

**A PSYCHOSOCIAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE  
PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SERIAL  
MURDERER**

by

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***“ The measure of a man’s real character is what he  
would do if he knew he would never be found out”***

***Thomas. B. Macauley***

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GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO

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## **TABLES**

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**TITLE:** A psychosocial perspective on the personality development of the serial murderer  
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## SUMMARY

The phenomenon of serial murder is a crime characterised by a paucity of scientific information and an excess of popularised fictional material, contributing to the existence of inaccurate perceptions of serial murder. Although serial murder has been committed since the fourteenth century it only gained notoriety with the intense media coverage of the Jack the Ripper case in 1888. One of the most important reasons for society's morbid fascination with this phenomenon is because of the view of it as a "motiveless crime".

Available literature shows that research undertaken to determine the origin and the motivation behind serial homicide generally focuses on singular aspects of serial murder. In most cases the research is directed by theories of the psychoanalytic school, most notably that of Sigmund Freud. Another research approach is to develop models and methods for classifying serial killers. Despite the value of these models and the research that has been done the information they can provide is limited. In most cases the research and the models focus on singular aspects associated with the development of serial murderers, for example, the internal conflicts experienced by the child. The goal of this study is to determine which internal and external factors influence the personality development of the serial murderer. The research therefore focuses on how these factors were internalised and expressed behaviourally by the individual. To achieve this the psychosocial perspective, which consisted of three psychological theories, was used

to determine the role of both internal and external influences in the personality development of the individual.

The method of research deemed most suitable to undertake the study is the qualitative approach, and more specifically the explanatory case study method. The data for the research was obtained by using a semi-structured interview and relevant documentation concerning each of the two case studies. Seven research questions were formulated to find answers to the personality development of the serial murderer and his behaviour. The questions were also formulated to ensure the validity of the data and to substantiate the findings based on the psychosocial perspective.

The psychosocial perspective was used to analyse the two case studies and to compile a detailed explanation for the personality development and the personality structure of each of the serial murderers. The three psychological theories were combined in such a way that it could show the influence of internal and external factors on the personality development. This included the influence of the family atmosphere as well as behaviour and personality types that developed.

In conclusion the extent to which answers were obtained regarding the seven research questions and the extent to which the aim of the research has been achieved is highlighted. Finally recommendations are made concerning future research and possible areas on which researchers should focus.

#### **KEY TERMS**

Erikson, Fromm, Adler, qualitative, case study method, behavioural analysis, psychosocial perspective, profiling, serial murder, personality development, sexual homicide, personality structure

**TITLE:** A psychosocial perspective on the personality development of the serial murderer

**DEUR:** Johan Andrew de Wet

**STUDIELEIER:** Prof. A. Theron

**MEDE-STUDIELEIER:** Prof. J.B. Schoeman

**GRAAD:** Magister Artium (Psychology)

### **OPSOMMING**

Die verskynsel van reeksmoord is 'n misdaad wat gekenmerk word deur 'n gebrek aan wetenskaplike inligting en 'n oormaat van populêre fiksionele materiaal wat bydra tot die bestaan van foutiewe persepsies oor reeksmoord. Alhoewel reeksmoorde al sedert die veertiende eeu gepleeg word, het dit eers berugtheid verkry as gevolg van intensiewe media dekking van die "Jack the Ripper" geval in 1888. Een van die belangrikste redes vir die gemeenskap se morbiede gefasineerdheid met hierdie fenomeen is die persepsie dat dit 'n "motieflose misdaad" is.

Bestaande literatuur toon dat navorsing wat onderneem is om die oorsaak asook die motivering vir reeksmoord te bepaal op enkele aspekte van die misdaad fokus. In meeste gevalle word die navorsing gerig deur die toepassing van teorieë afkomstig uit die psigoanalitiese skool, waarvan die vernaamste teorie die van Sigmund Freud is. 'n Ander navorsingsbevinding is om modelle en metodes om reeks moordenaars te klassifiseer, te ontwikkel. Ondanks die waarde van hierdie modelle en die navorsing wat reeds onderneem is, is inligting wat ingewen word steeds beperk. In die meeste gevalle fokus die navorsing en modelle slegs op enkele aspekte wat geassosieer word met die ontwikkeling van die reeksmoordenaar, byvoorbeeld die interne konflikte wat hy as kind ondervind het. Die doel van hierdie studie is om te bepaal watter interne en eksterne faktore die persoonlikheidsontwikkeling van die reeksmoordenaar beïnvloed het. Gevolglik fokus die navorsing op hoe hierdie faktore geïnternaliseer en in die gedrag

van die individu tot uiting kom. Ten einde die doelwit te bereik, is die psigososiale perspektief, wat bestaan uit drie sielkundige teorieë, saamgestel om die invloed van sowel die interne as ook die eksterne invloede op die persoonlikheidsontwikkeling van die individu te bepaal.

Die navorsingsmetode wat as geskikste vir die navorsing geïdentifiseer is, is die kwalitatiewe metode en meer spesifiek die verduidelikende gevallestudiemetode. Die data vir die navorsing is ingesamel deur van 'n semigestruktureerde onderhoud asook toepaslike dokumente oor die twee reeksmoordenaars gebruik te maak. Sewe navorsingsvrae is geformuleer om antwoorde te vind rakende die persoonlikheidsontwikkeling van die reeksmoordenaar. Die vrae is ook geformuleer om die geldigheid van die bevindinge, gebasseer op die psigososiale perspektief, te toets en te ondersteun.

Die psigososiale perspektief is gebruik om die twee gevallestudies te analiseer en 'n volledige verduideliking van die persoonlikheidsontwikkeling en -struktuur van elk van die reeksmoordenaars te gee. Drie sielkundige teorieë is op so 'n wyse gekombineer dat die invloed van die interne en eksterne faktore op die persoonlikheidsontwikkeling aangetoon kon word. Dit sluit die invloed van die gesinsatmosfeer asook die gedrag en persoonlikheidstipes wat ontwikkel in.

Ten slotte word die antwoorde wat verkry is op die sewe navorsingsvrae asook in watter mate die doel van die navorsing bereik is, bespreek. Laastens word voorstelle vir verdere navorsing gemaak asook moontlike areas waarop toekomstige navorsers behoort te fokus.

#### **SLEUTELTERME**

Erikson, Fromm, Adler, kwalitatief, gevallestudiemetode, gedragsanalise, psigososiale perspektief, profielsamestelling, reeksmoord, persoonlikheidsontwikkeling, seksmoord, persoonlikheidsstruktuur

# CHAPTER 1

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, NEED FOR RESEARCH AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

*“Let us take things as we find them: let us not attempt to distort them into what they are not. We cannot make facts.*

*All our wishing cannot change them. We must use them.”*

*John Henry, Cardinal Newman*

Human beings have always been intrigued by actions that are monstrous, aberrant or criminal (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:1). Support for this fascination with the “darker” nature of humans comes from the numerous popular and scientific publications (e.g. books, journals and magazines) as well as films focusing on matters such as death, rape and murder. It can thus be said that the horror, fear and fascination associated with serial murderers hold an attraction for both the layperson and the academic researcher.

Serial murder as a crime has been reported for more than a hundred years. Despite its long history, little attention has been paid to it in the past by academic researchers. However, during recent years it has received more critical academic and scientific notice (Labuschagne, 2001:1). Despite the increase in academic interest, Mitchell (1997:6) claims that serial murder is a crime that is characterised by a paucity of scientific research and an excess of popular journalistic theorising.

The following sections will deal with the historical background to serial murder, a critical discussion of existing definitions on serial murder and the operational definition of serial murder that will be used throughout the dissertation. This will be followed by the statement of the problem as well as the research questions derived from the statement of the problem. Finally an overview is given of the chapters that will follow.

## 1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Serial murder may appear to be a twentieth century phenomenon because it was during this century that it became the focus of media attention and scientific investigation. On the contrary, it is a phenomenon that has occurred throughout previous centuries (Labuschagne, 2001:1). The earliest recorded serial murder was committed in the fifteenth century. The perpetrator in this case was Gilles De Rais (born in 1404), a rich French nobleman, also known as the Bestial Baron. He claimed to have made a pact with the devil, which required him to kill several hundred young children, drink their blood and engage in necrophilic acts with their corpses. Peter Stubb (born in the sixteenth century and renowned for his cannibalism) killed and ate his own son, murdered 13 young children, two pregnant women and engaged in sexual torture (Harrower, 1998:41). In 1888, Jack the Ripper was the first serial murderer, whose ten-week murder campaign during which five women were murdered, became the focus of public attention. Despite proof that he had only murdered five women the public was gripped with fear that he would strike again. He successfully avoided apprehension by the authorities and to date his identity is unknown. The elusiveness and infamy of his acts instilled fear in the residents of London as no other crime had before (Cawthorne, 2000:9-15).

A lack of scientific knowledge and poor understanding of the reasons why people commit serial murder led to the coining of the concept “motiveless murder” in the late 1940s (Harrower, 1998:41). Today it is accepted that the committing of serial murder has a meaning for the offender and provides the offender with a certain status. In the past these murders were judged to be motiveless or aimed at gratifying needs obscure to lay people as well as those who had to solve the cases. As a result it became evident that new strategies and techniques had to be developed which would help to understand the perpetrators of this crime and to apprehend them.

In the late 1970s agents working in the Behavioral Science Unit (BSU) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) piloted the Criminal Personality Research Project in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the minds of serial murderers. To achieve this, personal interviews were conducted with serial murderers to ascertain how their minds functioned as well as how they succeeded in evading capture for such long periods of time (Godwin, 2000:11). The insights gained from these interviews enabled the BSU to

devise a revolutionary “criminal personality profiling method”, which became one of the most valuable assets in the fight against violent crime, especially serial murder.

In the 1980s, with the rate of serial murder and violent crime drastically increasing, the FBI became aware of the need for a national database, which could be used to identify and track down serial offenders. The value of such a database was that it could be utilised by law enforcement agencies throughout the USA. This led to the development of the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP), which officially became operational in 1985, with the express purpose of tracking and apprehending individuals who had killed repeatedly. The VICAP programme also provided a resource centre for the pursuit and capture of serial murderers (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:88).

Contrary to preceding decades serial murder has received much attention over the past 20 years from academics, criminal investigators and the media. Despite this interest it still remains a phenomenon that needs more academic research (Wright & Hensley, 2003:71-72).

However, before the need for further research and the problems associated with such research are highlighted, it is necessary to define operationally the concepts relevant to the study.

## **1.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

Defining the concept “serial murderer” is difficult due to the complexity and diversity of the phenomenon. According to McKenzie (1995:2) the complexity stems from the practice of authors in using various terms interchangeably. Terms such as lust murder, serial murder, mass murder, spree murders, sexual homicide, and multiple murders are all commonly used to explain and categorise serial murder.

To avoid confusion it is important to distinguish between these terms and to show how they differ from serial murder.

- **Mass murder**

Mass murder is homicide committed by individuals who kill three or more individuals at one time and in one place (Hickey, 1991; Keeney & Heide, 1995; Levin & Fox, 1991; Leyton, 1986). According to Schechter and Everitt (1997:179) the difference between a mass murderer and a serial murderer has to do with the time, place and manner of murder. Holmes and Holmes (1998:11) describe mass murder as the murder of three or more individuals in one place and at one time. They elaborate on the definition of Schechter and Everitt by dividing mass murder into three components. The first component refers to the number of victims - a minimum of three. The second component is non-recurrence in time, which means that the person murders three or more people during a single episode. The third component is the separateness of place or, in other words, the choice of different locations. This occurs when the killer goes in search of more victims in another location. The action however, is still related to the first murders. Mass murder differs from serial murder in that in the case of serial murder a cooling-off period, usually lasting four days or more, follows a single episode. The minimum requirement for serial murder is also seen as two victims (Keppel, 1998; Newton, 2000:204).

- **Spree murder**

Spree murder consists of several aspects, which can be found in both mass and serial murder. Spree murder involves the murder of a number of people in several different locations with no cooling-off period between the homicides during a single event (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:273). This is in contrast to mass murder, which entails murdering several people simultaneously in one place. However, a mass murderer can also move from one location to another. According to Hickey (2002:16) spree murder involves the murder of two or more victims separately by one individual in different locations within a period of hours or days. Spree murderers often act in a rage and their behaviour is not aimed at avoiding detection. The major difference between serial murder and spree murder is that serial murder is not a single event but a series of single events with a cooling-off period in between each event.

- **Sexual homicide**

“Sexual homicide” is described as murders showing evidence that the murder had sexual meaning. This includes the victim’s attire, or lack thereof; exposure of the victim’s genitalia or body parts that have sexual significance; sexual positioning of the victim’s body; insertion of foreign objects into the body cavities; or insertion of non-sexual objects into sexual orifices; evidence of sexual intercourse (vaginal, oral or anal); and evidence of substitute sexual intimacy or sadistic fantasy (Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1992:xiii). Seventy percent of all serial murder cases are sexual in nature or sexually motivated. However, if a crime of this nature is committed but not repeated it is considered to be a sexual homicide. If a series of these crimes are committed it will be classified as serial murder.

To gain a better understanding of the differences between the terms listed in the above section and serial murder it is necessary to examine the different definitions that exist regarding serial murder. A survey of the literature reveals several shortcomings in the different definitions of various authors. In the following section a number of definitions of serial murder will be critically discussed.

Egger (1984:351; 1990) defines serial murder as occurring when an individual commits a second and/or subsequent murder. The murders have no relation to one another (victims and attackers are strangers). The murders occur at different times and have no connection to other crimes previously committed; and the murders are committed in different geographical locations (Castle & Hensley, 2002). Furthermore the motive is not for material gain but rather the desire to have power and dominance over the victims. The victims may also hold a symbolic value for the serial murderer and the murderer might perceive the victims as powerless given their situation and their status within their immediate surroundings. This definition, although seemingly comprehensive, fails to make reference to the “cooling-off” period, which is one of the main characteristics distinguishing serial murder from mass and spree murder.

Leyton (1986:18-30) believes that serial murder is murder committed over a period of time by white males who are usually from the low socio-economic class. He also

emphasises that serial murderers are among the most class-conscious individuals. It is evident from their thoughts and behaviour that they are overwhelmed by an intense sense of alienation and frustration. Their feelings of alienation and frustration are based on the belief that, no matter how ambitious they are or how hard they try, they will never achieve the position in society to which they aspire. Their distorted sense of self and identity motivates them to go in search of an “identity” that they find in their murders. Their victims (in their behaviour, appearance or their geographic location) represent the class they aspire to and which has rejected them.

Leyton’s focus on class-consciousness is debatable because not all serial murderers aspire to be part of a higher class. As a matter of fact, some serial murderers belong to the upper class, making it illogical to say that they have disillusioned expectations of social upward mobility. Ted Bundy, for example, was well educated, had a high standing in the community, ran his own business and also worked for both the Republican Party and the Washington State Crime Commission. Despite this, Bundy brutally murdered at least 19 female students over a period of three years (Cawthorne, 2000:21). John Wayne Gacy, who buried 29 of his victims underneath his house, was a successful contractor and leading member in the Democratic Party. He also could not be classified as someone who aspired to become a member of a higher class (Cawthorne, 2000:93).

Both these serial murderers were driven by sexual fantasies to murder their victims and not by a social class-consciousness. Their victims represented nothing more than a means to an end, a vessel for acting out their fantasies. Another point of criticism is the claim that all serial murderers are white males. According to this definition Moses Sithole, who was, and still is, South Africa’s most prolific serial murderer would be excluded. He was convicted of committing 38 murders over a period of 10 months in 1995 (Newton, 2000:207).

Holmes and De Burger (1988:18-19) do not give a definition of serial murder but instead list several characteristics. These characteristics are

- committing repetitive homicides
- committing one-on-one murders

- selecting a stranger as the victim
- the absence of passion, or victim precipitation while the motive is murder
- that the motivation is intrinsic.

Another author who draws attention to the intrinsic factors, which govern behaviour, is Pistorius (1996:6). According to her definition the motivation for the murders is intrinsic by nature and based on a compulsion that is fuelled by fantasy leading to torture, abuse, mutilation and necrophilia. Her definition elaborates on Ressler and Shachtman's (1993:25) definition, which defines a serial murderer as an individual who murders three or more victims, during three or more separate events at three or more locations with a cooling-off period in between each event. Premeditated planning and fantasy are also present in the execution of the murders.

While the inclusion of intrinsic motivation for the murders makes Pistorius' definition more comprehensive, it fails to explain what has led to the development of the compulsion and the fantasy. Another point of criticism is that not all fantasies are pathological in nature (Fox & Levin, 1994:66-67). As a matter of fact, most people fantasise about what they want and even about matters that are out of their reach. Such fantasies might even include sexual acts involving bondage or rape. Although some people have vivid fantasies about matters that are socially unacceptable, they seldom act out these fantasies. The absence of a precise description of the intrinsic motives of serial murders, as well as how their fantasies develop is a major shortcoming of Pistorius' definition.

Hollin (1989:74) defines serial murder as individual murders occurring over a period of time rather than in one single incident. The victims are typically tortured and sexually assaulted before being murdered. In a similar vein Cameron and Frazer (1987:17-18) define serial murder as a variant of sex murder. According to them serial murderers are usually males, (although exceptions do exist) who murder their sexual objects, whether men, woman or children. These definitions place emphasis on sexual behaviour as the primary motivation occurring pre- or post-murder. The major point of criticism is that not

all serial murderers show evidence of sexual behaviour. On the contrary, their actions are mostly aimed at exerting power over their victims (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:184).

The definition of Levin and Fox (1991:12) postulates that serial murder is a variation of mass murder. In other words, serial murderers are mass murderers who slay their victims in different locations and at different times. The FBI's *Crime Classification Manual* (cited in Newton, 2000:203) also defines serial murder as "three or more separate events in three or more separate locations with an emotional cooling-off period between homicides". The definitions of Levin and Fox and the FBI imply that the murders are committed at different locations each time. Two points of criticism can be raised, namely that if the requirement of "three or more victims" is accepted this would exclude the serial murderer who, after murdering two people and being in his cooling-off period is apprehended before murdering his third victim and that the murders should occur in three or more locations. Norman Simons (the Station Strangler) was suspected of murdering 22 young boys in and around the Mitchell's Plain area he was however, only convicted of one murder. According to Levin and Fox's definition, Simons would have been excluded from the classification of serial murderer because he murdered his victims in the same location every time.

Other researchers (Gerberth & Turco, 1997; Keppel, 1989; Newton, 2000:204-205) elaborate on the FBI definition by defining serial murder as consecutive murders, usually two or more committed in separate events and generally committed by a lone offender with a cooling-off period between each murder (Gerberth & Turco, 1997). Although this definition improves on that of the FBI, it excludes important aspects such as motivation and the fantasy element.

Labuschagne's (2001:12) definition is formulated in such a way that the term serial murder describes the following set of circumstances:

- The person(s) is motivated to kill.
- Three or more persons are murdered.
- The murders occur at different times.

- The murders appear to be unrelated.
- The motive is not primarily for material gain.
- The elimination of a witness is not the intention.
- Although revenge may play a role, it is not directed at a single person but rather against a category of individuals selected by the serial murderer.

This definition implies that the motive for committing the murder is not revenge in the traditional sense of the word, but rather revenge directed at a group of people who represent something to the murderer. If this definition is accepted unconditionally a serial murderer like Richard Kuklinski, a hit man for organised crime syndicates, who killed an estimated 200 victims, would not be considered a serial murderer (Holmes & Holmes, 1998:37-38).

After reviewing the various definitions of serial murder, the following operational definition is formulated for the purpose of the research.

Serial murder is committed by an individual, who murders several people, usually strangers, over a period of time at different locations or in one location, with a cooling-off period between the murders. The motivation for the murders is generally intrinsic in nature, while material gain or revenge does not play a significant role. A triggering event, whether direct or indirect, precedes each murder and motivates the person to act out his fantasies. The physical act of murder is in essence the re-enactment of the individual's elaborate fantasies. Development of the unique personality structure is influenced by internal and external factors experienced by the individual throughout his development. The factors that influence the serial murderer's personality development also contribute to the evolution and growth of the fantasies.

### 1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Turvey (2002:513) notes a trend in society, which is its transcultural fascination with violent, predatory serial crime. The numerous books and articles as well as films detailing rape and murder highlight this trend. Mitchell (1997:2) states that, despite considerable media interest, serial murder has remained a subject that fails to generate much needed research. In conjunction with this Wright and Hensley (2003:71) point out that despite serial murder having been reported for centuries it has received limited academic attention. Hickey (2002:1-2), who supports this viewpoint, emphasises that much of what is claimed to be true about serial murder is based on misinformation and myth.

The current body of knowledge on serial murder is based on research that has focussed on single aspects of serial murder. These aspects include exploring the social environments of serial murderers, transnational serial murderers whose victims are from different countries or attributes that serve as a base to develop profiles of serial murderers (Hickey, 2002:4-5).

Most studies of serial murder focus on the phenomenon using psychological paradigms. The most commonly used paradigm is that of the psychoanalytical school (Pistorius, 1996). The main concern with regard to this school is that psychoanalytical theories stress the role of internal conflicts and processes as determinants of behaviour. As a result many of the studies, which have been undertaken, focus on a complex phenomenon from a single theoretical perspective or viewpoint (Hollin, 1989:36).

Other research (Godwin, 2000; Ressler et al., 1992) conducted on serial murder focussed on developing of models and methods for classifying serial murderers and in so doing assist in the apprehension of these offenders.

- **Motivational model**

This model developed by Ressler et al. (1992), shows that past and formative events must be taken into consideration when explaining the behaviour of criminals. The main focus of this model is on the subject's response and reaction to these events and

suggests that unaddressed traumatic and damaging incidents experienced during childhood set certain thought patterns into motion. Although this model takes into account past events and how these events influence further behaviour, it fails to explain how these events influenced the offenders' thought and behaviour patterns. Regardless of the assumption that the events influence behaviour, no explanation is given with regard to the effect it could have on development.

- **Facet model**

According to this model developed by Godwin (2000), a multivariate classification approach should be followed when profiling violent behaviour. The main focus of this model is to classify and categorise the crime scene behaviour of the serial murderer, while simultaneously linking it to background characteristics. This enables the user to develop a more accurate offender profile. Despite this advantage the model has limitations. Although serial murderers are generally consistent in their behaviour, it is not necessarily possible that one can predict their behaviour over a period of time. The major shortcoming of the model is that, despite the valuable information that is collected concerning crime scene behaviour, an explanation concerning the serial murderer's development cannot be given. The model thus fails to explain how personality influences behaviour or how the specific personality developed.

It is the contention of the researcher that, while the observable behaviour (crime scene) is the first contact with the serial murderer and in itself a valuable clue, fleeting reference to the personality or presumed personality development, that lead to the specific crime scene behaviour, is a limitation of the model. While the above-mentioned models do refer to the personality and personality development of the serial murderer, they fail to identify which factors influenced personality development.

As explained above, each model and most of the existing research focus on aspects deemed important. An aspect that each model and most of the research touch on is the personality development of the serial murderer. The question that remains unanswered is what influenced the specific personality development or how was it influenced by the developmental history. In other words, although existing research and the models provide much needed information, there are still limitations. A major concern is that,

despite accepting that personality influences behaviour, the focus of how the personality develops is one-dimensional. In this regard most explanations focus on either internal conflicts (the psychoanalytical approach) or the influence of external factors (the motivational model). Other explanations assume that once the behaviour is categorised, linking it to background characteristics should be a formality (the facet model). Research is needed which will focus on the influence and interplay of both internal and external factors (e.g. environmental influence and social interaction) on the personality development as well as how these factors influence behaviour.

In the following section the aim of the study and the research questions that arise from the statement of the problem will be explained.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND AIM OF THE STUDY**

Existing research (Hickey, 2002; Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Holmes & Holmes, 1998; Labuschagne, 2001; Pistorius, 1996) that has been undertaken as well as the models (Godwin, 2000; Ressler et al., 1992) which have been used to gain an understanding of serial murder pay relatively little attention to the developmental aspects in the lives of serial murderers. To address this dearth of scientific data on serial murderers several research questions have been formulated.

- i. What incidents during childhood influenced the development of the personality?
- ii. What incidents during adulthood influenced the development of the personality?
- iii. How were these incidents internalised?
- iv. What influence did these incidents have on the personality?
- v. How did these incidents influence the development of the serial murderer's fantasy life?
- vi. How does the personality influence behaviour?
- vii. How is the behaviour translated onto the crime scene?

The aim of the research is derived from the statement of Douglas and Olshaker (1997:29), namely "behaviour reflects personality". The focus is thus to develop a perspective using a combination of theories and focussing on the influences of both internal and external factors on the personality development of the serial murderer. The

research will explore how internal and external factors have played an important role in the personality development of the serial murderer throughout childhood and adulthood. Subsequently the observable behaviour may be more accurately understood and explained, which could lead to the construction of more precise and useful offender profiles. The ultimate aim is to gain a better understanding of the behavioural patterns exhibited by serial offenders as well as their personality development.

## **1.5 SUMMARY**

In the preceding discussion it was emphasised that serial murder is a phenomenon that has received little scientific and academic attention despite enjoying major acknowledgement and notoriety in the media during the twentieth century. Current scientific information on serial murder is limited and one-dimensional in that the research conducted focused on single aspects such as the internal conflicts the individual experienced. Even though these findings are of value, it is a phenomenon that needs further research to gain a better understanding of it.

Serial murder is sometimes erroneously classified as a form of mass murder. This is incorrect as it differs in many ways from mass murder. Numerous authors have formulated definitions of serial murder, yet the definitions are often of such a nature that a clear understanding of the phenomenon is not portrayed. By integrating various facets of different definitions, an operational definition was formulated which covers aspects omitted or addressed too superficially in most definitions. In the operational definition attention is specifically given to internal and external factors that influence personality development. It is also emphasised how these factors influence and contribute to the development of the elaborate fantasy element present in most serial murders. Fantasy is added to show that by understanding how the specific personality develops the subsequent behaviour and fantasy enactment could be better interpreted.

The focus of the study is to develop a perspective, which incorporates a combination of psychological theories, which will then be utilised in explaining personality and subsequent fantasy development. In so doing the understanding of and insight into, the behaviour of serial murderers will be enhanced.

In Chapter 2 a general description of the characteristics and classifications of serial murderers will be given. Several important associated aspects such as the cooling-off period and the signature aspect of serial murder will also be explained.

The three psychological theories, identified to direct the research will be discussed in Chapter 3, while the research methodology will be outlined in Chapter 4. In Chapters 5 and 6 the empirical research findings and the interpretation of the data will be discussed and the psychosocial perspective will be applied to the two case studies. The research questions will be explored in Chapter 7 and recommendations for further research will be presented.

## CHAPTER 2

### BIOGRAPHICAL FEATURES, CHARACTERISTICS AND CLASSIFICATIONS OF SERIAL MURDERERS

*“I know indeed what evil I intend to do,  
but stronger than all my afterthoughts is my fury,  
fury that brings upon mortals the greatest evils”*  
*Euripides*

Serial murder is a phenomenon that has fascinated people since the ten-week murder campaign of Jack the Ripper became a media event in 1888 (Cawthorne, 2000:9). Despite this fascination there is a dearth of scientific knowledge about this phenomenon (Labuschagne, 2001:ii). Although extensive studies and findings are limited, Canter (1995:195) maintains that the current body of knowledge about serial murderers can be utilised to lay down some general principles according to which the profiling of these offenders can be undertaken. Thus to gain a better understanding of serial murderers attention should be paid to their biographical features, unique characteristics and the various ways in which different types of serial murderers are classified.

#### 2.1 BIOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF SERIAL MURDERERS

As in the case of all individuals it is undoubtedly true that no two serial murderers are completely alike in all aspects of their behaviour and development. Despite the uniqueness of each person, it is also true that certain groups of individuals share some common biographical features that are distinguishable. In this regard Robert K. Ressler and some of his colleagues in the FBI listed several specific biographical features of serial murderers. These features were based on data collected from official records such as psychological reports and court transcripts, as well as background personal interviews with offenders (Godwin, 2000:69-84; Holmes & De Burger, 1988:21-24; Ressler et al., 1992; Schechter & Everitt, 1997:51).

- **Age**

Most serial murderers fall within the age group 18 to 42 years. This age grouping refers to the period during which the serial murderer is still active. The highest concentration of the population falls within the 26 to 31 age group (26%). This percentage is followed by the age grouping of 37 to 42 years (25%), while the next category is the offenders aged 42 years and over (18%). This is followed by the youngest age grouping 18 to 25 years (17%) and the smallest distribution is between the ages of 32 to 36 years of age (12%) (Godwin, 2000:69-70). There are no exact statistics available on the age distribution in regards to South African serial murderers. This is largely attributed to most giving false information at the time of their apprehension. The above age distribution is a reflection of a study done on American serial murderers. It could possibly be applied to some extent to South African serial murderers but it cannot be accepted as an absolute.

- **Gender**

Although the majority of serial murderers are male, females in some instances also turn to serial murder. The distribution of serial murderers according to Godwin (2000:71) shows that 95% of all serial murderers are male and 5% are female. It is important to note that the percentage can differ depending on the definition used by the researchers. This is especially true with regards to female serial murderers. The percentage is generally higher if the definition includes woman who kill for profit and nurses who murder their patients. As the focus of this study is on male serial murderers, no further attention will be paid to female serial murderers although it is a subject, which needs more in-depth research.

- **Race**

In the United States of America (USA) serial murders are committed in most instances by white males and the murders are mostly committed within a specific racial group. Contrary to this, the majority of South African serial murderers are black. In this regard Dr. Labuschagne, Head of the Investigative Psychology Unit of the SAPS (personal communication, 26 September 2003) emphasises that in South Africa the majority of

serial murderers are black and a small percentage white (see Table 1). During the period between 1930 and 1997, 30 cases of serial murder were recorded; 16 were black (54%); seven unidentified (23%); and seven white (23%).

Table 1  
*Historical Overview of Serial Murder in South Africa: 1930-1997*

Date	Name	Victims	Modus Operandi
1930	Unidentified	3 prostitutes	Unknown
1956	Elifasi Msomi	15 people	Victims were hacked to death
1956	Unidentified	6 boys	Unknown
1960	Elias Xitavhudzi	16 women	Hacked victims to death
1970	Unidentified	7 people	Victims clubbed to death
1970	John "Axeman" Kgabi	16 young girls	Hacked victims to death
1980	Unidentified	13 vagrants	Shot victims at point blank range
1982	Joseph Mahlangu	27 people	Shot victims
1983	Cornelius Burger	4 prostitutes	Strangled victims
1983	Phillip Khehla Magoso	5 black women	Raped then murdered victims
1986/94	Norman Simon	21 young boys	Sodomised and murdered victims
1988	David Motshekgwa	14 woman	Strangulation
1989	Johannes Mashiane	12 boys	Strangled or stoned victims to death
1989/92	Jacobus Geldenhuys	5 woman	Rape victims at gunpoint, then shot them
1990	Raymond Govensammy	3 woman	Raped and beat victims to death
1990/96	Stewart Wilken	9 people	Victims sodomised then strangled with own clothes
1991/93	Moses Mokgety	6 children	Tortured children; after he killed them he sold their body parts
1992	Unidentified	19 prostitutes	Strangled victims
1992	Antonie Wessels	4 people	Robbed and murdered victims
1994	Mhlengwa Zikode	18 people	Unknown
1994	Moses Sithole	38 women	Unknown
1994	Unidentified	2 white women	Attacked women then killed them
1995	Unidentified	13 black women	Raped and strangled victims
1996	John Frank Brown & Samuel Coetzee	4 men & 1 teenager	Coetzee posed as a prostitute. Victims were strangled or shot
1996	Nolan Edwards	3 black prostitutes	Non-specific
1996	Bonani Mfeka	5 black women	Victims were raped, then strangled
1997	Agmatir Twala	22 women	Victims were raped, then strangled
1997	Jan van der Westhuizen	3 people	Victims attacked with a sharp object then set alight
1997	Cederick Maake	± 40 people	Attacked couples in their cars. Also attacked shop owners with a hammer
1997	Nicolas Ncama	3 people	Unknown
1997	Unknown	5 black woman	Victims raped and necks broken

*Note.* Adapted from Du Plessis, J.J. (1998) *Serial murder: Psychological themes*. Unpublished Master's dissertation, University of Pretoria.

- **Geographic variations**

Most serial murders are committed in high population density areas, that are characterised by a degree of high mobility for example large transit systems. However, no clear distinction exists with regard to which areas are more likely to be plagued by serial murderers. This is largely due to serial murderers being either stable inhabitants of a specific area or transient visitors and in some cases both.

- **Victim-offender relationship**

Research undertaken by Godwin (2000:70-71) in connection with the victim-killer relationship shows that 62% of male serial murderers killed strangers. The remaining 38% of murdered victims knew their killers. Charles Starkweather, for example, knew 5 of his 11 victims. In most cases the victims did not taunt or threaten the killer in any way. The choice of victim can be premeditated or opportunistic (Norris, 1989:26).

- **Socio-economic status**

Although the educational status of serial murderers varies, the majority did not finish high school. In the USA most serial murderers were employed in menial jobs (51%) or were self-employed (16%), while a large percentage was unemployed (33%). In this regard no research has been done on the educational or the socio-economic status of South African serial murderers.

- **Sexual orientation**

- **Offender sexuality**

An investigation into the sexual orientation of the offenders showed that 80% were heterosexual, 11% homosexual and 9% bisexual (Godwin, 2000:77).

- **Pornography**

Research undertaken by the FBI showed that more than 80% of serial murderers had watched pornography, particularly books and films depicting hardcore masochistic sexual acts. The most notable example of a serial murderer who was influenced by pornography was Ted Bundy. On several occasions he confessed that pornography played an important part in the development of his fantasies and subsequent murders (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:320).

It is important to note that the above information should be viewed as a general indication of the biographical features of serial murderers. In the following section general as well as more specific characteristics associated with serial murderers will be explained.

## **2.2 CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH SERIAL MURDERERS**

Serial murderers share certain common biographical features as well as distinct characteristics that could be used to construct effective and useful offender profiles. Characteristics deemed important, are set out below.

### **2.2.1 Childhood characteristics**

The childhoods of serial murderers are complex and varied and often characterised by some form of abuse and neglect. Although true of serial murderers, these childhood characteristics can also be found in the histories of some children who do not become violent offenders in adulthood (Hickey, 2002:97). Serial murderers have been linked to childhood maladaptive behaviours such as enuresis, chronic fire setting and animal torture. Such behaviours appear more frequently in the clinical histories of serial murderers than in that of non-offenders. The configuration of these three behaviours is known as the McDonald triad (Hickey, 2002:100-105; Schechter & Everitt, 1997:283-284).

- **McDonald triad**

The triad consists of the aspects presented below.

- i. Enuresis**

Enuresis, commonly known as chronic bedwetting, often occurs among children who experience physical, sexual, or emotional abuse. It could also be an overt manifestation of the internal turmoil caused by problems within the family structure (Hickey, 2002:101). Although many children wet their beds most outgrow this problem. If it persists past age 12 it is seen as a sign of deep seated pathology. If the behaviour persists past the age of five it should be considered as a warning sign of deeper underlying problems.

- ii. Chronic fire setting**

According to research conducted with 1 200 juvenile fire starters (Hickey, 2002:102), chronic fire setting appears to be the result of an inability to cope with feelings of anxiety, depression and resentment. This inability of juveniles to manage such feelings affects their self-esteem, fosters feelings of anger and hatred as well as revenge fantasies. The setting of fires can be seen as the result of a disruptive interpersonal pattern within the family structure. Chronic fire starting is commonly found in the childhood histories of serial murderers.

- iii. Cruelty towards animals**

Cruelty towards animals can be described as a fondness for, and a delight in, harming animals as well as enjoying dissecting dead animals is a behaviour found in most serial murderers. The torturing or killing of the “good animal” by the child can be viewed as a precursor for more violent acts as an adult. Animal torture could be indicative of a child’s preoccupation with death or it could mimick the physical or sexual abuse he or she is experiencing (Hickey, 2002:100).

- **Childhood trauma**

Arrigo and Purcell (2001:8) state that psychological and/or physical trauma occurring during the formative years of the individual can function as predisposing mechanisms, which could lead to homicidal behaviour later during adulthood. Most psychiatric experts are in agreement that early childhood experiences could have a significant influence on the physical and mental well-being of the adult. A critical element in this regard is “bonding” or “attachment”, which refers to the emotional connection between the infant and its parents. These emotional ties develop from the moment of birth and possibly also during the post-natal phase. Any disruption of the connection may produce a child (or adult) incapable of feeling remorse, sympathy or affection. A three-year study conducted by the FBI (Newton, 2000:34-35) illustrates several common factors in serial murderer’s early lives, namely

- trauma in the form of physical abuse
- development failure stemming from the trauma
- failure on the part of the parental figures to serve as positive role models.

### **2.2.2 Unique characteristics**

Other than the obvious characteristics such as more than two victims murdered over a period of time, serial murder has unique characteristics, which set it apart from other forms of homicide. These characteristics are the cooling-off period, the motivation for committing the murders, the triggering stressors that set events in motion, the existence of elaborate fantasies and the signature.

- **Cooling-off period**

This period is seen as an emotional cooling-off period between the committing of each crime. According to the *Crime Classification Model* (Newton, 2000:205) “the cooling-off period can last for days, weeks, months and presumably for years”. Furthermore the duration of this period of “hiatus” varies between serial murderers. In the case of Jeffrey

Dahmer the cooling-off period between his first and second murder was nine years, while in the case of Charles Starkweather the cooling-off period between his first and second murder was one month and nineteen days.

Schechter and Everitt (1997:69) emphasise that the cooling-off period also serves a further function, namely to distinguish serial murder from mass murder. In the latter case the murders are committed in a short period of time and it is not uncommon for mass murderers to anticipate their own death while carrying out their murders (Bartol, 2002:263).

- **Motivation**

Holmes and Holmes (1998:36-38) believe that the motivational aspect is one of the major elements that set serial murders apart from other murders. Motives for serial murder are as varied and diverse as the individuals who commit them. The motivational framework can be divided into psychogenic and sociogenic motivations.

- **Psychogenic motives**

Several authors believe that the motivation for serial murder is intrinsic in nature and that murder is a product of the individual's psychological characteristics (Godwin, 2000:3; Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Holmes & Holmes, 1998; Pistorius, 1996). This means that the motive for committing the murder is settled deep within the unconscious (Pistorius, 1996:231). In this regard Norris (1989:15) states that serial murderers are motivated by factors of which they are unaware or do not understand. According to Fox and Levin (1994:17-19) serial murderers do not kill for love, money or revenge but rather for the sense of satisfaction they derive from it. In other words, the murderer seeks to satisfy sexual and psychological cravings through the act of murder. As noted earlier in the section covering childhood trauma, a stable childhood has a profound impact on the mental and physical well-being of the individual as an adult. Holmes and Holmes (1998:49-54) state that hatred, repressed aggression and feelings of helplessness and frustration develop within the relationships with significant others in the killer's life. These feelings and behaviours, which are directed towards other individuals, are exhibited through the observable behaviour of the serial murderer.

Psychogenic motivations do not develop and influence the individual in a vacuum but in interaction with sociogenic motives.

- **Sociogenic motives**

Sociogenic motives for an individual to commit murder can be explained on the basis that the individual realises that his social interaction is below his desired level and he subsequently seeks alternatives. Due to his perceived social standing the individual experiences feelings of powerlessness and helplessness that eventually turn into feelings of rage and hatred (Godwin, 2000:3). In other words, the criminal behaviour is a function of social processes. Several authors (Bowlby, Ainsworth, Boston & Rosenbluth, 1956:214; Newton 2000:34) agree that social influences such as childhood development are important to the physical and mental welfare of an adult. The interaction of the individual with the social institutions as well as the people and groups, which are part of these institutions, influence the development of the individual. For example, if a caretaker exposes a child to violence or societies condone violence, it may become part of the child and influence his adult behaviour (Holmes & Holmes, 1998:54-56).

- **Triggering stressors**

According to Ressler et al. (1992:45-53) triggering stressors are actions, behaviours, incidents or anything, which motivate the serial murderer to commit the murder. A variety of triggering factors could cause the murderer to act out repressed anger or fantasies. In some cases the acting out may be a device to protect the fantasies. The individual's emotional state is influenced to varying degrees by what is happening around him. The emotional state of the offender could leave the individual unable to cope with such stressors. Any stressor could trigger a serial murderer to act. Ed Gein's trigger was matronly looking woman who reminded him of his mother who had dominated most of his life. David Berkowitz, on the other hand took out his fury on young women with long brown hair who reminded him of the many girls who had rejected him when he was younger. While the triggering stressor may be physical appearance for some serial murderers it may be obscure in the case of others. In these cases it may be psychological and beyond rational comprehension (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:284-285).

- **Fantasy**

Schechter and Everitt (1997:86-87) postulate that aggressive fantasies are present in serial murderers from an early age and that they never outgrow these fantasies. Arrigo and Purcell (2001:17-18) blame traumatic events occurring during the formative years of childhood development for influencing individual perception of the world as well as the developing sense of self. These events cause them to foster feelings of inadequacy, helplessness, self-doubt and worthlessness. Fantasies and daydreaming become substitutes and a refuge from the world and the social environment in which these individuals live. Wilson and Seaman (1996:40-41) argue that the psychological damage arising from such a troubled childhood results in a number of aggressive behavioural traits. Hickey (2002:114-116) regards the presence of violent fantasies as the most critical factor common to all serial murderers. The purpose of the fantasy is not aimed at the total destruction of another person but rather to gain total control over him or her. The offenders attempt to replicate their fantasies each time they commit a new murder, however, because they can never completely control their victims' behaviour. The outcome will never measure up to the fantasy. Fox and Levin (1994:67) point out that with each new victim the killer refines the act, striving to make the real-life experience resemble the fantasy as closely as possible. The fantasy becomes the motive and establishes the offender's signature.

- **Signature**

The signature can be described as a “psychological calling card” the killer leaves at the scene of each crime. Hickey (2002:125) describes signatures as actions, which are unnecessary to complete the crime. Signatures often represent extensions of paraphilic fantasies and are important because they help the offender actualise his fantasies. Kepple and Birnes (1997:2-3) state that, although the offender's signature and modus operandi might seem similar, the two concepts are actually very different. Whereas the modus operandi of an offender changes over time and evolves with each murder, the signature is present and unchanged at every crime scene. Kepple and Birnes (1997) as well as Labuschagne (2001) define the signature as the killer's compulsion to leave his own personal mark at the scene of the crime. According to Turvey (2002:279) the

offender's signature is a distinctive behavioural characteristic pointing to emotional and psychological needs of the killer that must be satisfied. It is a symbolic or ritual component imprinted on the psyche of the individual, which he is psychologically compelled to leave at the scene of a murder or on the victim.

Signatures are thus actions and behaviours, which have a symbolic or ritual meaning for the individual. The serial murderer is psychologically compelled to leave his mark in order for the murder to be meaningful to the killer or to simply make sense to him.

### **2.2.3 Characteristic deviant sexual behaviour**

Although not exclusive to all serial murderers, some form of deviant sexual behaviour has been reported in most serial murderer cases. According to the DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994) these behaviours are classified as paraphilias. A paraphilia is defined as unusual fantasies or sexual urges or behaviours that are recurrent or sexually arousing. These activities are focused on humiliating the individual or a partner (Kaplan & Sadock, 1998:700). In this regard Hickey (2002:22-23) indicates that most psychosexual disorders are fuelled by intense and aberrant fantasy systems caused by traumatic childhood and/or adolescent experiences. Powerful sex drives and hard-core pornographic material reinforce such fantasies to the extent that they facilitate unusual behaviour.

In the following section prominent paraphilias demonstrated in most serial murder cases are listed and explained (Hickey, 2002:23-28; Kaplan & Sadock, 1998:700-710; Newton, 2000:181-182).

- *Anthropophagy* – this is sexual fixation on eating flesh in an act of cannibalism. When applied to corpses the term *necrophagia* is used. Necrophagia, for example, was evident in Stewart Wilken's (Boetie Boer) behaviour. After murdering one of his victims he cut off her nipples and ate them (Pistorius, 2000:186-189).
- *Bestiality* – that is sexual acts with animals. For example, Henry Lee Lucas (13-15 years) tortured and killed various animals after performing sexual acts with them.

- *Necrophilia* – is the obsession to obtain sexual gratification from cadavers. When the obsession escalates to intercourse it is termed *necrocoitus*. Jeffery Dahmer collected and dissected animals killed by vehicles on the road from an early age. This behaviour was a precursor to his behaviour of eventually cutting open the abdomens of his dead victims and masturbating into their viscera (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:194).
- *Paedophilia* – is the recurrent intense sexual urge toward or arousal by children. John Wayne Gacy, for example, sodomised and killed over 25 young boys (Cawthorne, 2000:92-95).
- *Sadism* – is intense sexual arousing fantasies, sexual urges or behaviours including acts in which the psychological or physical suffering of the victim is sexually exciting to the individual. Torture would also qualify under sadism, for example, burning victims or dismembering them while still alive. An example of sexual sadism can be found in Albert Fish who after he molested young boys, castrated them and watched them bleed to death (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:91-92).
- *Torture/mutilation* – torture includes a large variety of sadistic acts including burning victims' breasts, dismembering victims while still alive and applying electrical shocks to various body parts. Mutilation and torture often occur together. In these cases mutilation is usually directed towards the genitals of the victim. The term *mazoperosis* is used to refer to mutilation aimed at the female breasts and *perogynia* to the mutilation of the female genitals.

#### **2.2.4 General behavioural characteristics**

The general behavioural characteristics of serial murderers are listed to indicate the broad scope of behaviour most of them could demonstrate at any given point in time. These behavioural characteristics include the following (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:51):

- The murders generally occur separately from each other and can progressively increase or decrease in frequency. The murders often escalate over a period of time,

with the cooling-off period in between each murder gradually becoming shorter and shorter.

- The murders tend to be one-on-one, although cases have been reported where more than one victim had been killed in a single incident.
- There is little or no previous contact between the victim and the killer.
- Although there may be a victim “trait” or “pattern”, there appears to be no clear and identifiable motive for the murder, such as murdering for revenge.
- There is a considerable degree of redundant violence or “overkill” present where the victim had been subjected to a high level of brutality.
- Spatial mobility enables the murderer to move rapidly from one murder location to another before the murder or body is even discovered.

### **2.3 CLASSIFICATION OF SERIAL MURDERERS**

According to Hickey (2002:31) a serial murderer can be classified as either an organised or disorganised offender. This classification is based on evidence present at the crime scene. Homes and De Burger (1988:53) claim that the organisational structure is determined by the amount of planning, premeditation and the level of control the offender exerted over the victim. There are crime scenes, which show mixed patterns. However, for the purpose of this study only the organised, disorganised, geographically stable and geographically transient classification will be discussed.

- **Organised serial murderer**

Schechter and Everitt (1997:235) describe the organised serial murderer as a methodical killer who carefully plans the murder. In this regard Godwin (2000:12-14) and Turvey (2002:219-222) describe the organised killer as a cunning individual who spends vast amounts of time planning the murders. Although the murder is planned, the victims are almost always strangers who show certain characteristics. These characteristics

could for example be blonde hair, blue eyes or even being a student. The selected victim is not overpowered or murdered in a hurried style attack. Because of the offender's above-average interpersonal skills, he engages in social activities with the intended victim using verbal rather than physical force to capture the victim (Ressler et al., 1992:122). As soon as the victim is in his power he starts to carry out the murder.

The organised offender also has a murder kit, which generally contains objects such as a weapon of choice, rope, or duck tape or any items the killer feels could be useful when committing the crime. The crime scene left by the organised offender is indicative of control and a well-planned murder. This methodical organisation is aimed at avoiding detection. The methodical nature of the crime also enables the offender to remember his thoughts clearly prior to each murder and to improve his planning and the execution of his next murder. Linked to this is the organised serial murderer's tendency to follow the case in the media, often keeping newspaper clippings of the progress of the case. This enables him to follow the progress of the investigation and to avoid "slip-ups" that might have occurred and lead to him being caught.

Ressler et al. (1992:121) state that, in terms of birth order, organised serial murderers are frequently first-born sons. Their fathers generally have a stable work history but were inconsistent in disciplining the serial murderer as a child. These offenders usually have an above-average IQ, a history of working in a skilled occupation although these occupations require skills below their abilities. The offender eroticises the act of murder and evidence of continual fantasy and rituals, which dominate the organised offender's behaviour, can be observed in his taking souvenirs from the victims and the crime scenes.

- **Disorganised serial murderer**

The disorganised serial murderer can be described as a loner who is withdrawn and cowardly in the committing of his crimes. He is socially inadequate and ineffective, seldom marries and usually lives alone with a parent and in close proximity to the crime scene. He is also sexually insecure and has never entered into a sexual relationship with another individual. This type of serial murderer is also subject to a sudden and overwhelming impulse and the urge to kill. He chooses victims spontaneously and

quickly overpowers them with whatever weapon he can find. Restraints are seldom used because the victims are killed quickly. This is in stark contrast to the organised serial murderer who carefully plans and prepares before each murder. The murders are often committed using surprise combined with force to overpower the victims (Ressler et al., 1992:129).

Ressler et al. (1992:131) point out that the victims of the disorganised serial murderer, in contrast with those of the organised serial murderer, are depersonalised by avoiding verbal interaction other than threats and orders. The crime scene left behind by the disorganised serial murderer reflects the actions of someone whose motivation stems from sudden and uncontrollable urges. This is characterised by signs of overkill and the use of excessive brutality in the murdering of the victims. The excessive trauma inflicted on victims of the disorganised serial murderer indicates a lack of impulse control. The offender also does not attempt to conceal the victim's body. The body is generally left in the same place where the victim was killed (Godwin, 2000:14-15; Harrower, 1998:43; Newton, 2000:51; Schechter & Everitt, 1997:234-235). The disorganised serial murderer also shows no forensic awareness. As a result the crime scene is riddled with evidence such as fingerprints or bloody footprints.

The disorganised serial murderer is likely to be of low intelligence and low in birth order. Parental discipline was inconsistent and often harsh. The disorganised serial murderer's own occupational inconsistencies reflect those of his father figure who had a poor work history (Ressler et al., 1992:130).

Another important aspect, which also plays a significant role in the accurate classification of serial murderers, is their spatial mobility or stability as well as the location of the murders. Holmes and Holmes (1994:106-107) state that serial murderers can also be classified as either geographically stable or transient.

- **Geographically stable**

Holmes and De Burger (1988:54), as well as Newton (2000:157), refer to the territorial or geographically stable killer as being the most common, usually operating within a particular hunting ground. This type of killer lives within a specific area and commits his

murders within that general area. Cedric Maake, for example, killed 35 people in and around the Wemmer Pan area where he also lived. This type of serial murderer is usually employed within the community and may be well known and respected there (Holmes & Holmes, 1994:106).

- **Geographically transient**

This serial murderer often travels to various locations. His mode of operation is to commit the murder in one area and then shrewdly move away only to emerge in another area where the same pattern is repeated (Holmes & De Burger, 1988:55). According to Holmes and Holmes (1994:106), the geographically transient or nomadic killer travels frequently and often compulsively from one location to another. Ted Bundy, for example, murdered 19 college students across the United States over a period of three years (Cawthorne, 2000:21-26).

In the following section the four typologies developed to identify the behavioural patterns and the motivation behind the actions of the serial murderer will be explored.

### **2.3.1 Serial murder typologies**

Serial murder typologies were developed in order to illustrate the possible motivations behind the actions of serial murderers. The four typologies, namely *hedonistic*, *power-control*, *visionary* and *mission orientated* type, will be examined in detail in the following paragraphs.

- **Hedonistic type**

The hedonistic type derives pleasure from inflicting pain and committing murder. Each homicidal act is carried out with the objective of gaining pleasure. The reward of experiencing pleasure serves as a reinforcement to continue with the behaviour (Holmes & De Burger, 1988:58; Schechter & Everitt, 1997:287). John Wayne Gacy, for example, tortured and murdered young males merely for the pleasure he derived from it (Cawthorne, 2000:92-95).

Holmes and Holmes (1998:90-125) identify three variations with regards to the hedonistic type.

**i. Lust killer**

The lust killer derives sexual gratification from committing murder as he has associated sexual arousal and personal gratification with fatal violence. Sex plays an integral part in the murder, even if it occurs after the victim is dead. Necrophilia often forms part of the lust killer's actions. There is an excess of violence present usually directed towards the victim in the form of torture. The motivation for the lust killer is entirely intrinsic. Therefore his aim is to satisfy his compulsion to derive psychological gratification from the murders.

**ii. Thrill killer**

Like the lust killer, the thrill killer has made a connection between sex and personal gratification. However, unlike the lust killer the motivation and personal gratification lie in different locations. Whereas the lust killer gains gratification from seeing the corpses of his victims, the thrill killer needs the victim to be alive and aware of the depravity before being killed. Unlike the lust killer, the thrill killer is methodical and controlled. There is no excess violence present on the crime scene. Torture takes place but only while the victim is alive. This adds to the excitement the thrill killer derives from the murder. The motivation for the thrill killer is to feel the excitement of the kill and to see the fear and horror on his victims' faces. The thrill killer, at a later stage, imagines and relives the excitement of the kill by visualising the fear his victims exhibited. These killers draw out the kill, deriving most of the pleasure from the process of murder rather than the murder itself. The Hillside Stranglers (Kenneth Bianchi and Angelo Buono), for example, tortured, raped and physically abused their victims before starting to strangle them. If the victim lost consciousness they would revive the victim and then start all over again. Once the victims were dead they had no more use for them (Cawthorne, 2000:164).

### iii. **Comfort killer**

Unlike the lust and thrill killers, the comfort killer murders for “creature comfort” reasons. These anticipated gains are usually money or material rewards that can be gained from the murder. The comfort killer’s motivation and anticipated gain are different to that of the other two because the material gain motivation is a rational and conscious choice. Richard Kuklinski, for example, was a mob hit man who murdered more than a hundred people, merely committing the murders for the material gains he derived from it.

- **Power/control type**

Harrower (1998:43) as well as Holmes and Holmes (1998:129-131) describe the power/control type as an individual whose behaviour centres on the need for power and dominance. The motivation to kill is intrinsic to the individual’s personality, and is based on a need for feeling in control of another human being’s life. The power/control type is in control to such an extent that he plans the murder in advance and he even has a dumpsite picked out. His planning and execution of the murder are well organised. Holmes and De Burger (1988:59) point out that the power/control type derives satisfaction from the complete control he exerts over the life and death of another human being. Because sex is not the primary motive, any mutilation of the genitalia is an expression of the power and control the offender has over the victim. Schechter and Everitt (1997:287) stress that the need to have complete control over another human being is an attempt to compensate for feelings of worthlessness the offender experiences. Ted Bundy, for example, stated that he derived extreme pleasure from knowing that he had the life of another human being in the palm of his hand (Holmes & Holmes, 1998:130).

- **Visionary type**

Harrower (1998:42) and Holmes and De Burger (1988:56) describe the visionary type serial murderer as an individual who claims to kill in response to voices or visions, which order him to murder a person or category of persons. According to various authors (Holmes & Holmes, 1998:62; Schechter & Everitt, 1997:287) the visionary type suffers from an acute break with reality. Their minds are gripped by bizarre hallucinations and

delusions. The motivation in the case of the visionary type is more difficult to comprehend because only the killer is aware of what exactly he is seeing or hearing. In this case the motivation may be to destroy the “demon” that is threatening his life. The duration and occurrence of the psychotic episodes may vary. David Berkowitz, for example, claimed that he was commanded to kill by a Labrador possessed by a demon. According to him the instructions were repeatedly beamed directly to him. David Mmbengwa believed he was on a divine mission each time he ambushed and murdered couples parked on “lover’s lanes” in the Northern Province (Turvey, 2002:527).

- **Mission-orientated type**

Several authors (Harrower, 1998:42; Holmes & De Burger, 1988:57) describe the mission-orientated type as an individual who believes he has been given the task to eliminate a certain group of individuals from society. Holmes and Holmes (1998:78-79) state that the motivation for the mission-orientated type is central to his personality. He expects to gain a sense of fulfilment in achieving his goal of eliminating those whom he deems below him.

## **2.4 SUMMARY**

The obscure nature of serial murder, aspects such as biographical features, characteristics and classifications of serial murder play a significant role when trying to understand and make sense of it. Serial murder is a phenomenon generally viewed as almost impossible to diagnose or predict (Norris, 1989:15).

The general biographical features of serial murderers serve as an overall narrative covering aspects such as age, race, victim-offender relationship, sexual orientation and the gender of the offender. Most of the current information concerning biographical features of serial murderers is derived from studies done in the USA (Godwin, 2000:69). Within the South African context some of this information may be relevant, but some information is completely unusable. For example, when considering the race of serial murderers in the USA, it is evident that the majority are white (86%), while 13% are black (Godwin, 2000:73). In South Africa the majority of serial murderers are black or coloured.

The characteristics of serial murderers are of importance because, unlike the overall narrative formed by the biographical features, the unique and specific characteristics, which are normally derived from the crime scene, allow for a more complete representation of the individual serial murderer to be formed. It is, however, important to note that not all serial murderers have these characteristics due to serial murderers differing from each other in the same way that all people differ from each other.

The typologies of serial murderers and the characteristics are interconnected. These typologies were developed using information gathered from law enforcement agencies as well as information from crime scenes (Ressler et al., 1992:121). The typologies have their own unique characteristics associated with them, for example, the hedonistic lust type of serial murderer is characterised by the occurrence of necrophilia. This, combined with other characteristics not associated with the typologies, allows for a more comprehensive description of the individual serial murderer.

Serial murder is a complex phenomenon characterised by intricate unknown underlying psychological processes, frequently not even understood by the serial murderer. Hence it is important to take cognisance of the classifications and characteristics of serial murderers. Such generalised concepts provide an insight, however small it may be, into a phenomenon that still holds many mysteries.

In the following chapter the relevant aspects of the theories of Erikson, Fromm and Adler, which will be applied in the research, will be set out in detail. The aim is to explain the selected aspects of each theory and to clarify how these aspects will be integrated to form a cohesive psychosocial perspective.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

*“All of us, to some degree, remain in the shadow of our own unsatisfied childhood.”*

*Carl Goldberg, Speaking with the devil*

The phenomenon of serial murder is frequently labelled as “sick”, “crazy” or “psychotic” behaviour. These labels offer little in the quest to understand the processes involved in the development of the behaviour of the serial murderer (Bartol, 2002:247). This problem is further exacerbated by the absence of comprehensive theories that explain why certain individuals commit serial murder. As a result researchers are compelled to use theories originally formulated for other purposes to direct their research and in so doing gain an understanding of factors contributing to the development of a personality that needs to commit this type of crime.

In Chapter 1 it was pointed out that most studies regarding serial murder are undertaken from a single theoretical perspective (Hollin, 1989:36). Generally this perspective is psychoanalytic in nature and focuses exclusively on an intrapsychic explanation of why individuals commit this type of murder (Pistorius, 1996). An area that needs further exploration involves social and environmental factors in conjunction with internal factors that play a role in the personality development of the serial murderer. Theories that are considered appropriate for this purpose are those of Erikson, Fromm and Adler.

#### 3.1 OVERVIEW

In the following sections facets of the above mentioned theories, relevant to this research, will be discussed. In conjunction with each theory a detailed explanation will be given of how the selected aspects are incorporated to formulate the proposed psychosocial perspective.

Erikson’s theory is well suited to the research as it downplays biological determinism in

favour of psychosocial factors such as conflict between children and parents, as well as the child's interaction with the social environment. Erikson's theory also states that development extends throughout the lifespan. The theory illustrates how the first relationships in early infancy have a significant impact on the behavioural patterns exhibited during adulthood (Roazen, 1976:112). The theory thus states that human behaviour and the development of the personality are not solely determined by biological influences but also by psychological and cultural influences.

The theory of Erich Fromm uniquely blends the theories of Freud and Marx by combining the unconscious, biological drives and repressions with the view that an individual's behaviour is determined by society and the economic system (Boeree, 1997b). Fromm's theory was chosen because people are seen as social beings that are not only driven by instinctual drives. As a result individuals have to confront distinctively human problems such as feelings of isolation and discontentment, which arise from non-instinctual circumstances. Needs created by such feelings are ultimately more difficult to satisfy (Ewen, 1993:186-187; Fromm, 1992:xiii).

Adler's individual psychology theory was selected because it emphasises that individuals are unique, have control over their lives and can make choices that concern themselves (The Essentials of Alfred Adler's Theory, <http://usd.edu/~aelverud/advcomp/adler.html>). Furthermore, Adler regards childhood and infancy as periods of considerable importance (Ewen, 1993:128).

Facets of the theories, applicable to the study, are explained in more detail in the following sections.

### **3.2 EGO THEORY OF ERIK ERIKSON**

According to Maddi (1996:60) as well as Oltman and Emery (1995:58-59), Erikson identified developmental stages. However, unlike Freud who focuses on the internal struggles of the child and emphasises biological sexuality, marking the various stages, Erikson focuses on the psychosocial significance of each stage. In other words, the biological nature of the social tasks and the conflicts involved in meeting the demands of the external world are taken into consideration. The emphasis is not on the individual

attempting to avoid conflict or the influence of biological sexuality. The focus is rather on the psychosocial significance of the conflicts and the interactions between the child and society throughout the various developmental stages (Erik Erikson (1902-1904), <http://oldsci.eiu.edu/psychology/Spencer/Erikson.html>).

Erikson's theory includes the entire life-cycle and emphasises the role of social factors and internal influences in the development of the individual. This allows for the theory to be comprehensive and well suited for the present study.

### **3.2.1 Psychosocial stages of development**

In the following section the six developmental stages of Erikson's theory pertinent to the study will be explained. It is important to note that the time stipulation given for each stage is not fixed and inflexible. The time frames should only be viewed as general references.

#### **3.2.1.1 Newborn or infancy stage (1 year): Basic trust vs. Mistrust**

According to Wright (1982:51), the first developmental stage identified by Erikson involves the development of trust or mistrust. This developmental stage occurs during roughly the first 18 months of the child's life. During the first year the infant is more helpless than he will ever be because he cannot do anything for himself (Maddi, 1996:60). As a result of this helplessness the mother or maternal substitute is the key figure in the child's life that has to provide for the child's every need. The effectiveness of the maternal relationship is not determined by the amount of care or affection given to the child but rather the quality of care (Wright, 1982:54). The quality of maternal care and the subsequent relationship influence the development of basic trust or mistrust within the child.

Erikson (1968:103; 1977:224; 1980:57) states that basic trust is the cornerstone of the healthy personality. If the maternal relationship is severely dysfunctional, the child will not only become distrustful of the social world, but also of the people around him. This distrust will be expressed as a basic sense of mistrust in adulthood (Boeree, 1997a;

Maddi, 1996:60; Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997:227; Roazen, 1976:112; Wright, 1982:51).

During this stage the child begins to develop the ability to successfully interact with his environment. He begins to understand how to co-ordinate his actions and in the process learns how to receive and accept what is given to him from this environment. In the same instance the mother's reaction towards the child's attempts and methods of "getting" enables the child to identify with the mother. This facilitates a positive outlook and belief in his social environment and the world outside of him. If the maternal relationship fails and the child cannot obtain what he "needs" or "wants" by regular methods, frustration sets in. The child is then likely to attempt to gain control of the situation by random actions and by forcibly interjecting himself into the situation. These actions only further add to the feelings of frustration because the mother is likely to remove herself from the situation. Erikson (1980:59-61) states that such a situation is a model for a radical disturbance in the child's relationships with the world and towards people, especially loved ones.

The crisis during this stage is that on a physiological level the child has to learn how to deal with violent and aggressive ways of obtaining what he wants. He must learn how to keep on suckling without biting, which will cause the mother to withdraw the breast in pain or even anger. If a positive maternal relationship, where the mother instils basic trust in the child is lacking, mistrust will develop. The child will feel that he has been abandoned and deprived. This mistrust gives rise to what Erikson terms *oral sadism*, which refers to a cruel and harmful need to get or take what the individual feels he needs from others. On a psychological level the child becomes more aware of himself as a distinct person, while feelings of frustration, abandonment and deprivation add to the mistrust that has developed within him. Mistrust that develops because of the inadequacy of the maternal relationship has an important impact on the identity development of the individual. When the adolescent has to abandon his childhood, and ultimately trust that he will be recognised during adulthood as an individual with his own identity, he will be unable to do so. This inability to trust may ultimately lead to the development and formation of a negative identity because he will strive to be recognised as an individual and in the process incorporate negative identity aspects to accomplish this (Boeree, 1997a; Erikson, 1968:101-105; 1980:62-63).

### **3.2.1.2 Early childhood stage (2 – 3 years): Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt**

During the second or early childhood stage a rapid maturation of the muscles and the child's verbalisation skills occur. This enables the child to gain control over his own actions and his environment. The result is that he can move around and interact with his environment and others. Mastery and control of language and movement enables the highly dependent child to develop a sense of autonomy or independence (Erikson, 1968:107).

According to Erikson (1968:108-109) the entire early childhood stage becomes a "battle for autonomy". As the child's autonomy begins to develop and strengthen he begins to exhibit behaviour, which indicates his growing willingness to "do things on his own". He will, for example, still show the need to be close to his mother and snuggle up against her but at the same time he will violently push her away. An important aspect during this stage is the reaction of the parents to the first attempts at self-assertion. Beyond the singular relationship with the mother, as in the first stage, either parents or substitute caregivers now play a significant role in the child's development during this stage. Their reactions sow the seeds for the development of either a sense of autonomy or feelings of shame and doubt (Stevens, 1983:45).

To ensure positive development the child must be allowed to explore, interact with and manipulate his immediate environment and to act independently. In addition to his newfound abilities, the environment should also provide an atmosphere that will encourage him to take chances and not to be ridiculed should he make mistakes. The environment must also "back him up" in the sense that his environment should protect him from the estrangements, which accompany the development of autonomy. If a balance is achieved during this stage, a sense of self-control and self-esteem will develop (Boeree, 1997a; Erikson, 1980:68; Maddi, 1996:61; Meyer et al., 1997:228; Wright, 1982:52).

During this stage the relationship between the child and the parents is severely tested. While the mother is saddled with the responsibility of teaching the child to control his developing abilities the child wants to be in control and assert his own will. If the external

control exerted by the parents is too rigid the child will be robbed of the ability to gain control over his own decision-making and self-control abilities. Powerless over his own actions and outside influences, he will be forced to seek a sense of control by other means. The ever-increasing ability of the child, as Erikson (1968:110) states, to “hold on” or “letting go”, which stems from the growing sense of autonomy, now becomes negative in that “holding on” develops into a cruel and destructive pattern of restraining or keeping. The “letting go” ability becomes a hostile letting loose of destructive forces onto the environment or against others. A sense of self-control without the loss of self-esteem is the ideal end result of the stage. From an unavoidable sense of loss of self-control and parental over control, a sense of shame and doubt develops (Erikson, 1968:109-110; 1980:70-71).

The negative side of this stage is the development of shame and doubt that holds a destructive potential. Self-doubt and shame develop when the child is not allowed by the parents or parental substitutes to explore his environment or act independently. This usually occurs when the parents are overprotective or disapproving of the child’s attempts at independence. The child will become ashamed of his behaviour and will be under the impression that he cannot and should not act on his own, and would consequently doubt his own abilities (Boeree, 1997a; Stevens, 1983:45).

According Erikson (1968:110-114) it is during this stage that the first step towards individuality and identity formation takes place. The child willingly pulls away from the mother and begins to act on his own volition. The overall contribution of this stage to identity formation is the development of the courage to become an independent individual and choose to enter into the adult world. If the individual doubts himself and feels ashamed of his own abilities, this will ultimately lead to the development and formation of a negative identity to compensate for the feelings of shame and doubt.

### **3.2.1.3 Play stage (3 – 5 years): Initiative vs. Guilt**

The play stage is characterised by the child having to develop a sense of initiative without experiencing excessive feelings of guilt. The stage is characterised by three developments (Erikson, 1980:78):

- **Improved ability to move around**

In addition to sitting up on his own for long periods of time the child can now also begins to move around more freely and aggressively, which allows him to establish a wider range of goals.

- **Language skills**

The child's language skills improve to such an extent that he can ask about things, and verbalise his growing curiosity.

- **Locomotion**

Due to the improvement in his locomotion and verbal skills the child begins to expand his imagination to such an extent he begins to frighten himself with what he "dreams up".

During this stage the child must learn to strike a balance between his eagerness for new experiences, taking on more responsibility and learning to control his impulses and childish fantasies. It is here that the parents play important roles by encouraging him to try out new ideas and showing acceptance of his curiosity and imagination. They should also be consistent in their discipline. This will allow the child to accept, without guilt, that certain actions are not allowed and at the same time not feel ashamed of using his imagination and engaging in make-believe play. The successful completion of this developmental crisis leads to the development of initiative (Erikson, 1968:115; 1980:78; Erikson's eight stages, <http://psychology.about.com/library/weekly/aa091500a.htm>; Wright, 1982:62-63).

Being able to move independently and more vigorously the child begins to interact more with the environment around him. His parents are no longer the only influences in his life because he begins to interact and engage in play with the rest of his family and also with other children of the same and opposite sex. His learning becomes ever more intrusive in that he forcibly enters into unknown space following his curiosity. He uses his newfound language skills to draw attention to himself. The child also starts to develop a sense of "making" or "being able to make". He thus begins to enjoy competition and the

pleasure of conquest. This gives rise to the development of masculine initiative but more importantly the development of a sexual self-image, which is important for the development of his future identity (Erikson, 1968:118; 1980:82).

Erikson (1968:118-119; 1980:83) argues that it is during this stage that in conjunction with the increasing locomotive powers the child's imagination also expands. He begins to develop secret fantasies, which may terrify him. He also has to deal with his growing infantile sexuality which at this stage is usually directed at the parent of the opposite sex. The child, however, realises that he will never be able to engage in any sexual activity with his mother. This gives rise to a feeling of jealousy directed at the father who "has what he wants". The inevitable and necessary failure to engage in a sexual relationship with his mother leads to the development of guilt and anxiety.

According to Erikson (1968:119-122; 1977:231; 1980:84-87) it is during this developmental phase that the child's conscience develops, which governs his initiative. The conscience can be described as the child's internalised set of principles, which provide evaluations of right or wrong with regard to acts either performed or contemplated. The conscience can cause severe inner fragmentation in the child as well as a lasting resentment aimed towards the parents. This resentment stems from the anger felt towards the parent who initially served as the example and executor of the child's conscience. The behaviour of the parents is measured against the child's newly acquired conscience and they are found to be lacking and trying to get away with behaviour he cannot tolerate. This supposed deficiency on the part of the parents can be the source of conflict between them and the child. The child has to find a balance between his initiative and feelings of guilt as well as the anger felt towards the parents. Erikson states that, if the child is incapable of achieving such a balance, powerful destructive drives are aroused and ultimately repressed. Wright and Hensley (2003) state that all individuals seek affection and approval from those they consider important to them. If the approval is met, both parties feel satisfied by the outcome. However, if a successful resolution is not achieved, frustration develops for those seeking approval and satisfaction. In the case of serial murderers those who caused the frustration hold a certain degree of control over them that inhibits the former from retaliating against them (Hale, 1993). These repressed drives will, at a later stage, contribute to destructive behaviour the individual may exhibit when the opportunity presents itself (Castle &

Hensley, 2002:453-465).

Erikson (1968:122; 1980:86) indicates that it is during this stage that people's aggressive mind-set is anchored. This aggression stems from the conflict and frustration the child experiences throughout the stage. The contribution of this stage to identity development is that during this stage the child's initiative must be freed and he must develop a sense of purpose. This sense of purpose will foster a belief that he can and will live up to his abilities, and that he will be able to apply his childhood dreams to an as yet unknown adult life. However, if the stage is dysfunctional, the child will not develop this self-belief, which will lead to a negative outlook and ultimately to the release of the repressed feelings of guilt and anger.

#### **3.2.1.4 School age stage (6 – 11years): Industry vs. Inferiority**

The school stage is characterised by intense curiosity and a wish to learn. In conjunction with this the child develops the capacity for industry while avoiding a sense of inferiority. During this stage the child must "tame" his imagination and dedicate himself to learning new skills, which will lead to the development of a sense of industry (Boeree, 1997a).

Erikson (1977:233) emphasises that, although it is important for the child to learn and acquire the new skills society requires, he must still be allowed to play. He will eventually become aware that an important way in which he can gain recognition from others now is not through play but by learning, developing and exercising new skills (Boeree, 1997a; Erikson, 1977:233; Erik Erikson (1902-1994), <http://oldsci.eiu.edu/psychology/Spencer/Erikson.html>; Erikson's eight stages, <http://psychology.about.com/library/weekly/aa091500a.htm>; Stevens, 1983:48; Wright, 1982:53-54)

During this stage the child moves beyond his family sphere and progresses into a broader social realm where the influence, which the immediate family has on the child, is now combined with the impact of schoolteachers and peers. School plays an important role during this stage because it is here that the child learns how to construct things and acquire new skills, which will make him a productive member of society. Intellectual stimulation and discovering the pleasure of being productive helps the child to develop competence during this stage. If too few successes are achieved on account of harsh

teachers, too rigid parents or rejection by peers, the child is likely to develop a sense of inferiority (Boeree, 1997a; Erik Erikson (1902-1994), <http://oldsci.eiu.edu/psychology/Spencer/Erikson.html>; Erikson's eight stages, <http://psychology.about.com/library/weekly/aa091500a.htm>; Erik Erikson's 8 stages, <http://web.cortland.edu/edpsy.html>).

If the child fails to develop a sense of industry, a sense of inadequacy and inferiority could develop. According to Erikson (1968:124-126; 1977:233-234; 1980:91-93) the development of feelings of inferiority may be caused by an ineffective resolution of the developmental crises of the preceding stages. For example, if family life did not prepare the child adequately for adjusting to school, he may be unable to interact appropriately with fellow pupils and teachers. The child might not trust the new skills he has to acquire, if he is not accepted for who he is by his teachers and peers. Another important aspect that influences the development of feelings of inferiority is how the wider society reacts to him. The child may find out that the colour of his skin or the background of his parents, rather than his abilities, determines his value as an adult. This causes feelings of aggravation to emerge as well as feelings of inferiority.

Most individuals view and measure their value in society in terms of "I am what I can learn to make work". If the child believes that his abilities are inadequate and inferior, it will have a negative influence on his identity development, specifically how he sees himself and how he believes others will view him (Erikson, 1968:127-128).

### **3.2.1.5 Adolescence stage (12 – 18 years): Identity vs. Role confusion**

Erikson (1980:98) regards this stage as particularly important because the child has to contend with the re-emergence of latent sexual impulses, genital maturity and inner turmoil. He is also confronted with the need to make a decision as to who he is and what he will become. His childhood environment is replaced by a seemingly hostile society. It is during this stage that the child has to re-evaluate his view of himself. He will also become obsessed with how significant others perceive him. It is also the time when sexuality re-emerges and an attempt is made to find "oneself". Support for this is found in others' acknowledgement of him as a person and his sexuality. He has to develop a new sense of an "inner self" that is stable and consistent with how he believes society and others see him. In the search for this new "inner self" the child has to re-fight many

of the developmental battles of previous stages, even those that he has successfully completed. If the adolescent successfully deals with the earlier conflicts he will be ready for the identity crisis that he must face during this stage. If the child successfully resolves the conflict, he will develop a strong identity, which will lead him into adulthood (Erikson, 1968:128; 1977:235; 1980:99; Erik Erikson's 8 stages, <http://web.cortland.edu/edpsy.html>; Erikson's eight stages, <http://psychology.about.com/library/weekly/aa091500a.htm>; Ewen, 1993:252; Maddi, 1996:63; Stevens, 1983:49-50; Wright, 1982:73;). If the child successfully resolves the crisis he will emerge with a strong identity ready to plan for the future. The development of a stable identity allows the child to know who he is and how he fits in with the rest of society. The development of a positive identity requires of him to take what he has learned about life and himself and mould it into a cohesive self-image.

The danger of this stage is what Erikson refers to as identity or role confusion, which leads to the development of a lasting identity crisis. Erikson (1968:129) explains it best by quoting Arthur Millar (*Death of a Salesman*): "I just can't take hold, mom, I can't take hold of some kind of life." If he does not resolve the crisis, the adolescent will sink into confusion, unable to make decisions and choices especially those concerned with settling on a profession, sexual orientation and his role in life in general (Boeree, 1997a: Erikson, 1968:131; Erikson's eight stages <http://psychology.about.com/library/weekly/aa091500a.htm>).

Erikson gives considerable attention to the subject of identity development, identity confusion and the identity crisis. (This will be explained in more detail later in the section.)

#### **3.2.1.6 Young adulthood (18 – 35 years): Intimacy vs. Isolation**

Erikson (1980:100) segments adult life into three broad phases, namely young adulthood, middle adulthood and late adulthood. The first phase, young adulthood, follows close on the heels of the identity development stage. In this study only the young adulthood stage will be discussed because in most serial murder cases the serial murderer is incarcerated by the time he reaches middle or late adulthood.

In this stage the most important events are forming love relationships, and the ability and willingness to become intimate with another person. According to Erikson (Erikson's eight stages, <http://psychology.about.com/library/weekly/aa091500a.htm>) an individual is not developmentally complete until he is capable of intimacy.

During this period the newly acquired sense of identity must be risked in order to achieve a close relationship with others. It is only after a reasonable sense of identity has been established that real intimacy is possible with other people (Erikson, 1980:101; Ewen, 1993:254). According to Erikson (1968:135) sexual intimacy is only part of real intimacy because sexual intimacy precedes the capacity to develop true and mutual psychosocial intimacy with another person, therefore being intimate with someone in friendship and an erotic relationship.

The young adult who is not sure of his identity shies away from such relationships until he becomes more self-confident, which enables him to seek out such encounters. Intimacy is the ability to become close to someone as a lover, as a friend and as an active participant in society. Erikson (1977:238) indicates that a satisfactory sexual relationship and genuine psychosocial intimacy make sex less obsessive, overcompensating less necessary and sadistic feelings of control unnecessary. Intimacy can be achieved because the youth has a clear sense of who he is, and he no longer fears "losing himself". If a young adult does not achieve such intimate relations with others he is likely to begin to isolate himself from others completely.

The maladaptive development during this stage is distantiation, which is the motivation for isolating and even destroying those who seem dangerous to the individual. This means that because the individual fears intimacy, he is willing to destroy anyone and anything to compensate for his own loneliness (Boeree, 1997a; Davis & Clifton, 1995; Erikson, 1968:135-136; 1977:237; 1980:101; Erikson's eight stages <http://psychology.about.com/library/weekly/aa091500a.htm>).

### **3.2.2 Identity**

Identity is a concept, which is central to Erikson's theory, as he believes that it fulfils a vital role in every human being (Stevens, 1983:59). For the purpose of this study the

process of identity development is important in that identity represents a unique facet of the personality structure.

Identity is a subjective state of an invigorating sameness and continuity. In an attempt to describe this state Erikson (Stevens, 1983) quotes a passage from a letter written by William James (although James uses the term character instead of identity) stating the following:

A man's character is discernible in the mental or moral attitude in which, when it came upon him, he felt himself most deeply and intensely active and alive. At such moments there is a voice inside which speaks and says: 'This is the real me'! (p. 60)

A person's identity can be described as the continuous, internal, subjective concept of himself as an individual. According to Erikson (Ewen, 1993:240-241; Roazen, 1976:24-25) this complex inner state consists of a meaningful and unfragmented view of the inner self. This perception includes a sense of consistency in not only the individual's life but also a consistency and sameness between how the individual views himself and how others see him.

Identity includes four primary aspects of the personality, namely

- a conscious sense of the individual identity
- a constant striving for a continuity of personal character
- the constructive ego function of preserving a sense of identity
- an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and the group identity (Erikson, 1980:109; Stevens, 1983:62).

In his view the identity can never be described as an achievement because it is dynamic and evolves during the individual's lifetime, both as a function of personal experiences and because of the individual's perception of the reactions of others towards him. Erikson (Ewen, 1993:241) states that a healthy identity is a vital need for every human being and that deprivation of an identity can under particular conditions lead to murder.

### 3.2.2.1 Identity development

As illustrated in the section (which covers the developmental stages and the developmental task of each stage) adolescence is the stage where the individual has to develop a sense of identity. This will lead him into adulthood (Eriks Erikson's 8 stages, <http://web.cortland.edu/edpsy.html>). It is during this period, when the final identity development takes place, that the youth must construct a central perspective and direction as well as a working unity out of the remnants of his childhood (Roazen, 1976:89).

According to Erikson (1977:250) one of the questions raised when trying to describe and explain the identity development of the individual is whether the identity is the combination of the earlier identifications during childhood or is it a mere additional integrated set of identifications.

The integration, which takes place during adolescence, is much more than simply combining the childhood identifications. If all the childhood identifications were added up they would not add up to a functioning personality (Erikson, 1977:235). According to Erikson (1968:158; 1980:121) this mechanism of identification has limited usefulness. Children at different stages identify with those "parts" of individuals, which most affect them at that given point in time. These "parts" are favoured not because they are socially acceptable behaviour but because of the fascination the child has with them, whether it be in fantasy or reality. The final identity is much more than identifying with any single specific aspect of individuals of the past. It is all the significant identifications made by the child integrated into a functioning whole but, more importantly, the final identity alters these identifications in order to form a unique and reasonably coherent whole of all the various identifications (Erikson, 1980:120-121).

The development of the identity rests in particular on three processes: *introjection*, *identification* and *identity formation*. These three processes allow the ego to grow in strength and subsequently interact in a more experienced manner with the models

presented to the child. The three processes also allow the ego to combine and configure all the different identities or selves the individual experiences during childhood.

- **Introjection**

Introjection (incorporating another's image) prepares the ego for future identifications. It is dependent on the integration of the satisfactory mutual relationship between the mother and child. The basis is provided by the introjections of the infantile period when the young child internalises the behaviour and demands of the parents and other key figures, thus establishing inner representations of them (Stevens, 1983:63).

- **Identification**

The process of identification builds on childhood *introjections*. As the child grows older, he or she begins to identify with people who are significant to him. This process of identification depends on a meaningful and trustworthy family structure, which provides and presents a hierarchy of roles to the child. In so doing the child adopts the characteristics and attitudes of the people who assume a significant role in his life. It is during this period that multiple identifications (projected selves or tentative identities) develop (Erikson, 1968:159-161; 1980:121-122).

- **Identity formation**

Identity formation begins where the usefulness of *identification* ends. It involves an increasing self-awareness and conscious exploration of the self. The formation of the identity begins when the child becomes more aware of his newfound abilities and limitations. Identity formation arises out of the selective rejection and mutual integration of all the multiple childhood identifications and their absorption into a new configuration. The new configuration (identity) is dependant on how society identifies the young individual as someone, as a unique and useful member of society.

Erikson (1980:122) states that identity development neither ends nor begins with the end of adolescence. It is, however, during the time of adolescence when the process of

development changes. Up to the adolescent stage, development consisted mostly of what was done to the child, for example, the parents' reaction towards the child. From adolescence onward, development consists mostly on the actions of the individual and his reaction to the world (Eriks Erikson (1902-1994), <http://oldsci.eiu.edu/psychology/Spencer/Erikson.html>).

The first six developmental stages identified by Erikson are instrumental in the development of the individual's identity and subsequent personality formation. Adolescence is the time the individual has to find and assemble all the converging identity elements of childhood. If estrangement occurs during this stage, the child will experience what Erikson calls an *identity crisis*.

### **3.2.2.2 Identity crisis**

The identity crisis or role confusion involves the opposite of a firm and functioning identity. The youth feels uncertain about his role in society and has little or no sense of where he is headed. Feelings of inner fragmentation are experienced and a split in his self-image can occur (Boeree, 1997a; Ewen, 1993:241; Roazen, 1976:90).

The identity crisis is a culmination of all the developmental tasks, which preceded adolescence. Although the identity crisis culminates during adolescence identity formation begins as early as infancy with the positive recognition of the child by the mother figure or significant others (Ewen, 1993:241). If the individual successfully completes a task, it will contribute to the ego's strength and ability to form and maintain the individual's sense of identity. Thus each stage that precedes adolescence contributes in some way to the formation of an adequate and satisfying identity or to the identity crisis. From each of the four crises or tasks a remnant has been retained that contributes to the formation of the identity (Erikson, 1968:128-130; 1980:96; Wright, 1982:76-77):

- i. The first stage (infancy) contributes to basic trust in oneself as well as trusting others but most importantly, to the ability and willingness to trust in new ideas. The individual will look enthusiastically to people and ideas, which his environment provides for him in adulthood. However, at the same time during adolescence the

individual may be afraid of exhibiting overly trusting behaviour and may then express this fear by becoming extremely cynical and distrustful.

- ii. From the second stage (early childhood) autonomy has been achieved, which leads to the child wanting to be defined by what he can accomplish on his own. Autonomy also leads to a desire to make a free choice of alliances and a profession from opportunities presented by the environment in adulthood. Simultaneously the child experiences increased fear of being forced into activities that could result in ridicule as this would lead to the development of self-doubt. This could cause maladjustment in the child. He could act foolishly in front of his peers out of his own free will rather than being forced or coerced into activities, which he might be ashamed of doing.
- iii. The third stage (play stage) gives rise to unlimited imagination. This enables the child to seek out imaginative people and tasks. The child is willing to put his trust in adults who he believes will give his imagination and his aspirations scope. At the same time the child will vigorously object to limitations placed on his self-image and imagination by the adults. He will also aggressively settle any feelings of shame and guilt because of his excessive ambition caused by his growing imagination.
- iv. The fourth stage (school age stage) gives rise to the desire to make something work and to make it work well. The child learns that there is a sense of pleasure derived from not only planning something but also from executing that plan. This stage is also important because it is the stage where the child begins to think about what he will do when he is older. The choice of an occupation during adulthood is not merely one of remunerations and status, but rather one of meaningfulness. Some young people would rather not work at all than be forced into a promising career that, despite offering them success, is meaningless and would evoke a sense of dissatisfaction in them.

During each stage of development the successful completion of each accompanying crisis leads to the development of qualities, which contribute to the eventual ego strength of the individual. It is this ego strength, which enables the formation of a stable and

“strong” identity. It is during the adolescent stage that the ego has to assemble all the elements of the preceding stages into a functioning unit. If the ego is not strong enough, the individual will severely suffer from a confusion of roles. It is also during this stage that the adolescent is defenceless against the impact of previously malignant disturbances experienced during each developmental stage. If the ego is unable to cope successfully with the disturbances, this will ultimately give rise to the identity crisis (Erikson, 1968:163-164; 1977:212; Wright, 1982:43).

According to Erikson (1968:123; 1980:97) the inability to settle on an occupational identity is extremely disturbing to young people. Lacking a sense of occupational identity may be expressed in the form of contempt and hostility towards the roles offered to them by immediate family or society. In an attempt to maintain a sense of identity the adolescent might begin to over identify with a group identity or with a specific individual within a group. This could occur to the point where an almost complete loss of individuality is shown in that the individual will act on the group’s will and not his own. In other words, the individual will reject his need for an identity of his own. Another way to maintain a sense of identity could be achieved by destructive means. Erikson (Stevens, 1983:65-67) describes this destructive attempt of the individual to maintain a sense of identity as negative identification, which ultimately leads to the development of a negative identity. The negative identity consists of the negative elements the individual rejected and repressed throughout his development. These elements consist of all the identifications, which during the various developmental stages were presented to the individual as extremely undesirable but also most real (Erikson, 1968:172-175; 1980:139-141). These negative identity elements are always present in the unconscious and find expression in dreams and fantasy behaviour: “Every person carries around a self that he had to repress, which remains very important in later life because that is the one he or she usually projects out onto a group” (Stevens, 1983:67).

If the outcome of the identity crisis is the formation of a negative identity, it could result in malicious attempts to retain some form of mastery over a situation where the positive identity elements are of no more use. The rationale for such a choice can be best explained in the following statement of a young man: “At least in the gutter I am a genius” (Erikson, 1980:143).

The individual is much more willing to incorporate the negative identity because it is easier than struggling to maintain a sense of reality by conforming to acceptable roles, which he knows are unattainable with his limited abilities (Erikson, 1968:176; 1980:142).

### **3.3 THE THEORY OF ERICH FROMM**

Fromm (1950:30) believes that humans are inextricably tied to nature and the animal kingdom by their instinctual drives. In this regard he says: “Man is an anomaly ... the freak of the universe”. He However, their superior intellect sets them apart from nature and the animal kingdom and thus produces a sense of isolation (Ewen, 1993:186). In this regard it is important to note that Fromm distinguishes between animal and human nature. Animal nature can be described as opportunistic functioning, aimed at survival. Human nature on the other hand can be described, as appropriate functioning that is not driven by instinctual needs or desires. The basic characteristic of human nature is the ability to know and differentiate oneself from nature and other objects. Once endowed with such knowledge, individuality develops and the individual will experience his own individual feelings, thoughts, freedom and responsibility.

According to Fromm (1941:12) the key problem is the individual's relatedness towards the world. As the individual emerges from a state of oneness with the natural world to an awareness of himself as a separate entity and equipped with a sense of individuality, feelings of isolation, alienation and separateness arise. Freedom or individuality stemming from human nature is difficult to cope with. Although it can lead to great accomplishments, the fear of isolation and loneliness may force the individual to forgo his intellectual achievements (Boeree, 1997b; Hall & Lindzey, 1978; Maddi, 1996:145-146).

In the next section Fromm's family types will be explained in detail. This is important because the way an individual escapes from his freedom is related to the nature of the family in which he was raised.

### **3.3.1 Family**

Fromm outlines two kinds of unproductive family types (Boeree, 1997b; Maddi, 1996:152-153):

- **Symbiotic families**

In the symbiotic family some members are dominated to such an extent by other members of the family that the personalities they develop are merely a reflection of the dominating figures' wishes. The parents thus "swallow up" the child and the child's personality is a mere reflection of the parents' or caregivers' wishes. In such a family the authoritarian mechanism for the escape from freedom is incorporated. This mechanism develops because in traditional society everyone has someone above and below him or her. In this social hierarchy people learn how to dominate and be submissive.

- **Withdrawing families**

The primary characteristic of the withdrawing family is that the parents are very demanding of their children who are expected to live up to the high standards they set. Punishment is not just a mere "slap against the head" or "a few on the bottom". Instead punishment is a formal affair, cold-blooded and mostly done for "your own good". For example, excessive punishment could be given just to prove a point. Alternatively guilt and the withdrawal of affection are also used as a form of punishment. Fromm (Boeree, 1997b) states that this extremely strict family type encourages the destructive escape from freedom, which is internalised until circumstances allow its release.

The mechanisms of escaping from freedom, which develop because of the influence of the specific family structure, are as follows:

#### **3.3.1.1 Mechanisms of escape from freedom**

The mechanisms of escape are psychological in nature. They illustrate what is going on in the individual who attempts to escape from feelings of loneliness and powerlessness.

The mechanisms of escape are tied to the family types within which the child is raised as is illustrated above (Boeree, 1997b; Ewen, 1993:193-195; Fromm, 1941:136-182).

- **Authoritarianism**

This form of escape involves giving up one's own independence, one's individuality and in the process fusing with someone or something outside oneself. This is done to acquire the strength one is lacking. There are two ways to approach this state. One is to submit to the power of another - to let another individual overwhelm you completely in every aspect. The other way is to become an authority figure oneself, who strives to dominate others. The individual could rationalise "I rule over you because I know what is best for you" or he could incorporate a more aggressive rationalisation, namely "I have been hurt by others and my wish is to hurt them". The extreme forms of authoritarianism can be classified as acts of either masochism or sadism.

- **Destructiveness**

The destructive mechanism is not an active or passive interaction between two or more individuals, but rather a complete annihilation of the object. Some individuals respond to a painful existence by in a sense eliminating themselves. Other individuals respond by striking out against the world or objects. The destructive mechanism is aimed at escaping one's own powerlessness by destroying whatever the individual deems painful.

Fromm (1941:180) argues that there are two kinds of destructiveness. The first type of destructiveness results from specific situations. In essence it is the reaction to attack. This type of destructiveness is a lingering tendency within the person. If there is no objective reason to express the destructiveness, the individual's own self will become the object, which has to be destroyed. The second type or source of destructiveness is anxiety and the thwarting of life. Any attack on vital interests (material or emotional) creates anxiety. The most common reaction to such feelings of anxiety and destructive tendencies is to respond with destructiveness. Anxiety could be "represented" in a particular situation by a specific person in which case the destructiveness will be directed at the specific individual. Other forms of anxiety can be found in situations where the individual feels that his life is threatened or he feels isolated and powerless

because he believes that he is being blocked in realizing his emotional and intellectual potential. The resulting destructive tendencies are thus directed at the blockages of the individual's potential.

In the following section Fromm's theory on personality development as well as the personality types and orientations are discussed.

### **3.3.2 Personality types**

The character types identified by Fromm (Maddi, 1996:148) consist of four non-productive types and one productive type. The non-productive classifications are the receptive, exploitative, hoarding and marketing orientation. Fromm views the productive orientation as the ideal personality type.

The orientations or personality types comprise sets of interrelated traits. He argues that these traits underlie behaviour and that specific traits can be deduced from the observable behaviour of the individual. He also postulates that the traits constitute forces, which although powerful, are largely unconscious and unknown to the individual. Thus the fundamental core of the personality is not one single trait but the organisation of different traits (Maddi, 1996:147).

For the purpose of the study only three of the non-productive types will be explained, as well as the productive type, to show what Fromm viewed as a healthy personality (Boeree, 1997b; Hall & Lindzey, 1978:172; Maddi, 1996:148-151).

- **Non-productive types**
  - **Receptive orientation**

An individual with a receptive orientation feels that all good comes from a source outside of him thus anything the individual wants, be it something material, love, affection or pleasure, can be received from an outside source. Individuals with the receptive orientation expect to get what they need. This orientation is associated with the

symbiotic family where the children are “swallowed” up by the parents. Individuals who exhibit the receptive orientation are often parasitical and unprincipled.

- **Exploitative orientation**

This orientation, like the receptive orientation, has at its core the premise that the source of all good can be found outside oneself. However, the difference between the two orientations is that the exploitative type does not expect to receive, but rather takes whatever he wants by force. Individuals exhibiting this feature are egocentric, conceited, rash, arrogant, aggressive and exploitative.

- **Hoarding orientation**

The hoarding orientation is different from the exploitative and receptive orientation in that the individual who exhibits this orientation has little faith in anything new, which the world outside gives him. Such an individual derives a sense of security and enjoyment from accumulating things, which he believes, will give him security. This type of individual is possessive in that he views the world as possessions and potential possessions. Everything is something that can be kept within a “protective” wall. Even love is viewed as a possession. Individuals who demonstrate the hoarding orientation are suspicious, cold and obsessive.

- **Productive type (healthy type)**

- **Productive orientation**

Fromm (Boeree, 1997b) states that the productive orientation refers to the fundamental attitude of a mode of relatedness towards the entire human experience. The productive type of person does not shy away from his biological and social nature. He welcomes a sense of responsibility and freedom. Productiveness is the ability to use one’s powers to realise the potential of humans. The individual experiences himself as related to the world even though he is separate from nature. He is “at home” with being who and what he is.

The final aspect of Fromm's theory to be discussed is his views on human destructiveness.

### **3.3.3 Human destructiveness**

Fromm (Boeree, 1997b) has always been interested in trying to understand the really evil people of this world; not just the individuals who are sick, confused or misled, but the individuals who with full consciousness of their acts perform them anyway.

Fromm (1973:24-26) identifies two distinct types of aggression or destructiveness, namely benign-defensive and malignant aggression. The first type of aggression or destructiveness that humans share with animals is defensive aggression. It is a programmed impulse to attack or flee when a vital interest is threatened. Defensive aggression ensures the survival of the individual. The second type, malignant aggression, is exclusively found in the human species and has no constructive purpose, as its satisfaction is lustful and completely self-serving. The two types of aggression, defensive and malignant, are rooted in man's instincts and his character or personality (Ewen, 1993:188).

#### **3.3.3.1 Benign aggression**

Defensive aggression (Fromm, 1973:251-252) is inherent in both the human and animal brain and serves as a defence against threats. If human aggression were at the same levels as that of animals, human society would be more or less non-violent. This is not the case. Throughout history, records of extraordinary destructiveness and cruelty can be found. Destructiveness and cruelty cause man to feel a sense of intense satisfaction. Fromm (1973:251) lists several forms of defensive aggression; however, for the purpose of the study, only the applicable forms of aggression will be explained.

- **Narcissism and aggression**

Fromm (1973:271) states that one of the most important sources of defensive aggression is the wounding of narcissism. Narcissism can be described as a grandiose sense of self-importance. To this person his body, needs, feelings, thoughts and

everything pertaining to him are experienced as special and deserving of special treatment. Everyone and everything that does not form part of the person is only accorded marginal recognition and is viewed as unimportant (Fromm, 1973:272; Kaplan & Sadock, 1998:788-789).

Often the narcissistic person finds a sense of security in his own subjective conviction of his perfection, superiority and extraordinary qualities. The individual has to hold on to the narcissistic self-image in order to achieve self-worth as well as the development of an identity based on the self-image. This means that, if the narcissistic self-image is threatened the individual feels threatened and reacts with extreme anger and rage (Fromm, 1973:271-273).

- **Instrumental aggression**

The aim of instrumental aggression is to obtain that which is necessary or desirable. The objective is not destruction. Aggression is only used as an instrument for realizing the real aim. The ambiguity between the terms necessary and desirable could create problems. Necessary is easily described as it relates to the unquestionable biological needs of the individual. Desirable can be described as anything that a person wants. However, desire is not restricted to what a person wants but also includes greed and never being satisfied. In this case instrumental aggression is mostly destructive (Fromm, 1973: 280-283).

### **3.3.3.2 Malignant aggression**

Unlike benign aggression, which is part of the evolutionary heritage of both animals and humans, malignant aggression is specifically human and not derived from animal instinct. What is unique to man is that he can be driven by impulses to kill and torture and experience lust when committing it. Human beings are the only animals that can be killers and destroyers of their own species without any rational gain. Fromm (1973:294-305) describes this as malignant destructive aggression and he believes that it is rooted in human nature and integrated into the human being's character.

Fromm (1973:361) postulates that destructiveness could appear in two forms, namely as spontaneous destructiveness and destructiveness inherent in the character structure. Spontaneous destructiveness refers to an outburst of dormant but necessarily repressed destructive impulses activated by extraordinary circumstances. Destructive tendencies rooted in the character structure are permanent although not always expressed. These tendencies are often seen as a lingering presence of destructive traits in the character of the individual.

Fromm (1973:362-369) characterises two types of spontaneous forms of destructiveness.

- **Vengeful destructiveness**

This type of destructiveness is a spontaneous and intense reaction to suffering inflicted upon a person. It differs from defensive aggression in that it occurs after the damage has been done and is thus not in defence of the individual. Secondly it is of much greater intensity and is often cruel, lustful and insatiable. Vengeful destructiveness is a constantly present trait in an individual's character.

- **Ecstatic destructiveness**

The individual who is aware of his powerlessness and separateness from the world attempts to overcome this burden by trying to reach a state of ecstasy and in the process regain a sense of unity within himself and with his environment. There are positive and negative ways to achieve a sense of ecstasy. The negative forms are hateful and destructive in nature.

Fromm identifies two destructive character types where the destructiveness is a central aspect in the character of the individual.

- **Sadistic character type**

Sadism is the desire to inflict pain by being sexually or physically or psychologically abusive. It is also characterised by the desire for complete and absolute control over another human being. In this case the individual becomes a mere object to the person

showing the sadistic behaviour (Fromm, 1992:96-101; Kaplan & Sadock, 1998:795). The individual's character traits are expressed in the sexual behaviour he exhibits, as it is the least learned and patterned behaviour of the individual. The sadistic character, the intense desire to control, hurt and humiliate, is thus inherent to the individual and central to his personality (Fromm, 1973:373-376).

An important element of sadism is that, in his attempt to compensate for his own submissiveness and cowardice the sadist transforms himself into someone who has power and control. He may kill and torture his victims while still feeling like an empty lifeless and powerless shell (Fromm, 1973:384-389).

Fromm (1973:395-396) believes that identifying the factors conducive to the development of sadism is a complicated task at the best of times. There are no simple relationships between the environment and the sadistic character. The reason for this is that both internal as well as external factors influence the sadistic character. Individual factors include all the conditions that lead to the child growing up feeling empty and powerless. It is important to note that a non-sadistic child may become a sadistic adolescent or adult if new and intense circumstances occur.

- **Necrophilic character type**

The term necrophilia has traditionally been applied to two kinds of conditions, namely sexual necrophilia where the individual has a deep desire to have sexual intercourse or sexual contact with a dead body. The second type is non-sexual necrophilia where the desire is to handle or be near to and/or gaze at corpses and even to dismember the bodies (Fromm, 1973:433). Necrophilia is described by Kaplan and Sadock (1998:706) as the obsession to achieve sexual gratification from cadavers.

Necrophilia can be seen as a character rooted passion. The necrophilic character is characterised by the passionate attraction to all that is dead, decayed, putrid and sickly. It is also the desire to transform that which is alive into something un-alive. It is simply the desire to destroy for the sake of destruction.

### **3.4 THE THEORY OF ALFRED ADLER**

Adler (Boeree, 1997c) believes that a single drive or motivation, the desire to strive for perfection or superiority, is the motivation behind human behaviour. He also emphasises the uniqueness and indivisibility of every human personality. At the same time he does not discard the social element, as he believes that the individual only becomes an individual within a social context. In fact, he refers to the social element as “all-important” (Ewen, 1993:127). One of the major features of Adler’s theory, which sets it apart from other theories, is its emphasis on the distinctiveness of an individual’s personality. Each individual’s personality is uniquely made up of motives, traits, interests and values specific to the individual. Every act of the individual is a reflection of his own distinctive motivations and character traits unique to his personality (Alfred Adler (1870-1937), <http://oldsci.eiu.edu/psychology/Spencer/Adler.html>; Hall & Lindzey, 1978:159-160).

Although Adler made several contributions to the field of psychology, only selected aspects of his theory will be used in this research. In the following section Adler’s observations on feelings of inferiority and the development of an inferiority complex as well as how the individual compensates for perceived shortcomings will be explained. Adler’s view on the development of a specific style of life, as well as how development is influenced by the family atmosphere and family constellation, will also be explored.

#### **3.4.1 Feelings of inferiority**

Adler distinguishes between two types of inferiority, namely organ inferiority and feelings of inferiority.

Organ inferiority points to a feeling of inferiority arising from any actual physical handicaps. It applies to any organ that is developmentally retarded or stunted. It can be anything from small hands to a heart murmur. Adler later broadened the concept to include any feelings of inferiority, which arise from individually felt psychological or social disabilities. More people have feelings of inferiority than organ inferiorities and unlike organ inferiorities, individuals learn to believe that they are inferior to others or that they are incomplete and imperfect.

Adler (1969:75) argues that feelings of inferiority can be divided into normal feelings of inferiority and abnormal feelings of inferiority. Everybody, to some degree, has feelings of inferiority. These feelings drive human beings to better themselves and are the motivation behind all their accomplishments. Abnormal feelings arise when the individual's inferiority feeling intensifies to such a degree that he believes that he will never be able to overcome and compensate for the weakness (The essentials of Alfred Adler's theory, <http://usd.edu/~aelverud/advcomp/adler.html>).

- **Compensation**

Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958:46-47) states that in reaction to organ inferiorities and feelings of inferiority most people respond with compensation, that is, the attempt to make up for the real or perceived deficiencies. Inferior organs can be strengthened or overdeveloped. Psychologically, individuals can compensate by developing certain skills or personality types. The danger arises when the individual reaches the point where in striving for compensation he will not be satisfied with a simple restoration of power but will overcompensate in order to shift the balance of power to his favour (Adler, 1969:69-75).

An important aspect associated with compensation is the concept of *fictional finalism*. Individuals orientate themselves according to a fixed point, which is artificially created and does not really exist. This concept is necessary for the individual to deal more effectively with reality. It is an ideal impossible to realise but, nonetheless very real to the individual and a source of motivation that enables him to orientate himself in his chaotic existence. The individual's behaviour is aimed at attaining his fictional goal. Adler believes that it is impossible to understand an individual if one does not understand the person's fictional finalism (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958:22-53, 76-89, 114-119; Boeree, 1997c; Hall & Lindzey, 1978:160-161; Maddi, 1996:126; Meyer et al., 1997:141).

### **3.4.2 Style of life**

The style of life can be seen as the “blueprint” according to which the individual’s personality functions - it is the whole that commands the parts. Everyone has a style of life but no two individuals’ “styles” are similar. The style of life is the result of the individual striving for perfection or superiority within the context of living. It is also influenced by the imagined or real feelings of inferiority as well as the family atmosphere. According to Adler it is the unique mode of adjustment, which characterises the particular personality. He also states that the style of life is most notably aimed at achieving the individual’s self selected goals (fictional finalism).

Adler identifies four distinct styles of life, which develop according to each specific individual’s situation. For the purpose of the research only two of the four styles will be explored.

- **Passive destructive type**

Passive destructiveness does not mean inertia or doing nothing but is indicative of an individual who is antisocial and is characterised by passive aggressiveness and traits such as laziness. This passive destructiveness involves a resolute unwillingness to take responsibility for one’s own problems or for solving these problems and instead others are blamed.

- **Active destructive type**

Individuals with this type of lifestyle strive for the fulfilment of self-centred goals - goals that can be to the detriment of society. Unlike the passive destructive type, the active type is willing to pursue their goals actively. Such individuals are characterised by a need for power as well as antisocial behaviour (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958:172; Boeree, 1997c; Ewen, 1993:132,137; Hall & Lindzey, 1978:164-165; Maddi, 1996:128-130; Meyer et al., 1997:144-145).

### 3.4.3 Family atmosphere

Adler postulates that adult life styles and personality are influenced by the family atmosphere and constellation or structure.

- **Family atmosphere**

Adler (Boeree, 1997c) links the development of faulty life styles to faulty childhood conditions. In this regard he identifies two distinct conditions, which influence the development of the individual's specific life style, namely neglect and pampering.

- **Neglect**

Neglect refers to a family atmosphere where the child never knew love and tenderness. This atmosphere is seen where the normal tenderness of parents towards their children is not discernible. The child learns inferiority because he is shown and told that he is of no value and that the world is entirely cold and unsympathetic. The attitude of the child becomes so fixed that he may never be able to recognise love or tenderness, largely because his instincts for tenderness and love have never developed properly. The child learns selfishness because he is taught not to trust anyone. The individual may see life as the enemy and may express his feelings through suspiciousness, stubbornness and isolation. In the words of Shakespeare's Richard III: "Since I cannot prove a lover, I am determined to prove a villain" (Ewen, 1993:134).

- **Pampering**

Pampering a child is potentially the most serious of all parental errors. In this case the child is taught that he can take without giving and that his wishes are everyone's command. The pampered child grows up expecting society to conform to his self-centred wishes. However, the pampered child fails in two ways: firstly he does not learn how to do anything for himself and discovers that he is indeed inferior. Secondly, he does not learn to function in any way other than by giving commands and orders, which leads to others responding negatively towards him. Once the child has discovered that he is in fact inferior he will try to overcome his inferiorities destructively (Adler, 1969:33-38, 149-

154; Boeree, 1997c; Ewen, 1993:132-137; Hall & Lindzey, 1978:167-168; Maddi, 1996:128-129).

### **3.5 PSYCHOSOCIAL PERSPECTIVE STRUCTURE**

The premise of the proposed psychosocial perspective is that the personality development of an individual is not influenced by internal factors alone but also by external factors. The aim of the perspective is to focus on internal as well as external factors in order to give a more complete description of the personality and its structure. The perspective consists of a combination of the selected aspects of the above psychological theories, which will form the theoretical foundation of the perspective. For the purpose of this study and the perspective, the term personality will be used to include both the terms identity and personality.

Each individual develops his own unique and distinctive personality, which enables him to function within society. This personality is characterised by distinctive and unique behaviours that are exhibited in everyday situations. The personality also develops within a specific social setting, which influences its development. The design of the perspective is structured in such a way that it covers the entire development of the individual and also focuses on the internal and external factors that influence the personality development and formation of the personality types. The perspective can also be employed in examining the behaviour of individuals and from the observations a personality profile can be compiled.

The individual's personality does not merely evolve as a result of the influence of internal factors but also because of the influences of the family and various external factors. This is the basic premise of the perspective and the reason why Erikson's developmental stages, Fromm's family types and Adler's family atmosphere are included in the perspective.

Erikson's developmental stages cover both the family and the environmental influences, while Fromm and Adler's views are added to give a more detailed explanation of how the family structure and atmosphere influence the development of the personality types. This also offers an explanation of what the end result (behaviour) will be.

Inherent in all humans is the drive for superiority and perfection. This in a sense is forced on humans due to their individuality and their freedom. The drive for superiority and perfection as well as the feelings of alienation and inferiority influence the development of the individual. It also influences how and what type of personality develops. Personality development can be explained as a process of development, which is aimed at forming a coherent and functioning personality. This enables the individual to function within society. This personality need not be acceptable or ideal according to the greater society. It must and should, however, be functional for the individual.

The developmental processes thus lead to the establishment of a personality, which is not necessarily ideal or perfect. A crisis could influence the personality formation of the individual. Crises result from the individual feeling lost and alienated, which in turn forces him to face all of the earlier unresolved childhood conflicts. Feelings of inferiority that were repressed also surface and cause even more strain and confusion in the individual. In reaction to this compensation occurs and the mechanisms of escaping from freedom, are laid, because no individual wants to feel inferior. The process leads to the individual fashioning and settling on a negative identity. The individual thus develops non-productive personality types, such as the hoarding, exploitative or receptive orientations. The individual may also become authoritarian in nature or destructive, and this could either lead to the development of a passive or an active destructive style of life.

Human destructiveness results when an individual overcompensates for an inferior personality. Fromm (1973:361-396) divides the resulting aggression into two main groups, benign and malignant aggression, each with its own types of aggressive behaviour. It is the resulting behaviour that is focussed upon and will be used to compile the personality profile of the individual using the psychosocial perspective.

### **3.6 SUMMARY**

As stated in Chapter 1 the aim of the research is to demonstrate that behaviour reflects personality. The focus is to develop a perspective using a combination of theories which focusses on the influences of both internal and external factors on the personality development of the serial murderer. In other words, if a researcher understands how and

why an individual's personality developed, he or she will have an insight as to why a specific behaviour was exhibited. It is thus important to understand how the personality of an individual develops and what factors influence development and how this occurs.

In this regard the psychosocial perspective, which consists of an integration of relevant aspects of three psychological theories, will enable the researcher to compile a more precise and comprehensive overview of the personality development of the individual. Erikson's theory will be used to indicate what factors and incidents during the entire development of the individual influenced the personality development. In regard to serial murder the FBI (Newton, 2000:34) found that most serial murderers experienced some form of dysfunction during their childhood, for example, the child was exposed to some form of abuse or the parental figures failed to serve as positive role models.

The theories of Fromm and Adler will be used to illustrate what influence the family atmosphere has on the development as well as the behavioural and personality traits which developed because of the family atmosphere. Research done by members of the FBI (Schechter & Everitt, 1997:51) found that serial murderers grew up in unstable families characterised by some form of mental or physical abuse.

The perspective is also constructed in such a way that linkages can be made between the observable behaviour of an individual and the underlying personality and subsequently used to compile a behavioural profile of the individual.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

*“The beginning of knowledge is the discovery of something  
we do not understand.”*  
*Frank Herbert*

The following chapter will consist of an explanation of the research methodology, the data collection process and the data analysis procedure, which were used in this study.

#### 4.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Due to the uniqueness of the phenomenon of serial murder and because the research population is largely inaccessible, only two respondents were selected for the purpose of the research. Incarcerated serial murderers are also not always willing to participate in research. In view of the above, and because the researcher believes that, because of the in-depth and comprehensive nature of the qualitative measurement, the research questions listed in Chapter 1 will be more thoroughly answered by means of a qualitative design.

##### 4.1.1 Research design

Every type of research has an embedded, if not precise, research design. The research design is the logical sequence, which connects the data to the research questions and ultimately to the conclusions of the research.

Yin (1989:13) points out that when the questions of “how” and “why” are posed, or when the researcher has little or no control over the events, or if the focus of the research is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context, the case study research method should be the preferred method of research. These factors make the case study research method ideal for the study of serial murder.

Yin's (1989) explanatory case study method is selected for the purpose of the research because it allows the investigation to retain the meaningful characteristics of the real-life event. While the case study research design enables the researcher to incorporate single and multiple case studies, it also helps the researcher to study a phenomenon within a real-life context.

Yin (1989) lists five components of the research design, which are important: a study's question(s), the propositions (if any), units of analysis, the logical linking of data to the propositions and the criteria for interpreting the findings.

- **Research questions**

Yin (1989:15) identifies three specific types of case studies: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. He also points out two conditions that should be considered when choosing which of the three research strategies should be used, namely the type of research question posed and the extent of control an investigator/researcher has over actual behavioural events.

- i. Type of research questions posed**

Defining the research question is probably the most important step undertaken in any research because the understanding of the question allows the researcher to choose the appropriate strategy. Yin (1989:18) states that questions such as "how" and "why" are explanatory questions aimed at explaining the phenomenon, because such questions deal with the operational links needed to be traced over time, while questions such as "what" are exploratory questions, the goal being to develop hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry.

- ii. The extent of control a researcher has over actual behavioural events and situations**

Once the type of study has been decided on a further distinction is needed as to what type of information is needed and how the information is to be collected. Yin (1989:19) identifies three "situations", namely *historical*, the *case study* and the *experimental* method:

- **Historical method**

The distinctive contribution of the *historical* method is that it deals with past events. When no individuals are alive to report on a phenomenon the researcher must rely on primary documents, secondary documents and physical artefacts as the main sources of evidence.

- **Case study method**

The *case study* method is preferred when examining contemporary events, without being able to manipulate the relevant behaviours. In many ways it is similar to the historical method but with the difference that two more sources of evidence can be studied by utilising direct observation and systematic interviewing.

- **Experimental method**

*Experiments* are done when an investigator can manipulate behaviour directly, precisely and systematically.

For the purpose of this research seven questions were formulated (listed in Chapter 1). The questions are exploratory and explanatory in nature, as the aim of the study is to identify how internal as well as external factors influence the personality development. Furthermore it makes it possible to explore how an individual's personality is reflected in his observable behaviour. The relevant information was obtained by using both the case study and the historical methods. A combination of the two methods is preferred because the relevant information can only be collected by using relevant documents and personal interviews.

- **Study propositions**

Study propositions direct attention to an issue or phenomenon that the researcher wants to examine. Propositions can be regarded as the building blocks of theories (Bailey, 1994:42; Yin, 1989:21).

For the purpose of this study no hypotheses were formulated because within the research design that was chosen they could not be tested or verified statistically. Instead, the aim of the research is located in the statement of Douglas and Olshaker (1997) that behaviour reflects personality (see Chapter 1). If this assumption is correct then the personality type can be determined by analysing the observable behaviour. In order to achieve this the research is aimed at developing and applying a perspective to two case studies that incorporates internal as well as external influences on personality development. In this way it will illustrate that if the perspective is applied to any form of observable behaviour an accurate personality profile can be developed.

- **Unit of analysis**

The third component of the research design is aimed at defining what the “case” is. The case could be an individual person who becomes the primary unit of analysis. The case could also be some event or entity that is less well defined than a single individual. As a general guideline the unit of analysis (and therefore the case) is related to the way that the research questions were defined (Yin, 1989:31-32).

The unit of analysis for this research is an individual convicted of murder who fulfills the operational definition of serial murder. Two cases were used for the purpose of the research, which according to Yin (1989:31) is known as a multiple case study. The “case” being studied in the research is the “event” or phenomenon of serial murder, specifically the personality development of the serial murderer.

- **Linking data to propositions and criteria for interpreting findings**

Yin (1989:33) proposes that the linking of data to the propositions could be done in any number of ways. In the case of the current research the data were linked to the statement of Douglas and Olshaker (1997) by applying the psychosocial perspective, consisting of aspects of three psychological theories. Interpreting and analysing the data was done by applying the psychosocial perspective to the data.

#### **4.1.2 Generalisation of the answer**

Yin (1989:21) states that one of the major points of criticism against the case study method is that the findings cannot be generalised. He also points out that researchers often fall into the trap of trying to find a “representative” case study in order to overcome this failing. Yet no two case studies are alike, no matter how large the similarity between them. He believes that to overcome this limitation the researcher should generalise the findings to “theory” in the same way a scientist generalises from experimental results (Yin, 1989:44).

In this research a psychosocial perspective was applied to the case studies to determine whether or not it could explain the personality development of the serial murderer. If the perspective successfully “maps” the personality development of the two case studies the perspective as a whole can be generalised to determine the personality development of other serial murderers.

#### **4.1.3 Criteria for judging the validity and reliability of the research design**

Bailey (1994:67-73) emphasises that the definition of validity has two parts, namely

- the measuring instrument is actually measuring the concept in question, and not something else
- that the concept is measured accurately.

Reliability on the other hand is simply the measuring instrument’s consistency. If reliability is high the measurement does not change and the concept remains constant.

Yin (1989:40-45) states that there are four constructs for judging qualitative research. These are, construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability.

**i. Construct validity**

Yin (1989:41-42) argues that the construct test is especially problematic in case study research because it is believed that case study investigators fail to develop an operational set of measurements and that subjective judgements are used to collect the data. There are, however, tactics available to increase construct validity, namely using *multiple sources of evidence* and constructing a *chain of events*.

In this study multiple data sources were used, namely

- semi-structured interviews with subjects
- relevant primary documents (court transcripts, psychological reports and police dockets)
- relevant secondary documents (media reports).

The chain of events for each case was also established by the nature of the semi-structured interviews conducted which consisted of specific biographical questions. This is important because the life-cycle and the life-experience of the serial murderer is central to his personality development. By using multiple data sources and the chain of events construct validity can be improved.

**ii. Internal validity**

For explanatory case studies where the researcher is trying to determine whether event x leads to event y, internal validity is of concern. If the researcher incorrectly concludes that there is a relationship between x and y without knowing that a third factor z actually caused y the research is invalid. Another aspect important to determining internal validity is the problem of making inferences. In case study research the investigator will “infer” or deduce that a particular event resulted from some earlier occurrence based on interview and documentary evidence. A problem arises when the question, “Is the inference

correct?" is posed. Yin (1989:43) believes that a researcher who had anticipated these questions has begun to deal with the problem of inference.

The multiple explanatory case study method was employed in this research and the data derived from the research were used to verify and validate the proposed perspective. The concern of whether the conclusions drawn are valid and whether the deductions made are correct will be addressed by applying the psychosocial perspective, to the collected data.

### **iii. External validity**

External validity applies to the problems of generalising the research findings to the larger population. To what extent can the findings and results be applied to other populations and occasions? Concerning the current research the problem of external validity will be addressed by applying the proposed psychosocial perspective directly after each case study has been presented. Thus determining to what extent the findings can be generalised on theoretical grounds.

### **iv. Reliability**

The final test's objective is simply consistency. If at a later stage another researcher follows exactly the same procedures described by the previous researcher and conducts the same case study all over again the researcher should arrive at similar findings.

The psychosocial perspective developed for the current research is structured in such a way that it could determine not only the personality development of a serial murderer but also of individuals in general. If applied correctly to another case study or even similar case studies similar results should be achieved.

## **4.2 DATA COLLECTION**

In the following section the multiple data sources, which were employed in the research, will be explained.

### **4.2.1 Multiple case studies**

Multiple case study designs have distinct advantages in comparison to single-case study designs. Evidence gathered from multiple cases is considered to be more compelling, while the overall study is considered to be more convincing. However, the decision to use a multiple case study design should not be undertaken lightly. Each case study should serve a specific purpose within the scope of the research. A “replication” logic should also be followed. The replication logic implies that if one has access to only three rare cases the research design should predict the same results for each case. The same logic underlies the use of multiple case studies in that each case must be carefully selected so that it either

- predicts a similar result or
- produces a contrary result but for predictable reasons (Yin, 1989:52-53).

Yin (1989:54) also stresses that an important step in the replication procedure is the development of a rich theoretical framework. The framework is important because it states the conditions under which the phenomenon is likely to be found. The framework later becomes the blueprint to examine the phenomenon being studied, and to interpret and examine other similar cases.

In the current research multiple case studies were employed to study the phenomenon of serial murder. Due to the varied nature of serial murder each individual case contributes unique information for the findings.

It is important to note that only two case studies could be obtained to form part of the research. This is due to the following reasons:

- Serial murder is a rare phenomenon and respondents are scarce.
- Permission had to be obtained from the Department of Correctional Services and from the identified research participants. At the time this study was conducted only two respondents agreed to participate in the research.

In the following section the logic of using multiple data sources and the types of multiple data sources will be explained.

#### **4.2.2 Multiple data sources**

Using multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows the researcher to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal and observational issues. The most important advantage for applying multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of inquiry - a process of triangulation. Thus, any finding or conclusion reached in the case study is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if based on several different sources of information (Yin, 1998:96-97).

For the current study on serial murders, two serial murder cases were used to obtain the desired information. Yin (1989:54) states that data collection for case studies may be based on six different sources of evidence; documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation and physical artefacts. Not all of the sources of evidence need be used in a case study research design. In this study documentary evidence and interviews were used to collect the data.

- **Documentation**

Documentary information is relevant to every case study topic and can take many forms. The most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources (Yin, 1989:85-88).

In the case of this study, primary as well as secondary documentary information were used. These documents included court transcripts, police docket biographical material and media records. This also includes archival records on the respondents.

- **Interviews**

Yin (1989:88-91) states that the interview is one of the most important sources of case study information. While the interview can take several forms, the most commonly used case study interviews are open-ended in nature. This means that the investigator could ask respondents about the facts of the matter as well as their own interpretation and feeling about it.

Because the information required pertains directly to the individual's personality development, a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions was deemed the most appropriate type of interview for this study. The respondent's own perceptions and feelings are of major importance concerning his development. The questions posed were guided by the psychosocial perspective to obtain the relevant information. Also to ensure that a respondent's answers do not digress from particular questions, the interview was semi-structured.

### **4.3 DATA ANALYSIS**

Data analysis consists of examining, categorising, tabulating or recombining the collected evidence to address the initial propositions of a study. Yin (1989:104-105) emphasises that analysing the case study evidence is one of the most difficult aspects of undertaking case study research. Yin (1989) believes that there are two general strategies, which enable the researcher to choose among the different techniques to complete the analytic phase of the research.

#### **4.3.1 General strategies**

The general strategy will be explained along with the specific mode of analysis used in this study.

- **Theoretical propositions**

The first and more preferred strategy is to *rely on theoretical propositions* (Yin, 1989:106). The original objective of this research design was shaped by the theoretical propositions, which in turn lead to the formulation of a set of research questions. The theoretical propositions shaped the data collection plan and therefore gave priority to the relevant analytic strategy. Thus the theoretical propositions, used to guide the study, are used to give direction to the case study analysis.

- **Descriptive-dialogic method**

Van Vuuren (1991:58-59) developed the *descriptive-dialogic* method of analysis, which can be used to analyse research data. While the emphasis is still on a faithful portrayal of the phenomenon, this method embodies the general principles already articulated in the literature. While the focus is on building a description of the phenomenon there is also an active search for a framework to articulate or make sense of the phenomenon.

In the following section the specific analytic technique, which was used in conjunction with the general strategy, is examined.

#### **4.3.2 Specific mode of analysis**

Although Yin (1989:109) identifies three dominant modes of analysis only one, *explanation building*, will be utilised in this study.

- **Explanation building**

The goal of this strategy is to analyse the evidence gathered by building an explanation about the case. This procedure is mainly relevant to explanatory case studies. To explain the phenomenon is to stipulate a set of casual links. In most cases the explanation building occurs in narrative form. However, because such narratives are not precise the more comprehensive case studies have explanations that reflect some significant theoretical propositions. The gradual building of an explanation can be

compared to the refining of a set of ideas in the sense that the data is re-examined, theoretical positions are revised and the evidence is once again examined from a new perspective.

In this dissertation Van Vuuren's descriptive-dialogical method of data analysis will be used combined with Yin's use of applying theoretical propositions to analyse the collected data. The analysis will consist of building an explanation of the individual case studies, re-examining the evidence and then applying the theoretical propositions (psychosocial perspective) to the data.

The data will be discussed in relation to the already developed perspective. This implies that parallels will be drawn between the processed information and the perspective. Similarities and differences between the case studies will be highlighted and a general overview of the psychosocial personality development of the serial murderer will be given.

#### **4.4 SUMMARY**

The focus of the research is to determine how as well as what internal and external factors influence the personality development of the serial murderer. To achieve this a psychosocial perspective, which consists of selected aspects from three, psychological theories (Erikson, Adler, Fromm) was developed and used in the interpretation of the data.

The research method to be employed in the research is the qualitative explanatory case study method. A qualitative study was decided upon because of the limited and rare nature of the serial murder phenomenon. In South Africa there are a small number of incarcerated serial murderers and only two were willing to participate in the research. The researcher also believes that a qualitative study will better address the proposed research questions as well as the dearth of knowledge on the phenomenon. The case study method was selected because it accommodates the research question, it can deal with contemporary events, and multiple data sources may be used. Data collection consisted of evaluating several data sources such as primary documentation, for example, court transcripts, psychological reports and police dockets. Semi-structured

interviews were also conducted with the selected incarcerated serial murderers to get their own subjective views regarding their experiences growing up.

The data was analysed by applying the descriptive-dialogic method. This method makes it possible to simultaneously give a description of the phenomenon and to utilise a theoretical framework to give a better understanding of the phenomenon. Examining and re-examining the available data and applying the theoretical propositions to the evidence were used to give an explanation of the phenomenon.

In the following chapters (5 and 6) the selected case studies will be discussed in detail. Furthermore, the data will be structured in such a way that a developmental picture of the respondents will be presented and the significant influences highlighted. At the end of each chapter the psychosocial perspective will be applied to explain the development of the individual's personality structure.

## CHAPTER 5

### CASE STUDY 1: Mr X

*“Violence is the last refuge of the incompetent.”*

*Isaac Asimov*

In the following section the factors which influenced the personality development of Mr X will be explored. An overview is given of his life history, the influence of parental figures on his development, the family atmosphere within which he grew up and the role the social environment played in his personality development. A behavioural analysis of Mr X's personality development, personality structure and how his personality characteristics influenced his behaviour is also presented. The research will also show what “type” of serial murderer Mr X is. The psychosocial perspective will be applied to the case study at the end of the chapter to show the validity of the proposed perspective.

#### 5.1 CRIMINAL RECORD: SERIAL MURDER

Mr X was arrested and charged on eight counts of rape and murder in and around a rural town. In addition to being convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for five of these offences, he has a long criminal record for committing repeated rapes, murders, and robberies. His modus operandi, when executing a murder, was to hold up the victim with a toy gun and then abduct her. After taking the victim to a secluded area he instructed her to take off all her clothes. He then tied the victim up and brutally assaulted her. Following this he would rape her and then strangle her with one of his shoelaces.

The only surviving victim, who testified at his trial, told how he had kidnapped her along with another woman and the latter's baby. She testified that he first of all assaulted the other woman and then ordered both of them to undress. After they were naked, he tied them both up. He made them both watch as he forcibly threw the baby against a tree and then proceeded to strangle the child with one of his shoelaces. Following this he turned his attention to the mother whom he assaulted and strangled with the same

shoelace. The surviving victim testified in court that while committing this offence he had told her that he wanted to teach her a lesson. She was then raped repeatedly and held hostage. The following day he abducted another woman at gunpoint and later that same day he overpowered another woman. Both were assaulted and strangled, while the surviving victim was once again forced to watch. Her ordeal ended when Mr X was arrested by a police officer while he was leading her down a path. It was only later that she realised that the gun he had used was a toy.

## **5.2 DEVELOPMENTAL BACKGROUND**

In the following section, an overview of Mr X's life history is given.

### **5.2.1 Life history**

Mr X, born in 1962, was the only child of a mother who worked as a domestic and a father who worked as a miner in a nearby mine. Because his mother and father were not married, he initially stayed with his father until he was approximately three years old. His mother, who objected to him growing up with another woman, took him out of his father's care. Although Mr X's father originally wanted Mr X to live with him, his father decided to "*wash his hands of both of them*" when Mr X's mother took him away. When Mr X was four years old his mother placed him in the care of his grandmother. Her reason for doing this was that she felt she was too young to be burdened with the responsibility of raising a child. She wanted to go out and enjoy her life and not be stuck with a baby. Although Mr X's grandmother loved him dearly, she was poor and found it financially difficult to raise him. Although his grandmother was unable to give him what he needed materially, she tried to give him what she believed he needed on an emotional level. A possible reason why his parents could not contribute financially was that both were heavy drinkers.

Despite growing up with his grandmother, Mr X had occasional contacts with both of his parents. Every time he saw his mother she told him what a bad man his father was and that he had abandoned them for another woman. His father in turn told him that his mother was a "whore" and slept around. The times Mr X saw them together, they fought

constantly. One of his most vivid memories of his father is of an incident when his father beat him severely. While on his way to see his father he wanted to buy ice cream and peanuts just like the other children did. Due to their financial circumstances his grandmother could not give him the money and he decided to beg for it. When his father found out about Mr X's begging he gave him a severe beating and made it clear that no son of his would beg for money. On the night of the beating he hid and slept in a scrap yard for fear of his father.

Mr X's grandmother told him that his mother had abandoned him because she did not want him. She also emphasised that his mother and father were not going to help him and that he alone would have to take care of himself. In this regard she said "*Jy het nie 'n ma of 'n pa of 'n broer of 'n suster nie, jy is almal jousef*". His grandmother encouraged him to do well at school to ensure that he had a better life. By way of encouragement, and because he sounded like this man, his grandmother gave him the nickname of his favourite sports caster. She told him that he should aspire to be like this man and become someone important.

He started school at age seven, enjoyed school and never failed a subject. His relationships with girls were good and he even had a few girlfriends at school with whom he was seriously involved. His grandmother, however, discouraged him from having friends and said "*friends will get you into trouble, drugs, alcohol and cigarettes*". While this was the view of both his mother and grandmother, the latter was adamant that mixing with friends would lead him down the wrong path. This, in conjunction with feelings that he did not belong at school because of their poverty, contributed to a feeling of loneliness. During breaks he either hid under a tree or sat alone on a rock because he believed that the other children did not like him and that they were always "*looking down at him*". He felt as if he did not have any "balance" as a result of his self-consciousness about being poor. He had no money to buy sweets like the other children, had to wear mended clothes and go barefoot. As a result he did not feel as if he belonged and he had a low sense of self-worth. This contributed to his growing feeling of worthlessness.

He recalls that he was never excited about going straight home after school because there was nothing worth returning to. By age 13 he was convinced that life offered very little and that there was nothing to live for and that it would be better to die. As suicide

offered a solution to all his problems he contemplated throwing himself off a bridge. When he made this attempt one day after school, an old security guard, working at a railway station, saw him and stopped him from jumping. This man told him that life was not as bad as he thought and that his circumstances would in time improve. After this incident he regularly saw the security guard on his way home. They had long conversations every day during which the old man reassured him that life would get better.

His grandmother died when he was 17. After her death he dropped out of school and started to mix with the wrong crowd. The girlfriend he had had for a number of years broke off their relationship because of his association with people she felt would have a negative effect on him. Their break-up occurred after he and some friends had stolen cans of oil from a petrol station. They planned to resell these. He was arrested and subsequently punished for this offence. About this he says: *“I was mixed up with the wrong friends and walked the wrong path”*.

Following this incident the authorities suggested to his mother that he should be put into a reform school. She, however, decided against it and allowed him to move in with her. At this stage she was working for a family and he recalls playing with their children during the day while his mother was busy working. Out of the blue his mother decided to leave her work and arranged for him to stay with one of her friends while she took another job. After he had been staying with his mother's friend for some time, she arranged for him to move in with a man she said was his “uncle”. He soon learned that the man was no relative, although this man and his mother had the same surname. Once again he felt abandoned by his mother. His so-called “uncle” immediately put him to work selling honeycombs, made him sleep on the floor and frequently beat him savagely for no apparent reason. An incident he remembers vividly occurred one night when he saw and heard his “uncle” and one of his wives having sex. Later that night, while Mr X was asleep, his “uncle” ripped his blankets off and beat him with a sjambok, while accusing Mr X of sleeping with his wife. He ran to the police station where he tried to report the matter. The police, who believed his “uncle's” story, then also punished him for a deed he had not committed. Although he felt angry towards them for not believing him and for being punished unfairly, he was even angrier with his “uncle's” wife for not standing up to her husband and confirming that he was innocent.

After the death of his grandmother, Mr X committed various offences and was in and out of prison numerous times. He claims that while in gaol his view on life shifted and he realised that he should make a change. He remembered that his grandmother had desired a better life for him and that only he could achieve this. While in prison he started to work hard, in an attempt to show everyone that he was a trustworthy and a good man. As a result he was put in charge of the prisoners' recreational activities and allowed to work outside the prison. While in prison, he was awarded a "day pass" to go to town to purchase supplies for the Recreation Committee. Later he was released on parole and obtained work with a white man who paid him R1 200 per month. Mr X felt proud of himself because his employer told him that he was a good and trustworthy man. His employer also gave him the task of looking after his wife, three daughters and son while he was away on business. He was shown how to operate the alarm system and was basically left in charge of the house. This made Mr X feel good because his being left in charge of his employer's family let him believe that he was finally getting the better life his grandmother wanted for him and it also strengthened his belief that he was indeed a "good gentleman". He also felt a sense of achievement because he had done it all on his own.

Mr X's joy about what he had achieved was short-lived on account of a woman in a position of authority who wanted him to change jobs and work for another man. In this regard he states: "*Daardie vrou het heelyd van agter gekom en het nie reg gemaak nie*". The work she wanted him to take only paid R60 per month and would have obliterated the positive image he had developed of himself. He refused to do as he was told and informed the woman that he was unhappy about her suggestion and thought it "*stupid*". This caused the woman to threaten that all his privileges would be revoked if he did not do as he was told. Following this, the woman and a man visited him at his employer's home and once again urged him to go and work for the other man. At this stage Mr X felt so frustrated that he told the man that he would prefer to be shot in the head than to do what had been asked of him. The unhappiness this caused resulted in him violating his parole conditions by running away. While being chased by the police he ran into a thorn bush and when they caught him he was bleeding profusely. The entire incident with the woman and having to go back to prison, coupled with the injuries he suffered, angered him. Despite his trying to work hard again, this woman and everyone in general seemed

to be pushing him down. At this point he realised that walking the straight and narrow path and working hard, as his grandmother had wanted him to do, was not possible for him.

Following the incident involving the above-mentioned woman, and after his release from prison, Mr X committed eight murders along with various other offences such as rape, assault with intent to do bodily harm, and assault with a deadly weapon. Although charged with the eight murders, he was only found guilty of four of the murders and one case of kidnapping.

### **5.3 INFLUENCE OF THE EVENTS DURING THE DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES AND THE FAMILY ATMOSPHERE ON PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT**

According to Erikson (1968) each developmental stage plays an important part in personality development because specific developmental tasks have to be faced and overcome. Every specific developmental task contributes either a positive or negative aspect that will be incorporated into the eventual personality structure. Each stage is also characterised by significant relationships and interactions, which have an effect on how these tasks will be handled. Relationships of importance are with the mother or mother substitute, and the father or father substitute. Other important influential factors are the parental interactions, family atmosphere, the school, the neighbourhood and the peer group.

#### **5.3.1 Significant relationships during each developmental stage**

The significant relationships and the influence they have on each development stage will be explored in the following section.

##### **5.3.1.1 Newborn or infancy stage**

Erikson (1968) believes that, if the maternal relationship is lacking during the newborn or infancy stage, the child will not develop a basic sense of trust. This could have serious implications for the psychosocial development of the child. If this is the case, a sense of

mistrust will develop causing the child to feel that he has been abandoned and that his mother is not fulfilling his needs. The development of mistrust also leads to what Erikson (1980) terms oral sadism, which refers to the cruel and harmful desire of the child to take what he wants. This is a lasting desire that will remain part of the child throughout his entire development. Mistrust experienced by the child is not just a sense of doubt about others but also a basic distrust in his own abilities. It sets the stage for a radical disturbance in the relationships the child has with the world and significant others. In the case of Mr X the lack of a significant maternal relationship is evident in the maternal abandonment he experienced. According to him: “*Sy wou nog jonk wees en wou nie sukkel met ‘n kind nie*”. This supports Erikson’s claim that a poor relationship with the mother could have a negative effect on the development of the personality.

Maternal abandonment experienced by Mr X meant that his grandmother became the caregiver because his mother did not want to raise a child. His grandmother became his maternal substitute when he was approximately four years old.

#### **5.3.1.2 Early childhood stage**

Erikson (1968) states that it is during the early childhood stage, when the child is allowed to move around freely and manipulate his environment, that a sense of autonomy and independence is developed. During this stage both parents, as well as their mode of interaction, have a significant influence on the development of the individual. If the child is prevented from acting independently he is likely to develop feelings of shame and doubt, which could remain with him throughout his life. In Mr X’s case his parents were not constantly present during his development and his grandmother had to fill the void left by their absence. She genuinely loved him and wanted him to make something of his life, however, the demands she made on him added to his growing sense of powerlessness, which he expressed by saying, “*Het gevoel wat is die use*”. She set high goals for him and wanted him to be someone who would gain recognition. In this regard he says, “*sy het gewens ek moes goed wees*” and “*sy wou gehad het ek moes soos hy (the sports caster) wees.*” Given his background and poverty this might have been an ideal he could not live up to.

Mr X had sporadic contact with both his mother and father. His father had abandoned him at an early age. About his father he says the following: *“Hy het sy hande uitgespoel van my, hy het gesê hy sal my nooit niks gee nie”*. It can be deduced that his father did not make a positive contribution to his development. Mr X only saw his father irregularly and when this happened the later was also inconsistent and unreasonable in his disciplining of Mr X: *“Hy het nooit daarvan gehou dat ek geld moes bedel van ander mense af vir ice cream en peanuts nie. Hy het my gemoer so erg dat ek in die scrap yard moes slaap om vir hom weg te kruip”*. Both his mother and his grandmother discouraged him from having friends. In support of their claim that friends would have a negative influence on him, he makes the following statement: *“Ouma en ma het gesê vriende gaan jou in die kak bring, hulle gaan jou ‘n slegte pad laat loop”*.

### **5.3.1.3 Play stage**

Erikson (1968; 1980) emphasises that during this stage the child should be allowed to develop a sense of initiative without experiencing excessive feelings of guilt. The child should have the freedom to experiment with new ideas. This helps the child to develop the belief that he has the ability to “make things” on his own. The child’s growing mobility allows him to interact more freely with his immediate environment and his family. His immediate family must show acceptance of his newfound curiosity and growing imagination and encourage him to try out his ideas. They must not be excessively critical or unwarranted feelings of guilt may develop that may influence the child’s self-belief. This self-belief will have a positive impact on his self-image causing a sense of purpose and belief that he is able to develop his own abilities. If the child is not allowed to develop a sense of purpose, feelings of guilt are likely to arise that may eventually lead to experiencing intense feelings of anger and frustration.

The role of the basic family is of great importance during this stage. In the case of Mr X’s development his basic family primarily consisted of his grandmother, while he had only intermittent contact with both his mother and father. His grandmother was the dominant figure during his development. In her attempt to give Mr X the best life she could, she constantly told him that he should not socialise with the wrong crowd, *“Nee my ouma het altyd gesê vriende gaan jou in die kak bring”*.

According to Fromm (Boeree, 1997b), this type of family atmosphere can be described as a symbiotic family because it is characterised by one member of the family being controlled by another family member. The child's behaviour is merely a reflection of the parents' or caregiver's wishes. This causes the child to develop what Fromm (1941) describes as the authoritarian method of escape from his reality. This method of escape enables the child to compensate for his lack of control by adopting an authority figure role in an attempt to compensate for his lack of control over his own life.

Unlike his grandmother, his mother and father showed hardly any active interest in his development. In this regard he points out that both his parents abandoned him, "*selfs my ma en pa het my gelos.*" According to Adler (1969) his parents' behaviour constitutes a neglecting family atmosphere. Such an atmosphere is characterised by the failure of the parents to show the child any love or tenderness. Instead their behaviour causes the child to develop feelings of selfishness and distrust, while responding to life as the enemy.

#### **5.3.1.4 School age stage**

During this stage the child must develop a capacity for industry while avoiding feelings of inferiority (Erikson, 1977). In this regard Erikson (1980) points out that the child moves into a broader social sphere resulting in the combination of the influence of the immediate family with the influence of schoolteachers and peers. If the child fails to develop a sense of industry during this stage because of parents who are too rigid, schoolteachers who are too harsh or peers who are rejecting, feelings of inferiority and inadequacy will most likely develop (Erikson, 1968; 1977; 1980). According to Adler (1969), everyone to some degree experiences some form of inferiority. These feelings can be either normal or abnormal. Normal feelings of inferiority inspire human beings to better themselves, whereas abnormal feelings of inferiority cause the individual to believe that he will never be able to overcome or compensate for his perceived weaknesses. Mr X claims that he enjoyed school and never failed a subject: "*Ek het baie gehou van die skool nooit gefail nie ek was goed in skool*". This positive feeling is, however, negated by his constant feelings that he never belonged: "*Nee ek was nie gelukkig daar nie ek het nie balance daar gehad nie*". Although Mr X had girlfriends while at school, he did not get along with his peers, "*Die ander kinders het my nie baie gelaik*

*nie. Ek was nie bly nie en nie baie gelukkig nie. Ek het gedink die lewe was sleg ... ek was baie alleen. Ek was ashamed ek het onder 'n boom gaan wegkruip en alleen op 'n klip gesit'*. Feelings of being disliked, unhappiness and loneliness had a negative influence on his self-image and led to him contemplating suicide: *"Ek wou van die brug naby ons skool afspring. Het gevoel wat is die use"*.

### 5.3.1.5 Adolescence

Erikson (1968; 1977; 1980) views adolescence as an important phase during the individual's development. It is during this stage that the child has to decide who he is and what he is going to do with his life. Furthermore, this stage is characterised by the child coming to terms with many, if not all, of the developmental tasks of the previous stages. If the developmental tasks have been handled in such a way that a positive outcome has been assured it will enable the child to emerge with a strong and stable identity, which is acceptable according to societal norms. If this is not the case, the child will most likely be unable to settle on an identity and may develop an identity crisis that could result in identity confusion. Erikson (Stevens, 1983) believes that a child will do anything to resolve his identity crisis and to maintain a sense of identity. In some instances the child will over-identify with a group and incorporate their identity traits. A more destructive means of maintaining a sense of identity is to incorporate all the negative elements he experienced during his development into a functioning negative identity. A negative identity allows the child more freedom to be his own person because he no longer has to struggle to conform to acceptable norms.

Following the death of his grandmother, Mr X (age 17) dropped out of school and began to associate with the wrong friends: *"My ouma was dood gegaan en ek het met die verkeerde vriende begin rond hang. Ons het gesteel."* The negative identity is an attempt by the individual to compensate and retain a sense of mastery of a situation in which he has none. Compensation occurs when the individual attempts to "make up" for his perceived inferiority. An important aspect associated with compensation is the concept of fictional finalism. This means that an individual modifies his behaviour to achieve a fictional goal, which he believes will enable him to compensate for his perceived inferiority (Adler, 1969). In Mr X's case his fictional self-image was his desire to be seen as a "good gentleman", which he wanted to project to the world in order to achieve the

recognition he desired. His fictional self-image was fuelled by the desire to achieve the goals his grandmother had instilled in him.

#### **5.3.1.6 Young adulthood**

According to Erikson (1968; 1977; 1980) this stage is characterised by the wish of the individual to sustain a meaningful relationship with a partner. In this regard Erikson (Erikson's Eight Stages) believes that an individual is not developmentally complete if he is unable to become intimate with another person. The newly acquired identity must therefore be risked to form a close relationship with others. If the individual's identity is fragile and weak, he will be unlikely to "risk" entering into a relationship with another for fear of rejection. To compensate for his lack of a close relationship he would be inclined to develop hostility towards others, especially those whom he perceives as a threat to himself. In the case of Mr X he attempted to form intimate relationships, which were successful to some extent, but his own actions caused the relationships to end. In this regard Mr X states: "*My serious girlfriend het my gelos. Sy het gesê sy wil my nie ken nie omdat ek dit gedoen het (gesteel)*".

### **5.4 APPLICATION OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL PERSPECTIVE**

As indicated in Chapter 3 the psychosocial perspective is made up of three psychological theories, namely those of Erikson, Fromm and Adler. The aim of the perspective is to "map" the personality development of the serial murderer by applying the integrated aspects of the three theories.

#### **5.4.1 Personality development**

In the following section the distinct influences of each developmental stage will be integrated to explain the personality development of Mr X.

Mr X's personality is characterised by an intense desire for recognition by others. His personality development was focused on establishing a self-image that others would react to positively and would be consistent with the ideals his grandmother had instilled in him. His need for recognition began when both his parents abandoned him. His

mother's actions caused a lasting feeling of mistrust to develop. Not only did he distrust others, but more importantly, he developed a sense of distrust in his own abilities. This distrust in his own abilities would later contribute to the creation of a fictional self-image he believed would enable him to achieve everything he never could previously. The actions of his "uncle's" wife when he was beaten for no reason also added to his distrust of others, but more importantly of women. This added to the experiencing of feelings of inferiority as well as his growing sense of anger and hostility towards women: "*Niks nie! Sy het net still gebly en het niks gedoen nie! Ek was baie kwaad!*" His father's actions also contributed to his distrust of others. Mr X's contacts with his father were characterised by rejection and being subjected to inconsistent and unreasonable punishment. This contributed to his growing feelings of shame and self-doubt.

In the absence of his mother, Mr X's grandmother became his maternal substitute. She showered him with love and affection and gave him everything in her power. However, her attempt to instil in him the qualities that would ensure a better life had an adverse affect on his development. For example, by forbidding certain behaviour, she in a sense did not allow him to develop a sense of industry, which contributed to his feelings of inferiority. Her urging him to achieve idealistic goals added to his emerging feelings of incompetence and social ineptitude. Feelings of mistrust, shame, doubt and inferiority were further augmented by several external influences. The most significant of these were the actions and behaviours of his peers while he was at school. He felt neglected and left out and believed that his peers saw him as weak and insignificant. In a sense he was convinced that they regarded him as "beneath" them. Another incident, which had a significant influence on the development of his feelings of anger and frustration towards women, was the incident involving the woman in the position of authority: "*Ja!!! (hard gesê) dit was nie reg nie, daardie vrou het heeltyd van agter gekom. Ek was baie kwaad vir haar en alma!*". The resulting feelings of shame, doubt, inferiority and mistrust added to his growing sense of anger and frustration (Erikson, 1968; 1977; 1980).

His feelings of self-doubt and worthlessness caused Mr X to create a fictional self-image and incorporate it into his identity structure. This led to the development of certain unique personality traits and behavioural patterns, which he made part of his identity structure in order to protect the illusion he had created. These traits were expressed in the form of the excessive aggressive behaviour and destructiveness, which he exhibited

later during adulthood, especially towards his victims. The behavioural traits Mr X incorporated stem from the authoritarian method of escape he adopted where he could become the authority figure, enabling him to dominate others, for example brutally assaulting and murdering a baby, while forcing the mother to watch. This method of escape can partly be attributed to the symbiotic family atmosphere in which his grandmother raised him and also because he felt powerless within his situation and this powerlessness was the cause of feelings of intense frustration for him. To achieve a semblance of self-worth and control over his life, which he did not have during his early development, he used force to take control and gradually developed the impression that he could get what he wanted by force (Fromm, 1941; 1955; 1973). His choice of an authoritarian method of escape was strengthened by the actions of his “uncle” and the woman in the authority position. Their behaviour, as well as his grandmother’s insistence that he would have to take care of himself, made him realise that he would have to do whatever it took to realise his goals. Their behaviour confirmed his belief that he would have to change his mind set because he would not be able to achieve any of his goals by socially acceptable means. This, combined with the encouragement of his grandmother to achieve these goals, gradually resulted in a growing willingness to resort to force (assault, raping and murdering of woman) in order to make others share his belief that he was a gentleman: “*Ek is ‘n goeie gentleman*”.

To satisfy his need for recognition, Mr X had to compensate for his inferiorities and social ineptitude. He did this by creating a fictional self-image of who he really was and also incorporated all the negative aspects of his development to form a negative identity. His negative identity was exhibited when he started to mix with the wrong crowd and committed crimes that lead to imprisonment. His negative identity included the feelings of anger and frustration he experienced throughout his development: “*Ek was baie kwaad*”. For Mr X this fictional self-image could do all the things he was never able to accomplish and could also achieve the inaccessible goals set by his grandmother, which he wanted to accomplish (Adler, 1953; 1969). His fictional self-image also consisted of his negative identity as well as the feelings of anger and frustration that he experienced. Whenever someone threatened his fictional self-image of being a gentleman he would react violently to protect his self-image. His feelings of frustration also motivated him to “show” the individual that he was a “*good gentleman*”. His aggressive and destructive behaviour can be seen as narcissistic aggression. According to Fromm (1973) the

individual has to hold on to the narcissistic self-image in order to maintain a feeling of self-worth because the personality to a large extent is influenced by this elaborate narcissistic self-image. His aggression can also be viewed as instrumental in that he achieves a feeling of self-worth and happiness when he can “teach his victims a lesson”. In others words, his aggression is directed at realising a goal and achieving a sense of unity within himself (Fromm, 1973).

It is postulated that both the personality and identity development of Mr X was greatly influenced by a singular goal, namely that of protecting and maintaining a fragile fictional self-image. The fictional self-image he created was an attempt at sustaining a sense of meaning and control over his life. Due to strong feelings of inferiority, Mr X went to extreme lengths to validate and protect his fictional self-image. He had to hold onto the narcissistic self-image to maintain a sense of self-worth. In the case of Mr X his destructiveness and aggression (the assault and the brutal murders) were the end result of his attempts to maintain the fragile narcissistic self-image he had developed.

#### **5.4.2 Personality structure**

Mr X’s personality structure can be described as having two facets. The first is the fictional self-image he projects to the world. His fictional self-image is aimed at achieving the recognition he desperately seeks (i.e. showing that he is a gentleman). Simultaneously the self-image also conceals his inadequacies and feelings of inferiority. The nature of his self-image is portrayed by Mr X’s statement namely, “*Ek is ‘n goeie gentleman. Ek werk hard en is eerlik.*” He portrays this ideal in many facets of his behaviour.

The second facet of his personality structure finds expression in his violent and destructive behaviour (e.g. assault, rape, murder and repeated homicide). His behaviour is aimed at maintaining his self-image and protecting it from any threat and at the same time achieving the recognition he seeks. If someone or something threatens his self-image, his first reaction is to strike back. He places himself into a position to take back the control he is lacking (e.g. binding his victim’s hands and legs) to achieve a sense of self-worth. Thus his aggressive and destructive behaviour is an attempt at finding happiness and achieving the sense of self-worth he desperately needs.

## 5.5 BEHAVIOURAL CLASSIFICATION

An overview of Mr X's pre- and post-murder actions shows that he could be classified as a geographically stable serial murderer. He murdered all of his victims in and around the area where he lived. His actions also indicate a highly organised proficiency in the sense that he is calculating and knows exactly what he wants and how he can acquire it. The organised nature of his behaviour is evidenced by the way in which he exerted control over his victims. Although his victims were not randomly selected, they were victims of circumstance. His use of a toy gun implies that he was aware that threatening with a firearm would place him in a position of authority and facilitate his victim's co-operation. The control he exerted by tying his victims hands and legs also points to him being calm and specific in his actions (Ressler et al., 1992). This combined with the use of excessive physical abuse shows that Mr X could also be classified as a dual typology hedonistic power/control type. This suggests that his actions were aimed at taking back the loss of control he experienced and dispelling his feelings of worthlessness. The sexual acts were not motivated by lust. Sex was merely used as a weapon to prove the amount of control he had over the situation and the victim.

## 5.6 SUMMARY

Mr X is an individual who longs for positive recognition and wants to be seen as a gentleman. This need gradually developed throughout his life and was fuelled by intense feelings of shame and doubt regarding his abilities as well as a deep-seated feeling of inferiority. His grandmother, who played a significant role in his development, instilled the ideal of being someone of importance. However, due to his social inadequacies and feelings of inferiority Mr X did not trust his own abilities. As a result he doubted his ability to attain a sense of self-worth by conventional means. It appears that Mr X believes that a sense of self-worth can only be achieved by being something or someone he is not. He compensates for his feelings of ineptness and inferiority by creating a fictional self-image to attain the sense of self-worth he desperately seeks.

His fictional self-image can be seen as an attempt to escape from reality and involves the incorporation of an authoritarian lifestyle that has turned him into an authority figure

exerting control over others. In others words, it enabled him to take back the control he did not have during his development. In this regard his need for recognition caused him to react violently and aggressively towards anyone who he believed threatened his fictional self-image. In Mr X's case women personified this threat for him. This is because throughout his development women in some way contributed to his feelings of inferiority. It can be assumed that if anyone (especially women) exhibited behaviour that Mr X interpreted as threatening to his self-image it served as a trigger for his murderous behaviour. The perceived threat to his self-image could probably vary from a "look" to a remark made by a woman (Ressler et al., 1992). He would perceive it as a threat and react accordingly. Mr X wanted the complete degradation and destruction of any individual who he believed threatened his self-image by having the victim experience the same pain and helplessness he felt.

## CHAPTER 6

### CASE STUDY 2: MR Y

*“It is man’s own mind not his enemy or foe, that  
lures him to evil ways”.*

Buddha

In the following section the developmental background of Mr Y will be explored. It will focus on the significant relationships that influenced his development as well as the effect the family atmosphere had on his personality development. The chapter will also include an explanation of his personality structure as well as the type of serial murderer he is.

#### 6.1 CRIMINAL RECORD: SERIAL MURDER

Although Mr Y was suspect of murdering 19 women he was only charged with 16 counts of murder, 17 counts of rape and one count of attempted murder for which he was given a 506 years sentence. Mr Y’s modus operandi was to lure his victims into following him with the promise of employment. He led them through cane fields under the pretence that they were taking a “short cut”. Once in a secluded spot he would overpower them. Mr Y then instructed his victims to undress after which he gagged them and tied their hands, legs and feet together. He proceeded to rape the victims and strangled them with a piece of their own clothes, usually a stocking. After the victims were dead he buried them in a shallow grave.

His only surviving victim testified during his trial that he had promised her employment. He took her into a sugarcane field telling her that it was a shortcut to the place of employment. Once deep inside the field he attacked her from behind and forced her to have sex with him. Following this he started to throttle her. As she pleaded for her life he engaged her in conversation and asked her if she would be he his girlfriend. Before she

could reply he started throttling her for the second time, and once again she pleaded for her life and was spared. After this she managed to escape him.

## **6.2 DEVELOPMENTAL BACKGROUND**

An overview of Mr Y's life history will be provided in the following section.

### **6.2.1 Life history**

Mr Y was born in 1957 on the platform of a train station in a township. His family consisted of his mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, two brothers, one sister and a cousin (female). By Mr Y's own account the family atmosphere was pleasant and everyone in the family got along reasonably well. The only noticeable problem was the behaviour of his father.

His father was an abusive man and an alcoholic. According to Mr Y his father, who often came home intoxicated, did not interact with or speak to anyone in the house. The only times he responded to the family members were the times he abused them. Mr Y claims that his mother had to bear the brunt of his father's aggressive behaviour. On those occasions when he or other family members tried to intervene his father would beat them severely. His father was a brutal man who during one incident stabbed Mr Y in the thigh with a spear. The incident was triggered by Mr Y's attempts to prevent his father from beating his mother. Although he received affection and love from his mother, the relationship with his father was completely opposite, characterised by brutality and indifference. Mr Y comments as follows about his father and the rest of the family: "*The problem was at my dad. Surely I got no problem with the others*".

Mr Y who started attending school from the age of seven, dropped out when he was approximately 16 or 17 years old. He enjoyed school and claims that he got along well with his peers and teachers: "*I was coping well with the other children, no fighting, good relationships*". One teacher in particular played a significant role in his life and was to a large extent responsible for his enjoying school. She was the wife of his uncle and was according to Mr Y, a great teacher. He saw himself as being "*very fortunate*" to have had her as a teacher. Despite his positive attitude toward the school, his father's lack of

interest in his progress detracted from his enjoyment of it. In this regard he says: “*He just ignored me*”. He received no encouragement or any support from his father. His father’s unwillingness to support him compelled Mr Y to sell apples on the street to get the money he needed to pay his school fees. His father’s indifference was also apparent when both he and his cousin went to high school. His father constantly told him that he would never make it to high school and showed no interest in him whatsoever. However, despite this prediction both he and his cousin (female) passed and entered high school. Mr Y’s father responded positively to his cousin’s progress but gave no recognition to his own son. He encouraged and aided her financially, while Mr Y was left to take care of himself.

His father’s response caused him to experience intense feelings of neglect and alienation which he expressed as follows: “*I was feeling very neglected ... that was really bad for me*”. These feelings were intensified when he compared his situation with that of the other children around him: “*The things that were being given to other children I didn’t get, maybe like my friends getting presents from their families, being bought clothes from their families. I knew nothing about that. That was really bad for me*”. As a result he started to believe that no one within his family, except his mother, loved him: “*I felt really bad that no one cares for me at my family besides my mother*”. These feelings became so strong that he contemplated suicide on several occasions: “*There were times when I wanted to commit suicide*”.

While the atmosphere within the family was turbulent, Mr Y tried to establish more meaningful relationships outside the home. The most significant of these relationships was between him and a girl named **C**. Mr Y and **C** were friends from an early age ( $\pm 13$  years), and continued their friendship until their early twenties when it developed into a serious intimate relationship. The seriousness of their relationship was emphasised when **C** became pregnant. She and Mr Y were excited about having the baby and decided to tell their parents the good news. The two of them went looking for Mr Y’s father that evening and found him intoxicated. On hearing the news, his father started to insult them verbally and physically assaulted both of them and finally chased them out of his house. Mr Y was confused and wanted to go back to find out what they had done to deserve such a verbal and physical battering. **C** did not want to go back and decided to go home instead. Mr Y approached his father again and asked him what they had done

wrong, but was simply chased away again. As it was rather late in the evening and realising that C lived quite a long distance away, Mr Y decided to follow her to make sure that she got home safely. He found C at her home and heard that she had told her mother how his father had treated her. She then proceeded to tell him that she did not intend to keep the baby because of the way his father had treated her and that she was going to have an abortion. Mr Y was extremely disappointed and angry about this decision. He resented his father for his treatment of C and even more so for being the direct cause of her wanting to have an abortion: *“It was because of how he treated her ... so that really frustrates me”*.

After this relationship ended Mr Y made two attempts at other relationships. His first serious relationship after the break-up with C was with a girl named I. Mr Y and I had, by his own account, a satisfying relationship, *“Well it wasn’t so good I mean it wasn’t so bad it was fine.”* He was, however, disappointed that they did not have a child. The relationship with I ended when Mr Y was arrested for murder and attempted robbery. I said that she did not want to be associated with someone like him and ended the relationship. Mr Y states that his last meaningful relationship was with R. The two of them are still seeing each other, even though he is incarcerated. Although they are not married they have a child: *“I had one child with her. She comes to see me I love her a lot”*.

Mr Y holds a specific view of women and especially what he does not like about women: *“I hate a woman who is a bitch!”* To him a “bitch” is a woman who is not devoted to the man, who has made his intentions clear to her. He emphasises that once a woman reciprocates the man’s intentions she must remain faithful. If the woman does not stay true to her word and starts seeing other men while still involved, she is a “bitch”. Mr Y states that such behaviour evokes feelings of intense anger and hatred: *“Angry!!! (very adamant) very angry sure.”*

### **6.3 INFLUENCE OF THE EVENTS DURING THE DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES AND THE FAMILY ATMOSPHERE ON PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT**

Erikson (1968) stresses that each developmental stage is characterised by a significant developmental task that each individual must complete. Failure to complete the task successfully will have an adverse effect on the identity and the personality development of the individual. During each stage there are significant relationships and interactions, which could either positively or negatively, influence the outcome of each task. These relationships include the maternal and paternal relationship (mother or mother substitute and father or father substitute). Also of significance are the interactions in the family, the family atmosphere, school, and neighbourhood.

#### **6.3.1 Significant relationships during each developmental stage**

In the following section the significant relationships and the influence they have on the development of the personality will be explored.

##### **6.3.1.1 Newborn or infancy stage**

The newborn stage is characterised by the necessity for the child to develop a lasting sense of trust. During this stage the maternal relationship is important because it directly influences the development of trust the child will show in other relationships. If the relationship between the mother and child is strong, the child will develop a trust in others and in his own abilities. If the relationship is dysfunctional, the child develops a basic distrust of others as well as in himself (Erikson, 1968). The effect of this is the development of “oral sadism” (Erikson, 1980). This involves a cruel and harmful desire to take what he wants and this might remain with the individual throughout his entire development. The dysfunctional maternal relationship will inevitably set the stage for a radical disturbance in the other relationships the child might have later during his life. Mr Y saw his mother as a struggling woman mostly because she was forced to give birth to him on a train station platform: “*My mother was a struggling woman. She struggled to the extent that she got me on the station*”. Their relationship seems to have been normal as she gave him love and affection whenever she could. According to him: “*She was*

*loving at my side*". However, the positive outcome of this stage was negated during the later stages by the actions and behaviour Mr Y's father showed towards him.

### **6.3.1.2 Early childhood stage**

During the early childhood stage the child must be allowed to explore, manipulate and interact with his environment on his own. If he accomplishes this he will develop a sense of autonomy and independence (Erikson, 1968). If the child is not allowed to develop a sense of independence or autonomy, intense feelings of shame and doubt are likely to develop that could stay with the child throughout his life (Erikson, 1980). The child must be allowed to act on his imagination and not be punished for his growing curiosity during this stage. The significant influence on the development of the child comes from both parents as well as the quality of their relationship. If the parents do not create an atmosphere where the child feels free to act on his own or to explore his environment, he will be inclined to experience shame and powerlessness. Mr Y grew up witnessing his mother and father constantly fighting with each other: "*Quarrelled a lot, they fought a lot ... they had a lot of quarrel with my father*". His father was an abusive man who often assaulted his wife and his children. He also had a history of alcohol abuse and showed no interest in any family member except Mr Y's cousin: "*He talks to no one in the house*". Mr Y in particular suffered at the hands of his father. On one such an occasion when he was trying to protect his mother from another assault, his father stabbed him with a spear in the thigh: "*I have a wound here of assegai. My father tried to stab me with an assegai for what, trying to block that he mustn't hit my mother*".

### **6.3.1.3 Play stage**

The play stage is characterised by allowing the child to develop a lasting sense of initiative without experiencing excessive feelings of shame and guilt (Erikson, 1980). During this stage the child must learn to achieve a balance between his eagerness for new experiences and the need to control his impulses. The child must be allowed to have new experiences and in the process begin to learn how to "make things" on his own. It is during this stage that the entire family, and not the parental figures alone have a significant influence on the development of the individual. This is due to the child's increased mobility, which allows him to freely enter a broader social sphere. His

immediate family must be encouraging in that they should accept his growing curiosity and they must be consistent in their discipline. If they are overly critical and dismissive of his new ideas it will give rise to feelings of guilt, shame and doubt. According to Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958), if a child grows up in a family atmosphere characterised by neglect, it is unlikely that he will be able to recognise true love or affection. This is the result of never having been exposed to love or affection. Consequently he fails to develop the capacity to receive or give affection or love to anyone. The child will subsequently be inclined to become selfish and view life as the enemy. The child will also develop a particular style of life. According to Adler (Boeree, 1997c) the active destructive style of life is characterised by an active pursuit of the goals the individual has set for himself. The exploitative orientation, according to Fromm (Boeree, 1997b) is when the individual believes that everything good comes from outside himself and he is willing to take what he wants by force (see Chapter 3).

Mr Y grew up in an extended family, which consisted of his parents, grandparents, cousin, two brothers and a sister. In general the family got along fairly well and they had no major squabbles or incidents. The only problem was his father who constantly caused strife within the family structure: *“Never fought even one day. The problem was with the dad. Surely I got no problem with the others. The problem was just at daddy”*. His father, a very domineering and abusive man, was the central figure throughout Mr Y’s development. His father was indifferent towards him. On the one hand his father would either completely ignore him: *“He just ignored me, actually that guy done nothing for me really done nothing for me”* or punish him severely for acting on his impulses and imagination as children do: *“I remember one time. Uh, daddy had a van I remember one time I reversed the van to give it some splash (wash). So I had a go with that van without his permission one of those days. I got some hiding some very bad hiding really, really, really bad with a sjambok. Very bad beating.”*

#### **6.3.1.4 School age stage**

Erikson (1977) postulates that the school age stage is that period in an individual’s life where he has to develop a sense of industry, while avoiding feelings of inferiority. During this stage the child moves out of the “family bubble” and becomes involved in the broader social sphere. During this stage the individual’s immediate family is no longer

the only influence on his development. Teachers and peers now also play a significant role (Erikson, 1980). If the development of the child's sense of industry is hampered during this stage by rejecting peers, callous schoolteachers and overbearing parents, feelings of inferiority and inadequacy will develop (Erikson, 1968). According to Adler (1969) everyone, to some extent, experiences feelings of inferiority. These "normal" feelings of inferiority serve as the motivation that inspires individuals to better themselves. Abnormal feelings of inferiority, however, could become so intense that the individual may begin to believe that there is no way to overcome or to compensate for his real or perceived inferiorities. In this instance the individual will over-compensate to achieve a semblance of normality in his life. According to Adler (1969) the individual will create a fictional ideal, which he believes will be better than the reality he has to face every day. The person will modify his behaviour and do whatever he has to in order to achieve this fictional ideal.

Mr Y enjoyed school and found it rewarding: *"I enjoyed school very, very much"*. He also got along very well with the other pupils: *"I was coping well with the other children, no fighting, good relationships."* Mr Y has fond memories of one teacher in particular. Her actions had a considerable effect on him: *"She taught me everything about schooling. I was very fortunate to come in a class of that particular teacher. She was my teacher. She was a good teacher, she was my teacher"*. Mr Y's experience of school was, however, marred by the actions and behaviour of his father. The latter never encouraged Mr Y, and repeatedly degraded him and often told him that he would be a failure all his life. His father also played no active part in his development during this stage: *"He just ignored me. Actually that guy done nothing for me, really done nothing for me. I was so struggling that I was selling some apples in the street to get some money for the school fees."* A significant example of his father's lack of interest during this stage was when Mr Y went to high school. His father doubted if he would make it and told him that he would fail. He emphasised his indifference to Mr Y by showering his cousin with gifts and praise when she advanced to the same grade as him: *"My cousin and me got our results during the holidays and I showed him my results but suddenly my cousin get bought a uniform but I did not get a uniform. My father bought her everything and I had nothing. He did not think I was going to pass but he did not get me anything and I am also in the family. That made me very sad and angry"*.

### 6.3.1.5 Adolescence

Adolescence is the time in the individual's life when he has to contend with the re-emergence of many of the developmental tasks of the previous stages. The child has to take all of the experiences and the eventual outcomes of the developmental tasks of each stage and incorporate them into a functioning identity that will take him into adulthood (Erikson, 1968; 1977; 1980). If the child has experienced any dysfunction during a single stage or during all of the stages it could have a negative influence on the development of his identity. The inevitable result is a sense of identity confusion. If identity confusion occurs he will endeavour to achieve a semblance of a stable identity. To achieve this, the child could over-identify with a group and incorporate their collective identity as his own. The other more destructive method of compensating for a loss of identity is when the child incorporates the negative experiences of his development and integrates them into a negative identity (Erikson, 1968). The negative identity in general is more alluring to the child. It allows him to accomplish the goals he had set for himself, goals that he would otherwise not be able to achieve. For Mr Y his adolescence was characterised by feelings of worthlessness and neglect: "*Well (pause) there were some stages where I was feeling very neglected because (pause) the things that were being given to other children I did not get.*" He believes that no one in his family really cared for him except for his mother: "*At other stages I felt really bad that no one cares for me at my family besides my mother.*" Mr Y's feelings of neglect and worthlessness culminated in him contemplating suicide on several occasions: "*There were times when I wanted to commit suicide*".

### 6.3.1.6 Young adulthood

Young adulthood is characterised by the formation of love relationships and the willingness and ability to become intimate with another person (Erikson's eight stages, <http://psychology.about.com/library/weekly/aa091500a.htm>). To achieve a close relationship with another individual the person must be willing to "risk" his newly established identity. If the identity is not strong enough, the individual might not be willing to engage in any real shared intimacy with another person. If this is the case the individual could isolate himself and develop a willingness to destroy anything and anyone who he believes is a threat to his fragile self-image. Erikson (1977) states that if

the relationship is truly satisfactory in every facet, it will make sex less obvious and the need for sadistic control unnecessary. Early in Mr Y's young adulthood he experienced a real sense of intimacy with his then long-time girlfriend **C**. This relationship did not last because of the actions of his father. Mr Y was very angry and frustrated about this and to some extent blamed his father for the loss of his child and **C**'s leaving left him: "*She aborted it definitely. It was because of how he treated her I was very angry.*" The other significant relationship Mr Y was involved in ended because of his own actions: "*Well our relationship ended ... the time I got arrested for murder, attempted robbery and theft.*"

## **6.4 APPLICATION OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL PERSPECTIVE**

In this section the proposed psychosocial perspective will be used to "map" the personality development and personality structure of this serial murderer.

### **6.4.1 Personality development**

The behaviour and actions of Mr Y's father had the most significant negative influence on his personality development compared to all the other relationships he had. Like every child Mr Y sought affection and approval, especially from his father. However, his father was completely indifferent and emotionally absent and showed no interest in him. This was the cause of the intense feelings of frustration, which Mr Y directed towards his father (Wright & Hensley, 2003). Due to his father's behaviour and actions Mr Y's family atmosphere was characterised by a basic sense of neglect. According to Adler (Boeree, 1997c), this type of family atmosphere has an adverse affect on the child's ability to recognise love, affection or tenderness. It is possible that the child will view life as the enemy and could express his feelings through stubbornness, suspicion and a willingness to destroy anyone or anything. Mr Y's development was characterised by incidents of neglect, the most notable of these being when he went to high school. His father ignored him and gave him no support or encouragement. In contrast his father showered his cousin with support and encouragement: "*He just ignored me. Actually that guy done nothing for me, really done nothing for me.*"

Research conducted by the FBI identified several common factors present during a child's formative years which could contribute to his becoming a serial murderer (Ressler et al., 1992). The first factor is the trauma experienced on account of physical abuse. In the case of Mr Y this factor was present during his developmental history. The most noteworthy example of the physical abuse suffered at the hands of his father was the incident where Mr Y was stabbed with a spear: *"I have a wound here of assegai, my father tried to stab me with an assegai for what, trying to block that he mustn't hit my mother."*

His father was also inconsistent as well as excessive in his use of punishment: *"I got some hiding some very bad hiding really, really, really bad with a sjambok. Very bad beating"*. This is consistent with the findings of the research done by the FBI on the behaviour of the father figure of the serial murderer (Ressler et al., 1992). Another factor related to the factors identified by Ressler and his colleagues is the failure of the parental figures to serve as positive role models. His mother and father were always fighting and on several occasions Mr Y saw his father hitting his mother: *"Quarrelled a lot, they fought a lot"*.

According to Erikson (1968) both parents play a significant role during the child's development. Their behaviour and reactions towards the child could have an influence on the development of feelings of shame, doubt, inferiority and mistrust. In the case of Mr Y his father's actions were directly responsible for his intense feelings of neglect and for feeling unloved. These feelings caused Mr Y to contemplate suicide on several occasions: *"Well there were some stages where I was feeling very neglected ... At other stages I felt really bad that no one cares for me. There were times when I wanted to commit suicide."*

The parents also play a significant role in the development of a child's conscience. The conscience can be the cause of a lasting resentment aimed at the parent (Erikson, 1980). This is because the parent's behaviour is measured against the child's conscience and found to be the opposite of what the child views as right or wrong. The child has to find a way to deal with the anger and resentment he feels towards the parent or these destructive impulses will be repressed. According to Erikson (1968) an individual's aggression stems from the conflict and frustration he has experienced and

subsequently repressed. Wright and Hensley (2003) state that those who caused the frustration hold a certain degree of control over the individual that inhibits the latter from retaliating against those who were the cause of the frustration. These repressed destructive feelings are exhibited in various forms of destructive behaviour at a later stage when the opportunity presents itself. In the case of Mr Y his resentment and anger was to a great extent caused by the actions of his father. Throughout his development there were several incidents where the actions of his father caused Mr Y to feel annoyed and angry with him. A significant incident was when his father's behaviour towards C (his then long-time girlfriend) resulted in her having an abortion and their relationship ending: *“What I really remember about my father what really annoys me really bad. I was very disappointed in the way he acted towards us and I was very angry”*.

Despite the abusive actions and the indifference of his father towards him, the source of happiness during his development was his mother. She was the one who made him feel loved and who showed any real interest in him. She also exposed him to true affection: *“I felt really bad that no one cares for me at my family besides my mother”*.

His father's actions and the family atmosphere within which he was raised were conducive to the style of life and the personality Mr Y developed. The conflict between him and his father as well as his feelings of worthlessness, neglect and his perception of being unloved culminated in an active destructive-exploitative style of life as part of his personality. Although he felt neglected and unloved during most of his development, Mr Y developed a growing desire for affection. His mother, or more precisely her behaviour and actions towards him, served as the archetype of the type of affection for which he was striving. Even though Mr Y was willing to engage in other relationships and actively pursued them, he never experienced first hand from his parents' relationship a genuine healthy productive relationship. This, coupled with the frustration of his father's interference in his relationship with C, gradually caused Mr Y to incorporate the belief that he would have to take what he wanted by force, including affection: *“That they are men who can't speak for themselves and they are man who when he proposes someone that someone maybe doesn't like him. That makes him rape her to fulfil his emotions. He will show her he will get it with force. Oh just because this one doesn't like me, I will show her!”* According to Erikson (1977) a satisfactory sexual relationship and

psychosocial intimacy between two individuals make sex less obsessive, overcompensation less necessary and sadistic feelings of control unnecessary.

Mr Y's lack of positive role models and the frustration he experienced meant that he developed a distorted view of sexual relationships. For him sex meant real intimacy and the only way he knew he could successfully achieve his goal and compensate for his inability to achieve any type of intimacy was to resort to violence. It was the logical choice for him because he was exposed to violence throughout his life. Fromm (1973) describes aggression and destructiveness of this nature as malignant instrumental aggression. In other words, the person knows what he desires and will actively pursue this, even if it means he has to destroy someone to achieve it.

#### **6.4.2 Personality structure**

Mr Y's personality structure includes the willingness to take what he considers as affection by force: "*He will show her he will get it with force*". This willingness stems from his need for affection and positive recognition, which is a result of the neglect he experienced and his basic belief that no one except his mother loved him. Mr Y developed a need for a specific type of affection that drove him to obtain it at all cost. The lack of a frame of reference as to what constituted a healthy relationship caused Mr Y to revert to the only course of action he knew would enable him to accomplish his desires.

The violence and abuse he experienced during his development was incorporated into his personality structure. He had no other alternative because it was the only method he knew would give him what he wanted. His willingness to employ force to achieve his goals was also strengthened by the repressed feelings of frustration and anger he experienced during his development. The atmosphere of neglect also contributed to his willingness to destroy.

### **6.5 BEHAVIOURAL CLASSIFICATION**

Mr Y can be classified as an organised geographically stable serial murderer. He is geographically stable because he committed his murders within a specific area of which

he had a good prior knowledge and that he could use to his advantage. The organised proficiency of his planning is expressed by his knowledge of the cane fields in which he worked as a labourer. Another indicator of the organised nature of his behaviour can be found in the way he lured his victims to go with him. He approached the victims with the promise of work, utilising his good interpersonal skills to avert any suspicions the intended victim might have. Mr Y is charming and comes across as self-assured. Although he did not complete his education he is articulate and socially proficient. He is, however, dangerous in that his repressed feelings of anger and frustration contribute to his violent and aggressive behaviour. His actions, while committing the murders also show that he is calculating and precise. He immobilised his victims by tying their hands and legs together and only then proceeded to rape them. After the rape Mr Y used any item at his disposal to strangle his victims. In most of the 19 cases he used the victims' stockings to strangle them. He also, to some extent, showed a sense of forensic awareness by attempting to conceal his victims in shallow graves. This could also be indicative of his view of his victims in that he regarded them as objects that could be discarded when they were of no further use to him. According to the typologies of Holmes and Holmes (1998) the combination of forced sex and the act of strangulation indicates that Mr Y can be classified as a hedonistic-lust type of serial murderer. This is a person who derives pleasure both from forcing his victims to have sex with him and from strangling them.

## 6.6 SUMMARY

Mr Y grew up in a family atmosphere characterised by abuse and neglect. His mother was the only source of love and affection for him and his siblings: *"Oh, okay well she was actually loving at every family side"*. His father was the one who caused a problem for the family: *"But you see the problem was one they had a lot of quarrel with my father."* His father played a crucial role in his development. He was an alcoholic who verbally and physically abused every member of the family and was also emotionally absent. He was especially harsh in his actions towards Mr Y, for example stabbing him with a spear. Mr Y also suffered emotional and psychological abuse at the hands of his father: *"He just ignored me, actually that guy done nothing for me really done nothing for me"*.

Throughout most of Mr Y's development, the actions of his father were directly responsible for his feelings of neglect and sense of being unloved. He was also responsible for causing Mr Y to experience feelings of shame, doubt and inferiority. The origin of his repressed feelings of frustration and anger can to a large extent be found in the behaviour of his father.

Due to the atmosphere of neglect and his father's indifference Mr Y developed an exaggerated need to form emotional attachments. The relationship between him and his mother served as the "blueprint" for his emotional needs because he saw her as the only one in the family who loved and cared for him. However, due to the nature of his development and the atmosphere of neglect he had no frame of reference as to what constituted a healthy loving relationship. He nevertheless tried to establish relationships, but through his own and his father's actions he never experienced the results he desired. Subsequently he developed the belief that he could take whatever he wanted (emotional attachment and affection) by force. For him violence was a constant in his life and the willingness to revert to acts of violence to obtain what he wanted was incorporated into his personality structure.

The aggressive and destructive nature of Mr Y's actions is due to his attempts at compensating for his perceived lack of affection and his subsequent attempt to rectify the imbalance. The anger and frustration caused by his father's actions were unleashed and directed towards his victim. His victims served a dual role, in that they were the objects he could use to achieve a sense of intimacy and affection. Whenever his needs and desires were not fulfilled, they became the substitute objects for his anger and rage, which led him to strangle them.

## CHAPTER 7

### INTEGRATION, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

*“How much more grievous are the consequences of  
anger than the cause of it.”*  
*Marcus Aurelius*

The focus of the research was to develop a theoretical perspective incorporating three psychological theories, which focuses on the external as well as the internal factors that influence the development of the individual's personality. Seven research questions were formulated in order to make sure that the information gathered were relevant and would ensure that the goal of the research could be achieved. In this chapter it will be shown to what extent to the research questions were answered and if the statement of Douglas and Olshaker (1997:29) namely that “behaviour reflects personality” was confirmed.

#### 7.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the following section the accuracy of the answers to the seven research questions will be highlighted.

- i. **What incidents during childhood influenced the development of the specific personality?**
  - **Mr X**

Mr X's childhood was characterised by his parents abandoning him. As a result his grandmother had to fill the void left by the absence of his mother. Although his grandmother was not directly involved in all the significant incidents occurring during his infancy she was the one who communicated most of the incidents to him. She, for example, told him that his mother did not want him because she felt that she was too young to care for a child and still wanted to enjoy life. His grandmother was also the person who told him that his father said he had “washed his hands of him” and did not want anything to do with him or his mother.

An incident that had a significant effect on him was the punishment he received when his father found out that he had begged for money. Mr X was beaten so severely that he had to hide from his father and had to sleep in a scrap-yard. Mr X begged for money because his grandmother did not have the means to give him pocket money and neither his father nor his mother supported her in raising him. Another significant influence on his development was his perception of how others saw him at school. He never felt that he truly belonged or fitted in with the other children. This was largely because his grandmother was poor and was unable to give him monetarily what the other children had. He recalls that he used to hide under a tree from the other children or sat alone during breaks because he was ashamed and believed that the other children saw him as being worthless.

- **Mr Y**

The most distinguishing feature of Mr Y's childhood development was his father's neglect of, and indifference towards, him. It can be postulated that his development was dominated and adversely influenced by a single family member, namely his father. He received love and support from his mother, but his father's actions counteracted this. He was exposed to violence from an early age, witnessing his father brutally assaulting his mother on several occasions. His father's abusive nature is highlighted by an incident where he stabbed Mr Y with a spear when the latter tried to protect his mother from the abuse. Acts of excessive violence were not directed at his mother alone but also at him and his siblings. Mr Y recalls an incident when he took his father's car without permission and was severely beaten for it.

Another significant incident occurred when Mr Y went to high school. Although he had successfully completed primary school, his father gave him no recognition for his achievement. On the contrary, he showered Mr Y's cousin with gifts and praise for going to high school. These actions caused feelings of neglect and worthlessness to develop in Mr Y. Eventually these feelings became so intense that he contemplated suicide on several occasions. He believes that his mother was the only person who loved him in his entire family. Mr Y's father's behaviour also contributed to the development of feelings of anger and frustration. It is possible that he repressed these feelings, because his father

had a degree of control over him, which inhibited Mr Y from retaliating against him (Hale, 1993; Wright & Hensley, 2003)

**ii. What incidents during adulthood influenced the development of the personality?**

• **Mr X**

Mr X's young adulthood was characterised by not getting the recognition and the attention he so desperately sought from others. This caused him to create a fictional self-image that he projected to the world. The two incidents that strengthened his conviction that he would never attain the recognition he desired through conventional means involved his "uncle" and the uncle's wife as well as the woman in the position of authority. His mother arranged for him to live with his "uncle" who was extremely abusive towards him. An incident during which this man falsely accused him of having sexual relations with his wife ended with the wife not corroborating Mr X's story and him being punished by the police. This added to his negativity towards women and his growing conviction that he could trust no one. The incident with the woman in the position of authority strengthened the hostility he felt towards women, as well as confirming his belief that he would not be able to achieve the goals his grandmother and he had set for himself by adhering to conventional means.

• **Mr Y**

The incidents, which had the most significant influence on the personality development of Mr Y during adulthood, were his failed attempts at maintaining relationships after the incident that involved his father and his girlfriend **C**. His father's response to hearing that his girlfriend was pregnant resulted in her deciding to have an abortion and their subsequent break-up. He was rejected by his father, while his mother was the only one who showed love and affection towards him and this combined with being raised in a neglecting family atmosphere resulted in a failure by Mr Y to develop the capacity to recognise real affection or experience what a satisfying relationship consists of. The combination of all of these factors combined caused Mr Y to develop a growing need for any form of affection, which elicited feelings of frustration (Wright & Hensley, 2003). This means that although he was aware of his desire for affection he was incapable of

achieving it by acceptable means due to not being exposed to affection or love from both parents. According to Erikson (1977) this leads to the need for sex becoming obsessive because sex becomes equal to affection and intimacy.

**vi. How were these incidents internalised?**

- **Mr X**

The behaviour of both his parents caused Mr X to feel abandoned and instilled feelings of shame and self-doubt in his own abilities as well as a basic sense of distrust towards other individuals. His grandmother who became his maternal substitute instilled unattainable goals in him, which she believed would inspire him to achieve a better life for himself. Although her actions were aimed at inspiring Mr X, her exaggerated efforts prohibited him from acting independently and caused feelings of shame and doubt to develop (Erikson, 1968). The reactions of his peers towards him and his perception of what he believed they thought of him while he was still at school caused the development of intense feelings of inferiority that further added to his growing feelings of self-doubt. His feelings of inferiority were so strong that he even contemplated committing suicide.

All of these factors lead to a fragmentation of Mr X's self-image and his self-belief. With the death of his grandmother Mr X fell into a downward spiral, which eventually resulted in his incarceration. While he was incarcerated he decided to make a conscious effort to get his life back on track and live the life his grandmother had envisioned for him. The incident involving the woman in the position of authority, however, made Mr X realise that if he wanted to reach the goals he had set for himself he would have to be prepared to do anything to achieve them even if it meant breaking the law: "*Dit was toe dat ek weet ek gaan nie iets regkry deur om die goeie pad te loop nie*". The incident also caused feelings of anger and frustration to develop because despite trying to show everybody that he was trustworthy and as he put it, "*'n goeie gentleman*", he could not achieve this.

- **Mr Y**

Mr Y's development was influenced by an atmosphere of neglect and abuse caused by the actions of his father. His father was involved in most of the significant negative incidents Mr Y experienced during his development. His father, an alcoholic, was emotionally absent to his family and when he did interact with the family he was indifferent and abusive towards his children and his wife. His father exposed Mr Y to violence from an early age, assaulting both him and his mother on several occasions and he even stabbed Mr Y with a spear when he tried to protect his mother. His father's indifference towards him also came to the fore when Mr Y went to high school. His father showered his cousin with praise and acknowledgement for graduating to the higher grade but ignored Mr Y. As a result Mr Y felt neglected, unwanted and unloved by all his family with the exception of his mother. This led to Mr Y developing feelings of anger and frustration towards his father that he repressed while the need for affection, which every individual seeks, intensified (Wright & Hensley, 2003).

**vi. What influence did these incidents have on the personality?**

- **Mr X**

The most significant influence of all the incidents was that Mr X created a fictional self-image to compensate for his perceived inferiorities and to achieve the goals he had set for himself. The creation of his fictional self-image was to an extent based on the wishes and expectations his grandmother had for him, namely to make something of his life. She told him that he alone would be responsible for making something of himself and he could not trust anyone except himself. Although she intended to motivate him to better himself this encouragement added to his feelings of frustration and led to the development of his exaggerated fictional self-image. The frustration he experienced was caused by the self-doubt, which developed because of the actions of his parents. His self-doubt was intensified by the feelings of inferiority caused by his perception of how he believed his peers felt towards him while he attended school. The incident with his "uncle's" wife also added to his self-doubt, but more importantly caused feelings of anger and frustration, especially towards women, to develop.

In an attempt to compensate for his feelings of inferiority and self-doubt, Mr X incorporated a negative identity into his personality structure. This negative identity is evidenced by his criminal behaviour, which could be interpreted as an attempt to achieve some form of recognition, even if by antisocial means. An incident that had an important effect on the development of his personality involved the woman in the position of authority. He had attempted to live up to the expectations of his grandmother and create a better life for himself, but this woman's actions prevented him from reaching his goals, and confirmed his belief that he could not achieve his goal by conventional means. She also contributed to the anger and frustration he felt towards women. In effect her behaviour motivated him to incorporate the belief that he would have to do anything he had to in order to live up to his own expectations and achieve the recognition he desired and show everyone that he was a "*goeie gentleman*". The only "way" he knew to achieve the recognition he desired was to use force. Any negative reaction towards his fictional self-image by another individual, no matter how small or insignificant, would result in a violent and destructive reaction by him towards that individual. All of the feelings of anger and frustration would be directed to the object (victim), which he saw as a threat to his self-image and would be subsequently destroyed.

- **Mr Y**

The most noteworthy influence of the incidents Mr Y experienced during his development was the effect they had on his ability to recognise love or affection. Like all children, Mr Y sought love and affection from those he loved (Wright & Hensley, 2003). This was not granted to him. Mr Y felt that no one in his family except his mother loved him and as a result he felt neglected and worthless. This resulted in his need for love and affection becoming exaggerated to such an extent that he was willing to fulfil this need destructively. His exaggerated need for affection stemmed from the intense feelings of being neglected and unloved during his development.

The problem for Mr Y was that he did not have any positive role models he could use as a point of reference as to how to achieve and sustain a satisfactory relationship with others. This lack was evident in the failed relationships of Mr Y in his attempt to obtain

the affection he desired. Although he engaged in three relationships his hesitance when commenting about them indicated that they did not all live up to his expectations.

The lack of positive role models was due to the family atmosphere of neglect in which he was raised. A significant role model, his father, often exposed Mr Y to violence and abuse. The neglecting family atmosphere added to Mr Y's need for love and affection in that he had to "figure out on his own" what true affection and love entailed. The relationship he had with his mother, who, he believed was the only person who loved him, was the only reference he had as to what affection entailed. His father was also indifferent in his general behaviour towards Mr Y. He did not show any interest in, or any form of affection towards, Mr Y during his entire development. The frustration Mr Y experienced because of his father's actions led to the formation of destructive and aggressive drives, which he most likely repressed (Wright & Hensley, 2003).

The end result for Mr Y was that his underlying exaggerated need for love and affection was a constant part of his personality. This need was also a perpetual source of frustration for Mr Y. The only way he knew of alleviating the frustration was to resort to violence and a sadistic form of control. Sex became obsessive for him. It was the only way he could come close to fulfilling his need (Erikson, 1968). If his need was not fulfilled in a satisfactory manner, his feelings of anger and frustration came to the surface and would then be directed at his victims.

**vi. How did these incidents influence the development of each serial murderer's fantasy life?**

• **Mr X**

Mr X's fantasy life consisted of the fictional self-image he had created. His fictional self-image developed largely because of the feelings of self-doubt and inferiority he experienced during his development. He realised that he could not achieve the goals he had set for himself. Subsequently, he created a fictional self-image, which would allow him to accomplish his goals and achieve his desire to be recognised as a "good gentleman". His grandmother's wish that he should create a worthwhile life also contributed to the development of his fictional self-image. However, due to his intense

desire to be perceived as a “good gentleman” his fictional self-image became engrained as part of his life. Mr Y lived his fantasy, with the result that it became his reality.

- **Mr Y**

The formation of Mr Y's fantasy can be seen as his attempt at compensating for his exaggerated need for love and affection. His fantasy was his attempt at controlling an imagined situation where he could obtain the type of affection he desired (Ressler et al., 1992). His exaggerated need for affection developed because of the neglecting family atmosphere in which he grew up. He was never given the opportunity to develop the capacity to recognise love or affection in an appropriate way. Furthermore he was not exposed to any behaviour by his parents, which he could view as a positive example, and subsequently incorporate it as his own. His only frame of reference as to what affection entailed consisted of his mother's behaviour towards him, which in turn was nullified by the actions of his father. The relationships he did attempt to sustain started out well but ended after some time and his current relationship with **R** was not satisfactory. The most significant of these relationships with **C** also ended in large part because of the actions of his father. Although he has never stated anything to the fact, it can be postulated that it left an emotional void, which Mr Y wanted to fulfil, by living out his fantasies.

**vi. How does the personality influence behaviour?**

- **Mr X**

Mr X's personality structure was constructed in such a way as to maintain the fictional self-image he had created to achieve the goals he had set for himself. His self-image developed to compensate for feelings of inferiority and self-doubt. This self-image enabled Mr X to pursue his goal actively to be seen as a gentleman. However, the image he portrayed to achieve this recognition was fictional and also fragile. If anyone threatened his self-image and in the process exposed his inferiorities to the outside environment, he reacted violently to protect his self-image. His feelings of anger and frustration contributed to the aggressive and destructive behavioural patterns he exhibited when he believed that his self-image was threatened.

- **Mr Y**

Mr Y's exaggerated and intense need for any form of affection was caused in large part by the neglect he experienced during his development. He never developed the interpersonal skills to maintain satisfactory relationships. This is evident in the fact that, even though he is still involved in a relationship while in prison, it is, in comparison to his first relationship with C, not as satisfying. Due to his relationships being unsatisfying and his failing to obtain the type of affection and intimacy he desired, sex became obsessive for him as well as the need for sadistic control (Erikson, 1968). To achieve this Mr Y incorporated an active destructive-exploitative orientation as part of his personality. He developed the belief that everything he desired could be obtained from outside himself especially affection by use of force (Fromm, 1973). The abuse and violence he was exposed to during his development was internalised and added to his willingness to resort to violence to get whatever he wanted.

**vi. How is the behaviour translated onto the crime scene?**

- **Mr X**

The crime scene behaviour of Mr X is indicative of an individual who is organised, driven and unflinching in his actions. Support for this comes from him ordering his victims to take off their clothes, tying them up and then proceeding to beat and assault them viciously. After this he raped them several times before strangling and leaving them in the bush. One of his victims was a baby who was forcibly taken from its mother and thrown against a tree. He strangled the baby with his shoelace, while forcing the mother to watch. Following this he raped, assaulted and strangled her.

The excessive violence as well as assault of the victims is indicative of the anger and frustration, which surfaced when the opportunity presented. Such opportunities arose when he felt someone in some way was threatening his fictional self-image and in the process exposing his inferiority. Mr X equated his response with "teaching the victim a lesson". It can be hypothesised that his aim was to let her experience the same shame and pain he experienced throughout his development. His behaviour was aimed at

obtaining some semblance of power and control while inflicting as much pain as possible on his victims.

- **Mr Y**

Mr Y's crime scene behaviour indicates an individual who is motivated by sexual needs. The lack of physical abuse aimed toward the victim as well as the use of restraints shows that Mr Y's behaviour was aimed at gratifying a need. He lured his victims to go with him with the promise of employment. Once he had his victim at a location where he felt comfortable, he would threaten her to comply with his demands. Mr Y ordered his victims to take off their clothes and then proceeded to use pieces of their own clothing to tie up their hands, feet and legs. Following this he would rape them repeatedly. After the rape he would engage the victim in some form of conversation. If his victim's reaction to his advances were not to his satisfaction his feelings of anger and frustration would re-emerge. These feelings were then projected onto the victim by strangling her with a piece of her own clothing. This realisation that he had not fulfilled his need caused his feelings of resentment, frustration and anger to be directed towards his victims.

Mr Y's needs were based on his exaggerated need for intimacy and affection. The tying up of his victims is indicative of an attempt at controlling the situation to ensure that he could recreate his imagined situation where he obtained the type of affection he desired. Strangling the victim can be seen as a reaction to the reality of the situation, which did not coincide with the fantasy he had created. Realising that he could not fulfil his fantasy he directed his frustration and anger towards his victims.

## **7.2 AIM OF THE RESEARCH**

The aim of the research is imbedded in the statement "behaviour reflects personality" (Douglas & Olshaker, 1997). Thus the aim was to determine whether or not an individual's behaviour reflects his unique personality. The focus of the research was to develop a perspective using a combination of theories, which focussed on the influences of both internal and external factors on the personality development of the serial murderer.

Mr X's fictional self-image developed as a result of factors, which influenced his personality development. His fear was that his fictional self-image would be exposed and that his social ineptness and inferiority would be revealed to the world. As indicated in Chapter 5, he reacted violently and aggressively to protect his fictional self-image and in the process to protect himself from the feelings of shame and doubt associated with his feelings of inferiority. The frustration and anger that surfaced on account of threats to his fictional self-image were expressed in the excessive violence directed towards his victims as well as the physical and mental torture to which he exposed them.

Mr Y's personality was characterised by his exaggerated need for any type of affection and intimacy. Although he had an intimate and emotionally satisfying relationship with his girlfriend C he was never able to recreate that type of "quality" relationship again. He subsequently never fully developed the capacity to recognise affection or act in such a way that it could be achieved in a satisfactory manner again. It was because of this inability that he developed a distorted sense of what intimacy and affection entail which means that he became obsessed with sex, associating it with affection. He imagined an elaborate fictional relationship scenario where he would be able to achieve the "type" of affection he desired and where the object of his affection would stay true to him. To him his victims were merely a means to an end, objects he could use to achieve his goal. The use of bondage and subsequent sexual intercourse indicate that sex and sadistic control had become an obsession to him. Strangling his victims indicates that the reality of his actions did not compare to the fantasy he had created and his repressed feelings of frustration and anger were displaced onto the victim.

In both cases it is evident that the respondents' behaviour reflects their unique personality types and structures.

### **7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

During the course of the study the researcher identified several features of serial murder that need to be addressed by further research. The most significant aspect is the lack of empirical research on the general characteristics of South African serial murderers. It is proposed that research should be undertaken to identify the general characteristics of South African serial murderers. The findings of such a study, in conjunction with other

research conducted on South African serial murderers, should then be used to form a database. Such a database would add to the available information in regard to serial murder and assist researchers who wish to undertake further research in the field. The database would also assist law enforcement agencies by providing a valuable source of information with regard to behavioural patterns and characteristics in any future attempts to apprehend serial murderers.

Another aspect, which came to the fore during the research, is that other research that is done on serial murder might encounter a problem regarding time constraints. Although this was not the case in this study the researcher recommends that to ensure that the data gathered in further studies are sufficient to substantiate the findings, a proper time schedule should be set out in order to ensure that enough time is spent with the respondents.

#### **7.4 INTEGRATION AND CONCLUSION**

The focus of the research was to develop a theoretical perspective that would allow for a more comprehensive personality profile to be developed when applied to the observable behaviour of the serial murderer. The perspective is made up of three psychological theories that focus on the internal and the external influences that could influence personality development. This sets the perspective apart from other research in that it focuses on multiple aspects of the personality development of the serial murderer.

The application of the psychosocial perspective in Chapters 5 and 6 to the two case studies illustrates that it successfully “mapped” the personality development of the serial murderer. Furthermore it offers an explanation of the motivation behind the specific behaviour of the killer. Similarly the three psychological theories also provided answers to the seven research questions posed in Chapter 1. The research shows that in each case unique influencing factors shaped the development of the personality. Although the two cases differ from each other in many respects, the perspective can be used to reveal detailed explanations of each individual case’s personality development.

In Chapter 4 Yin’s principle of generalisation was discussed. According to Yin (1989), the findings of the explanatory case study method can be generalised to a theory even

though a limited number of case studies are used. Therefore the researcher proposes that the psychosocial perspective could be used to explain the personality development of other serial murderers. The reason for this is that the perspective is made up of three psychological theories that focus on both the internal and the external factors influencing the development of the personality. This is contrary to other theories and perspectives because although they incorporate and mention several aspects they, only focus on a single aspect or factors believed to be most influential.

The research shows that the research participants, like most other individuals, are motivated to achieve something better or to improve themselves in some way. Simultaneously they try to overcome and compensate for feelings of inferiority that have developed in the course of their lives. In order to achieve this the individual incorporates a specific style of life that will allow him to realise the ideal or goal he has set for himself. The style of life the individual settles on is influenced by the incidents he experienced during his development as well as the family atmosphere in which he was raised. Any form of dysfunction experienced during the developmental stages or caused by the family atmosphere will have an adverse effect on the identity and personality development of the individual. In the case of serial murderers the negative effects the dysfunction has on the identity and personality of the individual are reflected in specific aggressive and destructive behaviour directed towards the world and the individuals around him.

The researcher is of the opinion that the psychosocial perspective can be employed to compile a more comprehensive and accurate behavioural profile of the serial murderer. Such a behavioural profile could assist the authorities in recognising and apprehending serial murderers. The psychosocial perspective would also contribute to the available body of knowledge regarding the elusive phenomenon of serial murder. *“The only good is knowledge and the only evil is ignorance” Socrates.*

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**APPENDIX A**

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

I, THE UNDERSIGNED (state full initials and surname)

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a major person, **DECLARE** myself willing to participate voluntarily and without remuneration in the proposed, research program on personality development, which is to be undertaken by J.A. de Wet.

This undertaking is subject to the conditions that **all** information will be treated as confidential and that my identity will **be protected at all times**.

In addition I undertake that **all** interviews, conversations **may be recorded** by tape recorder. These recordings may **NOT** be used for purposes other than research and will be secured by the Department of Correctional Services.

**CONSEQUENTLY I undertake not to institute any actions, lawsuits or claims, against the above person or recover any damages, costs and expenses of any nature from him if he meets the conditions set out above.**

Signed at \_\_\_\_\_ on this the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_  
2003

As witnesses:

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature of participant)

**APPENDIX B**

**AUDIO RECORDING AGREEMENT**

I, (STATE FULL NAME AND SURNAME) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ hereby declare that all audio recordings made during interviews with respondents will only be used for research purposes as stated above.

I furthermore declare that no copies will be made of such recordings and that the Department of Correctional Services upon completion of the research will secure the recordings in order to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants.

Signed on this \_\_\_\_\_ ( day) of \_\_\_\_\_ (month) 200\_ at \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ (state city).

\_\_\_\_\_ RESEARCHER

\_\_\_\_\_ WITNESS

## **APPENDIX C**

### **AUDIO RECORDINGS OF RESEARCH INTERVIEWS**

Confidentiality with regards to the audio recorded interviews and identities of the research participants will be maintained throughout the research process. To ensure the confidential nature of the interviews the recorded interviews shall be secured by the Department of Correctional Services upon completion of the research. Also no direct reference will be made to any of the research participants in any way shape or form. It is the intention of the researcher to ensure the continued integrity of the agreement of confidentiality as indicated by the written agreement between the researcher and the research participants.

## APPENDIX D

### SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

#### A. BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

- What is your date of birth?
- Where were you born?

#### B. RELATIONSHIP WITH MOTHER

- Who did you grow up with?
- Tell me about your mother/mother substitute (caregivers e.g.).
- Please describe your relationship with your mother.
- Would you describe your relationship with her?
- What is your most vivid memory of your mother?

#### C. RELATIONSHIP WITH FATHER

- Please tell me about your father.
- How would you describe your relationship with him?
- Was he around while you were growing up?
- What is the most vivid memory about your father?/ father substitute?

#### D. PARENTS' RELATIONSHIP

- Please tell me about the relationship between your parents or parental substitutes.
- Did you ever see them arguing or having fights? (If yes, what was the nature of the conflict and what lead to the conflict?)

#### E. FAMILY CONSTELLATION AND RELATIONSHIP

- Tell me about your other family members. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
- What was your birth position in the family (e.g. only child second child)?
- Please describe your relationship with your siblings? (e.g. Were you close? Did you get along? Did you ever have fights?).

- Who was the most important person to you while you were a child? (e.g. Who did you look up to? Who was your role model?)

## **F. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND**

- Please tell me about your educational background (e.g. how did you do in school? Did you enjoy school? What is the highest grade you achieved?)
- Describe the relationships you had at school (e.g. With your teachers and peers?) Were you outgoing or a loner at school?
- In what group activities did you participate?

## **G. DEVELOPMENTAL INFORMATION**

- Please tell me what you remember about growing up?
- While growing up were you harshly and/or unfairly punished? Who meted out the punishment?
- While you were growing up was there something about yourself that you didn't like? (e.g. physically and/or emotionally)
- What do you remember most vividly about growing up (e.g. neglected, insecure, bewildered, alienated, cared for, happy)?

## **H. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS**

- Did you ever have any real close relationships? Were you ever married?
- Describe the nature of the relationships you had while growing up.
- Describe your adult relationships.
- Did you ever love someone? (If yes who if no why do you think not)?

## **I. PERSONAL INFORMATION**

- Could you tell me more about yourself than we have already covered?
- Is there anything about people that you don't like?
- How do you feel when you are around people?
- How would you describe your past and present relationship with others?

TRANSCRIPTION MR X

**Wanneer is jy gebore?**

1962

**Kan jy onthou waar?**

Lows Creek Baberton..... my ma hulle het my groot gemaak.

**Vertel my van jou ma?**

Ek het 'n probleem.....Jy sien my ma is dood ..... Toe ek in Kutama gewees het hulle wou nie dat ek haar gaan bêre nie ek voel nie gemaklik om oor haar te praat nie.

**So jy het groot geword in Baberton? (Skud sy kop) Vertel my van jou pa?**

My pa het op 'n myn gewerk en ek het by my ma gebly sy was 'n domestic worker. My pa het baie gesuip.

**Hoe oud was jy?**

Twee of drie

**En daarna?**

My ma sy het my gevat by my ouma om by haar te bly.

**Hoe oud was jy, kan jy onthou?**

Ek, ek kan nie maar van wat my ouma gesê het was ek +/- 4 jaar oud. Sy is ook al dood toe ek by die tronk was.

**Kan jy min of meer onthou hoe oud jy was?**

Ek is nie seker nie ek dink so 21 or 20

**Vertel my van jou ouma?**

My ouma sy het baie liefde vir my gehad. Sy het my alles gegee wat ek wou hê sy wou net goeie goed vir my gehad het..... gewens ek moes goed wees. Sy het my gevat want my ma was te jonk. Sy wou nog jonk wees en wou nie sukkel met 'n kind nie. My ouma

moes toe my ma help na haar dood was ek net so (lig een finger op in die lug). Sy het liefde vir my gehad wou goeie lewe vir my gehad het.... selfs my ma en pa het my gelos.

**Het jou pa nooit gesien nie?**

Ja my pa het my nooit kom sien nie ek moes altyd na die myn to gaan om hom te sien. Hy het nie my ouma gehelp om na my te kyk nie. My pa het my altyd gebliksem.

**So hy het jou geslaan?**

Ja hy het my gemoer so erg dat ek in die scrap yard moes slaap om vir hom weg te kruip.

**Hoekom het hy jou geslaan?**

Hy het nooit daarvan gehou dat ek geld moes bedel van ander mense af vir ice cream en peanuts nie. Toe hy dit sien to moer hy my dat dit stof staan. (Pause)  
Hy het my altyd vertel dat my ma 'n hoer is dis hoekom hy my gelos het.

**So jou pa het jou gelos?**

My pa het die ander vrou gevat en my ma gelos. Hy het sy hande uitgespoel van my hy het gesê hy sal my nooit niks gee nie.

**Weet jy hoekom het jou pa dit gedoen?**

Hy het vir my gesê my ma wou nie hê dat ek by 'n ander vrou bly nie sy het my kom haal en toe was hy sy hande van my en my ma hy wou niks met my of haar te doen gehad het nie.

**Hoe het jy gevoel toe jou pa dood is?**

Baie sleg want hy was nog steeds my pa.

**En toe jou ma dood is?**

Ek het baie seer gevoel ek kon haar nie gaan bêre nie hulle wou dit nie toelaat nie.

**En jou ouma?**

Ook baie seer gewees sy wou net goeie goed vir my gehad het ek het baie liefde vir haar gehad en sy het baie liefde vir my gehad.

**Het jy ooit jou ma en pa gesien baklei?**

Ja hulle het altyd baklei. Baie. My pa het my altyd vertel dat my ma 'n hoer is en dat sy baie sleg is. My ma het my altyd vertel hoe sleg my pa was dat hy ons gelos het vir 'n ander vrou.

**En jou ouma?**

Nee ons het nooit baklei nie.

**Hoe oud was jy toe jy skool toe is?**

6 of 7 jaar ek was in twee skole. By die skool in die myn was ek vir 12 jaar.

**Het jy gehou van die skool?**

Ek het baie gehou van die skool nooit gefail nie ek was goed in skool.

**Enige vriende of girlfriends?**

Ja ek het 'n girlfriend gehad dit was goed. Het baie van meisies gehou

**En het jy enige vriende gehad?**

Nee my ouma het altyd gesê vriende gaan jou in die kak bring. Vandat ek gebore is het ek nooit twak gerook, gerook of gedrink nie. Ouma en ma het gesê vriende gaan jou in die kak bring hulle gaan jou 'n slegte pad laat loop.

**Jy het gesê twee skole?**

Ja die ander een was die lokasie skool. Ek was daar vir omtrent sewe jaar.

**Wat kan jy van die skool onthou? Het jy dit daar geniet?**

Nee ek was nie gelukkig daar nie ek het nie balance daar gehad nie.

**Hoe bedoel jy?**

My ouma was oud sy het net die pension gekry. Daar was nie geld vir my nie my ma en pa het nie gehelp by my ouma nie. Die ander kinders was baie beter af as ek ek het nie geld gehad om ice cream of peanuts te koop nie. My klere was oud my broek was geskeer wat my ouma altyd moes reg maak hier (wys na sy broek agter). Die ander

kinders het my nie baie gelaai nie ek was nie bly nie en nie baie gelukkig nie. Ek het gedink die lewe was sleg..... ek was baie alleen.

**So jy het geen vriende gehad nie?**

Nee my ouma en my ma het gesê vriende gaan jou maak die verkeerde pad loop.

**Vertel my wat gebeur het?**

As ons buite was (pouse) het ek weg gekruip die ander kinders het peanuts en brood gehad om te eet en ek het niks gehad nie. Ek was ashamed ek het onder 'n boom gaan wegkruip en alleen op 'n klip gesit. Tot as hulle almal inroep om weer klas toe te gaan. Ek het gedink dit sou beter wees om dood te gaan..... ek wou nie huis toe gaan na skool nie.

**Hoekom nie?**

Die ander het so gelukkig gelyk om huis toe te gaan, ek wou nie. My ouma wou nie gehad het ek moes met die ander kinders speel nie sy het gesê hulle gaan my in die trouble bring. One time ek onthou ek was so 12 of 13 jaar oud ek wou van die brug naby ons skool afspring. Het gevoel wat is die use. 'n Ou man, hy was 'n security guard, het my gekeer hy het my baie gehelp. Hy het vir my gesê dinge is nie so erg nie. Hy het saam met my na my ouma gegaan en met haar gesels oor alles.

**Het jou hom weer gesien?**

Ja elke dag na skool hy het elke dag met my gepraat en altyd gesê dit sal orraait wees.

**Vertel my wie was jou role model? Soos wie wou jy wees?**

Ek wou soos daardie ouens gewees het wat praat by die soker Sportcasters. My ouma het my die knickname gegee van die bekende een want ek het soos hy geklink. Sy wou gehad het ek moes soos hy wees.

**Jy het gesê jy het net standerd 8?**

Ja

**Hoekom?**

Daar was nie geld om my op skool te hou nie ouma het net 'n pension gehad. Jy sien hier is my probleem ek het met die verkeerde vriende begin kry. My ouma was dood

gegaan en ek het met die verkeerde vriende begin rond hang. Ons het gesteel... one time het ons olie blikkies van die garage gesteel toe word ons deur die polisie gevang hulle het ons ses houe gegee. My serious girlfriend het my gelos sy het gesê sy wil my nie ken nie omdat ek dit gedoen het. Jy sien toe my ouma dood gegaan het het ek die verkeerde pad begin loop.

**Waar het jy toe gebly?**

Weer by my ma hulle (polisie) het gesê sy moes my in 'n spesiale skool plaas (verberings skool) maar sy het nie. Sy het 'n goeie werk gehad, ek onthou ek het met die wit kinders gespeel, maar sy het net die werk gelos en geloop.

**Het sy jou ook gelos?**

Nee sy het my saam gevat as sy gewerk het het sy my by haar vriende gelos. Toe later stuur sy my na my uncle, hy was nie eintlik my uncle maar het maar net die selfde surname gehad as sy. Sy het my na hom gestuur om vir hom te gaan werk.

**Wat het jy gedoen?**

Ek het bye koeke verkoop op die straat maar hy was nie 'n goeie man nie hy het my baie geslaan.

**Hoekom?**

Want mense as hulle die goed koop hulle sê hulle sal later alles betaal toe my uncle uitvind het hy my gebliksem, baie keer.

**Jy sê hy was nie 'n goeie man nie?**

Nee, hy het 4 vrouens gehad vir 3 van hulle het hy baie mooi huise gebou maar vir sy regte vrou nie. Ek het by haar gebly. Ek onthou een keer het hy en sy vrou, ek het teen die muur op die vloer geslaap, het hy en sy sommer hier by my genaai sommer hier by my ek was baie upset. Dit was so ten o'clock toe hier so by three o'clock kom daai man hy ruk my kombes af en begin my met die sjambok bliksem dat dit stof staan. He sê ek het by sy vrou geslaap.

**Het jy?**

Nee! (stemtoon raak hoog, baie kwaad) ek het na die polisie gehardloop en vir hulle gesê die man slaan my maar hy het net gesê dat ek by sy vrou geslaap het. Maar ek het nie.

**Wat het die vrou gesê?**

Niks nie sy het net still gebly en het niks gedoen nie! Ek was baie kwaad! (Baie kwaad en geirriteerd)

**Vertel my wat van vroue hou jy nie?**

Julle sien nou moet julle mooi verstaan. (skuif voorentoe in stoel). Nou moet julle mooi verstaan. Toe ek in die tronk was het ek gedink aan wat my ouma vir my gesê het. Sy het gesê “ Jy het nie ‘n ma, pa, suster of broer nie. Jy is almal jou self.” Sy wou net goeie goed vir my gehad het en wou gehad het ek moes die regte pad loop. Toe ek in die tronk was, was daar ‘n vroue kaptein wat van agter gekom het heeltyd. Jy sien ek het hard gewerk almal het geweet ek was reguit (eerlik) en het hard gewerk. Ek word toe die head or recreation in die tronk. Ons werk met mense van buite ek kry toe die dag pass en gaan werk toe buite vir ‘n wit man. Hy sien dat ek goed is en goeie werk doen en gee my toe die kans. Hy sê toe X jy moet my huis en vrou en kinders op pas as ek nie hier is nie. Die man betaal my R1200 ‘n maand hy leer my die computer (alarm) en alles. Nou ek was alleen met die vrou die en die 3 dogters MAAR!!! Ek het niks gedoen nie, nie een keer nie. Hy het die 15th van elke month terug gekom en alles was daar. Toe die vroue sê toe dat ek moet vir ‘n ander man gaan werk vir R60 ‘n maand. Maar ek sê toe vir haar nee, ek is besig on goeie geld werk te doen en dit is nie reg nie. Die heeltyd is sy van agter af maar ek weier . Ek sê toe vir die man (wit) wat sy doen maar hy sê ek moet bly want ek werk goed. Ek skryf toe briewe en vertel vir almal maar niks help nie. Toe one day kom hulle met ‘n bakkie en een man vat sy geweer en sê hy gaan my skiet ek sê vir hom sit daai yster hier agter by my kop en doen dit want dit is kak. So een keer hulle jaag my met bakkies and helicopters en toe val ek in ‘n doring bos. Dit was baie seer ek het orals gebloei en hulle vat my terug tronk toe.

**Was jy kwaad?**

Ja!!! (hard gesê) dit was nie reg nie daardie vrou het heeltyd van agter gekom en het nie reg gemaak nie. Ek weet nie maybe was sy jealous of aspris maar dit was nie reg nie.

Ek was baie kwaad vir haar en almal. Dit was toe dat ek weet EK gaan nie iets regkry deur om die goeie pad te loop nie. My ouma was dood ek was so (wys een finger in die lug) ek was baie kwaad ek probeer om die regte ding te doen maar sy hou my daar (druk met duim op tafel).

**Hoe sien jy jouself?**

Ek is 'n goeie gentelman ek werk hard en is eerlik maar iemand wat van agter kom maak my baie kwaad.

**APPENDIX F**

**TRANSCRIPTION: MR Y**

**When were you born?**

I was born in Meadowlands 1957

**On what date?**

Uh, uh on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November

**And you said you were born in Meadowlands?**

Actually I can say it is part of Meadowlands but precisely I was born in Phumeleng station.

**Who did you grow up with?**

I grew up with my mother, my grandmother and my grandfather.

**Tell me about your mother?**

(Subject seems troubled) well although she passed away but what I remember my mother was a struggling woman she struggled to the extent that she got me on the station.

**So you were born on the station?**

On the platform surely.

**Other than that, what else can you remember?**

Oh, okay well she was actually loving at every family side. But you see the problem was one they had a lot of quarrel with my father.

**So she and you father.....?**

Quarrelled a lot they fought a lot (pause) so..... I never knew the cause of their fighting but only to find out keeps on saying we are small we cant know everything you are small I will tell you when you grows up.

**Did you ever see or hear them fighting?**

Many, many, times. I even have a wound here (points to thigh). I have a wound here of assegai my father tried to stab me with an assegai for what, trying to block that he mustn't hit my mother, he mustn't hit mommy.

**So you tried to interfere and he stabbed you?**

Yes.

**How would you describe your relationship with your mother?**

My relationship with my mother was okay there was no problem.

**You never fought?**

Never fought even one day the problem was with the dad.

**Your father?**

Ja, the problem was at my dad.

**Tell me more about your father?**

(Sighs) Ah well my father..... my father was another man. He was a drunkard (pause) he talks to no one in the house (pause). When he comes back of his business of drunkenness comes and hits us every day beginning with my mother. When we are trying to block him he fights us off.

**How many brothers and sisters do you have?**

2 brothers, 1 sister and a cousin.

**Were you the eldest?**

No I was the third child.

**Tell me about your relationship with your father? Is it safe to assume the two of didn't get along?**

Sure not at all nothing.

**What is your most vivid memory of your father?**

What I really remember about my father what really annoys me really bad.... Its the day I was with my girlfriend C who being a couple of weeks pregnant.

**How old were you?**

I was in my twenties ± Okay telling myself with my girlfriend that we are willing to report what happened to us that we are pregnant planning to report the pregnancy to our families.

**So you were going to tell your families?**

Yes to tell my family what happened to us. So there comes my father in the evening getting drunk. He harassed us hitting us me and my girlfriend. Chasing my girlfriend away even myself. Uh okay being confused at that moment my girlfriend went home and me wanting to know what have we done wrong to my father okay only to find out that my father doesn't want to talk to me. I wanted to ask him what's wrong what have we done wrong. Only realising that it was in the evening by the way my girlfriend has gone she stays a bit far from my home. Maybe some criminals could find her and rape her during the evening as she was going home. I was worried about her. Alright, I decided to go to her home. When coming to her home, finding her she told me she told he mother that my father chased her away. Because my father doesn't like her she got to abort the pregnancy. So that really frustrates me.

**Did she decide to abort the pregnancy because of how your father treated her?**

Yes! (very loud) she aborted it definitely. It was because of how he treated her.

**How did that make you feel?**

Very bad very, very bad.

**How old were you when you met C?**

13 or 14 years old we were friends first before we started dating seriously.

**How did you feel towards your father?**

I was very disappointed in the way he acted towards us and I was very angry.

**How was your relationship with the rest of your family? Did you get along with them and you like them?**

Very much, very much the whole of them even now I like them. I am getting very along.

**So your father was the one who made things unpleasant for everyone?**

Sure! Surely I got no problem with the others. The problem was just at daddy.

**Which one of your family members was your favourite?**

The first one our big sister.

**Who was your role model?**

Actually I like too much sport as I grew up playing football. So, I actually wanted to be one of the best players in professional football. Pelè I just wanted to be the South African Pelè.

**Where did you go to school?**

I started my lower primary at Mphumalanga from there higher primary and I attended high school in Meadowlands.

**Did you enjoy school? Did you get along with everyone?**

What I remember at higher primary level. Uh because I was with my father's brother's wife she was my teacher. She taught me everything about schooling I was very fortunate to come in a class of that particular teacher. She was my teacher. She was a good teacher she was my teacher.

**How did you get along with the other children?**

I was coping well with the other children no fighting good relationships.

**So you enjoyed school?**

I enjoyed school very, very much.

**How old were you when you started school?**

Lower primary?

**Yes**

...Six to seven...

**Higher primary?**

...Higher primary...ten upward...

**High school?**

...High school...high school at seventy one...high school...high school at the...at about...my form one...I started my form one at an early age man...because...I...I...did my form three...

**Twelve, thirteen, fourteen?**

...ja...thirteen, fourteen...

**High school?**

...ja...

**How did your father react towards you while you were at school?**

He just ignored me. Actually that guy done nothing for me really done nothing for me I was so struggling that I was selling some apples in the street to get some money for the school fees.

**What is your most vivid memory of school?**

I was going to standard 6 with my cousin (female) not knowing what to wear or where to go to the high school registration. But when I look at my cousin she got everything, all the uniform she was supposed to wear in the high school she got it and I got no uniform to wear. I ask myself how are things going at home. Because we had views with my father during the holidays he said that he would see who would pass. He said that I wouldn't pass. My cousin and me got our results during the holidays and I showed him my results but suddenly my cousin get bought a uniform but I didn't get a uniform. My father bought her everything and I had nothing he didn't think I was going to pass but he didn't get me anything and I am also in the family that made me very sad and angry.

**How were you punished when you did something wrong?**

When I did something wrong?..... I remember one time. Uh daddy had a van I remember one time I reversed the van to give it some splash (wash). So I had a go with that van without his permission one of those days. I got some hiding some very bad hiding really, really, really bad with a shjambok. Very bad beating.

**How did you feel growing up?**

Well (pause) there were some stages where I was feeling very neglected because (pause) the things that were being given to other children I didn't get, maybe like my friends getting presents from their families, being bought clothes from their families. I knew nothing about that that was really bad for me.

**And at other stages?**

At other stages I felt really bad that no one cares for me at my family besides my mother (long pause). There were times when I wanted to commit suicide but only to find that I am a man.

**Other than C did you have any other relationships?**

Yes I had relationships with I, but just a relationship.

**Tell me about her?**

Well it wasn't so good I mean it wasn't so bad it was fine it's just that he didn't get some children. I had another relationship wit R also.

**What happened with I?**

(Laughs nervously) Well our relationship ended... the time I got arrested for murder, attempted robbery and...uh.. theft.

**She left you because of that?**

Yes.

**And R?**

Uh R we are still together.

**Married?**

No but I had one child with her she, comes to see me I love her a lot.

**How do you see yourself?**

uhm...I am a person who ...just likes everybody...and a person who doesn't feel good...when...argue to...actually I ...I ...don't go with arguments...some one argues...even...if you argue with somebody else...not just me...I am not a person who's like that...actually...I like...we must live in harmony...peace...respect each other.

**Tell me about yourself?**

What really annoys me is somebody who is treating somebody, who can't do nothing for himself or herself like a child or a wife, lets say somebody hitting a child or hitting a wife I mean that is cruelty. That is somebody who can't fight for them self. So why should you hurt them that really annoys me.

**What specifically about a woman annoys you? What makes you mad or angry?**

About a woman... I hate a woman who is a bitch!

**What do you mean?**

Because I hate a woman who goes around, who comes to you (points) comes to me or comes to my man or even other guys. Because at the end of the day that is going to let us quarrel all of us, let us fight all of us at the end of the day. Maybe one of ours could be murdered through one woman.

**Goes around?**

You know how is a woman. I mean I am getting to woman, proposing her, dating her asking her that does she have somebody else. She says no, so telling her I am going to be yours and she is going to be mine it is clear that there is no one else. Okay maybe such a woman says yes after some time you see her getting along with somebody, getting along with this one, getting along with that one being loved after telling you, you are the one the only one that I don't like.

**How does this make you feel?**

Angry!!! (very adamant) very angry sure.

**What about men?**

What I really hate about men is rape raping some innocent children and woman.

**Why do you think a man would rape a woman?**

Actually I see no reason but the first is that they are men who cant speak for themselves and they are man who when he proposes someone that someone maybe doesn't like him that makes him rape her to fulfil his emotions. He will show her he will get it with force, " Oh just because this one doesn't like me I will show her!"