returning to the brief extract from Hendrick's third session, presented earlier, the concrete and one-dimensional nature of his interactions highlights his limited ability to creatively and expressively engage with me as his therapist in the session. Therefore, in this research I will explore whether Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick's defensive processes reduced their ability for creative and expressive contact with self and others, and the impact this may have had on their working through distressing experiences.

Returning to ideas around how psychoanalytic theories and the psychoanalytical relationship inform psychoanalytically orientated psychotherapy, Ivey (2009) explains that two of the most significant psychoanalytic discoveries have been the appreciation of countertransference as an analytic instrument and the recognition that the (internalisation of) the therapeutic relationship is a central ingredient in facilitating positive psychological change. He describes these discoveries as being intertwined:

> … if the therapist's emotional reactions to the patient are at
> least partly determined by the unconscious influence the
> patient exerts, then the therapist's response to his or her
> emotional arousal will impact on the patient's experience and
> internalisation of the interaction as either psychically healing
> or psychically damaging. (Ivey, 2009, p. 86)

This emphasis on the patient's experience of the relationship, rather than merely on the insight into unconscious conflicts presumed to accompany the therapist's interpretations, complicates our understanding of the therapeutic process. As Ivey (2009, p. 86) highlights: "*Who* we are and *how* we are in the therapeutic interaction becomes more important than our cognitive understanding of the patient's intrapsychic processes". The therapist is seen as a committed participant in unconsciously structured relational transactions. Ivey believes that these relational transactions need to be understood with the

patient in the spirit of mutual enquiry.

It is through the essence of Ivey's (2009) conceptualisation of the patient's experience of the therapeutic relationship that I hope to broaden the search for meaning in this research beyond the consulting room. I believe that using Ivey's ideas in this investigation allows for the experience of being an 'old guard' policeman in therapy not to be thought about meaningfully in *only* psychological terms.

Narrative identity

Who are the 'old guard'? As I mentioned earlier, there were particular similarities within this group of policemen. These similarities gave Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick an identity over and above their collective identity as policemen. According to de la Ray (1991) social categorisations do not merely divide the social world into categories in which others can be located. She believes that they also provide a system by which we can define our own place in society. Through the social categorisation process we place ourselves as members of some group(s), while excluding ourselves from other groups. According to Tajfel & Turner (1979), group membership becomes internalised as part of the self-concept. Tajfel & Turner see the self-concept as consisting of two subsystems: personal identity and social identity. Personal identity covers the unique aspects of the individual such as personal likes and dislikes, whereas social identity refers to descriptions of the person as a member of various groups.

Hayes (2002a), drawing on Frosh, explains that:

> … developing the psychoanalytic idea of identity formation in
> a more social way we can say that there is no singular, or
> fixed, identity 'residing' in each person, but rather the
> human subject, as a social subject, is always in a process of
> identity formation. (p. 44)

Hayes (2002a) continues to explain that we act according to certain historically constituted *social* identities, as well as acting to "(re)-constitute and (re)-establish our (social) identities at times when these are under threat" (p. 44). Denzin (1989) elaborates when he explains, "… stories move outward from the selves of the person and inward to the groups that give them meaning and structure" (p. 81). He quotes Marx in the observation that men and women "make their own history, but not … under conditions they have chosen for themselves; rather on terms immediately existing, given and handed down to them" (in Denzin, 1989, p. 10). We are not able to leap out of our social and historical context, and so we are caught within the imaginary and social identities that our socialisation has constructed (Hayes, 2002a). We create ourselves when we engage in storytelling practices. We give an account of ourselves through story telling practices. We also create the persons we talk and write about, because we engage in storytelling practices.

Merrill (2007) in his introduction to his paper, *Stories of narrative: On social scientific use of narrative in multiple disciplines*, describes narratives as both complex and revealing:

> They are linguistic structures: they are syntax and semantics; they are plots and characters; they are sequences. Narratives are also substantive, in that they are what we say: they are phrases; they are colloquialisms; they are loaded. Narratives, too, are contextualized within their construction: what they are depends on when and where they are said and, of course, by whom. Narratives are ripe and fertile: they are simultaneously products of individual and society and individual and society are their products. Narratives are social: they are local and national and global; they are feminine and masculine and all other positions possible. (Merrill, 2007, p. 1)

Merrill (2007) suggests that the self may be viewed as the product of narratives. However, he points out that we must not forget that narratives are products of narration, and that narration is a social activity. Merrill emphasises that narratives are not reified; they do not make us. Rather, he suggests they are creations, just as Denzin (1989) suggest we are creations. Merrill (2007) also believes that our actions are made understandable through narration; "we tell stories of our actions to render meaningful what we have done" (p.8).

Holstein and Gubrium (in Merrill, 2007) outline some strategies people employ to actively narrate identities. "*Narrative linkage*" (in Merrill, 2007, p. 9) involves bringing together personal biographical details with situational factors. Here a narrator can link present narratives to the past. The narrator can anticipated future narratives to establish a consistent, personally invested self presentation. For example, in Wilhelm's fourth session he portrayed himself as a diligent and efficient policeman. Wilhelm was a thirty-five year old Sergeant in the Search & Rescue Unit:

> Wilhelm: I used to bring my vehicle examinations home and complete the work at home in my spare time. I drew all the plans of collision scenes at home … I paid for my drawing board and drawing equipment myself … My own camera, as well as tools to strip motor vehicles … Everything to perform my duties … I never had work outstanding …

The next strategy Holstein and Gubrium describe is "*narrative slippage*" (in Merrill, 2007, p. 9). Here narrators actively avoid, or employ, certain story lines and narrative styles. For example, in the following clinical material, narrative slippage occurred when Francois, a forty-five year old Major in the CID (Central Investigation Department), could have claimed the status of "survivor", but did not. Instead, he drew on a qualitatively different discourse to narrate a less favourable identity, that of a "victim".

Francois   [*Silence.*]

> Herbie drank himself to death. Christo shot himself.
> My father died. What's the point of doing things
> differently if these great men have died? What
> chance do I have? I'm weak. I drink. There's no way
> out.

This concept of narrative slippage highlights the agentive nature of narration.
What I mean by this is, while culture provides the means of narration, people
direct their stories for their own purposes.

The last strategy Holstein and Gubrium describe is "*narrative options*" (in
Merrill, 2007, p. 9). This strategy describes how potential story lines are built
into narratives. Holstein and Gubrium suggest that this strategy gives authors
and audiences opportunities to contain unforeseen events. In the next
example, taken from Riaan's second session, Riaan spoke about his admiration
for his mother, and of her sacrifices for him and his sister. Riaan was a twenty-
six year old Warrant Officer with the Dog Unit.

Riaan   Mom sacrificed lots for us. She stayed with my dad
                   because of us. She's often depressed. But now, since
                   she divorced my dad, she's opening up more to me.
                   She doesn't get on so well with my sister, Tanya.
                   Tanya's religious and judges mom. Tanya's more like
                   my dad.

                   Mom worries about me … although I don't trust her a
                   hundred per cent … I don't want her to think badly of
                   me, that's why I keep the violence away from her.

Riaan's narration left open the narrative option for either aligning himself or distancing himself from his mother. Narrative options also speak to the agentic quality of narration. Holstein and Gubrium suggest that these three strategies illustrate how narrative actions are contextual and contingent. Narrative actions also suggest that the narrative self is also contextual and contingent. In this way Holstein and Gubrium's (in Merrill, 2007) concepts demonstrate how narration can be studied and understood as a process of self-construction.

In this investigation I employ the colloquial term 'old guard' to describe this group of white, Afrikaans speaking policemen who saw the SAP as their vocation. As suggested by Tajfel & Turner (1979), their group membership appeared to have been internalised as part of their self-concept: each of these men referred to themselves as being from the "old school". Their old school stories were told to them in their police units and passed on from one member to the next. The old school stories were reflective of understandings and practices that were at work in South Africa as a whole during apartheid. These stories contained messages about what it meant to be a white, Afrikaner policeman. The 'old guard' joined the police under the apartheid regime and remained post-apartheid. They were a faction of police whose allegiance was to old fashioned styles of policing and who were reluctant to accept new ideas. Therefore, I will employ the term 'old guard' extensively in this chapter to emphasis the socio-political context of these men.

Cultural discourses

If we want to know why someone is feeling distressed, it is important that psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy looks at the individual in order to understand his or her experience. However, through Ivey's (2009) emphasis on the patient's experience of the therapeutic relationship, rather than merely on the insight into unconscious conflicts, in this research I explore the relevance of understanding the physical, social and political environment in which the participants lived (and continue to live), and how this environment was created. In other words, in this research I will elaborate on the social dimension of the

therapeutic relationship to explore the old guard's experience of distress.

Focusing on the old guard, the following cultural discourses (amongst others) are of relevance: culture, gender, race, and class. During the early days of apartheid there was a job reservation policy aimed primarily at improving the lives of poor, Afrikaans speaking, white South Africans, implemented in all the state-owned enterprises, including the Post Office, Transnet, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Armscor, Eskom & Iscor, as well as state departments such as the SAP. When the new majority government came to power in 1994, led by the ANC (African National Congress), they decided to implement an affirmative action policy to correct previous imbalances. The Employment Equity Act and the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act aim to promote equality in the workplace, by advancing people from designated groups as a priority. By legal definition, the designated groups who are to be advanced in society include all people of colour, white women, people with disabilities, and people from rural areas. However, the affirmative action policy may have the effect of not advancing people from previously favoured groups. This effect has been perceived by the old guard as a direct policy against them.

Denzin (1989) suggests that cultural discourses and conventions provide framing devices for the stories we tell about our lives. One such framing device for the old guard was the new majority government's policy of affirmative action. The old guard's story was that their lack of promotion post-apartheid was as a consequence of affirmative action. Denzin notes that:

> These stories are learned and told in cultural groups. The stories that members of groups pass on to one another are reflective of understandings and practices that are at work in the larger system of cultural understandings that are acted upon by group members. These understandings contain conceptions of person's lives, meaningful, subjective experiences, and notions of how persons and their

experiences are to be represented … One becomes the stories one tells. (Denzin, 1989, p. 81)

Denzin's conceptions of stories being both learned and told by people of different cultures, and people becoming the stories they tell, allow us to broaden the search for meaning in this research beyond the consulting room.

Metanarratives and cultural narratives have bearing on Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan and Hendrick's presentation and engagement in psychotherapy. As Stephens & McCallum (1998) point out, in critical theory (and particularly postmodernism), a metanarrative is "a global or totalizing cultural narrative schema which orders and explains knowledge and experience" (p.6). The context in which these old guard policemen's therapeutic relationship occurred is not superfluous. Their therapeutic narratives are cultural: it is impossible to tell one's life story without some sort of cultural perspective. For example, Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan and Hendrick could not receive psychological treatment using the police medical aid or the Injury on Duty Department of the SAPS, without a psychiatric diagnosis having been made. Thus, for the old guard this psychiatric discourse was the *only* means of credibly expressing stress and distress within the SAPS.

Another example of the impact of culture on these old guard policemen was their presentation in therapy with symptoms of PTSD. Before 1994 PTSD was not regarded as an occupational illness. On 1 March 1994 the Compensation for Occupational Injuries & Diseases Act 130 of 1993 came into effect. This Act declared that PTSD could be seen as an occupational disease and, therefore, as an injury on duty. To comply with the Compensation for Occupational Injuries & Diseases Act Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick were initially seen by psychiatrists who solely were legislated to diagnose PTSD, before they could receive psychotherapy. However, this Act has enabled many policemen who were not previously able to access care for their distress, to do so, as it provided these policemen with a legitimate way of expressing their difficulties without feeling a failure, weak, inadequate, or unmanly.

An obvious motivation for the old guard presenting in therapy with symptoms of PTSD was that it allowed them a way out of the new SAPS, leaving their identity somewhat intact, but without the financial burden that would be incurred by flat-out resignation. While the diagnosis of PTSD was theoretically associated with psychological incentives in the form of state subsidised psychiatric and psychotherapeutic treatment, this proved far from the case. Payment for therapy from the state was limited and difficult to access. Responsibility for payment ultimately fell on the policemen themselves. While Francois and Hendrick were eventually medically boarded from the SAPS, Riaan and Wilhelm were not. The legal expenses incurred by these men during their boarding process were financially crippling. At the end of the day, the state pension that Francois and Hendrick obtained was insubstantial. Although the medical boarding process did allowed Wilhelm, Riaan, Francois, and Hendrick to express some of their anger at the changes in the SAPS, their symptomatology cannot be reduced to their desire to access benefits (monetary or otherwise) afforded under the Compensation for Occupational Injury & Disease Act 130 of 1993. These men sat out weekly individual psychoanalytically orientated psychotherapy for more than a year because they were distressed, not for psychological or monetary incentives.

As the SAPS' narratives around PTSD were the only way of expressing distress and accessing care within the SAPS, the old guard were informed by these narratives and invested in upholding them. This proved to be a central problem in psychotherapy. While the label of a psychiatric illness may have enabled many SAPS policemen (and policewomen) to access assistance, it provided only a narrow understanding of the psychic discomfort being experienced. The psychiatric diagnosis of PTSD shifted the focus of attention away from the details of a policeman's background and psyche to the essentially traumatogenic nature of police work (cf. Eagle, 2002). That is, in the psychiatric discourse, psychic distress tends to be reduced to the policeman's relationship to traumatic external events. The psychiatric diagnosis of PTSD

provides only a narrow understanding of psychic discomfort, focusing on the traumatogenic nature of police work, and not on a policeman's background and/or psyche. The therapist is required to work more actively in psychotherapy to open up other potential perspectives to enable these policemen to understand their psychic distress and find more useful ways of living with, and growing from it. If the therapist is not active the policemen tend to understand their symptoms as part of a disease rather than enabling them to reflect on their symptoms as personally meaningful. From a psychoanalytic point of view, psychiatric discourses limit exploration of how psychic distress impacts on an old guard policeman's sense of self.

Connecting psychoanalytic and cultural discourses

While this investigation emerged out of my therapeutic work with members of the SAPS, the investigation is not directed at treatment concerns, or issues of technique. Rather, it is a psychological and social study. I attempt to explore unconscious dynamics in relation to categories of social structure using narrative and psychoanalytic understandings (or, if you will, psychoanalysis' social articulation). What I mean by psychoanalysis' social articulation is that while socio-historical contextualisation provides a frame for psychological investigation, so psychological accounts in turn powerfully contextualise socio-historical discourses. For example, this investigation of the old guard attempts to reflect that Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick were unique individuals with unconscious representations, drives, phantasies[9], images, defences and mental objects, who were simultaneously affected by factors such as gender, culture, class and race. What follows is a brief overview of what I mean by psychoanalysis' social articulation. I elaborate more fully in subsequent chapters.

PTSD: A discourse or an illness?

In this investigation I explore how an examination of PTSD remains incomplete

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[9] I employ the (Kleinian) psychoanalytic distinction between 'fantasy' as conscious daydreams and 'phantasy' as an unconscious process.

without a clear understanding of the social, political and historical processes in which it occurs. Hook & Parker (2002) highlight the specificity of the South African context when they explain:

> … psychopathology cannot reasonably be extracted from its socio-political and historical grounding. Why? Because extracted from the political field, psychopathology will lose both its shape – that is, its highly specific and socially determined meaning, how it is understood and 'known' within a particular society at a particular time – and its function, its political utility, a sense of what it does, of why it is useful, of what it enables and/or disenables within a social system. (2002, p. 52)

Following Hook & Parker's (2002) suggestion, and placing the old guard's PTSD within this "socio-political and historical grounding", I investigate what PTSD meant to these old guard policemen. The objectives of socially articulating psychoanalysis in this investigation are to explore:

1. Who were the old guard? Who were they prior to the onset of their symptoms? Why did they engage in therapy? How did they understand themselves during therapy? Who did they want to be?
2. How did the old guard experience distress?
3. What types of events did they experience as distressing?
4. Did any significant factor(s) from their past make them more resilient or susceptible to distress?
5. Did their socialisation in terms of culture and gender lead to the formation of internal objects which equipped or hindered their way of dealing with distress?
6. How did the old guard make sense of their symptoms of PTSD?
7. Were members of the old guard psychologically equipped to negotiate a post-apartheid SAPS in which the culture did not support and validate

their identity as white, male, and omnipotent?

As pointed out earlier, Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick accepted horror and violence as part of their job. More importantly, they appeared to *idealise*, *glorify* and *revel* in their past in the SAP and apartheid South Africa. Each man expounded in great detail on his sense of camaraderie, enjoyment, affirmation, satisfaction, and self worth he experienced in the 'brotherhood' that was the SAP. During their lengthy SAP service the old guard were reportedly asymptomatic. It may, therefore, be of great significance then that the old guard entered therapy with symptoms of PTSD at a particular moment in South Africa's socio-political history - the end of apartheid.

The sociologist Michael Rustin writes on the subject of psychoanalytic defences in a social way. He shifts the focus from the individual to the collective psyche. In his chapter entitled "Why are we more afraid than ever? The politics of anxiety after Nine Eleven" (in Levy & Lemma, 2004), Rustin is interested in understanding why contemporary Western society (his focus is on North America) is persistently gripped by aggressive paranoia in the absence of any serious military opposition following the collapse of Soviet communism. Applying his perspective to the South African context, it could be said that the defensive operation of splitting, whereby the moral complexities of psychic and social life become reduced to good and bad polarities, was exacerbated during apartheid. Christian Nationalism, the ideology[10] of the NP (National Party), was pitted against anarchic communist evil, symbolised by the ANC. The then Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, probably went furthest when in 1977 he declared that South African policemen were "the mandate-holders of God" (van Eyk, 1991, p. 77).

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[10] For the purpose of this thesis ideology is referred to in terms of a "… value or belief system in society, where one social group exercises some form of domination over another" (Visagie, 1999, p. 3).

According to Straker (1992), during apartheid most of the South African white population believed the unrest in the country was orchestrated by communists. The white population felt that the unrest was only supported by a minority of black people. They believed the majority of black people wanted the restoration of law and order, and wanted to be rescued from the disorder and violence spread by activists and criminals. There was an obvious reason why the white public in South Africa favoured this explanation of civil disorder: specifically, the causes of the unrest were attributed to individual trouble makers or to a communist conspiracy, rather than to structural problems within the system. The conspiracy theory held out the hope of deflecting blame for the problem from society itself. It had the potential to unite large sections of the population against an externalised enemy. Individualised explanations of unrest held out the hope that the situation could be contained, without the necessity for real change: the activists could be isolated, and marginalized, and the criminals could be imprisoned or rehabilitated. As the social commentator van Zyl Slabbert observed:

> Inevitably, as the external onslaught subsides, the internal onslaught will come under sharper focus - the enemy without will become the enemy within. I fear that the government has in any case managed to militarize the white population to such an extent that it won't matter much to the ordinary person who the 'enemy' is, as long as he is ready to fight. There, I believe, lies one of the greatest obstacles to evolutionary and negotiated change. (van Zyl Slabbert, 1985, p. 105)

Having found a discernible enemy in which to project its destructiveness, the apartheid government was able to justify aggressive retribution, packaged as counter-terrorism. However, as with North America, this became "a licence for the state itself to practice terrorism, that is to say to deploy violence without restraint of law, against any groups it deems to be hostile" (Rustin, in Levy &

Lemma, 2004, p. 28). The frightening result of this was a paranoid white state. This served a political agenda. However, such a paranoid construction of reality was primarily a collective response to the attrition of white South African social identity. Again, as in North America, the paranoid creation of an evil enemy served a cohesive social function, providing alienated individuals with "psychic reassurances in identification with their nation against its enemies" (Rustin, in Levy & Lemma, 2004, p. 34). Post-apartheid, however, there was no longer a discernible enemy to project destructiveness onto. What then becomes of the tenuous white South African social identity post-apartheid - particularly white, Afrikaner, male identity?

Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick presented in therapy when transformation of the police was underway and affirmative action had begun to be implemented. Was a factor in the 'trauma' for the old guard a system of political policies that positively promoted black people and had the effect of not promoting the representatives of the old apartheid regime – white, Afrikaner men? In sessions the old guard were certainly bitter towards the SAPS whom they largely blamed for their predicament.

All South Africans, in their own way, are facing the challenge of trying to get beyond the socio-historical and political past in order to find a secure footing in the present. Is it possible for these old guard policemen to find such a footing? Taking the socio-political context seriously in these men's presentation in psychotherapy calls into question the old guards' narratives on PTSD. What did they mean by PTSD? What did it express and/or not express for them? How did their narratives on PTSD relate to the socio-political context of South Africa? Did social and political transformation undermine the socio-cultural supports the old guard had previously relied on to keep trauma at bay? In effect, did the old guard loose the stories they could tell to affirm themselves? The next example, taken from Riaan's first session, illustrates how distressing experiences from his past seeped into his everyday life. He was haunted by his failed marriage, persecuted by nightmares in which colleagues were shot, and felt his life was

collapsing before his eyes:

Case: Riaan

Riaan is edgy and impatient. When asked what brought him to see me, he begins speaking immediately, his words coated with despair. He feels like a "pressure cooker" and "the pressure has been building for a couple of years". He feels extremes of emotion: aggression and sadness. He can no longer handle things. He explains that his life is meaningless. He thought of killing himself the previous year, when his wife divorced him.

[*He wrings his hands and looks down at the floor*].

Therapist   It sounds like your wife meant a lot to you. Life seems pointless without her?

Riaan   She was my friend. My diamond ... I was her knight in shining armour. She brought out the good qualities in me ... She was good. I was 23 when we married – too young? She still went out with her friends. I was in the Dog Unit and went away lots ...

Her sister had cerebral palsy.

[*He pauses and looks at the floor.*]

My big regret was not being there for her the night her sister, Diane, died. I stayed at work. Michelle never forgave me, and neither have I ... We battled since then. We went to a marriage counsellor, but I couldn't speak. Michelle moved out ... I was so unhappy ... Work became my life.

We decided to take some time to think about things. I went on leave to the UK, to visit family. I came back wanting to make things work between us. But she'd moved on. She moved in with a guy from a band, and was expecting his child. She called her daughter "Sydney", the name we'd decided upon if we had a child … This really hurt. I drank … I haven't spoken to her since.

Riaan describes himself as "a coiled spring". He believes something bad is going to happen. He is losing everything. People are dying all around him …

From this example we can see how memories of Riaan's failed marriage, guilt over his sister-in-law's death, and nightmares of colleagues' deaths crowded in on him. He felt that everything he sacrificed for "let him down". He was no longer favourably supported and promoted in the SAPS. This left him feeling like he was "losing everything". This example highlights how the intrusion of Riaan's bad memories and experiences from the past, whilst simultaneously being confronted with the external reality of the post-apartheid SAPS, threaten to undermine him. It is through such an exploration into the old guard's narratives that I hope to open up and contextualise their symptoms of PTSD.

In considering PTSD from a discursive perspective and how PTSD limits the participants' available identities, I in no way wish to reduce the significance of biological or neuropsychological considerations to this area of study. These considerations undoubtedly have important contributions to make in explaining how trauma exposure can affect an individual's functioning. Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick had endured years of hellishly horrifying events – involving the death of others, situations where their lives were threatened with serious injury or death. They lived with emotions of sheer terror, horror, and

helplessness. This impacted on their psychological and physiological well being. While this study is about discourse it would be remiss not to mention that these men were biologically impaired in a context in which there were only a few (limited) ways of discussing distress.

Textuality

Having decided to publish insights gained from psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy, *how* do I connect psychoanalytic narratives to the groups and social relationships that surrounded and shaped these men? Exploring answers to this question is complicated and important for, as Denzin (1989) explains, all too often in social scientific research there is a preoccupation with method, validity, reliability, generalisability, and theoretical relevance of method at the expense of a concern for meaning and interpretation of lived experience. As Sandler (1983) explains, taking a social constructionist perspective on psychoanalytic theory:

> There are advantages to emphasising the developmental-historical dimension in psychoanalysis when we think of theoretical matters. It allows us to escape – if we want to – quarrels about which theory is "wrong". Rather, it puts us in the position of asking "Why was this, that or the other formulation put forward?" and "What did its authors mean?"
> (p. 35)

Starting to explore answers to the question, "How do I connect psychoanalytic narratives to the groups and social relationships that surrounded and shaped these men?" Denzin (1989) proposes that we become more sensitive to the writing strategies we use when we attempt to capture people's experiences. He explains that:

> Lives and the biographical methods that construct them are
> literary productions. Lives are arbitrary constructions,

constrained by the cultural writing practices of the time. These cultural practices lead to the interventions and influences of gendered, knowing others who can locate subjects within familied social spaces where lives have beginnings, turning points, and clearly defined endings. Such texts create 'real' persons about whom truthful statements are presumably made. In fact … these texts are narrative fictions, cut from the same kinds of cloth as the lives they tell about.

(Denzin, 1989, p. 26)

We generally take for granted that we can capture our own, or someone else's, life in a text - is this not what autobiographies and biographies are? The French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1972, p.250), coined the notion of the "metaphysics of presence" to describe the belief in a real subject who is concretely present in the world. With this notion Derrida suggests there is no 'physics of presence'. It is not possible to access real subjects who are concretely present in the world, although it may feel like we can. The notion developed within a social constructionist approach, suggests that our knowledge of the world is developed in the everyday interactions we have during the course of our social lives. Our versions of knowledge, thus, become made-up, constructed and fabricated. What is meant by this is that the social interactions between people are seen as the practices during which our shared versions of knowledge are constructed. What we regard as 'real' (i.e. our current accepted ways of understanding the world) is a product, not of objective observation of the world, but of the social processes and interactions in which we are constantly engaged in with each other. Derrida (1972) does not deny that there are facts. Truths and facts are always perspectival interpretations - they can only emerge against the backdrop of socially shared understandings.

Deconstruction is a critical mode of "unravelling hierarchies of concepts which structure how modes of being are represented, essentialised and experienced"

(Hook & Parker, 2002, p. 50). Deconstruction is a critical mode of reading systems of meaning and of unravelling the ways these systems work. It provides a useful way for re-reading and re-working those ideas and practices normally taken for granted in everyday life. It is through deconstruction that I hope to open up the cultural discourses and personal narratives that informed and provided a backdrop for the construction of the old guards' identities.

The priority in deconstruction is to gain a sense of *how* a 'problem' is produced the way it is rather than wanting to pin it down and say *this* is what it really is (Derrida, 1983). It also focuses on how texts operate to delimit meanings, interpretations, and subjectivity (Derrida, 1978). The theoretical orientation of this investigation utilises deconstruction and the social constructionist approach. Social constructionist writings suggest that our sense of identity is rooted to our place and time in the on-going history of our society. Here the contention is that knowledge "does not just exist 'out there', independently in the world, waiting to be discovered" (Hook & Parker, 2002, p. 50). This investigation will try to highlight the socio-political and discursive bases upon which this psychological work is founded. Returning to Sandler (1983), and emphasising the developmental-historical dimension implied here, puts us in the position of asking "Why was this, that or the other formulation put forward?" and "What did the therapist mean?" (p. 35).

Denzin (1989) points out that the belief in a real subject who is present in the world has led social scientists to search for a method that would allow them to uncover how subjects give subjective meaning to their life experiences. He explains how this search has led to a focus in the social sciences on the biographical approach.

Clinical case study
One such biographical approach is the clinical case study. A clinical case study is a slice of an individual's history reconstructed and interpreted to gain a deeper understanding and perspective of the relevant issues influencing that

particular experience. The central assumption of the case study is that a life can be captured and represented in a text. However, Denzin (1989, p. 14), drawing on Derrida (1972), explains that there is "no clear window into the inner life of a person, for any window is always filtered through the glaze of language, signs, and the process of signification".

In this research I utilise the case study approach. The case study method is "the way we describe and analyse a person's behaviour and psychological characteristics in relation to a set of circumstances" (Bromley, 1986, p. 38). I will use the case study method to access the unique experience which constitutes the psychotherapeutic relationship. Cartwright (2002a) points out that, as psychotherapists, we have "unique access to the internal world of others" (p. 3). He explains that, in relation to rage-type murder:

> The intrapsychic world of the individual is essentially psychic
> reality made up of representations, drives, images, defences
> and mental objects; a world that makes up the subject
> matter of psychoanalytic inquiry. There are, I believe, many
> important observations to be made here to which we do not
> have access through 'objective' assessments of
> dangerousness or through the application of simple
> diagnostic categories. (Cartwright, 2002a, p. 2)

Casement (1985) echoes Cartwright (2002a) in saying:

> ... the analytic consulting room offers a 'research space',
> within which we can best study the dynamics of this intimate
> interaction of the therapeutic relationship ... (Casement,
> 1985, p. x)

To illustrate just how complicated, multi-layered and ethereal the psychotherapeutic relationship is, consider that for each person (both the

patient and the therapist) there are always two realities – one external and one internal. External reality is experienced in terms of the individual's internal reality, which in turn is shaped by past experience and a continuing tendency to see the present in terms of the past. Therapists, therefore, have to find ways of acknowledging both realities and the constant interplay between them. These external and internal processes which make up unconscious communication between people cannot be captured adequately, even using video or audio tape and making verbatim notes. For example, as Casement (1985) points out:

> Whenever I say something in therapy, or continue to say nothing, I am having an effect upon the patient. I therefore need to listen for the patient's responses to my input, some of which initially may be beyond my immediate consciousness. Listening to myself in the place of the patient can help to bring the dynamics of this interaction more into the field of my awareness. (p. 59)

Historically, psychoanalytic psychotherapists believe the ongoing unconscious dialogue making up the psychoanalytic narratives that are the therapeutic relationship is captured best in the detailed session notes written up by therapists after sessions. Remembering psychoanalytic detail is necessary in order to build up a fuller picture of the patient's dynamics, and as a means of building up a broader view of the psychodynamic picture over a period of time.

The data in this research is made up of case studies for each participant: Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick. These case studies were drawn from therapeutic case documents. The case documents included referral letters and reports from psychiatrists and GPs (general practitioners); my reports to psychiatrists, GPs, and the Workman's Compensation Section of the police medical aid, Polmed; as well as my session and supervision notes. I have termed these case studies 'narratives'. They are the stories these men told me

in therapy. Their stories spoke of who they are, were, and wanted to be. However, their stories were also 'told' to them by the cultural discourses in which they were positioned. Their stories were a product of the social processes and interactions in which they were constantly engaged.

Denzin (1989) describes life as "a social text, a fictional, narrative production" (p.9). The word 'fiction' stems from the Latin word 'fictum' meaning 'created'. Fiction is any form of narrative which deals with events that are imaginary and invented by its author(s). As Denzin (1989, p. 24) highlights: "Autobiography and biography then present fictions about 'thought' selves, 'thought' experiences, events and their meanings." Autobiographies and biographies, including clinical case studies, are fictional statements with varying degrees of 'truth' about 'real' lives. Denzin (1989, p. 25) continues, "[t]rue stories are stories that are believed in." Denzin (1989, p. 25) concludes by saying:

> The point is, however, as Sartre notes, that if an author thinks something existed and believes in its essence, its effects are real. Since all writing is fictional, made-up out of things that could have happened or did happen, it is necessary to do away with the distinction between fact and fiction …

Ogden (1994) suggests that the reader and writer do not create one another a-historically. He describes the reader as not simply receiving what is written. Rather the reader will transform it. To use his terms: "You will destroy it, and out of that destruction (in that destruction) will come a sound that you will not fully recognise" (Ogden, 1994, p. 3). Ogden describes this as:

> … at the same time one of the most mysterious of human experiences and one of the most commonplace – it is the experience of doing battle with one's static self-identity through the recognition of a subjectivity (a human I-ness)

that is other to oneself. (1994, p. 3).

Denzin (1989) highlights the importance of studying the lived experience of people *interacting* with one another in the exploration of the *multiple readings*, or *interpretations,* of how men and women live and give meaning to their lives at particular moments in the ongoing history of their culture.

Literary techniques allow us to maintain the illusion that we have captured the 'real' experiences of 'real' people. Denzin (1989) highlights the importance of coming to terms with literary techniques for communicating about life – *what* writing strategies we use when we attempt to accomplish particular ends.

Conclusion

Let us return to my question, "How do I connect psychoanalytic narratives to the groups and social relationships that surrounded and shaped these men?" In essence the psychoanalytic narratives in this thesis are my stories of Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick's stories. As patients these men told me their stories in sessions. Through our therapeutic interaction the patients' stories were worked upon to become the session notes I wrote up at the end of each appointment. I took these session notes to my supervisor where they were further engaged with to highlight more of the psychodynamic processes involved. Upon undertaking this research the stories were further transformed to become the psychoanalytic narratives you (the reader) will read. Thus, drawing on Ogden (1994), in creating the psychoanalytic narratives I choose each word and phrase to speak to myself, and you (as reader) of the participants' stories. I created the voice of you, the reader, in my own mind. It is the otherness of the reader ("whom I imagine and anticipate in my own internal division of myself into writer and reader, subject and object" [Ogden, 1994, p. 2]) that allows me to hear myself in preparation for your reading of the participants' stories. In your reading, you generate a voice from my words that will create me, Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick in a broader sense than I am able to create myself. In that process you and I shall have created

one another as a subject (the third subject) who has not existed to this point.

I draw your attention to my extensive employment of the research data in this and the following seven chapters. I do this to aid in contextualising and unpacking the philosophical, ideological, and theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. This is *how* I connect psychoanalytic narratives to the groups and social relationships that surround and shape the participants. If you recall, Denzin (1989) explains that all too often in social scientific research there is a preoccupation with method, validity, reliability, generalisability, and theoretical relevance of method at the expense of a concern for meaning and interpretation of lived experience. With this in mind, by using the research data throughout the thesis I have attempted to focus on the meaning and interpretation of the participants' experience. As the data is woven into every chapter, I have reserved the methodology chapter until unusually late in the study - immediately before the analysis of the data - when it is of most critical bearing.

How we connect psychoanalytic narratives to the groups and social relationships that surround and shape persons is then through a conception of psychoanalysis as a unique form of dialectical interplay of the individual subjectivities of analyst and analysand leading to the creation of "a myriad of new subjects: the subject of analysis" (Ogden, 1994, p. 7). The analytic attitude means constantly making ourselves "the objects, not just the subjects, of analytic scrutiny" (Ivey, 2009, p. 90).

Drawing on Hook & Parker, in this investigation I also explore how the South African context "comes to pose a determining influence upon what counts as 'pathological' within its parameters" (2002, p. 51). They explain that:

> … there are unique historical, cultural, political and social
> factors at play within the South African environment that are
> perhaps less present, if present at all, elsewhere. (Hook &

Parker, 2002, p. 51)

I highlight the prevalence of PTSD amongst the old guard of the SAPS, and I explore the particular fit of supposedly global diagnostic categories in this South African situation.

Through psychoanalysis' social articulation this investigation illustrates a means of working with therapeutic material and highlights a professional responsibility to reflect on, and document, the knowledge collected from psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapeutic practice. This investigation attempts to link psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapeutic narratives with social discourses, and develops a framework for understanding the importance of cultural and historical processes within applied psychological practice.

A Brief Résumé of Subsequent Chapters

Chapter two begins with the first part of the literature review, exploring psychoanalysis' social articulation. While this research emerged out of my therapeutic work with members of the SAPS, the investigation is a psychological and social study. I propose we need both psychoanalysis and the socio-historical and political context to make sense of the old guards' presentation in therapy with PTSD, and of myself making sense of this presentation.

Chapter three explores the two discourses relevant to this investigation, namely culture and gender (masculinity). Here, the extent to which the participants' view of themselves is shaped by gender-related socio-political forces within the country and community is discussed. I then clarify the aims and objectives of the investigation by placing them in context, reflecting on the role of the SAP prior to 1994 and the socio-political environment into which the participants were born.

Chapter four looks at the dynamics of distress in the SAP/SAPS. This is not

merely a discussion of the distressing nature of police work. The SAP was central to ensuring the maintenance of apartheid. The SAPS 'officer' corps and their ethos no longer reflect the dominance of the white, Afrikaner male – (formal) segregation does not occur. What then has happened to the old guard? How have they coped with these changes? I explore how psychological distress is legitimised in terms of the psychiatric diagnosis of PTSD for members of the SAPS.

Chapter five looks at the theoretical framework of this research, object relations theory. This is the second part of the literature review. Object relations theory is a particularly apt discourse of understanding for this research for, as Jacobs (1985) notes: "An approximate synonym for Object Relations is Personal Relationships" (p. 7).

Chapter six deals with the methodology used in the research and comments on the processes used in the analysis of data. It contains the role of the therapist as well as a thumbnail sketch of the participants.

Chapter seven is the analysis of data chapter. Here, four narratives which arose from the analysis are presented in relation to each participant, and discussed in terms of the literature study as well as the South African context.

Chapter eight draws out the conclusions of the research and sums up the reflections of the researcher.

INTERTWINING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS & UNCONSCIOUS DYNAMICS

In South Africa psychoanalysis has been concerned with therapeutic application. As a result, psychoanalysis in this country has been more focused on personal insight than on social analysis. Hayes (2002b, p. 15), in his article *The unconscious and social life*, points out that psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapists have tended to resist the social articulation of ideas that seem to "reside in some internal and substantive space". He explains that psychoanalytic theories put an emphasis on the "organisation of our internal worlds, on the emotional conflicts of identity, and on the power of the individual to create, maintain and transform relations between self and others" (2002b, p. 15). On the other hand, as Hayes continues, social theorists tend towards a "social reductionism" (2002b, p. 15). He suggests that sociological theories tend to emphasise, *firstly*, how our sense of self is shaped by various institutional or cultural forms in the larger society, *secondly*, how we build up notions of self and other selves as social constructions, and *thirdly*, how concepts of the self play a central role in the constitution and reproduction of social networks. Thus, a division has arisen in the social sciences over "the self-shaping of creative individuals, on one hand, and the social regulation or control of selfhood on the other" (Elliott, 2001, p. 6).

Can we overcome this division and get a better understanding of our view of ourselves? As Hayes (2002b) points out:

> So it seems worthwhile to pose the question of whether psychoanalysis can be applied in (a broad) social theory way. This seems a necessary theoretical task (even for

psychology) as it is not self evident how psychoanalysis can be part of social theory. It is also a political task given the resistance to so-called Euro-centric theories in this country at the moment. (2002b, p. 15)

Goldman (2003) explains that a variety of authors have sought to make space for unconscious dynamics in the social regulation of selfhood. These include Laclau & Mouffe, Raymond Williams, Gramsci, and Connell. Stuart Hall has also been very influential in exploring the role of culture in the construction of identity (cf. Procter, 2004). Goldman points out that these authors are not proposing that we are free from ideology and the social regulation of selfhood. Rather, he suggests we must accept that a "crucial segment of experience" is "occupied by words, language and discursive practices" (Goldman, 2003, p. 34). Language and social context ground subjectivity. However, while language and social context provide context for meaning and understanding, meaning and understanding are not just language and social context. Goldman suggests that:

… experience must always be thought in its conjuncture: we draw on a cultural lexicon and yet self is personally marked, invested with idiosyncratic affective connotations imbued with the unspeakable otherness of the unconscious. (2003, p. 34)

So, how do we intertwine the social relationships that surround and shape us with unconscious processes and dynamics to get a better understanding of subjectivity and identity?

Laclau & Mouffe's book *Hegemony & socialist strategy* (1985) is in the post-Marxist tradition. They trace the historically varied discursive building blocks of class, political identity and social-self understanding (Smith, 1998). They then tie these historically varied discursive foundations to the more recent

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understandings of hegemony. According to Goldman (2003), Laclau & Mouffe develop the notion of a zone of partial interiority, where the majority of what is inside is taken up by language and social context, while the remainder is not.

Goldman (2003) then turns our attention to Raymond Williams. Goldman explains that Williams provides us with a way of talking about this remainder in his concept of the "structure of feeling" (2003, p. 34). As Williams (1979, p. 132) explains:

> … we are concerned with meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt … We are talking about characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity.

Williams talks of a residual element. For Williams this residual element is "a state of unfinished social relationship that has not yet found the terms for its own reflexive self-comprehension" (in Goldman, 2003, p. 35). Goldman clarifies this statement when he continues, "[t]he residual element is the total of common experience of a historical period and has no external counterpart either at the level of sociological or textual analysis" (2003, p. 35).

Structure of feeling is described as:

> … a social experience still in process, often indeed not yet recognized as social but taken to be private, idiosyncratic, and even isolating, but which in analysis (though rarely otherwise) has its emergent, connecting, and dominant characteristics, indeed its specific hierarchies (Williams, in Goldman, p. 35).

Structure of feeling comprises:

> … what is not fully articulated, all that comes through as
> disturbance, tension, blockage, emotional trouble and
> recovers the 'sense' of the 'actual experience' through which
> the pattern of culture or social character are lived. (Williams,
> in Goldman, 2003, p. 35)

Williams argued that, "[w]e are then defining these elements as a 'structure':
as a set, with specific internal relations, at once interlocking and in tension" (in
Goldman, 2003, p. 35). However, he continues, "as firm and definite as
'structure' suggests, yet it operates in the most delicate and least tangible part
of our activities" (in Goldman, 2003, p. 35). Later he defines structure of feeling
as "social experiences in solution, as distinct from other social semantic
formations which have been precipitated and are more evidently and more
immediately available" (in Goldman, 2003, p. 35). Thus, structure of feeling is
the culture of a particular historical time; a set of views and values shared by a
generation. As Goldman (2003) points out, structure of feeling recognises the
cultural and discursive dimension of our experience. However, it also suggests
these experiences are felt and embodied.

Another way of opening up the social relationships that surround and shape us
is through Gramsci's (1988) theory of cultural domination, or 'hegemony'. Here,
Gramsci explores how ideology becomes so dominant it becomes naturalised.
Gramsci again draws on classical Marxism. The theory of cultural hegemony
looks at social norms. These norms establish social structures through which
the ruling class sets up cultural dominance. In so doing the ruling class can
manipulate the values of society to create a world view that justifies their
domination (Bullock & Trombley, 1999). Imposing their *Weltanschauung* (world
view) as natural and inevitable allows the ruling class to justify the social,
political and economic status quo (Bullock & Trombley, 1999).

Goldman (2003) explains that Gramsci sees ideology as influencing subjectivity, but not giving rise to it. Importantly, Gramsci retains a role for human agency and historical change. In so doing, Gramsci allows for multiple positions in relation to hegemonic ideology. This then opens up social relationships to create a space for something other than language and social context.

Turning our attention from cultural hegemony to selfhood, Stuart Hall's works have strongly influenced contemporary cultural studies. Here Hall delves into the role of culture in the construction of identity (Procter, 2004). His works include exploration into cultural identity, race and ethnicity. Hall sees identity as affected by history and culture. In his view, identity is not a finished product; rather, it is in ongoing production.

James Procter (2004), in his book entitled *Stuart Hall*, offers a comprehensive overview of Hall's ideas. Procter notes that Hall regards language as operating within a framework of power, institutions and politics. Here people are simultaneously *producers* and *consumers* of culture. For Hall, culture is not just something to appreciate or study, but rather it is a "critical site of social action and intervention, where power relations are both established and potentially unsettled" (Procter, 2004, p. 2). An example of Hall's view of culture is seen in his approach to textual analysis. His theory of encoding and decoding focuses on the scope for negotiation and opposition on the part of the audience. Here the audience does not simply passively accept a text. In Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts' (1978) work, *Policing the crisis*, the media are seen to play a central role in the social production of news. Public hysteria (for example, over crime statistics) could thereby be provoked in order to create public support for the need to 'police the crisis'.

Connell (1995) draws on Gramsci in his work on masculinity to open up a space for the intertwining of social relationships with unconscious dynamics. In *Gender and power* (1987) he develops a social theory of gender relations,

which emphasises that gender is a social structure and not just part of personal identity.

Hegemonic masculinity refers to a culturally normative ideal of male behaviour. It reflects a tendency for males to seek to dominate other males and to subordinate females. Connell (1995) opens up space for the psychological through the meaning the subject attaches to his or her actions. Thus, as Goldman (2003) suggests, there are many ways of engaging with the hegemonic, from collusion to rebellion.

Moving from hegemonic masculinity, Butler's (1990) work can also be useful in making space for the psychological in the social regulation of selfhood. Butler's work is incredibly complex, dense, and compelling. She opens up social relationships through her understanding of discourse. She describes discourse as a way of thinking that can be expressed through language. It is a social boundary that defines what can be said about a specific topic. Narratives are seen to affect our views on all things. It is not possible to avoid narratives. For example, two distinct political narratives can be used about the ANC activities in apartheid South Africa and the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in Northern Ireland. The ANC and IRA could be described either as 'freedom fighters' or 'terrorists'. A person who was anti-apartheid would be more likely to describe the ANC as 'freedom fighters' while a person who was pro-apartheid would be more likely to describe them as 'terrorists'. Similarly, a person who was pro a united Ireland would more likely describe the IRA as 'freedom fighters' while a person who was in favour of Northern Ireland remaining British would be more likely to describe them as 'terrorists'. The chosen narrative provides the social boundary that defines what can be said about the topic.

Another example of how narratives define what can be said (and thought) about a specific topic is the American Psychiatric Association's DSM-IV manual (1994). The DSM-IV has a particular view on how to understand mental health and illness. The DSM-IV governs which language and terms have to be used in

relation to mental health and illness. This then directs the understanding, meaning and practices of psychologists and psychiatrists throughout the world.

Another way of opening up a space for something other than language and social context is through discursive psychology's idea of 'positioning'. According to Burr (1995) positioning is the "process by which our identities and ourselves as persons come to be produced by socially and culturally available discourses" (p. 140). Thus, our positions define the kinds of experience that are possible:

> While culture makes available the subject positions we can inhabit, the 'investment' or 'enjoyment' that people have in these subject positions is not necessarily captured by the articulation of the discourses themselves; rather, it may hinge on unspoken and at times unspeakable events, experiences and processes, all of them 'cultural', but also deeply embedded in subjectivity. (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003, p. 42)

Goldman (2003) quotes Frosh who suggests that psychoanalysis can contribute to the understanding of how an individual puts together his or her range of cultural options:

> … in there very irreducibility what is apparently social and what is apparently psychological keep entwining with one another. Deeply, passionately, unconsciously people are political – racialised, gendered and classed to the core of their identities. Equally deeply, erratically and bizarrely, social events are infused with phantasy – eroticised, exaggerated, full of fears and desires. (in Goldman, 2003, p. 36)

Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman suggest that discursive approaches are:

... particularly good at describing the accounting procedures whereby the task of positioning is achieved by participants. That one experience is had, and in turn one position is adopted, rather than another, is best answered by psychoanalysis. (in Goldman, 2003, p. 36)

With this in mind, for the remainder of the chapter, I will begin to elaborate on how psychoanalysis can contribute to the understanding of how the old guard put together their range of cultural options.

Psychoanalysis – inside, & out

While psychoanalysis in South Africa has tended to be concerned with its therapeutic application, following Frosh (1987), by broadening its focus beyond personal insight, psychoanalysis may be able to offer insights into both individual subjectivity and social relations, and the intersection between the two. At its best, Frosh believes that psychoanalysis offers a means of understanding how the world can be 'revealed' and expressed in the experiences of every individual. Thus, by psychoanalytically exploring how the external social world becomes internalised, and how the internal psychic world becomes externalised – acting back on the social world - these old guard policemen's lives can offer insights into the intersection of individual subjectivity and social relations.

Let us begin by looking at the external social world of one of the participants, Riaan.

Case: Riaan
Riaan was tall, had an athletic build, with a fresh and pleasant face.
He often attended sessions dressed in running shorts and a t-shirt.
Riaan felt very uncomfortable on the odd occasion he came in
police uniform: he did not like "mixing his worlds".

Riaan felt he hardly knew his father. His father was an alcoholic who worked long hours for South African Breweries, and then had drinks with colleagues after work, attending provincial rugby games with them on the weekends. When Riaan was a child his father was frequently away on army camps. Riaan experienced him as strict, punitive, and "very religious".

His parents' recent divorce took Riaan by surprise. Since the divorce, Riaan's father had become reclusive, taking early retirement from work, sitting in a chair in front of the television "all day and all night", and chain-smoking. Riaan chose to live with his father instead of his mother but was unsure why. Riaan would go out for his twelve hour shift at the Dog Unit only to find, upon his return, that his father had not moved from his chair. Weeks would often go by without speaking to each other.

Riaan's mother was a church secretary. She had been a housewife while Riaan was growing up. She told Riaan that she had stayed with his father - rather than divorcing earlier - to ensure he had a "good upbringing". She was often depressed. Riaan felt he was his mother's support: he wanted to "keep violence away from her" and for her "not to think badly" of him.

In this example, Riaan's macho sense of masculinity was illustrated in his athleticism and dress. He was the picture of health and strength. Machismo was also seen in his care not to attend sessions dressed in his police uniform. The sentiment here was emotions had no place in the police.

Militarism was evident in Riaan's father's military involvement. Military service and army camps were part of a rite of passage for white South African males during apartheid. Nationalism and conservatism were evident in Riaan's father's support of provincial rugby and participation in military service, as well as

Riaan's decision to join the police.

Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives were also evident in this example, for, despite choosing to live with his father after his parents' divorce, Riaan hardly knew his father. Riaan's experience of him was as strict, punitive, and religious. Calvinism was evident in Riaan's parents' religiosity: his mother was a Dutch Reformed Church secretary, while his father was a devout parishioner. Narratives such as those noted in this example - machismo, militarism, patriarchy, nationalism, and Calvinism (amongst others) - therefore seemed to structure Riaan's experience in fundamental respects. (In chapter three I explore the extent to which the participants' view of themselves was shaped by gender-related socio-political forces within the country and community).

In general, under apartheid, white men were the beneficiaries of racist and economic oppression. These cultural and historical antecedents - amongst others - of apartheid provided the conditions of possibility for what could occur in the construction of identity. Riaan's socialisation potentially led, psychoanalytically speaking, to certain internal predisposing factors. These predisposing factors may be linked to a borderline personality organisation similar to Cartwright's (2002a) concept of the 'narcissistic exoskeleton' (which I discuss in chapter five - the theoretical framework of this research - object relations theory). This borderline personality organisation presents as an apparently stable personality characterised by a particular kind of defensive splitting which functions to keep idealised good objects and an internalised bad object system apart: as Riaan implied, keeping his worlds separate. Other factors (which are developed in chapter seven, the analysis of the data) such as the absence of a clearly defined paternal object, poor representational capacity, and particular situational factors such as the SAP sub-culture, seemed to impinge on significant features of Riaan's psychological make-up.

To elaborate briefly on the effect of Riaan's socialisation on his psychological make-up, let us return to the earlier description of Riaan's background. Riaan

felt he was his mother's support: he wanted to "keep violence away from her" and for her "not to think badly" of him. Kleinian object relations theory argues that there are aspects in the world of interpersonal relationships (external objects), which are internalised as representations of either 'good' or 'bad' aspects of these interpersonal relationships (internal objects). Thus, as Ivey (2002) suggests, we have subjective emotionally charged impressions of external objects which we carry within us. Ivey believes this internal world underpins the world of interpersonal relationships.

Summers (1994) describes the structure of the ego as a product of the internalisation of good and bad objects. Post-apartheid, Riaan and the old guard were not favoured by the new dispensation. Under these changed circumstances it may have been difficult for Riaan to maintain the internalisation of good objects. This potentially threatened the stability of his personality. It appears that the paranoid-schizoid defence mechanism of splitting may have been unsuccessful in defending against bad object experience because of insufficient build up of good object experience in Riaan's perceived post-apartheid environment. A more severe form of splitting would then have taken place. In Riaan's internal world, to defend against persecutory anxiety, the good object would have been exaggerated into the idealised object, and then phantasised to provide unlimited gratification. The idealised object system would then have served a defensive function (cf. Summers, 1994, pp. 79-80).

As Cartwright (2002a) also found in his work with men who committed rage type murders, Riaan's most stable internal object relations seemed to constellate around an idealised relationship with the maternal object. (This was also transferred onto other situations - such as his relationship with his ex-wife and her family, as discussed later). Here, the split between both suffering and destructive parts of Riaan's self representations, as well as more idealised parts of Riaan's personality were clear. As was found with one of Cartwright's (2002a) participants, Riaan's most stable identification was characterised by

passivity. Such passivity enabled him to maintain a phantasy of ideal care and happiness. For example, Riaan passively lived with his reclusive father and emotionally supported his depressed mother. He kept the phantasy of a happy, involved and caring family alive. How could Riaan hate a father who was so overwhelmed he could not leave his own chair, or a mother who was always depressed? The passive part of Riaan rejected all violence. Instead, Riaan entertained family and friends with sensational descriptions of his daily work leaving out the "gory details". Riaan felt the "guardian angel" and the "devil" must be kept apart.

The severe form of splitting at the core of idealisation ensured that Riaan's idealised maternal object remained accessible to him. As Cartwright (2002a) also found with his participants, this pattern of relating was present in the transference-countertransference relationship: Riaan's portrayal of an easygoing, willing, and affable person made me feel he was not capable of violence or aggression. This passive part of Riaan was characterised by goodness and caring, with him in a submissive state. It was far removed from the violence and brutality he was capable of, and the pain and suffering that he had been through.

Returning to Frosh's (1987) idea of broadening the focus of psychoanalysis beyond personal insight, Hayes (2002b) suggests that in forging a sense of self, individuals routinely draw from social influences, and maintain their sense of self through cultural resources. Social practices, cultural conventions and political relations are a constructed backdrop for the staging of self-identity. However, the self is not simply 'influenced' by the external world, since the self cannot be set apart from the social, cultural, political, and historical contexts in which it is embedded. As Elliott (2001, p. 10) suggests, "[s]ocial processes in part constitute, and so in a sense are internal to, the self". Neither internal nor external frames of reference should be privileged. Again, to quote Elliott (2001, p. 10), "all forms of identity are astonishingly imaginative fabrications of the private and public, personal and political, individual and historical".

Hayes (2002b, p. 22) notes that, "[b]esides the cultural distinctiveness of ethnicity, there is also the particular relation to 'a specific past' which sets one ethnic group apart from another". He suggests that the notion of a 'return to the past' is at the core of ethnic identity formation. Hayes emphasises that the past which ethnic groups refer to most has associations with a pastoral background. He adds that "[t]here is a real, identifiable content to this past which is then 'worked on', reinvented, and even imagined" (2002b, p. 26). Importantly, Hayes points out that:

> The rural or pastoral past is the ethnic fiction which is imagined. Could this imagined pastness not be an oblique criticism, or even resistance to modernity, industrial society, the world of class struggles? And it seems that the imaginary relationship to the past is determined by ethnic subjects' experience of their real conditions of existence. In functionalist terms, it could be said (albeit in a formulaic way) that the extent of the alienation of the present determines the imaginings concerning the past. (2002b, p. 26)

Wallerstein (in Hayes, 2002b, p. 26) coined the term, 'pastness', to describe the dynamic socialisation of the imagined past. Wallerstein explains that:

> Pastness is a mode by which persons are persuaded to act in the present in ways they might not otherwise act. Pastness is a tool persons use against each other. Pastness is a central element in the socialization of individuals, in the maintenance of group solidarity, in the establishment of or challenge to social legitimation. Pastness therefore is pre-eminently a moral phenomenon, therefore a political phenomenon, always a contemporary phenomenon. That is of course why

it is so inconstant. Since the real world is constantly changing, what is relevant to contemporary politics is necessarily constantly changing. Ergo, the content of pastness necessarily constantly changes. (in Hayes, 2002b, p. 26)

Hayes (2002b) indicates that a past-oriented identity - which finds comfort in what had been - is powerfully attractive in times of stress. However, it is also extremely threatened by change and future-oriented ideologies. Drawing on Hayes, a return to the 'old school' behaviour – such as favouring traditional ideas and conservative practices - in the wake of potentially stressful post-apartheid transformation may reflect the draw of the past-oriented old guard identity for these policemen. For example, Wilhelm undertook his duties 'by the book'. The more Wilhelm was let down by conditions within the SAPS, the more stereotypically he approached his tasks. He never reviewed whether or not these were the conditions he wanted to work under.

Case: Wilhelm

Wilhelm was indignant when he began his fourth session. He felt the SAPS were to blame for how he felt: they used and abused him.

Wilhelm   It's not that I can't do my job … They just don't give me the equipment. When I approached my Commander with a request to wear safety equipment I was laughed at. This told me there was no support from my Commander …

I was never issued with latex gloves to pick up bodies, but I still had to do the work …

[*As Wilhelm spoke he grimaced and shook his head*.]

I had to steal from ambulances … Most times an
ambulance never arrived … The corpse had to be
removed, so I had to use my bare hands …

I was threatened several times by my Commander that
if I did not comply with his instructions, I would be
posted to Radio Control to answer calls. I had to
endure this threat for a long time and eventually
submitted a grievance to that effect. At the grievance
hearing my Commander denied all knowledge of this
threat to me.

I bring my vehicle examinations home and complete
the work in my spare time. I draw all the plans of
collision scenes at home … I paid for my drawing board
and drawing equipment myself … My own camera, as
well as tools to strip motor vehicles … Everything to
perform my duties … I never have work outstanding …

Wilhelm felt his symptoms of PTSD were related to his experiences within the
SAPS. He blamed the level of his distress on the mismanagement of the SAPS,
saying that it had "gone to the dogs". Yet, despite the apparent change in the
practical and human conditions of his employment, Wilhelm never reviewed or
changed the way he undertook his job. With his 'bulldog' tenacity he kept
insisting on doing things 'by the book'. Leaving the SAPS was never an option
for Wilhelm.

The old guard presented in therapy when the transformation of the SAP to
SAPS was underway and affirmative action had begun to be implemented
within the police. This experience was potentially alienating for these
policemen. Although Hayes (2002b) was writing in a different context, by

applying his ideas to the old guard we can see that various structural and political changes following on from the advent of post-apartheid South Africa, meant that the old guard may have come to lack the socio-cultural supports they had previously relied on to keep trauma at bay. Hayes (2002b) proposes one way of dealing with the search for meaning in our modern lives is to consolidate social meaning in as homogeneous a way as possible. "Asserting, and maintaining, a particular (ethnic) identity," Hayes (2002b, p. 25) explains, "staves off the anxiety and fear invoked by the diffusion of difference". Certainly, Wilhelm, Riaan, Francois and Hendrick referring to themselves as "old school" could be an attempt at doing this.

In discussing some of the fragmentary experiences of modernity Frosh (1991, p. 7) writes that:

> Openness to the modern experience can mean exhilaration in the multiplicity and heterogeneity of it all, but can also mean that the certainties of self slip away, leaving only a celebrating but empty surface. On the other hand, closing down and repudiating modernity may bring a sense of security, of knowing who one is, but at the price of having continuously to ward off the assaults of the new - of refusing to enjoy and learn from experience.

Following Frosh (1991) and Hayes (2002b), it can be anticipated that the socio-political transformation of post-apartheid South Africa has effected all South African's – from subtle changes in our sense of self to self-liberation, or from acting out behaviour to a loss of self. SAP members are faced with political and social transformation, not only within the society they protect and serve but also within the organisation they work for. There has been increased recruitment and promotion to more senior positions of black and female members. New recruits (the 'new guard') into the SAPS have undergone basic training that is vastly different from the training that longstanding old guard

policemen experienced on joining the SAP. There have also been significant changes with regard to ideas about what policing ought to entail. The SAPS is at present still involved in a process of reformation and redefinition of roles - from state to community policing. Change at the level of policy within the SAPS has perhaps happened at a faster pace than within individual members. This contributes to feelings of discomfort, distress, and job insecurity.

Wilhelm, Riaan, Francois, and Hendrick all expressed their resentment and dissatisfaction with the SAPS. Metaphorically, Wilhelm wanted to go to Pretoria and "fuck them up". He spent many sessions raging about his mistreatment at the hands of the new dispensation. During apartheid the participants could legitimately project their anger and frustration onto external others the apartheid dispensation provided and held at a distance with discriminatory laws. Now, these distant external others were close. They were the participants' bosses, whom the old guard were required to respect, but whom often failed to undertake their roles in a professional way (such as providing the necessary equipment for the participants to carry out their police tasks). As a result, the participants' outrage could not be projected, channelled, worked through or mourned.

Social constructionist writings suggest that our sense of identity is rooted to our place and time in the on-going history of our society. A number of different ideological and behavioural options are open to the different cultural groups at various junctures and moments in time. According to Norval, certain ones win out over others, succeeding in setting the parameters about what actions we engage in, what positions we take, and what we think (in Laubscher, 2005). Applying Norval's conceptualisations to the old guard in the next clinical excerpt, we can see Hendrick's particular sense of masculinity:

> Case: Hendrick
> Hendrick's physical presence assaulted the senses. He was a
> strapping hulk of a man: tall, muscular and imposing. It was

obvious he spent a great deal of time in the gym. He accentuated
his bulging biceps and six-pack stomach muscles by wearing close
fitting clothes. His hair was kept in a gelled, military style, short-
back-and-sides, which further accentuated his well defined, and
chiselled attributes. He attended sessions wearing stylish, smart
casual clothes – neutral slacks with open-collared, designer, short
sleeved shirts and lace up shoes - never in police uniform.
Overpowering to the sense of smell was his liberal application of
pungent aftershave and deodorant. He was overly attentive and
courteous: he would always insist upon ushering me into my
consulting room, he always enquired as to my health, he brought
me a rose on Valentine's Day, and insisted on going out of his way
to exchange pleasantries if he saw me in passing. He never
appeared flustered or distressed. He seemed the very poster child
of a man's man, or, for that matter, a lady's man.

This example highlights the prominence of the macho and military narratives
through which Hendrick was socialised. Hendrick's macho sense of masculinity
was illustrated in his physical appearance and presence. He accentuated his
strong and virile physic with pungent aftershave, deodorant and an overly
courteous manner. Military narratives were also seen - as was the case with
Riaan - in Hendrick's care not to attend sessions dressed in his police uniform.
Here, military narratives overlapped with machismo, as the sentiment was that
emotions had no place in the police. Militarism was also evident in Hendrick's
crew cut hair style. Hendrick was apartheid South Africa's ideal man – a
'superman'. However, taking a more general look at his therapeutic narratives,
post-apartheid Hendrick had no idea of who he was or who he wanted to be.
He seemed to have internalised a set of principles as to what a man should be
and had not questioned them. Thus, in post-apartheid South Africa, he
appeared to be a mere 'mannequin'.

Under apartheid different masculinities were possible. There were different

cultural resources available to different individuals, inevitably giving rise to very different experiences. Beyond race and class, masculinity is segmented further by language, educational level, age, religious affiliations, sub-cultural attachments, geographical locale, and political beliefs, amongst others. There are many cultural and sub-cultural aspects which are crucial in the practical accomplishment of masculinity (cf. Connell, 1995). The SAP, for example, had a very strong cop sub-culture. Police, who stayed in the SAP after military service, worked their way up the ranks as far as their abilities or opportunities allowed. They were trained either on the job or through SAP training centres. The culture of the 'force' (the old guard's colloquial term for the SAP) was, therefore, reinforced continually, with little outside input. The closed nature of the SAP as an institution was reinforced by many police living in dormitories or flats provided by the force. These were often attached to police stations. Community links were further curtailed by the SAP's practice of not deploying police where they were recruited. Policemen were often also transferred to other parts of the country on promotion (Buchner, 1992). The medium of instruction and operation within the SAP was predominantly Afrikaans. The loyalty of white police to the NP was encouraged through an Afrikaner cultural organisation known as Akpol. Although apparently concerned with promoting the use of Afrikaans, and Afrikaner art and culture, Akpol spread the message of Christian Nationalism, the ideology of the NP (Cawthra, 1994). Its motto was "The trek continues …" (ibid., p. 12). The police code of honour, which all police were expected to swear to, opened with the words "As a member of the SAP that serves a nation with a Christian National Foundation …" (Buchner, 1992, p. 57). Rightwing attitudes amongst police were, therefore, overlaid with a Calvinist belief that the will of God legitimised the law and the state, and that the task of the police was thus God-given.

Quite simply, men, socialised in these ways, had a constraint placed upon them in the range of thoughts, feelings and actions that were available to them. Social, political, and economic realities mandate and sustain narrative conventions. These determine not only narratives but, through these, what

individuals are capable of thinking and communicating. Individuals can never absolutely free themselves from these realities, even in thought, such that they might move beyond them (Kreiswirth, 2000).

Drawing from Laubscher's (2005) article *Afrikaner identity and the music of Johannes Kerkorrel*, several historical events underpin Afrikaner identity. These include the Great Trek, the Battle of Blood River, the South African wars, the depopulation of the platteland and the economic hardship faced by white, Afrikaans speakers, and the coming to power of the NP in 1948. The majority of these events were brutal, bloody, and harrowing. They form a backdrop for the staging of Afrikaner identity. For example, during apartheid the most admired form of Afrikaner masculinity tended to be authoritative, aggressive, heterosexual, able bodied, hedonistic, anti-intellectual, and physically brave (Korber, 1992). Jacobus du Pisani (2002) describes Afrikaner masculinity as being produced as much by a frontier tradition as by Calvinism. Afrikaner masculinity was characterised by individualism, conservatism, and patriarchal authority. In the pre-industrial age the Boer patriarch was master on his own farm, an independence that has often been used to characterise Afrikaner masculinity (du Pisani, 2002). Afrikaner masculinity interpellated the old guard as burly, self sufficient, practical, resourceful, and unemotional individuals, helping to place constraints on their available thoughts, feelings, and actions.

The following example illustrates the dis-ease Francois had adjusting to post-apartheid narratives, and adjusting to the contradictions between the old narratives and the new.

> Case: Francois
>
> Francois and his wife, Maria, came to see me for marital therapy, at Maria's request. Their marital concerns centred on Francois feeling uncared for and Maria's anxiety about Francois' increased drinking, his inflexible approach to life, and his lack of involvement in their parental responsibilities. During their marital therapy it

became apparent Francois was using Maria to avoid talking about his difficulties. He did this in two ways: *firstly*, he would have her talk about his experiences and feelings, and *secondly*, he would confess his difficulties to her - in a purging manner - without appearing to understand, or reflect on, why he needed to say, or hear, personal issues for himself.

Francois had always prided himself on being a proper gentleman. His rank of Major in the SAP had afforded him respect, affirmation, and admiration. Now, having been medically boarded from the SAPS, he no longer had military hierarchy to reinforce his sense of masculinity. However, he clung to his old world ways of pre- and post-dinner drinks to wash down the 'war stories' about 'the good old days', just as he had always done. Post-apartheid narratives about masculinity changed - they became more about economic success, charisma, and social involvement. Post-apartheid Francois appeared more of a 'drunken old windbag' than a 'hero in repose'.

While marital therapy seemed to have been useful in allowing Francois to acknowledge that he had concerns, psychotherapeutically he needed to work on these issues. When I reflected this to the couple, Francois agreed to engage in individual therapy - under the condition it was limited to 10 sessions. I commented on Francois' need for control. On one hand his time limited approach to therapy made him appear to be engaging with his troubles, yet on the other, he seemed to be trying to avoid issues.

Francois had a conflicted sense of self. At times he knew himself to be diligent and ambitious, a man of intellect and drive. While at other times, he felt he was an inadequate and weak person. He was ashamed of himself. His inadequate side he tried to keep firmly in check, with his overly structured approach to life.

Francois conveyed himself in a polite and respectable manner: he dressed with

care in a smart-casual fashion, his thick steel-grey hair was kept in a maintained style, and he spoke in a polite and dignified way. He would excuse and avoid anything which did not fit with this presentable image – focusing on the sophistication of red wine rather than his drinking to excess; sleeping in a separate bedroom to spare Maria from his snoring, rather than as a sign of his cutting her out of his intimate life, and symbolising his rage and pain at her marital betrayal; the horrors of mass death and destruction as highlighted by global terrorism rather than his own existential terror, his terrorism of his children with his corporal punishment, and being used as an instrument of terror in the apartheid state.

Moving from Francois' difficulties with the cultural and discursive dimensions of his experience, to reviewing how his, and the old guards', experiences may have been felt and embodied, Hayes (2002b) points out that Freud was very aware of the 'costs' of our becoming 'civilised':

> We all become part of human culture and society, albeit differently, and are often 'thankful' for the repressions of instinctual life which allow us to make our way in the social world. Nevertheless, the formation of our identities is characterised by struggle, resistance, compliance, and is something we are never finished with. If much of 'who we are' is formed in our early relations with significant others, it matters what those 'others' were like, and what the process of 'other-ing' was like in the formation of our identities. (p. 28)

In South Africa, the years of apartheid rule, with its severe repression of the black population, has had a profound effect on the social and intrapsychic life of all South Africans. Practices of the self can be experienced as forces impinging upon us – through the design of other people, the impact of cultural conventions and social practices, or the force of social processes and political

institutions (Hayes, 2002b). The experiences of socialisation which many old guard policemen, such as Francois, were subjected to under apartheid – racism, sexism, elitism, patriarchy, Calvinism, militarism, conservatism, nationalism and hyper-masculinity, amongst others – potentially meant that the identifications which these men made were more alienating than is usual in the course of development. Under apartheid, almost every aspect of life was specified and regulated from where you might live and work, whom you might relate to and how, and so forth. Developing the impact of the experience of alienation, Frosh (1991, p. 6) says:

> Alienation there certainly is, and not just of the labour variety: it can also be used to denote the difficulties confronting people's efforts to establish links with others in societies in which traditional interpersonal structures have disappeared …

Certainly, establishing links with others in apartheid South Africa was severely curtailed. However, these participants were successful and coped well within this environment. The old guard experienced difficulties in post-apartheid South Africa. Perhaps as Frosh (1991, p. 6) suggests, their "traditional interpersonal structures" disappeared at this point.

Most psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapists regard the self as built up developmentally, through a set of mechanisms linking interpersonal relationships with internal mental structures. Here, the existence of the self depends on the provision of certain circumstances that make it possible for an inner stability to be achieved. This achievement is regarded as precarious, requiring the continuing provision of what Winnicott (1960, p. 156) calls "good enough" relationships with others, in particular in early childhood. The absence of such conditions, or their disruption by separations and other frustrating circumstances, or the presence of actively abusive elements in early relationships, means that the environment can turn persecutory rather than

supportive (Ivey, 2009). The consequences of this are that the internal structures are themselves full of persecutory elements, militating against the structuring of coherent selfhood (ibid.).

The successful construction of a stable self also depends on the existence of certain supportive conditions. These conditions are interpersonal ones that are themselves dependent to some degree on wider social circumstances (Ivey 2009). Looking at the wider social circumstances the participants were subjected to under apartheid, we can see the identifications these men made were potentially more alienating than is usual in the course of development. These alienating identifications are present in the following example which looks at Wilhelm's early life and family relationships:

> Case: Wilhelm
>
> Wilhelm, perhaps significantly, had no memories of his childhood or schooling. His parents had seven children. He was the second youngest. He had a poor opinion of his siblings and their spouses. He felt closest to his eldest sister who was born with Down's Syndrome.
>
> Following his father's death, Wilhelm regularly visited his mother in Nelspruit and did odd jobs for her. He was critical of his siblings for not helping their mother in this manner.
>
> Wilhelm's father was often absent as he was growing up. His mother raised the children by enforcing strict discipline. Wilhelm felt she had difficulty dealing with the death of the brother immediately his elder from Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS).

Wilhelm's lack of childhood memories may indicate the lack of supportive family relationships in his early life. Having seven children would have placed certain pressures and demands on his parents. The love, care, and attention his

parents would have been able to allocate to each child would have been seriously lessened. Having an older sibling with Down's Syndrome would have further added to the demands on his parents. On top of this, Wilhelm's father's work as a train driver frequently took him away from the family. This left his mother to cope single handed, further constraining the amount of parental love, care, and attention available. It seemed that his mother dealt with the situation by "enforcing strict discipline". This may have further added to the harshness of Wilhelm's early life and family relationships. It is interesting to note Wilhelm's poor opinion of his siblings and their spouses. This suggests that, even as an adult, his connection to his family was distant and strained. Thus, the social context in which Wilhelm was raised may well have made Winnicott's "good enough" relationships impossible. This would then have had significant consequences for an understanding of Wilhelm's selfhood.

Returning to Summers' (1994), he suggests that from a Kleinian perspective the reason the child's interpersonal relationships are important is that early frustrations lead to an increase in aggressiveness and belief in the child's own power to injure. As Summers (1994, p. 90) notes, "[i]f experience is excessively frustrating, the infant will feel that his or her aggressiveness has in fact destroyed the loved object, resulting in intolerable guilt". At night Wilhelm was haunted by nightmares of dismembered bodies, and "dead eyes" staring accusingly back at him. Applying Summers' (1994) conceptualisations to my participant, Wilhelm's nightmares perhaps reflect his fragmentation – part violent and destructive, part in pain and suffering. Wilhelm attempted to evacuate these hostile internal part-objects through projection, causing him to perceive other people as malicious, untrustworthy, and backstabbing. Wilhelm used aggression and his obsession with external control, to cover hurt and vulnerable parts of him. He also projected the injured parts of himself onto others (his sister with Down's Syndrome, children, women, and victims of accidents) whom he then took care of.

Wilhelm was drawn to people who had suffered – his sister with Down's

syndrome, his brother's children (to whom he was surrogate father when their parents periodically abandoned them), and the victims whose bodies he collected and cared for. Here, he felt needed, resourceful, and vital, helping him affirm himself while projecting his pain and turmoil onto others rather than having to deal with it within himself.

Socio-political transformation post-apartheid may have interfered with Wilhelm's defences of splitting and projective identification. Changes to the social and political make up of South Africa and the SAP meant he was surrounded with new and unfamiliar ways of undertaking his job and living his life. His external environment may have no longer been able to affirm him as it had under apartheid, thus plunging Wilhelm over the abyss. In the SAPS Wilhelm became a loner. He twice attempted suicide. He also lodged many grievances against his colleagues to commanding officers. He became increasingly disliked at work. Finally, he threatened to kill two colleagues.

Balibar (1991, p. 17), although writing in a different context, explains that:

> ... the conditions are therefore present for a collective sense of *identity panic* to be produced and maintained. For individuals fear the state - particularly the most deprived and the most remote from power - but they fear still more its disappearance and decomposition.

Applying Balibar's (1991) conceptualisations to this investigation, amidst this "identity panic" (p. 17), the previous social identities - for example, the category 'white man' standing as a signifier of power and privilege - are *apparently* ill-equipped to make sense of present social and political realities. Post-apartheid socio-political transformations undermined the old apartheid identities through which people made sense of, and participated in, social and political life. Whiteness and masculinity, as analytic categories and as political consciousness, had made sense of social life in certain ways. However, they

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tended to obscure the other complexities of everyday social life.

As Goldman (2003) explains, the social categories of gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity, and race can neither speak for all nor for one another. Instead, they are relationally entwined. Hayes (2002b) notes that while there is a consistency and stability to human identity formation, it is especially during times of crisis that the subtle shifts, tensions, and contradictions in our subject positions become apparent.

Conclusion

Given the socio-political changes in South Africa and the SAP/SAPS, as Hayes (2002b) suggests, it seems useful to explore whether psychoanalysis has any applicability to the questions of social transformation. No psychoanalytic studies have been conducted into the experiences of the trusty foot soldiers of apartheid during the transformation from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa. This is a critical area given the old guard are now the trusty foot soldiers of the 'new' South Africa.

A return to old school behaviour and traditions in the wake of potentially stressful post-apartheid transformation may reflect the draw of an old guard identity for these participants. Some policemen may have better skills at renegotiating roles and relationships. Such policemen may have a far more flexible view of self. Other policemen, like these participants, who stick to their traditional power roles, may tend towards hyper-masculinity and have a very rigid view of self. They are more likely to be resistant to change.

CHAPTER THREE

LOCATING THE OLD GUARD'S EXPERIENCE

In the last nineteen years South Africa has started a process of transition from apartheid to a democratic society. This transition has been characterised by economic, political, and racial shifts in state legislation and policies.

The demise of apartheid was hailed by South Africa's first democratic election in 1994. The Government of National Unity was set up, signalling the transition to a new period in South Africa's history. Apartheid legislation, institutional structures and practices were replaced with more democratic systems that aimed to express the post-apartheid era. The transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa, coinciding with the transition from the SAP to SAPS, opened up cultural sites where taken for granted narratives could be engaged with. Such cultural sites offered the potential for individuals to reflect upon their previously unquestioned narratives, and compare and contrast them with new narratives. Individuals could negotiate or resist a variety of beliefs and values suggested in the various narratives. Engaging with narratives offered individuals the opportunity to represent themselves in different ways.

Having said this, it must be remembered that being a South African policeman during apartheid was constructed out of distinct narrative options. These options potentially narrowed the range of choices available to these men in their encounters with emerging cultural sites. In particular for Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick, specific racialised, cultured, and gendered constructions of themselves were produced in their encounters with the hegemonic view of being white, Afrikaner men. Applying Wetherell's (1996) conceptualisations of socialisation to these participants, being interpellated in racialised, cultured and gendered ways potentially put a constraint on the old guard's ability to re-present themselves in other ways during the post-apartheid transitional period in South Africa's history, and the transition from SAP to

SAPS. For example, in their encounters with the apartheid hegemonic view of being white, Afrikaner men they saw themselves as physical, emotionally tough, capable and commanding. Post-apartheid new cultural sites emerged and existing ones were revised. Other ways of being now became possible for the participants to engage with. However, other ways of being did not hold the same value for the old guard. In fact, some ways of being were actively shunned: for example, resigning from the SAPS, being more emotionally expressive in intimate relationships, and allowing close personal relationships to be both practically and emotionally supportive of them. So despite at times wishing to engage with other ways of being, their array of choices was diminished in their encounters with emerging post-apartheid cultural sites.

Apartheid was a system of 'legal' racial segregation enforced by the NP government between 1948 and 1993 (Bunting, 1986). Here the rights of the majority black inhabitants of South Africa were severely truncated. There was minority rule by white people. Although racial segregation in South Africa began during colonial times, apartheid as a legislative policy was only introduced following the general election of 1948 (Bunting, 1986).

Goldman (2003) in his work on white boyhood under apartheid explains that apartheid structured people's lives in many ways. He points out that racism was enshrined in constitutional legislation. There was economic and psychological exploitation of people of colour. Goldman concludes that apartheid also infiltrated individuals' private sense of self. Ratele (2009) concurs, explaining that it is common knowledge that apartheid tried to govern most aspects of people's lives within the borders of South Africa. He points out that it is increasingly accepted that the policy was also targeted at regulating, directing, and shaping the most intimate parts of the lives of South Africans.

Ratele (2009) explains that under apartheid there was racial structuring of sexual relationships. He notes that interracial sex and marriage was prohibited. Although the Immorality Act was passed by the Parliament of the Union of

South Africa in 1927, Ratele (2009) emphasises that it was amended by the NP when they came to power in 1948. This enabled the NP to use the Immorality Act, along with other Acts, to push forward racial bigotry. The upshot of this was through apartheid existing ethnicities were nullified. New apartheid legislation then classified inhabitants into 'racial' groups ('black', 'white', 'coloured', and 'Indian'). Residential areas could then be segregated, often as the consequence of forced eviction. Ratele describes this reorganisation of people as part of the power used by the NP government to order the lives of its subjects.

Ratele (2009) suggests that there was also a psycho-political philosophy that motivated thinking about immorality. Whilst, according to Hawkes (1996), an immoral deed was "almost invariably a sexual act, predominantly defined in terms of sexual content" (p. 5), there was a peculiarly South African idea of immorality. Immorality was not only about taboo extramarital sexual affairs. Immorality also suggested the restriction of certain behaviours. These behaviours were given racial substance. In other words, as Ratele (2009) explains, "… sexuality comes to discipline race identifications and, similarly, race classifications comes to shape sexual relations" (ibid., p. 291). In adjusting themselves to, or struggling against these apartheid Acts, the Acts came to shape South African's psychological lives and social relations. More pointedly, these legislative undertakings shaped what individuals would come to desire and love, hate and be repelled by, with whom they had sex and under what conditions (Ratele, 2009).

According to Ratele (2009) the Acts against interracial sexual relations were not just about the legalities of the sexual act. They were also part of the resources people were given in the construction of their identity in this country. These Acts had different facets, both social and moral. These facets, Ratele suggests, included conditions around what it ought to mean to be a sexual person and a self in South Africa in 1950 (and subsequently). The Immorality Act played a part in constituting masculinities and femininities and relations between males

and females. More pointedly, Ratele (2009) believes that South Africa during apartheid was obsessed with people's internal lives and as well as their external relationships. He explains that this obsession was written into laws, codes of organisation, syllabi, stories, and passed on from one generation to the next.

Goldman (2003) explains that civil institutions in South Africa were organised on the basis of 'race' and 'ethnicity'. He draws on Saul Dubow to say that race science – eugenics – informed the state's conceptions of race. In daily life under apartheid, the notion of race was associated with a complex range of practices, institutions, and rules that people took for granted in their everyday interactions with one another. Goldman concludes:

> It was 'common sense' that whites be in positions of power and authority, to know and expect 'the president' to be a white man, for a maid to know how her 'madam' should be treated with respect; to take for granted that there were white schools and black schools. Whiteness was propped up by legal designation and state power. (2003, p. 43)

Apartheid seeped deeply into every aspect of life producing cultural repertoires on the basis of race. Goldman (2003, p. 43) suggests that these cultural repertoires "constituted an overt but also hidden imperialism of daily life". Nevertheless, it must be remembered that there was not just one response to being white. There were counter narratives. Having said this, racist cultural repertoires (amongst others) provided the conditions of possibility for what could occur in the construction of Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hendrick's identities.

Under apartheid these participants were placed within a multiplicity of narratives. Four dominant narratives which arose from the analysis of data included the 'military', 'macho leader', 'Afrikaner patriarchal family', and 'Christian National' narratives. I will give an overview of each narrative in turn,

and provide brief illustrations as to how the participants were placed within them. However, this discussion will be more fully explored in chapter seven which is the analysis of data chapter.

Military narratives

The SAP was created, after the Union of South Africa, in 1913 (Brogen, 1989). Initially low ranking SAP personnel were drawn from poor rural Afrikaner communities where being a policeman was held in high esteem (Brogen, 1989). Being a SAP official allowed impoverished rural Afrikaner men access into circles of power and privilege - in the form of employment, wages, and skills development (Cawthra, 1994). The government granted important responsibilities to SAP officials: they could act on behalf of other government officials (Brogen, 1989). For example, in rural areas SAP officials could set up criminal proceedings. SAP officials could serve as wardens and court clerks as well as immigration, health, and revenue officials. They were also allowed to serve as vehicle inspectors and postal agents (Cawthra, 1994). As the dominant mode of being male was (and still is within patriarchal cultures) associated with physical and emotional toughness, power, and authority, becoming a SAP official offered poor white Afrikaner men a way of identifying with the hegemonic view of being a man.

Militarism has been defined as:

> ... the tendency of a nation's military apparatus (which includes the armed forces and associated paramilitary, intelligence, and bureaucratic agencies) to assume ever-increasing control over the lives and behaviour of its citizens; and for military values (centralisation of authority, hierarchisation, discipline and conformity, combativeness, and xenophobia) increasing to dominate national culture, education, the media, religion, politics and the economy at the expense of civilian institutions. (Klare, 1980, p. 36)

According to Bunting (1986), during apartheid South Africa was frequently termed a 'police state' because, in many cases, the government deemed it unnecessary to give any reason for its decisions and actions related to state security. The effect of this was a militarised SAP which then treated the population in a militarised way.

These participants expressed a 'calling' to join the SAP at a very young age. Their conviction had a religious fervour. Being a policeman was an ideal to which they aspired. The passion to belong to the SAP exemplifies these men's investment within military discourses. Francois always wanted to be a policeman. He attended university after matriculating in order to enter the police ranks at an officer level. Apart from this end, his time at university seemed superfluous: he made no comment in therapy about the university courses he undertook, the people he met, or university life and culture. Likewise, Riaan always wanted to be a policeman. He would spend all his free time as a child playing 'cops and robbers' with his friends, or with toy soldiers alone in his bedroom. On the other hand, Wilhelm had no memories of his childhood or time at school. The first thing he could remember was to going to Police College when he was 18 years old. This, for him, was when his life began. Being a policeman was all he wanted to be.

According to Bunting (1986) the NP government's military apparatus assumed control over the lives and behaviour of individuals. The NP government implemented, alongside apartheid, a programme of social conservatism (Cawthra, 1986). According to Cawthra (1986) pornography, gambling and other such 'vices' were banned, or severely restricted. Cinemas, shops selling alcohol, and most other businesses were forbidden from operating on Sundays. Abortion, homosexuality, and sex education were taboo. The military ethos was propagated in the media. As a result of censorship (including legislation such as the Defence Act, Prisons Act, Internal Security Act, and the Publications Act) it was often impossible to report on the security situation (Bunting, 1986).

Television was not introduced until 1976 because the government deemed it 'dangerous'. Television was also run on apartheid lines, with different channels and time slots for different races. Thus, social conservatism helped propagate militarism as there was little or no outside input, but rather, for the most part, state propaganda (Bunting, 1986).

One of the most important aspects of the militarisation of white South African society was the length of time white males served in the SADF (South African Defence Force) and SAP (Korber, 1992). Failure to undertake national service resulted in a prison sentence. National service affected Riaan, Wilhelm, Hendrick and Francois on two important levels: *firstly*, their fathers, male friends, and relatives were all eligible for national service and had annual compulsory national service camps. *Secondly*, Francois, Riaan, Wilhelm and Hendrick became eligible for national service as soon as they finished school or tertiary education.

According to Brogden (1989) there were four basic periods of military commitment:

- All fit white, male, South Africans were liable for service from 18-55 years of age. National servicemen were conscripted initially for two years full-time into the SADF or four years full-time into the SAP. Eventually, reforms to apartheid led to a reduction in the period of national service. In 1990 it was reduced to one year for the SADF and two for the SAP.

- National servicemen were then liable for 12 years in citizen force units. Here they were called up for annual 'camps' (periods of further training or operational duty for up to three months per annum, which were required to amount to a total of 720 days over the 12 year period).

  The alternative was 20 years part-time duty in a commando unit for those declared area-bound, such as farmers. There were three main

types of commando duty: rural, urban and industrial. Rural commandos helped in farmland protection. Urban commandos assisted with crowd control, roadblocks, and curfew enforcement. Industrial commandos protected 'key points' which were important commercial facilities. The most common form of commando duty undertaken by all commando units, however, was counterinsurgency.

- Following 12 years in a citizen force unit, or 20 years part-time duty in a commando unit, was five years in the Active Citizen Force Reserve. Call-up in this category was usually only during a national emergency.

- Finally, the Controlled National Reserve was for those who had completed the previous periods in the citizen force or commando unit. They were liable to 12 days call-up per year in an emergency until aged 55. Some individuals volunteered to serve until 65.

These commitment periods reflect how military narratives dominated white men's lives under apartheid. With national service all white men were located within military narratives. As Korber (1992, p. 35) explains, "[t]his was reinforced by registration for national service at age sixteen and cadet training in most white schools".

Hendrick, Wilhelm, Riaan and Francois' early life experiences suggest that military narratives were not only part of their daily routine from birth, but that they were experienced as natural boyish 'fun and games', a way of relating to friends and family, and were also awarded the prestigious status of a 'divine calling' within the family and community. In other words, these men were placed within military narratives in a way that normalised the military as part of everyday life (cf. Korber, 1992). Their investment within military narratives can be understood in the context of their family's pride and involvement in the military, their cadet experiences and the orientation of their schools, their childhood fantasies based on their fathers' military stories and experiences, as

well as the childhood games they played, and their attitudes towards national service and a SAP vocation as a duty and an honour.

Macho leader narratives

Riaan, Francois, Wilhelm and Hendrick all appeared to be macho leaders of one form or another: Riaan with his tall, dark, athletic and handsome countenance was your 'modest hero'; Francois with his well-groomed classic good looks, sophistication and poise was your 'seasoned leader'; Wilhelm with his short, stocky, 'bulldog' tenacity was your 'right-hand-man' who kept slogging away; and Hendrick with his chiselled attributes was your embodiment of an 'Action-Man' military doll.

Korber (1992) describes the most admired form of Afrikaner masculinity in apartheid South Africa as authoritative, aggressive, heterosexual, able-bodied, and physically brave. She suggests that this form of masculinity was exalted over others, was associated with national identity, celebrated in sports, and presented as an ideal to the young. It appeared that the four participants in this research epitomised this apartheid macho leader ideal, in one form or another. However, the precariousness of this ideal was also apparent. In the following example the unevenness of Riaan's masculinity is highlighted:

> Case: Riaan
>
> Riaan began his second session by talking about the insecurities he experienced in his relationship with his ex-wife, Michelle. He felt insignificant in comparison to her. She had a well-paid job with a transport company. She earned three times his salary and had a company car. Michelle worked in a predominantly male dominated industry. However, Riaan felt he could not "measure up" to these men, in terms of earning power, expensive clothes, and intellectual conversation. He described often feeling intimidated when attending business launches with Michelle.

The patchiness of Riaan's embodiment of the masculine ideal was apparent in the impotence he felt in the face of Michelle's career and financial success. Despite his athleticism, his leadership of his unit, media 'fame', and successful apprehension of suspects, outside the context of the SAP/SAPS he felt ineffectual in comparison to his ex-wife.

Other patterns of masculinity existed in white apartheid South Africa and were available, to a certain extent, for these participants. However, other patterns of masculinity did not attract the same respect. For example, despite wanting children, and to have a close relationship with them, Francois could not live out the role of a warm, loving and involved father. Instead he exemplified a patriarchal, authoritative, aggressive father-provider figure:

> Case: Francois
>
> This material was taken from Francois' second session:
>
> *Francois* I wanted kids. All they ask for is protection. I failed, I couldn't protect them. Psalm 37: 3-6[11].
>
> I failed my kids. I'm too strict. I can't show them the love I want to. I withdraw from them because I'm afraid of repeating the failure.
>
> I don't believe in physical punishment. Both my school master and my father used to beat me with a belt across the buttocks. It made me feel like a failure. Why did they resort to violence? I hated it. But, yet, here I am doing the same thing to my own children. I have to stay away from them.

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[11] Francois frequently made Biblical references without elaborating on what these quotations meant to him.

I need to be strong and protective for my family. A man should look out for his family. Maria [*Francois' wife*] *needs* looking after and so do the kids.

Despite at one level wishing to engage with other ways of being, at another level this proved impossible for Francois. He could not let himself love and care for his wife and children, and have them love and care for him. As Connell & Messchershmidt (2005) explain:

One is not free to adopt any gender position in interaction simply as a discursive or reflexive move. The possibilities are constrained massively by embodiment, by institutional histories, by economic forces, and by personal and family relationships. (pp. 842-3)

Who Francois was, is, and could be, was constrained by his socialisation.

Connell (2001, p. 7) views masculinity as a "collective gender identity" rather than "a natural attribute". Connell suggests that masculinities are constructed *between* people. Using his words, masculinities are "not fixed character types but configurations of practice or cultural resources generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationship" (Connell, 2001, p. 7). Coleman (1990, p. 45) suggests that it is useful to understand gender as "a negotiated social category". Here Coleman describes gender as not being located within the person, or as a learnt organisation of cultural and sex roles. He believes gender is rather situated between people. Gender is built up through people interacting with one another. Returning to Connell (1995), in essence, people are seen to involve themselves in gendered activity. This is informed by the person's particular contextual positioning and his or her location in broader cultural and ideological structures. Hence, the participants in this study were not free to adopt any gender position. Their possibilities were

constrained massively by their physicality, by the institutional history of the SAP, by economic forces, and by Afrikaner patriarchal family relationships. Hyper-masculinity won out over other gender positions for these participants.

Butler (1990) explains that the act of being masculine is always in relation to the hegemonic form of masculinity. The hegemonic form of masculinity is central in defining boys', and men's, sanctioned ways of being. The endorsed mode of being a white, Afrikaner male in the SAP was associated with heterosexuality, toughness, power and authority, competitiveness, and the subordination of gay men.

If, as Goldman (2003, p. 45) suggests, "misogyny, homophobia, racism and compulsory heterosexuality" are among hegemonic masculinity's defining features, then there is a "'patriarchal dividend' or reward for conformity". However, there is also a sense of failure and rejection many men experience in not living up to hegemonic expectations. Goldman (2003) postulates that underlying hegemonic masculinity is the ever present treat of violence. An example of such violence can be seen in the next example taken from Francois' therapy. Francois was brutal in his treatment of himself in attempting to live up to the hegemonic ideal. Anything that did not match the ideal he split off (psychoanalytically), avoided, or anesthetised with alcohol and drugs (albeit 'sophisticated' red wine, and prescription medication).

> Case: Francois
> This clinical material is taken from Francois' sixth session.
>
> Francois entered the room dressed in his usual smart-casual fashion but with a look of being 'sick to his stomach'. He perched on the edge of his seat as if to flee the session at any moment.
>
> *Francois*   Did I tell you that Herbie [*Francois' best friend who had an affair with Francois' wife, Maria*] died? He

drank himself to death.

[*Francois fell silent and then suddenly words begin to tumble out of his mouth.*]

He was a good friend and colleague. We went through a lot together. We lived near one another in Pretoria. Our families spent a lot of time together on the weekends. The children played together. We had braais.

[*Francois fell silent again.*]

Therapist   It sounds like Herbie was a big part of your life. It looks like his death means a lot to you.

We ended off last week thinking about engaging with experiences that distress you in a different way. You tend to try to avoid them or rid yourself of them. Today you appear to be trying to talk about Herbie's death in a very quick way without thinking or feeling too much about it. Perhaps we could try looking at it in a slow steady manner? Would you like to look at what Herbie means to you?

Francois   [*Francois sat in silence and then spoke in a quiet voice.*]

Ja.

[*He fell silent once more.*]

Therapist	It seems to be difficult for you to begin now you've made your mind up to do it. What would make it easier for you?
Francois	[*Francois continued in silence. I felt he was struggling to get words out. He looked at the floor.*]
	I can't.
Therapist	I see how difficult this is for you.
	I wonder if you worry you will lose touch with the other part of you that feels stronger, more capable and confident?
	I know that part of you is there.
	Last week you left me with a page of notes that you had managed to write down. Would it help you to read through it now with me?
Francois	[*Francois was silent and then he began speaking again in a quiet voice.*]
	I think so. But I cannot read it. Can you?
Therapist	It feels too much to read out these things that distress you. You would like me to help you by giving them a voice we can hear together. Sure, let's start by doing that.
	[*Francois remained silent. He continued looking down*

at the floor and sitting at the edge of his seat. I unfolded the page which had been sitting on my lap since the beginning of the session.]

Francois, I notice your handwriting on this page is quite difficult to read. Is this because it was hard for you to write?

[*Francois nodded his head.*]

You have written a list of brief points. Why was that?

Francois   I don't want to think about them. I just want to be rid of them once and for all.

Therapist   I understand your sentiment. But it seems by just noting these distressing things in a brief fashion, and trying to distance yourself from them, you don't properly lay them to rest. Perhaps this even causes them to be ever present in your mind as they aren't being properly addressed.

[*Francois remained silent.*]

Your first point seems to be: "First body – stabbed; left alone – guard; threw stones; life – worth or not." What does this mean to you?

Francois   [*Francois was silent and then, as at the beginning of the session, words streamed out of his mouth.*]

They threw stones. Scarred ... Alone ... Ghosts?

… Disgusted with myself … Depressed … Only happy when I'm drunk…

[*Francois' voice then became a whisper.*]

They congratulated me …

[*He fell silent again.*]

Francois treated himself harshly trying to live up to his version of being a man. This was apparent in the way he tried to purge himself of his feelings around Herbie's betrayal and death, and other distressing memories from his past. He tried to talk about his friend's death rapidly, without thinking or feeling too much about it. He also tried to rid himself of other distressing past events by writing them down in point form, in illegible handwriting, and disposing of them with me. As I explained to Francois, by attempting to distance himself from, and avoid, distressing experiences, he did not properly lay them to rest or process them. Francois identified himself as an intelligent, capable, hard working and ambitious man. He associated emotions, and loss of control, with weakness and shame. He drank to try to forget about his so-called "weak" points. This left Francois a broken man. Shame prevented him from acknowledging his feelings, speaking about them, making space for them in his life, learning to understand them, live with them, and then learning to grow from them.

Francois also attempted to identify with the hegemonic view of masculinity by devaluing his wife. He undermined her career and any supportive role she had in his life. He withdrew from their marriage, parental responsibilities and the marital bed, leaving her guilt ridden for having an affair, overloaded with the responsibility of coping with a miscarriage and raising two children by herself. Devaluing his wife was Francois' attempt to secure a position of status which

was central to his experience of being a man.

Case: Francois

This clinical material was taken from Francois' second session:

Francois   [*Francois began the session in silence*.]

                Well now Sharon, these dreams still seem to be
                plaguing me. I think I have a fear of sleep. I snore as
                well. That's why I've moved into the spare room. I
                don't want to disturb Maria. But perhaps I snore
                because I drink red wine. I read that it can make you
                snore.

                [*Francois raised his head and smiled at me*.]

Therapist   You tend to down play things so both you and whom
                ever you are speaking to don't attend to issues that
                may concern you.

                You have just told me that you fear sleep and you
                don't sleep in the same bedroom as your wife. What
                do these things mean to you?

Francois   Are you suggesting I should disturb my wife, Sharon?

Therapist   [*I was aware that Francois had not answered my
                question. I sensed that he felt attacked by me.]*

                Why shouldn't you disturb her?

Francois   She's got a busy practice and needs her sleep.

Therapist	She's not just a physiotherapist. She's your wife. How do you need her to be there for you?
Francois	I think she has enough on her plate at the moment. She has the children to care for.

In this example Francois devalued any emotionally or practically supportive role Maria could have played in his life. Maria was cast as in the role of fragile dependent, needing a good night's sleep to enable her to get the energy reserves to care for their children and run her physiotherapy practice. Francois was then able to cast himself in the role of the principled husband-protector who could deal with life single-handed, while caring for his dependents (including his wife).

Looking generally at Francois' therapeutic narratives, how could Francois be a man if he allowed his wife to emotionally and financially support him, if he were to admit she was more intelligent than he, if he were to see that she was better at living life than he was? Instead he played on his seniority (in terms of age and rank), his grim life experience in the SAP/SAPS, he took the moral high ground over her affair (discounting his role in it), and he stayed emotionally and physically distant from her, thereby keeping her beholden to him.

In her review of Morrell's edited text, *Changing men in South Africa*, Frizelle highlights a popular joke in Swart's chapter: "What has four legs and a prick that falls off? … Eugene Terre Blanche's horse." (2003, p. 53). This joke refers to Terre Blanche's fall from his horse while protesting against more democratic moves by the government in the early 1990s. Swart demonstrates the way in which some men accepted and adjusted to the changing context. Frizelle (2003) notes that Swart found other men rejected the changed context and remained unaffected by it. Swart poses a question: "How does a once hegemonic man cope with a fall from his horse?" (in Frizelle, 2003, p. 53).

Swart explores the way in which some Afrikaner men - like Francois in this study - cling to their sense of history, what it meant to be a Boer, and therefore, a man. Swart demonstrates that although identities are not fixed and can change, they are also very difficult to change. This is especially true when a particular position has great power invested in it (cf. Frizelle, 2003, p 53).

Another example of such resistance to change is illustrated in the following case material from Hendrick's fourth session:

Case: Hendrick

Hendrick or Hennie, as he preferred to be called, walked beside me down the corridor from the waiting room to my consulting room. He chatted about the weather and the provincial rugby match played in town the night before. He acted in an informal, friendly manner, not like a person in distress. As had become his habit, he insisted on me entering the consulting room first.

Hennie   So, here we are again. How are you?

[*Hennie smiled at me.*]

Therapist   Hennie, I see there is a pattern to how you begin sessions: you always walk down the corridor chatting to me as if we were friends rather than me being your therapist. You always insist on me entering the room first. You always focus on my health and well being.

Thinking of what we have been looking at in therapy, I wonder if this is your 'escape route'. [*In session three Hennie had spoken about always being on the look-out for an "escape route" in case he was*

attacked.] Is it your way of taking control and avoiding facing your anxiety?

Hennie   [*He smiled at me once again.*]

             I'm just being a gentleman. I was brought up well.

Therapist   Were you?

Hennie   Ja. My folks stressed how important manners and first impressions are.

Therapist   Why are they important to you?

Hennie   They're important because they show respect and consideration of the other person.

Therapist   Sure. But they're also one of the few connections you have with your folks. You've told me of your big family and how there wasn't a lot of individual attention to go around. Family principles and conduct are a way of identifying yourself as part of that family. But it's a way that teaches you just of being there for others rather than also being there for yourself. So, here you focus on me rather than on you. You are chatty rather than feeling scared or anxious.

Hennie   I'm not sure if I understand you. Are you saying I shouldn't be a gentleman and hold the door open for a lady?

Therapist	I am saying, "Why do you do this all the time?"
Hennie	[*He smiled at me.*]
	Because I'm a gentleman...
Therapist	Can you still be a gentleman if you allow a woman to care for you?
Hennie	Well, that's not what I'm used to.

This example illustrates Hennie's resistance to change through his imposition of superficial familiarity onto the therapeutic experience. There was a pattern to how he began sessions: he always walked down the corridor chatting to me as if we were friends rather than me being his therapist, he always insisted on me entering the room first, he always focused on my health and well being. By imposing familiarity onto therapy he avoided any anxiety the therapeutic process stirred up in him. Without anxiety there was no possibility of change for Hennie.

Therapy with Hennie was a difficult process. Psychoanalytically, he had internalised a set of principles about what it meant to be a man in a concrete way. He had little reflective capacity. Other perspectives, or reflections on his sense of manhood, were met with incredulity.

Frizelle (2003) describes Xaba's chapter of Morrell's edited text as looking at the complex way in which masculine identity is negotiated. Xaba describes the identity crisis many former anti-apartheid activists and exiles are experiencing in a society with changing gender norms. Xaba argues that "boys who modelled themselves in terms of an earlier, 'struggle' version of masculinity may grow up to become unhappy men" and that "[t]ransitional societies tend to make the heroes of the past the villains of the present" (in Frizelle, 2003, p. 53). Applying

Xaba's argument to this study, the old guard participants viewed themselves as champions of apartheid South Africa. In post-apartheid South Africa they continued to cling to this version of themselves. The earlier case material from Hennie's fourth session provides an interesting illustration of the way in which old forms of masculinity are not reconstructed in changing contexts. Hennie appeared to adhere to chivalrous behaviour in order to be a 'gentleman', without any understanding of how this behaviour connected him to his family, culture, or social context. By being a 'gentleman' in therapy he avoided other ways of being a man and the possibility of being cared for by a woman and the therapeutic process.

The old guard participants were socialised by narratives which they were then invested in upholding. Their investment in military narratives seemed to be closely related to their position within macho leader narratives. Their socialisation by these narratives could be traced back to Riaan, Francois and Hennie's schooldays in particular: Riaan was an amiable and relatively easy-going person, who was able to adapt and fit in well with most group situations, and he was regarded as a leader at both school and in the SAP; Francois was a high achiever, pushed by his parents to be "first in class" and "be the best at school"; Hennie was the "Boy Wonder", expected by his parents to be "good at rugby" and be "on the first team". However, the same could not be said for Wilhelm, who had no recollection of his childhood or schooling. Wilhelm did not appear to excel or stand out in any way. It was not until he reached Police College that his submissiveness and stoicism enabled him to be affirmed within the macho leader narrative.

Francois and Riaan enhanced their standing in the SAP via promotion to specialised units. Francois worked his way up the ranks of the SAP quickly, ultimately becoming the ranking officer in the Internal Investigations Unit before his "retirement" (his euphemism for medical boarding). Riaan was transferred to the Illegal Alien Unit before being accepted into the "prestigious" Dog Unit. He joined the Dog Unit as he felt that this unit symbolised the "best

of the best". By taking a different tack, Wilhelm gained status by acquiring skills. Wilhelm was eager to develop himself and, subsequently, volunteered for many courses. He took great pride in listing his achievements. On the other hand, Hennie's attention to his physical prowess – spending many hours in the gym, and even endangering his health through the use of steroids - was his main way of gaining prestige, ultimately making himself into the ultimate macho-policeman.

Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives

In the 1830s and 1840s, close to 10 000 Boers, who later became known as Voortrekkers, migrated from the Cape Colony to Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal (Walker, 1968). This mass exodus became collectively known as the Great Trek. The reasons for the migration are varied. Afrikaner history has emphasized the constant struggle for land between Boer frontier farmers and Xhosa tribes. The Boer farmers blamed their difficulties on British policies of appeasing the Xhosa (Walker, 1968). Other historians have emphasized the harsh living conditions in the eastern Cape (Bulpin, 1977). The eastern Cape suffered one of its regular periods of drought in the early 1830s. By contrast Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal had more hospitable climates and fertile soil. The demand for land has also been cited as a contributing factor (Walker, 1968). The Voortrekkers were also motivated by the desire to preserve their religious conservatism. The true reasons for the Great Trek were obviously very complex. They consisted of both 'push' factors (including the general dissatisfaction of life under British rule) and 'pull' factors (including the desire for a better life in better land).

The Great Trek was central to the formation of Boer ethnic identity. A cultural divide between the Voortrekkers and the Cape Afrikaners occurred because of the mass migration. There were economic differences between the two groupings. The Voortrekkers had fewer material resources while on the 'Trek' and settling the new frontiers than the Cape Afrikaners who remained behind in the Cape Colony. The divide between the two groupings was very apparent

during the Anglo-Boer Wars (1880-1881 and 1899-1902) (Walker, 1968). The Boers fought to defend their republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, against the threat of annexation by the British. However, a number of Cape Afrikaners assisted the British in fighting against the Boers during the wars.

As important as the Great Trek was to the formation of Boer ethnic identity, so were the ongoing clashes with various indigenous tribes (Bulpin, 1977). Central to the construction of Boer identity were the clashes with the Zulu in Natal. The Zulu chief Dingane ka Senzangakhona ruled the part of Natal where the Boers wanted to settle. While the British had a small port colony there (the Port of Natal), they had been unable to seize the whole area from the Zulus. On 6 February 1838 the Boer settlers sent an un-armed Boer land treaty delegation under Piet Retief to negotiate with the Dingane. The negotiations went well resulting in a signed contract between Retief and Dingane.

However, after the signing, Dingane's impis (forces) surprised and killed the members of the delegation (Bulpin, 1977). Zulu impis then attacked Boer encampments in the foothills of the Drakensberg Mountains, killing men, women, and children. A commando brigade of 470 men from the Transvaal Republic was sent to help the settlers (Walker, 1968). The Boers vowed to God that if they were victorious over the Zulu, they and future generations would commemorate the day as a Sabbath. On 16 December 1838, the 470-strong force led by Andries Pretorius confronted about 10 000 Zulus (Walker, 1968). The Boers suffered three injuries without any fatalities. However, the conflict afterwards became known as the Battle of Blood River as a result of the slaughter of 3 000 Zulus who's blood seeped into the Ncome River (Bulpin, 1977). Boers celebrated the 16 December as a public holiday, colloquially called "Dingane's Day". After 1952, the holiday became officially called the Day of the Covenant (Bulpin, 1977). The name changed in 1980 to Day of the Vow. The Boer believed their victory at the Battle of Blood River was divine favour for their independence from British rule.

This religiosity bleeds into the concept of the 'Afrikaner patriarch'. 'The father and ruler of the family' was first used during Biblical times with reference to the sons of Jacob. On a micro-level the Afrikaner family institution was a 'patriarchal state'. Patriarchy is a social system in which the role of the male as the primary authority figure is central to social organization, and where fathers hold authority over women, children, and property. It implies the institutions of male rule and privilege, and is dependent on female subordination. The Dutch Reformed Church also reinforced patriarchy with its beliefs concerning marriage, the family, and the home. The Dutch Reformed Church (also known as the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, and abbreviated to NGK) sees the father as the head of the home, and responsible for the conduct of his family. An example of the 'ideology of patriarchy' is the elevation of the idea of the leadership of the father to a position of paramount importance in society: as though this was the 'natural' order of things.

Patriarchal authority, control and discipline were reflected in Hennie, Riaan, Francois and Wilhelm's families. Although fathers were frequently absent, they were powerful in terms of their patriarchal legacies. Within the patriarchal system, fathers' roles were as authoritarian providers and disciplinarians. Fathers were emotionally and physically distant. Wilhelm, Riaan and Francois all endured extreme forms of patriarchal subjugation. Wilhelm felt he had to stay in the police or "they" (his family) would see him as a failure. For Riaan, there was the constant threat from his mother of the punishment that would befall him if he were to break one of what she termed, his "father's house rules". Francois described his father as a strict disciplinarian. His father threatened to send Francois to gaol should Francois fail to obtain matriculation grades that met with his approval.

Francois' father came from an upper-middle class Afrikaans background, the family having made their fortune in transportation. However, Francois' father was a gambler and alcoholic. There were frequent financial crises during

Francois' childhood. The family moved from Klerksdorp to Kimberley during one such episode. However, Francois father still gambled the family fortune away. As a result of his financial losses, Francois' father was forced to take a sales representative job. His father was not often around – being drunk, emotionally and physically distant, travelling with business and, ultimately, dying young.

Riaan was named after his father, who was named after his father before him. However, despite this metaphorical cloning, Riaan felt he hardly knew his father. The little he did know, Riaan experienced as strict and punitive. His father was away from home frequently during Riaan's childhood: working long hours, socialising with colleagues after work and at rugby games on the weekends, and attending his frequent army camps. Riaan's father was also an alcoholic. Riaan's mother would be ready with his father's beer upon his arrival home from work. His parents had known one another since they were teenagers and had married straight from school. However, Riaan could not recall his parents spending much time together. He recalled no arguments, save for his father's criticism of his mother's "idle and carefree life".

Both Wilhelm and Hennie's fathers worked for the South African Railways – like the SAP the South African Railways was another large civil service employer which favoured the employment of white, Afrikaner males. Wilhelm's father was a train driver. His father's shift work pattern allowed him home only at unsociable hours. Wilhelm's father did not participate in his children's lives. Hennie's father, on the other hand, was a railway engineer. Hennie thought the world of him. Yet, given the large size of the family (there were seven children), Hennie never got to spend much time with his father, save for his father's occasional attendance at the rugby and cricket matches which Hennie was encouraged to participate in at school.

Generally, these men's mothers operated in the absence of their fathers. This was as a result of their fathers positioning within the Afrikaner patriarchal family and military narratives. As their fathers were often absent, the

participants often took on their fathers' responsibilities (both practical and emotional) at home. Riaan, Wilhelm and Hennie seemed to assume the role of 'substitute husbands' to their mothers. Riaan's mother had been a housewife while Riaan was growing up. Being a housewife was a typical gender role filled by middle class, white, Afrikaner women within a patriarchal system during apartheid. Riaan described her as "depressed". He felt that she had sacrificed her happiness for his elder sister and himself. He felt she relied heavily on him to lighten her load in life and cheer her up. His mother apparently "idolised" Riaan's career. Despite feeling his mother cared, and was concerned about him, Riaan also sensed that she could not be there for him. She appeared fragile and isolated, unable to care for herself. Thus, he assumed the role of 'knight in shining armour' to her role of 'damsel in distress'.

Wilhelm's mother was a retired secretary who had also worked for the South African Railways. Wilhelm felt very responsible for her. After his father's death, Wilhelm took it upon himself to travel up to the family home in Nelspruit, on a regular basis, to do household chores and maintenance. He made this his duty, despite his five brothers and sisters living nearer their mother's home.

Hennie felt he had a close relationship with his mother. However, when asked to describe their relationship all he could say about his mother was that she was "pretty" and "did her best" for him and his six siblings. As with his other relationships, Hennie's sense of his mother was superficial. Despite not having any deep emotional connection, Hennie busied himself with "family responsibilities" and would frequently visit his parents in Kimberley.

Francois' relationship with his mother seemed as distant and superficial as Hennie's. He did not speak of his mother save for mentioning her agreement with his father's strict disciplinary code. He seemed to experience her as simply an extension of his father. Like his father she was 'not there' for Francois in any supportive sense.

The 'closed' nature of Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives was reflected in the participants' choice of wives. Each participant met their wife (and in Hennie's case, also his lover) through the SAP. Wives of policemen - many of whom lived in accommodation provided by the police - were assigned an 'important' role by the SAP and formed part of the police sub-culture. A 1990 article in the SAP journal, *Servamus*, had this advice for them:

> It is true that your husband may be in the front line of the
> attack on the very fibre of our ordered society, in the heat of
> the battle, but you must be that quiet, unseen source of his
> strength for that battle, from you must flow the strength that
> he needs to come out of that battle, unscathed and
> victorious. (August 1990, p. 14)

Social institutions, cultures, and sub-cultures thus helped ensure patriarchal relations were passed down from one generation to the next.

Wilhelm's parents arranged his engagement to a nurse from his hometown. Wilhelm disliked his fiancé, describing her as "horrid", but still went through with his parents' wishes. Wilhelm had been engaged to the nurse for six years when he met Petronella (Petra for short) at a SAP colleague's braai. Wilhelm and Petra dated for a couple of months before marrying in a civil service. His parents boycotted the wedding in protest against Wilhelm's disobedience.

Riaan met his ex-wife, Michelle, at the SAP's barracks when he was posted to Bloemfontein Police Station. Michelle was the ex-girlfriend of a colleague. It was Michelle who decided the couple should marry after they had dated for a year. Riaan was then 23 years old and felt too young settle down. However, he felt compelled by Michelle's talk of convention to become engaged. He asked his father for advice. His father told him that, as Riaan had given his word to Michelle, he must go through with the marriage. Despite Riaan's own reservations - unlike Wilhelm who ultimately defied his family's wishes - the

couple married. Immediately after his wedding, Riaan went away on a six month training course with the Dog Unit. Four months after his return the couple separated. A year later, Michelle divorced Riaan. Michelle had met someone else while Riaan was away on his training course. Michelle fell pregnant with her lover's child.

Since their divorce, Riaan kept a photograph of Michelle, taken on their wedding day, in his bedside draw. Riaan also kept his wedding ring constantly with him on his key ring. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter five, psychoanalytically, Riaan idealised his past relationship with Michelle. He split off his reservations about getting married, his anger at the Dog Unit for taking him away from the relationship, and his fury and pain at Michelle's betrayal. Instead he clung to the image of being Michelle's 'knight in shining armour' and an idealised loving relationship. In sessions he renounced any doubts or misgivings he had about the relationship. Riaan seemed to use the wedding photograph and ring to waylay his mourning process - in which the conflicting aspects of the past and their split self and internal object representations, could have been faced, acknowledged and dealt with - locking himself into a sense of guilt, shame, failure and inadequacy. Therapeutically, Riaan appeared unable to work through the past and integrate the split off good and bad aspects of his relationship into a coherent whole. After his divorce he limited his social life and avoided anything which might have forced him to confront his conflicting feelings. He attempted to bolster his sense of being a 'knight in shining armour' by taking on extra shifts at work, and spending his free time when off duty in the Dog Unit kennels with his patrol dog.

Riaan's stance within the military and Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives began to shift as his marriage ended. His sense of failure as a husband and as a man led to his increased efforts at work. He began to take greater risks, not waiting for backup before chasing after suspects. He seemed to develop intimate emotional connections, camaraderie, and a high level of trust with his patrol dog and the men in his unit. This fostered a sense of belonging and

success, as this next example illustrates:

Case: Riaan

In session three, Riaan took out a photograph of Roscoe and handed it across to me. The photo showed a large German Shepherd dog, leaping open jawed, towards the camera. Riaan, dressed in his police uniform, standing in front of his Dog Unit vehicle, was restraining Roscoe. Riaan looked full of youthful pride. The dog, equally, looked full of energy. It seemed important for Riaan that I acknowledged the photo. I said, "It seems important for you that I see this part of your life and your relationship with your dog". Riaan agreed. Riaan explained that Roscoe was turning 5 years old that month. Riaan was going to give him a card and some tinned dog food in honour of the occasion. Riaan felt he needed to do this because he had "forgotten so many others".

Riaan focused all his time and energy on the Dog Unit. Military narratives affirmed him as a successful man and leader. Riaan devoted himself less to his family life and marriage as the Afrikaner patriarchal family and Christian National narratives failed to affirm him.

Francois described his wife, Maria, in the superficial terms of "bubbly and attractive". He had broken off engagements with women with stronger personalities. This could be seen as Francois manipulating his external objects and to keep his self-representations intact. Women with stronger personalities would have made it harder for Francois to keep bad object experience out of his perceived external reality. Francois seemed to search for confirmations of an idealised good world in external objects in order to uphold his defensive structure. He was 8 years Maria's senior. He admired her career and was proud of her achievements, but in the abstract. He tended to dismiss physiotherapy as 'women's work'. Parental responsibilities fell on Maria's shoulders. She was a nurturing woman, and this had initially attracted Francois to her. However,

rather than accessing her support himself by discussing his difficulties with her - which may have brought him into contact with a more needy part of himself - he withdrew and left her overloaded. Rather, Francois appeared the devoted husband, father, religious head-of-the-house and civic leader as the "retired" police Major. Francois was informed by military and Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives in which he was positioned. As a result he was invested in upholding these narratives. He remained "happily" married to Maria despite her marital betrayal with his best friend.

Hennie also described his wife, Paulette, superficially as "pretty", "soft" and "virtuous". Although Hennie often spoke about his concerns for her safety - and spent his free time following her to and from work or shopping centres to make sure she arrived "safe and sound" – their relationship was emotionally distant. He felt unable to talk to her about his concerns, believing she would "not understand". He described her as "weak" and "vulnerable". However, he did not give her credit for being the driving force behind the relationship. She was the one who sustained their marriage. She drove her own car and maintained a responsible independent career. A couple of years into his marriage, Hennie met a rich older woman at a SAPS braai. (He did not invite Paulette to work functions as he worried about "distressing" her with "work talk"). He was attracted to this rich older woman as she lavished gifts upon him. They had an affair for six years. When his lover pushed for a more committed relationship, Hennie separated from Paulette for four months. Paulette then asked for reconciliation and Hennie returned home.

Despite the military and Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives 'bleeding' into one another, Hennie tried to keep the effect these narratives had on him separate. In doing so he was the devoted husband, father, and policeman. In psychoanalytic terms, at the heart of idealisation is splitting. Splitting is an intrapsychic mechanism in which contradictory thoughts, feelings, and aspects of the self are kept apart. One of these conflicting polarities is split off while the other is accepted and acknowledged. Hennie's affair was in conflict with his

understanding of himself as the ideal husband and father. His solution was to cut off any tie to Paulette and his daughter. For four months he had no contact with them. He was the committed boyfriend and policeman. It was Paulette who intruded upon this and invited him home. Hennie then simply stepped away from his lover and the life he had with her. Upon his return to his wife and daughter, his affair, like his work, was not discussed at home as he did not wish to "distress" Paulette. Psychoanalytically, this may have been Hennie's defensive projection of his own distress onto Paulette. If this were so it suggests that such a discussion with Paulette would have 'distressed' Hennie. Discussing the affair with Paulette would have opened up a space where he could potentially look at and work through his conflicting feelings. This proved too much for Hennie; it was not who he was or wanted to be.

Christian National narratives

Broadly speaking, Calvinism stresses the sovereignty of God in all things. Afrikaner Calvinism is a unique cultural development. It united the Calvinist religion with the political aspirations of the Boers. Following the second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) the Dutch Reformed Church was central to the rebuilding of Boer identity and resisting the Anglicisation of the Afrikaners (Walker, 1968). The Dutch Reformed Church ministers attempted to encourage and fortify the Afrikaner people. By so doing they also became politicised; many became spokesmen for Afrikaner Nationalism. The Afrikaners negotiated home-rule in 1912 (Walker, 1968) and firmly established themselves as the ruling minority in South Africa until the dismantlement of apartheid in 1994.

Drawing from Bunting (1986), who writes extensively on the rise of Afrikaner Calvinism, religions such as Calvinism are cultural systems that create powerful and long-lasting meaning. They do this by establishing symbols that relate people to beliefs and values. Many religions have narratives, symbols, traditions and sacred histories that are intended to give meaning to life. Theologically, the Dutch Reformed Church is a reformed branch of Protestantism. It holds the Bible as the authoritative Word of God by which all doctrine is judged. During

apartheid the belief was that the will of God legitimised the law and the state, and that the task of the SAP was thus God-given. The sentiment was "fight for your God" against the enemy who was perceived as a sort of anti-Christ. This was the moral narrative in which these participants were placed. While at times their religious convictions might have been considered a restraining force, it simultaneously suggested involvement in religiously sanctioned immorality such as vigilantism (cf. Bunting, 1986).

Hennie, Riaan, Francois and Wilhelm's family structures were strictly Dutch Reformed. Each man described themselves as "very religious". Their families supported their police vocations and the nationalist ideology. They were proud of their sons joining the SAP. As Korber (1992) also found working with a member of the SADF, when the participants in this research first joined the police they were expected to attend church in their uniforms so their families could "show them off".

Drawing once more on Bunting (1986), Afrikaner Nationalism was a political ideology. It was developed in the late 19th century around the idea that Afrikaners were God's 'chosen people'. Afrikaner Nationalism was a kind of civil religion that combined the history of the Afrikaners, their language, and Afrikaner Calvinism as key symbols. The Afrikaner history was reinterpreted through a Christian-Nationalistic ideology. It became a 'sacred history' with the Volk (nation) as the chosen people, and where the Great Trek was seen as the exodus from British rule in the Cape to the 'promised land' of the Boer Republics (cf. Bunting, 1986).

The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa was involved throughout the 19th century in a battle against modern life and modernity. Afrikaner theologians defined a number of political, economic and cultural spheres that had their separate, independent destinies which ultimately became the ideology of apartheid (Bunting, 1986). Major proponents of the ideology were the secret Broederbond organization and the NP that ruled the country from 1948 to

1994. As Gobodo-Madikizela (2003) notes, the Broederbond was "a secret Afrikaner society composed of politicians, high-ranking government officials, religious leaders, judges, bankers, business people, and academics" (pp. 20-21). She goes further to indicate:

> The Broederbond may very well have no equivalent in the twentieth-century history of political organisations. Both the Soviet Communist Party and the German Nazi Party bear some similarity to it, since both parties dominated the political, economic, social, and cultural lives of the Soviet Union and Germany, respectively. But unlike in the Broederbond, membership in these two parties was not reserved exclusively for people in high-level leadership positions in all sectors of civil society. The Communist Party and Nazi Party were also not secret societies; membership was proudly and publically declared. There are some parallels between the Broederbond and the Ku Klux Klan, including the goals of white Afrikaner supremacy, the use of propaganda intrinsic to the goals of nationalism, and the ritually enforced secrecy. (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003, p. 21)

Other organisations aligned with Afrikaner Nationalistic ideology were the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations, the Institute for Christian National Education and the White Workers' Protection Association (Bunting, 1986).

Afrikaner nationalism was also strongly influenced by anti-British sentiments that grew strong among the Afrikaners from before the time of the Great Trek, and reaching a peak pre- and post- the Anglo-Boer Wars. Afrikaner Nationalism emphasized the unity of the Volk against such 'foreign' elements as black people, Jewish people and English-speaking South Africans (Bunting, 1986).

Bunting (1986) explains that the Dutch Reformed Church in the early 19th century took a practical view initially on nationalism. They accepted racial segregation as a harmonious way of administering a heterogeneous community. However, the economic depression (from 1905 – 1909) which followed the second Anglo-Boer war changed this attitude. A new group of 'poor whites', who were mostly Afrikaners, emerged. By 1939 the racial segregation had been made into a church dogma. The Afrikaner territories became viewed as Christian civilizations. The Volk therefore had a divine right to stay separate and rule the surrounding 'heathen' nations.

Ultimately, the Dutch Reformed Church (and Christian National Education as discussed later) was part of the social order governing the behaviour of white Afrikaners within apartheid South Africa. Such socialization was the primary means by which these participants as children began to acquire the skills necessary to perform as functioning members of their society.

Francois was raised a religious man, having attended the Dutch Reformed Church as a child. He frequently mentioned scripture references (stripped down to chapter and verse) during therapy sessions - although he would not quote passages or discuss the significance he invested these references with. Again, the psychoanalytic concept of splitting could be seen to be operating here: Francois' religiosity enabled him to appear to be the Dutch Reformed Church ideal while avoiding the more complicated and contradictory nature of the meaning behind his scripture references. The façade was an attempt to put forward a strong moral front, yet the attempt was devoid of faith and conviction.

Riaan described both his parents as "very religious". For Riaan, as a child, mealtimes had a strict code of thanksgiving prayers followed by eating in absolute silence. No one could leave the table until everyone had finished. However, this rule did not apply to Riaan's father, who could leave any time he chose. Religion and morality were to be revered. Riaan stopped attending

church to continue attending to his work, as this next example highlights:

Case: Riaan

This material was taken from Riaan's sixth session.

Riaan felt excited and exhilarated by his work but, at the same time, scared by the potential of being killed undertaking his duties.

Riaan   I guess that's in God's hands. He decides when it's my turn to die.

Therapist What does God mean to you?

Riaan   I don't know. I can't go to church anymore. How can I? … I have killed so many people. I have broken his commandment.

Riaan's observance in Christian National narratives was apparent in two ways: *firstly*, in the fatalistic manner he placed his life in God's hands in determining his time to die, and *secondly*, in his decision not to attend church as he felt his presence would sully it. Looking at Riaan's therapeutic narratives more generally, it appeared that for Riaan, God was not compassionate, benevolent and loving, but rather God was viewed as vengeful and judgmental; a God to be in awe of. Riaan's religious experiences were austere. While Riaan no longer attended the Dutch Reformed Church he continued to identify with Christian National narratives, frequently describing himself as a "guardian angel". Rather than facing the tension between his religious beliefs and his police activities he stopped attending church and positioned himself more prominently in the military and macho leader narratives. These narratives affirmed him in a more straightforward manner without bringing up the contradictions in his beliefs.

For Hennie, he and his siblings congregated in their parents' bedroom on Sunday mornings before church. Religion, like sport, was one of the few times the family was together. However, there was little space for individual care or self-reflection in these brief family interactions.

As in most societies, schools in South Africa played a vital part in socialisation. Schools play a role in social cohesion as they administer and solidify norms, attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviours. Moorcraft (1990, p. 76) explains that during apartheid "Christian National Education was the basis of all white state schools". This tended to create a susceptibility to NP and Conservative Party ideologies (Moorcraft, 1990). Such indoctrination was reinforced by cadet training programmes. Many school children, particularly in the Afrikaans-medium institutions, attended special camps, or veld (field) schools, during the school holidays. As part of the "youth preparedness" courses in schools, children were taught about "terrorism" (ibid., p. 76).

Francois attended Grey College in Bloemfontein – a bastion of Christian National Education - and was proud of the school's history, traditions and reputation. He conveyed this nonverbally in therapy, through knowing looks towards me and holding himself straighter in his chair at the mention of the school's name.

Riaan recalled being taken to play rugby by his mother with high school boys while he was still at primary school. This was meant to "toughen" him up. Riaan was very frightened by these repeated experiences. He attempted to avoid rugby practice by bunking school. However, as soon as he arrived home his mother would take him back to the high school rugby practice session. From an early age Riaan was made to conform.

Wilhelm had no memories of his childhood or schooling, perhaps as a result of splitting off the awfulness of his experience, or as a reflection of how this time in his life did not speak of him in any way. On the other hand, Hennie actively

disliked school; he struggled academically. Despite this, Hennie completed his matriculation: he could not join the SAP without it.

It was perhaps the combined placement of these participants in the military, Christian National, macho leader, and the Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives that enabled them to engage without question in Police College and their police careers. Researchers from the University of the Witwatersrand who visited the SAP Pretoria Police College in 1991 found that training was "dominated by a military approach" (Policing Research Project, 1991, p. 23). They described the College as functioning like a secondary school, "with the students being tightly controlled in every aspect of their lives" (Policing Research Project, 1991, p. 23). Training, which took six months, consisted of academic courses in "law, police science, administration, English, Afrikaans, as well as practical experience in the handling of firearms, extensive drilling, and physical exercise" (Rauch, 1992, p. 94).

Riaan, Wilhelm, Hennie and Francois' participation within the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family and Christian National narratives provided strong motivating factors for their increasingly deep-rooted investment in military narratives. Applying Korber's (1992) findings from her study on military violence to the old guard, the participants' involvement in their units seemed to simultaneously fulfill their needs for camaraderie, achievement, elitism, and individualism. Psychoanalytically, the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family and Christian National narratives supported and reinforced their sense of self in an ego-syntonic way. The following example from Riaan's sixth session illustrates how Riaan's choices enabled him to access military narratives, thus enabling him to hold on to a sense of self he could feel proud of:

> Case: Riaan
> Riaan returned to therapy after spending two months on the
> Mozambique border. He was excited and in high spirits. He was

surprised how much he enjoyed himself on the border. He felt his
life had changed and he believed that, at last, he was doing things
for himself.

Riaan spoke about having to set his own rules on the border. How
he had to "think on his feet". He felt respected by the colleagues
he met there, both in the police and in the SADF. How they looked
to him to organise proceedings.

Riaan had left for his chosen secondment to the Mozambique border in a sombre mood. He felt a failure as a man for not being able to satisfy his wife. He was insecure, and filled with self doubt. Upon his return, his 'modest hero' identity was again firmly in place. He was a leader, a mentor, strong and brave, and a 'real' man once more. His internal world was affirmed by military narratives that supported his old guard identity.

Conclusion

These participants learnt about the world through the Christian National educational system, the Dutch Reformed Church (with its rituals surrounding birth, marriage, and death), Afrikaner cultural institutions, and the cop sub-culture of the SAP. Much of their education was about preparing for life within structured apartheid institutions (jobs and the labour market). All the while, their public lives, and even their private ones, were moved and shaped by the workings of apartheid political institutions. The old guard embodied the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narrative ideals. These cultural and historical antecedents (amongst others) provided the conditions of possibility for what could occur in the construction of Hennie, Wilhelm, Francois and Riaan's identities. However, their investment in the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives also limited their ability to move on, grow and develop in the face of socio-political transformation.

Generally, if ideologies and institutions change, we eventually change. However, this may not always occur simultaneously. While there may have been a shift in the political ideologies and institutions in South Africa as a whole, and from SAP to SAPS, this has not coincided with a shift in identity for these old guard participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

DYNAMICS OF DISTRESS IN THE SAP/SAPS

As long serving policemen, these participants accepted horror and violence as part of their job. It cannot be assumed that they experienced brutality and bloodshed in the same way civilians do. Francois, for example, used to keep his own hand written log of the crime scenes he attended. Riaan and his dog, Roscoe, were frequently in the newspapers for acts of valour. Riaan kept several scrapbooks of newspaper clippings in which they featured. He also took 'unofficial' photographs of the crime scenes he attended, keeping these, initially on the wall beside his desk at work, before placing them in scrapbooks. He would compete with colleagues to see who could get the most gruesome photograph and inflict the worst injury on a suspect. Ultimately, he and his colleagues would compete to see who could get the most kills, marking their firearms with notches to reflect the number of assailants they had executed.

Case: Riaan

This clinical material was taken from Riaan's second session.

Riaan   I talk to my buddies at work, but that's at a different level. We joke about kicking dead bodies, and getting our dogs to bite. We show one another photos of the scene to see whose photo is the best, the most gruesome …

This clinical material was taken from Riaan's twentieth session.

Riaan   It's nice to inflict pain on someone because he did wrong … If I weren't in the SAP I would be a nerd, totally unimportant …

Statements like these made by Riaan would be shocking and disturbing if made by a civilian. However, Riaan's responses were 'normal' in the SAP. The cop culture, as de Haas (1998) points out, contributed to the limited expression of personal feelings and self reflection. Police members were expected to maintain their composure and distance themselves from emotional reactions, even under the most dreadful circumstances. *Servamus* (November 1990) indicates that SAP members were trained, from their first day in Police College, to never show emotions. Emotions were regarded as an unmanly sign of weakness.

The participants' responses to trauma were also influenced by the type of policing they engaged in. The SAP's mode of policing contained many unique features not seen in conventional policing. These features included: guerrilla warfare, counterterrorism, hit and run tactics, surprise ambushes, and the extensive use of firearms. A SAP member's role was an amalgamation of policeman and soldier. This amalgamated role was particularly 'seductive' for these participants. It allowed them to identify with the hegemonic view of masculinity. It bolstered their self esteem and sense of manhood as it enabled them to simultaneously engage and affirm themselves with activities from military and macho leader narratives. This example from Riaan's therapeutic material captivatingly conveys the terrible 'romance' of such experience:

> Case: Riaan
>
> In session six, Riaan returned to therapy after spending two months on the (Mozambique) border.
>
> He described driving in a night convoy of Land Rovers, with their lights out, trying to spot the headlights of stolen vehicles being taken through the bush, across the border, and into Mozambique. He described the darkness engulfing them, and the silence so absolute he could hear his own heart beating. He spotted a vehicle and directed his colleagues, via hand signals, into positions for the

ambush. He graphically told of the ensuing gun battle. His tale was enthralling.

Riaan   I was in tune with things … the darkness, the silence, the bush. I felt like William Wallace[12] … I don't think it would be healthy to do it too long. Look at me.

[*Riaan held out his hands. They were visibly shaking.*]

Yet I want to go back!

Riaan had ended session five, two months before, in a sombre mood. To that session he had brought an unsent letter addressed to his ex-wife, Michelle, expressing his pain and regret at how he had failed her. I pointed out that he regretted not being Michelle's 'knight in shining armour'. Riaan was on the cusp of working through some of the split off bad aspects of his past: mourning the loss of the 'knight in shining armour'. Rather than continuing therapy at that time, however, Riaan elected to be seconded to the Mozambique border. Session five had ended with Riaan shaking my hand as he left. Although he said he would see me in a couple of months, there was finality to the ending. However, rather than meeting his mortal demise, there was a metaphorical death of his potential to work through and integrate more negative aspects of his personality, grow, and change. Riaan returned to therapy two months later excited and in high spirits. Not only had he survived, he had come through victorious. His border experiences had made him the 'knight in shining armour' once more. Psychoanalytically, it could be said that Riaan's internal world impacted on his external object relations in his election to be seconded; he maintained his modest hero identity by returning to narratives that affirmed him in a predictable way.

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[12] William Wallace was the main character in the epic movie "Braveheart" which was on the cinema circuit at the time.

Returning to the unique features seen in the SAP's mode of policing not seen in conventional policing, unpredictability characterised the participants' work environment in the SAP. There was the uncertainty of either engagement or non-engagement. This led to high levels of anxiety and hyper-arousal in anticipation of the next sortie. The identity of the 'enemy' was equally unpredictable. There were constant surprises. There was uncertainty as to whether villages housed suspects the police were pursuing or were simply rural homes and farmsteads. Scenes containing elderly folk and young children became places of ambiguity for the SAP. For example, Wilhelm was ordered to eliminate an operative whose kraal he had monitored for four days. He saw the shadow of a person approaching him with a firearm. He opened fire and, in that split second, realised the shadow belonged to a child with a toy gun. He killed the child. Wilhelm felt this memory would haunt him for the rest of his life.

As we can see, the participants' therapeutic narratives highlighted their very brutal and violent pasts in the SAP. The old guard's past experience in the SAP seemed in contrast to the mundane and bureaucratic level of their present work in the SAPS (for example, Wilhelm's daily vehicle maintenance; Riaan's regular training for his unit fitness assessments; Francois day to day life as a 'retired' Major; Hennie's routine patrols of the beachfront promenade in his Rapid Response Unit vehicle). In comparison, the SAP's primary role entailed creating a protective barrier between white society and 'the enemy'. The SAP were perceived by the white public, media, and even members of the SAP themselves, as fearless, invincible to trauma and violence: the agents of the state, the long arm of the law. They were continually called upon to make split second decisions. They faced the inherent danger of physical assault and the potential of death.

The following case material continues to illustrate how Wilhelm's SAP experiences left an indelible mark upon him:

Case: Wilhelm

The following clinical material was taken from the beginning of Wilhelm's seventh session.

Wilhelm was subdued. He asked me how I was. I commented that it seemed easier for him to ask me about my well-being than it was for him to talk about how he felt. He smiled, telling me that he was "just being polite".

Wilhelm   I can't talk about how I feel … You'll go grey …

Therapist   Why do you think I'll go grey?

Wilhelm   What I've seen, what I've done … So much … Awful …

Therapist   Sounds like everything you've been through has burnt away your living colour, leaving you ash grey … You worry about it burning me to?

Wilhelm   The sights, sounds, and smells … If I close my eyes they're with me still.

[*Wilhelm gripped the arms of his chair*.]

During apartheid Wilhelm appeared to be able to contain the impact such violence and brutality had on him. Psychoanalytically, his internal world seemed to have been supported by apartheid narratives. The cop culture, his patriarchal family, and sense of being a man could be introjected in an affirming way. Bad object experience could be split off and projected onto external others which were held at a distance through apartheid laws. However, post-apartheid this did not occur. As bad object experience could no

longer be simply split off and projected onto distant external others, there was a build up of bad object experience. The intrusion of bad object experience, such as violent and brutal memories of activities he had been involved in and had witnessed, coupled with being met with negative characterisation of the self in post-apartheid narratives, threatened to disrupt the state of his inner self-representations and internal object representations. Post-apartheid Wilhelm's experiences of violence and brutality in the police appeared to have an appalling impact on him. They assaulted his senses: sight, sound, touch, and hearing. At times they overwhelmed him, smothering him. He tried to flee them, getting into his car and driving. However, he invariably "blanked out" (his expression for a dissociative episode), coming to, lost, confused and frightened.

Wilhelm's socialisation through military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives (amongst others) during apartheid did not equip him with tools to make sense of his police activities in post-apartheid South Africa. Psychoanalytically, Wilhelm continued using primitive psychic operations, ultimately failing to progress to more mature processes. Also, the new SAPS failed to recognise Wilhelm's (and other longstanding police members') need for support through the transition. Wilhelm was no longer viewed as a fine upstanding citizen or a role model to be emulated.

During apartheid Wilhelm's internal world appeared to be affirmed by a system of supportive narratives that acknowledged him as worthy. This may have enabled him to split off bad experiences, thoughts, feelings and aspects of himself and embrace only the good aspects. However, in post-apartheid South Africa, the old guard system of support was defunct. This may have exposed the 'bad self' in a way that could not be tolerated. Wilhelm's idealised sense of self could no longer be supported and affirmed by the new guard ideology in the SAPS. One solution to this crisis was to evacuate and project the split off and deigned 'bad part' of the self, in phantasy, in the form of nightmares, flashback, avoidant behaviour, detachment, and somatic symptoms of PTSD.

The defensive manoeuvre here would be to continue to keep good and bad self-representations and internal object representations apart.

Wilhelm's internal crisis is echoed in the next example from Francois' first session:

> Case: Francois
>
> Francois   [*Francois sat in silence and then spoke in a quiet voice. He did not hold my gaze.*]
>
> I used to take notes at the crime scenes I attended … Once I attended a scene where two children had been burnt to death. The smell was like a braai – cooked meat. Their skin was cracked. That smell and image stay with me. I stopped taking notes after that. That's when the physical symptoms began: the nausea, the migraines, the shooting pains in my chest, the neck and back problems, the difficulty sleeping.

Again, as with Wilhelm, Francois' recollection of his past police experiences seemed to shatter him. This was expressed at a sensory and physical level – he appeared to embody the horror and destruction that had surrounded him. During apartheid Francois had structures which may have enabled him to remain asymptomatic. This was not the case post-apartheid.

The intrusion of intensely poignant memories of Francois' brutal past coupled with post-apartheid narratives which highlighted negative characteristics of the self, seemed to threaten to disrupt the state of Francois' self- and inner-representations. This would have a catastrophic effect on Francois' sense of self. As with Wilhelm, to avoid a collapse of Francois' sense of self the bad part of the self may have been split off and projected in the form of symptoms of

PTSD, thereby continuing to keep good and bad self-representations and internal object representations apart.

The old guard's therapeutic narratives poignantly illustrate that a diagnosis of PTSD enabled many SAPS members to access assistance for the deeply haunting memories of their violent pasts. However, there were certain advantages for these participants framing their distress as a psychiatric illness in post-apartheid South Africa. For example, it enabled a distressed policeman to express pain, suffering, anger, despair and confusion without appearing unmanly, cowardly or viewing themselves as a political lackey. Such advantages need to be fleeced out in developing a fuller understanding of what these participants were (not) expressing in their presentation in therapy.

To begin with, the SAP was central to ensuring the maintenance of apartheid. The changes of the 1990s, with the influx of black police and the public declarations by senior police officials that the SAP had changed fundamentally, have had an effect. The biggest challenge in transforming the SAP was to change the culture of the police itself, through new methods of formal training, civilian input, a new style of management, and the development of democratic attitudes. To restore public confidence, it was essential that some of the most notorious units were disbanded, hard-line commanders were replaced and those involved in political killings were brought to book. The police are beginning to reflect the composition of the society they now serve. The SAPS officer corps and its ethos no longer reflect the dominance of the white, Afrikaner male; (formal) segregation does not occur. What then has happened to the old guard? How have they coped with these changes?

At a conference held at the Technikon SA in February 1998 on *Police Officials as Victims of Trauma & Crisis*, delegates highlighted that a major contributor to the emotional distress experienced by SAP members in the transition to the SAPS was the inadequate preparation of members by management for the extent of change occurring within South Africa and the SAPS. There was little or

no communication strategy, relevant training, skills enhancement, or provision of resources. Similarly, criticism was raised to a perceived lack of commitment from management to the overall well being of members of the SAPS. This was perhaps reflected most clearly in the inadequate resources - human and material (Wilhelm experienced this first hand), the general lack of management support and other support systems, as well as the unsatisfactory conditions (such as poor remuneration and long working hours) under which members had to perform their duties. There were restricted numbers of psychologists and social workers in the SAPS, due partially to budget constraints and partially to management's underestimation of the importance of helping professionals within the organisation. The lack of support for members in crisis, and the inexperience and limited understanding of management to members' distress (perhaps reflected in the frequent absence of debriefings, and their neglect to routinely refer members who had been exposed to trauma to helping professionals), served to allow the effects of distress to persist. Delegates at the conference deemed support offered by the helping professions within the SAPS inadequate. They ascribed this to the limited access members had to the 'in-house' helping professions. For example, Wilhelm received no SAPS support in his working environment. The lack of support for Wilhelm ranged from the material to the psychological: not being supplied with practical utensils (water, disinfectant, torches, spades, body bags, gloves, masks and other protective clothing) through to the absence of debriefings, counselling, or even enquiries as to his well being, as the following example illustrates:

Case: Wilhelm

In session four Wilhelm was indignant. He felt the SAPS were to blame for how he felt; they used and abused him.

Wilhelm   It's ridiculous how the SAPS is run … They don't even supply you with equipment …

[*Wilhelm paused. He looked at the floor while*

gripping the arms of the chair. He spoke through gritted teeth.]

I remember this incident involving a Nissan LDV and a brick wall … The occupant of the vehicle was flung out and his head collided with a corner of the wall. When I arrived on the scene I saw the deceased's brain matter lying on the pavement, next to the corpse …

[*He glanced at me, and then looked away*.]

The corpse was hanging half in and half out of the vehicle … I had no crew … I had to search the deceased for an ID and valuables … I was in the process of searching him – he was flung through the driver's window, and brain matter was scattered along this side – when I slipped. I landed on my knees in the brain matter …

[*He relaxed and tightened his grip on the chair arms*.]

I removed the deceased from the vehicle by myself … I slipped again … The deceased landed on top of me … His head had an open fracture … His chest was split open … His intestines landed on my leg, and his brain matter on my leg and boots.

I managed to pick myself up, with the deceased, and placed him in the body bag … In the process my name badge slipped off and landed in the body bag with the deceased …

I had to retrieve it … I wrapped it up in my handkerchief, as there was no running water to clean myself … I had to scoop up the brain matter from the ground with my hand and place it in the body bag. Then, after the mortuary vehicle arrived, I had to inform the next of kin of the demise of their family member …

I felt embarrassed because of the image I portrayed to the family – covered in blood and brain matter …

Then I had to complete the docket for the case still dressed in the bloody uniform …

On my first day shift thereafter I approached Inspector Mkhize and requested a new pair of boots, as mine were covered in blood and brain matter. I was informed that there were none in stock. I had to purchase a new pair of boots at my own expense … and still have to wear a name badge that smells of death …

The rest of the uniform I wore that night I burnt …

Wilhelm's narrative sounded like a grotesque farce. Post-apartheid, real engagement with external objects was potentially dangerous for participants like Wilhelm. The ambiguous good and bad nature of post-apartheid objects threatened to disrupt his defensive strategy. Wilhelm's solution was to embellish his stories. Wilhelm embodied the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narrative ideals. As discussed in chapter two, the experiences of socialisation which many old guard policemen

like Wilhelm were subjected to under apartheid – racism, sexism, elitism, patriarchy, Calvinism, militarism, conservatism, nationalism and hyper-masculinity, amongst others – potentially meant that the identifications which these men made were more alienating than is usual in the course of development. This may have limited Wilhelm's ability to engage in the world. Under apartheid, almost every aspect of life was specified and regulated from where you might live and work, whom you might relate to and how, and so forth. Wilhelm's socialisation through the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives may have limited his ability to move on, grow and develop in the face of socio-political transformation. Given his unusually alienating socialisation Wilhelm was potentially restricted in his ability to represent himself. Post-apartheid with negative characterisations of the self surrounding him, Wilhelm tended to embellish his police experiences, to alter the status quo to affirm him more. He narrated himself as the hard working policeman who tried to maintain standards despite appalling circumstances. In this way his internal world impacted on his external world: his embellishments allowed him to continue to see himself in a positive way. In reality his social world was turned upside down and all that he knew was slipping away.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, PTSD is currently the only means of credibly expressing stress and distress within the SAPS. The Compensation for Occupational Injuries & Diseases Act 130 of 1993 came into effect on 1 March 1994. This Act declared that PTSD could be seen as an occupational disease. It was ground-breaking as the Act enabled members of the SAPS to access assistance for distress. However, the psychiatric narrative was the *only* means available to these participants of credibly expressing their stress and distress within the SAPS. They could only access assistance via a psychiatric diagnosis. PTSD shifted the focus of attention from their backgrounds and psyches to the perils of police work.

After the Compensation for Occupational Injuries & Diseases Act 130 of 1993

came into effect in 1994, there was a flood of longstanding SAP/SAPS members' applications for medical boarding as a result of PTSD. (This deluge petered out by 2005 and is not reflected currently - in 2013). While it might be tempting to conclude that this surge reflects the need for PTSD to be seen as an occupational disease, this conclusion neglects that 1994 coincided with political and social transformation - the movement of South Africa and the SAP/SAPS into a post-apartheid transitional period. Hook & Parker (2002, p. 35) explain that "extracted from the political field, psychopathology will lose both its shape – that is, its highly specific and socially determined meaning, how it is understood and 'known' within a particular society at a particular time – and its function, its political utility, a sense of what it does, of why it is useful, of what it enables and/or disenables within a social system". An examination of PTSD remains incomplete without a clear understanding of the social, political and historical processes in which it occurs. For example, although PTSD was not seen as an occupational illness until 1994, it is significant that (given the horror and violence these participants experienced as members of the SAP during apartheid) the participants reported no symptoms of PTSD prior to 1994. Equally, the historical emergence of this flood of longstanding SAP/SAPS members' applications for medical boards as a result of PTSD cannot be understood in just sociological terms, however. The socio-historical context *in conjunction* with individual subjective meanings powerfully contextualises this phenomenon.

The police journal *Servamus* (March 2003, p. 13) points out that between 1991 and 1994 (i.e. prior to the Compensation for Occupational Injuries & Diseases Act 130 of 1993 being implemented, and the transitions from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa, and from SAP to SAPS) a total of 1085 members left the SAPS with PTSD, while between 1995 and the end of March 2003 (i.e. after the implementation of the Act, the transitions from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa, and from SAP to SAPS) the total had increased six fold to 6112 members. What can we conclude from these findings? Some obvious conclusions might be:

- Prior to the implementation of the Act fewer SAP members experienced PTSD;
- Under the apartheid regime fewer members experienced PTSD;
- The implementation of the Act enabled members to, at last, legitimately express the distress they had always experienced;
- PTSD enabled members of the old guard to leave the SAPS with their identity somewhat intact and with access to psychological and monetary incentives;
- Post-apartheid South Africa is more distressing for some police members than apartheid South Africa.

In considering these conclusions it should be remembered that in chapter one I highlighted that while it may have appeared that there were psychological and monetary incentives for the old guard to present with symptoms of PTSD, responsibility for payment for psychotherapy and any legal expenses incurred in the medical boarding process was ultimately born by the men themselves. State pensions did not meet the expenses of daily living in South Africa. Ultimately these men presented with symptoms of PTSD and sat out weekly psychotherapy for more than a year because they were distressed, not for psychological or monetary incentives.

Perhaps the most useful conclusion to draw from these findings is that collectively held cultural beliefs about particular negative experiences are not just potential influences on how we experience life; they also carry an element of self-fulfilling prophecy. We will largely organise what we feel, say, do, and expect, to fit prevailing expectations and categories. The following case material demonstrates how Hennie's experiences fitted into his (society's) prevailing expectations of dis-ease and masculinity:

> Case: Hennie
>
> This clinical material was taken from Hennie's second session.

Hennie, in a chatty and upbeat manner, described how he became anxious and disturbed while driving. He became apprehensive before a journey. He felt as if he were driving into an ambush. He felt especially unsettled when his wife was in the car with him.

Hennie   [*Hennie smiled at me.*]

              Work has been asking me when I'm going to return. What should I tell them?

Therapist   Do you feel ready to return to work?

Hennie   Not when I shake like this.

Therapist   You're not shaking now. In fact you're sitting with a smile on your face, chatting as though you are telling me about a movie you've watched rather than something going on in your life. You seem to further distance yourself from your emotions by seeing me as the one who knows more about how you are than you yourself.

Hennie   [*There was a moment's silence.*]

              Well I've been on sleeping tablets for the past two years. I couldn't get to sleep at night. Even with the tablet I battle to fall asleep.

              [*Hennie smiled at me again.*]

Therapist   What's stopping you from sleeping?

Hennie   I don't know I just can't get to sleep. Now I'm waking up after I've just got to sleep. The doctor's increased the dose. Now I'm reliant on the medication.

Therapist   What's bad about being reliant on medication?

Hennie   I'm not in control.

Therapist   Why do you need to be in control?

Hennie   So I can deal with whatever's happening.

Therapist   What might be happening?

Hennie   In case of danger. I wake with a start ready to act.

Therapist   It sounds like the only way you know how to engage with emotion is by taking action.

            [*Hennie was silent*.]

Hennie   [*He s*miled at me.]

            I had a heart attack when I was 28. That was scary.

Therapist   28 is very young for a heart attack …

Hennie   [*He flashed me another smile.*]

            I was taking steroids, and had the flu, and still went to the gym. I went to work as well. I guess I put too

much strain on my heart.

I'm very into my gym. I wanted to get bigger and train harder. That's why I took steroids. I train every day. It makes me feel good about myself.

Therapist   Why does your size and strength mean more to you than your health?

Hennie   [*He smiled at me.*]

Because of the adrenalin rush; I feel great.

From this example it can be seen how Hennie tried to organise what he felt into specific expectations and categories of masculinity and dis-ease. In order to continue to fit into macho leader narrative ideals of masculinity it was important that Hennie's sense of distress did not negate his sense of masculinity in any way. For Hennie having external control of himself – control of medication and his body size and strength - made him feel good about himself as a man. Within Hennie's understanding of PTSD, he could still be a 'big strong man' if an illness made him 'shake' on the inside. However, Hennie's sense of himself as a man did not allow for any verbal or non-verbal show of emotion. His distress was fitted into a specific narration of PTSD – as aberrant symptoms that were not part of his understanding of himself. Once it became advantageous to frame distress as a psychiatric condition, perhaps policemen, like Hennie, chose to present themselves as medical victims. In the SAPS, police can receive compensation for distress in some contexts, although not in others. They cannot receive compensation for the discomfort of affirmative action, unemployment, poverty, or imprisonment: the criteria for these are social not medical.

According to Summerfield (2000), who writes extensively about PTSD, it

appears that the diagnosis of PTSD is a legacy of the USA's war in Vietnam. Some people, Summerfield explains, threw epithets like 'baby killer' and 'psychopath' at Vietnam veterans. This reception may have been a primary factor in the difficulties – such as antisocial behaviour – that some military personnel had in readjusting to their peacetime roles. Those who were seen by psychiatrists were diagnosed as having an anxiety state, depression, substance misuse, personality disorder, or schizophrenia. The implication here was that the veterans' difficulties were the result of individual internal factors, rather than being the military's responsibility (cf. Summerfield, 2000).

Early proponents of the diagnosis of PTSD were part of the antiwar movement in the USA; they were angry that psychiatry was being used to serve the interests of the military rather than those of the veterans (Merridale, 2000). The proponents of the diagnosis strove for veterans to receive specialised medical care. The diagnosis of PTSD was meant to shift the focus of attention from the details of a soldier's psyche to the trauma of war. This was politically transformative: Vietnam veterans were to be seen not as perpetrators or offenders but as people traumatised by roles thrust on them by the US military (Merridale, 2000). PTSD legitimised their 'victimhood', gave them moral absolution, and guaranteed them a disability pension because a doctor could attest to the diagnosis (Summerfield, 2000).

However, since the Vietnam War the diagnosis of PTSD has been used throughout the world. PTSD is promoted as a basis for describing the impact of trauma, regardless of the particular socio-cultural context and subjective meaning brought to the experience by individuals. Throughout the world there also tends to be an overuse of tools like the DSM-IV (Summerfield, 2000). These tools are developed in the USA and exported to countries all over the world. They tend to disregard differences in class, race, and cultural contexts (Summerfield, 2000).

The participants in this study are a case in point: as well as the role of culture

and gender in their lives (as discussed in chapter two, which explored psychoanalysis' social articulation, and chapter three, which explored the extent to which the participants' view of themselves was shaped by gender related socio-political forces within the country and community), these policemen elected to join the SAP. All four participants expressed a wish to become policemen from childhood. Even after the demise of apartheid and the introduction of socio-political transformation they elected to remain policemen.

Their 'vocational calling' to be policemen has a bearing on their experience and expression of distress. The external situations – particularly the antecedent events – which prompted the participants' presentation to psychotherapy seemed to be relatively un-provocative in comparison to their SAP activities. Trigger events in their personal lives led them to seek therapy: Wilhelm feeling unsupported by the SAPS, Riaan's failed marriage, Francois' marital problems, and Hennie's general work stress and insomnia. Following Cartwright's (2002a) work on rage type murder, the trigger events for the old guard participants perhaps served more of a signifying role, giving us clues about their internal worlds.

Briefly, in object relations terms, the structure of the ego is a product of the internalisation of good and bad objects. Splitting is an intrapsychic defence mechanism in which contradictory thoughts, feelings and aspects of the self are kept apart. Only one of these conflicting polarities is acknowledged and identified with. Applying Rustin's (in Levy & Lemma, 2004) conceptualisations of psychoanalytic defences in a social way to this research, it appears that the defensive operation of splitting on a social level was exacerbated during apartheid. In general, under apartheid, white men were the beneficiaries of racist and economic oppression. This socialisation imposed barriers between infant and adult, one person and another. These external barriers may have become internalised, promoting primitive paranoid-schizoid defences, and split self-representations and internal object representations.

Given the old guards investment in military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family and Christian National narratives (amongst others) the participants' internal worlds may have been predisposed to be dominated by paranoid-schizoid defence mechanisms. To maintain a stable sense of self, the bad parts of the participants' internal objects and self-representations may have been externalised and projected onto physically distant external 'bad' objects, which apartheid South Africa provided in abundance. However, post-apartheid, splitting and projective identification no longer provided an adequate way of supporting their internal objects and self-representations. The 'bad' external objects of the past were now the 'good' external objects of the present. This disrupted the participants' predictable relationships with external objects, potentially transforming the external environment from supportive to persecutory. This may ultimately have lead to increased fragility in the goodness and strength of their self-representations and internal objects, and a build up of disowned bad internal object experience. A more severe form of splitting may then have taken place. According to Summers (1994), to defend against persecutory anxiety, the good object may be exaggerated into the idealised object, which is then phantasised to provide unlimited gratification. An example of the participants' idealisation of the SAP is apparent from a general reading of Francois, Riaan, Hennie, and Wilhelm's therapeutic narratives: they seemed to revel in, and glorify, the old days, exclusively identifying themselves as old guard policemen.

While the trigger events which prompted the participants' presentation to psychotherapy seemed initially un-provocative in comparison to their activities as SAP policemen-soldiers, the trigger events were significant in terms of the participants' social context and subjective meaning. The end of apartheid opened up the potential of new cultural narratives for South Africans to engage with. This post-apartheid socio-historical context provides a frame for this psychological investigation. The participants seemed to present in therapy when they could no longer identify with their apartheid discursive ideals (through failing love relationships, alienation, inequality, and political and social

transformation), rather than simply as the result of their individual responses to the violent and brutal nature of police work. Evocative words from WB Yeats' poem *The Second Coming* give us a way of opening up the old guards socio context:

Turning and turning in the widening gyre

The falcon cannot hear the falconer;

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;

Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,

The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere

The ceremony of innocence is drowned;

The best lack all conviction, while the worst

Are full of passionate intensity.

Surely some revelation is at hand;

Surely the Second Coming is at hand;

The Second Coming! Hardly are those words out

When the vast image out of *Spiritus Mundi*

Troubles my sight: somewhere in sands of the desert

A shape with lion body and the head of a man,

A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,

Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it

Reel shadows of the indignant desert birds.

The darkness drops again; but now I know

That twenty centuries of stony sleep

Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,

And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,

Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

In so many ways the old guard's worlds "fell apart" post-apartheid – they were no longer held in high esteem by the society they protected and served, promotions were no longer guaranteed, and they were no longer affirmed by the cop culture of the new SAPS. The "centre" of who they knew themselves to

be could "not hold" as without predictable external others onto whom they could project their bad object experience and internal self-representations, there was a build up of disowned bad internal objects that destabilised their core.

One strategy to preserve their sense of self under changed external circumstances was the 'social phenomena' of old guard policemen presenting in psychotherapy with symptoms of PTSD and requests for medical boarding. The surge in SAP members presenting in therapy for medical boarding with PTSD can be understood in Yeats' terms as that "rough beast" whose hour has "come round at last". In this way the participants' social context informed their presentation in therapy.

Each participant's individual therapeutic narrative of PTSD also provides us with a subjective account for the influx of medical boards for career policemen in this transitional period of South Africa's history. Each old guard policeman in his own unique way perhaps presented in therapy with symptoms of PTSD and a request for medical boarding to enable him to avoid mourning, working through, integrating, and changing his unique sense of self, and to maintain his unconscious defensive strategies.

Eagle (2002), in her important article *Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD): The malleable diagnosis?*, describes PTSD as "being located in consensual reality" (p. 37). She adds that "because off its application to victims in extremity, the diagnosis cannot help but engage with people who are at the receiving end of abuses of power" (Eagle, 2002, p. 37). The political role of PTSD has tended to be most evident in the psycho-forensic domain where it has been cited in favour of both complainants and defendants, both perpetrators and victims. For example, Eagle explains that in South Africa victimisation has been very much reflective of changing historical, economic and political forces. PTSD, as she highlights, can act in the interests of both victims and victimisers. She discusses how in certain instances, expert psychological witnesses accounted for violence

committed in the service of anti-apartheid ends. Here PTSD was seen as a response to the damage inflicted by the apartheid system. This usage of PTSD was in keeping with the defensive arguments put forward on behalf of battered women who inflict harm upon their partners. However, more recently - as underscored by evidence led by amnesty applicants to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission - agents of the apartheid state have invoked similar arguments. In recognition of the expectation that victims are required to demonstrate a lack of choice, these agents have claimed that they were lackeys in a chain, who faced inordinate pressures if they contested their role in the exercise of violence.

According to Eagle (2002), opening the door to the employment of PTSD as a diagnostic justification for the enactment of violence conceivably provides the basis for a blurring of boundaries between victims and victimisers. She suggests that the use or abuse of the employment of PTSD is determined by political and moral criteria, rather than purely scientific parameters. Hence, she concludes that there is a need for those employing the diagnosis to be self-conscious of their own assumptions and political and moral convictions.

SAPS members cannot receive psychological treatment, or treatment from any allied helping professional, without a psychiatric diagnosis being made and stipulated on his or her account. A psychiatrist had to diagnose a psychiatric illness if the member required his or her emotional distress to fall under the IOD (Injury on Duty) department of the SAPS. This standpoint lends some credence to Eagle's (2002) observation that the status of psychiatric observations is assumed to be more legitimate than other frameworks of understanding. This standpoint consequently devalues alternative perspectives. Thus, the medical aid and workmen's compensation processes demand that the clinician produce scientific observable 'facts' about the person being treated, which are often reduced to a psychiatric diagnosis. There is little time for understanding the underlying, and perhaps less tangible, subjective complexities of each case. In the following therapeutic material, for example, a

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focus on the standard psychiatric diagnosis and medical boarding procedure would miss the subtlety of how and why Wilhelm engaged with the process. Psychoanalytically, Wilhelm used the medical boarding and workman's compensation process to distance himself from emotions and personal reflection, filling up therapy with a bureaucratic paper chase:

Case: Wilhelm

Wilhelm began session five with paperwork. This documentation was for his SAPS workman's compensation and medical boarding process[13]. I asked him if he was anxious about his colleagues knowing that he was receiving psychological treatment, given he had to submit these forms to the SAPS. He did not answer me directly. Rather, he explained how he had written statements to attest to the negligent way he had been treated by the SAPS. I felt he was emotionally distant.

Therapist   It seems hard for you to talk about how you feel today …

I get the sense that you feel unappreciated and under valued. Yet, I don't pick that up from your tone of voice. Rather, I pick it up from the content of your speech: you talk about what forms you have to fill in and what courses you have undertaken rather than what these things mean to you.

Wilhelm   Ja, but that's what they want. I must have these

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[13] For medical boarding and IOD claims patients were required to obtain and complete certain forms after each therapeutic session and then submit them to the workmen's compensation section of the police medical aid, Polmed, in Pretoria. This paperwork included the Workman's Compensation Commission Form No. 1 (WCC1), Workman's Compensation Commission Form No. 2 (WCC2), a report from the psychiatrist, a report from the psychologist, a doctor's illness certificate covering time absent from work, and the patient's statement testifying to the trauma experienced. This paperwork had to be submitted after each session.

forms completed and back to the station.

Therapist   You're not at the station now; perhaps life is about different things than work is …

Wilhelm   [*Wilhelm was silent. He stared at the floor*.]

Therapist   It seems difficult for you to try something different …

Wilhelm   I'm sorry I just blanked out. What did you say?

Therapist   It was hard for you to be here just now … What was the last thing you remember?

Wilhelm   Mmm … Oh these forms, can you complete them for me?

Therapist   How do you feel about these forms?

Wilhelm   I don't know. They just told me they had to be completed.

Therapist   You've told me about your times in Soweto and more recently, in the Search & Rescue Unit, were you had to do what you were told with no questions asked. But this is therapy, not the SAPS; do you want to deal with things in the same way?

Wilhelm   I don't know what you mean …

At one level the workman's compensation and medical boarding forms were part of the SAPS's fact finding process. Wilhelm's diligence in completing the

forms showed him as a responsible member of the SAPS and a 'good' patient - concerned enough about therapy to ensure his continued attendance by completing the forms. At another level, fundamental to Wilhelm's task of representing himself within PTSD narratives, was the production of a limited set of behaviours and feelings that were constituted as symptoms. He achieved this by severing both behaviour and feeling from the many-layered social, emotional, and political contexts that might explain them. While this may have been a useful factor in enabling him to access therapy, it limited him psychotherapeutically. Therapy presented Wilhelm with the potential for emotional expression and self reflection. This proved difficult for him. Wilhelm frequently "blanked out" or brought out his medical boarding forms at times when he had the potential to engage with ambivalent emotive material. As this case material illustrates, workman's compensation and medical boarding forms were more than mere bureaucratic form filling for Wilhelm. He used the forms to mediate his distress (so he was less persecuted from within). The forms became an external representation of his distress. He brought out the forms (his distress) for me to 'take them away' and 'deal' with them – thus he continued to split off his distress rather than mourning the loss of world he knew as a safe and predictable space, working through his distress and integrating it into his identity. By projecting his distress onto the form filling process, Wilhelm could control and distance himself from his distress externally.

Interaction with the external situation

Drawing from Cartwright's (2002a) work on rage type murder, Cartwright suggests we need to consider 'containing' and affirming external factors, as opposed to just provocative or instigating events, that influence trauma. He describes these containing external factors as current or enduring situations that facilitate ways of dealing with distress. The most obvious facilitating factor for the old guard participants in this investigation - until the demise of apartheid and the transformation of the SAP to the SAPS - was the cop culture of the SAP. The SAP cop culture contained messages about appropriate behaviour and about ways of conducting relationships. It positioned the

participants in affirming ways within the military, Afrikaner patriarchal family, macho leader, and Christian National narratives. External influences of the SAP cop culture seemed to have been internalised by the participants in an ego-syntonic way. The cop culture confirmed that they were authoritative, aggressive, heterosexual, able-bodied, morally just, and physically brave men.

As explored in chapter three, being a South African policeman during apartheid was constructed out of distinct narrative formulations which may have narrowed the range of choices available to these participants in their various engagements. Riaan, Francois, Hennie and Wilhelm successfully functioned in these narratives during apartheid. They embodied the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narrative ideals. However, during the post-apartheid transition in South Africa and the SAP/SAPS, the participants' supportive and affirming external narratives and practices changed. External factors now suggested they were morally repugnant, depraved, and exploitative. External influences of the new SAPS cop culture were perhaps internalised by the participants in an ego-dystonic way. The participants' sense of self may have become unstable as their all-good sense of self was threatened. This may have been a factor in the participants becoming distressed.

Cartwright (2002a) suggests that lack of containment from the external situation can be assumed to play more of a part in trauma when provocation is absent. There seemed to be nothing especially provocative in Riaan's presentation in therapy in 1999 following the ending of his marriage. However, Riaan's experience of his failed marriage was shattering. For him life was meaningless and everything he felt he attempted was doomed to fail. At night he would suffer from two recurring nightmares: one in which his colleague was shot dead in front of the Supreme Court, and the other in which his police dog, Roscoe, was shot. In both nightmares he felt powerless to do anything, and was overwhelmed by the feelings of helplessness and despair. He would wake terrified, gasping for breath, unable to control his racing heart and incapable of

sleep. Helplessness and despair were not part of Riaan's view of himself. He was the 'modest hero' whose role was to guard the 'helpless and vulnerable'. When alternative ways of being presented themselves (such as having reservations about marrying Michelle) his identification with apartheid discursive ideals prevented him from exploring them to any significant degree (his father said Riaan could not break the engagement). The changing culture of the police and the country, however, left him with no touch stones to turn to. In his post-apartheid reality, as in his dreams, he was transformed from the capable hero to the incapable bystander, impotent to prevent the loss of factors that identified him as a vital human being.

Just prior to Christmas 2001 Wilhelm presented in therapy following his attendance at a MVA in which a three-month-old child had been killed. After this incident he developed a "fear of driving", avoiding sections of roads where he had attended fatal collisions. He could "no longer remember" how to do his job. He felt his "whole world was crumbling" around him and that work was "too much". During his many years of service in the Search & Rescue Unit, and the "security branch" before that, Wilhelm had attended many such horrific and tragic scenes, with no sign of distress. During therapy it appeared that the child's death became a provoking factor for Wilhelm *following* the transformation of the SAP cop culture. The difficulty for Wilhelm was the change from the SAP to SAPS. He felt uncared for and unsupported. He was not promoted in the SAPS, despite being the most qualified and proficient member of his unit. He experienced a loss of practical support in terms of equipment, as well as human support in terms of colleagues and superiors who worked the same way he did. Rather than buying his discharge from the SAPS, however, Wilhelm became indignant and self-righteous. At an unconscious level he appeared to be punishing the SAPS (in a vain attempt to get 'it' to behave as the SAP had done previously) with his frequent written complaints. He also constantly put himself in situations where he picked pointless arguments with colleagues and superiors, ultimately manipulating his external objects into defensive attack. Wilhelm's colleagues then brought complaints and charges

against him confirming for Wilhelm his colleagues' errant behaviour and his need to show them the error of their ways.

Francois and his wife, Maria, came to see me in November 2001 for marital therapy. Maria, rather than Francois, had requested the marital therapy. Again, there seemed to be nothing particularly traumatic in the external situation that brought Francois to see me. However, had apartheid not ended it is doubtful if Maria would have been able to get Francois to engage in any form of therapy. Francois believed that "the past was the past, and should be left that way". However, post-apartheid without the containment and affirmation of his position within the military, Afrikaner patriarchal family, macho leader, and Christian National narratives and activities, his issues were seeping out in ways he could not understand or control – nightmares, depression and anger. He drank two bottles of red wine a night. He was socially isolated, his children were afraid of him, his wife had had an affair, and his marriage was a sham. He had nightmares of being engulfed by a black void. Life for him seemed tenuous - colleagues he admired had died and the man he knew himself to be was slipping away and he was powerless to do anything to stop it.

Hennie came to the clinic at the end of September 2000. He obtained my name from one of his colleagues in the SAPS. The colleague had given him the name of two therapists – the second being a white Afrikaner male - but Hennie chose to contact me. He was suffering from what he described as "work stress" and "insomnia". Again, there seemed to be no particularly provocative element to Hennie's presentation in therapy; in fact it had the feel of some sort of kudos being achieved. Hennie overcame his machismo as his friends and colleagues' engagement in therapy gave it legitimacy and 'coolness'. Key representational elements in Hennie's presentation were perhaps the female SAPS colleague who had recommended me to him, and his choice of me as a 'foreign' (I am from Northern Ireland and speak no Afrikaans) female therapist over my white Afrikaner male colleague. I was perhaps chosen as an attempt by Hennie to manipulate his external environment to exalt him as a big, strong, potent man.

I was struck immediately on meeting him by his strong confident presence: his tall and muscular physique and pungent aftershave. However, behind the strong manly scent, he seemed to be rotten to the core. He was a man capable of betraying a wife he claimed to adore and a daughter he worshiped - abandoning them at the drop of a hat, shutting them out of his life, in pursuit of an affair. In therapy he tried to manipulate me to bolster his macho image, insisting on holding my consulting room door open for me, making small talk on the way to the consulting room, buying me a rose on Valentine's Day, jumping out from behind a palm tree to surprise me when he spotted me in a shopping centre, and making a show of driving up in his Rapid Response Unit vehicle with lights flashing and siren blaring when he saw me on the beach front promenade. When this failed to impress me, he missed sessions rather than face reflecting on his actions and their meaning.

During apartheid Hennie, Wilhelm, Francois and Riaan could take it for granted that they were respected and admired pillars of their society. They each exemplified aspects of the military, Christian National, macho leader and Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives in which they were interpellated. They experienced their external environment as affirming. However, post-apartheid the socio-political environment changed. It no longer exalted the narratives of the past. For these participants the transformation of the SAP to SAPS and from apartheid South Africa to post-apartheid South Africa seemed to undermine their taken for granted containing and affirming social structures, leaving their bad experiences of the past and present as well as their fears and anxieties uncontained.

Under apartheid these participants served with, and under, colleagues who came from similar backgrounds and who had undertaken similar training to them. There was a sense of kinship and commonality about how they went about their work and life. Their fears and anxieties were contained in a straightforward manner under these circumstances: they were seen as role models to family and friends, they were held in high esteem by colleagues, they

were given media 'fame', they received promotion through the SAP ranks, they were essential in keeping the country 'civilised', and their work was part of a 'divine' design.

Frenkel (in Levy & Lemma, 2004), looking at paediatric nurses working with burn victims, is concerned with how organisational structure can make it difficult for people to contain fear and anxiety. Applying Frenkel's thoughts to these participants, the organisational transformation from SAP to SAPS, with the influx of black and female police, the adoption of affirmative action, and democratic principles, created a new organisational structure which made it very difficult for these policemen to continue containing their bad experiences, fear, and anxieties. They could no longer relate to their colleagues or superiors and what it now meant to be policemen.

Seen solely from an intrapsychic perspective, the internal world of these participants focuses our attention on the participants' defences. From an internal and external interactional perspective, however, the participants may well have been on the receiving end of powerful external situations that were no longer supportive and containing for them, thus contributing to their distress. In short, the post-apartheid transformations of South Africa and the SAP/SAPS, as well as the seeming lack of provocation in the external situations that brought them to therapy, become important factors to consider in terms of what was traumatic for these participants.

Psychoanalytic understanding of trauma

On one hand, the process of trying to make sense of trauma "is not only an internal affair, but also depends on external factors, in particular aspects of the person's social and cultural background and how they engage in society" (Levy & Lemma, 2004, p.3). For example, trauma could encompass the existential anxiety of being an old guard policeman in post-apartheid South Africa, or the toll of attending crime and accident scenes as part of the job of being a policeman. On the other hand, dimensions apart from external factors are

needed to grasp the range of possible meanings of traumatic events. Cartwright (2002a) suggests that it is, *firstly*, important to consider how traumatic events are internalised in order to understand trauma. It is useful to, *secondly*, consider the 'total situation' including factors like the availability of supportive others, general environmental factors, and the nature of the internal world at the time of the trauma. Too often, Cartwright emphasises, the traumatic incident is taken to be a concrete object in itself, and is assumed to have invariable traumatic implications. He believes that this often leads to assumptions about trauma being the reason for psychopathology. Cartwright complains that such assumptions lead to fixed ideas about interventions where the varied socio-historic and psychodynamic consequences of trauma are not fully considered.

Levy & Lemma (2004) bring an object relations psychoanalytic perspective to the meaning of a traumatic event. In their introduction they suggest that:

> … [a] traumatic event is not simply understood as an external experience, a random life incident superimposed on an individual. Instead it is re-interpreted in the mind in terms of a relationship with an internal object. (Levy & Lemma, 2004, p. 3)

It is the fate of the internal world following trauma that is of interest to psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapists, as this is where external events are given subjective meaning, 'stored', and 'processed' before being acted upon. Appling Levy & Lemma's ideas in this thesis, we need to think about the *function* of the social and organisational institutions that were present in the participants' lives during apartheid, namely: militarism, nationalism, patriarchy, machismo, and the SAP cop culture, amongst others.

Looking at how the person manipulates their external objects to fulfil an internal purpose is also relevant. Garland (in Levy & Lemma, 2004) illustrates

how defensive identification – the phantasy of taking on the qualities of, or becoming one with another person – protects the person against the experience of loss, vulnerability or guilt. She outlines the unconscious motives for these identificatory processes:

> Sometimes they are made with the dead or damaged, perhaps in part so that one does not have to separate from them, acknowledging the loss, and even more, the guilt of having survived where another has died. More often, they are made with the agent or object felt to have caused the trauma, out of a complex mix of narcissistic and defensive needs. In both cases identifications take the place of thinking. They are a way of solving the problems that thinking might make visible. (in Levy & Lemma, 2004, p. 39)

Garland introduces the concept of the "projective imperative" to describe a process whereby the person attempts to undo the psychological damage to the self (humiliation, inadequacy, and helplessness) by means of an unconscious phantasy that Klein called projective identification: "To feel big and powerful once more, it appears to him imperative to shove those awful humiliated feelings back forcibly at, and into, the agent of the traumatic event" (Garland in Levy & Lemma, 2004, p. 39). Garland is not referring here to trauma in the sense of a physical attack, injury or life-threatening event, but to the experience of being rejected, abandoned or deprived of some emotional connection. This perspective is useful to bear in mind when considering Wilhelm's seemingly nonsensical repetitious grievance submissions to the SAPS, mentioned earlier. Wilhelm felt betrayed by the SAPS. Perhaps to feel "big and powerful" once more, Wilhelm tried to "shove" his humiliated feelings - in the form of grievances - forcibly back at, and into, the SAPS.

This final example from one of Francois' sessions illustrates how Francois, like Wilhelm, used projective identification "to feel big and powerful once more" in

the face of his sense of betrayal by the SAPS by projecting his feelings into global acts of terrorism and destruction.

Case: Francois

This clinical material was drawn from Francois' third session.

Francois arrived ten minutes late. He blamed his lateness on the traffic. I remembered that the week before he felt frustrated with me for getting in the way of his avoidant strategies.

Francois   [*Francois was silent. When he began to speak there was bitterness in his voice.*]

I guess what happened on 9/11 showed us we just can't plan for the unforeseen. These bloody terrorists strike out of nowhere. Doesn't it make you mad, Sharon? The police and fire-fighters were helpless in the face of such atrocity. Colossians 3: 12-17.

What does the USA get for trying to be there for the rest of the world … stabbed in the back.

The police and fire-fighters had no training to deal with anything of this magnitude. It was just too much to deal with.

In this clinical illustration, Francois displaced his anger at me for not accepting his defensive strategies the week before - and the SAP for betraying him - onto the traffic which delayed him. He split off and projected his anger into global terrorists who then attacked his split off helpless parts located in the police and fire-fighters. By employing displacement, splitting, and projection, Francois appeared magnanimous and upstanding, as opposed to uptight and stubborn.

This process left him feeling self-affirmed, justified, moral, and more 'manly' in the session.

In the first chapter of their edited text Levy & Lemma (2004) use Freud's notion of a protective mental shield, and the rupturing of this by traumatic stimuli, as a point of departure for their consideration of *four* related psychic phenomena characteristic of the severely traumatised:

The *first* characteristic concerns the impact of trauma on the quality of the person's attachment with significant others, both interpersonally and intrapsychically. The latter, refers to the relationships we have with internalised images of parental figures. Applying Levy & Lemma's first characteristic to my participants, their social world post-apartheid was turned on its head and no longer reinforced their all-good sense of self or contained their hostile projections. This may have resulted in a build up of bad object experience. The changes in their external circumstances may have assaulted their attachments with significant others, resulting in the severing of a sense of connectedness to these significant external and internal figures. Levy & Lemma (2004) suggest that the consequences of this are isolation and a belief that there is no-one, whether inside or outside us, capable of listening to and understanding our experience. For example, in my examination of the old guard, Wilhelm was so paranoid he could not speak to his colleagues about his horrific work experiences. It was impossible for him to seek support and understanding from his wife or family for fear of 'contaminating' them with the horror he witnessed and participated in. Riaan developed a style of being 'superficially social'. This seemed to function to help him avoid self reflection while simultaneously feeling important and needed. Francois found it impossible to make deep connections with anyone, turning to alcohol and prescription medication to avoid self reflection. Hennie resorted to a superficial life of surface appearance and action to avoid the realisation that no-one was there for him, including himself.

The *second* characteristic Levy & Lemma (2004) refer to is the breakdown of the capacity to mourn the inevitable losses that trauma entails. For the participants in this study this may have been the loss of their established all-good identities and the loss of their socio-political understanding of what the police stood for and represented - how it worked and operated. The distress caused by this compound loss may have seemed unbearable to them. The participants' psychological defence system would then have protected them from this pain, but, in so doing, potentially prevented the loss being properly experienced, worked through, and consequently accepted and integrated into their sense of self. This may be why the participants did not simply resign from the SAPS. Instead, as medically boarded policemen, they avoided dealing with socio-political change, forever locking themselves into being angry with the new dispensation for not caring or supporting them in the way they were used to, rather than engaging with the change and transforming into something new and different.

A number of psychoanalytic authors have linked trauma to issues of loss and problems with the mourning process (cf. Bluglass, 1990; Sohn, 1995; Zulueta, 1993). Loss here relates not only to the object, but also to the self. Trauma damages the self, leaving it changed in some way. Therapeutic material from Hennie, Wilhelm, Riaan and Francois' sessions exemplifies the loss of emotionally fulfilling relationships for these men (both with self and others). Broadly speaking, Hennie was a one dimensional macho man. With his overly courteous manner, Hennie never appeared distressed or flustered. Instead Hennie superficially engaged with himself (accentuating his physicality rather than reflecting on what things meant to him), his family (projecting his insecurities onto them), and life (talking of plans for the future but never taking steps to realise these dreams). Wilhelm was a loner. He felt his "whole world was crumbling" around him. He tended to cope with his distress by distracting himself with jobs he felt good at, and in control of. He would return to his police unit headquarters after hours, and work alone on the vehicles. Riaan avoided emotional engagement or reflection following the ending of his

marriage. He drank his nights away, or literally ran away from emotions and self reflection with his Comrades' Marathon training. Francois drank to emotionally numb himself and isolated himself from everyone around him, hiding behind a thin façade of old world respectability. Each of these participants avoided mourning the loss of their taken-for-granted identities and ways of being in the world.

Using Bion's understanding of undigested mental states, Hyatt-Williams argues that traumatic experience stands in the way of normal psychic digestion (in Cartwright, 2002a). Hyatt-Williams proposes that psychic states induced by trauma often cannot be contained or worked through adequately, and thus cannot be mourned. As a consequence, these experiences remain as concrete objects suspended in the psyche. With this, Hyatt-Williams believes, the person's sensitivity to stressful events is heighten. He also explains that the risk of physical violence by the person is increased, as a result of a defensive attempt to rid the psyche of psychic pain which has not been worked through. Applying Hyatt-Williams understanding of waylaid psychic digestion following a traumatic experience to two of the old guard participants in this thesis, heightened sensitivity to stressful events and increased violence were perhaps reflected in Wilhelm's suicide attempts and death threats to colleagues, as well as Francois' self abuse, and his brutalisation of his children and colleagues.

The *third* of Levy & Lemma's (2004) characteristics, pertaining to people whose trauma has been inflicted by others, concerns the tendency for victims to unconsciously identify with their aggressors, thereby becoming aggressive themselves and subjecting others to similar abuse. Here Levy & Lemma suggest that the individual identifies with the aggressor in order to escape a vulnerable abused sense of self. (This vulnerable sense of self is then projected onto someone else.) Levy & Lemma believe that the nature of violence the victim-aggressors would subject others to would depend on two factors. First, as it occurs through identification, it would depend on the kind of violence to which the person was a victim. Second, it would depend on the extent to which

the identification predominates in the personality. If, for instance, as with Rosenfeld's (in Levy & Lemma, 2004) description of an internal 'mafia gang', the aggressive identification becomes a structuralised part of the self, then the violence moves from being defensive to being a perverse means of reaffirming identity. This certainly was the case with Riaan, who went into graphic detail in sessions of deliberately torturing suspects he apprehended, competing with colleagues to see who could inflict the worst injuries on suspects and who had the highest kill tally.

The *fourth* of Levy & Lemma's (2004) characteristics is the breakdown of symbolic functioning. Levy & Lemma describe symbolic functioning as a capacity that allows us to think about ('mentalise') our experience, to represent it to ourselves, and to distinguish memories of events from the events themselves. They believe that in the absence of symbolic functioning, the traumatic events are not properly engaged with. Instead they persist unmodified as intrusive flashbacks, or become concretely embodied as persistent physical symptoms. Applying Levy & Lemma's forth characteristic to this research, Wilhelm's stomach ulcer, recurrent nightmares and dissociative episodes, Hennie's agoraphobia, Riaan's alcoholism, recurrent nightmares and hand tremors, and Francois recurrent nightmares and alcoholism may be seen as examples of such persistent physical symptoms. Wilhelm, Hennie and Francois presented material in therapy in a very concrete way, devoid of allegory. They also found it impossible to take in allegorical interventions. They seemed to lack any symbolic functioning.

Conclusion

The Compensation for Occupational Injuries & Diseases Act 130 of 1993 coming into effect on 1 March 1994, coinciding with the transition of South Africa and the SAP/SAPS to the post-apartheid period, cannot be overlooked in understanding why these participants presented in therapy. During apartheid the old guard appeared to be able to contain the impact violence and brutality had on them. Their internal world seemed to have been supported by apartheid

narratives. The old guard may have been able to split off bad experiences, thoughts, feelings and aspects of themselves and embrace only the good aspects.

In post-apartheid South Africa and the SAPS, the old guard system of support was obsolete. This may have exposed the 'bad self' in a way that could not be tolerated. This appeared to trigger an internal crisis whereby the split off and deigned 'bad part' of the self was, in phantasy, evacuated and projected as the symptoms of PTSD. The defensive function here seemed to be to continue to keep good and bad self-representations and internal object representations apart. As a result, post-apartheid the old guard's bad experiences appeared to have an appalling impact on them. Their socialisation through military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives (amongst others) during apartheid did not equip them with tools to make sense of their past and present experiences in post-apartheid South Africa in any other way. The transition from primitive to mature psychic operations did not happen for the old guard.

CHAPTER FIVE

FACING INTERNAL & EXTERNAL REALITY

In her book *Understanding trauma: A psychoanalytic approach*, Caroline Garland (1998) explains that, "[t]he impact of trauma upon the human mind can only be understood through achieving with the patient a deep knowledge of the particular meaning of those events for that individual" (p. 4). To achieve such meaning psychoanalytically, attention is paid in therapy to childhood and developmental histories. Here, a person's earliest relationships are felt to not only shape later mental (and thus character) structure but also to have a continuing influence in his or her internal world. Garland (1998, p. 10) believes that early experiences with others influence "the nature of psychic wounding that may be received in traumatic collisions with the external world – in part through determining how those events will eventually come to be construed; in part through determining through those same internal structures the extent and nature of the recovery that is possible".

Traditionally, as Goldman (2003) points out, from a psychoanalytic perspective, it is not so much our wider social contexts that that shape us, but rather the way relationships with carers are emotionally experienced by the child. However, Goldman (2003, p. 48) also suggests:

> As both a neurologist and an ethnographer Freud elaborates a space between nature (the body) and culture (language and discourse). This frontier zone is the psyche. Quite simply Freud's early appreciation is that the hysteric's lame arm was the 'arm' as represented in language (say in the shape of a perfect glove) and not the arm found in nature – a biological entity with its distinct nerve pathways, tendons and the like.

What then is the psyche? Goldman (2003) explains that Freud does not simply define an unconscious mind in addition to a conscious mind. He suggests that people possess an unconscious, "not as a second mind, but as the unthinking, desirous core" (ibid., p. 48). The unconscious shapes all conscious thoughts, speech and action. However, the unconscious is not just that which is outside of consciousness. Rather, as Goldman (ibid., p. 48) explains, "it is that which has been radically separated from the consciousness" by various psychic forces and "thus cannot enter the conscious-preconscious system without distortion".

Elliott (2001) believes that many people today reflect on their sense of self in terms of their private lives. However, Elliott (2001) emphasises that:

> To think about selfhood critically is to think beyond the illusions of a purely private world, supposedly unaffected or cut off from the wider social world. For we are all exposed to cultures and structure in a profound and ongoing sense. (p. 4)

To put forward an unconscious which is completely separate from sociality is not the intention of this thesis. Rutherford (in Goldman, 2003, p. 49) suggests that "it would be impossible to conceive of instinctual impulses except through language". On the other hand, Frosh (1999) tackles the question as to whether there is anything outside of discourse. His response is "… the utopian end point, the disappearance of the self in the other, I am not convinced that I want it. Give me my paranoias and anxieties any day; at least I know that I am here" (ibid., p. 53). Goldman (2003, p. 50) proposes that psychoanalysis offers a specific way into theorising the inconsistencies of the social world, in particular the ways in which events "exceed the accounts which can be given of them".

The nature & quality of the participants' object world
Hayes (2002b) suggests that, if much of our identity is formed through our first

childhood relationships, then it matters what these early relationships were like. Ivey (2002) explains that in object relations theory the focus is on the way the child's early experiences with people, or parts of people, are absorbed as a set of phantasised[14] internal relationships, which become the building blocks of personality. Ivey suggests that this idea has two significant consequences for an understanding of selfhood. *Firstly*, the existence of the self is made contingent – it depends on the provision of certain circumstances that make it possible for an inner stability to be achieved. *Secondly*, the successful construction of a stable self depends on the existence of certain supportive conditions. These conditions are interpersonal ones that are themselves dependent to some degree on the wider social world.

At an interpersonal level, the absence of good enough relationships with others, particularly in early childhood, means that the external environment can turn persecutory rather than supportive. The external environment can also turn persecutory if early relationships are disrupted by separations or other trying circumstances, or if there are actively abusive elements in these early relationships. Ivey (2002) points out that the consequences of the external environment turning persecutory are that the internal structures become full of persecutory elements, working against the structuring of coherent selfhood.

Moving our attention to the wider social world, the construction of self is impinged upon through the design of other people, the impact of cultural conventions and social practices, and the force of social processes and political institutions. For the old guard participants some of these socio-historical processes may have included racism, sexism, elitism, patriarchy, Calvinism, militarism, conservatism, nationalism, the SAP cop culture and hyper-masculinity, amongst others. As a result, the participants were caught within the specific identities that their socialisation constructed. This had significant consequences for an understanding of their selfhood.

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[14] This term is understood within the general Kleinian view of object relations.

Let us begin looking at the impact of the participants' interpellation by military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives on their intrapsychic life. To do so it is useful to have some initial background into object relations theory. Returning to Summers' (1994) book, *Object relations theories and psychopathology: A comprehensive text*, Klein suggests a set of universal mental mechanisms - comprising images and phantasised activities relating to bodily contents and processes - that mediate the child's interactions with the external object world. The central thesis of Klein's object relations theory is that the child phantasises about orally incorporating his or her parents. Once the child has done this, the child feels his or her parents to be live people inside his or her body. Here deep unconscious phantasies are experienced in a concrete way – in the child's mind they are 'internal' or 'inner' objects (cf. Summers, 1994).

Rycroft (1995) explains that, in object relations terms, objects are persons, parts of persons, or symbols of one or the other. Therefore, objects are not just things - that which is not a person. In object relations theory there are two types of objects: external and internal. An external object is an object recognised by the person as being external to him or herself, in contrast to an internal object. Broadly speaking, external objects physically exist. Ivey (2002) points out that external objects are invested with emotionality by the person.

The body in psychoanalysis gives us the experience of inside and outside, the interface between internal and external reality. Freud (1923) describes the ego as primarily a bodily ego. The skin boundary separates the two worlds: self from not-self. Ivey (2002) describes internal objects as phantoms - they are images occurring in phantasy. He continues by explaining that internal objects are derived from external objects by introjection[15(14)].

Internal objects are subjective emotionally toned images (mental

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[15] The same applies here as in footnote 14 on page 144.

representations) of external objects. They are always transformed by the subjective prism of unconscious phantasy. Thus, we have subjective emotionally charged impressions of external objects which we carry within us. Internal objects are imaginal representations of early parental figures. They are coloured and transformed by unconscious phantasy. They are invested with emotional energy by people who experience these objects unconsciously as influentially present in their psychic lives. They are experientially real. Psychoanalytically, we have an internal world which cannot be reduced to interpersonal relationships. The internal world is a spatial metaphor which refers to an irrational subjective world of experience. This world is comprised of both gratified and painful phantasised interactions with objects. These objects are felt to reside within the self. This internal world underpins the world of interpersonal relationships.

The nature and characteristics of internal objects in no way corresponds *directly* to the actual characteristics and attitudes of the external objects. This is largely because the nature of internal objects is influenced by libidinal and destructive instincts, and the defence mechanisms that arise to manage anxiety associated with instinctually based phantasies. However, the nature and quality of external objects does have an impact on the *strengthening* or *weakening* of the internalised good object – which is the core of the primitive ego.

Hennie, Francois, Riaan and Wilhelm's early relationships were disrupted by the imposed separations of military service, and the frustrations of relating within a patriarchal, racist, conservative, and religious family system. Patriarchal discipline, sexism and conservatism were actively abusive elements in their social world. What impact did these external circumstances (with the predominant operation of primitive paranoid-schizoid mechanisms at the level of the collective psyche which ensured 'all good' and 'all bad' aspects of society remained separate) predominating during Hennie, Francois, Riaan and Wilhelm's childhood have on the strengthening or weakening of their internalised good objects? It is this interface which drives this thesis.

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To begin exploring the impact of the external circumstances that predominated during Hennie, Francois, Riaan and Wilhelm's childhood on the strengthening or weakening of their internalised good objects, let us start with an object relations understanding of development. According to Ivey (2002), developmentally, from birth, the death instinct is projected outwards onto the child's first external object, the maternal breast. Here the death instinct takes the form of oral-sadistic aggression. It is projected outward to protect the child against the primal anxiety of annihilation from within. Ivey notes, however, that this defensive strategy turns the external object into a persecutory figure in the child's phantasies. Introjection of the persecutory (or bad) object means that the child experiences paranoid anxiety in response to the phantasy of being attacked internally by the persecutory introject.

Simultaneously, however, as Ivey (2002) continues to explain, the life instinct finds expression in the projection of libidinal impulses onto the first object, also the maternal breast. This turns the maternal breast into a nurturing, loving, supportive (good) breast. Introjection of the nurturing (good) breast enables the loving introject to be used as a defence against persecutory anxiety. As Ivey highlights, although it is the same object that is simultaneously loved and hated, this reality cannot be acknowledged by the child for fear that if the good and bad internal objects are integrated, the bad will destroy the good object. This experience would be catastrophic as the primitive ego depends on the good object for its existence and development. Ivey indicates that the early developmental solution to this dilemma is to employ the defensive phantasy of splitting the object into two. This creates polarised and dissociated good and bad objects. As a result of the original object being split, the child then relates in a dualistic fashion to two antagonistic part-objects that are respectively loved and hated. These good and bad internal figures, Ivey (2002) continues, form the nucleus of the primitive superego. As Ivey continues:

> The fluid and ambiguous relationship between internal

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objects and the ego (or self) is important in Kleinian theory. On the one hand, the ego relates to the internal object as distinct and separate from itself but, on the other, this differentiation dissolves, and the internal object is perceived to combine aspects of both self and object. This is particularly apparent in Klein's (1946) concept of projective identification, whereby anxiety-provoking self-contents, or parts, with which the individual identified, are split off in phantasy and located in other people who then unconsciously represent the bad self. (2002, p. 55)

In conclusion Ivey suggests that we end up resorting to this defensive tactic to shield ourselves against acknowledging and incorporating displeasing aspects of ourselves. As a result, the discrimination between the ego and its objects becomes indistinguishable. This is because the objects are unconsciously identified with parts of the self. As projective identification usually involves bad (destructive, envious and greedy) parts of the self, this rids the ego of internal danger. However there is a cost to be paid: this creates persecutory anxiety from the external object, now seen as containing the bad self-aspects.

Ivey (2002) believes that our propensity to perceive and experience evil is based on our innate aggressive impulses and our destructive responses to the difficult, frustrating and painful childhood experiences. These aggressive impulses and responses are in conflict with our loving impulses and good object experiences. The projection of our destructive impulses and experiences (self-representations) onto external objects, and the subsequent internalisation of these objects, creates an experience of badness inside us. This experience of internal destructiveness threatens our good internal objects and self-aspects identified with these. The internal destructiveness is then dealt with by projective identification. In this way, Ivey (2002) explains, our own internal 'evil' is externalised and located in other people. These people then appear to exemplify the hatred, greed, anger, and hostility that we have split off and

projected.

These projected destructive parts of the self may also be located at a societal level, for example in racism. Hayes (2002a, p. 44) refers to racially segregated South Africa as a "social pathology". He also points out that psychoanalysis suggests that our identity formation is always symptomatic. The dialetics of identity, of self and other, are simultaneously negative and positive in their constitution. For example, the positivity of whiteness in a racist society is at the expense of the negation of the constitution of blackness. In psychoanalytic language, blackness is the repressed term that 'produces' whiteness as a symptom in the context of racism. Other 'races', thus, could be said to personify the qualities of destructiveness and perversity that characterise one aspect of our internal world. Laplanche and Pontalis (in Hayes, 2002b, p. 23) describe identification as:

> … [the] psychological process whereby the subject assimilates an aspect, property or attribute of the other and is transformed, wholly or partially, after the model the other provides. It is by means of a series of identifications that the personality is constituted and specified.

Hayes (2002b) notes that what this definition omits to state is that the process of identification is not just a 'positive' assimilation of attributes of the other, but that identification is also formed through the negation of the attributes of others. In other words, identity formation is constituted both positively and negatively: "I am …, because I am not …" (Hayes, 2002b, p. 24). In a racist society the identificatory projections of 'not me' are easily displaced onto black people.

During apartheid - if we apply the psychoanalytic concept of projective identification to the collective psyche (cf. Rustin, 1991) - anxiety provoking (destructive and perverse) parts of the white society were split off and located

in others: other races, foreigners, criminals, homosexuals, and women, to name but a few. Others then came to unconsciously represent the bad in white society. This helped white society avoid integrating destructive and perverse aspects of themselves (hatred, greed, anger, and hostility, amongst other aspects). Paranoid-schizoid defences operating at the level of the collective psyche may have created the experiential reality of all-good and all-bad external objects.

The old guard participants were raised in staunchly Dutch Reformed Afrikaner families with militarism, machismo, patriarchy, and nationalism (amongst others) as their predominant discursive ways of identifying themselves. This socialisation imposed barriers between child and adult, one person and another. These external barriers may have become internalised, promoting paranoid-schizoid defences, and split internal objects. The following example illustrates how Wilhelm's socialisation impacted on his internal world. Wilhelm used paranoid-schizoid defences – often resulting in him feeling overwhelmed and victimised.

> Case: Wilhelm
>
> I first met Wilhelm when his GP phoned to say he had a patient in crisis and wondered if I was able to see him immediately. I agreed to do so. The following material was taken from this first session with Wilhelm.
>
> Wilhelm presented as a very fierce looking man. He was short and stocky, with a round, red face. He had blonde hair so closely shaven he looked bald. He reminded me of a bulldog.
>
> He wore jeans and a collared shirt. He avoided eye contact and spoke to me through clenched teeth. His voice sounded strained, as though he was being strangled, as he gripped the arms of the chair, his feet firmly planted on the floor straight in front of him.

Therapist: What brings you to see me today?

Wilhelm: I am number 0407723-6, a Sergeant in the South African Police Service, stationed at the Search & Rescue Unit. This is a sub-component of Police Emergency Response Unit.

[*He continued avoiding eye contact. He preferred to look at the floor or the wall.*]

Therapist: You introduce yourself as though you are being interrogated – name, rank, and serial number.

[*There was silence.*]

What brings you to see me?

Wilhelm: My doctor.

[*Wilhelm looked at the door.*]

Therapist: What brought you to see your doctor today?

Wilhelm: Cramps in my stomach … I can't remember things … how to do my work … I don't sleep at night … I'm always sweating, shaking … I hesitate …

I'm getting cross …

Therapist: A lot of uncomfortable and irritating things are happening to you. It's difficult for you to talk about

them.

Wilhelm: Ja.

Therapist: I understand your doctor suggested you come to speak to me, but do you want to speak to me?

Wilhelm: I'm not good at speaking … I don't know what else to do.

Therapist: I hear you are feeling desperate about the place you find yourself in, and you have tried everything you know to fix it. Talking is new for you and difficult.

This time together is for you to put out what's troubling you and for us to see if we could work together on the troubles.

Wilhelm: Fucking police … Management is always charging me with something … Making it my problem … The others take sides; they stab you in the back … They're trying to get me out …

Therapist: Sounds like you feel everyone's against you. You can't trust them … They pass you around … They don't support you. That must make you feel very lonely and hurt.

Wilhelm: [*He looked me straight in the eyes. I was aware that he had large, pale eyes. He began talking in a slow, terrifying and implacable manner.*]

At times in this clinical material, Wilhelm appeared to get rid of hostile internal objects and self-representations through projective identification, which caused him to perceive the SAPS as malicious, untrustworthy, and backstabbing. In this way the destructive parts of Wilhelm were externalised and projected onto external figures (this may have been the origin of Wilhelm's paranoia that hostile others were intent on doing him harm). When I confronted him with the pain and suffering he experienced as a result of this process, Wilhelm transformed from an emotionally closed-down, defensive man into a threatening monster. At this point in the session he knew unequivocally that he would destroy my consulting room and me. Here Wilhelm appeared to use aggression and external control, to cover hurt and vulnerable parts of himself.

Given his socialisation through militarism, patriarchy, nationalism, conservatism, and racism Wilhelm's internal world was predisposed to be dominated by paranoid-schizoid defence mechanisms. To maintain a stable sense of self, the destructive parts of Wilhelm were externalised and projected onto physically distant external 'bad' objects, which apartheid South Africa provided in abundance. However, post-apartheid, splitting and projective identification no longer provided an adequate way of supporting his internal objects. The 'bad' external objects of the past were now the 'good' external objects of the present. Post-apartheid, the internalisation of good objects could not be maintained given the changes in his social world. Wilhelm was no longer viewed as role model to be emulated. As a result of the insufficient build up of good object experience, splitting alone was unsuccessful in defending against bad object experience. Drawing from Summers (1994) thoughts on object relations, a more severe form of splitting then may have taken place. To defend against persecutory anxiety, Summers suggests, the good object is exaggerated into the idealised object. The idealised object is then phantasised to provide unlimited gratification.

The idealised object system may serve a defensive function for the old guard, as the following example of Riaan's relationship with his ex-wife, Michelle, and her parents, illustrates:

Case: Riaan

Riaan met Michelle at the police barracks when he was posted to Bloemfontein Police Station. Michelle was the ex-girlfriend of a colleague. Soon after Riaan and Michelle started dating, Riaan met her parents. He got on well with them. He would often visit them without Michelle.

Michelle had a sister, Diane, who suffered from cerebral palsy. Michelle felt that Diane's problems often consumed her parents, leaving them with little time for Michelle. Despite Michelle's problems with her parents, Riaan could see no wrong in them. Diane died shortly after Riaan and Michelle married. Despite being called upon to sort out disputes between Michelle's parents, Riaan continued to describe them as "the perfect couple".

Riaan went away on a 6-month training course with the Dog Unit immediately after his wedding. Four months after his return Michelle left him. Riaan felt he was to blame for the separation as, on the night of Diane's death, he was at work. He felt he let Michelle down by not being there for her. Michelle had also met someone else while Riaan was away on his 6-month training course. Riaan again blamed himself. He felt he had neglected Michelle. Michelle then fell pregnant with her lover's child. A year later she divorced Riaan.

Michelle became an idealised object for Riaan. He split off his anger at her marital betrayal, her rejection of him, and his envy of her life with her new child and partner. He came to see her as representing an ideal partner capable

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of listening, caring and loving him. Riaan began keeping a photograph of Michelle dressed in her wedding gown in his bedside draw. Despite never wearing his wedding ring to work while he was married, he began to keep it constantly with him on his key ring. Riaan took extreme measures to keep his idealised representation intact: truncating his social life and spending his off-duty days with his police dog at the kennels. Riaan lived in constant fear of running into Michelle, her baby, and her boyfriend. He felt this experience would "crush him".

Since his divorce Riaan devoted himself to his police career. Riaan and his police dog were frequently in the daily newspapers for 'acts of valour'. He kept several scrapbooks of newspaper clippings in which they featured. After the ending of his marriage Riaan seemed to try to create new identifications which were typified by an idealised form of independence based on his 'heroic' SAP achievements.

According to Summers (1994), Klein's object relations theory makes a crucial distinction between the good object and the idealised object. Summers describes the good object as an inherent part of good experience. The idealised object, on the other hand, is a defence utilised only when the ego feels threatened by persecutory anxiety. In this process there is a cleavage between the persecutory object and the idealised object.

Summers (1994) explains that the idealised object can also be introjected. Here the ego will use the idealised object to defend against persecution from within. Summers believes that the idealised object is then identified with the self, and a feeling of omnipotence may result. With the feeling of omnipotence, the ability to deny reality becomes another primary defence.

Applying Summers (1994) understanding of idealisation to my old guard participants, Riaan's comment in his fourteenth session was particularly telling in this regard. Riaan told me of the gun battle were his crew (the colloquial

term for 'partner') and crew's dog were shot. He explained, "I was sitting on my bullet proof jacket, it was too bloody hot! We didn't need them … we always won … But Douglas put his on and said I should. He leant into the car and got mine out. Why? Everyone knows that no one fucks with the Dog Unit." It is clear from this example, Riaan felt unstoppable, powerful and invincible.

Summers (1994) suggests that the good object existing outside of the self, leads to envy of the good object. Applying this understanding to these old guard participants, it could be said that at an unconscious level both Riaan and Francois envied their wives and their wives' successful careers. Summers explains that since envy is dangerous to the good object, envy must be defended against. As idealisation might lead to more envy, devaluation would be employed. Summers describes devaluation as a layered defensive process. Devaluation is seen as the denial of the need for the object. An example of devaluation is reflected in Francois' relationship with his wife, Maria. Francois described Maria as "bubbly and attractive" rather than "strong and successful". He admired her career and was proud of her achievements, but in the abstract. He tended to dismiss physiotherapy as "women's work".

Summers (1994) makes an interesting observation in relation to envy and compliance which is of particular relevance to this thesis. He believes that the child with excessive envy may split off the envy and become compliant. The compliant child then makes exaggerated efforts to please the parent or caregiver. Turning our attention to this investigation, the participants' unusual socialisation (with its predominant operation of paranoid-schizoid mechanisms at the level of the collective psyche which ensured 'all good' and 'all bad' aspects of society remained separate) may have caused them to be more predisposed to splitting off their envy. In their patriarchal family systems their fathers were experienced as strong, powerful figures to emulate, admire and respect. Yet at the same time, however, their fathers were experienced as abandoning, punitive and emotionally distant. As good objects, their fathers may have been envied. As bad objects their fathers may have been

experienced as withholding, and thus were perhaps envied too. This envy may have been split off in order to maintain contact with the idealised object. This may have result in these participants becoming devoted sons to parents who ultimately were never emotionally there for them. It may also help explain why the participants unquestioningly served a discriminatory regime and took part in state sanctioned violence.

The presence of a constellation of idealised object relationships appears a post-apartheid constant for these participants. Francois and Riaan, for instance, as we have seen in this and earlier chapters, desperately held on to the phantasy of an ideal relationship with their wives. They used various defensive strategies to shield themselves from the reality of their feelings of anger and pain at their wives' marital betrayal, and their feelings of inadequacy in light of their wives' successful careers. Wilhelm, on the other hand, maintained his sense of idealised object relationships post-apartheid by manipulating his external objects in a particular way: he accrued technical skills, he was dogmatic about his medical boarding process, and took on the self-appointed role of handyman and security guard at his residential complex and mother's home. In this way Wilhelm engaged only in activities that affirmed him as an all-good compliant person. Hennie, like Francois and Riaan, post-apartheid focused on his idealised relationship with his wife and daughter, and his control of his model 'macho man' looks to protect himself from the reality of his own infidelity and lack of integrity.

The participants' idealised constellations enabled them to deny and split off intolerable elements of the self that had become associated with badness, weakness, and aggression. As Cartwright (2002a) notes, in relation to borderline personality disorder and 'rage-type' murder:

> The compliant part of the personality is characterised by a
> form of narcissistic relating that appears to be responsible for
> maintaining this exterior in a rigid but effective manner. The

concept of a 'narcissistic exoskeleton' appears to describe best how this outward 'holding' personality functions. (p. 117)

Following Cartwright (2002a) the concept of a 'narcissistic exoskeleton' may be useful in understanding these old guard participants' personality structure. For Cartwright, the narcissistic exoskeleton is characterised by a rigid split between a constellation of idealised object relations and internalised bad objects. He describes the constellation of idealised object relations as assuming the position of an outer 'holding' personality. He suggests that the narcissistic exoskeleton has two essential features: *first*, splitting occurs in such a way as to enable the phantasy of an all-good external world as a reflection of the self. This forms a defensive layer of protection around the personality. Applying Cartwright's conceptualisations to this research, this does not mean that the participants were not exposed to bad experiences in reality: Riaan's wife divorced him, his crew and patrol dog were fatally shot. It also does not mean that the participants were not unconsciously motivated to invite bad experiences or conflict into their lives: Wilhelm laid so many grievance charges against colleagues that he was actively disliked at work. Cartwright emphasises that it is the phantasy of goodness that is imperative to uphold. He explains that it is the defensive system of the narcissistic exoskeleton that manipulates the object world to ensure that the all-good self is maintained despite being confronted with real conflict. In this regard the defensive strategies here are similar to Winnicott's (1960) 'false self'. The *second* feature of the defensive organisation relates to the defensive internalisation of bad objects to preserve the all-good external world. As a consequence Cartwright (2002a) believes the internal world, in phantasy, is disowned as it has become the container for internalised bad-object relations.

Cartwright (2002a) describes the idealised good self as relying on the closeness of good external objects for its survival. Following Cartwright (2002a), in this study the old guard participants' sense of goodness seemed to rely more on

projective identifications with all-good external objects than on a stable internalised good part of the self. In the defensive organisation that Cartwright describes, unusually, projective identification is used to hold idealised good outside the self as a sort of exoskeleton. As with Cartwright's experiences working with people who committed rage-type murders, in my therapeutic relationship with Francois it was apparent that he had a pressing need to compare himself with me in terms of status, material wealth and general interests. The way he related to me seemed about locating parts of me that he could project into. In doing so he was perhaps able to identify parts of himself in me which he could then idealise and further hope for my admiration in return. Likewise, Riaan tried to impress me with his daring tales of being the modest hero. Wilhelm tried to gain admiration with his long lists of advanced training and his strict adherence to form filling for his medical boarding process. Hennie relied on his over courteous manner and assaulting physical appearance to command attention.

Applying Cartwright's (2002a) conceptualisations to the old guard, it is my contention that a rigid and encapsulated part of the personality - the narcissistic exoskeleton - although prominent in appearance, held little interior psychic space for these participants. In other words, there was little evidence that this all-good image of the self was a stable part of the participants' internalised object world. Riaan, for instance, showed few signs of being able to maintain an all-good successful part of himself without the admiration of others. He described situations where he would go out of his way to entertain and be there for others, but once they were unavailable he became despondent. Francois also sought out admiration through name-dropping, but became consumed by a "black void" when he failed to gain the recognition he craved. Likewise, Hennie looked to impress others with his heightened physicality and good-manners, but became perplexed when this failed to impress. Wilhelm was the ideal work colleague with his hard-working and dependable attitude, until others failed to emulate his standards and values, and he transformed into a monster intent on destruction.

Cartwright's (2002a) usage of the term 'exoskeleton' implies a dual function which parallels the kind of object relations also evident in my old guard participants. An exoskeleton both supports and contains an internal bad object structure whilst simultaneously protecting the internal structure from outside threats, much like a rigid sheet of armour. To return to Riaan, following the ending of his marriage he attempted to create new identifications based on his heroic SAP deeds. These new identifications could perhaps have formed the basis of Riaan's exoskeleton structure. They enabled him to hide an interior that could no longer have contact with the external world. In this way the interior was sheltered from the threats of the external world. Riaan actively sought confirmations of an idealised good world in external objects in order to uphold this defensive structure. He did this through his idealised relationship with his ex-wife and her parents, as well as amassing scrap books with news paper clippings attesting to his valour.

It appears that the rigidity of this narcissistic defensive system goes some way to explain why these participants had successful and celebrated careers in the SAP. The split between an idealised exterior and internalised bad objects gave an appearance of normality to these participants. The rigidity of the defensive system also may explain how earlier symptoms of distress were suppressed by these participants. As Cartwright (2002a) found with some of his participants, an acknowledgement of distress for these old guard participants may have been linked to feelings of weakness and badness. For the old guard a symbolic loss of manhood was especially linked with weakness. It may have given rise to a defensive system that inhibited the awareness of signs and symptoms of their distress, as the next example of Wilhelm buying a gift for his wife's birthday illustrates:

Case: Wilhelm

This material was taken from Wilhelm's eleventh session.

Wilhelm	I bought a camera lens for Petra's [*his wife's*]
	birthday … It took me ages getting the cash together.
	I bought it at a photographic shop at the Radburg
	Shopping Centre … When I assembled it for her, I
	found that the lens cover was missing. I went back to
	the shop and explained to the assistant what had
	happened. He took down my name and phone
	number and said he'd get back to me. I waited a
	week … When I didn't hear from him, I went back to
	the shop and explained again, very politely, what had
	happened. Again I left my name and number and he
	said he'd get back to me when the cover arrived …
	When I hadn't heard from him two weeks later I
	went back in again … I lost it … I pulled him over the
	counter and threw him against the wall … People
	were staring at me … They probably called the police.
	I left. I got into my car and drove … I can't remember
	anything else until I came to, hours later, in a part of
	town I've never been to before … I don't know what
	happened.

Initially, Wilhelm maintained a persona of an unassuming and unmemorable customer, quietly returning to the shop assistant to explain the oversight with the lens cover. Wilhelm's defensive structure seemed to entail projective identifications with good external objects (initially the shop assistant). Here, Wilhelm's projective identifications were used to gain the support of the shop assistant in affirming that Wilhelm was a polite and respectful customer. Wilhelm was repeatedly well-mannered and tolerant towards the shop assistant. This may have been a strategy to maintain the image of an all-good self and, at the same time, avoided any potential conflict. However, during this time there seemed to be a build up of resentment in Wilhelm that appeared to remain unconscious. Finally, when the shop assistant failed to live up to

Wilhelm's expectations and standards, he no longer reflected Wilhelm's ideal self. Wilhelm then attacked him. Wilhelm attacked the shop assistant because the shop assistant became linked to bad elements of the self. Applying Cartwright's (2002a) conceptualisations here, the shop assistant appeared to have become a threatening object that breached Wilhelm's exoskeleton.

Cartwright (2002a) describes the narcissistic exoskeleton as being identified with an all-good object world. He suggests that the exoskeleton is maintained through cycles of benign projective identifications were the projections are not forced into the external objects. Applying Cartwright's understanding to this study, it appears that an all-good self was achieved through the old guard appeasing and constantly satisfying the object. For example, Hennie constantly worried and fawned over his wife and daughter, following them to work and school, making sure they arrived safely to maintain his ideal world perception.

In Cartwright's (2002a) study of rage type murder, he also observed that sometimes this all-good self was maintained through a rigidly held sanctimonious and aggressive attitude towards objects not perceived to reflect the ideal self. He pointed out that such individuals invariably adhered to rules which they used to justify their actions. Applying this understanding to the old guard, a self-righteous attitude was clearly apparent with Wilhelm. Wilhelm was a man who did everything by the book. He was very productive at work, completing many extra courses, staying after hours to service vehicles at the Search & Rescue Unit and supplying his own equipment to "properly" care for victims of the accident scenes he attended. He applied himself diligently to his expectations of how his job should be done. As mentioned earlier, when colleagues failed to live up to his standards, he put in numerous complaints about them to his superiors. He became disliked at work and then threatened the lives of two colleagues.

The defensive organisation observed in these participants also bears a resemblance to Winnicott's notion of the False Self (in Cartwright, 2002a).

Generally, the False Self emerges when the mother "repeatedly fails to meet the infant gesture; instead she substitutes her own gesture which is to be given sense by the compliance of the infant" (Winnicott, in Cartwright, 2002a, p. 124). Later, Winnicott describes the situation as follows:

> When the mother's adaptation is not good enough at the start the infant might be expected to die physically, because cathexis of external objects is not initiated. The infant remains isolated. But in practice the infant lives, but only falsely. (in Cartwright, 2002a, p. 124)

According to Cartwright (2002a), both the narcissistic exoskeleton and the False Self maintain a defensive system through compliance with the external world. According to Winnicott, through compliance with the external world the False Self defensively hides True Self potential. True Self potential is hidden because it has become associated with "unthinkable anxiety" that is due mainly to "maternal"/environmental neglect (ibid., p. 125). It is likely that this kind of primitive anxiety is also associated with the hidden 'bad self' in the above example from Wilhelm's session. Sexism, patriarchy, and militarisation caused the participants' mothers to be more present in their lives than their fathers: both physically and emotionally. However, the relationships mothers had with their sons were heavily influenced by the patriarchal system in which the relationships took place. Often, like their fathers, the participants' mothers were "not there" for them in any supportive sense. For a participant like Wilhelm it was not just maternal neglect that left him open to an experience of primitive anxiety, but the lack of good-enough relationships with others given his socialisation.

Under apartheid Riaan, Francois, Hennie and Wilhelm functioned in an environment that appeared to reflect, contain, and support their narcissistic defence mechanisms. Structures such as militarism, machismo, patriarchy, and nationalism, which reflected and endorsed their ideal selves, allowed these men

to appear to cope and function well. However, as the post-apartheid transitional period progressed, the participants' emotional experiences connected less and less with new post-apartheid discourses. When structures like militarism, machismo, patriarchy, and nationalism were less exalted post-apartheid it became more likely that the participants' narcissistic defence mechanisms could be overwhelmed.

Post-apartheid, real engagement with external objects was dangerous for the participants. The ambiguous nature of post-apartheid objects threatened to disrupt the participants' defensive strategy. (A strategy which strove to keep bad experiences and their specific associations with shame and aggression, out of the participants' perceived external reality.) This may have exposed the bad self in a way that could not be tolerated. The situation may have triggered a particular internal crisis whereby this part of the self was, in phantasy, evacuated and projected in the form of somatic symptoms, nightmares and flashbacks. These bad objects remained relatively inaccessible to the participants and could not easily be articulated and owned. This process of projecting the bad self in the form of somatic symptoms, nightmares and flashbacks may have been an attempt to stave off deterioration of the personality and maintain the rigid defensive organisation. Returning to Klein, if the loss of the good object - around which the ego has organised itself from the beginning of life - cannot be mourned then the outcome can be a progressive deterioration in the personality. Cartwright (2002a) describes this part of the psyche as having little tolerance for depressive experience.

Conclusion

Ivey (2002) describes the Kleinians as emphasising the dangers inherent in existence. He suggests that they place the source of these dangers in the individual, as something deep rooted, permanent, and necessary. They see it as a result of innate destructive urges and the envy to which they give rise that development occurs. Ivey also notes that it is also these internal states that lead to the external world being experienced as threatening. The Kleinian vision

of the environment is of something that is safer than the child's inner world. They believe that it possesses the ability to 'contain' the child's destructiveness sufficiently to make it tolerable, and to reduce anxiety enough to allow for greater integration to occur.

Drawing on Frosh (1991), the potential for destructiveness may lie within each individual, but the solution is the creation of certain kinds of social relationships. However, Ivey (2002) believes that the danger is that the external environment will not be supportive enough to allow the progression from paranoid-schizoid to depressive positions to be achieved. He feels that this would leave the individual haunted by persecutory phantasies which may have internal origins, but which are confirmed by the external reality.

The wider social world these participants were born into was cruel and discriminatory. Applying psychoanalytic defences in a social way, the defensive operations of splitting, projection and projective identification may have been exacerbated during apartheid. Splitting enabled the apartheid government - and white society in general - to project its destructiveness onto a discernible enemy, black society. Racism divided human relations along the colour bar. Patriarchy severed a communion between man and woman, adult and child. Such discriminatory social circumstances and defensive processes constituted these men's social world and affected their early childhood relationships. It is possible, therefore, that the defensive processes of splitting, projection and projective identification became organising principles around which these men's psyches were structured.

Our inner worlds are so fraught that they need a certain kind of environment to support them. Post-apartheid society, with its condemnation of apartheid institutions and structures was not experienced as supportive for these men, who exemplified the old regime. Socio-political changes which occurred in post-apartheid South Africa seemed to undermine the participants' view of themselves. The changes negated the positive regard they had been held in.

Post-apartheid, members of the former SAP were not hailed heroic protectors and defenders by the new democratic society which now represented South Africa. Rather they were met with allegations and investigations of being torturers and murderers. This reception may have been a factor in the difficulties that the participants had in adjusting to their new post-apartheid SAPS roles. They were no longer surrounded by their all-good objects, with the all-bad objects held at bay by physical distance and discriminatory laws. Real engagement with external objects in post-apartheid South Africa was threatening. External objects were not either good or bad, they were ambiguous. This may have overwhelmed the participants' defensive strategies which tried to keep bad experiences out of their perceived external reality.

It is my contention that the participants experienced symptoms of PTSD when bad experiences and memories intruded on their lives while they were simultaneously being confronted by negative characterisations of the self in post-apartheid South Africa. Flashbacks, night terrors, and somatic symptoms may have been one strategy which enabled the old guard to continue splitting off and projecting bad aspects of themselves. These symptoms were viewed as alien and persecutory, helping the participants avoid interrogating and integrating them as aspects of themselves, waylaying the mourning process, and enabling the narcissistic exoskeleton to remain intact in an exposed but unimpeded form.

CHAPTER SIX

PSYCHOANALYTIC NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

My focus in this investigation is on how white, Afrikaner male subjects, in their experiences of being policemen in the transition from SAP to SAPS, can be understood by cultural narratives and unconscious dynamics. The participants' experiences are seen to stand at an intersection between unconscious dynamics and social processes. The unconscious is shaped by culture, yet it retains its own characteristics.

Qualitative research methodology is well suited to this research as it emphasises the importance of context for understanding the world. Here, as Neuman (1997) suggests, the meaning of an action or statement is seen as dependent on the context in which it appears.

A discursive point of departure

According to Goldman (2003), discursive psychology highlights the social and linguistic foundation of psychological phenomena, such as attitudes and identities. He notes that most discursive approaches suggest that language does not reflect static reality. Drawing on Burman & Parker, Goldman understands psychological phenomena to be recreated and re-formed through the language used to describe them. In Burman & Parker's words:

> … in its various forms, discourse analysis offers a social account of subjectivity by attending to the linguistic resources by which the socio-political realm is produced and reproduced. (in Goldman, 2003, p. 131)

In Goldman's (2003) view, discursive psychology sees spoken and written text as 'practices'. Goldman draws on Parker who understands talk as a form of action. He also draws on Griffin who sees spoken and written texts as the

means through which individuals (and groups) are constituted or constitute themselves. Concepts such as 'self', 'relationships', and 'experience' are believed to be linguistically and discursively structured. According to Burman & Parker (in Goldman, 2003), people make and maintain a sense of social categories through the process of interpellation. In the process they often 'talk back' to the dominant understanding of these categories. As Goldman (2003, p. 131) explains, "[p]articular subject positions are the product of manifold and competing intersubjective (social) and intrapsychic influences".

Goldman (2003) continues that within discursive psychology the narrative method is distinctive. He points out that this method appreciates the linguistic configuration of 'self' and 'experience' while also preserving the distinction of the private, consistent and 'real' character of individual subjectivity (ibid., p. 132). This approach allows us to grasp identity as being anchored in 'cultural' structures of language and common sense, whilst still retaining a sense of the 'internal', 'coherent' and 'personal' nature of experience (ibid.).

Recalling Denzin (1989), all too often there is a preoccupation with method, validity, reliability, generalisability, and theoretical relevance of method at the expense of a concern for meaning and interpretation of lived experience. Goldman (2003) believes that story-telling stays close to actual life events because our primary way of making sense of our experience is by putting it into narrative form. As Goldman explains, "[o]f all the discursive analytic approaches it is arguably one of the least prone to losing the subject or linguistic reductionism" (2003, p. 132).

Social interactions between people in the course of everyday life are seen by Denzin (1998) as the practices during which our shared versions of knowledge are constructed. He believes that our ways of understanding the world are products of the social processes and interactions in which we are constantly engaged. Our reality is not the product of the objective observation of the world. Denzin's notion maintains that truths and facts are always perspectival

interpretations - they can only emerge against socially shared understandings.

As Goldman (2003) points out, stories take place within a historical and social context. For Goldman, we re-present our experiences through cultural frameworks. He continues:

> Language - participation in a shared universe of signifiers - is the principle medium. Engendering meaning is a collaborative process. Stories are a kind of cultural envelope into which we pour our experience and signify its importance to others. As a mode of discourse, as a mode of social activity, it is enmeshed within relationships of power, privilege, and authority. (2003, p. 29)

Somers (1994) suggests that narrative analysis provides a tool for getting at the relationship between ideas, experience and action. She believes narrative analysis is useful for understanding how identities are constructed and reconstructed in specific contexts and over time. As Somers points out, narrative analysis is helpful for explicating "how things are connected" (1994, p. 621). Tambling (1991, p. 66) explains that "narratives construct ways of thinking we accept as natural, and take for granted". Telling stories is a way of reinforcing cultural identity – our place within a culture. Denzin (1989) highlights the importance of studying the lived experience of people *interacting* with one another in the exploration of the *multiple readings*, or *interpretations,* of how men and women live and give meaning to their lives at particular moments in the ongoing history of their culture.

In this research I utilised the case study approach. As noted in chapter one (the introduction to the thesis), Bromley (1986) describes the case study approach as "the way we describe and analyse a person's behaviour and psychological characteristics in relation to a set of circumstances" (p. 38). A psychological case study is a slice of a person's history reconstructed and

interpreted to gain a deeper understanding and perspective of the relevant issues influencing that particular experience.

Analysis of the data

As I also mentioned in chapter one, when Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan and Hendrick were in therapy I had no intention of conducting research. My intent was to help these men explore, reflect, and make sense of their lives. However, after treating these men for over a year in psychotherapy without any significant progress being made, I became aware of similarities between them relating to factors from their past, their socialisation in terms of culture and gender, as well as the type of psychological defence organisation adopted. These men in particular, had long and successful police service prior to the onset of their symptoms of PTSD.

The data in this research was made up of therapeutic narratives (case studies) for each participant (a 'thumb nail' description of whom is given later in this chapter). These narratives were drawn from therapeutic case documents. These case documents included referral letters and reports from psychiatrists and GPs; my reports to psychiatrists, GPs, and the Workman's Compensation Section of the police medical aid, Polmed; as well as my session and supervision notes.

Drawing from Cartwright's (2002b) recommendations in his paper *The psychoanalytic research interview: Preliminary suggestions*, there are three main steps to psychoanalytic narrative analysis: (1) careful attention to feeling states and corresponding thoughts or perceptions; (2) the search for core narratives; and (3) the exploration of identifications and object relations. I will discuss each one in turn:

1. Careful attention to feeling states & perceptions
There are times when the most important communication from a patient is unspoken. Therapists are affected by their patient's impacts upon them,

whether this is due to a patient's personality, a patient's transference, or a patient's manner of being (Casement, 1985). Heinmann (1950) stresses the 'counter' part of countertransference, seeing this as the therapist's response to the patient's transference. She believes that countertransference is a vital tool for therapeutic work. As Heinmann (1950, p. 81) puts it, "The analyst's countertransference is an instrument of research into the patient's unconscious". However as King (1978) suggests there must be a distinction between countertransference as a pathological occurrence and the affective response of the therapist to the patient's communications. King here draws particular attention to the therapist's emotional response to the particular or varied forms that the patient's transference takes.

While the participants in this study were patients in psychotherapy, paying close attention to feeling states and associated perceptions helped contextualise the therapeutic narratives when presenting them to my supervisor each week. Feeling states and countertransference helped build up a broader psychodynamic picture of the patients over time. This process also pointed to the nature of object relating during the sessions.

However, there is an ongoing debate around the use of countertransference. There is no means of evaluating subjective experience such as feeling states and countertransference in the session. For this reason, Cartwright (2002b) points out that the use of countertransference impressions as a means of evaluating interpretive accounts can be problematic. Despite this, Cartwright puts forward that countertransference impressions are essential in contextualising the meaning of the text. A brief extract from a session will illustrate this (I deliberately give no indication of my feeling states or countertransference).

> Case: Hennie
>
> *Hennie*   I did feel very shaky coming here. Things aren't going
>
> better.

> I get really worked up when I have to drive; especially with taxis. I get apprehensive even before I make a trip. It's like I'm going to drive into an ambush. I can feel the adrenalin start pumping. My wife doesn't like it. I really upset her. Funny, it seems to happen more when she's in the car with me. I must be worried about her safety.

In analysing this extract, perhaps the most obvious interpretation would relate to Hennie's desperate fear and anxiety in relation to driving. Our reading and interpretation of this extract would change drastically, however, if I were to tell you that I was left cold and detached as Hennie sat relaxed in his chair with a smile on his face telling me how distressed he felt. Clearly, the initial interpretation does not fit with my emotional state at the time and thus cannot be verified as a complete interpretation. This simple example illustrates how essential countertransference impressions are as a means of contextualising inferences.

As I mentioned earlier, while I was the participants' therapist I was in weekly supervision. This allowed for validation of feelings and countertransference states via the weekly concordance with my supervisor regarding the nature of these subjective experiences. Thus, the careful documentation of feeling states and countertransference is used in this research in both the analysis and the verification of the data.

2. The search for core narratives

Cartwright (2002b) describes the search for core narratives as examining the therapeutic accounts for particular story lines. Following Cartwright, the data was initially engaged with in its totality, allowing all aspects of the therapeutic account to influence the analysis of the flow of associative material. The data was then engaged with session by session isolating scenes and plots.

Cartwright describes a 'scene' as comprising two principal elements: the characters in the story and the underlying atmosphere. The 'plot' refers to the actions and motivations of characters identified in the narrative. This was done until the core narratives were constructed and matched with significant transference-countertransference impressions.

The extract I will use to demonstrate this process comes from my first session with Hennie. Square brackets and italics are used to indicate my thoughts and feelings during this brief extract.

Case: Hennie

Therapist   So, what brings you to see me today, Hennie?

Hennie   This is a lovely room. You've got great taste.

A colleague suggested I speak to you. She gave me your name and a guy's, but I'd prefer to speak to a lady. I've heard you see a lot of policemen. You know what it's like.

I'm under quite a bit of stress at work. I'm a Warrant Officer in the SAPS. I work in the Rapid Response Unit.

[*Hennie sat relaxed in his chair. His tone was light and upbeat.*]

Therapist   Tell me what it's like for you.

Hennie   Well, I've been in the police for 15 years. I guess you could say I was destined to be a policeman.

Therapist   What do you mean by that?

Hennie   Nothing much, just that I was always going to be a policeman.

             Recently I've been feeling kind of numb. I've been off work a lot. I went to my doctor and he put me on "Imovane" [*a non-benzodiazepine hypnotic agent used in the treatment of insomnia*]. But medication's not for me. I don't like taking the stuff. I prefer to get on top of things myself.

             I've been acting a bit irresponsibly lately and forgetting my duty to my family.

             [*He smiled and looked at me expectantly.*]

Therapist   What's your duty to your family?

Hennie   You know: to look after them, care for them, be there for them.

Therapist   It sounds like you want to do a lot for your family. Do you find them a source of support yourself?

Hennie   My family mean the world to me. I've been married 11 years. I try my best for them. My wife and daughter are so much at risk during these troubled times. Who knows what might happen to them! That's why I make sure they get where they're going.

             But it's hard for others to understand what my work

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is like. Paulette, my wife, really isn't interested. She's got her job and Yolande, our daughter, to worry about.

[*Hennie smiled at me again. I felt that there was a phoneyness about Hennie*]

Therapist   It seems that it's hard for you to talk to people about what bothers you. So why do you want to now?

Hennie   I've been getting by. But now I'm worried about hurting others and myself. I'm taking risks at work and blowing up over small incidents. Sometimes I act rashly: I rush to scenes without waiting for backup. I've been losing my temper as well, especially with suspects.

[*Again, Hennie spoke in a light chatty manner. I felt he was making these details up. Things seemed unreal.*]

Therapist   Tell me a little more about what you're life was like before.

Hennie   I was born in Kimberley. I'd never been outside of Kimberley until I went to Police College. Then I was posted to the coast. My family were disappointed, of course, that I didn't get posted to Kimberley. I didn't know anyone here; I had no family or friends. I had to learn how to be independent, and how to speak English. I was really thrown in at the deep end. I stayed in barracks. But, I get on well with people. I

made friends quickly. I have lots of friends now.

[*He smiled at me in a proud fashion.*]

I hated school. I was never good at academics. I liked playing sport. My dad would come and watch matches. I even played rugby for the SAP for a while.

[*He smiled again*.]

I didn't want to leave school in Standard 8 – I was too young to leave home. I did my matric, and then I went straight into College. I liked College. I loved the drilling. I like rules and regulations. I'm never late for anything; I hate waiting.

My family is a close one. I have four sisters and two brothers. My youngest brother died in a car accident. I have two elder sisters. I'm the eldest son, then there's my brother who works for Checkers [*a large grocery retailer*], then the one who died, and then two younger sisters.

My parents are still alive. As kids we would all pile into my folk's bed on Sunday mornings before church. Good times … I often fly up and visit them.

I met my wife, Paulette, through a friend I made in the barracks. They were dating at the time.

Paulette is lovely. She is a soft person. She's very kind. She doesn't swear or anything. She's a good

example of a woman: very pretty.

We dated for a couple of years and then got married. Yolande came along two years later. She's 9 now. Very pretty and responsible – just like her mother. She's doing well at school; she tries very hard. She's great at modelling. I take her to Storm Modelling Agents twice a week. She's great on the ramp work.

My wife would like another child. That's where we differ. I believe we need the finances. I want to be able to give a child the best.

One possible core narrative (encompassing character, plot, and atmosphere) in this clinical material is about being a 'proper' man. Hennie was charming and attentive to me as his female therapist. His initial concern in the session was with me rather than himself: rather than beginning the session with his concerns he complemented my interior design. When I shifted the focus back to him he framed his difficulties through the macho narrative as "work stress". He kept emotionality out of his speech and demeanour. This enabled him to retain his sense of being a strong capable man. He affirmed his sense of manhood by stressing his responsibilities towards his family. He described his family as 'picture perfect' - pretty, soft and innocent, incapable of facing the evil in the world. He seemed to project a certain sense of his own fear and inadequacy onto his wife and child. He could then triumph over his projected inadequacies by controlling and watching over his family. His next association suggested that despite being a successful protector he feared becoming reckless and destructive. It became clear that talking about potent aggressive emotions was more permissible for him than owning feelings of doubt and insecurity.

My countertransference impressions suggested that an atmosphere of

'unreality' surrounded Hennie's ideas about his difficulties. I made a reflective comment to this regard: "It seems that it's hard for you to talk to people about what bothers you. So why do you want to now?" In reply, Hennie continued along his earlier narrative line, elaborating and extending the idea of an ideal family life to his childhood and police service.

This is an example of the first reading of a brief section of clinical material and fails to capture the complexity of doing such an analysis with the full text. Space here does not allow for a full analysis of all the material from this session. Following Cartwright (2002b), from this point in the analysis, if we are on the right track regarding the core narrative evident here, one would expect different aspects of the narrative to begin to repeat themselves in different forms.

3. Exploration of identifications & object relations

Cartwright (2002a), in his work on rage type murder, views the paternal object as the third object, bringing with it internal space and the capacity to symbolise. He points out that usually, the paternal object is an intermediary object which breaks a pathological symbiosis between self and the primary object. He suggests that the absence of a coherent paternal introject can be problematic in the development of a stable sense of self.

According to Freud, the superego results from identification with the same-sex parent in order to avert castration anxiety in the boy (in Cartwright, 2002a). Broadly speaking, Cartwright (2002a) describes the superego as representing the internalisation of parental values, goals and restrictions. It represents the conscience of the participant. An exploration into whether the participants' superegos were punitive, absent or supportive, helps develop an understanding of the internalisation of the participants' parental objects as constrained by the dominant narratives in this analysis. This example from session seven illustrates the harshness of Francois' superego.

Case: Francois

Francois wanted to be brave and manly and face his issues. However, facing his difficulties made him feel weak and defective.

Francois   I've decided to put positive thinking aside. If I'm going to face this, then that's what I'll do. I'll get it over and done with.

[*Francois sounded anxious and in a hurry.*]

No more beating around the bush.

I didn't phone Christo [*Francois' friend, the SAP chaplain who committed suicide*] on Thursday. I said I would. I am guilty. I let him down. I wasn't there for him. He was the best man in the world. What good am I? I caused his death.

[*Tears began to flow down Francois' cheeks and he wiped them angrily away.*]

What sort of a man am I?

[*I went to speak.*]

No don't say anything. I need to get this out.

I caused Maria [*Francois' wife*] and Herbie [*Francois' best friend*] to have an affair. I spent all my time at work. She needed someone to talk to and make things better, especially after the miscarriage.

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My head aches.

My mind is full of the dream I've been having: I poisoned a colleague, and then I was being chased.

My head aches.

My head aches so much. I can't carry on. I'll have to go.

[*Francois got up to go, holding his hand to his head*.]

Francois left the session. I felt he was running away. He dumped experiences he felt ashamed of without looking at, engaging with, or growing from them. Francois was unable to draw on my support to find a kinder and more useful way of looking and dealing with his difficulties. He treated himself cruelly. Later associations about his father revealed that Francois felt rejected, abandoned, and uncared for by him. His mother was felt to be simply an extension of his father. We can see the dynamics of his punitive superego at work in this example. He appeared to have internalisation his parental objects as unsympathetic, strict, heartless and unrelenting. I wondered if Francois' emotional issues were distressing enough to help him overcome his superego and engage with therapy, or so distressing and threatening to him that he would disengage from therapy and give into shame.

Dominant narratives & psychodynamics

Four dominant narratives emerged from the analysis of the data: namely, military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives. These cultural and historical antecedents (amongst others) were felt to be representative of the conditions of possibility for what could occur in the construction of Hennie, Wilhelm, Francois and Riaan's identities. The data was

also analysed to explore the psychodynamics of the participants' positioning within these narratives. While these narratives interconnected not only with one another but also with others within which the participants were positioned, an attempt was made, for the purpose of analysis, to isolate each one in turn and provide illustration.

Analysing the data involved isolating story lines in the data around military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National themes. Applying Cartwright's (2002b) conceptualisations, there was an assumption that these core narratives served as metaphorical representations of different aspects of the participants' internal world. According to Spence (in Cartwright, 2002b), with narrative modes of thought meaning takes precedence over factual happenings. Spence believes that narratives reflect the workings of the self and reveal how the self has internalised various life events.

Drawing from Cartwright (2002b), I was essentially interested in understanding how the participants, consciously and unconsciously, located themselves in narratives constructed in relation to objects. This allowed me to develop an account of the participants' objects, phantasy life, and related defensive organisations.

The analysis also attempted to indicate the participants' balance of investments within and between the four narratives and the possible needs served by their placement. By doing so I investigated whether this combination of placement, investment and the operation of psychological defensive organisations perhaps made it possible for the participants to engage in disturbing events during apartheid, but not post-apartheid.

Epistemological assumptions of psychoanalytic narrative analysis
Drawing from Cartwright (2002b), the epistemological assumptions of psychoanalytic narrative analysis relate to (1) the construction of meaning, (2) the associative nature of the narrative, (3) the context, and (4) transference-

countertransference impressions. I will look at each one of these assumptions in turn:

1. The construction of meaning

Cartwright (2002b) describes the first assumption as relating to how the therapist and patient co-construct a narrative around a particular focus in the session. In this sense, he believes the session is not about historical or 'factual' truth. Rather, Cartwright believes it is about facilitating the construction of a story or narrative. The emphasis thus shifts away from an interest in 'factual' meaning to how the self reconstructs a particular happening. It is not only the content of the narrative that is of interest here, but the way the narrative takes form.

Cartwright (2002b) sees the narrative mode as relying on the metaphorical nature of language. He views language as a metaphor for parts of the self. He believes that language is always at some level saying something about the self, while apparently describing something other. Spence suggests that it is the way the self constructs meaning, or organises associations to create narratives, that is of importance here (in Cartwright, 2002b).

To illustrate this move away from 'factual' meaning to how the self reconstructs a particular happening, consider Wilhelm. He went to great lengths to embody the ideal policeman, setting high standards and enhancing his skills by undertaking advanced training courses. However, many of his narratives had an air of fabrication: he spoke of taking part in quelling the Soweto riots on 16 June 1976 despite not being in the SAP at that time; he went into graphic detail describing scooping MVA victims' intestines, brain matter and body parts off the ground with his bare hands to the point where it became a grotesque farce; and he felt that colleagues and superiors were out to get him to the point of paranoia. Although Wilhelm's narratives lacked 'factual truth', they were experientially real for him. He felt that he had committed atrocities and was evil, while at the same time believed in duty and service to his country and

God. He was interpellated through military, macho, patriarchal and nationalist narratives in such a way that this contradiction could not be successfully bridged post-apartheid. Thus, defensively, post-apartheid, he embellished his narratives and split off his emotions of pain, fear, and self revulsion to continue affirming himself through the old narratives of apartheid South Africa.

2. The associative nature of clinical material

Cartwright (2002b) describes association as an accepted part of everyday communication through which meaning is constructed. He points out that psychoanalysis, however, is particularly interested in unspoken forms of association. Cartwright believes that the idea that thoughts are associated with one another through unconscious forms of psychic determinism holds great significance for understanding the clinical material. The way the participant as patient begins the session and then changes to another subject at a specific point, how his tone of voice alters in association with particular subjects, and how things are described in different ways – all of these suggest possible ways in which elements of the dialogue are unconsciously associated. This in turn yields an underlying structure that can be used to understand the intrapsychic processes most apparent in the data.

By way of a brief example, Francois had a number of different associations when talking about his father. Notably, Francois felt rejected, abandoned, and uncared for by him. However, when I tried to explore these feelings, Francois' associations changed to depict a more idealised relationship. Later Francois' associations deepened and he made reference to the absence of a father figure (referring to himself as an absent father) as being a better option than having violence in the home. In the context of his previous references, the key structure underlying these associations appeared to include unconscious references to making himself 'absent' in the face of conflict by turning aggression inward. This conjecture would of course require confirmation elsewhere in the narratives.

Cartwright (2002b) points out that the associations that make up a narrative are not joined simply by virtue of their proximity or thematic affinity. This would cause the accuracy of interpretive practice to be dubious. As Cartwright points out, it is relatively easy to make different and conflicting interpretations based on the same associations. It is vital therefore to understand the location of the context - either internal or interactional - around which associations are organised.

3. Context

Cartwright (2002b) describes context as referring to the multiple internal and external factors which influence the way a person communicates and how their communication is understood. In the therapeutic setting, the fixed frame and the formation of a consistent long-term emotional relationship creates a relatively stable context and makes it easier to isolate the internal and external context around which associations are made.

An example of the internal and external context of associations in the therapeutic setting can be seen in Wilhelm always beginning and ending sessions with polite salutations. Given the fixed frame and longevity of our relationship, I was able to understand that for Wilhelm formal etiquette was more than good manners. Formal etiquette and discipline were part of military narratives which enabled Wilhelm to place familiar structure on the therapeutic relationship, which stirred up new and frightening emotions for him.

4. Transference-countertransference impressions

Cartwright (2002b) believes that transference and countertransference play an important part in our implicit and intuitive knowledge of patients in psychotherapy. In long-term therapeutic relationships transference and countertransference feelings are able to develop fully and consolidate.

As I mentioned earlier, while I was the participants' therapist I was in weekly supervision. This allowed for validation of feeling states and

countertransference via the weekly concordance with my supervisor. Thus, the feeling states and countertransference are used in this research in the analysis and the verification of the data, as this example, from Wilhelm's eleventh session illustrates. Wilhelm and I had been exploring how he tended to split off his more negative emotions in order to meet his expectations of 'correct' personal conduct. As a consequence of this defensive process there was a build up of unconscious resentment. Wilhelm then felt picked on, taken for granted and exploited interpersonally. This caused him to retaliate in an aggressive manner. In session eleven, when I reflected that his past experience of emotions had been extreme and destructive, and asked him to contemplate ways in which emotions could be supportive and constructive, he became appropriately silent. However, the quality of this silence for me was anything but contemplative. I felt he had 'checked out' and completely disengaged himself from emotions and self reflection. I also felt an overwhelming sense of futility and helplessness within myself. Upon my own reflection, I felt Wilhelm had split off his unbearable feelings of vulnerability and projected them into me, enabling him to end the session with his customary polite salutations. Thus, Wilhelm continued to feel in control, 'together' and 'manly' in the face of potential conflict and change.

The verification of interpretive accounts

Cartwright (2002b) points out that the quality of research will depend on the reader being able to understand the inferences being made by the researcher. In psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy the confirmation of an interpretative account can be verified by both the patient's response over time, as well as its therapeutic effect in the progress of therapy.

Many criteria have been put forward to confirm the validity of interpretive accounts in narrative analysis. Cartwright (2002b) highlights that problems with the trustworthiness of the account are still very much an ongoing debate in all interpretive methodologies. He points out that a psychoanalytic approach, attempts to infer unconscious meaning. He views this as an added problem

when it comes to evaluating the interpretive validity of an account. In attempting to work toward the most accurate interpretive account, Cartwright, looking at psychoanalytic research interviews as opposed to psychotherapy, used four key criteria, each approaching the issue of validity from a different vantage point: (1) internal consistency and coherence; (2) comprehensiveness; (3) external consistency; and (4) independent validation. I will review each of these approaches and comment on whether or not it is applicable to this research.

1. Internal consistency & coherence

Cartwright (2002b) notes that internal consistency and coherence generally refer to the plausibility and intelligibility of the account. He draws on Spence (in Cartwright, 2002b) who recommends that aspects of the material that do not appear to fit should be focused on if the coherence of an account is to be adequately evaluated.

In this study, however, I was interested with the inconsistencies in the participants' narratives. For example, the inconsistency in Hennie's presentation was very revealing: while Hennie smelt good on the outside and he was 'a bit of a stinker' in terms of his integrity and morality – being capable of marital betrayal. I was not interested in finding the 'factual truth'. I was concerned with the construction of the narrative. As Spence (in Cartwright, 2002b) suggests, I was interested in how the self reconstructs a particular happening. As Spence continues, it is the way the self constructs meaning or organises associations that is of importance. Thus, in this study internal consistency and coherence were not used to validate the interpretative account.

2. Comprehensiveness

Sherwood (in Cartwright, 2002b) sees comprehensiveness as referring to the extent to which the account is able to incorporate the totality of the person's experience, life history, and other events.

Again applying Spence's (in Cartwright, 2002b) conceptualisations to this research, the focus in this investigation was on narrative meaning, instead of finding fixed historical truths and predictable cause-effect relationships in the clinical material. Comprehensiveness was an approach used in this study. As mentioned earlier, the data drew on a wide a range of sources (referral letters and reports from psychiatrists and GPs, my patient reports to psychiatrists, GPs and the Workman's Compensation Section of the police medical aid, Polmed, as well as my session and supervision notes) in an attempt to make the narrative meaning as comprehensive as possible.

3. External consistency

Cartwright (2002b) sees this mode of evaluating interpretive accounts as stressing the need to move outside the interpreter's hermeneutic circle, and to question the consistency of findings by using other theories and empirical data.

Psychoanalytic theories are narratives about how to interpret the stories that people tell therapists in their consultation rooms. As such, the array of psychoanalytic theories become valuable as a means to make sense of the stories that patients tell. Psychoanalysis is not only a theory but also a methodology in itself, developed specifically for exploring unconscious processes. Thus, object relations theory is the mode of choice for evaluating the interpretive accounts in this research.

Aside from ensuring consistency with other theories, this approach allows other forms of evidence, such reports and documentation from other professionals, to be used to corroborate interpretive accounts. This study drew on psychiatric and medical reports to provide external consistency for the therapeutic documents. Also, my weekly supervision throughout the duration of the therapies helped provide external consistency.

4. Independent validation

This last criterion Cartwright (2002b) feels is the most important of all,

procedurally, and should be applied last. It entails an analysis and interpretation of the transcribed data by evaluators independent of the research. He stresses that the independent evaluators must be psychoanalytically minded. Cartwright suggests asking them to complete three tasks: (1) to isolate core narrative themes when the session text is considered in its entirety; (2) to extract segments from the session that best illustrate these chosen narratives; (3) to comment on key identifications, and object relations that can be distinguished in the chosen narratives.

Two independent evaluators were chosen in this research. They were asked to complete the three tasks suggested by Cartwright (2002b). Their findings are included in the appendices. Following Cartwright's suggestions, the comparison of the evaluators' findings and those of the researcher was done in two phases. *First*, core narratives were compared in search of common themes across accounts. *Second*, psychoanalytic inferences, identifications, and object relations drawn from the isolated narratives were explored. Inconsistencies were considered to see if the underlying meanings differed.

Participants

The therapeutic material for this study was drawn from the researcher's broader work as a psychotherapist. The four participants were chosen from a sample of twenty-five SAPS members the researcher worked with therapeutically over a six year period, from 1999-2005.

As I mentioned both in chapter one and earlier in this chapter, this particular group of four policemen were chosen because they had a variety of similarities in common. They had long and successful police service prior to the onset of their symptoms of PTSD. They were male and from middle class Afrikaans backgrounds. They joined the SAP during apartheid and remained post-apartheid and the transition to SAPS. Despite each policeman actively seeking out and engaging in once weekly psychotherapy for over a year, their symptoms did not dissipate. They were unable to work through their

experiences or integrate their experiences into a new outlook on life. This group of policemen's lives remained fragmented by symptoms of PTSD.

A thumbnail sketch of the participants' particulars follows:

NAME	AGE	REFERRED BY	UNIT	RANK	NUMBER OF YEARS SERVICE	METHOD OF PAYMENT	NUMBER OF SESSIONS
Riaan	26	Self referred	Dog Unit	Warrant Officer	8	Medical aid	38
Wilhelm	35	General Practitioner	Search & Rescue Unit	Sergeant	17	Workmen's Compensation	37
Francois	45	General Practitioner	Central Investigation Department (CID)	Major	20	Private	17
Hennie	34	Self referred	Rapid Response Unit	Warrant Officer	16	Workmen's Compensation	42

Therapist

In essence the psychoanalytic narratives in this thesis are my stories of Wilhelm, Riaan, Hendrick and Francois' stories. In chapter one I explained that a therapist is a committed participant in the unconsciously structured relational transactions that make up psychotherapy. It may therefore be helpful to know more about my background and training to reveal how my attempt at objective interpretations might be coloured by my own unconscious processes and unique experiences.

I was born on Saturday 30 August 1969. This may seem irrelevant save for the fact that this day is "Black Saturday", the last Saturday in August, and the end of the marching season. I am not South African. I was born in Belfast, the capital city of Northern Ireland, and this was the year the most recent "troubles" began in Ulster. Thus, there is a personal dimension to this study, as it gave me the opportunity to reflect on conflict, bigotry, religion, and politics and their impact on my development and learning.

My father was transferred with his work to South Africa at the end of my schooling and I went to University in this country. In 1990 I attended the

University of Natal, and then Rhodes University in 1992, before returning to the University of Natal from 1993 to 1995 to complete my Masters Degree and Internship. Upon my qualification as a psychotherapist I went to Britain and worked for the National Health System (NHS), treating adults with severe mental health issues in both inpatient and outpatient settings, before returning to South Africa.

After working for a period of time in an alcohol and drug rehabilitation centre in South Africa, I set up a private practice at two local medical centres. Here I shared rooms with an Afrikaans male clinical psychologist.

Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance was approved by the Research Office of the University of KwaZulu-Natal and is included in the appendices.

The use of therapeutic material for the purpose of research raises ethical questions. Firstly, patients in therapy have a right to expect confidentiality, and secondly, the therapist has potentially conflicting roles (namely, therapist and researcher). In addressing these difficulties I have, *firstly*, confined myself to therapeutic case documents from patients who have finished their treatment and from whom permission for publication has been sought. They were contacted several years after they left therapy. A copy of the consent letter and form is included in appendix three. Pseudonyms have been employed, biographical details altered, and place names changed. I have also altered their physical descriptions and other identifying data. As I mentioned, a period of several years has passed since their last sessions. The hope here was to make provision for these men to return for further treatment if they had wished. *Secondly*, I was their therapist years before I knew I would use the psychoanalytic narratives as research data. At the time, session notes were presented to my supervisor each week for the duration of the patients' therapy. This allowed for distance and reflection in understanding the therapeutic process. There was no possibility of directing or manipulating the course of

therapy for research purposes. *Thirdly*, the final therapeutic accounts, which comprise the data for this research, are contained in a separate 305 page document which is available upon request from the Postgraduate Faculty Office at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. It is not 'publically' available to respect the confidential nature of this clinical material.

Procedure for data collection

From a narrative analysis perspective the data needs to be read as the *therapist's* account of the *patient's* narrative.

I have based my research on a therapeutic account of what occurred with each participant. The therapeutic documents formed the raw material I had access to when compiling my narratives. The therapeutic narratives then became the data for this research. The objectivity of the data was secured via reports from psychiatrists and GPs, and my supervision and session notes – which were written without this study in mind. The objective layering of the therapeutic documents was retrospective triangulation. Triangulation is a powerful technique that facilitates validation of data through cross verification from more than two sources. In this study, retrospective triangulation referred to using more than one method to gather data: reports from psychiatrists and GPs, and my supervision and session notes. By combining multiple empirical materials, the hope was to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come with single method studies.

In psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy, 'psychoanalytic knowledge' is derived through a specific set of well-developed methodological principles. Free association, abstinence, the fixed frame, dream analysis, and so forth give the therapist access to material suitable for psychoanalytic interpretation. These therapeutic narratives then formed the data that was to be analysed in this research.

Lunder, Neukom, & Thomann (2000) suggest that psychoanalytic

psychotherapy narratives are communications of occurrences, mostly from everyday life, which patients present to their therapists in the form of stories. These communications are complete speech segments, which possess a clearly recognisable structure (beginning-middle-end) and which are therefore especially suitable as units of investigation within a research setting.

Drawing from Edwards (1990), I attempted to accurately capture the flow and ambiance of Wilhelm, Riaan, Hendrick and Francois' experience utilising both the exploratory-descriptive as well as the descriptive-dialogic case study methods. These methods provided a thick and richly detailed description of the individual cases.

Fisher & Wertz (in Edwards, 1990, p. 18) described good case synopsis as those which "provide readers with concrete examples that reverberate with their own lives, thus intimating the full structure of the phenomena." In my attempt to reproduce the cases in their full descriptive immediacy, I made extensive use of literary devices to both enhance the telling of the stories and retain the flavour of the exchanges as they occurred in the consulting room. This included the use of first person narration, descriptions of main characters and supporting characters, conflict development (including: person vs. self, person vs. person, person vs. society, person vs. nature, and person vs. supernatural), metaphors, symbolism, personification, flash backs, and descriptions of settings. In addition I felt it necessary to switch during the narration of the therapy from the past tense and reported speech, to direct dialogue and the use of the present tense. It was hoped this would convey the therapeutic situation with heightened immediacy and also indicate the crucial changes in affect and emotional experience from moment to moment in the process. This endeavour was an attempt to provide understanding into the complicated phenomena which makes up the therapeutic relationship.

Concluding remarks

The present investigation employed an analytic framework with a focus on

emotionally laden material, on absences as well as presences in the 'data', as a way of documenting both the conscious positions taken up by the old guard policemen and their less clearly articulated wishes and anxieties.

Coming out of the data was a body of narratives that were complex and abundantly textured. The distillation of narratives will be discussed in the next chapter, the analysis of data.

CHAPTER 7

FLESH & BONE: An analysis of data

Many studies have explored the reasons why people experience PTSD. However, they tend to look at interaction between the individual and environment/society to see their relative involvement. As Korber (1992) notes, they also tend to take for granted the idea of a rational subject who, after being exposed to various environmental/societal influences, behaves in a manner which is out of character.

Korber (1992) points out social constructionists are critical of the individual-societal dualism. Social constructionists deconstruct the notion of a rational subject and propose rather that subjects are positioned within a multiplicity of narratives. Therefore, contradictory subjectivities may be the upshot of placement in a variety of competing narratives. Korber suggests that this can result in practices which might otherwise have been considered 'out of character'. She sees these 'unusual' practices as being consistent with the particular placement of the subject.

Although cultural difference is apparent at a societal level in the actions, customs, and behaviours of social groups, the most fundamental expression of culture is found at the individual level. This expression of cultural specificity occurs after an individual has been socialized by his or her parents, family, extended family, and extended social networks. A reflexive process of both learning and teaching is how cultural and social characteristics achieve continuity.

It was not only official structures of apartheid – political, educational, and religious institutions – which sought to mould Hennie, Francois, Wilhelm and Riaan's inner selves (fantasies, secrets, and indiscretions) as well as their

interactions with others. Television presenters, comedians, salespeople, film directors and producers, sport show hosts, marketers, novelists, designers, scientists and poets also sought to influence the participants' desires, dreams and ways of feeling about themselves and others. As did individuals close to them – their mothers, fathers, siblings, uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, and friends. They sought to affect the way the participants lived their lives, as the participants did these peoples' lives.

The historical-cultural context in which these participants lived had a crucial bearing on their identity. It provided the conditions of possibility for what could occur in the construction of their identities – who they are, were and could be. Their sense of identity was connected to their place and time in the on-going history of South African society. Certain ideological and behavioural options won out over others. These then set the parameters about what actions they could engage in, what positions they took, what they thought, and their potential to engage with change and transformation.

Psychoanalytic theories are narratives about how to interpret the stories that people tell therapists in their consultation rooms. Psychoanalysis is not only a theory but also a methodology in itself, developed specifically for exploring unconscious processes. Object relations theory is the mode of choice for evaluating the interpretive accounts in this research. Here, I explore the old guard's social lives in relation to their internal worlds through the lens of object relations theory. In the following discussion, I draw on the wealth of psychoanalytic literature I reviewed in chapter five in order to present the analysis as narratives.

Before I begin looking at the data, a brief introduction to each participant will help contextualize the analysis:

Wilhelm
Wilhelm was 35 years old when he began therapy, having been in the

SAP/SAPS for 17 years. In the SAPS he was a Sergeant in the Search & Rescue Unit and was married with no children. His regular duties involved dealing with all aspects of accidents: witnessing people dying in front of him, removal of bodies, collecting body parts, taking bodies to the mortuary, and informing the next of kin. On a couple of occasions people he knew were victims of the accidents he attended.

Wilhelm described SAP Police College as a "tough" experience. In the second semester of College, while he was busy with basic training, riots broke out, and his platoon was deployed to Soweto. Their orders were to "keep the peace". This entailed driving through their assigned section of Soweto each morning collecting dead bodies. Wilhelm found this horrifying and would often be unable to sleep at night for "seeing dead eyes staring back" at him.

In the SAP he was recruited into what he termed the "security branch". As a member of the "security branch" he had to eliminate several targets, committing several "take outs". Wilhelm believed if he did not fulfil his duty, he was "expendable". This was not just his term for being 'court-martialled'. He believed he would be assassinated if he did not undertake his duties.

In the years following 1994, Wilhelm became a loner. Continued use of the defences of splitting, projective identification and projection seemed to no longer hold bad object experience at a distance for him. Drawing from Koen's (1991) study *Understanding & treating combat-related posttraumatic stress disorder: A soldier's story*, perhaps unconsciously Wilhelm felt he was capable of inflicting terrible pain and suffering. The world, through his eyes, seemed a terrible place to be. Here he experienced others as capable of inflicting terrible pain and suffering on him. Thus, perhaps as Koen found with his participant, Wilhelm withdrew, partially to protect himself from the world, and partially to protect the world from him.

Wilhelm was drawn to people who had suffered – his sister with Down's

syndrome, his brother's children (to whom he was a surrogate father when their parents periodically abandoned them), and the victims whose bodies he collected and cared for. He seemed to displace his own pain and suffering onto these people. He could then care for their difficulties and feel affirmed as a strong protector without having to grapple with his own fragility. He had great difficulty reaching out for help and support. Even his wife, Petra, whom he had been attracted to because she was kind and compassionate, he avoided for fear of "contaminating" her. During the time we worked together, I would often be the only person he had spoken to for days. In therapy he attempted to projectively identify with me as an all-good object and continued to split off his anger, guilt, shame and suffering through medical boarding procedures he staunchly adhered to.

Although he felt that he was caring and giving in his friendships and toward colleagues, he experienced others as vindictive, withholding, and capable of betrayal. He became obsessed with correcting and controlling the behaviour of these 'withholding' others. This seemed to function to protect him from exploring how and why he neglected his own feelings until the point of crisis. My sense was that Wilhelm was a man in deep pain, railing at the world rather than crying out for help.

Riaan

Riaan was 26 years old, having been in the SAP/SAPS for 8 years. He was a Warrant Officer in the Dog Unit and was divorced with no children. Riaan appeared to be an amiable and relatively easy-going person, who was able to adapt and fit in well with most group situations. It seemed as though he was regarded as a leader in the SAP.

As a child his home atmosphere was cold and stilted. His father worked long hours. There was a constant threat from his mother of the punishment that would befall him if he were to break one of what she termed, his "father's house rules". At mealtimes there was a strict code of thanksgiving prayers

followed by silence.

Despite his feelings of isolation at home, Riaan enjoyed his early schooling and made friends easily. Riaan liked his training at Police College, showing potential and quickly being given extra responsibilities by his Commanding Officers. He received his combat experience immediately after College by being posted to Soweto. This was the first time he saw a dead body. He spoke about going out on his first patrol feeling scared and "sick" to his stomach, but being unable to let anyone see this and "having to keep the pose". After Soweto he was posted to Bloemfontein Police Station and moved into the police barracks. He was quickly promoted and sent on advanced training courses. He was transferred to the Illegal Alien Unit before being accepted into the "prestigious" Dog Unit. He was well liked and respected by his colleagues and was given extra responsibility and promotion once again, despite being much younger than his colleagues.

Riaan's relationship with his police dog, Roscoe, became central in his life in the SAPS. After his divorce from his wife, Riaan would often spend his free time with Roscoe. He would spend many of his rest days visiting the dog at the kennels. None of his colleagues could approach or handle Roscoe. Generally, Roscoe was depicted as terrifying and vicious. Roscoe was trained in both patrol and explosive detection functions, and was expert in both fields. He was the "best dog" in the unit. Riaan was the only person the dog would respond to. Riaan and Roscoe were frequently in the daily newspapers for acts of valour. Riaan kept several scrapbooks of newspaper clippings in which they featured. However, at other times Riaan depicted Roscoe as tender hearted, in need of special food, lots of love and affection, to be tickled and romped around with. The split in Roscoe seemed to reflect the split in Riaan: one part aggressive and brutal, and the other affectionate and playful.

Post-apartheid, thanks to splitting and idealisation, Riaan seemed to me to be a naïve young boy playing at big boys' games. He constantly entertained family

and friends with exciting stories of high speed chases and covert night adventures, to gain their admiration and approval. By focusing on the thrill of the chase he avoided and split off the violence and brutality he participated in. In this way he never really grew up. He always remained dependent on external others for acknowledgement and approval, and was never able to make the difficult and deliberate decisions of responsible adult life.

Francois

Francois was 45 years old, having been in the SAP/SAPS for 20 years. He was a Major in the CID (Central Investigation Department) and was married with two children. Francois had a conflicted sense of self. On one hand he knew himself to be diligent and ambitious, a man of intellect and drive. While on the other, he felt he was an inadequate and weak person. This inadequate side he tried to keep firmly in check, with his overly structured approach to life. However, he would also use this side of himself as an excuse to drink and disengage from life, saying "[m]uch better men than I haven't been able to cut it, what chance do I have?"

He was drawn to people and things that for him symbolised good values, success and achievement – Grey College, the SAP, Christo the SAP chaplain, and medical professionals. However, he constructed interpersonal relationships in a way that failed to ultimately challenge or support him. He would not engage with his personal feelings or experiences. Rather he would attach, symbolically, to impersonal world events, venting his emotions in a way no one could criticise, or support.

My sense of Francois was of a man struggling to hold himself together. His symptoms were so acute he medicated them with alcohol and a long list of prescription medication. During brief moments when his emotional issues overwhelmed his defences he acknowledged his need for help, but quickly shame would engulf him and he would split them off again. As a result he was a shell of a man. He had a past which he clung to rather than understood,

accepted and used to help give him a platform for his present and future.

Hennie

Hennie was 34 years old, having been in the SAP/SAPS for 16 years. He was a Warrant Officer in the Rapid Response Unit and was married with one child. He was a strapping hulk of a man: tall, muscular and imposing. He was over attentive and courteous. He never appeared flustered or distressed.

Throughout Hennie's 41 sessions I puzzled over what he was doing in therapy. He brought little content to sessions, save for talk of his concerns about his wife and daughter's well being and security. He appeared unemotional: cool, calm, and collected. While Hennie's family were often on his mind, his interaction with them appeared superficial and distant. He seemed, psychoanalytically, to use them as objects onto which he would displace his own fragility. He would then spend his time following them to work and school to make sure they arrived safely. This seemed to help him affirm himself as a man and protector, while reducing his wife and daughter to helpless dependants – perhaps allowing him to avoid his own insecurities.

Hennie would occasionally speak of his taste in pop music. He preferred female vocalists with strong, sexy, diva images – Shakira and Anastasia were two of his favourites. This, once again, seemed to bolster his view of himself as a macho-man.

Hennie had frequent gaps in his attendance to therapy. He would often cancel his session and reschedule his next appointment for the following month. As I mentioned earlier, I felt he choose a female therapist for an unconscious reason. He tried to turn me into an object of displacement for his vulnerabilities, as he had done with his wife and daughter. However, as I engaged with him in a real way, where I was not a 'damsel in distress', he did not know what to do with me. Therefore, he stayed away from therapy, in an attempt to avoid engaging with what this stirred up in him.

I felt Hennie's real issues were not linked to his stressful working environment, or his concern for his family. My sense of Hennie was of a person who was unsure of his identity and masculinity. I felt he had no idea of who he was or who he wanted to be. He had internalised a set of principles of what a man should be and had not questioned them. Thus, he appeared to be a cardboard cut out man.

Intrapsychic dimensions

In apartheid South Africa, society was divided into good and bad, black and white, separated by physical distance, and structured by discriminatory laws. Hennie, Francois, Riaan and Wilhelm's early relationships were disrupted by the imposed separations of military service, and the frustrations of relating within a patriarchal, racist, conservative, and religious family system. Patriarchal discipline, sexism and conservatism were actively abusive elements in their social world. The participants were caught within the specific identities that their socialisation constructed. This had significant consequences for an understanding of their selfhood.

At an interpersonal level, the absence of good enough relationships with others, particularly in the participants' childhood, meant that their external environment turned persecutory rather than supportive. Ivey (2002) points out that the consequences of the external environment turning persecutory are that the internal structures become full of persecutory elements, working against the structuring of coherent selfhood.

I believe the defensive processes of splitting and projective identification became organising principles around which these men's psyches were structured. As a result the participants had rather rigid, encapsulated personalities. Applying Cartwright's (2002a) conceptualisations from his investigation of rage type murder to this study, the old guard's defensive organisation appeared to comprise good idealised objects and encapsulated

bad objects that were held apart by rigid splitting defences. The phantasy of an all-good external object world appeared the reality for these men who were interpellated by military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives in apartheid South Africa.

Post-apartheid society, with its condemnation of apartheid institutions and structures was not experienced as supportive of these men, who exemplified the old regime. It negated the positive regard they had been held in. They were no longer surrounded by their all-good objects, with all-bad objects held at bay by physical distance and discriminatory laws. Real engagement with external objects in post-apartheid South Africa was threatening. External objects were not either good or bad, they were ambiguous. This may have overwhelmed the participants' defensive organisation which tried to keep bad experiences out of their perceived external reality.

It is my contention that the participants could not internalise the socio-political ideological changes in post-apartheid South Africa in a way that gave them some psychological distance from the effects it had on them. They lacked an adequate capacity to re-present their own emotional states to themselves, and an ability to mourn and work through the emotions that these socio-political ideological changes stirred up in them.

In Cartwright's (2002a) work on rage type murder he conceptualises a defensive organisation he terms the "narcissistic exoskeleton". I believe this concept is useful in understanding these old guard participants' personality structure. As I noted in chapter five, for Cartwright, the narcissistic exoskeleton is characterised by a rigid split between a constellation of idealised object relations and internalised bad objects. Cartwright describes the constellation of idealised object relations as assuming the position of an outer 'holding' personality. He suggests that the narcissistic exoskeleton has two essential features: *first*, splitting occurs in such a way as to enable the phantasy of an all-good external world as a reflection of the self. This forms a defensive layer

of protection around the personality. Cartwright explains that it is the defensive system of the narcissistic exoskeleton that manipulates the object world to ensure that the all-good self is maintained despite being confronted with real conflict. The *second* feature of the defensive organisation relates to the defensive internalisation of bad objects to preserve the all-good external world. As a consequence Cartwright (2002a) believes the internal world, in phantasy, is disowned as it has become the container for internalised bad-object relations. Applying Cartwright's conceptualisation of the narcissistic exoskeleton to my participants, I believe that their bad internal objects remained concealed behind such a defensive edifice. During apartheid the old guard could project bad aspects of the self onto objects held at bay by physical distance and discriminatory laws. Post-apartheid the participants were prevented from gaining relief from the build up of bad self aspects via such projection. As a result, an accumulation of bad experience occurred.

The participants' personalities were dominated by the continuous creation of idealised good objects. The projection of bad self aspects onto objects readily at hand (as opposed to those at a distance) would have run the risk of contaminating the ideal world they had, in phantasy, created. One way to provide some relief from the build up of bad self aspects may have been to displace them as symptoms of PTSD - flashbacks, night terrors, and somatic symptoms. While this solution may have afforded some internal relief from the build up of bad object experience, the participants' symptoms of PTSD remained concrete, immovable and ever present.

Dominant narratives

Under apartheid the participants were positioned within multiple narratives. As noted in earlier chapters, four dominant narratives which arose from the analysis of data included the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives. These narratives interconnected not only with one another but with others within which Hennie, Wilhelm, Francois and Riaan were positioned.

The following analysis attempts to indicate the balance of investments within and between the four dominant narratives in which Hennie, Riaan, Wilhelm and Francois were positioned and the possible psychological needs served by their placement. It argues that involvement in the SAP made possible the simultaneous expression of practices suggested by their multiple placements. The strength of their investment and consequent commitment to the SAP during the transition to SAPS brought into operation a variety of psychological mechanisms such as splitting, projective identification, idealisation, denial, omnipotence and devaluation. This combination of placement, investment, and the operation of such paranoid-schizoid defence mechanisms, placed Hennie, Riaan, Wilhelm and Francois in such a way that they were willing and able to carry out distressing activities in the SAP. However, post-apartheid the participants' social world was turned on its head. Under these changed circumstances the participants were unable to cope with distress (both, from the past and in the present) but were also unable to leave the SAPS.

I will now discuss each participant's placement, investment, and defensive organization, within each narrative to develop my observations further. I will give a brief description of the narratives followed by clinical illustration of how each participant was interpellated (or not) by the narratives, and operated (or not) through the narratives. It is important to remember that the participants were not interpellated by these narratives in a uniform manner. Each participant also operated unevenly within the narratives. The variation in the length of following discussions reflects the patchiness of the participants' interpellation by, and operation in, these narratives. It should also be noted that some clinical illustrations are drawn into a discussion of several narratives due to the emblematic nature of the participant's words.

Military narratives

Military narratives were associated with military values (centralisation of authority, hierarchisation, discipline and conformity, combativeness, and

xenophobia). These narratives dominated apartheid South Africa's national culture, education, media, religion, politics, and economy, at the expense of civilian institutions.

Wilhelm

Wilhelm identified himself in a highly militarised way, in his very first session, when he introduced himself by name, rank, and serial number. Wilhelm's entrenched militarised position was further highlighted in session fourteen when he explained, "I've only ever wanted to be a policeman." Going to Police College when he was 18 years old was, for Wilhelm, when his life began. In fact his militarised position was highlighted in every session through his formal etiquette and polite salutations.

Wilhelm's military position was unshakable both during and post-apartheid. The degrading experience of complying with College life was compensated for by being in "the brotherhood". The following case material from Wilhelm's second session illustrates the 'terrible beauty' of being a member of the SAP:

Wilhelm	I was recruited into the security branch. I received specialist training … I had to eliminate several different targets … commit several take-outs - that will never be acknowledged by this government or the previous government.
	The Soweto riots were at their worst at that stage … I and several other members of my unit were instructed to eliminate certain key figures. These key figures had to be eliminated in such a manner that the media and the public would not become suspicious of these persons' deaths. A commander revealed the targets to one member at a time, and the member was informed that if he did not take out

> the target, he was expendable. Therefore, the member had to comply with what he was instructed to do.

> I did what was expected of me.

While Wilhelm reported these details to me, his speech was devoid of emotional expression. However, I felt his narration was over dramatised – he seemed to revel in the suspense. Given the lack of emotionality and over dramatised quality of his narration, I felt Wilhelm was trying to communicate to me "via impact" (Casement, 1985, p. 72.). His interpellation by military narratives limited his emotional expressiveness and, internally, his defensive organisation. He was left with simply his 'war stories' to over embellish, in order to affirm and identify himself.

> … I was contacted, and instructed to meet at a certain place. Once there, I never saw the other members working with me … I was informed that it was a "health risk". The fewer people who knew about it the better …

> Our operations were planned to the finest detail. I had a good time in this unit …

> [*I observed Wilhelm smile to himself*.]

> We were like the brotherhood – if you needed to go somewhere, or needed help with something, you got it, no questions asked.

> But, we were informed that if something ever went wrong, you are on your own … There is no one to

back you up …

> That played on my mind … But in that position, at
> that time, I saw nothing wrong with what I was
> instructed to do. The only instruction that mattered
> was to comply with instructions and "Do not talk,
> ever! Or else we will find you. You are expendable!
> There is no proof that you were here, and there
> never will be. Remember, it's a small world."

Wilhelm split off his emotions when relating this episode to me. This helped him manipulate others (his external objects) into responding towards him as if he were unaffected by this experience. Military men did not waste time on emotions; emotions only got in the way. Thus, Wilhelm appeared to embody the military ideal: unemotional, effective, and efficient at following orders.

Wilhelm felt privileged to belong to the "security branch" where he received "specialist training". Here military narratives overlapped with macho leader narratives. Being in an elite unit with specialist training made him able to identify more with the hegemonic view of masculinity. Once he was placed in the combat field he experienced the adventure of clandestine operations. When he discovered that he had to assassinate people he accepted that this was the case and "saw nothing wrong with what I was instructed to do". Christian National moral narratives within which he was simultaneously positioned encouraged an unquestioning attitude towards authority figures as well as sanctioning fighting for one's country against an 'evil' enemy.

Post-apartheid, with no chance of promotion, Wilhelm none the less attempted to strengthen his investment in military narratives. He volunteered for extensive further training. Ultimately he was more qualified than many of his superiors in the SAPS. In session five Wilhelm listed with pride his courses and achievements:

Wilhelm	I have written down all the courses I have completed. Since I joined the SAP I have successfully completed the coin course, riot course, R5 rifle training, Tonfa training, combating terrorism, self defence & sniper course, survival course, firearms & explosives, explosives & stalking & urban terrorism, urban terror & terrorist tactics, urban terror & assault, and SWAT training.
	At the Search & Rescue Unit I completed more specialised courses: basic accident investigation & co-ordination, advanced accident onsite investigation and management, vehicle examiner's course, full airbrakes course, tyre technology, spill awareness, brake fluid & technology, vehicle maintenance, hazchem, draughtsman & photographer courses, and suicide prevention.
	I received the SAP medal for 10 years faithful service, a medal for effective combating of terrorism, letters of appreciation from several departments including the SADF [*South African Defence Force*] …

Wilhelm felt good about his faithful service and advanced qualifications. During apartheid Wilhelm's promotion was guaranteed. However, affirmative action in post-apartheid South Africa, including the police service, had the effect of not advancing the supporters of the old regime. Wilhelm failed to be promoted. Why then did he bother to engage in further specialist training? Perhaps, unconsciously, Wilhelm resorted to a more severe form of splitting, idealisation - exaggerating the good object into the idealised object phantasied to provide unlimited gratification. Thus, Wilhelm continued to accrue advanced training,

giving himself the sense of omnipotence to defend against real engagement with external and internal conflict.

Wilhelm was so deeply invested in military narratives both during and post-apartheid that they informed how he related to himself as well as others. Although initially hesitant about engaging in therapy, Wilhelm was a diligent patient. However, rather than being able to talk about his difficulties in a reflective, meaningful and symbolic manner, Wilhelm mediated them in a concrete way through the forms and reports required by the SAPS for his medical boarding. During our time together, he frequently launched into detailed descriptions of reports he needed completed for the SAPS. He seemed to try to force a myriad of feelings and experiences into SAPS documentation. Wilhelm's reflective capacity seemed to be poor. He often spoke about his past bad experience with the SAP/SAPS in the present tense as if the bad experience was continually being experienced inside him. This, in my view, was an indication of how Wilhelm managed past bad experiences: they remained concrete and unmoving.

Wilhelm also experienced "blanking out" – his term for dissociative episodes - in which, although he was conscious, he would have no recollection of where he was or what he had done. It appeared that unless his feelings and experience were all-good - as reflected by military discursive practices - he literally stopped being himself. He either fulfilled his old guard view of duty or he ceased to exist.

Therapy with Wilhelm was a complex process. He would often present material in a removed way – either with no content and lots of aggressive emotion, or with lots of content but very little emotional expression. He also became very concerned with the layout of the therapy room, commenting if books were out of place or an ornament had been moved.

Fonagy, Moran & Target (in Cartwright, 2002a) draw a distinction between the

pre-reflective self and the *reflective self.* The former relates to the experiencing physical body whereas the latter is the "internal observer of mental life" (Fonagy *et al*, in Cartwright, 2002a, p. 39). In their view, reflective capacity is acquired through interaction:

> The child's growing recognition of the importance of mental states (feeling, beliefs, desires and intentions) arises through the shared understanding of his own mental world and that of his caregiver. She reflects upon the infant's mental experience and re-presents it to him … Her role is to provide a creative social mirror which can capture for the infant aspects of his activity and then add an organising perspective. (Fonagy *et al*, in Cartwright, 2002a, p. 39)

Fonagy and his colleagues liken this to Winnicott's idea of cross-identifications where the child's mental space is acquired through careful observation of his own mental life and a primary identification with the caregiver's reflective capacity. They suggest that the individual's own acquired reflective capabilities provide the individual with a sense of himself as a mental entity.

> In the absence of adequate reflective capacity, the pre-reflective and physical self may come to substitute for mental functions – the body may reflect experiences instead of the mind and thus be imbued with thought and feeling. (Fonagy *et al*, in Cartwright, 2002a, p. 40)

A poorly defined "reflective self", to use Fonagy *et al's* (in Cartwright, 2002a, p. 40) term, has a number of related implications:

First, it delineates an early and primitive psychological state where repression as a psychological defence cannot operate effectively. As internalised objects are not 'mentalised' they cannot be acknowledged as objects to be potentially

repressed.

Second, without the capacity to re-present one's own emotional states to oneself, the emotional states of self and others cannot be held or acknowledged. This makes the process of mourning, working through, and integrating experience very difficult. In Wilhelm's case he presented his emotional dis-ease to me in the form of carefully completed medical boarding forms, for me to 'take away' and 'deal with'.

A *third* implication relates to the importance of representational capacity in creating mental space. The retardation of this process is believed to affect the individual's sense of psychological space and feelings of claustrophobia. Cartwright (2002a) draws on several authors – Meltzer, Rey, and Steiner - who highlight that this kind of experience has often been noted in borderline dynamics. Cartwright (2002a) points out that retardation of the reflective self often makes psychotherapy very difficult and places specific demands on the therapist. Here, he suggests thinking in the presence of another is felt to be extremely painful. Such difficulty is illustrated in the next clinical example:

Session 12

Therapist   If you weren't doing things for others, who would you be?

Wilhelm   [*Wilhelm was silent*.]

It reminds me of when I was on active border duties in Sinoya … The Casspir we were travelling in ran over a landmine … The two right wheels were blown off … A sniper was seated in a tree … He had us pinned down for two whole days … He shot members repeatedly in the legs, as they were moving … Then he would rest and continue the whole process again

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> … After two days and nights in the blistering heat
> with no water or food, and not being able to move,
> we were finally able to remove the sniper from the
> tree where he had us pinned down.

> [*Wilhelm fell silent again.*]

I reflected to myself that it was unlikely that a Casspir would be disabled in this manner or that a sniper could have held a unit hostage for two days. Given the lack of emotionality and over dramatised quality of this narration, I felt Wilhelm was again trying to communicate to me "via impact" (Casement, 1985, p. 72).

Therapist   It seems like if you aren't doing things for others you
              feel broken and vulnerable to attack.

Wilhelm   In the second semester of College, while I was busy
              with basic training, riots broke out and my platoon
              was deployed to Soweto … Our orders were to "Keep
              the peace" … Each morning we had to drive through
              our section and collect dead bodies …

              [*Wilhelm sat in silence staring at the floor*.]

              I was deployed to Katlehong, and at Eatonside … on
              different occasions … where I saw people being
              necklaced …

              [*Wilhelm suddenly exclaimed.*]

              BURNT TO DEATH … WOMEN AND CHILDREN …

              I saw people busy dying while I stood helpless by …

Then afterward I had to go and collect the bodies and load them into a Canter truck … That scene stays with me night and day.

[*Wilhelm's expression was flat and his words were devoid of emotions. To me his words were lifeless. I, by comparison, felt very sad and I was aware of tears welling up in my eyes.*]

Therapist   I feel very sad hearing of the horrors you've witnessed. It seems that these experiences and how you feel about them are burnt into you, deadening your eyes to see other possibilities in the world.

[*Wilhelm began talking immediately. Words seemed to pour out of him*.]

Wilhelm   Captain Steenkamp instructed us to proceed to the railway stations and, as the commuters alighted, to shoot them … More than three persons were a crowd. Crowds had to be controlled … in any manner what so ever … We complied and did not complain … Our platoon was fresh out of school and if and when an officer instructs you to shoot, you do as you are told. You are told that: "Forty-five percent of you are expendable. You will comply now and complain later". The complaining never came.

Here, Wilhelm split off his emotions in order to remain in touch with a sense of being a 'good' policeman who complied with orders. When faced with reflecting on other possible ways of being, Wilhelm was unable to engage. He felt trapped and 'pinned down', overwhelmed by other possibilities. He had

participated in atrocities. Within military narratives of 'complying with orders' he could make sense of the murders he committed. He could split off his guilt, horror, shame and self loathing. Considering a position where he acted under his own volition meant facing the horrors he had split off. This threatened to overwhelm his defensive organisation.

With only a limited capacity to represent, Wilhelm's appalling, violent and brutal images from the past could only be experienced as concrete images. The images became concrete objects that were felt to 'attack' Wilhelm, leaving him disturbed and paranoid in waking life.

Despite the distressing nature of his therapeutic experience - as evident by his frequent episodes of "blanking out" - Wilhelm was a diligent and polite patient. Wilhelm's diligence reflects his tendency to be compliant, making exaggerated efforts to please others, in order to elicit an all-good experience. For Wilhelm formal etiquette was more than good manners (this was also the case with Francois and Hennie, to be discussed later). Formal etiquette and discipline were part of military narratives which enabled Wilhelm to place familiar structure on the therapeutic relationship, which stirred up new and frightening emotions for him.

Military narratives were both useful and limiting for Wilhelm. They were useful in that they helped him projectively identify with ordered and polite society both during and post-apartheid, enabling him to pull the familiar bits of himself together to face life in ways he could predict. They were limiting because their practices encouraged him to be accepting, unquestioning and inflexible as this last example illustrates:

> Session 27
> Wilhelm spoke for an uninterrupted 45 minutes. He was angry and
> spoke in great detail about the amount of effort he put in to his
> work at the Search & Rescue Unit: servicing his vehicle, at his own

expense; supplying equipment that was not available from the SAPS; filling in reports and writing up dockets in his own time; assisting new and junior members without being requested to do so; undertaking many advanced courses and trying to apply new practices without support or acknowledgement.

Wilhelm was disgruntled and began grievance procedures. He completed forms, followed the correct channels and protocols, and yet his grievances were ineffective. Despite disappointment he continued with this process year after year. While I was listening to Wilhelm speak, I felt helpless, hurt and left out. I believed these were Wilhelm's emotions which he could not own or express.

Wilhelm felt victimised, uncared for and exploited by the SAPS. He followed all the correct procedures, jumped through all the right hoops, but felt overlooked and neglected. However, Wilhelm was unable to resign. Wilhelm remained strongly invested in military narratives during his time in therapy. He unquestioningly adhered to the correct procedures as laid down by the SAPS for his medical boarding.

Riaan

Riaan expressed an early desire to be a policeman. As a boy he enjoyed playing "toy soldiers", and "cops and robbers". These games may have formed the basis of Riaan's fantasies about the military. They also channelled his desire to be a hero and a strong leader.

While in therapy, Riaan's adult fantasies also reflected his strong stance within military narratives. In session twenty-one Riaan spoke of joining the French Foreign Legion: "Did I tell you that I've got the papers to join the French Foreign Legion? Part of me really wants to … The power." This fantasy was extended in session twenty-two with talk of joining the British Army. Riaan spent much of this session discussing the pros and cons of enlisting. He wanted

to join a foreign army to 'change' his life. However, it was clear that as opposed to a change, this was simply a continuation of his idealisation of classic military institutions. His main impetus for joining was for "the glory of it".

To feel good about himself Riaan needed constant external validation: to be seen as a hero, protector, and leader. This formed part of his investment in all the narratives within which he was positioned. In his second session Riaan took out a photograph of Roscoe and handed it across to me. It was important for Riaan that I acknowledged the photo and the militarised machismo it identified him with. Constant external validation was also a strong motivation for his volunteering for specialized units. In his seventh session Riaan felt it was imperative to impress upon me how 'honoured' he would be to die in the line of duty: "Ja. I hope I'm taken out. I want you to know, I'm not going to take unnecessary risks, but I will die in the line of duty." Again, Riaan employed idealisation, exaggerating being a policeman to the point of martyrdom.

When Riaan was a child his father was active as a member of a civilian military unit where he achieved a high rank. Riaan's parents were proud of Riaan's decision to join the SAP. Once he joined the SAP Riaan felt a greater sense of connection with his father. Riaan's investment in military narratives grew as he began to compare his own achievements to that of his father. While such rivalry was not unusual for an eighteen year old male, as Korber (1992) observed in her investigation of the SADF, it was important to note that it was played out within military narratives with particular practices suggested, such as achieving rank and honour within the SAP itself.

The activities demanded by the SAP/SAPS dominated Riaan's life. In the Dog Unit he was evaluated every three months. This required extensive amounts of time practicing drills with his dog. Again, like Wilhelm, post-apartheid Riaan was not promoted. However, he never became despondent or frustrated by this. His militarised position was affirmed at an apparently superfluous level by the sense of achievement he got upon completion of his "three-monthly"

evaluation.

Francois

Francois' resolve to join the SAP exemplified how he was positioned within military narratives. Francois pointed out in session nine, "I always wanted to be a policeman. After matric I went to university to obtain a degree. Then I was able to enter the police at the rank of officer … I let my hair get a bit long at university, it's a wonder I got into the police! Still, I made it to the rank of Major."

Subsequent to his medical boarding, Francois enjoyed reading stories and articles about global terrorism, a practice which kept him positioned within military narratives. This excerpt from his first individual session conveys his fascination:

> *Francois*   I was reading a book the other day; it was about
> chemical warfare – Iraq and so forth. It was from the
> view point of a medic, there were photographs. The
> ramifications of that kind of warfare are huge. It's so
> raw … Tobit[16] 8:5b-8.

Post-apartheid Francois could no longer evacuate hostile internal objects onto the "evil black enemy". However, by projectively identifying with the protagonists in these stories of global terrorism, Francois was able to equate global terrorism with bad elements of him that were then controlled at a distance.

Projecting his anger and destructiveness into global acts of terrorism, perhaps helped to protect Francois from an experience of being terrorised from within. Reading and talking about global terrorism kept Francois firmly entrenched in

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[16] The Book of Tobit is also known as the Book of Tobias and is a book of scripture that is part of the Catholic and Orthodox Biblical canon.

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military narratives despite his 'retirement' from the SAPS. These activities satisfied his need to be perceived as good and noble, and portrayed him as part of a heroic ongoing battle against evil and destruction. Here the military, macho leader and Christian National narratives overlapped. Reading and talking about global terrorism also continued to simplify his life into 'right & wrong', 'good & bad', and 'black & white' categories, which enabled him to avoid engagement with internal and external conflict, and identify with the phantasy of all-good external & internal objects. Life being reduced to a 'right & wrong' code of conduct enabled Francois to avoid the complexity of day to day living.

Francois cultivated his military image during his 'retirement'. He dressed with care and precision, always wearing a collared shirt and smart polished shoes. His steel grey hair was maintained in a military style. He medicated his emotions with sophisticated wines, whiskeys and prescription medication. He was the very model of Gilbert & Sullivan's Modern Major-General (from *The Pirates of Penzance*, 1879).

Hennie

When Hennie started therapy he had already been in the SAP/SAPS for 16 years. In his first session he remarked, "I guess you could say I was destined to be a policeman." After his matriculation Hennie went straight into Police College. He liked College enjoying the straightforwardness of military drilling, rules and regulations.

Joining the Rapid Response Unit was the culmination of Hennie's simultaneous placement in military and macho leader narratives. This was an elite unit which enabled Hennie to engage in activities which strengthened his placement in each of the narratives. He had access to fast cars, a military uniform, firearms, and a crew[17]. He was his own boss and made split second decisions. He enjoyed the thrill of the chase, apprehending the "kaffirs", protecting the "good

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[17] The participants used the term 'crew' in a unique way. For them it did not refer to a group of people assigned to a particular job, but rather one colleague who worked closely with them.

and the virtuous", and fighting for his country.

In the following example from session fifteen, Hennie returned to therapy after a ten month absence. He and his crew, Jan, had been involved in a horrific high speed freeway chase of a stolen vehicle which culminated in a bloody gun battle. The content of his narrative reflected the seriousness of the incident. However, as was usual with Hennie, the emotional atmosphere was calm and relaxed. Hennie's ability to completely split off his distressing emotions left him able to strongly position him in military narratives, revel in the sensational aspects of his story, and feel manly and brave.

Hennie   Did you see what happened on the news in October?

[*Hennie did not give me any time to answer.*]

We were patrolling when a call came in that they had just pulled an armed robbery at the pawn brokers. The suspects drove off in a white BMW. We spotted them on the on-ramp to the freeway, and gave chase.

[*Hennie had a large smile on his face. He seemed animated and excited.*]

They opened fire on us going down the freeway. Two guys from the back seat opened the windows and started firing at us. It was hard work keeping the car on the road. Jan went straight into action and began firing back from the passenger window of our vehicle. He shot out one of their tires and their driver lost control of their car - it over turned taking out two or three other cars with it. They carried on firing

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from the wreck of their vehicle. We pulled up alongside and the gun fight continued. Jan and I both jumped out and used the doors of our vehicle as shields. All the windows were shot out. The suspects were pretty desperate.

The next thing I knew Jan had stopped shooting. At that point I was crouching down behind the car door. I looked under the car and saw Jan lying on the ground. He had been shot. That was the last thing I remember.

I came to at the hospital. I had been shot in the back. Jan was shot in the leg and the bullet travelled to his heart – he nearly died. We were both under the care of Dr Michael the Thoracic Surgeon. I spent a week in ICU for a haemothorax. Jan's still there, but is slowly making progress.

All my family have been down from Kimberley. I've had such a lot of well wishes. It's been a big help.

As a policeman on active duty it is appropriate to suppress emotions and focus on the task at hand. However, the degree to which Hennie avoided his emotions was far from what was appropriate. Hennie unconsciously split off his emotions as a defensive strategy. The split off 'bad' emotions seemed to remain hidden behind a narcissistic exoskeleton. Thus, these bad emotions lay dormant in his personality, protected by his all-good object system. Hennie at no stage reflected on, or engaged with, his emotions. In terms of countertransference, this left me feeling he was shallow and vacuous. He seemed to be simply the activities he engaged in. Rather than being traumatised by this near death experience, Hennie had accrued another 'war

story' to tell which bolstered his image of being a tough guy.

Hennie's retarded ability to reflect upon his experiences seemed to impact on his sense of psychological space. He frequently felt trapped and claustrophobic. He would be consumed by situations, constantly looking for an "escape route", as this example from his third session illustrates:

Hennie   [*Hennie sat looking at me with a large smile on his face.*]

              I've been thinking a bit about my fear of the dark. I haven't told you that I'm also afraid of confined spaces. I always look to find an escape route.

Therapist   What's that about for you?

Hennie   I'm not sure. I just feel better when I know I can get out of a situation; silly really.

              [*Hennie spoke in a way that conveyed neither embarrassment nor fear. I felt that he could have been talking about something inconsequential like the weather.*]

Therapist   Hennie, I don't get a strong sense of what you mean. Could you elaborate a bit for me? What sort of confined spaces are you talking about? How exactly do they make you feel? What are you trying to escape?

Hennie   Rooms and places like that. They make me feel unsafe, like something bad will happen. I might be

attacked.

[*Hennie smiled once again.*]

Therapist   Why would you be attacked?

Hennie   With crime the way it is anyone could be attacked at any time. You can never be too careful.

Therapist   Yes, but beside the crime stats, why would someone attack you specifically? I doubt if everyone goes around looking for an escape route when they enter a room.

Hennie   I guess my training helps me cope. That's why I check out the escape route. I guess I've seen too much in my life to think I'm safe.

Therapist   It sounds like your experiences have touched you in a way that makes you feel they always surround you especially in situations you can't control (for example driving, the dark, and confined spaces); you can never let down your guard. It seems you try to cope with distressing feelings by going according to training: fight or flight. Perhaps we could look at other ways of dealing with these feelings?

Hennie   I'm not sure what you mean.

[*He smiled again.*]

Hennie began by saying, "I've been thinking a bit about my fear of the dark. I

haven't told you that I'm also afraid of confined spaces. I always look to find an escape route". However, he was not able to elaborate in any detail about these experiences. Instead of reflecting on these experiences and exploring their meaning in his life (and thereby creating some psychological space), Hennie engaged with military narratives and went according to training: "fight or flight". Lack of psychological space made psychotherapy with Hennie a very difficult and frustrating process. He engaged with himself and others in a concrete way. Thinking in my presence appeared to be impossible for Hennie. My interventions were met with incredulity rather than an attempt to be reflective: "I'm not sure what you mean". His lack of reflection and psychological space translated to an immovable and inflexible sense of Hennie in sessions.

Macho leader narratives

In apartheid South Africa, Korber (1994) suggests the most admired form of Afrikaner masculinity was authoritative, aggressive, heterosexual, able-bodied, and physically brave. She points out that this form of masculinity was exalted over others. She also notes that it was associated with national identity, celebrated in sports, and presented as an ideal to the young. These four participants epitomised various aspects of the macho leader ideal in apartheid South Africa.

Wilhelm

Wilhelm with his tendency to represent mental states unconsciously in bodily terms, affirmed himself on a physical level. He made things for the home and volunteered to do maintenance in the complex where he lived, repairing clocks and lights for neighbours. He patrolled the car park of his complex late at night as a self appointed security guard. Wilhelm seemed to manipulate his external world, taking over others' responsibilities and assuming too much responsibility, in order to fulfil an internal purpose. By becoming the complex's security guard he could simultaneously affirm himself as a good and responsible member of the community while unconsciously continue to split off hostile internal aspects

of himself and project them onto criminals intent on doing his neighbours and himself harm.

In sessions twenty-one and thirty Wilhelm projected a sense of machismo onto his future when he spoke about his hope of opening a bed and breakfast (B & B) in the Midlands. The fantasy had many of the elements one would associate with the 'frontier life' of the Voortrekkers, and thus also overlapped with Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives. Here Wilhelm employed idealisation: life in the B & B was exaggerated to provide unlimited gratification. Wilhelm could then identify with this all-good idealised image, avoid engaging with 'real' conflict of being a frustrated member of the SAPS, and anxiety about how he positioned himself in relation to his family.

Being homophobic, physical, practical, and brave allowed Wilhelm to continue identifying with the hegemonic view of masculinity despite his medical boarding from the SAPS. He had numerous uncontrollable physical symptoms: panic attacks, heart palpitations and dizziness, shortness of breath, dissociative episodes, flashbacks and night terrors. He had a bleeding ulcer. In post-apartheid South Africa Wilhelm's external objects were more ambiguous. The ambiguity of his external object world may have threatened to overwhelm his defensive organisation. Given this ambiguity, the build up of his past and present bad experiences may have been 'managed' by Wilhelm through somatic symptoms, which remained concrete and ever present in his life. These symptoms did not undermine his placement within macho narratives. PTSD enabled Wilhelm to dismiss these symptoms as part of an illness and not part of him.

Wilhelm constantly adhered to self prescribed expectations and old guard rules in an exaggerated attempt to gain acknowledgement and approval from others. He used an old guard code of conduct to justify his actions. To be a 'good' man he had to do everything 'by the book'. He applied himself diligently to his expectations of how things (police work, handyman tasks, marriage, and

therapy) should be done. However, when others remained indifferent to his efforts in post-apartheid South Africa he devalued and dehumanised them. For example, when colleagues and neighbours failed to live up to his standards, he complained about them. Ultimately, he threatened to kill two colleagues and assaulted a shop assistant. It could be said that Wilhelm attacked these people because they were equated with bad elements of the self that were controlled externally, at a distance.

Lecours and Bouchard (in Cartwright, 2002a) developed a model that attempts, amongst a number of other things, to explore different levels of mental elaboration and how they relate to violence. Lecours and Bouchard suggest that the degree of elaboration is dependent on how much containment of affect has occurred. They describe a basic level - *disruptive impulsion* – where no mental elaboration occurs. Here they suggest that drive-affect is expressed in an uncontrolled way. They point out that no repression has occurred because drive-affect has not been mentalised. Rather, drive-affect is believed to be expressed somatically or through motor activity. They explain that this gives rise to extreme forms of crude, unfocused, destructive and uncontrollable violence. At the *modulated impulsion* level Lecours and Bouchard (in Cartwright, 2002a) suggest there is a small degree of containment. However, they point out that uncontained affect is still evacuated from the psyche. At the *modulated impulsion* level they suggest that no reflection takes place. However, they believe that there is some cathartic release. At a more sophisticated level of mental elaboration, Lecours and Bouchard believe that evacuation via the "action defences" (in Cartwright, 2002a, p. 41) does not occur. Here they note that unwanted affects undergo a process of externalisation. Here the individual can talk about the affective state. In other words the affective state is represented in some way.

Wilhelm's violent behaviour towards the shop assistant at the shopping centre (over a telescope eye piece), and work colleagues, at one level allowed him to further identify with the hegemonic view of masculinity. However, his behaviour

also fits into Lecours & Bouchard's (in Cartwright, 2002a) modulated impulsion level of mental elaboration. Wilhelm did not reflect sufficiently on his mounting pain and frustration. Internally, Wilhelm split off these feelings. He was unable to tell anyone of his pain and suffering because this would cause him to have to reflect and engage with his displeasure, and no longer be seen as a 'good' compliant person. Being compliant functioned to protect him from the horror of his split off bad object world. However, this practice also resulted in him feeling exploited by others. He failed to recognise his role in being too unassuming or taking on too much work. Wilhelm kept repeating his actions rather than reflecting on his feelings. Eventually, when his feelings could no longer be contained, violence gave him cathartic release, as this example from session thirteen highlights:

> *Wilhelm*   A pedestrian was killed in a MVA. I was called to the scene, but, when I arrived, I was told to stand off. Another call came in and I went to attend to it. I then received yet another call from Radio Control to say members where still waiting for me at the first scene. I told Radio Control that I had attended and had been told to stand off by the captain at the scene … but it came down to his word against mine. I went back to the scene … I went straight across to the member and hit him … He'd made a fool out of me …

Wilhelm over identified with MVA victims because he could relate to the violence that had impacted upon them, and their suffering. By projecting his pain and suffering onto them, he could deal with it externally, and avoid reflecting on his own internal suffering. He expected others to apply similar standards and values as him. When they did not, Wilhelm tended to feel rejected and withdrew. In this clinical example, Wilhelm complied with the captain's order and stood down. He did not try to tell the captain of his concerns. When the captain called Wilhelm back to the initial scene Wilhelm

attacked him. Unconsciously the captain had become linked to bad elements of Wilhelm's self. The captain appeared to become a threatening object that breached Wilhelm's exoskeleton (cf. Cartwright, 2002a). Wilhelm then felt justified in attacking him.

Riaan

Riaan's strong investment in military narratives went hand in glove with his placement in macho leader narratives. Riaan was regarded as a leader both in school and in the police. In session six Riaan's increasingly strong placement within macho leader narratives post-apartheid was clearly highlighted as he spoke about setting his own rules on the Mozambique border: he had to "think on his feet". As a result he felt respected by colleagues, both in the police and in the SADF. The high esteem his police activities afforded him further strengthened his stance within these narratives.

Riaan's position within macho leader narratives was also evident in his relations with women. He was attracted to 'damsels in distress'. When faced with the choice between a troubled younger woman and an experienced female colleague/peer he always chose the former. He spent many sessions expounding on the merits of a woman keeping her innocence and virtue. He rebuked women who were physically and emotionally strong or worldly wise. Looking at the transference relationship, in sessions Riaan had difficulty talking to me in graphic detail or using swearwords: "I don't want to talk about shocking things. I want to protect you from it." Gobodo-Madikizela (2003) also notes in her interviews with Eugene de Kock, de Kock's inability to face gruesome details in the presence of a woman, or in the presence of someone who understood other aspects of him. Gobodo-Madikizela notes:

> I think de Kock's discomfort concerning the details had
> something to do with my being a woman; or perhaps he
> perceived my sympathy for him and was afraid that if we

focused on the gory particulars of his past, he would lose it.
(2003, p. 28)

Being a hero meant Riaan must be a man of distinguished courage and ability. He strove to be admired for his brave deeds and noble qualities. Riaan's placement within macho leader narratives encouraged the use of the defences of splitting, projective identification, idealisation, denial, omnipotence and devaluation. He could split off and locate more vulnerable aspects of himself in naïve women ('damsels in distress') whom he then looked after and protected, as clinical material from session eleven illustrates. In this session Riaan described his ideal woman:

> *Riaan*   I want a hundred per cent love, commitment, and faithfulness. She must be fun. I want to be myself with her – not shock her. You know how racial I can get … I can be very rude.

Upon reflection I had no experience of Riaan as a racist. He was never rude or disrespectful in sessions. I felt that Riaan was trying to protect the all-good aspects that he projectively identified within me from the 'bad' aspects of himself which he split off.

> Someone who won't tell me what to do. But I want to protect her from scary things. She must be feminine, you know. Nails and stuff. Skirts … dresses. Not like Linda [Riaan's colleague in the Dog Unit], in there swearing with the guys. Wearing the uniform, handling the dog …

By projecting innocent and naïve parts of him into women, Riaan could then look after these split off aspects, affirming himself as a brave, powerful, and resilient man while not reflecting on his own helplessness.

Riaan's idealisation of women was continued in session twelve:

> *Riaan*   The Linda issue still bugs me. I've got an ill feeling
> about it. I'm not nice to her. Yet I want to be liked.
> She said she hates me … We have lots in common,
> we're emotional people, and do the same job. But I
> don't want her being tough … a policewoman.
> Chantel [a 21 year old woman Riaan had started to
> date] doesn't know my past …

It was difficult for Riaan to be vulnerable with someone who appeared to be strong, tough, and resilient. To feel good about himself he had to be the hero. Chantel affirmed this ideal self in Riaan. By dating a twenty-one year old woman he could portray her as young and innocent and in need of protection. He cast himself again in the protector role. This meant no one (either Riaan himself or others in his life) challenged, cared for, or supported Riaan. He avoided the issues that a more sophisticated woman would perhaps have brought up in him: such as his inability to engage with emotional conflict and express his needs and desires while weathering the consequences.

An unusual set of object relations seemed to stand out for Riaan: he consciously identified with a heroic, all-good object. This identification dominated all his interactions. He needed this identification to be supported by the admiration of others. However, as Cartwright (2002a) found with his participants, there was little to indicate that these 'admiring others' amounted to well defined or emotionally rich relationships for Riaan. Rather, these admiring others reflected only his success in an idealised way.

The theme of being a 'knight in shining armour' was developed in session twenty five: Riaan had had a date with Liz, whom he referred to as the "MTN girl" (as Liz worked for a cell phone company). They met at the Wimpy (a local

fast food restaurant) for a coffee during her lunch break. She then had to attend a business meeting. Riaan became uncomfortable when she explained she was taking a short cut through an informal settlement to reach the meeting. He insisted on following her in his car before he returned to work himself. Riaan initially felt there was "something" between them. However, after this more independent display by Liz, Riaan retorted she was "really not emotional enough" for him. Liz was strong and independent. She could look after herself – driving through areas Riaan felt were dangerous. As with Linda (his colleague), when Riaan found himself connecting with a strong woman he pulled back, complaining she was not emotional or feminine enough.

Outside the SAP and his heroic tales of valour, Riaan felt lost, frightened, and overwhelmed. He identified this part of himself in inexperienced women whom he then took care of. However, because they were young and inexperienced, ultimately these women could not be there for him in any substantial way. He created a self-fulfilling prophecy: he was constantly thrown back into the hero role to prevent these women from being overwhelmed.

Riaan maintained his all-good objects through a constant need to identify with the hero role. The defensive aim here seemed to be to maintain an all-good personality and split off bits of the self that had become associated with badness. However, there was little evidence that this all-good hero image was a stable part of Riaan's internalised object world. This image relied on the availability of specific external objects (naïve young women, victims of crime and assault, and colleagues in need of leadership and guidance) for its continued survival. Riaan's sense of being good relied on projective identifications with these all-good external objects rather than on a stable internalised part of the self.

The instability of Riaan's masculinity was highlighted in his second session when he spoke about his insecurities in relation to his ex-wife, Michelle. He felt emasculated by her. She had a well-paid job with a transport company. She

earned three times his salary and had a company car. Michelle worked in a predominantly male dominated industry. Riaan felt he could not "measure up" to these men, in terms of earning power, expensive clothes, or intellectual conversation. Unconsciously, at these times Riaan bolstered his sense of manhood through his engagement with activities around military narratives – for example, leaving on a six-month training course shortly after getting married.

Since his divorce Riaan devoted himself to his police career. He moved away from the Afrikaner patriarchal family and macho leader narratives and became more strongly positioned in military narratives. Riaan and his dog were frequently in the newspapers for acts of valour. He kept several scrapbooks of newspaper clippings in which they featured. In his move away from the Afrikaner patriarchal family and macho leader narratives, Riaan attempted to create new identifications based on his heroic SAP achievements in order to uphold his defensive system.

As with Wilhelm, the tendency to represent his mental states unconsciously in bodily terms was also apparent with Riaan. Riaan's difficulties were expressed on a somatic level rather than an intrapsychic one. His difficulties were then dismissed as symptoms of PTSD or the toll of an honest day's work, as this clinical material from Riaan's ninth session demonstrates:

> Riaan   … I feel that I'm losing my grip. I've got glasses for
> reading.
>
> [*Riaan opened up a glasses' case, and put on the glasses.*]
>
> I think I look well …

[*He grinned at me, and then he took off the glasses and put them away.*]

They remind me that I'm weak … mortal. Can I take any more scares? My work is so physically demanding. I get shooting pains in my legs. My knees are shot. It's only going to get worse as I get older … All I can do is slow the erosion process.

Symbolically Riaan appeared to be speaking directly about his rigid defensive organisation: about how difficult it was for him to continue to projectively identify with all-good external objects in post-apartheid South Africa. However, by presenting both somatic and psychosomatic symptoms, Riaan was able to gain attention and affirmation – both from himself and others – that he was a man of action, duty and honour. Thus, he avoided reflecting on the physical *and* emotional toll of his violent and abusive past, and chaotic and confusing present.

On different occasions Riaan would show me the two contradictory sides of his character: one of a hero who felt strong, brave and competent and the other of a man who felt weak, awkward, overwhelmed, and who doubted if people would desire him. When his position shifted to Christian National narratives Riaan found it more permissible to be needy and vulnerable. However, when the more vulnerable aspects of his character were revealed there would be a lack of emotional resonance in Riaan's voice. When he was positioned more in the military, macho leader, and Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives the invincible hero persona would emerge along with the emotions of pride, excitement, confidence and ambition. Riaan could only see himself as the 'modest hero', self depreciating and virtuous, but still manly.

Towards the end of his therapy Riaan took part in the Comrades Marathon. He did so to prove he was a 'real man' to his ex-wife, as this extract from session

twenty-six demonstrates:

Therapist   You told me that if Michelle [*Riaan's ex-wife*] read about you finishing the race she might think you were "husband material".

What sort of "husband material" would you be by completing Comrades?

Riaan   I would show Michelle I could complete things, difficult things. That I've got determination, strength, and character …

Therapist   You told me before you wanted relationships which would support you, like Frederick [*Riaan's brother-in-law*] has. How does proving yourself physically get you any nearer where you really want to go? It seems that's all you do – the Dog Unit, boarder trips, Comrades. You do difficult things to prove yourself in others' eyes. When will you stop and realise that you have determination, strength and character. When will you own qualities instead of having to prove them? And if you do own them what will that mean?

Riaan   I don't know …

Completing the Comrades Marathon was not transformative for Riaan. The training for the race helped him distract himself from his dissatisfaction with his life. It also took up a large amount of his time, leaving little space for any potential self reflection. In many ways it helped him 'run away' from conflict. Through the demands of training and qualifying races his position within macho leader narratives gained prowess. He was physically stronger and more able to

embody the macho ideal.

Macho leader narratives encouraged the use of splitting. Within these narratives certain feelings were deemed 'good/right' and others 'bad/wrong'. This split is reflected in session thirty-six:

> Riaan Since we spoke about sex last week I've realised
> something about myself … When I'm angry my libido
> is up. Anger keeps me hard …
>
> [*Riaan smiled to himself*.]
>
> But in a loving relationship I'm soft …

Riaan knew that anger helped him be physically strong – 'manlier' in his view. He was not sure how other emotions could make him feel strong and manly. He labelled emotions, apart from anger, as "pathetic" and "weak". By only interpreting feelings through military narratives, having these 'softer' feelings made Riaan 'not a man'.

For Riaan 'softer' feelings reflected an inherent weakness, a sense of having "cracked", and as such, he battled to accept that his need for help was not inferior or abnormal in any way. Riaan found himself alienated from those around him, myself being the only person he felt understood his world, yet constantly wanting to distance himself from that understanding and its implications. Therapy was a reminder of a world he wished to disown – a world of guilt, despair and shame. In some way Riaan felt he had failed miserably, as a man and as a human being, and his suffering was a confirmation of that failure.

Francois
Francois was a high achiever, pushed by his parents to be "first in class" and

"be the best at school". Francois enhanced his prestige in the SAP via promotion to specialised units. Francois worked his way up the ranks in the SAP quickly, ultimately becoming the ranking officer in the Internal Investigations Unit before his medical boarding.

Francois also tended to represent his mental states unconsciously in bodily terms. Francois had a particular style of enunciated speech, with precise diction and vocal inflections, which gave the impression that he was strong, capable and confident. He had a slow, polite, and deliberate style. He also frequently addressed me by name. His manner suggested intimacy but left me feeling removed from him. In his first session I reflected to myself: "His manner makes me feel like I'm a mechanic hired to repair his car – he patiently describes the car's problems and leaves me to it, with no more personal involvement from him, save for the expectation that it will be fixed when he comes to collect it". Despite agreeing to engage in individual psychotherapy he felt it necessary to point out to me that he really did not need help.

> *Francois*   But, Sharon, the point is I do not need help. I do not
>   need people to support me. Physically I am fine.
>   Bring on any assailant. I can tackle him.

As a result of splitting and his suppression of his emotions, Francois' anxieties would emerge as uncontrollable psychosomatic symptoms. He would then self medicate with prescription medication and alcohol, both of which were acceptable practices in the military and macho leader narratives. When I suggested there might be more to him than just physicality, he redirected, and thereby manipulated the conversation to discussing what a woman should or should not hear. For example, in session eight Francois avoided looking at his feelings by 'sparing' me the 'improper' details.

> *Francois*   I had a sexual dream. The first one I've had in ages.

[*Francois smiled to himself.*]

It was the highlight of my week.

Therapist   What was it about?

Francois   No, I can't talk about it.

Therapist   What's difficult to talk about?

Francois   It isn't the sort of thing that a lady should hear.

In this example Francois tried to manipulate me into affirming him as a respectable gentleman. He hinted at risqué experiences rather than opening up a space to challenge himself, reflect and change. Despite saying he wanted to engage emotionally in therapy, he would not let us explore what distressed him or what turned him on.

Morally Francois disliked aggression and violence. His distaste for physical violence was interesting in the face of his physical assertion of his authority over his subordinates at work, his children, and his wife. As a boy he had felt humiliated after receiving corporal punishment at school, yet he administered corporal punishment to his own children. How can we make sense of Francois' use of corporal punishment? It appeared that the physical assertion of his authority over colleagues was viewed as an acceptable macho practice towards subordinates. This was in clear contrast to his attitude towards physical aggression at home. However, at times when he was more strongly positioned in macho leader narratives, physical aggression would spill out at home. He then felt he was a brute, capable of inflicting terrible harm on his family. His solution was to avoid conflict at home. He withdrew from his family rather than contemplating other ways of being. Consciously, Francois did not perceive bullying of his colleagues wrong; he was simply maintaining discipline.

However, bullying his children to discipline them was morally reprehensible in his eyes. He considered himself to have been trained to take command. Francois' elitist values enabled him to dehumanise his colleagues to the point where he could justify being a bully. However, at home he could not justify this in a sustained manner; he identified with his family too much. His split off guilt, self-loathing, and frustration would seep out in the form of headaches, night terrors, flash backs, and chest pains.

As a child Francois needed a safe haven. However, he felt the people (parents and teachers) he turned to for this protection ultimately could not protect or care for him; rather they reprimanded him. He felt that no matter what his misdemeanour the consequence was the same, rebuke and humiliation. This left him feeling a failure. Now as the father-protector, and religious head of the house, he withdrew from his wife and children, for fear of harming them further. Several years after his final individual session with me, Francois attempted to bring his daughter to see me for therapy. He wanted me to tell her of his love and concern for her, as well as his dislike of the harsh discipline he subjected her to. When I suggested working with him alone to facilitate his dialogue with his daughter, he once again disengaged from therapy. Francois could not embody another way of being a man.

Like Wilhelm and Riaan, Francois also seemed to look for confirmations of an idealised good world in external objects in order to uphold his defensive structure. He frequently name-dropped in sessions, perhaps to try to impress me with important people he had met and places he had been. It seemed that Francois wished to identify parts of him in me which he could then idealise and in further hope for my admiration in return.

It was very scary and threatening for Francois to feel out of control. So much of his life, and how he understood himself to be, was under his command. As a result of splitting he battled to accept that he could be simultaneously in control and out of control – in need of support in certain ways but still a man who was

independent and capable. In session eight I suggested the possibility of taking a different stance within the narratives in which he was positioned:

Therapist	Perhaps you don't have to either be in control or overwhelmed. Perhaps, here in therapy, during the hour we spend together, we could slowly look at your feelings and the different meanings they have. Perhaps together we could learn to be with them, understand them, and find a way of forgiving them. Perhaps you could be a friend to yourself - find the Christo [*Francois' SAP chaplain friend who committed suicide*] that lives within you.
	[*There was silence. Francois seemed to be fighting back tears. Then they began to stream down his face.*]
	I know how hard this is for you Francois. Your tears seem to say that some of my words have touched you.
	[*Francois nodded.*]
	That's all they say Francois. They don't say you are falling apart or are not a man. Do you think you would like to make therapy a place where we could look at feelings?
Francois	[*He nodded again*.]
	Ja, I think so.

Taking a different stance within the narratives in which he was positioned proved to be too much for Francois. This was to be Francois' penultimate session. He tended to view difficult and painful feelings as embarrassing and evidence that he was inadequate. He then focused on this sense of insufficiency. He used his shortfalls as an excuse to opt out and drink, anesthetising this 'bad' sense of self, as illustrated in session six:

> Francois   Herbie [*Francois' best friend who had an affair with Maria, Francois' wife*] drank himself to death. Christo shot himself. My father died. What's the point of doing things differently if these great men have died? What chance do I have? I'm weak. I drink. There's no way out.

Through his self-nugatory comparison of himself with others in this example, it can be seen how brutal Francois was in his treatment of himself in attempting to live up to the macho all-good ideal. In his seventh session Francois wanted to be brave and manly and face his issues. However, facing his difficulties made him feel weak and defective. His way out of this dilemma was to dump his feelings as quickly as possible and not own, or reflect upon, them. Ultimately, Francois left the session abruptly. He discarded experiences he felt ashamed of without looking at, engaging with, or growing from them. He did not deal with his feelings. Therapy became an extension of his rigid defensive organisation. As a result, it seemed that he could not return to therapy as it no longer reflected all-good self aspects.

Despite wanting children, and to have a close relationship with them, Francois could not live out the role of a warm, loving and involved father. Instead he exemplified a patriarchal, authoritative, aggressive father-provider figure. Despite at one level wishing to engage with other ways of being, at another level this proved too threatening for Francois. He could not stop judging himself and let himself love and care for his wife and children, and have them love and

care for him.

Hennie

Hennie with his chiselled attributes was the embodiment of a macho ideal. Hennie's machismo could be traced back to his childhood: "I hated school. I was never good at academics. I liked playing sport." Machismo was also evident when Hennie described his relationship with his wife. He viewed her as his 'trophy' - he focused on winning her away from a colleague – and only had a superficial sense of why he was attracted to her. He further enhanced his virility by boasting that he was desired by a rich older woman, as this next example highlights:

> *Hennie*   I met my wife, Paulette, through a friend I made in the barracks. They were dating at the time.
>
> Paulette is lovely. She is a soft person. She's very kind. She doesn't swear or anything. She's a good example of a woman; very pretty.
>
> Well, I left Paulette for four months last year. I'd met a woman at a work braai. She was older and richer. We kept running into one another. She began buying me gifts and clothes. Life on a policeman's salary is hard. I liked being spoilt.

In this clinical material, Hennie appeared brazen about his infidelity. One moment Hennie was talking about his admiration of his wife, and the next, without the slightest hint of irony or incongruity, he was discussing his affair. Hennie had great difficulty elaborating on his thoughts and feelings. In fact, he struggled to describe his family or lover to me, despite my attempts to encourage him, he could not get past simple isolated words like "nice", "pretty", and "generous" to portray them. It seemed like as internalized objects

they were poorly represented in his psyche. This was perhaps why Hennie found it so easy to leave his family at his lover's request and, just a few months later, leave his lover at his wife's request.

Hennie seemed to lack adequate representational capacity, as the following clinical material from his fourth session illustrates:

Hennie   Look I do realise I am controlling …

I've started checking things. I had to go back into the flat this morning to check the stove was turned off. My wife wanted to visit a friend and so it delayed her a bit.

Therapist   What is it you think you are controlling?

Hennie   The stove.

Therapist   Perhaps it's the heat of the stove which may be destructive. Perhaps it's a metaphor for you controlling your emotions in case they hurt or destroy things you also care about.

Hennie   I'm not sure what you mean.

Therapist   Are you still following your wife in your car to make sure she arrives safely?

Hennie   Of course, I've always done that.

In this clinical material we can see how Hennie struggled to reflect with any depth on the possible metaphorical symbolism of his compulsive checking.

While following his wife around let him know she had arrived safely at her destination, it also allowed him to know where she was going. I wondered if Hennie was doing surveillance on his wife, or if he needed to follow his wife to stop himself from having another affair. If he was not following his wife, what would he have done with his time? If he was not checking to make sure the stove was turned off, would he have realised his anger and jealousy at his wife for having friends who wanted to spend time with her, and she with them? As with the other participants, Hennie's capacity to experience real emotion and suffering seemed not be sufficiently mentalised. Returning to Fonagy, Moran & Target's (in Cartwright, 2002a) distinction between the *pre-reflective self* and the *reflective self*, Hennie appeared to be pre-reflective, experiencing only the physical body. Hennie seemed to lack the capacity for symbolic thought. His words and symptoms were experienced in concrete terms.

Hennie seemed never to address conflict. He avoided inconsistencies simply by adopting a different discursive position. While with his wife and child he was the devoted Afrikaner patriarch, following them to school and work, concerned about their safety and well-being. When another woman paid him attention he was the 'macho stud', turning his back completely on his family and moving in with his lover. When his wife asked him to return home, he simply turned his back on his lover, returning to Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives once more.

Hennie also set therapy up to avoid conflict. A colleague whom he admired was in therapy, this gave it a sense of illegitimacy and kudos for Hennie. His colleague made it permissible for Hennie to enter therapy. His colleague referred Hennie to a male therapist and myself. Hennie chose to contact me. Choosing a female therapist enabled Hennie to enter therapy strongly positioned in the military and macho leader narratives. From the beginning, Hennie stage-managed therapy to 'care' for me as his female therapist, reinforcing his sense of being a man, and gaining status, rather than going to see a therapist because he needed help.

In his first session Hennie was opposed to being medically boarded: "I don't want to leave on a medical board – that's for wimps who can't hack it." Initially, it appeared that if Hennie were to leave the SAPS for psychological reasons he would lose his sense of himself as a capable man. However, as soon as he was shot in the line of duty, and his crew applied for a medical board, staying in the SAPS was not considered as an option for Hennie. Once again, a colleague applying for the medical board, made it legitimate for Hennie. He avoided any conflict by repositioning himself more strongly in Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives – "I have to think of my family. I deserve to be compensated for what I've been through."

In the therapeutic relationship Hennie seemed to have a pressing need to flatter me. With idealising objects in close proximity Hennie could projectively identify with them. As with Francois, by flattering me Hennie seemed able to identify parts of himself in me. Once Hennie had made up his mind about what I 'wanted' from him in therapy, he busied himself making sure that he adhered to these perceived needs. It seemed that by adhering to my perceived needs Hennie created a defensive organisation that made it very difficult to get to know parts of him that were not built on what he perceived me to want.

As I mentioned in chapter five, an exoskeleton is much like a suit of armour. Hennie was in many ways the embodiment of a suit of armour. He affirmed himself on a physical level. Hennie's attention to his physical prowess – spending many hours in the gym, and using steroids to enhance his muscle development - was his main way of gaining status. Here it seemed that having external control of himself – control of medication, his body size and strength - made Hennie feel more substantial and potent. However, how he appeared on the outside did not necessarily correlate with how he felt on the inside. In fact it may even have distracted from it. Despite being a 'big tough guy' he could not sleep at night for reasons he could not fathom or face.

Hennie's placement in macho leader narratives had a lot of power invested in it. From the beginning of therapy Hennie remained in control: ushering me into the consulting room, chatting to me as though I were a friend, going to great lengths to speak to me outside of therapy, and appearing cool, calm and collected in sessions. At the beginning of session eleven I brought up his attempts to externally control therapy.

Therapist	Hennie, again you insist on me entering the room first.
Hennie	I'm being a gentleman.
Therapist	But surely you come to therapy because you are in distress. You come for me to look out for you. By holding the door open for me you subtly opt out of that way of being. You seem to equate our relationship with others in your life where you set yourself up to be the protector figure …
	Here our relationship isn't about that. It's about you coming to me for help. However, that doesn't seem easy for you to do.
	Hennie, a week ago you met me at the beach. What did that mean to you?
Hennie	Oh, Jan [*his crew*] and I were just patrolling when I recognised you. I never thought I'd see you there. I thought I just stop and say "Howzit".
Therapist	Is that something you would generally do with someone you recognised?

Hennie	Ja, I do it all the time.
Therapist	How is our relationship different from others in your life?
Hennie	I don't know.

As we can see from this example, Hennie was invested in his placement in macho leader narratives. As a result, the therapeutic relationship was not unique for Hennie. He could not allow it to be. It was appropriate and affirming for Hennie to do a u-turn on the promenade, with his sirens blaring, drive over to me and 'shoot the breeze' at the beach, just as it was when he 'chatted' to me as we walked along the corridor from the waiting room. Remembering how easy it was for Hennie to leave his wife for the woman who bought him gifts, his therapeutic relationship was equally superficial.

Hennie treated himself in an undifferentiated way – as though he was always the same. This stopped him gaining access to special treatment either from himself or from others. It caused him to come across as all brawn, rather than something more complex and subtle.

Session twelve demonstrates Hennie's attempts to gain external control in the session once more. This session fell on Valentine's Day. Hennie brought me a rose.

Hennie	[*Hennie smiled.*]
	Happy Valentine's Day.
	[*He handed me the rose.*]

Therapist	What's the rose about Hennie?
Hennie	Last week you said I didn't make therapy special. So today's Valentine's Day and I've got you a rose.
Therapist	What's Valentine's Day about for you?
Hennie	[*He continued to smile.*]
	It's about men making women feel special.
Therapist	So you feel more like a man giving me the rose.
Hennie	Not really. I just thought it was a nice thing to do.
Therapist	Yes, but by making it one of those nice behaviours you should do to be a nice person you miss out the specifics. One, it makes you feel like a man. Two, it is a romantic gesture. Three, it makes you feel like a nice guy. Four, it's about you doing things for others again. And five, if you didn't do it does it mean you aren't nice or a guy?
Hennie	[*He continued to smile.*]
	Oh, Sharon, that really sounds complicated.
	I've just been up to Kimberley for a family weekend and was in a good mood. That's all.

If Hennie believed that bringing me a rose was an extension of his good mood from spending time with his family, it was a very ambiguous way of

communicating it. His *modus operandi* was invariably orientated towards macho practices – holding doors open, and giving roses. Hennie's external control functioned to protect him from engaging with external and internal conflict. When he inevitably failed to control therapy he missed sessions.

Hennie had internalised a set of principles about what it meant to be a man in a concrete way. Looking at his affair, Hennie had difficulty sitting down and talking to his wife, Paulette, because he did not know why he had the affair. Cognitively he made it about machismo, being a 'stud' pursued by an older woman. By simplifying his reasons he stopped thinking about more subtle and complex perspectives. For example, perhaps he liked being spoilt with designer clothes because as one of seven siblings there was not very much money or attention to go around. Clothes made him feel more valued and more valuable. Hennie was unable to reflect on these more complex understandings or contemplate how else he wanted to be.

Machismo and militarism coloured Hennie's fantasies about life outside the SAPS: "I'd love to open my own security company. I'd do all the opening and closings for big companies and shops." There was no contemplation of 'starting small' or 'growing a business' for Hennie. 'Naturally' he would *own* the security business, as opposed to work in one, and it was taken for granted that *big* retailers would pass their business onto him. With Hennie it was all "bright lights, big city".

As a young man, becoming a policeman helped Hennie answer a lot of difficult questions: about whom he was and what he wanted out of life. However, while it seemed to answer questions, it did not open up a space for Hennie to review the man it made him. It defined him as a strong and virile man, whose role was to serve and protect. He embodied this role. However, he was unable to explore who he was either inside or outside of this. Hennie had not developed other ways of knowing himself outside of military and macho practices. His way of engaging with life was with no awareness or ability to deal with

emotions or conflict. As a man he felt valid and alive when he engaged in military and macho practices. However, this left him with little social life, emotionally estranged from his wife, and able to relate to his daughter only through appearances.

Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives

Religiosity bleeds into the concept 'Afrikaner patriarch'. The Dutch Reformed Church reinforced patriarchy with its beliefs concerning marriage, the family, and the home, seeing the father as the head of the home, and responsible for the conduct of his family.

Wilhelm

Wilhelm's placement in Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives was clear from his relationship with his parents. Generally Wilhelm was a compliant son. An example of this was when Wilhelm's parents arranged his engagement to a nurse from his home town. Despite his dislike of his parents' choice of bride he remained engaged to her for six years.

Wilhelm regularly visited his mother in Nelspruit and did odd jobs for her. The following example from session thirty-four illustrates how important undertaking traditional Afrikaner patriarchal practices, such as painting his mother's house, were for Wilhelm's sense of himself as a good person.

Wilhelm	The house needed painting, inside and out. Why the others couldn't see that? They're too lazy … too wrapped up in their own lives. My mother doesn't see so well any more. I started on the outside and worked my way inside. I was up there [*in Nelspruit*] for two weeks, so I had plenty of time. By the time I did get inside I was quiet tired. My sister came round. She sat herself down in the kitchen where I was busy painting. She asked me what I was doing. I explained

to her that I was painting the house for **OUR** [*he exclaimed*] mother. She then asked me, while she was helping herself to tea and cake, if I was going to paint the outside as well. I was so angry I could have strangled her. The ladders started to shake. I climbed down them and walked out, slamming the door behind me. That's the last time I spoke to her.

From this example we can see Wilhelm's continued vested position within Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives. Being able bodied and practical was also an important aspect of Afrikaner masculinity. Wilhelm relentlessly applied himself to his perspective of what a good son should do. He then evaluated others according to his own standards. He could not see his siblings as different from himself. Instead he tried to force them to be like him.

Wilhelm cared for people in ways that made sense to him. However, often his siblings and others did not appreciate what he did. He took this personally. It was important for Wilhelm to be useful to his mother, just as he prided himself on how useful he was as a policeman, and as a self appointed handyman/security guard in his complex. Being of practical use enabled Wilhelm to affirm himself physically and to projectively identify with an all-good sense of self.

If we look at the above clinical material from a psychoanalytic perspective, it could be said that Wilhelm seemed to represent his maternal object in an idealized way. Wilhelm's maternal object was associated with a theme of over-protection. In Brenman Pick's (in Cartwright, 2002a, p. 143) words: "there is an early 'take over' of the breast, in which the infant 'becomes' the breast and shows behaviour which is in part a fake of a very concerned mother". Drawing from Brenman Pick, Wilhelm's over-protection associated with his maternal object may have been an attempt to counteract the lack of maternal concern he may have experienced during childhood. As I mentioned earlier, Wilhelm's

parents had seven children, one of whom died from SIDS. One can only imagine the demands placed upon his mother raising six children. These demands could only have been exacerbated with the death of his brother in infancy and Wilhelm's eldest sister being born with Down's Syndrome. Wilhelm's mother had to cope with the family single handed as her husband worked unsociable hours for the South African Railways. Like the other old guard participants in this study, Wilhelm's often overstated statements of caring concern and wanting to constantly 'do for others' appears closely to resemble Brenman Pick's descriptions.

The absence of a consistent and supportive paternal object also appeared to be a constant across the four old guard policemen I have investigated. Their paternal objects appeared to be poorly developed. Without a well developed paternal (or third) object, Cartwright (2002a) believes there is no point of reference outside symbiotic object relations. This led to individuals feeling trapped. Significantly, Wilhelm's identifications with male figures (his father, brothers, and male colleagues) were always precarious, perhaps making him more vulnerable to challenges to his masculinity.

Wilhelm's stance within Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives became more invested when he cared for his nephew and niece. In session twenty Wilhelm felt bitter towards his sister-in-law. Wilhelm had cared for her children when she and his brother were going through a difficult time in their marriage. He became attached to the children and missed them when their parents reconciled. When his sister-in-law began manipulating and influencing his mother, Wilhelm felt it was his duty to step in.

> *Wilhelm*   Can't that bitch leave anything alone? She's always
>   meddling … trying to gain from any situation. She's
>   claiming poverty and taking my mother's furniture. I
>   tried to speak to my mother on the phone last night
>   but it's impossible … She's deaf and can't hear me.

> I'm going to go up to Nelspruit and sort this out …

Therapist   I hear how cross you are with your sister-in-law for taking advantage of your mother who is alone and vulnerable. It reminds me of how you often feel manipulated and taken advantage of.

Wilhelm   What really gets me is that my brothers and sisters up in Nelspruit do nothing.

Therapist   You're going to great lengths to help your mother at this difficult time, yet you do very little to help yourself.

Wilhelm found it easy to take practical steps to help protect his mother. Shielding her from greedy relatives made him feel like a competent man and a dutiful caring son. He was then able to projectively identify with an all-good sense of self.

Wilhelm's placement within the military, macho leader and Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives began to shift as his involvement in the SAP proceeded. His increased exposure to combat situations and scenes of violence led to his avoidance of his own home. His placement in Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives weakened and he withdrew from Petra. Wilhelm was unable to talk to Petra about his worries despite being initially attracted to her liberal and caring nature. He was apprehensive about 'contaminating' her with his experiences. Although Wilhelm valued close relationships, important figures like his wife seemed to be portrayed in an idealized way. His idealization of Petra appeared to be a means of maintaining distance from her (and his) real qualities, both good and bad. True to form, the only living thing he shared his darkest moments with was a parrot. In session twenty-six Wilhelm spoke about

waking in the middle of the night after a night terror, unable to return to sleep. He went through to the lounge and took his parrot out of its cage:

> Wilhelm   I'm teaching him to speak … He's getting really good … He can repeat lots of things I say.

> Therapist   When you are faced with horrors and feelings that are too hard for you to be alone with, you try and distract yourself by doing something physical. This makes you feel productive and in control. However, you are with a parrot - something that can't engage with what you say but merely repeat.

> Wilhelm   Ja. But I like the parrot. He sits on my shoulder and nuzzles me.

> Therapist   You get comfort from him. That's great. But it's limited comfort. You relieve some of the horrors but not in a way they can more fully be cared for.

Wilhelm found it very difficult to take on board the implications of what I said. There was a stiff silence followed by Wilhelm expounding on the affectionate nature of parrots. When I explained to him that he had not reflected on what it would mean to him to be cared for by someone who could answer him back, or what it would mean to him to really hear how hurt he had been by all that he had been involved in, he had another moment of "blanking out". He then became more present in the session busying himself with medical boarding papers. Military narratives restored his fragile exoskeleton and gave him some affirming substance once more.

Wilhelm experienced great difficulty accessing therapy in a consistently supportive manner, as the next example from session eight illustrates:

> Wilhelm was asleep in a chair outside my office door. I called his name and he awoke with a start. He was a bit disorientated and sat in the chair looking around. He got up and entered my room. Wilhelm made no reference to this event once in the session. He spoke about more forms to be completed. He then talked about how relieved he was to find that he could apply for a medical board and not return to work.

From this example we can speculate that Wilhelm felt accepted, understood and safe in therapy. It was highly symbolic that Wilhelm routinely felt safe enough to sleep here but nowhere else in his post-apartheid environment. However, he was never able to own this, or reflect upon it, once he entered the consultation room.

Riaan

Riaan's placement within Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives was highlighted by his choice of living with his father after his parents' divorce. Riaan idealised his father. He explained to me in session twenty-three, "I always regarded my father as a pillar of strength". For Riaan his father was a hero. Riaan wanted to be just like him. Riaan's father was a military man, in an army civilian unit and always away on camps. Riaan recalled his father looking "so smart" in his uniform, "so official". Riaan described his father as a highly respected person, both within his extended family and within the community. As the eldest of five brothers, Riaan's father was the head of the family. All his brothers came to him for advice.

Within a patriarchal system a father's role often becomes simplified to that of an authoritarian provider and disciplinarian. Riaan's father was both emotionally and physically distant. Despite his great admiration of his father, Riaan felt he hardly knew him. The little he did know, Riaan experienced as strict and punitive. In session ten Riaan noted: "Well … with my father you mustn't show

weakness ... Don't go to the doctor ... Don't get sick ... I can't talk to him because of this ..."

Riaan seemed to assume the role of 'substitute husband' to his mother. Like Wilhelm, Riaan's over-protection associated with his maternal object may have been an attempt to counteract the lack of maternal concern he experienced as a child. Riaan's sense of his mother was that of a depressed, self-sacrificing housewife. He felt she relied heavily on him for emotional and practical support. His mother apparently "idolised" Riaan's career. Riaan's concern for his mother is reflected in the following excerpt from his tenth session:

> *Riaan*   I'm driven by passion. I'm like my mother. My sister is
> spiritual. That makes it hard to talk to her. I can't talk
> about work. I have to mind my Ps & Qs. With my
> mom ... I can talk to her. But I don't get emotional. I
> must be strong. You see she hurts when I do. I
> mustn't be her hurt [sic].

Despite feeling his mother cared and was concerned about him, Riaan also sensed that she could not be emotionally supportive of him. In session two he commented: "Mom sacrificed lots for us. She stayed with my dad because of us. She's often depressed." She appeared fragile and isolated, impotent in affecting her own care.

Riaan's position within the Afrikaner patriarchal family was evident when he went to seek advice from his father prior to his marriage to Michelle. In session two he explained: "... I asked him what I should do. He said if I had given my word I had to see it through, so we got married." Despite his reservations Riaan followed his father's advice.

In post-apartheid South Africa Riaan seemed to unconsciously set things up so that he could read some degree of affirmation into almost everything. The

mechanism of projective identification is useful to explain this phenomenon. As opposed to a more typical use of projective identification, where bad experience is usually projected outward, here good objects are held 'outside' the self in order to maintain the split between internalised badness and idealised parts of the self. As Cartwright (2002a) found with his participants, a more typical form of projective identification would have interfered with this process. Riaan seemed to continuously involve himself in heroic activities in an attempt to sustain an image of him as all-good. Riaan rescued 'damsels in distress', but broke contact with more experienced women where the situation potentially demanded more from him than a 'knight in shining armour' persona. Such situations would have brought Riaan into contact with the negative aspects of his past, present and future. He would have had to acknowledge them and deal with them. Such a prospect would have seriously disrupted the state of his inner representations. This could have lead to a shattering of Riaan's sense of the world as he knew it, making him feel unsafe and insecure.

Francois

As the head of his house Francois was in a powerful position. He controlled and directed everyone's behaviour, just as he had done in the SAP. His position as an Afrikaner patriarch even extended to therapy. From the beginning of his individual work Francois attempted to steer the course of therapy as this excerpt from session one conveys:

> *Francois*   Sharon, have I given you Dr Johannes Bossman's
>   card? I saw him in Pretoria for my medical boarding.
>
>   [*Francois handed me a business card.*]
>
>   And this is my psychiatrist's card.
>
>   [*He handed me another business card.*]

Therapist	We were talking about you and how you feel and then you gave me the cards of people you went to for help in the past. What's that about?
Francois	You might need to contact them to find out things about me. What I was like then.

In this example we could say that Francois controlled split-off aspects of the self by denying and manipulating the existence of the bad self. In this his first individual session, Francois attempted to control and distance himself from the more needy 'bad' aspects of himself by giving me the cards of specialists he had seen in the past, rather than owning and articulating his anxieties himself. Just as Francois had done in couple's therapy with his wife, Maria, he could not tolerate connecting with parts of himself he had split off. This was too threatening to his defensive organisation. Instead, he split these threatening aspects off as part of the 'bad' internal object system, or 'dumped' them with his wife or previous medical professionals.

Looking at his past, Francois' family structure was strictly patriarchal and Dutch Reformed. In his patriarchal family system Francois' father was experienced as a strong, powerful figure to emulate, admire and respect. Yet at the same time, his father was experienced as abandoning, punitive and emotionally distant. As a good object, his father was envied. As a bad object his father was experienced as withholding, and thus was perhaps envied too. Francois' envy may have been split off in order for him to remain in contact with the idealised object.

In our therapeutic relationship it was apparent that Francois had a need to compare himself with me in terms of status, material wealth and general interests. With idealising objects in close proximity Francois could projectively identify with them. The following example from session nine shows this defence mechanism at work:

Francois	[*Francois was quiet for a moment. When he spoke his voice was subdued and his sentences were brief.*]
	I was born in P.E. I am one of four siblings. My father's family made their fortune in transport – they owned and ran the bus transportation in P.E. My father travelled from home frequently. I didn't see him much. I was at boarding school. Shortly after I finished matric my father died.
	[*He sat up straighter in his chair and spoke in a louder voice.*]
	I attended Grey College in Bloemfontein. Do you know it?
	[*He gave me no time to respond. He smiled a self satisfied smile and nodded his head.*]
	What a school. My family has always attended Grey. It has such a legacy for our country. I am proud to have attended it.
	[*He looked proud of himself.*]
Therapist	It sounds like you feel very proud of your school and having attended it makes you feel good. However, I also sense you feel sad about the loss of your father, and while you enjoyed school, you didn't have enough time with him.

<table>
<tr><td>Francois</td><td>Oh, the school and my father are one and the same thing; he also attended Grey. Hard work and strict discipline were their codes.</td></tr>
</table>

Francois' blew his own trumpet with his talk of a prestigious South African school and smug confident body language. This may have enabled Francois to reject the other feeling parts of him, because of their associations with badness. It seemed that he could not be in touch with them. As he had done in couple's therapy, he wanted others to hold his troubles rather than being in touch with them himself.

Francois' placement within Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives could have been threatened by his choice of a well educated and successful wife. At an unconscious level Francois may have even envied his wife's successful career. However, as Summers (1994) points out, envy is dangerous to the good object. Summers believes that devaluation of the object would then be employed. Devaluation involves denial of the need for the object. Francois descriptions of Maria and her career throughout therapy were whimsical. He did not respect or look up to her.

Francois could be described as never really being there for himself. He cared for himself in a similar fashion to how his parents cared for him: focusing on his achievements and punishing his failures. This way of being not only affected how he treated himself but also how he was in relationships. He had few friends. The ones he did have (Herbie, who drank himself to death and Christo, who shot himself) were emotionally overwhelmed themselves. Ultimately, he could not depend on them to care for him.

Hennie

Hennie made it clear from the beginning of therapy that he perceived himself as the patriarchal head of his family. As the father-protector Hennie seemed to split off his more vulnerable feelings and project them onto his wife and

daughter. Hennie described his wife, Paulette, as "pretty", "soft" and "virtuous". Their relationship was emotionally distant. Hennie felt unable to talk to her about his concerns, believing she would not "understand". He described her as "weak" and "vulnerable". However, he did not give her credit for being a capable independent person. Likewise his relationship with his daughter was shallow and superficial as this excerpt from session nine reveals:

Hennie   [*Hennie gave me one of his big grins.*]

Things at home are going OK. Yolande [*Hennie's daughter*] is doing well with her modelling. Some of the mothers came up to me the other evening and congratulated me on having such an attractive child. She's doing well at swimming and athletics at school as well. She's modest. She'd never boast about her achievements.

Therapist   You seem proud of your daughter's image and physical prowess. I know you are proud of your image and physical prowess. But what more is there to you, and to your relationship with your daughter?

Hennie   [*He smiled.*]

I'd like to think I'm a successful father, husband, and that I'm good at my job.

Therapist   What, for you, is a successful father?

Hennie   Being able to provide what my daughter wants.

Therapist   Like what?

> *Hennie*   Like school, modelling, a roof over her head, food on
>   the table.

Hennie's idea of a successful father was a good provider. He did not contemplate being a father who supported his child emotionally, who listened, who encouraged and challenged, who promoted independence, and who helped his child negotiate life's hurdles. We can see from this example Hennie's position in Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives.

Hennie did not seem to have a sense of strong emotional connection with his parents or siblings. Hennie never got to spend much time with his father. Hennie felt he had a close relationship with his mother. However, as with his other experiences, Hennie's sense of his mother seemed superficial. Despite not having any deep emotional connection, Hennie busied himself with family responsibilities and frequently visited his mother and father in Krugersdorp. Again, Hennie's overprotection of his mother may have been an attempt at counteracting the lack of maternal concern he may have experienced during childhood. Hennie's parents had seven children which perhaps put a limitation on the amount of individual attention each child had from them. An example of Hennie's lack of emotional connectedness with his family is reflected in the next example. In session nine Hennie passed a comment about how both he and his mother missed his brother who had died in a motorbike accident.

> *Therapist*   Have you spoken to your mom about missing your
>   brother?

> *Hennie*   No, it would only upset her.

> *Therapist*   Why would it upset her if you already sense her pain?

> *Hennie*   I guess it's just not the thing to do. I guess I've never

	been very emotional with either of my parents. I can't even say I love them.
Therapist	Do you love them?
Hennie	Of course. They're my parents.
Therapist	You seem to suggest that just because they are your parents you must love them. Why should you?
Hennie	Because it's the thing to do.

We can see from this example Hennie's lack of manifest emotional expression. Hennie took socially prescribed norms and accepted them unquestioningly as being true for him and his life: of course he loved his parents. By simply taking for granted socially prescribed norms, Hennie avoided getting in touch with how he really felt. Hennie never addressed hurt or conflict within himself. Recalling Hennie's affair, it initially appeared to be out of character for a man so invested in being the protector of his family. However, on closer analysis, he may have disinvested from the Afrikaner patriarchal family and enhanced his position in the macho leader and military narratives, thus avoiding any conflict. Hennie's rigid defensive organisation did not simply lead to the denial of conflict over the affair. There was some acknowledgement of the betrayal on Hennie's part. However, this acknowledgement left him unaffected. His acknowledgement suggested that the problem had been worked through and dealt with. All signs seemed to indicate, however, that his affair was allocated to a 'bad self'. This split enabled Hennie to re-invest himself as the ideal Afrikaner patriarch self once again. Nevertheless, there was no integration of his split off good and bad aspects into a coherent whole.

Christian National narratives

During apartheid the belief was that the will of God legitimised the law and the

state, and that the task of the SAP was thus God-given. These were the moral narratives in which these participants were positioned. Sometimes their religious convictions were a restraining force. Nevertheless, the participants' religious convictions simultaneously condoned religiously sanctioned immorality, such as vigilantism.

Wilhelm

For Wilhelm the church and state was the defining authority on issues relating to morality. The idea that morality was God based seemed to soothe Wilhelm's troubled soul. Unlike Francois (who peppered his every sentence with Biblical quotations) and to some degree Riaan (who described himself as a "guardian angel") for Wilhelm the Christian National (moral) narrative was apparent more by its absence than by its presence.

Straight out of College Wilhelm had a particular commitment to the "security branch" and received payoffs in terms of his military and macho leader practices throughout his involvement. In Korber's (1992) study of military violence in the SADF, she found that her participant retrospectively felt remorse for his actions. Applying Korber's (1992) finding to Wilhelm, it should be noted, that retrospectively Wilhelm reported some level of remorse for his participation in "security branch" activities. In session twelve he spoke about some of the atrocities he had taken part in. However, he did this initially in an emotionally removed way, as though he were completing a dossier for work. In this next excerpt I highlighted his emotional disconnection and asked him to reflect upon how he felt.

> *Wilhelm*   They were just innocent people … I have to live with
>   what I did.
>
>   [*I sensed guilt in Wilhelm's tone of voice*.]
>
>   I was so young … My mother had drilled it into me to

> do what I was told … but those people running everywhere, looking for cover, trying to get back on the train as the people behind them pushed to get out … It's terrible.

Wilhelm's remorse in this excerpt was interesting in light of his full participation in the activities of the "security branch". In part this related to his distinction at the time between the 'enemy' and 'civilians'. However, his ability to split off his horror at shooting the 'enemy' did not extend to 'civilian' casualties. Wilhelm's remorse could also suggest his investment in his position within Christian National narratives over time.

Wilhelm's volunteering for the Search & Rescue Unit, where he cared for the victims of accidents was interesting in light of his deepening investment within the Christian National narratives and his sense of remorse for killing civilians. Perhaps he was trying at one level to undo what he had done, by caring for the injured and the dead. At another level it may have enabled him to project the hurt and traumatised parts of himself onto the victims, whom he then cared for, as opposed to reflecting upon what his own distress meant.

Riaan

Often faith is believed to provide a moral guide upon which we can base our modern sensibilities. Riaan seemed to use his religion in this way. He saw himself as a "guardian angel" sent to protect the innocent. However, his religious convictions also enabled his involvement in religiously sanctioned immorality. An example of Riaan's terrorising of suspects (his immorality) was reflected when he said, "We joke about kicking dead bodies, and getting our dogs to bite. We show one another photos of the scene to see whose photo is the best, the most gruesome …"

Riaan's way of getting around any sense of immorality or impropriety was to idealise his position within the military and Christian National narratives. He

saw himself as a soldier of God, on the side of right, protecting his country, the innocent, and the God fearing, from the 'evil enemy'. In the second session Riaan strongly related to the epic movie Braveheart. Like the romanticised protagonist, William Wallace, Riaan felt he engaged with life "for love and country". In the sixth session he elaborated on his idealism with, "You know up on the border, I felt like a guardian angel, looking after the innocent ... It felt so good ..."

Riaan's family structure was strictly Dutch Reformed. As his parents were members of the Dutch Reformed Church, he had to attend church services and Sunday school as a child. Riaan described the "dominee" (minister), as frequently warning in apocalyptic terms about the evils of sex outside of marriage (or sex with an "Engelse meisie" [English girl] or a black woman), Satanism, masturbation, homosexuality and the 'twin evils' of communism and majority rule. The dominee also emphasized the custom of tithing (the obligation of the family to pay at least one tenth of their income to the church) to demonstrate the family's love for "Jesus our Lord".

For Riaan as a child mealtimes had a strict code of thanksgiving prayers followed by eating in absolute silence. The religiosity of the family was also apparent in Riaan's mother becoming the local Dutch Reformed Church secretary. Religion and morality were to be revered in Riaan's home. His religious experiences were austere.

The Dutch Reformed Church, whose dominees could belong to the secret and shadowy Afrikaner Broederbond, was all-powerful – the National Party at prayer – and played a pivotal role in legitimising and defending apartheid. It also ensured that a narrow, bigoted, morality was enforced on society as a whole: there were no movies or sport allowed on a Sunday. Family values were shaped according to the Word of God. For example, favoured Dutch Reformed scripture references included: a man shall be a husband of one wife (Titus 1:6); sex outside of marriage is sin (Hebrews 13:4); homosexuality is sin (1 Cor.

6:9); divorce is not God's will (Mark 10:6-12); husbands should love their wives (Eph. 5:25,28); wives should respect and honour their husbands as head of the home (Eph. 5:22-23, 1 Pet. 3:1); children should honour and obey their parents (Ex. 20:12; Col. 3:22). The Censorship Board who, under the guidance of the Dutch Reformed Church, 'protected' apartheid South Africa from the 'immorality' of being shown women's naked breasts and the 'dangers' of the speeches of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Thambo. This was a propaganda exercise promoting narrow and very particular religious views. Thus, the church and its particular brand of bigoted and racist moralism shaped and delimited the potentiality of selfhood.

Interestingly, Riaan seemed to oscillate between two paradoxical moral positions within Christian National narratives. In session twenty Riaan wanted to talk about: "Things that are wrong but feel right".

> *Riaan*   How can you talk to people who don't understand? I find I don't want to talk. My brother-in-law, Frederick, spoke to me … Frederick and my sister want me to talk to them. They're heavy Christians … They make it sound so nice. They invite me round supposedly for 'supper', only to find it's a religious prayer meeting! Who does Frederick think he is? They try to impose their belief on me! I don't want to explain myself to them. I feel like I'm on the stand in court. If I were a Christian I would have to leave the Dog Unit! So I just go to my room …
>
> You're either religious or you're not. Dad and I agree on Frederick. We don't like him. At least I'm in the police - Frederick didn't even do his national service. I can't talk to Frederick. He wouldn't allow me to have sex unless I was married. He puts himself so up there.

It's like a ladder: I'm at the bottom and Frederick's on top...

Frederick is supportive of no one. He only invited me to that prayer meeting because he can show off … He doesn't even look after my sister. My sister has to drive by herself at night. He doesn't give a dam. He doesn't work. He lazes round the house and doesn't get out of bed until lunch time … When he asked dad if he could marry Tanya, Dad said no. Frederick asked him why. Dad said, "Because you're an asshole." Dad was right.

From this example we can see that despite thinking of himself as a "guardian angel" he also felt he could not measure up to his sister and brother-in-law's religious convictions. In order to avoid grappling with the contradiction he avoided the prayer meeting discussion group they had set up, and denigrated Frederick's convictions and investment within the military and macho leader narratives. As Riaan disinvested from Christian National narratives, his investment within the military and macho leader narratives deepened. While he felt lower down the 'moral ladder' than Frederick, Riaan experienced himself as higher up the 'macho ladder'. However, in session twenty-six his investment within Christian National narratives deepened once more. In this session Riaan envied Frederick.

Riaan   I was thinking about my brother-in-law, Frederick, the other day. He's got a great life. He and my sister are very much alike. They enjoy going to their church and always have people over … Frederick likes to sing and plays guitar with a guy who plays keyboards. He can do that because he doesn't have to go out and work night shift like I do ... His family are close. He

and Tanya often spend time round at his folks. He's got a great brother, sister, nephews and nieces. I really envy him …

Riaan's oscillating envy and hatred of Frederick correlates with his viewing himself as moral or immoral. However, as opposed to these being contradictory feelings, and potentially transformative, Riaan's views and activities were simply a reflection of his shifting investment within the narratives in which he was positioned. As his investment within the Christian National narratives waned so his investment within the military, macho leader and Afrikaner patriarchal family narratives waxed. This functioned at an internal level to enable him to avoid any real working through and integration of the split off good and bad aspects of himself, and the potential distress this might entail.

Francois

Francois was raised a religious man, having attended the Dutch Reformed Church as a child. He talked in a knowledgeable manner about his religious faith. Despite this, I was struck by the difficulty he had elaborating on his thoughts and feelings. By idealising his faith - as he had done with his relationship with his father - it became a shining trophy for Francois to display, rather than complex experiences to grapple with and grow from.

Francois frequently mentioned scripture references in sessions - although he would not quote passages or discuss the significance he invested these references with. In his first session he hinted at his feelings of abandonment when attending boarding school. However, he then quickly moved on to quoting scripture references and expounding on the virtues of boarding school and his father. Francois' scripture references perhaps were reflective of his need to appear moral and virtuous. However, by providing only chapter and verse, as opposed to personal meaning, Francois received only cold comfort. His difficulty elaborating on his thoughts became more apparent when I began to pick up on possible areas of conflict and inconsistencies in some of his

statements. Francois then became agitated and struggled to elaborate on these elements in any way. For example, Francois attended Grey College in Bloemfontein – a bastion of Christian National Education - and was proud of the school's history, traditions and reputation. Francois put forward - and wanted to be associated with - Grey College's reputation as one of the best schools in the country, and deflect from underlying and more personal issues - such as being sent to boarding school at a young age, his lack of contact with his family, and his feelings of abandonment.

In the Christian National moral narratives you were either good or bad. Francois used these polarised conceptual positions to both affirm and berate himself. For example, in his fourth session Francois discussed how much he missed his friend Christo, the SAP chaplain:

> *Francois*   But he was a chaplain in the SAP: a man of God. How could someone so good see his life as bad? I cannot understand.
>
> [*Then Francois continued in a quieter voice.*]
>
> I really clicked with him. He opened up doors for me. I was able to discuss issues with him: God, politics, life. We had many things in common. I miss him now. I have no one to talk to. I feel so trapped in life.
>
> I am a failure. I let him down. I didn't visit him the evening he shot himself.

In Francois' view of the Christian National moral narrative, a chaplain had to be all good. How then could Christo feel his life was bad enough to end it? This clinical example reveals Francois' limited ability to reflect and see the limitations of Christian National practices. This lack of reflective space seemed to impact

on Francois' sense of psychological space. When he contemplated ambivalent situations he felt he was consumed by them (for example, Christo's suicide, and Francois' corporal punishment of his daughter, amongst others) perhaps because of this lack of psychological space.

As mentioned before, Francois led a successful and respected life. This suggests that some useful engagement with external objects did take place. Although this was an important factor regarding Francois' comparative stability my observations suggest that his object relations had a narcissistic centre. Francois seemed to lack the capacity to relate to an object's interior. Francois seemed only able to see the object as a reflection of him. Francois' way of relating (for example, his affect and speech pattern) was flat and removed. Perhaps Francois' way of relating reflected how his objects (both internal and external) were dehumanised and devoid of realistic qualities. Although close relationships, like the one Francois had with Christo, were seemingly important to him, Christo was not portrayed in a realistic way. Rather, Christo was portrayed in an idealised way.

Clearly Francois received certain benefits through his placement in Christian National narratives. He appeared the devoted husband, father, religious head-of-the-house and civic leader as the "retired" police Major. Superficially, he seemed to exemplify, more than the other participants, the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family and Christian National narratives in which he was positioned.

Conclusion

This thesis was motivated by the desire to understand why long serving policemen, who had been exposed to numerous traumatic events as part of their job, suddenly presented in psychotherapy with symptoms of PTSD. In this investigation my understanding of their trauma centred on the loss of their established and taken-for-granted old guard identity and the loss of their perception of their world as a safe and benign space. This may have made it

impossible for the old guard to contain traumatic experiences as they had done before. By way of example, in his first session Riaan felt he was losing everything:

Case: Riaan

Riaan   [*Riaan's head was bowed; his hands were resting on his knees.*]

Night after night I'm hunted. I'm outnumbered and attacked. They've pinned me down … a bloody ambush. I keep shooting, but more keep coming …

Oscar died. He was shot outside the Supreme Court. I keep seeing it every night when I go to sleep. Everything is in slow motion. Except, I'm there! But there's nothing I can do. I can't stop it.

Roscoe was shot. It keeps playing over and over … Everything I'd given my marriage away for is slipping away from me. Everything I sacrificed for has let me down. Promotions are being withheld. I just keep running away – going on another course.

The fairytale has been shattered …

Riaan's fairytale had indeed been shattered. Apartheid South Africa was gone and so were the identities it had structured. Riaan, however, remained, powerless to stop the transformation. He was not simply admired and respected because he was a 'knight in shining armour' on a 'divine' quest for the 'Holy Grail'. The old narratives were no longer revered, and Riaan - like Wilhelm, Francois, and Hennie - had no tools to re-narrate himself into the new ones. The racial ideologies on which the apartheid regime hinged, validated the

identities of the policemen as masculine, racially dominant, and ordained by God as the protectors of white society. The identities of the old guard were supported and reinforced by the policies of the state and the SAP. Consequently, with the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa there was nothing in place to support the established identities of these policemen and their defensive processes were inadequate. The policemen had constructed their identities in relation to the bad external objects that were black South Africans. As a consequence of the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa, national discourses and policies no longer supported that narrative.

During apartheid 'containing' external factors existed for the participants. The most obvious facilitating factor was the cop culture of the SAP. It positioned these policemen in affirming ways within the narratives by which they were interpellated (military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives, amongst others). Splitting (at both a societal and individual level) may have enabled the phantasy of the external world as an all-good reflection of the self. This may have helped form a defensive shield around the personality.

Post-apartheid, as bad object experience was not as easily projected to the external others apartheid South Africa provided in abundance, bad objects seemed to be defensively internalised to preserve the perception of an all-good external world. Consequently, the participants seemed to disown their internal worlds - internal experience would have been dangerous and threatening to their perception of who they were.

Under apartheid Riaan, Francois, Hennie and Wilhelm functioned in an environment that echoed and supported their narcissistic defence mechanisms. Structures such as patriarchy, racism, machismo, dogma, conservatism, and militarisation which reflected and endorsed their ideal selves allowed these men to appear to cope and function well. However, as the post-apartheid

transitional period progressed, the participants' emotional experiences connected less and less with new post-apartheid narratives. When structures like racism, machismo, conservatism and militarisation were less exalted post-apartheid it became more likely that the participants' narcissistic defence mechanisms could be overwhelmed.

Post-apartheid, the participants' social world was turned upside down: the 'bad' external objects of the past were now the 'good' external objects of the present. There were indications that the participants were traumatised when their narcissistic defences were breached. This seemed to be as a result of the cumulative effect of their social world being turned on its head resulting in negative characterisation of the self, confrontation with bad memories from the past, and exposure to distressing experiences in the present. This exposed the 'bad self' in a way that could not be tolerated. The situation seemed to trigger an internal crisis whereby this bad part of the self was, in phantasy, evacuated and projected in the form of somatic symptoms, nightmares and flashbacks as one way of providing relief from the build up of bad object experience. These bad objects - as projected somatic symptoms, nightmares, and flashbacks - remained relatively inaccessible to the participants as they were considered symptoms of the psychiatric 'label' PTSD. As such they could not easily be articulated, owned, and engaged with. This defensive process appeared to be an attempt to stave off deterioration of the personality and maintain their rigid defensive organisations.

That said these men were clearly suffering from PTSD. Throughout their long careers with the SAP and SAPS they had been exposed to violence, horror, helplessness, and hopelessness on a continuous basis. They lived under the constant threat of injury and death. Colleagues they worked with had been killed. They themselves had been hospitalised on several occasions with serious combat related injuries. This had a serious impact on their emotional, psychological, and physiological functioning. As I mentioned in chapter one, while this study is about discourse it would be negligent not to point out that

the old guard were psychologically and biologically debilitated in an environment in which there were only a limited number of ways of engaging with distress.

This research addresses an issue which has perplexed both the police and psychotherapists alike: why did veteran policemen suddenly present in psychotherapy with requests for medical boarding? It does not claim to have revealed truths overlooked by others. It does, however, suggest an alternative way of understanding the problem. It tries to make sense of the actions of these policemen rather than attempting to unravel the mystery behind their 'uncharacteristic' behaviour. It presents an explanation which tries to avoid, and go beyond, the dualistic assumptions which underlie some social psychological analysis. The integration of social constructionist theory with psychoanalysis provides a potentially more sophisticated analysis of South Africa's transitional period.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE HOLLOW MEN: In conclusion

The central argument of this thesis is that, following 1994, various structural and political changes left a group of old guard policemen lacking the socio-cultural supports they previously relied on to keep trauma at bay. With this argument I am not proposing sociological research in place of psychological investigation. Rather, I am arguing against both psychological and sociological reductionism and in favour of psycho-social exploration. Socio-historical narratives provide the context for psychological investigation, while psychological accounts focus, poignantly illustrate, and contextualise socio-historical narratives.

This investigation was set against a backdrop of political upheaval and social reconstruction - a post-apartheid transitional period in South Africa's history. It traced the therapeutic narratives of four old guard policemen, looking at their distress within the context of socio-political change. It attempted to focus on the meaning and interpretation of the old guard's experience, by weaving the participants' voices into every chapter. In so doing the investigation endeavoured to express the cultural and discursive elements of their lived experience - the participants' "structure of feeling" (Williams, 1979).

This thesis was my tale of the complexities of the human condition, looking at how the old guard gave meaning to their lives, their experience of distress, their search for freedom from strife, and ultimately their sense of isolation and loss. The participants' struggles for meaning, change, satisfaction, and peace were not success stories. Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan and Hennie did not make the transition from primitive to mature psychological defensive operations, just as they never engaged with the transformation from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa, and from SAP to SAPS. They seemed to have lost the

stories with which to affirm them. By entering therapy, the old guard appeared to be engaging with, and working through, their distress. However, rather than reflecting upon their distress and working through the loss that change inevitably brings, they avoided reflecting on their old apartheid narratives or engaging, learning, and growing from new post-apartheid ones. Rather they became dogmatic, entrenching themselves in their old stories.

In my consideration of the data, it was not just that being a policeman through the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa had psychological aspects to it, but that the dominant understandings of social categories such as gender, culture and religion are deeply rooted in our psyche. Such a complex view allows us to talk of apartheid as a psychological structure as much as a material one grounded in culture and in historically–specific institutions and practices. Fanon (1986) makes an interesting point in this regard: experience is an embattled site of historical struggles and social contestation as much as it is a private domain. At a recent conference, the negative way the old guard are perceived post-apartheid was apparent when I was asked how I could work with people who committed detestable acts in the name of a hated regime. I reflected that these old guard participants, though frightful, had nothing ignoble about them. Sincerity, conviction, and a sense of duty are things which may become hideous when wrongly directed. The old guard's virtues had one vice – error. The old guard never doubted they were virtuous, moral, men. In post-apartheid South Africa they faced new social narratives which may have caused them to doubt. However, instead of reflecting on their past, present and future, they clung to their old stories in an attempt to escape new stories they felt threatened their sense of self and would ultimately bring about their annihilation.

During apartheid 'containing' external factors existed for these policemen. The most obvious facilitating factor was the cop culture of the SAP. It positioned these policemen in affirming ways within the narratives in which they were interpellated. External influences of the cop culture were internalised by the

participants in an ego-syntonic way. The cop culture confirmed that they were authoritative, aggressive, heterosexual, able bodied, morally just, and physically brave men.

In the wider social world, specific forces impinged upon the old guard through the design of other people, the impact of cultural conventions and social practices, and the force of social processes and political institutions. Four dominant narratives for these participants were felt to be the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives. These narratives appeared to best express the old guard's unique situation.

During apartheid the old guard took it for granted that they were respected and admired pillars of their society. Under apartheid these policemen served with, and under, colleagues who came from similar backgrounds and who had undertaken similar training to them. There was a sense of kinship and shared aims about how they went about their work and life. Their fears and anxieties were contained: they were seen as role models to family and friends, they were held in high esteem by colleagues, they were given media 'fame', they received promotion through the SAP ranks, they were essential in keeping the country 'civilised', and their work was part of a 'divine' design. They embodied apartheid narrative ideals.

After the demise of apartheid the socio-political environment of South Africa and the SAP changed. It no longer exalted the narratives of the past. The transformation of the SAP to SAPS and from apartheid South Africa to post-apartheid South Africa undermined the old guards' taken for granted containing social structures, leaving their fears and anxieties uncontained. The SAPS officer corps and its ethos no longer reflected the dominance of the white, Afrikaner male; (formal) segregation did not occur. The old guard covered their fears and anxiety with anger and indignation. Their feelings of betrayal occurred on several levels – from their families/spouses, to the SAP (a brotherhood), to God (who was portrayed as having ordained their apartheid

authority).

Drawing on Hook & Parker (2002, p. 34), in this thesis I explored how the South African context "comes to pose a determining influence upon what counts as 'pathological' within its parameters". This investigation traced four old guard policemen's histories of positioning within a range of narratives and explored how the policemen came to be positioned within PTSD psychiatric narratives at a particular moment in South Africa's history. In analysing the personally resonant triggers in the policemen's presentation in psychotherapy the investigation suggested that the old guard's symptoms of PTSD were linked to their positioning within military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives (amongst others), the balance of their investments within the narratives, and their psychological defence mechanisms.

The participants' socialisation through the military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives during apartheid did not equip them with tools to make sense of their police activities in post-apartheid South Africa. Likewise, the participants' use of primitive psychic operations during apartheid did not enable them to cope with trauma in the ambiguous world of the SAPS. The new SAPS failed to recognise the old guard's need for support through the transition. During apartheid in the SAP the participants' internal worlds appeared to be affirmed by a system of supportive narratives that acknowledged them as worthy. They were able to split off bad experiences, thoughts, feelings and aspects of themselves and embrace only the good aspects. However, in post-apartheid South Africa and the SAPS, the old guard system of support was defunct. The old guard were no longer viewed as fine upstanding citizens or role models to be emulated. This exposed the 'bad self' in a way that could not be tolerated. In post-apartheid South Africa there was the potential for the old guard to reflect on their actions and to question the extent to which they really should have engaged with such behaviours. Despite feeling their actions were either forced by their commanders, or even ordained by God, they faced overwhelming shame. The

old guards' sense of self could no longer be supported and affirmed by the new guard ideology in the SAPS. This seemed to trigger an internal crisis whereby the split off and deigned 'bad' parts of the self were, in phantasy, evacuated and projected in the form of the somatic symptoms, nightmares and flashbacks of PTSD, in order to keep good and bad self-representations and internal object representations apart. Thus, while the diagnosis of PTSD may be employed throughout the world as a basis for describing the impact of trauma, we need to understand the particular socio-cultural context and subjective meaning brought to the experience by individuals, such as the old guard.

My analysis attempted to show the extent to which the participants' defensiveness as manifested in symptoms of PTSD had in fact always been deeply entrenched in their personalities and in apartheid South Africa. The participants were long serving policemen who had no significant history of distress in the SAP. They were described as being ostensibly 'normal', and were successful in their vocations during apartheid. I argued that their 'normality' and success was best understood as being part of their rigid psychological defensive pattern. The old guard's defensive organisation resembled a "narcissistic exoskeletal" type structure (cf. Cartwright, 2002a). This defensive structure comprised good idealised objects and encapsulated bad objects that were held apart by rigid splitting defences. This psychological defensive structure was grounded in the SAP culture and in historically–specific apartheid institutions and practices. The defensive operation of splitting, whereby the moral complexities of psychic and social life become reduced to good and bad polarities, was exacerbated during apartheid (cf. Rustin in Levy & Lemma, 2004). Hence, the apartheid hegemonic understandings of social categories such as militarisation, masculinity, patriarchy, Afrikaner culture, and Christian Nationalism can be seen as being deeply rooted in the old guard's psyche.

Significant implications
The value of this research encompasses both theoretical and practical endeavours.

Firstly, there are distinct clinical implications. The participants' choice of psychotherapist needed to be seen in context. As a Northern Irish, female therapist I spoke no Afrikaans and had no affiliation with the SAP or SAPS. I was, therefore, symbolically 'foreign' or other. I was chosen over my Afrikaner male colleague with whom I shared rooms. The participants perhaps wished to avoid the chance of being judged by another Afrikaner and/or another male. While there was a poverty of clinical psychologists in the SAPS, the participants perhaps wished to maintain a separation between their public and private worlds. As a female I was perhaps viewed as potentially caring. However, the participants could also set therapy up to reaffirm their machismo sense of masculinity.

The participants' poor representational capacity made psychotherapy with them a difficult task. They seemed to lack the ability to symbolise and see things from other perspectives. This made their communications concrete and one-dimensional. Cartwright (2002a) and Levy & Lemma (2004) write about how integral symbolic communications are to the therapeutic process. The one-dimensional nature of the participants' communications hindered the therapist's ability to help. This example from Wilhelm's twenty-first session reveals some of the difficulties experienced in therapy:

> Case: Wilhelm
>
> *Wilhelm* Petra and I have often spoken about moving up to the Midlands [*a rural area*], getting a farm together. I could grow vegetables. Keep chickens for their eggs. Be quite self-sufficient. We could open a bed and breakfast. I'd like that.
>
> *Therapist* What would you like about that?
>
> *Wilhelm* It would be nice to meet overseas people ... To hear

	about different cultures ... To broaden my knowledge.
Therapist	I know how much you like to broaden your knowledge. You have told me about all the courses you have done with the SAP/SAPS. But it is interesting that you want to learn about others rather than learn about yourself. You look at other people, or learn about other things, rather than looking at you and questioning why you are doing what you are doing.
Wilhelm	Sharon, are you saying I can't have a B & B?
Therapist	It's hard for you to look past the surface of words to see what else they can mean.

Rather than truly exploring alternatives to his life in the SAPS Wilhelm engaged in the primitive defence of splitting. The Midlands became an idealised place of bounty and freedom. Here, as a frontiers man, he could establish himself as a potent provider, welcoming people into his home and sharing with them the fruits of his labour. In reality, the Midlands comprised an artistic rural community which required affluence to gain entry; affluence that with life on a policeman's salary, Wilhelm did not possess. As can be seen in this example, I had to be very active trying to get Wilhelm to see other perspectives in his own communications. Psychological interpretations were not useful with Wilhelm until we had established some degree of mental space. As Cartwright (2002a) suggests, the aim in psychotherapy is to establish a rudimentary sense of a 'third object' being present in the consulting room. This enables mental space to be 'opened up' instead of 'closed down'.

The old guard participants often identified signs of 'goodness' and success in

the therapist. This may have been a way of setting up projective identifications to uphold the idealised exoskeleton.

Although the participants often appeared thoughtful and considerate, much of the time they seemed to journey through life in rather "mindless" and depersonalised ways (Cartwright, 2002a). Cartwright sees mindlessness as a way of protecting oneself from parts of the self that have been frozen by trauma or vexed by a sense of 'nothingness'. This example from Wilhelm's twentieth session illustrates his mindlessness:

> Case: Wilhelm
>
> Therapist What does it mean to you to speak about your needs?
>
> [*Wilhelm was silent and sat staring at the floor*.]
>
> This seems hard for you to speak about. I notice that rather than looking at me and asking for help, you shut yourself off and stare at the floor.
>
> [*Wilhelm raised his head and looked towards me*.]
>
> Wilhelm You tell me what to do then …
>
> [*He continued looking towards me.*]
>
> Therapist I know part of you would love to do whatever I say, but you also know too well how doing what others want you to do makes you feel. Perhaps we need to do something else …
>
> [*There was silence. Wilhelm continued looking in my direction.*]

You will notice that in this example I could not say that Wilhelm was looking 'at' me, because I did not feel that it was so. It was more like he was looking 'towards' me as there was a sense of him being disconnected from his action.

Words from part one of T S Eliot's poem *The Hollow Men* provide an interesting way of expressing this sense of old guard mindlessness:

We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaning together
Headpiece filled with straw. Alas!
Our dried voices, when
We whisper together
Are quiet and meaningless
As wind in dry grass
Or rats' feet over broken glass
In our dry cellar

Shape without form, shade without colour,
Paralysed force, gesture without motion;

Those who have crossed
With direct eyes, to death's other Kingdom
Remember us - if at all - not as lost
Violent souls, but only
As the hollow men
The stuffed men.

Like the men in the poem, the old guard spoke with a collective voice. PTSD brought the old guard a new sense of collective identity in the face of post-apartheid transformation. They appeared to be stuck in a sort of spiritual and

physical limbo in post-apartheid South Africa. Here, everything in the new cop culture failed to affirm or support them. They managed distressing aspects of their past and present through flashbacks, night terrors, and somatic symptoms which remained concrete, immovable and ever present. These symptoms were viewed as persecutory, helping the participants avoid interrogating them and integrating them as aspects of themselves. Being medically boarded enabled these men to continue to see themselves as brave heroic protectors rather than realising they were in fact "hollow men". They were "stuffed" with the narratives of the past which could not support or affirm them in the present.

Secondly, there is also a bigger picture beyond the consulting room where the implications of this research might be significant. This work certainly informs debates on masculinity, psychological trauma, and identity transformation. PTSD was a functional diagnosis in a classical sense: a compromise between the repressed wish and the dictates of the repressing agency. By way of a brief example, this material from Hennie's seventh session illustrates how he could not simply resign from the SAPS:

> Case: Hennie
>
> *Hennie*   I do like being a policeman. It gives me great job satisfaction. I like achieving goals and meeting targets. I also can't deny that my job is one great adrenalin rush. I like wearing my uniform. I look good in it. I get on well with my colleagues and crew.
>
> *Therapist*   So what?
>
> *Hennie*   [*The smile left Hennie's face.*]
>
>   Well, while I like being a policeman, we are under a lot of stress. The commanders are not good. They don't look out for us anymore. It's every man for

himself. All the best policemen are leaving. There's no future in it. Our lives are in danger every day we work. Because people are leaving, and not being replaced, our workload has increased. Our commander just isn't capable. He's never spent a day on the road in his career. We have no trust in him. There's racism – white guys aren't being promoted, only blacks and Indians.

Therapist   So what does that mean to you?

Hennie   I guess I don't really want to go back to work.

Therapist   So why don't you leave instead of staying off on sick leave.

Hennie   But it stresses me out – I can't drive.

This clinical material illustrates Hennie's desire to be a policeman. Being interpellated through military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National narratives, Hennie knew how to present a confident image, how to make his body look strong, how to smell like a man, and how to be a strong male protector figure. However, this was all he knew. He could not leave the SAPS because it meant leaving himself behind.

Psychoanalytically, PTSD in part stood as an expression of outrage towards South Africa's transformation. PTSD brought the old guard a new sense of collective identity, as PTSD provided a medically justifiable means of expressing overwhelming pain, suffering and anger in the face of post-apartheid transformation. It also allowed them to continue externalising and projecting split off bad self-aspects as opposed to mourning the loss of their previous identities and transforming into something other. Another example of this came

in Francois' fourth session, "I blame the SAPS. They failed us. They don't look after us. There is no support, no adequate training, nowhere to go to." Resigning from the SAPS and/or reflecting on what the dissolution of apartheid meant to the participants would have caused consideration as to who they are, were, and could be. This process could have stirred up a cacophony of emotions and split off bad object experiences. With a diagnosis of PTSD the participants could view their pain, distress and difficulties as being caused by a psychiatric illness and the mismanagement of the SAPS, rather than to do with their identity struggles in the light of socio-political transformation. As opposed to grappling with change, reflecting on meaning, mourning loss, and moving on, the participants became dis-eased.

Reflecting on the beginning of this thesis, the place to end is with the participants of this study. In session thirty-seven, unusually, Hennie described a dream.

Case: Hennie

Hennie   I had a dream the other night and when I woke up I couldn't get to sleep again …

I was working night shift. We had a routine call out to one of the hostels … I went in looking for suspects. All around were cars … But when I got into the hostel the mood changed. It became tense. The suspects were violent. I was on my guard. It became like a 'Western' movie.

There was someone with me, my crew. I was comfortable with him. I sensed the suspects had done something truly despicable. I had to shoot first.

I did. I shot them in the face. That way I knew they

were dead. It felt good. Their faces were obliterated.

[*He smiled.*]

Then there was a call from Radio Control. They wanted me to attend a scene. It was just around the corner from where I was. I walked there with my crew. There had been a shoot out. I called for backup. The Task Force arrived and took up position. One of the Task Force members shot me in the face.

That's when I woke up sweating.

See, just a dream …

Hennie tried to dismiss his dream as something irrelevant to therapy and his life. He attempted to hold it apart from himself. Taking the dream seriously would have meant embracing the meaning it held. Psychoanalytically Hennie's dream was filled with symbolic images that suggest persecutory anxiety and the processes of projective and introjective identification. The first part of Hennie's dream sounded routine, an average night shift. He went and did his job. He appraised the situation and reacted to it. He "wiped out" the enemy. He did not have to think, he simply reacted. He had his familiar crew beside him. They thought and acted the same way. Hennie felt safe and supported.

The enemy were described as violent and despicable. This made it permissible for Hennie to destroy them – he shot them in the face, taking away their identity. As the hero of his 'Western movie' Hennie felt affirmed and justified. As the hero, Hennie was all-good. As the violent and despicable enemy, the suspects were the incarnation of evil. This reflected Hennie's defensive manoeuvres of splitting and idealisation. Familiar aspects of Hennie were portrayed in an idealised good way while other aspects were rejected as evil,

unidentifiable and unknowable.

In the second part of the dream, Hennie was called to a scene. He was familiar with the territory and simply walked round the corner to attend the scene (just as he felt in familiar territory moving from the SAP to SAPS). He appraised the situation and called for backup from the Special Task Force (the *crème de la crème* of the SAPS). However, unlike the first part of the dream, were Hennie relied on familiar support and affirmation from his old guard crew, in this second part of the dream there was no support or affirmation. Rather, the new elite SAPS unit annihilated Hennie.

In the new SAPS Hennie's was surrounded by negative characterisations of the self. Post-apartheid Hennie could no longer simply projectively identify with good objects held outside the self to maintain the split between internalised badness and idealised parts of the self. In the language of the dream, he could not identify with, or be identified as 'good' by, the SAPS Task Force. Under these changed circumstances bad self aspects (represented by the Special Task Force in the dream) and bad memories (represented by the criminals at the crime scene) surrounded and attacked his 'good' heroic sense of self, and wiped him out (shot him in the face). Here, Hennie was rendered unidentifiable and unknowable. In the past Hennie did not have to figure out much of who he was. It was a given – he was destined to be a policeman. Once he became a policeman he embodied this role. However, in the new South Africa and SAPS he had to engage with other ways of being. This threatened to undermine and "obliterate" the only way he knew himself to be.

Stories about the human condition that really resonate within the socio-historical period in which they are written or told, can become timeless. Such stories have a backdrop of something bigger than individual character portrayals. They even evoke life's tragedies, as Shakespearean drama might. Certainly the milieu of post-apartheid South Africa is so exigent, and I believe there is something timeless to be drawn out of the old guard's tragedies.

The thesis revolves around my tale of four character's stories (Wilhelm's, Francois', Riaan's, and Hennie's). It is set amid a world where South Africa is in tumult during a time of incredible change. It is a post-apartheid period where the ideas we have of democracy have not fully taken hold. There is a real battle on both a societal level as well as an individual level to find a secure footing in the present. Each one of these old guard characters is fighting a battle, sometimes within themselves, sometimes within their lives, and sometimes with their circumstances. Each one experiences distress and difficulty. Their therapeutic narratives are epic tales of the human condition. Tales of the human condition are never easy. There is not always happiness and never only roses, as there are elements of light and shade, and up and down. How did they get through? How did they elevate themselves to be the best possible version of themselves they could be? Well, Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hennie certainly tried to be the best they could be, yet, the funny thing about the human condition is that sometimes the best version of oneself does not work. Some versions fail; this is what we seen in the old guard. This is what makes their therapeutic narratives timeless – people can relate to them. Despite reaching out for help and support, the old guard fell back on old familiar ways of being. They were unable to fit their post-apartheid experiences into their own strict code of right and wrong, and good and evil. Their recognisable touch stones - the cop culture, assured promotions through the ranks of the police, and the esteem they were held in by the society they protected and served – no longer affirmed them as they once had. The old guard were left staring over the precipice and into a void, their fears and anxieties uncontained. Unconsciously they felt there was no where they could turn, and no way to go on. Their solution was to escape from the 'new' world, the world of post-apartheid South Africa.

There have been many incidences of SAP/SAPS policemen's suicides - such as Francois' friend Christo the police chaplain – as well as family murder-suicides through this post-apartheid period. However, the solution for the participants in

this research was to become dis-eased. The hell of PTSD allowed Wilhelm, Francois, Riaan, and Hennie to continue to live out the dream of the SAP maxim *servamus et servimus* (to protect and to serve). Ultimately, the sentiment was the old guard did not leave the police, the police left the old guard.

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APPENDICIES

INDEPENDENT EVALUATOR'S REPORT

I have identified four dominant narratives which are military, macho leader, Afrikaner patriarchal family, and Christian National. The assumption is that these core narratives served as metaphorical representations of different aspects of the participants' internal world. I address the core narrative themes individually extracting segments from the sessions that best illustrate these chosen narratives and comment on key identifications, and object relations that can be discerned in the narratives.

Military narratives

The contribution of the military and military narratives to the construction of masculinity in South African society is evident in all four participants as they believe the police force to be 'men's business'. Interestingly a gender dichotomy develops which sees defence and fight as the national duty of men and that military socialisation can be understood as a rite of passage to male adulthood. The military turns out to be the main agent of society in shaping these gender roles, constructing masculinity as a military masculinity. South Africa shows that ideologies of manhood and the dominant position of the military in society are deeply interconnected.

Although the South African Defence Forces were perceived as the main mechanism of building a national identity, it has become particularly the basis of a male self-image as seen in Wilhelm as he introduces and identifies himself to his therapist,

> I am number 0407723-6, a Sergeant in the SA Police Services, stationed at the Search & Rescue Unit. This is a sub component of Police Emergency Response Unit, Durban … that's who I am …

The military is fundamentally the main agent to sharpen male identity and a macho leader persona, for Riaan being a policeman is the only way he can identify himself,

> If I weren't in the SAP I would be a nerd, totally unimportant ... I'm
> scared to leave the force, as I will be nothing.

Henni declares "...I was destined to be a police man", and for Francois "I always wanted to be a policeman".

Indicators such as compulsory military service, their military language and male bonding terms such as "crew" and "brotherhood", their elements of military training which was extremely significant for Wilhelm, Francois, Hennie and Riaan who spoke frequently of their rigorous training or experience, the predominance of the military in the private sphere where all four participants state that they could not talk about their work with their partners or spouses because "...she doesn't understand..." and in their public life as in Riaan's case who couldn't communicate effectively with his therapist because he was in his uniform "does not like mixing work and civilian life". These all show the influence that the military has had on the construction of masculinity in these four participants.

Macho leader narratives

The macho leader narratives illustrate a gendered theorization of masculinity as it relates to the self-identity of the four participants in the SAPS in an implicitly masculine fashion. In so doing the macho leader narrative identity can be viewed in relatively aggressive, self-oriented, and domineering forms, constructing multiple, competing and ambiguous narratives of the selves. For Hennie his identity is associated with the defence of a grandiose self-image through the admiration of others "I like wearing my uniform. I look good in it" and when he sees his therapist at the beach he has to parade himself in his uniform with his "crew", in a new BMW 3 series Rapid Response vehicle.

In Riaan's case in a public space with a relatively aggressive stance he states,

> We were respected … at work I have the personal satisfaction of
> catching the bad guy. I feel good about myself. I'm good at my job.

In the same token he felt he could not "measure up" to men who were not in the police force, in terms of earning power, expensive clothes, and intellectual conversation he felt he failure as a man but then in a private sphere "I was her knight in shining armour". For both Wilhelm "Don't get too close! I'll destroy this place" and Francois "bring on any assailant and I can tackle him" both take an aggressive approach and threaten here on the bases of their military training.

Key to this approach is the contextual location and partiality of accounts of leadership for these four participants, and recognition that their sense of selves are not only entwined within the context and the situations in which they are performed, but also within the hegemonic discourses and culturally shaped narrative conventions.

Afrikaner patriarchal family

Traditionally the Afrikaner community has been strongly patriarchal, with the father being regarded as the head of the household, the mother forming the support base and the children being submissive. Riaan best describes it,

> My dad was a hero. I wanted to be just like him, when I was a kid. He
> was in the army and then he was always away on camps … He looked
> so smart in his uniform, so official … Everyone respected him. All his
> brothers came to him for advice. He was the head of the family …

This patriarchal family formed the foundation of the Afrikaner community. The four participants are trapped in patriarchal relationships and find it difficult to

freely make decisions, as in Riaan's case where he asks his father about his marriage situation,

> I spoke to my dad about it … I asked him what I should do. He said if I
> had given my word I had to see it through, so we got married.

He accepts his father's advice despite his reservations "Something was missing … I don't know what…"

What is stereotypically believed about the traditional Afrikaans family is that individuals need their views, values and beliefs and customs to be adhered to as they believe them to be the truth, Wilhelm took on the responsibility of the head of the house hold when he decided to paint his mother's home "… It's what a son should do". For Henni becoming a policeman and serving his country made "…My folks were very proud. I'd made something of my life".

Francois sees that change is an anomaly to traditional values,

> I attended Grey College in Bloemfontein … My family has always
> attended Grey … It has such a legacy for our country. I am proud to
> have attended it … The school and my father are one and the same
> thing; he also attended Grey. Hard work and strict discipline were
> their codes.

He too exemplified a patriarchal, authoritative, aggressive father-provider figure and in so doing couldn't reach out to his wife and children.

Christian national

Religion, especially The Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa played an instrumental role in the development of Afrikaner nationalism and consequently the apartheid ideology.

Afrikaner Christianity focuses on God's sovereign control and redemption through the Christian community, Riaan noted that his parents were "very religious" and that "… God decides when it's my turn to die … but I will die in the line of duty".

For many people, ethics is not only tied up with religion, but is completely settled by it. Wilhelm does not need to think too much about ethics, because there is an authoritative code of instructions, a handbook of how to live, and his sense of "Christianity" is his natural inclination for helping and assisting others without reward.

Christian beliefs and ethics had no bearing on Henni's life, but he does mention that church and family were important when he was a child "as kids we would all pile into my folks bed on Sunday before church … good times …"

Traditionally the Afrikaner holds firm to what they see as biblical truths and instructions, these beliefs and practices are described as the time-honoured, the conventional, and that which falls within the accepted norms. Francois expressed a conservative Christian viewpoint by frequently using scripture references to convey his beliefs and feelings, as in so doing he has the power and responsibility to conserve which falls in accordance with the Christian tradition i.e. beliefs and practices handed down from generation to generation.

INDEPENDENT EVALUATOR'S REPORT

The experience of being a SAP policeman and having to live through the transition of a country is not as simple as one might expect. I have highlighted the following themes in the therapeutic transcripts: machismo, Afrikaner Calvinism, SAP culture, and patriarchy. I believe these social narratives promoted the use of paranoid-schizoid defence mechanisms, especially splitting.

I will highlight each participant in turn and give a brief example from the transcripts to illustrate their relationship to the themes I have noted.

Riaan

Machismo

Riaan always saw himself as a guardian angel sent to protect the helpless. However after being involved in a near fatal shooting, he was left shaken and feeling helpless. Although he tried to recreate this sense of being a hero, only solitude gave him a sense of security. Reluctant to acknowledge his feelings of uncertainty, Riaan found himself alienated and carried the burden of feeling that he had failed as a man.

Afrikaner Calvinism

Riaan saw himself as a guardian angel. However, he did not attend church as this meant confronting the religiously sanctioned immorality he engaged in as a member of the SAP. Riaan's family structure was Dutch Reformed. To Riaan, God was not compassionate and loving. He was vengeful and judgmental.

SAP culture

Riaan answered the call to serve "Vader en Volk" in the SAP. This calibre of job was associated with physical and emotional toughness as well as power and

authority. Looking at Riaan's life experience revealed that 'cops & robbers' was part of his life from boyhood and in many ways enabled him to relate to friends and family. Riaan's sense of being a failure as a husband led to his increased efforts at work, resulting in him taking greater risks and he began to develop intimate emotional connections with his police dog and the men in his unit. Here he found a sense of belonging and success.

Patriarchy

Patriarchal authority, control and discipline were reflected in Riaan's family. As a child Riaan had to suffer the constant threat from his mother of the punishment that would befall him if he were to break one of what she termed, his 'fathers house rules'.

Wilhelm

Machismo

Wilhelm's sense of being a man was tied into acquiring knowledge and skills and controlling his external environment. He did not appear to have any successful male relationships and felt vulnerable to attacks on his masculinity.

SAP culture

Wilhelm appeared to be a 'Robo-cop', giving nothing but name, rank and serial number when he first entered therapy. He received a lot of affirmation from the SAP culture as he prided himself on following orders to the best of his ability.

Afrikaner Calvinism

Wilhelm had a sense of morality toward children and civilians. However this did not extend to executing 'legitimate targets' as a member of the SAP.

Patriarchy

Wilhelm did not access support from his wife as he felt it was his duty to protect her from the horrors he was exposed to.

Francois

Machismo

Francois constantly put down his wife in order to affirm himself. He associated himself with the hegemonic view of masculinity – physically and emotionally tough, a good provider, and a disciplinarian to his children.

SAP culture

Francois prided himself at achieving high rank in the SAP. He remained attached to this culture by immersing himself in literature about global terrorism after his medical boarding from the police.

Afrikaner Calvinism

Francois constantly quoted Bible passages. He used his faith to position himself as a good and moral person.

Patriarchy

Francois was the patriarchal head of his family. He ruled over his wife and children. This gave him a sense of power and purpose.

Hendrick

Machismo

Hennie was the ultimate macho man. He assaulted the senses. However, he appeared to be all image and no substance. He spent most of the time building himself up physically and complying to his perceptions of what others wanted rather than reflecting upon himself.

SAP culture

Hennie affirmed himself through his job. It bolstered his image as it provided him with a uniform, a firearm, a fast car, and war stories. It also gave him something to do as he seemed unable to engage in life on his own terms.

Patriarchy

Hennie could only relate to his wife and daughter on superficial terms. He did not have a deep emotional connection with them. He depicted them as caricatures, thereby enabling him to project his insecurities onto them.

APPENDIX 3

ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

RESEARCH OFFICE (GOVAN MBEKI CENTRE)
WESTVILLE CAMPUS
TELEPHONE NO.: 031 – 2603587
EMAIL : ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

13 MARCH 2006

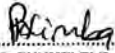MS. SM NORTJE (901364240)
PSYCHOLOGY

Dear Ms. Nortje

ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL NUMBER : HSS/06116A

I wish to confirm that ethical clearance has been granted for the following project:

"Supercop's kryptonite: A psychoanalytic exploration of distress in the South African Police Service "Old Guard"

Yours faithfully

MS. PHUMELELE XIMBA
RESEARCH OFFICE

PS: The following general condition is applicable to all projects that have been granted ethical clearance:

THE RELEVANT AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE CONTACTED IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY APPROVAL SHOULD THE RESEARCH INVOLVE UTILIZATION OF SPACE AND/OR FACILITIES AT OTHER INSTITUTIONS/ORGANISATIONS. WHERE QUESTIONNAIRES ARE USED IN THE PROJECT, THE RESEARCHER SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE QUESTIONNAIRE INCLUDES A SECTION AT THE END WHICH SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE PARTICIPANT (PRIOR TO THE COMPLETION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE) INDICATING THAT HE/SHE WAS INFORMED OF THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT AND THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

cc. Post Graduate Office
cc. Supervisor (Grahame Hayes)

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

Dear

Re: PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

I hope this letter finds you well.

Having worked with you in psychotherapy over the past few years, exploring the distress you experienced in the line of duty, I believe it is a good time to do something which has the potential to further assist you, and possibly others in the South African Police Service, find something positive out of so much pain and suffering, and to gain better assistance in the future.

I intend conducting research into posttraumatic stress disorder specifically with members of the SAPS who have had long and distinguished careers prior to the onset of their symptoms. In the research I aim to look at not only the causes and symptoms, but more importantly, at how it affects each member differently, and how the member finds ways of living with, and growing from their distress.

I am writing to enquire as to whether or not you might like to take part in this research. Participation is strictly voluntary.

I will undertake a PhD at the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, 4041, over the next two years, with my supervisor, Grahame Hayes. He may be contacted at this postal address or, alternatively by phone on 031 2602530, or by e-mail on hayes@ukzn.ac.za, should you have any queries. The hope is that the research will result in the publication of a book.

In therapy you have the right to expect total confidentiality. Participation in this research will entail examination of the therapeutic case documents built up during your treatment. The case documents include all the reports I wrote to the South African Police Service as well as the notes written during your sessions. If you do wish to participate I will take every care to preserve your anonymity. You have the choice of allowing your first name to be used or a pseudonym. No surnames will be revealed. All other identifying data will be disguised (such as your unit; names of colleagues, family members, friends, and places). After giving your consent, you can change your mind and withdraw at any stage. Simply contact me in writing at the above address.

If you would like to participate please fill in the attached consent form and return it in the stamped addressed envelope provided. As a participant I will regularly give you feedback over the next two years as to the research findings, and will welcome your input and suggestions.

Kind regards

Sharon M Auld, MA (Natal)

CONSENT FORM

I, --, hereby give my consent that the therapeutic case documents (encompassing reports written to the South African Police Service by Sharon M Auld and notes written during psychotherapy sessions) accumulated during my treatment with Sharon M Auld, Clinical Psychologist, may be examined for the purpose – and only the purpose - of Sharon M Auld's PhD at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and any resulting publication.

After giving my consent I understand that I may still withdraw from the research at any stage after informing Sharon M Auld in writing at PO Box 1482, New Germany, 3620, KwaZulu-Natal or Grahame Hayes at the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, 4041.

I request the following in order to protect my confidentiality and anonymity (circle the appropriate response):

Use of my real first name	**Yes/No**
Use of a pseudonym instead of my real first name	**Yes/No**

Steps taken to ensure my anonymity (e.g. disguising names and places)	**Yes/No**
I would like to be contacted with feedback as to the research findings over the next two years	**Yes/No**
I would like to give recommendations and suggestions as to the research findings	**Yes/No**

I hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participate in the research project.

Signature of participant: --

Date: --

Please return this completed form in the stamped addressed envelope provided.