

**An exploration of the intrapsychic
development and personality structure of
serial killers through the use of
psychometric testing**

By

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Summary

The mystery surrounding serial homicide is the apparent lack of motive for the murder. No extrinsic motive such as robbery, financial gain, passion or revenge exists, as there usually is in the case of other murders. Serial homicide is a serious, worldwide problem that has received a large amount of media attention, but only a relatively small amount of scientifically based research exists on this phenomenon.

Since the 1970s various models such as the psychosocial theory model, learning theory, the motivational, fantasy, neurological theory, psychiatric, post-modern, feminist and the paranormal/demonological models were used to explain the phenomenon of serial homicide. The researcher, however, states that these models do not satisfactorily address the intrapsychic/object relation development of the serial killers personality.

The structure of the research project consists of analysis of the background information of two serial killers which was gathered from one semi-structured personal interview, psychometric testing (Thematic Apperception Test, Test of Object Relations and the Picture Test of Separation and Individuation) as well as from relevant literary sources. The information was interpreted using the selected psychoanalytic theory of Sigmund Freud and the object relation theory of Melanie Klein and the data was then analysed, interpreted and tested against the following research questions: **“What is the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide?”**; **“What is the parent-child relationship like?”**; **“How does the parent-child relationship influence the object relations of the serial killer?”**; **“How does the parental relationship influence the serial killer’s interpersonal relationships?”**. These questions determine the specific internalised factors that may have contributed to the eventual development of a serial killer’s personality.

The research method that is employed is a qualitative, exploratory case study method. A qualitative study was selected due to the fact that there are currently not enough incarcerated serial killers in South Africa and from those incarcerated serial killers only two were willing to participate in the research. The case study method was selected because it deals with contemporary events, multiple data sources may be used and the findings can be generalised to other case studies.

Data gathering was done by psychometric testing (TAT, PDSI and TOR), a semi-structured interview and other biographical information on the subjects. The data was analysed by the descriptive-dialogic case study method. The data integration method that was selected is the data integration method of the descriptive-dialogic case study method. The data was discussed in relation to the already developed theories. This implies that parallels were drawn between the processed information and the theories. Similarities and differences between the two case studies were discussed and a general overview of the intrapsychic structure of the serial killer was stated.

Key Terms

1	Serial Killer	9	Test of Object Relations (TOR)
2	Serial Murder	10	Picture Test of Separation and individuation (PTSI)
3	Homicide	11	Criminality
4	Object Relations	12	Criminology
5	Freudian Psychology	13	Criminal Psychology
6	Kleinian Psychology	14	Forensic Psychology
7	Projective Techniques	15	Profiling
8	Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)	16	Policing

Sleutelbegrippe

1	Reeksmoordenaar	9	Objekverhoudings toets (TOR)
2	Reeksmoord	10	Skeiding-en Individuasie Prenttoests (PTSI)
3	Moord	11	Kriminaliteit
4	Objekverhoudings	12	Kriminologie
5	Freudiaanse Sielkunde	13	Kriminele Sielkunde
6	Kleiniaanse Sielkunde	14	Forensiese Sielkunde
7	Projektiewe tegnieke	15	Profilering
8	Tematiese Apperspsie toets (TAT)	16	Polisiëring

CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

Well...Hallo Clarice
-Dr. Hannibal “The Cannibal” Lecter, *Hannibal*

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the focus is on introducing the concept, phenomenon and problem of serial homicide. This will be achieved through a brief discussion of the historical context of serial homicide, internationally and in South Africa. The aim and structure of the current research as well as its value within the South African context will be highlighted.

Serial homicide is a type of repetitive murder where no extrinsic motive is discernable such as found in other forms of murder. It seems to be, that the act of serial homicide produces certain intrinsic (psychological) rewards for the serial killer (Bartol, 1999; Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Pistorius, 1996; Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1988). The researcher is of the opinion that this psychological reward is rooted in the killer's intrapsychic and object relation development. The statement of the problem will now be addressed.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The mystery surrounding serial homicide is the apparent lack of motive for the murder. No extrinsic motive such as robbery, financial gain, passion or revenge exists, as there usually is in the case of other murders (Bartol, 1999). According to various authors (Bartol, 1999; Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Pistorius, 1996; Ressler et al., 1988) serial homicide is a serious, worldwide problem. Although it has received a mammoth amount of media attention, only a relatively small amount of scientifically based research exists.

Since the 1970s various models and theories such as the **psychosocial theory** (Egger, 1984); **learning theory** (Ansevics & Doweiko, 1991; De Hart & Mahoney, 1994; De River, 1958; Donnerstein & Berkowits, 1981; Ellis & Gullo, 1971; Lester &

Lester, 1975; Malamuth & Check, 1980), **the motivational model** (Ressler et al., 1988), **fantasy model** (MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood & Mills, 1983; Prentky, Wolbert-Burgess, Rokous, Lee, Hartman, Ressler & Douglas, 1989), **neurological theory** (Money, 1990), **psychiatric model** (American Psychiatric Association, 1994), **post-modern theories** (Herkov, Meyers & Burket, 1994; Jenkins, 1994; Lane & Gregg, 1992; Simon, Stierlin & Wynne, 1985), **feminist approach** (Caputi, 1989; 1993; Keeny & Heide, 1994; Paredes & Purdum, 1990; Wilkins, 1995), and the **paranormal/demonological approach** (Ivey, 1993; 2002; Kamir, 2001) models have been used to explain the phenomenon of serial homicide. Although well researched, the models have not been successful in identifying the antecedent reason in the development of serial killer behaviour. This trend has also been observed in the South African academic context within the work of Du Plessis (1998), Labuschagne (1997; 2001) and Pistorius (1996).

Due to this dearth of knowledge, as well as the fact that serial killers commit their murders in secret, and that their *modus operandi* (MO) differ, no single profile can be constructed that will fit all serial killers. As a result, law enforcement agencies are confronted with the dilemma of searching for an offender about whom they have inadequate information. When and if a serial killer is caught, the criminal justice system has to decide whether the offender should be sentenced to life imprisonment or be committed to a mental institution as a State President's patient. The reason for the commitment to a psychiatric institution is that, due to the acts they commit, most serial killers are believed to suffer from some form of mental disorder. However, researchers such as Bartol (1999), Holmes & De Burger (1988), Pistorius (1996) and Ressler et al. (1988) state that most serial killers do not suffer from mental pathology. They argue that most serial killers, when caught, feign mental pathology in order to escape a harsh prison sentence. An example of this malingering can be found in the case of Kenneth "Hillside Strangler" Bianchi. Bianchi, after being caught, claimed to be suffering from a disassociative identity disorder. After careful examination of his residence, it was found that he kept books on the diagnosis of this disorder. A hypnotherapist also found that Bianchi was simulating symptoms that he thought people suffering from this disorder should exhibit. In the Bianchi case the malingering did succeed and he was sentenced to death.

Another problem related to serial homicide is that, although it makes up a small percentage of all violent crime, the media's over-reporting of and focus on these crimes, coupled with the stereotypical portrayal of such murderers as preternatural,

highly intelligent raving lunatics in films such as *Silence of The Lambs*, *Hannibal* and *Natural Born Killers* increases societal fear (Caputi, 1993). This fear, coupled with the perception that the law enforcement agencies can do nothing to stop a serial killer, often leads to vigilantism and violence. Two prime examples of incidents that gave rise to vigilantism and violence are the “Station Strangler” case in Mitchell’s Plain, South Africa and the “Son of Sam” murders in New York (USA). In the case of the “Station Strangler” the community started stoning the police station (Criminal Minds, SABC 2, 12 January 2003), while in the “Son of Sam” case individuals who acted in a suspicious fashion were assaulted by neighbourhood watch groups (Douglas & Olshaker, 1999). As previously discussed, and despite the current reactions to serial homicide, the phenomenon has plagued western society for more than 500 years. Due to this it is important to review serial homicide within its historical context.

1.3 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Serial murder is a contemporary description for a phenomenon that was previously described as *lust murder* (Jenkins, 1994). This concept was used as a result of the incorrect translation from the German word “*lustmörd*”, in which serial killing is equated with sexual sadism. Several contemporary authors state that, although sexual sadism may occur, it is not a *precondition* for serial homicide (Jenkins, 1994; Keeny & Heide, 1994; Turvey, 1999).

Serial murder is a phenomenon that has only become the focus of academic research and intensive investigations by law enforcement officials over the past 50 years. As a unique phenomenon it can, however be traced back to fifteenth century France. A French nobleman, Gilles de Rais, was charged with the murder and sexual brutalising of 40 peasant boys. In this a sexual motive was given as the only explanation for his crimes. Today it is realised that de Rias was the first recorded serial killer in history (Hickey, 1991). In England the most notorious and well-known serial killer of all time was “Jack the Ripper”. During the nineteenth century he stalked the streets of London, and brutally raped, killed and dismembered prostitutes while taunting the police with letters. The reason why “Jack” is the most well known of all serial killers is that he was the first serial killer to make headlines in the media and to date represents the first serial homicide case that is still open and unsolved (Caputi, 1989; Rumbelow, 1988). Given the American and European history of serial homicide, the false assumption can be made that it is only an Amero-European

problem. However, South Africa also has a history of serial murder. The South African context as it relates to serial homicide will now be addressed.

1.4 SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Dr G.N Labuschagne, Head: Investigative Psychology Unit, South African Police Service (personal communication, 16 November 2003) affirms that there is not enough research regarding the personality development of the serial killer and emphasises that during the past 12 years (1992-2004) South Africa has had at least 50 serial killings. Labuschagne (1997, 2001) and Pistorius (1996) both point out that a limited number of studies on South African serial killers have been undertaken. Unofficially (in the academic and police community) South Africa has the second highest incidence of serial crimes (such as rape, murder and abduction) in the world (Pistorius, 2000). Due to the complex nature of South African crime statistics this statement cannot be confirmed or denied. Du Plessis (1998) states that from 1930 to 1997, there have been 33 serial killers in South Africa. The 33 South African serial killers he identified are listed below.

- **1930:** Unidentified
- **1956:** Elifasi “The Axe Murderer” Msomi; Unidentified
- **1960:** Elias “Pangaman” Xitavhudzi
- **1970:** “Iron Man”; John “Axeman” Kgabi
- **1980:** “Bergie killer”
- **1982:** Joseph Mahlangu
- **1983:** Cornelius Burger; Phillip Khehla Magoso
- **1986-1994:** “Station Strangler”
- **1988:** David Motshekgwa
- **1989:** Johannes Mashiane
- **1989-1992:** Jacobus Petrus Geldenhuys
- **1990:** Raymond Govensammy
- **1990-1996:** Steward Wilkin
- **1991-1993:** Moses Mokgety
- **1992:** “Cape Town/Prostitute serial killer”; Antonie Wessels
- **1994:** Mhlangwa Zidoke; Moses Sithole and David Selepe; “River Strangler”
- **1995:** “Nasrec serial killer”
- **1996:** John Frank Brown and Samuel Coetzee; Noland Edwards; Bonani

Mfeka

- **1997:** “Pheonix serial murderer”; Jan Adriaan van der Westhuizen; Cederick Maake; Nicolas Ncama; Unidentified

1.5 AIM OF STUDY

Serial homicide is a serious problem that has generated relatively few scientific studies. An extensive literature survey shows that at the University of Pretoria two Master’s (Du Plessis, 1998; Labuschagne, 1997) and two doctoral studies (Labuschagne, 2001; Pistorius, 1996) have been undertaken on the psychological development of serial killers and serial homicide. Information available internationally is more focussed on the different techniques used by serial killers to perpetrate their crimes than on underlying personality characteristics. In South Africa Pistorius (1996) undertook a psychoanalytically based study to investigate the possibility of profiling serial killers. After reviewing hundreds of case studies, she concludes that: “*serial homicide is a compulsion locked in the deepest levels of the psyche of these individuals*” (p.2). Based on her research she proposes a developmental model for serial homicide that incorporates the psychoanalytical theories of Sigmund Freud and Melanie Klein. In conclusion Pistorius (1996) recommends that these psychoanalytical theories should be used when undertaking research due to their effectiveness in explaining the *origin* of serial homicide.

Based on Pistorius’ recommendations, the analytic theories of Freud and Klein will be used in the current study to obtain an understanding of the intrapsychic process underlying serial homicide. Selected aspects of the psychoanalytic theory of Sigmund Freud and the object relation theory of Melanie Klein will be used. These theories will be used to analyse the data obtained from two serial killers’ background histories by means of a semi-structured interview and three psychometric tests. The primary focus of the research will thus be on the intrinsic factors (intrapsychic factors) which play a part in the development of the personality structure of the serial killer.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

The structure of the research project will in general consist of an analysis of background information of the selected individuals which will be gathered from one semi-structured personal interview, psychometric testing as well as from relevant sources in the literature. The information will be interpreted using the selected psychological theories described above and the data will then be analysed,

interpreted and tested against the following research questions: “**What is the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide?**”; “**What is the parent-child relationship like?**”; “**How does the parent-child relationship influence the object relations of the serial killer?**”; “**How does the parental relationship influence the serial killer’s interpersonal relationships?**”. This will determine the specific internalised factors that may have contributed to the eventual development of a serial killer’s personality.

1.7 VALUE OF STUDY

Limited international and national research concerning the intrapsychic process regarding serial killers exists (Bartol, 1999; Du Plessis, 1998; Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Labuschagne, 1997, 2001; Pistorius, 1996; Ressler et al., 1988). With the addition of this research, the current body of available research on South African serial killers will increase, and a clearer understanding of the intrapsychic processes and structures that have a direct influence on the development of the serial killer’s personality could be established. The research findings could also be used in subsequent research to formulate a more complete personality model that can be generalised to all serial killers. This insight might lead in turn to better detection and profiling of serial killers and also early intervention with children who show similar intrapsychic development. In the next section a chapter-by-chapter-overview will be given.

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following format will be used in this dissertation. In **Chapter 1** the statement of the problem and aim of the research has been set out. **Chapter 2** deals exclusively with the definition, classification and characteristics of serial killers and out of these categories the researcher will then formulate individual summaries as it relates to the research and the aforementioned categories. In **Chapter 3** different theories and approaches regarding the origin of serial homicide will be addressed, and the researcher will indicate whether these theories can explain or substantiate the personality development of the serial killer. **Chapter 4** will address the selected aspects of the theories of Freud and Klein that will be used in conducting this research. In **Chapter 5** the research method, design and psychometric tests that will be used in analysing the data will be discussed. **Chapter 6** focuses on the case

study of Mr. A. **Chapter 7** focuses on the case study of Mr. B. In **Chapter 8** the findings of the two case studies will be integrated, the extent to which the research questions were answered will be highlighted, recommendations for further research will be made and a conclusion regarding the research will be discussed.

1.9 SUMMARY

Serial homicide is a worldwide phenomenon which has generated a limited amount of academic and scientifically based research. Unlike other types of homicide, serial homicide seems to have no extrinsic motive but seems to be triggered by intrinsic psychological motives.

The aim of this study is to explore what intrapsychic psychological processes and development are necessary for a person to become a serial killer. This will be done using the theoretical frameworks of Freud and Klein and three psychometric tests. The researcher's intention is to provide an organised and coherent presentation of the personality development of the serial killer.

CHAPTER 2

DESCRIPTION OF SERIAL KILLERS

Why? + How? = Who
-John Douglas, on how to profile
a serial murderer, *The*
Anatomy of Motive

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The emphasis will fall exclusively on the description of serial killers. The description of serial killers will be subdivided into the definition, classification and characteristics of serial murder. All of these divisions will state the most recent findings of various authors regarding the phenomenon of serial homicide. Furthermore, after discussing the various researchers' views, the researcher will draw his own conclusion regarding the categories. It should be noted that the terms serial killing, serial murder and serial homicide will be used interchangeably throughout the dissertation.

2.2 DEFINITION OF SERIAL KILLERS

Various authors (Liebert, 1985) are of the opinion that serial killing should not be part of general psychological discourse. Instead they believe it should be part of the domain of sociology and law. This may account for the lack of definitions of serial murder in the psychological literature and that it is confused with terms such as spree killing and mass murder (Ansevics & Doweiko, 1991; Snyman, 1992). There are, however, distinct spatial and temporal dimensions distinguishing the aforementioned types of murder. To avoid confusion it is necessary to define mass murder, spree killing and serial homicide individually.

Mass murder occurs when a person commits multiple acts of murder in a brief period of time and in one place (Jenkins, 1994; Lane & Gregg, 1992; Levin & Fox, 1991; Leyton, 1986). A South African example of a mass murderer is the "Wit wolf" killings on Strijdom Square, Pretoria. Barend "Wit wolf" Strijdom, at random shot at and killed African individuals on a public square. **Spree murder** is characterised by

killing several people over a short period, whether it be hours, days or weeks, at different locations (Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Lane & Gregg, 1992). Willem Meyer (of Johannesburg) was a prime example of a spree killer. He shot and killed his girlfriend and her housemates in her home. He then picked up his wife and children, took them to a hotel, and murdered them the following day. Afterwards he fled and three days later he committed suicide.

Defining serial homicide is complex. After extensive research regarding the definition of serial homicide, the researcher found that most definitions incorporated the following: general characteristics of the perpetrator, spatial and temporal dimensions, sexual motivation and “combination”. In the following subsection definitions regarding general characteristics will be argued.

2.2.1 General characteristics of the perpetrator

Holmes and De Burger (1988) do not define serial homicide, but instead list the following characteristic of the perpetrator. (i) The central element is repetitive homicide. (ii) The murder is usually one-on-one. (iii) The victim is generally a stranger. (iv) The motivation for the murder is intrinsic (psychological). (v) The motivation is murder and not passion, and also does not stem from the victim’s participation.

This is the most complete description of the general characteristics associated with serial killers. Criticism (Pistorius, 1996) of this list of characteristics is that: The motivation for committing serial murder does not fully explain why most serial homicides have a sexual undertone or why serial murder consists of repetitive murder.

2.2.2 Spatial and temporal dimensions

Leyton (1986) emphasises that the time difference between serial homicide and mass murder forms the basis for the distinction between them. Serial homicide refers to murders committed *over a period of time*, while mass murder is committed during *one episode*. The motive for both types of homicide is societal failure. Leibman (1989) defines a serial killer as a person who kills several people, generally in the same area, over a short space of time. Although this definition supports Leyton’s point of view it is open to criticism. According to Pistorius (1996) the question arises

as to why some people become serial killers or mass murderers while others do not despite being exposed to the same circumstances.

2.2.3 Sexual motivation

According to Cameron and Frazer (1987) serial homicide is a deviation of sex murder. Their definition of a serial killer is a man (with a few exceptions) who murders *sexual objects*. These sexual objects could be women, children or other men for example Jeffrey Dahmer's sexual "objects" were young coloured men and Stuart "Boetie Boer" Wilkins's 'objects' were coloured woman and male and female children. According to these researchers the murders are characterised by sexual assault, rape, torture and mutilation. Hollin (1989) who concurs with this statement regards serial homicide as being a type of mass murder, committed over a period of time, with sexual elements to the crime. He specifies that the victims are tortured and/or sexually assaulted before they are murdered. Druksteinis (1992) further states that serial killers are people who kill repeatedly and that the motivation for the murders is the *sexual element* it offers. According to Druksteinis (1992) the sexual element of the crime varies depending on its *meaning* to the offender. In other words, that which signifies womanhood may differ radically between killers. A prime example of what is meant by this statement is the cases of Theodore "Ted" Bundy and David "Son of Sam" Berkowitz. Whereas Berkowitz shot and killed woman at random, Bundy selected blond college woman for his murderous compulsion. The definition of Hollin (1989) and Druksteinis is nearly the same as the definition proposed by Cameron and Frazer (1987).

Criticism of these definitions (Pistorius, 1996), is that a serial killer is not a type of mass murderer and that not all victims are tortured or sexually assaulted **before** they are killed. Stuart Wilkins, **after** killing some of his victims, performed necrophilia (on his daughter) and cannibalism (ate the nipples of an African sex worker).

2.2.4 Combination definitions

A combination definition will include definitions and characteristics from existing definitions and criteria of serial murderers. To avoid confusion it needs to be stressed these definitions will include certain aspects of the previously mentioned categories (characteristics of perpetrator, spatial and temporal dimensions as well as sexual motivation).

Ressler and Shachtman (1993) define a serial killer as a person or persons who kill more than three victims, during more than three events, at three or more locations, with a cooling-off period in between. Furthermore there is also premeditated planning and fantasy present before, during and after the murder.

Pistorius (1996), former head of the South African Police Service Investigative Psychology Unit, defines a serial killer as follows:

A serial killer is a person who murders several victims, usually strangers, at different times and not necessarily at the same location, with a cooling-off period in between. The motive is intrinsic; an irresistible compulsion fuelled by fantasy which may lead to torture and/or sexual abuse, mutilation and necrophilia. (p.6)

According to Turvey (1999) serial homicide can be described as two or more related cases involving the murdering of individuals. He believes that serial homicide is behaviour that expresses a personal need of the offender. Furthermore, serial homicide could be characterised by sexualised behaviour and motives that are expressed in the committing of the murders. Whereas serial homicide generally results in the death of the victims the possibility also exists that victims could escape. Although no one is killed in these instances it forms part of the offender's attempt to carry out a serial murder. Thus victims who successfully escaped the offender cannot be excluded when considering the definition of serial murder.

2.2.5 Operational definition

For the purpose of this study the following operational definition will be used:

A serial killer is a person who kills or tries to kill two or more victims, usually strangers, at different times and at different locations, with a cooling-off period between the murders. The motive is psychological (intrinsic). The victims might be tortured, sexually abused and/or mutilated and the serial killer might also participate in necrophilia and cannibalism. The killings are intensified by a fantasy element unique to each killer and the act of serial homicide is behaviour that expresses a personal need of the offender.

This definition is based on the definitions of Pistorius (1996), Ressler & Shachtman

(1993) and Turvey (1999). The researcher added “two or more victims”, as a serial killer could be apprehended after two murders (Pistorius, 1996; Turvey, 1999). In the next section the classification of serial killers will be addressed.

2.3 CLASSIFICATION OF SERIAL KILLERS

Although serial killers are rare and unique with respect to the type of crime they commit, some researchers believe that they can be divided and classified according to distinct categories (Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Jeffers, 1993; Lane & Gregg, 1992; Leibman, 1989; Ressler & Shachtman, 1993). These categories include the following: general aspects, descriptive model and ego classification as well as the organised and disorganised classification model.

2.3.1 General characteristics

Lane and Gregg (1992) identified certain characteristics of serial killers.

- (i) There is usually a high degree of aggression and unnecessary violence directed at the victim and the victim is subjected to gratuitous brutality.
- (ii) The murders are repetitive, increasing or decreasing over time, which could be weeks or years and will continue until the offender is caught, dies or commits suicide.
- (iii) Modern technology enables offenders to leave the crime scene before the murder is discovered.
- (iv) The murder is usually one-on-one.
- (v) The victim and offender are usually strangers to each other, and the possibility is not excluded that the killer may stalk the victim.
- (vi) Although a pattern may be discernible regarding the *modus operandi* and victim selection, the motive is seldom known.

2.3.2 Descriptive model

Holmes and De Burger (1988) adopt a descriptive model, which consists of four category typologies and four interdependent classification factors. The four category typologies regarding motive are set out below.

- (i) A **Visionary type** murder occurs on the orders of someone/something else for example God or the Devil. An example of a visionary type serial killer is that of David Mmbenga known as the “Lovers Lane killer”.

Mmbenga believed he was ordered by God to exact vengeance on sexually active couples courting in a “Lovers Lane”.

- (ii) A **Mission orientated** murder is carried out according to a mission, that is to kill all blonde women or to kill all prostitutes. An example of a mission-orientated serial killer is Peter Suthcliff the “Yorkshire Ripper”. Suthcliff murdered prostitutes because he thought that the world would be better without sex workers.
- (iii) **Hedonistic type.** These types strive for pleasure and are thrill seeking. They feel that people are objects they can use for their own enjoyment. These serial murderers gain considerable pleasures from the murder event itself. An example of hedonistic serial killers are Leonard Lake and Charles Ng. They abducted women, forced the abductees to work as slaves, repeatedly raped and sexually tortured them and finally murdered them.
- (iv) **Power/control type.** These types need to have complete life-and-death control over their victims. Sexual elements may or may not be present, but the primary motive is having complete power over the helpless victim. Dr Harold (“Dr. Death”) Shipman of the United Kingdom (UK) is classified as a power/control type serial killer. He murdered 15 elderly patients because it made him feel important, powerful and omnipotent when he confronted the victims’ families with the news of their deaths.

Meta theoretically the four categories for classification can be summarised as follows:

- (i) **Background of behaviour** psychological, sociogenic and biological factors.
- (ii) **Victimology** victim characteristics, choice and victim relationship with offender.
- (iii) **Pattern and method** including planning of crime and whether crime was organised or disorganised.
- (iv) **Location of the murders** including whether the murder scene was concentrated or dispersed.

2.3.3 Ego function classification

According to Leibman (1989) there is a distinct difference in the ego function of serial killers in that most fall into one of three ego function categories as these functions relates to psychodynamic theory. These categories are the psychotic, ego-syntonic

and ego-dystonic serial killer. The **psychotic** killer murders as a result of a mental disorder or condition and is not in contact with reality. The **ego-syntonic** killer is able to murder without any disruption of his/her ego function. The ego and superego of this killer are in accord with each other. Thus the crime of murder is acceptable to the killer. The **ego-dystonic** killer disassociates himself on a conscious level from the killings. The impulse to murder is unacceptable to the ego. Despite the fact that the ego dystonic killer is able to disassociate from the crime he does not suffer from any disassociative disorders (e.g. ego-dystonia is prevalent in narcissistic personality disorder). However, Pollock (1995), reports that on the basis of a case study he undertook dissociation only occurred during the first two murders, but was absent during subsequent murders. This implies that the ego structure of the serial killer could be either ego-syntonic or ego-dystonic or change from ego-dystonic to ego-syntonic.

2.3.4 Organised and disorganised classification model

Ressler and Shachtman (1993) classify serial killers into two categories, namely the organised and the disorganised serial killer. They attribute the following characteristics to the **organised serial killer**.

- (i) The crime scene is neat. The murder is planned and increases in effectiveness with each murder. Fake clues may be left to confuse investigators. If a vehicle is used it would be in good running condition, to avoid arrest. A weapon is taken to, and then removed from, the scene.
- (ii) Victims are selected according to certain characteristic, which have a specific meaning to the killer, and are then stalked. Some form of confidence trickery is used to gain the victims' trust. The victim retains his/her humanity and the offender interacts with the victim. Sexual abuse or rape is committed *before* the victim is killed. The clothing of the victim may be removed and/or the victim may be mutilated to avoid recognition. "Trophies" or "souvenirs" such as pieces of clothing (e.g. underwear) or other inanimate objects are taken from the victim. The body may be hidden or destroyed to avoid arrest.
- (iii) The serial killer is confident, attractive, has a superiority complex and has a skilled occupation. He may have short-term sexual relations with a partner, but not a long-term emotionally fulfilling relationship. This murderer may also be married. A *stress factor* precipitates the first murder. This person is likely to keep newspaper clippings of the murders

and will follow the murder case in the media.

- (iv) Organised murders suggest psychopathy.
- (v) Fantasy is the inspiration for the murder.
- (vi) The *modus operandi* (MO) is flexible and the killer is mobile.

According to Jeffers (1993) the **organised serial killer's crime scene** is as follows.

- (i) The murder is precipitated by aggression. The killer personalises the victim and demands that the victim be submissive. To achieve this the killer uses restricting methods such as ropes or handcuffs.
- (ii) The murder is usually a planned attack and the victim is generally a stranger. The killer is likely to move the body to different locations or the body may be hidden or dumped.
- (iii) The weapon is absent from the crime scene.
- (iv) The crime scene reflects control.

Jeffers believes that the following **personality characteristics** could be associated with the **organised serial killer**.

- (i) The killer has a high order of birth and has an average or high intelligence. The killer's father had stable employment. The killer is socially competent and prefers schooled labour. While growing up the killer had inconsistent discipline. The killer lives with a partner.
- (ii) Precipitating stress occurs before the murder.
- (iii) The killer usually uses alcohol before the murder, but reflects a controlled mood during the murder.
- (iv) The killer follows the news on the case.

According to Jeffers (1993) the **disorganised serial killer's crime scene** reflects specific features.

- (i) The victim's are selected at random and the killer spontaneously attacks a victim. The killer depersonalises the victim and uses no or minimal methods to restrict the victim.
- (ii) Sudden violence is directed at the victim and the sexual deed take place after the murder (necrophilia).
- (iii) The crime scene is chaotic. The killer leaves the displayed body and murder weapon at the crime scene.

The **personality characteristics** set out below are associated with the

disorganised serial killer.

- (i) The killer has a low order of birth and has a below average intelligence. The killer's father had unstable employment and was a strict disciplinarian. The killer is socially inept and prefers unschooled labour. Due to his social ineptness the killer lives alone.
- (ii) The killer experiences minimal stress before the murder.
- (iii) Whereas no or little alcohol is used before the murder the killer is anxious during the commission of the murder.
- (iv) The killer has no or little interest in news coverage of the murder.

For the purpose of this dissertation the classification of serial killers is summarised as follows: serial killers fall into two distinct but not mutually exclusive categories namely, organised and disorganised. Most serial killers can further be classified into four interdependent typologies regarding the motive for the murder. These four typologies are (i) visionary (ii) mission orientated (iii) hedonistic and (iv) power/control. These four typologies are governed by the behavioural background of the offender, the victimology, the pattern and method used by the offender to commit the murders and the location of the murders.

For the purpose of the research, the serial killer's ego structure could be ego-syntonic or ego-dystonic. Both types of serial killers show a high degree of aggression, while victims are subjected to unnecessary violence and brutality. The murders are repetitive, increasing or decreasing over time. The offender will continue with the crime until he is caught, dies or commits suicide.

The disorganised serial killer is a person with a below average intelligence, is socially inept and prefers unschooled labour. He lives alone and is unable to form any social bonds. The killer has a low order of birth and comes from a family background where the father had unstable employment. He experienced strict or excessive discipline while growing up. There is usually no or minimal stress before the murder take place and little or no alcohol is used before the murder. During the murder the killer feels anxious. The killer has no or little interest in news coverage of the case. The crime scene is usually chaotic. Victims are selected at random and then spontaneously attacked. They are depersonalised although no or minimal restrictions are used. However, violence is directed suddenly at the victim. Sexual deeds take place after the murder and the murder weapon is left at the scene. The body is displayed and left at the murder scene. Thus no effort is made by to hide the crime and body.

Fantasy is the blueprint for both the organised and disorganised serial killer's while committing the homicide.

In the next section the characteristics of all serial killers will be reviewed. The aim is to show what developmental influences are common to all serial killers.

2.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF SERIAL KILLERS

The characteristics of serial killers are as important as the definition and classification of the phenomenon. For this reasons an exposition is given of the characteristics of serial killers.

Ressler and Shachtman (1993) describe the general characteristics of serial killers as follows: Not all serial killers come from dysfunctional homes or impoverished families. Their intelligence quotient varies from below 90 (below normal) to above 120 (slightly above-average). One or both parents were involved in crime while more than half of the cases support pathology in the immediate family. In more than 70% of the cases substance and/or alcohol abuse is present in the offender's immediate family. All serial killers had been exposed to excessive abuse (emotional, psychological and/or sexual abuse) during childhood. The serial killers describe their relationship with their mothers as cold and distant. More than half of the serial killers' fathers were physically absent during their childhood. Parental discipline was slack and no boundaries were set for them as children. In 40% of the cases they were subjected to physical abuse as children. More than 70% of serial killers witnessed, or were the victims of, sexually stressful events during childhood. Their academic achievements were weak, despite the high intelligence of some serial killers. Antisocial tendencies surfaced in most of the serial killers at an early age. Examples of such behaviour are the use of dangerous weapons, abuse of animals, theft and arson. Serial killers tend to act out their fantasies during adolescence by injuring animals. Daydreaming, compulsive masturbation, lies, enuresis and nightmares prevailed during adolescence. All serial killers grew up lonely and isolated and had no one who could share their emotions. Isolation lasted through the latency phases. They avoided their peers and social gatherings and preferred auto-erotic sexual activities instead of heterosexual exploration. Most serial killers continued with these auto-erotic sexual activities and some developed voyeurism and fetishism during adolescence. All serial killers have had a poor employment record and were unable to stabilise. Serial killers have hardly ever committed to a long-term emotional

relationship with a partner.

Ansevics and Doweiko (1991) state the following regarding the characteristics of serial killers:

- (i) Their societal adjustment was poor, while violent/sadistic fantasies occurred frequently during adolescence. They held puritanical attitudes towards sex and paradoxically viewed females within the “Madonna-whore” dichotomy. A history of dating in high school is lacking and their first sexual experiences only occurred after they had left school. All wrote melodramatic love poetry during adolescence, which continued into adulthood. They had histories of exhibitionism, cross-dressing and/or sexual fetishes.
- (ii) All were their mothers’ favourite sons.
- (iii) Violent pornography was frequently watched and rapes were committed prior to the start of their career as murderer.
- (iv) Rejection by a significant adulthood lover often preceded their decompensation.

Lane and Gregg (1992) found the following characteristics:

- (i) Illegitimate birth and head injuries or injuries during birth; signs of genetic disorders, which manifest in biomedical symptoms such as epilepsy.
- (ii) Loss of memory and inability to tell the truth; hypersexuality and abnormal sexual behaviour, a history of substance abuse and violent behaviour.
- (iii) Feelings of helplessness and incompetence.
- (iv) Mental stability that masks mental illness, compulsivity and ritualistic behaviour.
- (v) Periodic cry for help and suicidal ideation.

Based on the findings of various authors, Snyman (1992) compiled the following characteristics derived from the profile of a person who will commit serial homicide.

- (i) An abused, deprived childhood, characterised by unfair, harsh and inconsistent punishment, as well as an overbearing mother and an absent or weak father (Holmes & De Burger, 1988).
- (ii) Lack of self-worth and low self-esteem stemming from a disadvantaged background; this is compounded by being shy, introverted and unable to establish healthy peer relationships (Levin & Fox, 1991).
- (iii) Excessive fantasising about violence and the control of other people; this

starts at an early age and is characterised by acting out these fantasies on animals and toys. This behaviour continues throughout childhood and is eventually carried into adulthood, where it is integrated into the pattern of murder (Leyton, 1986).

- (iv) An inability to maintain meaningful and lasting relationships, on both social and sexual levels; this is marked by poor early child-parent relationships; and a fear of failing in heterosexual relationships, and an inability to form close personal relationships due to excessive fantasising (Leyton, 1986).
- (v) A fascination with hard-core pornography and sadistic sexual behaviour; thoughts and fantasies dwell on sex and violence, while fantasies may be fuelled by pornographic material to such an extent that some of the scenes are acted out (Sears, 1991).
- (vi) Psychopathy, or characteristics thereof, are displayed, including persistent lying, lack of guilt feelings, absence of a conscience, inability to show remorse, disregard of societal norms and values, being highly manipulative, having no pity for the victim and experiencing a craving to have control over others (Egger, 1984).
- (vii) Self-centredness is vividly displayed in the enjoyment and indulgence of the media sensation, which follows his apprehension (Leyton, 1986).
- (iix) A charming, “normal” personality is displayed with an above-average intelligence and a marked absence of delusions, hallucinations and gross pathology (Leyton, 1986).
- (ix) Drug and alcohol use before committing the murder serves commonly as a disinhibitor for brutalisation (Leyton, 1986).
- (x) There is excessive travelling in search of suitable victims or in order to confuse the police (Holmes & De Burger, 1988).
- (xi) There is also an obsessive fascination with the police, their uniforms, badges and handcuffs, their investigation of the murders with the killer often posing as a police official (Leyton, 1986).

Levin & Fox (1991), Ressler and Shachtman (1993) and Rumbelow (1988) discovered that some serial killers perpetrate their maiden murder after a period of fantasy incubation. Isolation experienced by the serial killers serves as an incubation period for their fantasies. Levin and Fox (1991) state that the killer’s violence increases with every killing. Jeffers (1993) claims that most serial killers are not apprehended and that a sudden break in murders in an area could be attributed to a

total mental breakdown, prison sentence, natural death, suicide, institutionalisation or the fact that the killer moved to a new area.

Ressler and Shachtman (1993) also found that some serial killers return to the crime scene to relive the fantasy. Furthermore, serial killers are inclined to take photographs of and/or souvenirs from the victims. Serial killers also report that they usually masturbated while reliving the crime. Ressler & Shachtman (1993) believe that the prognosis for serial killers is poor and the researchers express doubt as to whether the killers could ever be rehabilitated. The lack of opportunity to establish meaningful interpersonal relationship in correctional institutions further contributes to the poor prognosis.

For the purpose of this research the characteristics of the serial killer are summarised as follows:

- (i) There is a lack of self-worth, low self-esteem and feelings of isolation and helplessness. The feeling of isolation continues through the latency phase contributing to the killer being unable to establish healthy peer relations. Auto-erotic sexual activities in preference to heterosexual/homosexual relationships could be the result of most serial killers having witnessed or having been the victim of sexually stressful events during childhood
- (ii) Their childhood was characterised by abuse and inconsistent and unfair punishment.
- (iii) The maternal relationship was cold and distant, despite being the mothers' favourite child, while simultaneously the father figure was weak or absent.
- (iv) Intelligence is slightly above average to high average (Wechsler Intelligence Scale IQ score between 110 and 130) but academic achievement is weak.
- (v) Psychopathic characteristics such as a lack of guilt and remorse, a disregard of societal norms and a compulsion to control others are present.
- (vi) Hypersexuality and abnormal sexual behaviour is characterised by fascination with hardcore pornography and sadistic sexual behaviour. In some instances sexual fetish or other paraphillia may also be present. Serial killers have puritanical attitudes towards sex and paradoxically see woman within the "Madonna-whore" dichotomy.

- (vii) The personality is a charming, “normal” personality that hides mental instability and has a fantasy life that is typified by aggressive sexual fantasies. A high degree of suicidal ideation is found to be present in serial killers
- (viii) Most serial killers show what is known as the serial killer triad while growing up, namely: bed wetting, cruelty to animals or arson.
- (ix) Compulsivity and ritualistic behaviour is found in serial killers.
- (x) The isolation experienced by serial killers serves as an incubation period for their fantasies. After the incubation period the killer will start to live out his fantasies actively.
- (xi) Serial killers are inclined to take photographs of, or souvenirs from, the bodies of their victims. The violence used to subdue and kill the victim increases with every murder. They usually masturbate while reliving the crime.
- (xii) A sudden break in the murders could be attributed to a total mental breakdown, a prison sentence for another crime (usually theft or attempted rape), natural death, suicide or that the killer had moved to another area. Serial killers will only stop murdering if caught or when they die. Serial killers have a poor prognosis for rehabilitation.

2.5 SUMMARY

In this the concept of serial homicide as well as contextual aspects related to serial murder are addressed. Defining serial homicide is a complex task. After extensive research regarding the definition of serial homicide, the researcher found that most definitions could be classified into the following categories: general characteristics of perpetrator, spatial and temporal dimensions, sexual motivation and a combination of all the aforementioned categories. The author also formulates an operational definition to be used in the study through the use of the definitions formulated by Pistorius (1996), Ressler et al., (1993) and Turvey (1999).

For the purpose of this dissertation the classification of serial killers will be summarised as follows: serial killers fall into two distinct but not mutually exclusive categories namely **organised** and **disorganised**. Most serial killers can further be classified into four interdependent typologies regarding the motive of the serial killer. These four typologies are (i) visionary (ii) mission orientated (iii) hedonistic and (iv) power/control. These four typologies are governed by the behavioural background of

the offender, the victimology, the pattern and method used by the offender to commit the murders and the location of these murders.

The summary regarding the **organised** serial killer is as follows: A person with an average to high intelligence who is confident, attractive, and socially competent and has a superiority complex. The killer has a high order of birth and the killer's father had stable employment but the killer experienced inconsistent discipline while growing up. The killer has a skilled occupation and abides with a partner. The killer may be married or have a partner but cannot commit to a long-term emotionally fulfilling relationship. There is usually precipitating stress before the murder and the killer usually uses alcohol before committing the murder. Organised murders suggest psychopathy. The killer will follow the news of the case and would leave fake clues to confuse investigators. The crime scene is usually neat. The victims are selected to certain characteristics and then are stalked. Sexual abuse or rape is committed before the victim is murdered. Objects are taken from the victim and the body may be hidden or destroyed to avoid arrest.

The disorganised serial killer can be summarised as: a person with a below average intelligence is socially inept and prefers unschooled labour. The killer lives alone and is unable to form any social bonds. The killer has a low order of birth and the killer's father had unstable employment. The killer experienced strict or excessive parental discipline while growing up. There is usually no or minimal stress before the murder and there is a minimum use of alcohol before the murder. During the murder the killer has an anxious mood. The killer has none or little interest in news coverage of the case. The crime scene is usually chaotic. The victim is selected at random and then spontaneously attacked. The killer depersonalises the victim, and uses none or minimal methods to restrict the victim. However, there is usually sudden violence directed at the victim. Sexual deeds take place after the murder and the murder weapon is left at the scene. The body is displayed and left at the murder scene. No effort is made by the killer to hide the crime. **Fantasy** is the inspiration for both the organised and disorganised serial killer while committing the homicide.

For the purpose of the research, the serial killers ego structure could be ego-syntonic or ego-dystonic. Both types of serial killers have a high degree of aggression and the victims are subjected to unnecessary violence and brutality.

Researchers have reached a consensus regarding the general features

characterising a serial killer. For the purpose of this research the characteristics regarding serial killers will be summarised as follows:

- **Home Background and Parental characteristics**

Serial killers experienced a cold distant maternal relationship, paradoxically they are their mothers' favourite children and all serial killers had a weak, absent or physically abusive father figure. They also experienced an abused deprived childhood with inconsistent and unfair punishment. One or both parents were involved in crime while more than half of the cases support pathology in the immediate family. In most of the case histories substance and/or alcohol abuse is present in the offenders immediate family

- **History of Abuse**

Most serial killers witnessed or were the victim of sexually stressful events during childhood. All serial killers were exposed to excessive abuse, whether it was emotional, psychological and/or sexual abuse during childhood.

- **Intellect and Academic achievement**

Their average intelligence is low to high average intelligence (Wechsler Intelligence Scale IQ score between 110 and 130) but weak academic achievement is usually documented.

- **Childhood behaviour and Psychopathology**

Most serial killers' antisocial tendencies surfaced at an early age. This tendencies manifested in such acts as theft and arson, abuse of animals and the use of dangerous weapons. Most serial killers had one of what is known as the serial killer triad while growing up namely: bed wetting, cruelty to animals or arson. All serial killers grew up lonely and isolated and this isolation lasted through their latency phases. This isolation also means that the serial killer is unable to establish healthy peer relations. They avoided their peers and social gatherings and preferred auto-erotic sexual activities instead of hetero or homosexual exploration. They had no history of dating in high school and only had their first sexual experiences after school. Most serial killers continued with their auto-erotic sexual activities and some developed voyeurism and fetishism during adolescence.

- **Adult behaviour and Antisocial practices**

Serial killers have a lack of self- worth, low self-esteem and feelings of isolation and

helplessness. However, they project a charming, “normal” personality that hides their mental instability. They also have a fantasy life that is typified by aggressive sexual fantasies. A high degree of suicidal ideation is also found to be present in serial killers. Also found among all serial killers is a presence of psychopathy which is characterised by the lack of guilt and remorse, the total disregard of societal norms and a compulsion for control over other people. Most killers have hyper sexuality and abnormal sexual behaviour characterised by a fascination with violent, hardcore pornography and sadistic sexual behaviour. Some sort of sexual fetish or paraphillia is also present. However, they have puritanical attitudes towards sex and see woman within the “Madonna-whore” dichotomy. Compulsivity and ritualistic behaviour is found in most serial killers. The isolation experienced by serial killers serves as an incubation period for their fantasies. After the incubation period the killers will start to actively live out he fantasies. They are inclined to take photographs or souvenirs from the bodies of their victims. The violence used to subdue and kill the victim increases with every murder. They also state that they usually masturbate while reliving the crime. In most cases a sudden break in the murders could be attributed to a total mental breakdown, prison sentence for another crime (usually theft or attempted rape), natural death, suicide or that the killer moved to another area. A serial killer will only stop murdering if caught or when they die. Serial killers have a low prognosis for rehabilitation.

In Chapter 3 a literature review relating to different theoretical views regarding serial homicide will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE SURVEY

*It is a natural failing of man to be
pleased with his own
inventions*
-Thomas More, *Utopia*

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will highlight what is theoretically known about serial murder and will academically debate how different approaches view this phenomenon. Different psychological perspectives are provided in this literature survey. The theories and approaches that will be addressed are the psychosocial theories, learning theory, motivational model, fantasy approach, neurological theory, psychopathological diagnosis, post-modern theories, feminist approach and the paranormal/demonological approach. In the next subsection the psychosocial approach will be presented.

3.2 PSYCHOSOCIAL THEORIES*

Social and psychological deprivation seems consistent in the childhood of people who commit serial and mass murder. According to Egger (1984) people who commit serial murder seldom come from a loving and understanding environment. Instead the serial and mass murderers' environments are characterised by abuse, neglect, conflict, and lack of normal communication with a dependable part of the social world and without any systems for social or personal frames of reference. It should be noted that this theory would be subdivided into the subculture theory and the frustration-aggression theory. Both of these sub-theories will be briefly addressed.

The **subculture theory** states that children grow up in subcultures where through being a victim of, or witnesses to, violence, they learn that personal assaults are not wrong, deviant or antisocial (Egger, 1984). The difficulty with this theory is that not all identified people who commit serial homicide come from such extreme subcultural

*See De Wet (2004) for current research that uses psychosocial theories in explaining the personality development of the serial murderer.

backgrounds and that not everyone from such a background commits serial homicide.

According to the **frustration-aggression hypothesis** (Egger, 1984), aggression is not inherent but rather is triggered by the influence of particular environmental pressures. According to this theory the environment causes the frustration that leads to aggressive behaviour. For example, a person in an environment that is typified by starvation will be more likely to steal food or rob someone of food, than a person who does not have the same environmental background. Again, many people are exposed to environmental pressure but not everyone who experiences these stressors commits serial homicide.

3.3 LEARNING THEORY

De Hart and Mahoney (1994) state the following three developmental and learning theory approaches as possible explanations for serial homicide. These approaches are the conditioned fusion of sex and aggression, conditioned conscience and the social learning model.

3.3.1 Conditioned fusion of sex and aggression

This approach states that a cognitive fusion of sexuality and aggression may be attributed to traumatic sexual experiences where the person learns to anticipate sexuality as accompanying aggression and thus the two experiences are later viewed as inseparable. This fusion is reinforced and intensified in violent fantasies, which then results in intense sexual excitement (De Hart & Mahoney, 1994). According to this theory a person who commits serial homicide can, in theory, be “cured” through the construction of a conscience through the application of avoidant conditioning to violent stimuli or through the use of counter conditioning (De Hart & Mahoney, 1994).

3.3.2 Conditioned conscience

According to this approach, a person who commits serial homicide has never internalised the social norms and values necessary for “normal” behaviour. Therefore the serial killer lacks the inhibition against aggression. This is the result of direct reinforcement of aggression and the deficient conditioning of “normal” behaviour. This behaviour is moulded through the use of punishment, which

provokes an anxiety response, viewed as the person's conscience (De Hart & Mahoney, 1994).

According to this theory the learning of societal norms should supersede the learning of cultural norms. This approach further states that the reason why serial killers experience profound isolation and alienation is that they lack the social conditioning for lasting social interaction (De Hart & Mahoney, 1994).

3.3.3 Social learning model

This model is based on the research done by Bandura. It can be viewed on micro as well as meso level. Dehart and Mahoney (1994) are of the opinion that the meso level institutions influence the micro level as well as vice versa. According to this model, media (meso level) depiction of violent sexuality and aggression may increase the viewer's (micro level) capacity to commit such acts, especially if the viewer has already had such types of fantasies and thoughts. Disinhibition caused by the media might lead the person to act out the violent sexual fantasies and could also disseminate the violence-sex myth and supply perceived reinforcement (De Hart & Mahoney, 1994).

Other learning theories explore the effect of exposing males to violent rape scenarios where the victim is depicted as aroused. Research by various authors indicates that this type of presentation creates a less negative view toward rape, and a greater capacity for persons to commit rape and display aggression towards woman (Donnerstein & Berkowits, 1981; Malamuth & Check, 1980).

After an extensive study of the case histories of people who committed murder; Ellis and Gullo (1971) found that the murderers had not been kindly treated by their parents, that there was a lack of emotional support and closeness to their parents and family, and that they had interpersonal relationships which were characterised as unusual and they landed into trouble either at school, vocationally or socially. A number of researchers (Ansevics & Doweiko, 1991; De River, 1958; Kramer, 1983; Lester & Lester; 1975) found that lack of affection, experiences of abuse and neglect were found in the childhood histories of those who committed murder.

This theory does not, however, differentiate between the development of the serial killer personality and the personality of a single episode murderer. Theoretically it

also fails to explain why people from such background do not commit serial homicide and why serial killers who do not have such a background commit serial homicide. The motivational model developed by Ressler et al. (1988) will now be stated.

3.4 MOTIVATIONAL MODEL

Ressler et al., (1988) interviewed 36 incarcerated serial killers and this material was then used as the basis for qualitative and quantitative research on sexual and serial homicide. Based on this research they designed a model to explain the cause of serial homicide. This model consists of the following five dimensions: (i) ineffective social environment; (ii) formative years; (iii) patterned responses; (iv) action towards others; (v) feedback. These five dimensions will now be discussed individually.

3.4.1 Ineffective social environment

According to Ressler et al. (1988), the serial killer's social bonding fails or becomes restricted due to the fact that his/her primary caretakers ignore, rationalise or normalise unacceptable behaviour exhibited by the child. According to these researchers the parents disregard the child's pathological behaviour. Jeffrey Dahmer's parents overlooked his drinking problems and the fact that he dissected insects and animals from an early age (Dahmer, 1995). The research also indicated that: (i) in about 70% of the cases drug and alcohol abuse was prevalent in the homes of the serial killers; (ii) more than half the families there were psychiatric problems; the mother was usually institutionalised for long periods of time. These psychiatric problems could be linked to aggression; and (iii) half of the serial killers' family members were involved in criminal activity, usually some sort of sexual crime.

Ressler et al. (1988) found that serial killers have inconsistent contact and dysfunctional relationships with their siblings while growing up. Due to this serial killers are usually remembered as loners during childhood.

Ressler et al. (1988) also discovered that the families of many of the serial killers were nomadic by nature. Only one third of the sample lived in one place. Due to the nomadic existence of these families, the serial killers were denied the opportunity to form close relationships outside the family. The families, due to this nomadic lifestyle, had minimal contact with any community, strengthening the isolation and

loneliness experienced by the serial killers as children. A large percentage (40%) of serial killers moved away from the nuclear family before they reached the age of 18.

The research also indicated that there were inconsistent and ineffective parental relationships. Ressler et al. (1988) found that the primary father figure moved away from the family before the serial killers reached the age of 12. The researchers concluded that the emotional absence of the father had a significantly negative effect on the development of the serial killer. According to the researchers (Ressler et al., 1988) if the father was present, but had a negative relationship with the child, this would also have had an immensely negative effect on the serial killer. The research also showed that the serial killers had ambivalent relationships with their mothers. The mother transmits double binding messages to the child, which the child cannot resolve and this leads to a subconscious love/hate relationship with the mother figure.

The research by Ressler et al. (1988) also found that serial killers were usually the eldest sons (see Chapter 2), which means that not only were their parents inadequate role models, but there were not any older siblings who could act as good role models. The parents of serial killers were often divorced and, when either the father or mother remarried, the child's birth order changed due to the additional stepsiblings. This change in the family structure could further confuse and isolate the serial killer.

Research (Ressler et al., 1988) also indicated that due to the lack of family cohesion serial killers seldom, if ever, formed close friendships with other children. Most school acquaintances of serial killers cannot even remember them. Nearly more than half of Dahmer's high school graduation class could not recollect him (Dahmer, 1995).

3.4.2 Formative years

According to Ressler et al. (1988) the trauma (emotional, physical and/or sexual abuse) a serial killer was exposed to usually occurred in or during the formative years. Due to the fact that the child is exposed to emotional, physical and/or sexual abuse a developmental failure arises in the child. This transpires due to the fact that the distress caused by the trauma is ignored or not perceived. The developmental deficiency could be the formation of negative social relationships or a decrease in the

child's ability to experience positive emotions and affect. Because of this, the child becomes desensitised to aggression, his/her role models are weak or defective and his/her interpersonal relationships lack depth.

Observing certain violent events such as sex, rape, murder or suicide could be considered *indirect* trauma. According to the researchers, the child remembers these images and they destabilise the child's impulse control. This leads to confusion regarding the responsibility for the trauma. Because of this confusion and the low impulse control, the child starts to fantasise about revenge at an early age (Ressler et al., 1988).

According to Ressler et al. (1988), parents, sibling, stepsiblings and stepparents were responsible for sexual abuse in the family. Outside the family sexual abuse was committed by the friends of the family, extended family members, and/or prison inmates when the serial killers were incarcerated as juveniles or as adults.

Ressler et al. (1988) also state that the abuse experienced by the serial killers was more subtle than was expected. Psychological abuse (through the use of humiliation) and inconsistent and abusive discipline was usually directed at the boys. In contrast female serial killers usually experienced sexual and physical abuse during childhood.

The researchers (Ressler et al., 1988) also conclude that violent and sexual experiences had a detrimental effect on the development of the serial killer's personality. The research on the 36 incarcerated serial killers here revealed a number of facts: (i) Some serial killers mutilated their genitals as atonement for "bad thoughts". (ii) Some serial killers observed homosexual acts between their peers. (iii) Some parents of the serial killers made insulting remarks about their sons' genitals. (iv) Six serial killers contracted a sexual infection during adolescence. (v) Nine of the 36 stated that they witnessed violent sex acts as children and/or upsetting sex acts between their peers. (vi) Eleven witnessed upsetting sex acts between other family members. (vii) Thirty two percent of the research group of serial killers were sexually abused as children. (viii) Thirty seven percent of serial killers were sexually abused after the age of 18. (ix) Forty three percent of serial killers were abused between the ages of 1 and 12.

The researchers also found that the sexual behaviour of serial killers was visually orientated and that they preferred auto-erotic (masturbation) activities. Ressler et al. (1988) also state that most abused children fantasise as a method of escaping the reality of the abuse. They state, however, that the serial killers do not fantasise about escaping the situation but rather fantasise about aggression and dominance. The serial killers' fantasies revolve around repeating what had happened to them, but rather than being the victim, the fantasy revolves around being the aggressor. The fantasy approach (see 3.5) will suggest how disinhibition of these violent fantasies could lead to the development of serial homicidal acts.

3.4.3 Patterned response

According to this dimension, the child's cognitive patterns are formed by the memories of upsetting and frightening life events. According to Ressler et al. (1988), the cognitive mapping of the serial killers is fixed, negative and repetitive. This type of mapping manifests itself in daydreams, fantasies, thoughts and nightmares that in some instances involve potent visual components.

According to the researchers (Ressler et al., 1988), when the fantasy reaches a point where it causes intolerable intrapsychic stress, the person will be ready to act out this fantasy. Ressler et al. (1988), also state that the serial killer will have already acted out these aggressive fantasies during the latency phase through the use of animals, plays or rehearsals. According to Ressler et al. (1988) the serial killers are also egocentric in their fantasies. They regard others as merely an extension of their intrapsychic realm. They reveal no grasp of the impact they have on others and do not regard others' needs as important.

3.4.4 Action towards others

This dimension states that serial killers' childhood years are typified by the way they act out their fantasies through their behaviour towards others. The repetitive pattern, as described in 3.3.3, manifests itself at an early age. The serial killer, by interacting with siblings, peers and the environment, starts to act out the fantasy. Researchers (Ressler et al. 1988) give the following example: Jeffrey Dahmer, the Milwaukee cannibal, started to dissect cats and other small animals at an early age (Dahmer, 1995).

3.4.5 Feedback filter

According to this dimension, the serial killers start to act out the fantasies that have developed through their childhood. According to Ressler et al., (1988), after the serial killer committed his first murder he crosses the line between the fantasy world and enters reality. The serial killer would justify his murders and would evaluate the mistakes made. According to the researchers each murder provides the serial killers with feedback on how to attain the perfect merger between fantasy and reality.

The motivational model has agreeable and logical points, but like the learning model and the psychosocial approach it does not explain why one sibling will become a serial killer while the other sibling becomes a decent member of society. Due to the fact that the motivational model and the fantasy approach has tangent theoretical points the researcher thought it necessary to include this approach directly after the motivational model.

3.5 FANTASY

Research done by MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood and Mills (1983) found that most sexual sadists were inspired by persistent sadistic masturbatory fantasies. The researchers also found that the sadists' sadistic acts corresponded with their sadistic fantasies and that the sadists' behaviour was moulded by their fantasies.

Other researchers found that the drive mechanism for serial homicide is an intrusive fantasy life. This intrusive fantasy life leads to higher levels of paraphilias among the serial killer population. These researchers also show that this intrusive fantasy life is marked by violent and/or sadistic fantasies. According to these researchers, once the restraints inhibiting the fantasies disintegrate, the individual is more likely to engage in several trials in order to enact the fantasy as it was imagined (Prentky, Wolbert-Burgess, Rokous, Lee, Hartman, Ressler & Douglas, 1989).

The fantasy approach states that repetitive violent and/or sadistic fantasy is the cornerstone for serial rape and homicide. It does not, however, explain why some individuals form sadistic and violent fantasies and becomes serial killers.

3.6 NEUROLOGICAL THEORY

According to the neurological theory serial killers suffer from brain injury, which causes them to murder strangers. Money (1990) claims that paraphiliac serial rape (biastophilia) and lust murder (erotophonophilia) are two forms of sadism that can be attributed to neurological damage. Money states that the part of the brain that is damaged is the limbic system. The **limbic system** is responsible for attack in defence of the self. In the case of sexual sadism, the brain is activated to transmit the signal for attack paired with the signal for sexual arousal. Money (1990) attributes this default in brain functioning to a brain tumour or injury. The researcher thus states that the contributing factors for sexual sadism are inherited vulnerability, hormonal malfunctioning and pathological relationships. According to the researcher (Money, 1990), when the afflicted person experiences a paraphiliac attack, the person's level of consciousness undergoes a change. In this change the afflicted person may change into a different personality (dissociative identity disorder).

The neurological theory as an approach in explaining the origin of serial homicide is deficient. Not all serial killers have brain damage nor do they all go into a dissociative state during the commencement of murder.

3.7 PSYCHOPATHOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS

Researchers (Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Jeffers, 1993; Ressler et al., 1988) consider the origin of serial homicide to be psychogenic. As previously stated, most serial killers can be diagnosed as suffering from antisocial tendencies.

3.7.1 Conduct Disorder and the antisocial personality disorder

According to Holmes and De Burger (1988), Jeffers (1993) and Ressler et al., (1988) the typical serial killer is not mentally disordered, but a lack of remorse can be attributed to a psyche that is socially defective. The authors (Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Jeffers, 1993; Ressler et al., 1988) agree that several criteria for antisocial personality disorder are applicable to some serial killers.

However, with data collected by Ressler et al., (1988) and the findings of the Motivational model (see 3.4), the serial killer as a child can be diagnosed as suffering from conduct disorder. According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)(American Psychiatric Association, 1994) the following criteria are necessary for such a diagnosis:

A repetitive and persistent pattern of behaviour in which the basics rights of other or major age-appropriate societal norms or rules are violated, as manifested by the presence of three (or more) of the following criteria in the past 12 months, with at least one criterion present in the past 6 months.

Aggression to people and animals

- (1) *Often bullies, threatens, or intimidates others.*
- (2) *Often initiates physical fights.*
- (3) *Has used a weapon that can cause serious physical harm to others (e.g., a bat, brick, broken bottle, knife, gun).*
- (4) *Has been physically cruel to people.*
- (5) *Has been physically cruel to animals.*
- (6) *Has stolen while confronting a victim (e.g., mugging, purse snatching, extortion, armed robbery).*
- (7) *Has forced someone into sexual activity.*

Destruction of property

- (8) *Has deliberately engaged in fire setting with the intention of causing serious damage.*
- (9) *Has deliberately destroyed others' property (other than by fire setting).*

Deceitfulness or theft

- (10) *Has broken into someone else's house, building or car.*
- (11) *Often lies to obtain goods or favours or to avoid obligations (i.e., "cons" others).*
- (12) *Has stolen items of nontrivial value without confronting a victim (e.g., shoplifting, but without breaking or entering; forgery).*

Serious violations of rules

- (13) *Often stays out at night despite parental prohibitions, beginning before the age of 13 years.*
- (14) *Has run away from home overnight at least twice while living in parental or parental surrogate home (or once without returning for a lengthy period).*
- (15) *Is often truant from school, beginning before the age 13 years.*

The disturbance in behaviour causes clinically significant impairment in social, academic, or occupational functioning. And if the person is 18 years of age or older, criteria are not met for antisocial personality disorder. (p. 90)

According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)(American Psychiatric Association, 1994) the following criteria are necessary for a diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder.

There is a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others occurring since the age of 15 years, as indicated by three (or more) of the following:

- (1) *failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviours as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest;*
- (2) *deceitfulness, as indicated by repeated lying, use of aliases, or conning others for personal profit or pleasure;*
- (3) *impulsivity or failure to plan ahead;*
- (4) *irritability and aggressiveness, as indicated by repeated physical fights or assaults;*
- (5) *reckless disregard for safety of self and others;*
- (6) *consistent irresponsibility, as indicated by repeated failure to sustain consistent work behaviour or honour financial obligations;*
- (7) *lack of remorse, as indicated by being indifferent to or rationalising having hurt, mistreated, or stolen from another.*

The individual is at least 18 years. There is evidence of conduct disorder with onset before age 15 years. The occurrence of antisocial behaviour is not exclusively during the course of schizophrenia or a manic episode. (p. 649)

The conduct disorder criteria that state that there should be physical cruelty towards animals and other people as well as forced sexual relations before the age of 15 are found in many serial killers. Some serial killers as children and adults also commit arson, which is a criterion for this personality disorder. Most serial killers take pieces of clothing or keepsakes from their victims. Most serial killers also have prior histories involving theft.

Aggression and violence are also found among all serial killers and are further characteristics of the antisocial personality and conduct disorder. Besides torturing their victims, most serial killers are also often involved in fights and physical abuse of woman (Jeffers, 1993).

An unstable employment record is commonly found in the case histories of most serial killers. Dahmer worked in a chocolate factory and was often truant from work (Dahmer, 1995; Schwartz, 1992).

The lack of remorse or guilt; which is most applicable to all serial killers; is another criterion for the conduct and antisocial personality disorder (Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Jeffers, 1993; Ressler et al., 1988). The problem with the conduct and antisocial personality disorder approach is that not all serial killers can be diagnosed with these types of disorders and not all people diagnosed with such disorders are serial killers. The post-modern theories regarding serial homicide will now be addressed.

3.8 POST-MODERN THEORIES

According to Jenkins (1994), the general systemic and post-modern theories have actually contributed little to the understanding of serial murder. These theories however, provide a systematic function of serial homicide in the system. These theories can be divided into the cybernetics approach and the systemic approach. The cybernetics approach is presented below.

3.8.1 Cybernetics

According to Simon, Stierlin and Wynne (1985), the two basic phases in cybernetics are homeostasis and morphogenesis. In **homeostasis** researchers are concerned with the stability of a system, and in **morphogenesis** the main focus is on creativity and the requirements for change in a system. The homeostasis and morphogenesis approach regarding serial murder/homicide will now be addressed.

3.8.1.1 Homeostasis and Morphogenesis

In terms of the homeostasis approach, serial homicide destabilises the system. According to this approach serial homicide, within the context of the social system it happens in, is not an acceptable cause of death for that social system. The concept of morphogenesis suggests that serial homicide mobilises the social system's creative potential to meet the requirements for change. Due to the physical and systemic threat serial murder poses to the social system, law enforcement agencies act to capture the offender.

In the cybernetics approach, serial murder can be seen as part of an internally interactive and recursive system, but serial homicide does not control the remainder of the system. According to this approach, serial homicide can only exist in the context of a larger, more complex system.

Other researchers (Lane & Gregg, 1992) consider the laxity of the system to be a contributing factor for serial homicide. Researchers (Herkov et al., 1994) also refer to vicarious victimisation. This proposes that this approach a whole community can be affected by the violence attributed to serial homicide, even though the actual violence only befalls a small percentage of people. This exposure can be attributed to such information sources as family, friends and the media. Accordingly, serial homicide is part of an internal interactive system, and serial homicide does not have unilateral control over any part of the system. Thus, serial homicide can only exist in the context of a larger system.

3.8.2 Systemic approach

The systemic approach focuses on how serial murder effects the social system in which it occurs. Every alteration in the system will in effect influence the members of

this system. Serial homicide threatens the social order, which is the system. This structural threat to the system forces the collective force (police and the judicial system) to react. This reaction of the system serves as a cohesive force within the system, which enables the system and its members to express their vengeance, and this in effect purges the system and its members from the threat (Wilkins, 1995). The problem with this approach is that it does not explain the origin of serial homicide.

3.9 FEMINIST APPROACH

The feminist paradigm supports the notion that all crimes should be viewed according to the belief system of the patriarchal society in which it happens. According to the feminists', the belief in male supremacy and male sexual dominance contributes to the use of sexual force against women. To gain clarity regarding the feminist approach, this approach will be subdivided into two subdivisions: general feminist approach and the feminist approach regarding serial homicide.

3.9.1 General feminist approach

Feminist theorists (Schaefer & Lamm, 1995) view gender differences as a reflection of the subjugation of one group (woman) by another group (men). Drawing on the work of philosophers and social theorists such as Marx and Engels, these theorists often view the oppression of woman as inevitable in all male dominated societies. As stated previously, the feminists believe that crime can only be explained if the belief system of the patriarchal society in which the crime is committed is taken into account. They also state that male supremacy and sexual dominance is a contributing factor in the use of force against woman. The feminist approach regarding serial homicide will now be reviewed.

3.9.2 Feminist approach regarding serial homicide

The feminists believe that serial murder has a strong underlying sexual-political factor (Caputi, 1989; 1993). Feminist researchers such as Caputi (1993) maintain that serial murder is constructed on the expression of the belief of male supremacy. According to other feminist writers (Paredes & Purdum, 1990; Wilkins, 1995) the media describes the male serial killer as a mythical anti-hero, and thus enforces the male dominance belief system.

Keeny and Heide (1994) criticise against the feminists' conception of male dominance. According to them, women commit one out of every six serial murders. They also state that most feminist authors neglect to mention this fact. They further assert that, due to the fact that women also commit serial homicide the argument of male dominance cannot be used to explain the origin of serial homicide. In the next subdivision the paranormal/demonological approach will be discussed.

3.10 PARANORMAL/DEMONOLOGICAL APPROACH

Lay persons hold the misconception that a serial killer's acts can be attributed to the work of the devil or demonic possession. The acts of the serial killers such as decapitation, mutilation and cannibalism are thought to be so "evil" that the serial killer must be possessed by a dark supernatural power. Calling such extremely sadistic acts, and the perpetrators of such acts, immoral, aggressive and destructive somehow does not seem to reflect the full horror felt by society. To address this misconception a psychological view regarding demonic possession will now be addressed.

3.10.1 Demonic possession

Ivey (1993) describes the following symptoms of demonic possession: (a) radical personality changes; (b) loss of self control; (c) auditory or visual hallucinations of demons; (d) blasphemy; (e) voice changes and; (f) dissociative states. It should be noted that none of these symptoms were ever recorded or mentioned in the available research regarding serial homicide.

Ivey (2002) also found that, although the concept of possession is a widely believed in, and this concept can easily be explained in terms of psychoanalysis. Ivey (2002) explains demonic possession with regard to object relations as the internalisation of the bad object that derives from a disturbed relationship between the child and its parental figures. Thus Ivey argues that all forms of "devil possession" should be seen as metaphors for bad internal objects mobilised by destructive instincts. Serial killers usually blame or justify their acts by believing that these acts are the work of the devil or a demonic entity and thus can be understood as bad internalised object

relations that lead the killers to commit such sadistic acts. The paranormal approach will now be considered.

3.10.2 Paranormal approach

In the book, *Every Breath you Take: Stalking Narratives and the Law*, Kamir (2001) states that since the dawn of time humans have been preoccupied with myths and the occult. In alluding to serial killers proposes that all myths relating to the acts of vampires and werewolves can be viewed as the acts of serial killers. One could argue that in an age when there was no knowledge of serial killers, finding a mutilated body could lead the superstitious populous to believe that some sort of devil (or vampire or werewolf) must be to blame.

The problem with both of these approaches is that they do not state the origin of serial homicide. The research of Ivey (2002) attempts to explain the concept of evil and demonic possession psychologically. The work of Kamir (2001), regarding the origin of the myths of vampires and werewolves, does seem plausible. A summary will now follow.

3.11 SUMMARY

Authors such as Egger (1984) and Jenkins (1994), state that the sum of the literature regarding serial homicide is repetitive and not cumulative. In the researcher's opinion most of the current approaches and theoretical frameworks regarding serial homicide do not comprehensively address *the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide*.

The **psychosocial approach** cannot explain how one sibling, having been exposed to the same set of psychological and social factors, can become a serial killer while the other siblings become upstanding member of society. The **subculture theory** states that children grow up in subcultures where they learn by being a victim of/or by witnessing violence, that personal assaults are not wrong, deviant or antisocial. The difficulty with this theory is that not all identified people who commit serial homicide come from such extreme subcultural backgrounds and that not everyone from such a background commits serial homicide. The **frustration-aggression theory** states that aggression is not inherent but rather is triggered by the influence of particular environmental pressures. Many people are exposed to environmental pressure but not everyone who experiences these stressors commits serial homicide

The **learning theory approach** suggest the three developmental and learning theory approaches as possible explanations for serial homicide. The **conditioned fusion of sex and aggression** approach claims that a person who commits serial homicide can, in theory, be “cured” through the construction of a conscience through the application of avoidant conditioning to violent stimuli or through the use of counter-conditioning. The **conditioned conscience** approach states that a person who commits serial homicide has never internalised the social norms and values necessary for “normal” behaviour. Therefore the serial killer lacks the inhibition against aggression. The **social learning model** asserts that the media (meso level) depiction of violent sexuality and aggression may increase the viewer’s (micro level) capacity to commit such acts, especially if the viewer has already had such types of fantasies and thoughts. The aforementioned theories fail to explain why people from certain backgrounds do not commit serial homicide and why serial killers who do not have such a background commit serial homicide.

The **motivational model** consists of the following five dimensions: (i) ineffective social environment; (ii) formative years; (iii) patterned responses; (iv) action towards others; and (v) feedback. This model has valid points; namely the development of sadistic and revenge fantasies due to early childhood abuse. The model however cannot explain why one abused child will become a serial killer while another abused child will not.

The **fantasy approach** states that repetitive violent and/or sadistic fantasy is the cornerstone for serial rape and homicide. However, it fails to explain why some individuals form sadistic and violent fantasies and becomes serial killers.

The **neurological theory** proposes that serial killers suffer from brain injury, which causes them to murder strangers. This theory also states that most aggressive and sadistic acts can be traced back to some sort of brain injury or trauma. The difficulty with this approach is that not all serial killers can be diagnosed with brain damage and only a handful of brain damaged individuals become serial killers.

The **psychopathological diagnosis** fails to explain that not all serial killers can be diagnosed with conduct and antisocial personality disorder and not all people diagnosed with these disorders are serial killers.

The **post-modern theories** focus on how serial murder affects the social system in which it happens. According to the **homeostasis** approach serial homicide destabilises the system. In terms of this approach serial murder, within the context of the system, is not an acceptable cause of death. According to **morphogenesis**, serial homicide mobilises the social systems creative potential to meet the requirements for change. The **cybernetics** approach views serial murder as part of an internally interactive and recursive system, but serial homicide does not control the remainder of the system. The difficulty with these approaches is that they do not explain the origin of serial homicide.

The **feminist approach** insists that serial homicide should be viewed in the light of the belief system of the patriarchal society in which it happens. According to the feminists', the belief of male supremacy and male sexual dominance contributes to the use of sexual force against women. The feminists believe that serial murder has a strong underlying sexual-political basis. Due to the fact that women also commit serial homicide the argument of male dominance cannot be used to explain the origin of serial homicide.

The problem with the **paranormal/demonological approach** is that it does not identify the origin of serial homicide. However, it tries to explain the concept of evil, demonism and mythology as it relates to psychological theory.

In Chapter 4 the theoretical approaches which will be used by the author to describe the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide will be addressed. These theoretical approaches are selected aspects of the psychoanalytic theory of Sigmund Freud and the object relation theory of Melanie Klein.

CHAPTER 4

PSYCHOANALYTIC AND OBJECT RELATION THEORIES

*Look beneath the surface: never let a
thing's intrinsic quality or worth escape
you.*

-Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This research will make use of certain psychoanalytical and object relation theories in explaining the phenomenon of serial homicide. The selected theories are the psychoanalytical theory of Sigmund Freud and the object relations theory of Melanie Klein. These theories were selected to explore the intrapsychic development of the serial killer personality.

Freud's theory was chosen on account of its topographical explanation of the id, ego and superego and its explanation of the psychosexual developmental phases. The most important aspects of Freud's theory to be used are object choice and its relational implications. Klein's theory was selected on account of her formulation of the psychosexual developmental phases, and of her works on object relations.

It should be noted that the views of Freud and Klein regarding object relations differ. Klein views the object as one of the instincts as well as one of relationships. Freud on the other hand sees the object solely as part or result of the instinctual drives. In the researcher's opinion these differences complement each other and will not detract from the aim of the research. **It should also be noted that the focus will be on the intrapsychic development of males, as this study involves male serial killers.**

4.2 PSYCHOANALYTICAL THEORY OF SIGMUND FREUD

In the following sections the focus will be on the id, ego and superego as well as the psychosexual developmental phases, fixations and object choice and its relational implications. Under the heading of object choice and its relational implications the researcher will also address the concepts of the narcissistic libido and object libido,

repression, anxiety, Eros and Thanatos as well as melancholia. The researcher will also include a Freudian view of criminality, as this is relevant to the topic under consideration.

4.2.1 ID, EGO AND SUPEREGO

The id, ego and superego will be **briefly** discussed and a schematic representation given to illustrate these structures. Although these structures are important in the development of the personality, the aim of the study is to explore how object relations and how these structures influence each other. Therefore they will not be discussed in depth.

4.2.1.1 The Id

The id, according to Freud, is the first inborn component of the psychic personality. Freud (1932-1936) describes the id as follows:

The id of course knows no judgement of value, no good and evil, no morality. The economic, or if you prefer, the quantitative factor, which is intimately linked to the pleasure principle, dominates all its processes. (p.47)

The id is the primary source of intrapsychic energy and the seat of the instincts, lacks organisation and is demanding and insistent. It cannot tolerate intrapsychic tension and functions to discharge this tension immediately and return to a homeostatic condition. This component is ruled by the pleasure principle, which aims at reducing tension, avoiding pain, and gaining pleasure. It is illogical, amoral and driven to satisfy instinctual needs (see Figure 1). The id is largely unconscious and does not reason but only wishes or acts. The id by itself is not capable of reducing tension. Consequently, a secondary psychological process develops and the ego takes form (Freud, 1905; Freud, 1923; Hall & Lindzey, 1970; Louw, 1989; Maddi, 1996; Meyer et al., 1997).

4.2.1.2 The Ego

The ego comes into being by virtue of the existence of the id and the necessity of satisfying instincts through interaction with the world. For this reason the ego has contact with the external world (see Figure 1). Freud (1932-1936) describes the ego

as follows:

To adapt a popular mode of speaking, we might say the ego stands for reason and good sense, while the id stands for the untamed passions. (p. 76)

The ego governs, controls and regulates the personality and mediates between the instincts and the surrounding environment. This intrapsychic structure is ruled by the reality principle, and performs realistic and logical thinking; formulating plans of action for need satisfaction. The ego, as the seat of intelligence and rationality, checks and controls the blind impulses of the id. Whereas the id knows only subjective reality, the ego distinguishes between mental images and objects in the external world. It should be noted that the ego comes into existence to forward the aims of the id, and all its power is derived from the id. The ego can never be completely independent from the id (Freud, 1905; Freud, 1923; Hall & Lindzey, 1970; Louw, 1989; Maddi, 1996; Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997).

4.2.1.3 The Superego

The superego is the judicial branch of personality. It includes a person's moral code, the main concern being whether an action is good or bad, right or wrong. The superego represents the *ideal* rather than the *real* and it strives for perfection. The superego represents the traditional values and ideals of society as they are handed down from parents to children (Freud, 1905; Freud, 1923; Hall & Lindzey, 1970; Louw, 1989; Maddi, 1996; Meyer et al., 1997).

The way in which the child incorporates the parents and parents' superego as its own superego is called *identification* (Freud, 1932-1936). Identification is the assimilation of one ego into another. It should, however, be noted that identification differs from object choice. By identification the person wants to *be like* the object, whereas in object choice the person wants to *possess* the object. If a person loses an object or needs to strengthen the object association, identification with the object would lead to compensation.

It should be noted that according to the psychoanalytic model, personality normally functions as a whole rather than as three separate individual segments. To comprehend the aforementioned structures fully one could describe the id as the biological aspect, the ego as the psychological aspect and the superego as the social

aspect of the personality

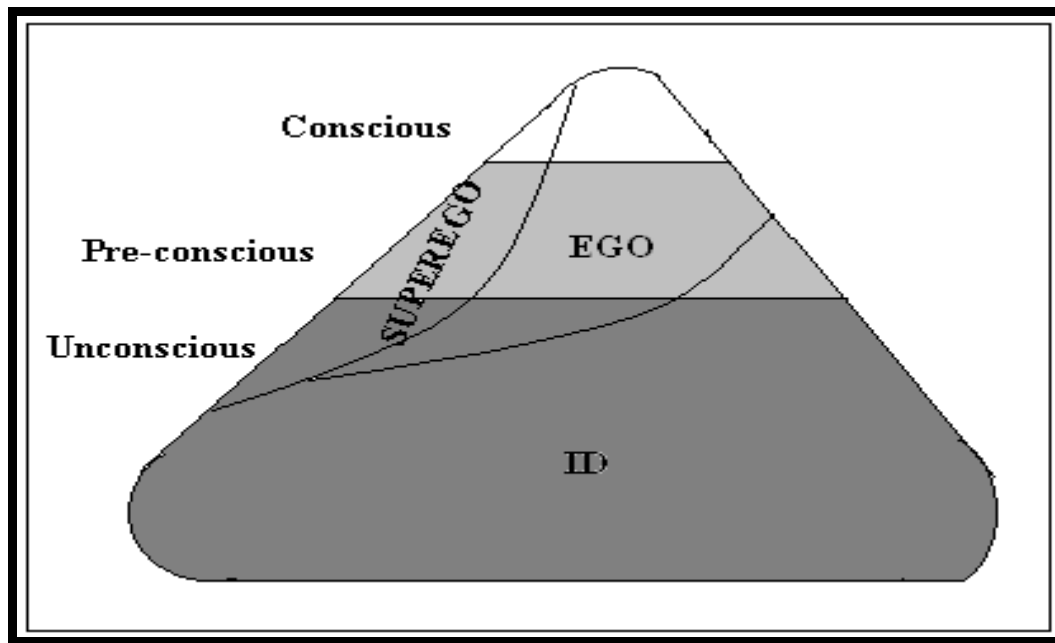


Figure 1: Intrapsychic structure: The id, ego and superego. Adapted from Freud (1905) and Meyer, Moore & Viljoen (1997)

4.2.2 PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES

In this subsection the focus will fall on the pre-genital and genital phases as well as on problems that might arise from fixating in each phase. Due to the development of the Oedipus complex during the phallic phase, this complex will be included in the discussion. According to Freud (1901-1905) any problems or fixations which might arise in the pre-genital phases will have an impact on the further development of the personality. For this reason fixations that might occur during each phase will be highlighted but will be further explained in the Kleinian subsection.

4.2.2.1 Pre-genital phases (birth to 6 years)

The term pre-genital refers to the phases where the *genital organs have not matured to such an extent that they fulfil their principal function*. According to Freud (1932-1936) the drive for pleasure is influenced by the instinct to procreate and all the other instincts culminate in one erotogenic zone, namely the genitalia. This eventual organisation, with a specific goal directed towards an external sexual object, is preceded by the pre-genital organisations. The pre-genital phases that will be identified are the oral, anal and phallic phases. Freud (1901-1905) states that pre-genital pleasure is a type of pleasure that becomes exceedingly enjoyable. This is

because the superego has not developed fully, with the result that tension in the person is minimal. Because of these two factors any further sexual development could be halted, causing one erotogenic zone to become so important that a fixation in this zone occurs. Fixation in any of the erotogenic zones may later give rise to compulsions, perversions and as Freud calls it, neuroses.

- **Oral phase**

The first pre-genital phase is the oral or cannibalistic pre-genital sexual organisation. This phase starts at birth and lasts until the end of the first year of infancy. The erotogenic zone associated with this phase is predominantly the mouth. Sexual activity in this phase is not yet separated from the intake of food, thus the primal sexual goal of this phase is to incorporate objects. This action later plays a major role in the development of the process of identification (Freud, 1905).

This form of sexual instinct leads to actions and fantasies involved in taking and receiving. Receiving is the generalisation of the first, passive (oral incorporative) situation: in the process of being fed, the mouth is pleurably stimulated by people and inanimate objects for example pacifiers. Taking is the generalisation of the later, less passive (oral aggressive) situation, in which children plan to gain oral satisfaction through sucking, chewing, biting, vocalising and putting things in their mouths (Freud, 1905; Freud, 1923; Hall & Lindzey, 1970; Louw, 1989; Maddi, 1996; Meyer et al., 1997).

A prime example of how the oral aggressive situation can manifest in serial homicide is in the cases of Steward Wilkin and Jeffrey Dahmer. Wilkin bit off and ate the nipples of an African sex worker and Dahmer cut out, cooked and ate the hearts of his victims.

Freud (1901-1905) believes that the first sexual object that can be fixated on is the mother's breast. During normal development the child would see the mother as a whole and not only as a breast. The importance of this is that suckling at the mother's breast eventually forms the prototype for every love relationship. Finding a love object is in fact a regaining of the mother and the mother's breast. Later personality problems that might arise due to fixation in this phase are: the development of a view that the world is based on mistrust, fear of reaching out to others, rejection of affection, fear of loving and trusting, low self-esteem, isolation and

withdrawal, and an inability to form and maintain intense loving relationships.

- **Anal phase**

The second pre-genital phase is the sadistic-anal organisation. In this phase, which encompasses the second to third year of infancy, the anus is the primary erotogenic zone. During this phase children continually face parental demands, experience frustrations when they handle objects and explore the environment. In this phase children are expected to master control of their bowels. When toilet training begins during the second year, children have their first major experience with discipline. During this phase of development the child's aggressive impulses undergo a change. The excretion function can be used to achieve aggressive goals, for example by not excreting or excreting at the wrong time. In this way the child can "punish" the parents (Freud, 1905; Freud, 1923; Hall & Lindzey, 1970; Louw, 1989; Maddi, 1996; Meyer et al., 1997).

Due to the fact that toilet training begins during this phase, most fixations in it revolve around the child's anus. If strict toilet training methods are used, children might express their anger by expelling their faeces at inappropriate places and times. This behaviour can lay the foundation for later adult characteristics such as cruelty, inappropriate displays of anger, and extreme disorderliness. These personality characteristics are generally found among disorganised serial killers. Freud calls this type of personality the *anal-aggressive* personality (Freud, 1905; Freud, 1923; Hall & Lindzey, 1970; Louw, 1989; Maddi, 1996; Meyer et al., 1997).

In contrast, other parents might focus too much attention on their children's bowel movements by giving praise whenever they defecate, which could lead to a child's exaggerated view of the importance of this activity. This focus might be associated with a person's need for being productive. Certain fixations revolving around extreme orderliness, hoarding, stubbornness and stinginess develop. These associated personality characteristics are generally found among organised serial killers. Freud calls this the *anal-retentive* personality. It should be noted that fixation in this phase could lead to pathologies such as sadism, masochism and compulsive behaviour (Freud, 1905; Freud, 1923; Hall & Lindzey, 1970; Louw, 1989; Maddi, 1996; Meyer et al., 1997).

- **Phallic phase**

During the phallic stage, sexual activity becomes more intense, with the focus of attention on the genitals (boys the penis and girls the clitoris). Also developing in this phase is what Freud called the Oedipus complex. The development of this complex is attended by identification with one or both of the parents. Identification with the parent leads to the development of the child's superego. Because of the importance of the Oedipus complex during this phase a brief explanation of it is necessary (Freud, 1905; Freud, 1923; Hall & Lindzey, 1970; Louw, 1989; Maddi, 1996; Meyer et al., 1997).

- **Oedipus complex**

According to Freud (1901-1905), the boy forms an object cathexis with the mother during the phallic stage. This cathexis is incestuous by nature, and as a result causes anxiety within the ego. The longing for the mother leads to fear and hatred of the father while simultaneously the boy competes with his father for the mother's love. During this time boys typically develop specific fears related to their penises. This fear Freud described as castration anxiety. Fearing that the father will retaliate by cutting off his genitals, the ego handles the anxiety experienced by the boy by repressing the Oedipus complex. The repression of this complex in turn leads the boy to identify with his father. When this happens the basis is established for the development of the superego.

The type of sexuality that becomes evident during the phallic phase does not necessarily mean that the child's desires sexual intercourse with the opposite-sex parent. Although the child's feelings toward the parent are erotic in nature, these feelings are more diffuse than adult needs for sexual intercourse. The child's concept of sexual intercourse is generally undefined. However, an important aspect of this psychosexual phase of development is that curiosity about sexual matters, sexual fantasies, masturbation, sex-role identification patterns, and sex play become increasingly evident.

According to Freud (1905) fixation in the phallic stage and an unresolved Oedipus complex could lead to homosexuality. In his earlier writings Freud saw

homosexuality* as a sexual deviance in respect of object choice. A major characteristic regarding the pre-genital period is a *narcissistic* orientation, or an inward and self-centred preoccupation. He states that the most essential characteristic of a fixation in the phallic phase is a narcissistic object choice. The next phase, the latency phase, is where the child finds new interest in the larger world. In the following section the latency phase as well as fixations that might occur in this phase will be addressed.

4.2.2.2 Latency phase (6-12 years)

The main tasks of the latency phase are to avoid masturbation and to learn and accept society's moral and ethical values. Freud (1925-1926) describes the latency phase as follows:

From then onwards until puberty there stretches what is known as the period of latency. During it sexuality normally advances no further; on the contrary; the sexual urges diminish in strength and many things are given up and forgotten which the child did and knew. During that period of life, after the early efflorescence of sexuality has withered, such attitudes of the ego as shame, disgust and morality arise, which are destined to stand up against the later tempest of puberty and to lay down the path of the freshly awakened sexual desires. (p. 210)

Freud (1905) further explains that the first object prototype is continued during this phase and that the parent's affection directs the child's choice of his eventual sexual object when he reaches adulthood. Initially the child prefers his first object (the mother) but due to the latency phase's moral inhibitions the child learns the taboo of incest.

Freud (1901-1905) states that the mother, who takes care of the child in the latency phase, can act as a sexual stimulus for the child. Although Freud sees this as normal, he warns that excessive parental affection could cause precocious sexual maturity. This excessive affection could lead to the child being incapable of doing without the same amount of love. Freud is of the opinion that a sexual perversion can persist in adulthood if the child's latency phase was interrupted due to sexual precocity.

*This statement should be read in context to the era in which Freud lived. It should be noted that Freud (1951) later changed his opinion regarding homosexuality and stated that it was not an illness or deviation, but rather a variation of sexuality.

Fixation in one or more of the psychosexual developmental phases causes certain facets in the evolution of the personality to become problematic. Freud (1905) believes that questions, fantasies and sexual activities that emerge during the infantile and latency years, although unconscious, have a direct impact on the genital phase and could lead to neuroses and perversions. The first fixation that could occur is the preservation of early impressions.

□ **Preservation of early impressions**

In this regard Freud (1905) argues that early sexual imagery/impressions of sexual activity could lead to a fixation of these impression and the compulsion to show similar behaviour. This could lead to a disturbance of the intrapsychic development. Because nothing is usually done to change these impressions they eventually develops into perversions. The next fixation which will be mentioned is seduction by others.

□ **Seduction**

According to Freud (1901-1905) children could be seduced before the censorship of the superego sets in. This means that normal inhibitions such as shame and morality cannot play a part in protecting the child. Because the superego has not fully developed, the child could be introduced to any kind of perversion, resulting in it becoming part of the child's adult sexual behaviour. The reason why these perversions persist is because this trauma gives rise to a *compulsion to repeat* the behaviour that had been experienced as traumatic (Freud, 1925-1926). By compulsion to repeat Freud (1925-1926) means that the ego, which observed the trauma passively, now repeats it in an active physical manner in an attempt to master the experience intrapsychically.

□ **Observation of intercourse**

Freud (1925-1926) postulates that observing sexual activities, such as intercourse between parents at an early age could have a detrimental effect on the child's ego. To children intercourse may appear as a deed of aggression, which takes on a sadistic characteristic. This impression of aggression and sadism permanently influences the child's sexual life.

□ **Cruelty**

Freud (1905) states that the ability to have empathy with the pain and feelings others experience develops later in life. Initially, cruelty is present in all children. If cruelty and the erotogenic sexual instincts form a connection (due to the absence of empathy), the connection will be unbreakable in adulthood, such as in the case of sexual sadism. Freud asserts the instinct of cruelty arises out of the instinct for mastery and becomes apparent before the genital phase.

4.2.2.3 Genital phase (12 years and up)

According to Freud (1905), the sexual instinct, which was auto-erotic during the pre-genital phase, finds a sexual object during the genital phase. The libidinal impulses re-emerge, but these impulses are predestined to manifest that which was established in the pre-genital phases. Freud (1925-1926) describes the genital phase as follows:

The genital organisation, which has been broken off in childhood, starts again with great vigour. But, as we know, the sexual development of childhood determines what this new start at puberty will take. Not only will the early aggressive impulses be re-awakened; but a greater or lesser proportion of the new libidinal impulses ... in bad cases the whole of them ... will have to follow the course prescribed for them by regression and will emerge as aggressive and destructive tendencies. (p. 116)

If a fixation developed during the pre-genital phases it will re-emerge during the genital phase. However, due to the maturation of the ego, there is a possibility that the ego can rectify the fixation. During this phase the ego will move away from the cruelty that dominates from the id, due to the formation of the superego during the latency phase.

The first three aspects of Freud's theory; namely the id, ego and superego, as well as the psychosexual developmental phases dealt with the development of sexuality and personality. The next subsection focuses on object choice and its relational implications. **Although Freud did not use the term object the researcher decided to use it to enhance comparison with Klein's theory.**

4.2.3 OBJECT CHOICE AND ITS RELATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The following section will not only deal with the instinctual theories but will also address the formation of narcissism, repression, anxiety, Eros and Thanatos and melancholia. The researcher included these topics due to the fact that each of the aforementioned has both a direct and indirect influence on the development of object relations.

4.2.3.1 Narcissistic libido and Object libido

The main focus of this part of this subsection falls on narcissism and how it influences object choice. According to Freud there is a difference between infantile/primary narcissism and the later manifestation of narcissism. When the theory on ego and libidinal instincts was first conceptualised, Freud used the terms libidinal instincts and sexual instincts interchangeably. However he later called any intrapsychic energy libido and this term was not solely reserved for sexual instincts. By 1925 Freud modified his theory further and replaced the terms ego-instinct and libido-instincts with narcissistic libido and object libido.

Freud (1914-1916) regards narcissism as an integral part of the ego instincts. During the condition of narcissism the ego and object libido exist at the same time, this is due to the fact that the subject is its own object. According to Freud, the more dominant the one form of libido becomes, the more depleted the other form of libido will be. Only when an object cathexis takes place is it possible to differentiate between the sexual energy (object libido) and the ego instinct (ego libido). Here he differentiated between ego-libido and object-libido. Freud (1925-1926) defines narcissism as follows:

In the Oedipus complex the libido was seen to be attached to the image of the parental figures. But earlier there was a period in which there was no such objects ... a state in which the subject's libido filled his own ego and had that for its object. This state could be called narcissism or self love. (p.56)

According to Freud's definition the libido originally formed a cathexis with the own ego. This means that all erotic urges and the capacity to love were directed at the self. This cathexis Freud termed *infantile narcissism*. According to him, only when

the life essential needs are entirely satisfied can the libido be transferred to other objects. Freud (1925-1926) states that only under these circumstances can there be a differentiation of libido and ego instincts. In this process the libido distances itself from the objects and wholly withdraws into the ego. This withdrawal from the object into the ego is called *narcissism*.

It should be noted that Freud also differentiates between narcissism and auto-eroticism. According to him the ego does not exist at birth but has to develop whereas the auto-erotic instinct is innate and relates to self-preservation. Thus auto-eroticism exists before narcissism. He further explains the concepts of narcissism and auto-eroticism in his statements regarding **object choices**.

According to Freud's (1914-1916) hypothesis of **object choices**, the sexual instincts are initially linked to the gratification of the ego instincts. This original relationship is due to the fact that the child's primary caretaker (the mother) becomes the child's first sexual object. This type of object choice is referred to as the anaclitic object choice. The narcissistic object choice develops when the libidinal development becomes fixated and the object choice is not directed at the mother but onto the self. Freud is of the opinion that the anaclitic object choice (the mother) is more characteristic of men. This attests to a sexual over evaluation, which is derived from the child's primary narcissism and coincides with transference of narcissism on to the sexual object. It should also be noted that Freud states that the choice of the object (whether it be anaclitic or narcissistic) is accessible to all people. He asserts that all people, at the beginning, have two primary objects, namely the mother and the self, thus anaclitic/narcissism is prevalent in all people. Freud also states that anaclitic over evaluation of sexual matters is characteristic of the condition of being in love. According to him being in love brings with it a reduction in ego due to the fact that the libido is directed towards the object.

According to the narcissistic object choice a person can love (i) what he is; (ii) what he was; (iii) what he wants to be; or (iv) someone who was once "part" of him. The anaclitic object choice pursues the following paths to love (i) the woman who fed him, (ii) the man who protected him; and/or (iii) the consecutive substitutes who replaced them.

The next part of object choice Freud (1914-1916) hypothesised was the development of the *ego-ideal*. He states that repression, an ego act, is a prerequisite for the

creation of an ego-ideal. Through repression the libidinal instinctive impulses undergo a pathological repression when they come into conflict with the cultural and ethical ideation of the individual. An individual, who allows him to be ruled by this cultural and ethical ideation, sets an ideal whereby the ego is measured. This ego-ideal becomes the target of self-love. During infancy and childhood the ego acts as the object, but as the individual matures he/she becomes exposed to self-criticism and the criticism of others. Due to exposure to this criticism the individual realises that he/she is not perfect. However, unwilling to relinquish the narcissistic perfection of childhood, the individual tries to regain this perfection through the ego-ideal.

It should be noted that there are structural differences between creating an ego-ideal and the psychological process of sublimation. Sublimation is connected to object libido and is an instinct directed towards a goal that has no sexual gratification. Ego-idealisation is an object related process. The object is elevated in the subject's mind, thus idealisation can take place within ego-libido as well as object libido. Sublimation thus relates to instincts. The creation of an ego-ideal *is not* the sublimation of instinct. Sacrificing narcissism in favour of the ego-ideal does not necessitate sublimation of libidinal instincts. Sublimation is required by the ego-ideal but can not be enforced. The conception of the ego-ideal increases demands on the ego and leads to the process of repression. Sublimation, when it comes to ego-ideal, is an act whereby the demands can be met without resorting to the process of repression. According to Freud (1925-1926) the superego, which represents the parents and society at large, keeps watch over the ego and in so doing deliberates whether the ego weighs up to the ego-ideal.

Freud (1914-1916) also elaborates on how self-esteem is dependent on the narcissistic libido. He suggests that the aim of the narcissistic object choice is to be loved. To love increases self-esteem, while rejection of love decreases self-esteem. However libidinal object cathexis does not increase self-esteem. The person in love sacrifices narcissism in favour of the object, and this sacrificed narcissism can only be replaced if the love is reciprocated.

Regarding the relationship between self-esteem and libidinal object cathexis (also called erotica by Freud (1914-1916)), he differentiates between ego-syntonic erotic cathexis and repressed erotic cathexis. In ego-syntonic erotic cathexis love, the concept of love is treated as any other activity. Love that that is not reciprocated (and that includes deprivation and longing) decreases the self-esteem whereas love

that is reciprocated increases self-esteem. Repression of the libido ensures that the erotic cathexis is experienced as depletion of ego, thus the fulfilment of love is made unrealisable. In response, the enrichment of the ego can only be experienced by withdrawing libido from the object, and the return of the libido to the ego forms narcissism, which in return depicts happy love.

To summarise this subsection: the ego develops out of a divergence in the primary narcissism and the ego attempts to reconvene that condition. The divergence is brought on by the transference of the libido to an *ego-ideal*. Consequently the ego is directing the object cathexis, but the ego is impoverished in favour of the object cathexis and the ego-ideal. The ego-ideal, however, sets strict conditions for the gratification of libido by the objects due to the fact that some objects are rejected by the superego. The rejected objects are found to be unacceptable by the superego. If no ego-ideal is created, sexual urges will dominate and will take on the form of a perversion (e.g. sexual sadism or paedophilia). This domination of the sexual object leads to a sexual-ideal. However, the sexual-ideal can enter into a relationship with the ego-ideal, and may become a substitute when narcissistic gratification becomes impossible. The narcissistic object choice contains the quality that is lacking in the subject. What the object has, is what the ego needs to be completed. In the next subsection the act of repression will be discussed further. Repression has an impact on how object choice and object relations come into play and for this reason the researcher has included a discussion of this concept.

4.2.3.2 Repression

According to Freud (1914-1916) the reason why an instinctive impulse is repressed is due to the fact that acting on such an instinct would cause displeasure in the subject. According to him repression is a defence mechanism that is not present from early childhood but rather will only develop when there is division between the conscious and unconscious mental activity. Freud also states that repression can be classified into two forms of repression namely *primary* and *secondary* repression. In **primary repression** the intrapsychic representative (ideation) of the instinct is denied entry into the conscious. Due to this denial to the ego, fixations will be formed. However the intrapsychic representative, together with the instinct, still exists “unchanged” in the unconscious part of the mind.

Secondary repression consists of intrapsychic variants of the repressed

representative. These variants are associations of the repressed representative. In this secondary phase of repression the conscious experiences disgust at what is repressed (Freud calls this downwards mobility of repression), but the repressed ideation also pulls the associations with it. Due to the fact that the repressed ideation of the instinct exists in the unconscious it is further organised and in forms more associations. The individual experiences this continuous formation of associations as dangerous and threatening. According to Freud (1914-1916) this continuous reformulation of the associations leads the individual to believe in the dangerous strength of the instinct. According to him the deceptive strength of the instincts are the result of an uninhibited fantasy development and the resultant damming-up of the frustrated satisfaction.

According to Freud (1914-1916) repression also has upward and downward mobility. He states that the repressed ideation exercises a continuous pressure in the direction of the conscious (upward pull) but this pressure is balanced by an unceasing counter-pressure (downward pull). The maintenance of repression involves uninterrupted expenditure of force, and Freud believes that if the repression is removed, the force and energy needed, will be saved. An illustration regarding this upward and downward mobility of repression will be found in the end of this paragraph.

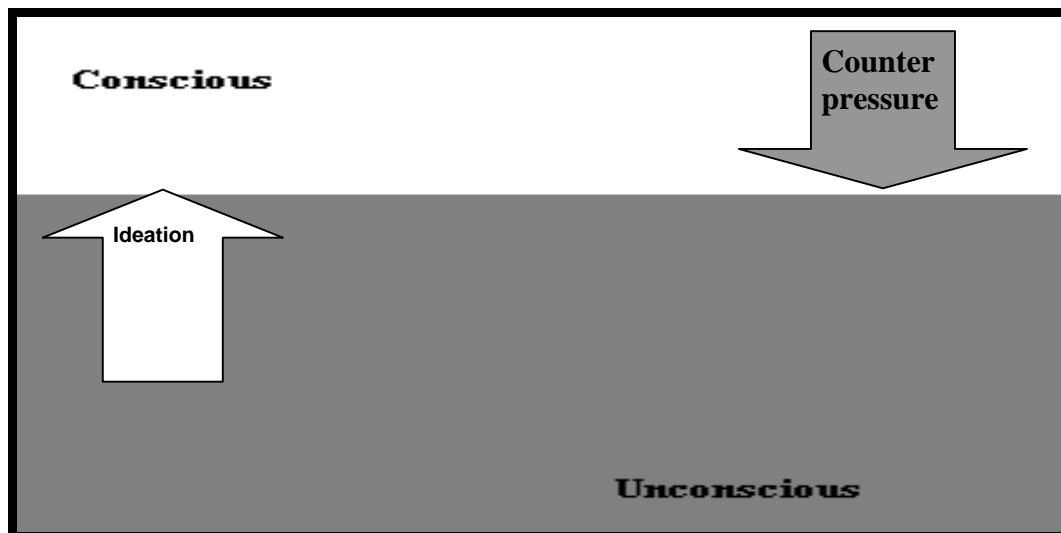


Figure 2 Repression: Mobility

Motivation for repression of an instinct is the avoidance of displeasure. However, the gratification of an instinct can never be unpleasant due to the fact that the id

experiences homeostasis through the gratification. Freud (1914-1916) states that displeasure exists when the intrapsychic energy of the repressed instinct is transformed into affect and more specifically into anxiety. Thus the instinct arising from the id and the connotations attached to it cause anxiety and displeasure in the ego. This displeasure leads to the ego repressing the instinct and the instinct's connotations. According to him the act of repression not only demonstrates the strength of the ego but also the weakness of the ego to the instinctual impulses of the id. Freud claims that anxiety plays a major role in the formation of repression and eventual object relations.

4.2.3.3 Anxiety

Freud (1914-1916) was of the opinion that repression causes anxiety or is caused by it. But he later states that anxiety is determined in the ego. According to Freud (1925-1926) anxiety never arises from repressed libido but it is the ego's attitude towards anxiety that sets repression into action. Freud states that if the ego did not excite the pleasure/displeasure instrument to generate anxiety, the ego would have no power to stop the ideation in the id.

Freud (1925-1926) also differentiates between spontaneous (automatic) anxiety and anxiety which acts as a warning of danger. The determinant for automatic anxiety is the occurrence *of* a traumatic situation. The nature of this traumatic situation is an experience of helplessness by the ego in the face of an accumulation of excitation (whether internal or external), which the ego cannot deal with. The latter form of anxiety (as a signal) is the response of the ego to the *threat* of an occurrence of a traumatic situation. The traumatic situation constitutes a situation of danger. In summary: the automatic anxiety is due to the occurrence of a traumatic situation and warning anxiety occurs when there is a threat of a traumatic experience. He further distinguishes between these two cases by stating that in the first case (automatic anxiety) something occurs in the id, which activates one of the danger situations for the ego and causes the ego to give the anxiety signal for inhibition. In the second case (signal anxiety) a situation comparable to the trauma of birth is established in the id and an automatic reaction of anxiety takes place.

According to Freud (1925-1926) automatic anxiety can be changed into signal anxiety. It happens when the infant finds, through experience, that an external, distinguishable object can put an end to the dangerous situation (this situation is

usually reminiscent of birth). The nature of the danger that the infant fears is displaced from the current situation on to the condition which determines the situation, that is, the loss of an object. It is the absence of the object (mother) that is now the danger. As soon as this danger originates, the infant produces the signal for anxiety. This change in the infant is the primary step in the provision for self-preservation, and also represents a transition from automatic anxiety to the intentional reproduction of anxiety as a signal for danger.

Freud (1925-1926) states that internal danger can be compared to the loss of the object. The object that is lost relates to the different developmental phases. Initially it is the loss of the breast (mother) during the oral phase, then the faeces during the anal phase, after that the loss of the penis during the Oedipal phase and lastly the loss of the object during the genital phase. He states that the first loss of object the subject experience is of the loss of the mother figure. According to him the reason why an infant wants to perceive the presence of its mother is that the fact that the child already knows, through experience, that the mother satisfies all its needs without delay. When the mother cannot satisfy the needs, tension arises. The amount of stimulation reaches an unpleasurable level, because the child cannot physically master or discharge this stimulation. This in turn constitutes, in the infant, an experience that the infant equates with birth. This whole exchange is a repetition of the situation of danger.

Freud further elaborates on the theory of loss by showing how castration anxiety can be explained. According to him the high degree of narcissistic value the penis possesses can appeal to the fact that this organ is a guarantee for its owner that the subject can be united with his mother (or mother substitute) in the act of copulation. Being deprived of it amounts to a renewed separation from the mother, and in turn means that the subject is exposed to unpleasurable tension due to the instinctual need. He also states that a man who is inhibited by the castration threat finds the substitute for copulation in a fantasy regarding returning to the mother's womb. Freud (1925-1926) is further of the opinion that, due to the power of the superego, moral anxiety develops out of castration anxiety. He states that this form of anxiety only relates to the part of the superego which manages social sanctions. According to him the anxiety that the ego experiences are that the superego may stop loving or punish it.

Freud (1925-1926) says that the final transformation that the fear of the superego

undergoes is towards the fear of death. He states that self-preservation is threatened by death. According to the theory of narcissism it is accepted that the instinct for self-preservation has a libidinal character. *He equates the fear of death with the fear of castration.* The unconscious contains nothing that resembles the concept of annihilation of life. Castration can be experienced on the basis of the occurrence of the faeces being lost from the body or the loss of the mothers' breast at weaning. According to him nothing resembling death can ever have been experienced. He states that the fear of death should be regarded as comparable to the fear of castration, and the situation to which the ego is reacting is one of being abandoned by the superego. This fear creates in the ego the idea that it no longer has a safeguard against the external and intrapsychic dangers that surround it.

Freud (1932-1936) distinguishes between three types of anxiety. These types are: (i) realistic anxiety - the reaction to danger; (ii) neurotic anxiety - an illogical form of anxiety; and (iii) moral anxiety - the superego. According to him there is a connection between these anxieties, the ego, the external world, the id and the superego. He states that the generation of anxiety and formation of symptoms are related. In terms of his theory symptoms are created to avoid the occurrence of anxiety.

Freud (1932-1936) points out that certain changes take place in the ego when the id exposes it to dangerous impulses. The ego anticipates the satisfaction of the instinctual impulses and brings about the reproduction of the unpleasurable effect of the feared situation of danger. The pleasure-unpleasurable principle carries out the repression of the dangerous instinctual pleasure. Thus the impulse is repressed in the id. In some cases the repressed impulse retains its libidinal cathexis and continues to exist in the id. At the same time the subject still experiences constant pressure from the ego. Freud further states that sometimes the instinctual impulse is totally destroyed and the impulse's libido is permanently diverted along other paths. He also states that in some cases the impulse cannot be destroyed and a regression to an earlier libidinal phase of organisation takes place.

Due to the fact that this initial theory of Freud developed into his theory of Eros and Thanatos the researcher thought it pertinent to include it in the discussion of object choice/object relations. It should be noted that these concepts (Eros and Thanatos) have a definite influence on the intrapsychic structure of humans. The next subsections will address Eros and Thanatos, as well as Freud's' theory on

melancholia. Melancholia will be addressed because of its strong influence on the object choice.

4.2.3.4 Eros and Thanatos

Freud (1932-1936) labels the instinct directed at self-preservation Eros, as opposed to the death instinct, which he labelled Thanatos. According to him the Eros and Thanatos are always in conflict with each other. He further states that all the instinctive impulses consist of various portions of both Eros and Thanatos. Freud (1927-1930) believes that Thanatos attempts to revert units to their primary inorganic state. This instinct is diverted towards the external world and is an instinct of aggressiveness and destructiveness. It should be noted that this instinct can be used in the service of Eros, in that the subject is destroying some other thing instead of destroying itself. Thus any restriction of outward aggression will increase self-destruction.

Freud (1927-1930) further states that only in sadism are both instincts observable. He claims that in sadism the death instinct twists the erotic aim for its own goal but also is able to fulfil the erotic urge. Through the ability to fulfil the erotic need it is directly linked with Eros. But when it emerges without sexual purpose, the satisfaction of the instinct is accompanied by a high degree of narcissism. This narcissism is due to the fact that the death instinct presents to the ego with the fulfilment of the wish for omnipotence. He also states that every instinctual impulse consists of a similar blending of these two classes of instincts. He further states that sadism is directed outwards and thus acquires aggressive characteristics. However, if this aggressiveness is unable to find gratification in the external world it will retreat and increase the amount of self-destructiveness. This in turn leads to the development of masochism. Freud is further of the opinion that it seems necessary for the subject to destroy some other thing or person in order not to destroy itself. This is what guards all humans from the impulse of self-destruction.

According to Freud (1932-1936) aggression is an innate instinct, with the internalised aggression directed at the ego. He states that the superego also directs the same degree of aggression on to the ego, as the ego has directed towards other external objects. This tension between the ego and superego leads to the development of guilt feelings. These guilt feelings are expressed as a need for punishment. This need for punishment can be directly linked to the formation of masochism. He further

states that guilt is formed when the subject does something or considers doing something that the subject considers to be “bad/wrong”. According to him the ability to differentiate between “good” and “bad” is not an innate function and an *external influence* determines what is “good” and “bad”. Freud also states that what can be considered as “bad” is not necessarily harmful to the ego.

Freud (1932-1936) is also of the opinion that the external influence (of what is “good” or “bad”) directly relates to the subject’s dependency and the fear of loss of love. According to him anything that threatens loss of love in infancy is considered “bad” and later in childhood *the fear of disapproval from the community replaces the fear of loss of parental love*. He further acknowledges two sources of guilt feelings, namely (i) guilt due to the fear of authority; and (ii) guilt that develops due to the fear of the superego. He also believes that the fear of authority demands that the ego totally relinquishes *instinctual gratification* and that *the fear of the superego not only demands the aforementioned but this fear also indicates that the superego wants to punish the ego*. This threat of punishment is due to the fact that the superego is aware of the prohibited instinctual wishes of the ego. It is possible for the subject to hide these instinctual wishes from the world, but he unable to hide them from the superego. He further states that *threatened external unhappiness, due to the loss of love and/or the punishment by an external authority, is exchanged for permanent intrapsychic unhappiness*. This unhappiness forms due to the tension the sense of guilt creates in the subject.

To understand the aforementioned process Freud (1927-1930) explains how the child renounces its aggression towards the father figure due to the fear of losing the father’s love. According to him the child renounces the aggressive impulses by identifying with the father figure. This aggression that was first directed at the father is now directed at the self. It should be noted that a substantial quantity of aggressiveness against the authority (father) figure must already have developed in the subject. This aggression is formed due to the fact that the father figure prevents the subject’s wishes from being met. Due to the fear of loss of love and the fear of punishment, the subject now has to renounce the satisfaction the subject could attain out of revengeful aggression. To counteract this fear, the subject by means of identification, internalise the unattackable authority figure into itself. Due to this identification the internalised authority (father) figure develops into the subject’s superego. This newly developed structure (superego) takes into possession all the aggression the subject would have directed at the original authority (father) figure.

Due to this process of identification the ego now has to deal with a degraded father figure. *Thus the relationship between the ego and the superego is always dependent on the relationship between the ego and an external object.* It should be noted that Freud (1905) states that identification derives from the oral phase and that the process of identification takes place before the object cathexis evolves.

Due to the fact that the death instinct (Thanatos) and identification are also mentioned in Freud's work on melancholia the researcher thought it necessary to include it in this subsection. Freud's work regarding melancholia, identification and object choice and how it relates to the life and death instinct will now be addressed.

- **Melancholia**

Freud (1914-1916) states that melancholia is comparable to mourning. But in the mourning process the external world is experienced as empty and impoverished and the *object* is lost, while in the process of melancholia the ego is experienced as empty and impoverished and the *ego* is lost. According to Freud (1925-1926) when the ego is involved in a difficult intrapsychic task, as in melancholia, or when there is suppression of affect, or the suppression of sexual fantasies it loses so much energy that it has to cut down expenditure. Freud (1914-1916) further states that the ego divides when it experiences melancholia. After the splitting of the ego, one part of it is more critical than the other part. This critical part of the ego incorporates the rest of the ego as an object and develops into the conscience. Due to the development of this critical ego part censorship, conscience and reality testing become the main foundations of the complete ego.

*To understand this process and how it relates to object choice/object relations the focus should fall on an earlier object choice. As stated an object choice existed earlier. This means that the libido was directed at another person. But due to a rejection by this other person, the object relationship was reserved. As stated earlier in this chapter, under normal conditions the libido would have been withdrawn from the person and would have been directed at another person. But in melancholia the libido is drawn into the ego and this leads the ego to identify with the lost object. During this process the lost object is enfolded by the ego and the ego in turn develops into the surrendered object. **Object loss is converted into ego loss.** Due to the critical activity of the ego and identification by the ego, the conflict between object and ego is transferred. For this process to take place there must be*

a strong fixation on the object and the object cathexis should have little resistance. This implies that the *object choice had a narcissistic basis*.

This narcissistic basis implies that the ego could revert to narcissism whenever it experiences irreconcilability with the object. This narcissistic identification with the object forms a substitute for the erotic cathexis. This substitution of identification for object love forms the basic mechanism for narcissistic affection. **Narcissistic object choice serves as a predisposition for melancholia.** According to Freud (1914-1916) identification is a preceding stage for object-choice, in which the ego selects an object. He further states that the ego wants to incorporate the object into itself. According to him the ego, by means of the cannibalistic or oral libidinal phase of development, tries to “devour” the object. But in melancholia the subject blames himself for the loss of the object.

When the love for the object is taken up in the narcissistic identification, a hate relationship develops for the substitute identified ego (object). This hate relationship causes the ego (object) to be abused, humiliated and a sadistic gratification is experienced through the suffering of the object (ego). The ego can kill itself only if it can treat itself as an object. It is only possible if it is able to direct itself against the hostility which relates to an object and which represents the ego's original reaction to objects in the external world. Thus, as Freud (1914-1916) stated, in regressing from the narcissistic object choice, the object is able to get rid of the ego and, due to this, is also more powerful than the ego itself.

Due to the nature of this dissertation it is necessary to include a Freudian view on the development of crime and criminality. I

4.2.4 FREUDIAN VIEW OF CRIMINALITY

Freud (1906-1908) states that the sexual instinct is more strongly developed in people than in any animals. This sexual instinct places extraordinary large amounts of force at the disposal of civilised activity. It is able to do this due to its characteristic of being able to displace its aim without diminishing its intensity. According to Freud (1906-1908) the subject who does not have the capacity to exchange the original sexual aim for another, or is unable to suppress this sexual instinct, becomes a criminal in societal terms.

In his work, *Dostoevsky and parricide*, Freud (1927-1930) gives a psychoanalytic explanation of criminality. He suggests that two traits are essential in a criminal (i) boundless egoism; and (ii) a strong destructive urge. Furthermore he identifies that common to the aforementioned traits, and a necessary condition for criminality, is the absence of love and the lack of emotional appreciation of objects (especially humans).

Freud (1932-1936) states the following three pure libidinal types: (i) the erotic (ii) the obsessional and the (iii) narcissistic type. According to him the *erotic* type is characterised by a relatively large part of the libido which is turned towards love. Loving the object, but primarily *being loved by the object*, is the most important aspect of this pure libidinal type. This type is dominated by the fear of loss of love and is therefore dependant on others who may withhold their love. This type represents the elementary instinctual demands of the id, to which the other intrapsychic structures have yielded. According to Freud (1932-1936) the *obsessional* type is distinguished by the predominance of the superego, which is separated from the ego under great intrapsychic tension. He states that this type is dominated by the fear of the conscience instead of the fear of losing love. The *narcissistic type* can only be described in negative terms. In this type there is no tension between the ego and superego and no preponderance of erotic needs. The main interest is directed at self-preservation, is independent and is not easily intimidated. The ego has a great deal of aggressiveness at its disposal, which manifests itself in readiness for activity. In this type's erotic life loving is preferred to being loved. Freud (1932-1936) further states that this type (narcissistic) presents the essential preconditions for criminality. He also argues that if this type is mixed with the other libidinal types (erotic and obsessional), as well as with internal and external conflicts, pathogenic behaviour (criminal as well as neurotic) would develop. The reason for this is due to the fact that the mixed narcissistic type retains much of its core structure and in effect stays largely narcissistic (even though mixed with the other types).

In the next subsection of this chapter the intrapsychic theory of Melanie Klein will be addressed. The discussion will focus on Klein's five developmental phases (Oral, Urethral, Anal, Phallic and Latency) with emphasis on her theory on the development of the Oedipus complex and the formation of the superego. It should be noted that special attention will be focussed on her theories on object relations, the Oedipus complex and criminality since the researcher will use these theories (along with the

object choice aspect of the theory of Freud) when analysing the two case studies.

4.3 THE INTRAPSYCHIC THEORIES OF MELANIE KLEIN

In the following subsection Klein's developmental phases as well as her object relation theory will be addressed. The phases that will be stated are the oral, urethral, anal, phallic and latency phase. It should be noted that most of Klein's earlier work (such as her work on the developmental phases) was based on the work and techniques of Karl Abraham (Klein, 1945-1963). She later reformulated her work (her work on object relations and positions) differently to that of Abraham and the pure psychoanalytic school and became one of the pioneers in the Neo-Freudian school of psychoanalysis.

4.3.1 DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES

The phases that will be addressed in this section are the oral, urethral, anal, phallic and latency phase of intrapsychic development. Special focus will fall on how these developmental phases influences the subjects object relations. It is of importance to note that, according to Klein, each phase has a definite influence on the development of object relations and her work on the object relation positions can only be understood in conjunction with her work on the developmental phases.

4.3.1.1 The oral phase

Klein (1963) differs from Freud in her view on the formation of the superego and the development of the Oedipus complex. According to her, the Oedipus complex and the superego start to develop in the oral phase. This early Oedipal phase starts in the first year and ends in the third year of infancy. Klein and Freud, however, agree that the oral phase is the first phase of intrapsychic development. According to Klein (1945-1963) a lack of gratification or an over gratification during the oral phase leads to a fixation in the pleasure of biting. According to her the lack of pleasure in sucking can be due to external (e.g. example low milk production by mother) or internal (increase in oral sadism) factors. Whereas fixations in the oral sucking phase can be interpreted as an expression of libidinal power, fixations in oral sadism should be interpreted as an expression of the destructive instinctual components.

Klein is further of the opinion that "normal" oral "sadism" is essential for the "normal"

development of the infant. She is of the opinion that if this sadistic phase starts too soon or is too violent, the object relations of the child will be dominated by sadism. This sadism will cause extreme anxiety, which in turn will put tremendous pressure on the developing ego. This pressure on the ego could lead to the development of obsessional neurosis.

Klein (1963) agrees with Freud that sadism develops from destructive impulses. She is, however of the opinion that the child's internal destructive impulses divide during development. One part of the destructive impulses is directed towards the external object and the other part is directed at the subject/infant itself. According to her the subject can defend itself against the destructive impulses by internalising the object. After internalisation the ego expects the object to defend it against attacks from the destructive id impulses. The reason for this expectation by the ego is that when the object becomes internalised it stands directly opposed to the id impulses. It should also be noted that the destructive id impulses also cause anxiety in the subject. This anxiety causes (i) the subject to fear that it might be possible to destroy itself through its own destructive impulses; (ii) the external object (which is the focus of the sadism) turns into a source of fear.

Due to this anxiety the subject acknowledges that the object (principally the mother) has the power of life and death over the subject. This "realisation" causes the subject to load the instinctual danger onto the object. This fear that the subject might destroy itself is intolerable and subsequently the internal fear is transferred to the external object. Klein (1945-1963) further states that the immature ego attempts to defend itself from the dangerous external object, by attempting to exterminate it.

According to Klein (1945-1963) this process of trying to destroy the external object is evident in the sadistic fantasies of the subject. According to her the subject/infant has certain oral-sadistic fantasies which are well defined. These fantasies seem to form a link between the oral sucking and oral biting stages. During these stages the subject/infant receives the contents of the mother's breast by sucking or scooping out the nourishment. She is further of the opinion that the desire to suck and scoop, which was first directed at the breasts, soon extends to the inside of the mother's body. She also states that the subject/infant's wish to rob the mother's body of its contents and to destroy the mother arises from the aforementioned fantasies.

4.3.1.2 The urethral phase

During the urethral phase the fantasies of the subject/infant revolve around destruction by way of bodily fluids. These fantasies usually include some form of drowning, fire or poisoning through large amounts of urine. She is of the opinion that these sadistic fantasies are a counter-reaction against the lack of milk from the mother. She further is of the opinion that these fantasies are directed towards the mother's breast and will later be transferred to her body. According to her, when the sadistic tendencies and fantasies of the subject/infant increase and the subject/infant takes imaginary possession of the mother's body, the contents of the body not only represent the object, but also represent of the external world. The destructive impulses of the subject/infants' can be also transferred to the father figure. This transference of hate and anxiety towards the father on to the mothers' body also forms part of the origin of mental disturbances and sexual deviance (Klein,1963).

4.3.1.3 Anal phase

During the anal phase the subject/infant develops fantasies that the parents will destroy each other through their genitals and/or excrement. The subject/infant fantasises that the father's penis is inside the mothers' body. During the anal phase the content of the fantasies becomes more sadistic. The father's penis turns into a dangerous animal and the mother's vagina becomes a poisonous trap. Klein (1963) also states that as the child matures, the methods of devastation will become more sophisticated. The excreta initially symbolised instruments of direct attack (missiles and knives), but later evolve into more sophisticated and subtle forms of destruction (poison).

According to Klein (1963) the fantasies reach their maximum sadistic overture during this phase. The subject/infant fantasises that he or she is able to attack the interior of the mother's body and is able to destroy the penis inside her by way of the dangerous and poisonous excreta. It should also be noted that these fantasies cause anxiety and this anxiety could develop into delusions of persecution. The destructive fantasies also bring about guilt feelings and the subject/infant expects to be punished by both the parents. The anxiety associated with the anal phase is a further motivation for sadism, which in turn leads to the wish for the destruction of the dangerous object.

Klein (1921-1945) states that these fantasies of object destruction in turn lead to the development of social and moral feelings. She is also of the opinion that maladjustment in the anal-sadistic fantasies and Oedipal development will lead to criminal tendencies. The subject who hates the father as a rival for the love of the mother will try to use the fantasies he developed during the anal sadistic phase to “kill” the father. It should be noted that “kill” in this sense does not constitute the wilful external destruction of the father figure but rather the intrapsychic destruction of the competition for the mother’s love. *The anxiety and feelings of guilt this intrapsychic destruction causes in the child the exhibition of criminal tendencies later in life.*

Phallic phase

According to Klein (1921-1945) the child’s’ Oedipus complex, superego and object relations develop during the phallic (or genital) phase of development. She states that during this phase the genital desire for the mother and the hatred for the father develop and that these feelings are experienced as a conflict between the subject’s love and hate for the father figure.

- Superego

According to Klein (1945-1963), the Oedipus complex develops during the maximum phase of sadism (oral sadistic towards anal sadistic), the feelings of hate directed at the father cause the development of the complex and of the superego. Klein also agrees with Freud that the impulse of hate is primary to the impulse of love. She differs however, from the traditional psychoanalytic stance that the superego develops after the phallic phase. In her opinion the superego develops during the oral phase and that the nucleus of it is to be found in the partial incorporation that takes place during the cannibalistic phase of development. She states that the subject’s early images (which Klein refer to as “imagoes”) obtain the imprint of the pre-genital impulses.

According to Klein (1963) the subject tries to rid him or her from the feared object by devouring, biting and cutting it. This unconscious fantasy gives rise to anxiety which in turn forms the basis for the development of the Oedipus complex. This leads to the internalisation of the object. Thus through the internalisation of the object, the superego becomes something that devours, bites and destroys.

She also agrees with Freud regarding the repression of the Oedipus complex. Both concur that by the internalisation of the father object, the Oedipus complex is repressed. The father is seen as the obstruction in the gratification of the subject's Oedipal desires. Thus the Oedipus complex needs to be repressed because the castration anxiety the subject experiences is too great a threat for the ego. This threat results in the ego calling on the external object (father figure) and to internalise this object. The internalisation of this object (father figure) is the origin of the superego and the character of the father/object is retained in it. Klein (1945-1963) is also of the opinion that the Oedipus complex and object relations start to reach maturity during the phallic phase. According to her the subject attributes all his emotions to his imagined objects. Due to this the imagined and real objects are separated. But when the emotions directed at the imagined object become too overwhelming, the sadistic and/or reparative fantasies cannot be acted out towards the real objects. This in turn leads to a disturbance of object relations as well as a reality disturbance. It should be noted that an in-depth discussion of the Oedipus complex (see 4.2.2) and object relations (see 4.2.3) can be found further in this chapter.

4.3.1.4 The latency phase

According to Klein (1963) the subject's sexual activities are the least discernible during the latency period. The reason for this is the decline of the Oedipus complex. According to her this decline is accompanied by the abatement of the instinctual force. During this period the subject also struggles to contain his masturbation activities. To understand how this decline of the Oedipus complex and the increase in masturbation wishes influence the child in the latency phase, Klein uses Freud's works to explain this process. Klein agrees with Freud that during the latency phase the intrapsychic energies of the subject are mainly being used to resist the temptation to masturbate. Even during the latency period the pressure from the id has not abated and/or the force exerted by the subject's sense of guilt (the superego) against the id tendencies has increased.

Klein (1963) argues that an excessive repression of masturbation fantasies causes an obstacle regarding the formation of sublimation during the latency phase. Accordingly the decline of the Oedipus complex leads to a period where the subject's sexual desires are diminished but not entirely lost. Klein (1945-1963) states that the lack of reaction formation during the destructive masturbation fantasies can be

compared to that of the deeds of a sadistic criminal (see 4.3.4 for a Kleinian view of criminality). She argues that the fear of revenge due to the destructive fantasies towards the object, leads the subject to try and rid himself of the object. She is further of the opinion that excessive repression from the superego causes repression of sexual activities and fantasies. This excessive pressure could also lead to a compulsion to participate in such fantasies and sexual activities. The anxiety and guilt feelings experienced by the subject could strengthen libidinal desires and fixations. This in turn causes the instinctive needs not to decrease during the latency phase.

Klein (1963), states that the effect of a sense of guilt during the latency phase permits the subject to continue to masturbate. However, at the same time it also has the effect of forcing the subject/infant to give up sexual activities with other children. She is further of the opinion that sexual activities and sexual fantasies in children cannot be prevented. She argues that these activities have a positive function for the subject. It satisfies the subject's libido and sexual curiosity. According to her the guilt experienced by children who engage in sexual activities with other children *is relieved because the destructive fantasies directed at the parents are shared. Shared destructive parental fantasies relieve the guilt and anxiety experienced by the subject. Subjects/children who do not share some form of sexual activity with other subjects/children are plagued by feelings of guilt and anxiety.* In conclusion, Klein (1945-1963) opines that the intrapsychic constitution of the subject will determine whether the positive result of the gratified libido or the negative destructive fantasy will influence the further sexual development.

In the following section Klein's view on the development of the Oedipus complex will be discussed. Due to the Oedipus complex having an impact on the formation of object relations the researcher included it in the next part of the dissertation.

4.3.2 OEDIPUS COMPLEX

Klein's work on the development of the Oedipus complex evolved from 1928 till 1957. The researcher will use the last written account that Klein formulated. It should be noted that the researcher will also cite the previous writings of Klein to indicate how her definition regarding the development of the Oedipus complex changed.

Klein's distinctive conception of the Oedipus complex remains that which appeared in

her first writing on the subject in 1928. She states that earlier fantasies about the mother's body containing the penis of the father and about the subject's own insides are part of the Oedipal situation. The guilt is not only the outcome but is also present from the start of the Oedipus complex. According to her these guilt feelings affect the development of the Oedipus complex.

According to Klein (1921-1945) the Oedipus complex starts in the narcissistic phase, or when sadism is at its height. The oral frustration of the weaning process releases the Oedipal impulses. She is also of the opinion that the Oedipus complex starts chiefly due to the impulse of hate. However, the decline of the Oedipus complex is due to the guilt feelings the subject experiences.

Klein (1921-1945) relates the Oedipus complex to the *depressive position*. She states that the sorrow and concern about the feared loss of the good objects in the depressive position is the source of most of the Oedipal conflicts. Her complete conceptualisation of the Oedipus complex will now be addressed.

According to Klein (1945-1963) the previous pregenital stages of the Oedipus complex and that which Freud stated about the Oedipal position are still of importance. She however, takes a different position regarding the onset and decline of the Oedipus complex. She also makes some important additions regarding the nature of the Oedipus complex. According to her, sadism declines rather than escalates in the first six months. This implies that her earlier statement that the complex starts in the narcissistic phase, or when sadism is at its height, falls away. *She also states that the weaning process and oral frustration releases the Oedipus complex.* She further argues that hate is not the primary starting block for the Oedipus complex (as in Freudian psychology). She hypothesises that the onset of the Oedipus complex is coincidental with the commencement of the depressive position. According to Klein this happens when the persecutory anxiety diminishes and feelings of love come strongly to the foreground. It should be noted that she is also of the opinion that deprivation may cause the subject to turn away from the breast, but this is secondary to the love that propels the subject forward and the libido's inherent search for new objects. She is also of opinion that guilt is not the primary factor in the decline of the Oedipus complex. According to her, positive emotions are the main factor in the decline of the complex. She believes that the subject's love for his parents and his wish to preserve the parents is also a definitive reason for the decline in the Oedipus complex's power. She further states that, due

to the subject's struggle to integrate the feelings of love and hate directed at the object, the Oedipal desires and the depressive anxieties become intertwined. This means that the sexual impulses gain the ability to repair the effect aggression has on the object. This in turn leads to the emergence of reparative sexual fantasies which are of great significance for the development of future sexuality.

Klein argues that the early stages of the Oedipus complex are important in understanding object relations. She regards the connection between the Oedipus complex and the depressive position as paramount to the intrapsychic development of the subject.

4.3.3 OBJECT RELATIONS

According to Klein (1945-1963) object relations exist from the beginning of life. The first object is the mother's breast, which to the subject becomes split into a good (gratifying), and bad (frustrating) breast. This splitting results in a love and hate severance. The relation to the first object implies its introjection and projection. Thus the object relations are moulded by an interaction between introjection and projection, between internal and external objects and situations. These processes contribute to the development of the ego and superego. This in turn leads to the preparation for the onset of the Oedipus complex.

Klein (1945-1963) hypothesises that from the beginning the destructive impulses are turned against the object. These destructive impulses are first expressed as oral-sadistic fantasies directed at the mother's breast. These fantasies later develop into onslaughts on her body by all the subject's sadistic means. These sadistic fantasies in turn lead to the development of persecutory fears. The persecutory fears arise from the subject's oral-sadistic impulses (to rob the mother's body of its contents), while the anal-sadistic impulses are of great importance for the development of paranoia and schizophrenia. She further states that the ego has various defence mechanisms to deal with the object and the persecutory fears. These mechanisms are the splitting of the object and the impulses, idealisation of the object, denial of the inner and outer reality and the stifling of emotions. These are all present during the first few months of life. These phenomena include the fear of being poisoned and devoured. This is all present during the first phase. This phase she initially described as the "persecutory phase" but was later replaced by the paranoid-schizoid position.

4.3.3.1 Paranoid-Schizoid position

Klein (1945-1963) asserts that, at the beginning of the postnatal life, the subject experiences anxiety from both internal and external sources. The first external source of anxiety is the experience of birth. The pain and discomfort the subject experiences and the loss of the womb, are experienced as an attack by hostile forces (e.g. persecution). Thus persecutory anxiety enters from the beginning of life and is also found in relation to the first object. This relation is at first a part object, namely the mother's breast. Both the oral-libidinal and oral-destructive impulses are directed towards the mother's breast. There is always an interaction between libidinal and aggressive impulses. This corresponds to the fusion between the life and death instincts. She states that in periods when no hunger is present and tension is minimal, an optimal balance between libidinal and aggressive impulses is found. If this equilibrium is disturbed (through internal or external sources) aggressive impulses will be reawakened. Changes in the balance between libido and aggression leads to the development of greed. Klein is of the opinion that greed is of an oral nature and that *any increase in greed strengthens the feelings of frustration and this in turn reinforces the aggressive impulses*. In subjects with a strong innate aggressive impulse, persecutory anxiety and greed are easily aroused. *This aroused anxiety and greed in turn leads to the subject's difficulty in tolerating deprivation and anxiety*. Thus the strength of the destructive impulses provides the developmental basis for the force of the greed. *She states that persecutory anxiety could increase greed and lead to the earliest feeding inhibitions*.

Klein (1945-1963) hypothesises that the continual experience of gratification and frustration are powerful incentives for the development of love and hate. The breast (if it gratifies the subject) is loved and seen as "good", but if it is a source of frustration for the subject, it is hated and seen as "bad". The antithesis between the good and the bad breast is due to difficulties experienced by the ego. These difficulties are the lack of integration of the ego, the splitting process within the ego and the ego's relation towards the object. During the first couple of months of this phase external sources as well as the good and bad objects are not completely distinct in the subject's mind. The mother's breast (both the good and bad aspects) seems to merge with the mother's body. Thus the relation to the mother as a person is progressively developed from the earliest phases of life.

According to Klein (1945-1963) the experiences of gratification and frustration

derived from external factors as well as intrapsychic processes (introjection and projection) add to the dualistic relation to the primary object. The subject projects his love impulses to the good (gratifying) breast, while projecting his destructive impulses on to the bad (frustrating) breast. Through the process of introjection both the good and bad breast are internalised. These internalised objects form the core of the superego. The good breast becomes the prototype for all helpful and gratifying objects and that the bad breast becomes the prototype for all external and internal persecutory objects. Thus the experience of being loved is attributed to the good breast while frustration and discomfort are attributed to the bad breast.

Klein (1945-1963) argues that when the urethral and anal sadistic impulses gain strength, the subject intrapsychically attacks the bad breast. These attacks are usually through poisonous urine and explosive faeces. These destructive fantasies, lead to the subject fearing retaliation by the bad breast. Due to the fact that the fantasised attacks on the object are essentially influenced by greed, the fear of the object's greed is an essential factor for persecutory anxiety. However, she also hypothesises that during the primary phases of development, the subject's relation to the good breast counteracts persecutory anxiety. The relation helps the subject to overcome the longing for a former developmental phase, and in turn leads to the alleviation of the persecutory anxiety. This increases trust in the good breast (object).

Klein (1945-1963) also argues that the bad (frustrating) object is experienced as a terrifying persecutor, and that the good object is internalised as the ideal breast. This ideal breast fulfils the subject's desire for immediate and everlasting gratification. The strength of the subject's persecutory fear plays a role in the internalisation of the good breast. Persecutory fear creates the need to be protected from all persecutors and this in turn leads to the increase of power of the all-gratifying object. The idealised breast forms the supposition for the persecutory breast. Idealisation is derived from the need to be protected from persecutory objects. Thus it is a method of defence against anxiety.

According to Klein (1945-1963), the process of hallucinatory gratification explains the process of idealisation. During hallucinatory gratification anxiety and frustration are lost, the lost external breast is regained and the perception of possession of the ideal breast is reawakened. Due to the fact that the hallucinatory breast is inexhaustible, the feeling of greed is momentarily satisfied. The feeling of hunger will return and

frustration will be experienced. *During a wish fulfilling hallucination fundamental ego mechanisms and defences develop.*

Klein (1945-1963) states that one of the most important mechanisms is the omnipotent control of the internal as well as the external object. The ego assumes complete possession of both the external and internal breast. During the wish fulfilling hallucination, the persecutory breast and the experience of being frustrated is kept apart from the ideal breast and the experience of gratification. Such a division, which amounts to a splitting of the object and of the feelings towards it, is linked with the process of denial. Denial in its most extreme form amounts to annihilation of any frustrating object or situation. This is due to the strong feelings of omnipotence, which develop during the primary life phases. The situation of being frustrated, the object that causes the frustration (as well as the split off parts of the ego) are felt to have gone out of existence. By these means gratification and relief from persecutory anxiety are obtained. Thus annihilation of the persecutory object and the persecutory situation is bound up with the omnipotent control of the object. These processes are operative during idealisation.

Klein argues that, when persecutory anxiety is less strong, the splitting of the object is less far reaching on the ego. *Thus the ego is able to integrate itself with regard to the object.* Any step towards integration can only happen if love towards the object predominates over the destructive impulses. According to Klein the ego's tendency to integrate itself can be seen as an expression of the life instinct. The synthesis between the feelings of love and the destructive impulses towards one another and the same object (breast) gives rise to depressive anxiety, guilt and the urge to make reparation to the injured good breast. This implies that ambivalence is at times experienced in relation to a part object.

During this stage the ego's capacity to achieve integration is still limited and this in turn leads to the strength of the persecutory anxiety and the splitting process. As development proceeds, the experiences of synthesis and depressive anxiety become more frequent. Klein (1945-1963) states that this forms part of the growth of integration. With the progress of integration and synthesis of the contrasting emotions towards the object, mitigation of destructive impulses by the libido becomes possible. However, this could also lead to an actual lessening of anxiety that is a fundamental condition for normal development.

Klein (1945-1963) believes that the early methods of splitting, influence the way in which repression is occurs. This in turn determines the degree of interaction between the conscious and unconscious. *Thus the strength or weakness of the early paranoid-schizoid mechanisms largely determines the extent to which the various parts of the mind remain open in relation to one another. This means that every stimulus to the persecutory fear reinforces these mechanisms.*

Klein (1945-1963) hypothesises that the ego develops by *introjecting objects*. The good breast, introjected due to situations of gratification and happiness, becomes a *vital* part of the ego. This in turn strengthens the ego's capacity for integration. The internal good breast (which forms the compassionate part of the early superego) strengthens the subject's capacity to love and trust the objects. This in turn intensifies the stimulus for introjection of good objects and situations. It is therefore an essential defence against anxiety. The good object can only fulfil these functions if it is felt to be in an undamaged state. This implies that the good breast has been internalised predominantly with feelings of love and of gratification. These feelings presuppose that gratification has been relatively undisturbed by external and intrapsychic factors. According to Klein (1945-1963) these intrapsychic disturbances derives from excessive aggressive impulses, which in turn increase greed and diminishes the capacity to cope with frustration. She states that in the fusion of the two instincts, the life instinct predominates over the death instinct (libido over aggression). This means that the good breast can be more securely instituted in the subject's mind.

According to Klein (1945-1963) the object, to some extent, becomes to some extent a representation of the ego. The process that is necessary for this representation is a mechanism which she calls "projective identification". Identification by introjection and identification by projection appear to be interconnected processes. The process underlying projective identification operates during the earliest relation to the breast. Projective identification starts with the oral-sadistic introjection of the breast. The introjection of a persecutory object is to some extent determined by the projection of destructive impulses on to the object. The drive to project badness is increased due to the fear of intrapsychic persecutors. When projection is dominated by the persecutory fear, the object into which the bad self has been projected evolves into the persecutor. Accordingly the re-introjection of this object reinforces the fear of intrapsychic as well as external persecutors. There is a constant interaction between the persecutory fear and projective identification.

Klein (1945-1963) argues that the projection of love is a precondition for finding a good object. The introjection of a good object stimulates the projection of good feelings. This in turn (through the process of introjection) strengthens the feeling of the possession of a good internal object. The projection of the bad self into the object and the external world corresponds with the projection of the good parts of the self, or of the whole good breast (self). Re-introjection of the good object and of the good self reduces (persecutory) anxiety. Thus the relation to both the intrapsychic and external world improves. This in turn leads to the ego becoming more integrated and stronger.

According to Klein (1945-1963) the progress in integration of the object and the ego primarily depend on the strength of the love impulses over the destructive impulses. This leads to a transitory state in which the ego synthesises the feelings of love and destructive impulses towards one object (the breast). This process of synthetic instigates further developmental steps. These developmental steps are the emanation of the emotions of depressive anxiety and guilt. This in turn means that aggression becomes mitigated by the libido. Furthermore the development of the aforementioned developmental steps is that the persecutory anxiety becomes diminished which in turn enables the ego to inhibit aggressive impulse directed at the loved object. The ego also strives to make reparations to the loved object. Klein (1945-1963) argues that with the growing integration of the ego, the experience of depressive anxiety increases in frequency and duration. This depressive anxiety gradually focuses on the mother as a whole person and consequently increases in intensity. Due to this depressive anxiety and guilt, the depressive position evolves.

4.3.3.2 Depressive position

During the depressive position the subject's relation to the external world (people as well as objects) grows more differentiated. The subject's range of gratification and interests widens, and the subject's power of expressing emotion and communication increases. Integration, consciousness, intellectual capacities, and the relation to the external world and other functions regarding the ego develop. Also during this position the subject's sexual organisation progresses, the urethral, anal and genital trends increase in strength and due to this the oral impulses and desires still predominate.

According to Klein (1945-1963) the relation to the mother as a person is gradually developing and becomes more established, while the breast still figures as the main object. The identification with the mother gains in strength when the subject can perceive and introject the mother as a complete object. She states that this integration is a precondition for the ego's capacity to introject the mother and father as whole persons. She is further of the opinion that the development of integration and synthesis is initiated when the depressive position comes to the fore. During this position the various aspects (loved and hated, good and bad) of the objects draw closer together, and these objects develop into whole persons. The process of synthesis operates over the whole field of external and internal object relations. This synthesis comprises the contrasting aspects of the internalised (e.g. early superego) and of the external objects. During this position the ego strives to diminish the discrepancies between the external and internal objects. Klein (1945-1963) also states that with the process of synthesis the integration of the ego results in a greater coherence between the split off parts of the ego. These processes (integration and synthesis) cause the conflict between love and hatred. This in turn causes the resultant depressive anxiety and guilt feelings to alter in quality and quantity. She states that ambivalence is now experienced predominantly towards the complete object. This means that the love and hatred have drawn much closer together and that the good and bad breast and the good and bad mother cannot be kept separated as they were during the earlier phases and position.

Klein (1945-1963) further states that the power of the destructive impulses diminishes. This is due to the fact that these impulses are perceived to be a *great danger for the loved object*. Greed and the defences against it plays a significant part during the depressive position. *The anxiety of losing the loved object tends to increase greed. This greed is felt to be uncontrollable and destructive to the external and internal loved objects. This leads the ego to inhibit the instinctual desires. This later results in inhibitions regarding affectionate and erotic relations.*

The steps in integration and synthesis result in a greater capacity of the ego to acknowledge the increasingly distressing intrapsychic reality. The anxiety relating to the internalised injured mother leads to the identification of the injured object. This identification in turn reinforces the drive to make reparations and the ego's attempts to inhibit the aggressive (destructive) impulses. The omnipotent defence mechanisms (idealisation, splitting and control) are maintained when the depressive position develops, however these mechanisms are now used to counteract

depressive anxiety. Klein (1945-1963) also states that these mechanisms undergo changes and become less extreme. These mechanisms correspond more to the growing capacity of the ego to face the intrapsychic reality. Accordingly, due to this altered form and aim, these mechanisms now constitute the manic defence.

when the ego is faced with a multitude of anxiety situations, it denies these situations and even denies the fact that it loves the object. This could result in a stifling of love and a turning away from the primary objects and an increase in persecutory anxiety. This in turn leads to the regression to the paranoid-schizoid position (Klein, 1945-1963).

Klein (1945-1963) points out that during the depressive position the ego's attempt to control the external and internal objects also undergo changes. When depressive anxiety is in command, control of objects and impulses is mainly used by the ego to prevent frustration and to prevent aggression directed at the loved objects. Note: is also of the opinion that there is also a difference in the use of splitting of the object and of the self. The ego now divides the complete object into an uninjured live object and an injured and endangered object. Thus splitting becomes largely a defence against depressive anxiety. During the same time certain ego developments take place that not only enable the ego to evolve more adequate defences against the depressive anxiety but will eventually result in the actual diminution of the depressive anxiety. She argues that the continued experience of facing the intrapsychic reality, through the working through of the depressive position, increases the subject's understanding of the external world. When the subject introjects a more reassuring external reality, the subject's intrapsychic reality also improves; and this in turn, through the process of projection, benefits the subject's picture of the external world. As the subject re-introjects, a more realistic and reassuring world is created. This in turn leads to the establishment (within the subject) of complete and uninjured objects. This essential development leads to a further evolution in the superego. She is of the opinion that as the good and bad internal objects merge (the bad aspects being mitigated by the good aspects), the relation between ego and superego alters. A progressive assimilation of the superego by the ego takes place.

According to Klein (1945-1963) during this position (depressive), the drive to make reparation to the injured object develops. This tendency she links with guilt feelings. When the subject feels that his destructive impulses and fantasies are directed against the complete loved object, guilt arises. This also leads to the ego's

overriding urge to repair, preserve and/or revive the injured love object. Accordingly she states that these emotions amount to states of mourning and that the defence mechanisms operate to overcome the mourning. Since the tendency to make reparation derives from the life instinct, it thus draws on libidinal fantasies and desires. This tendency enters into all forms of sublimation.

Klein (1945-1963) also states that during the depressive position the reparative tendency (which is employed omnipotently) develops into a major defence mechanism. Omnipotence decreases when the subject gains confidence in his reparative powers as well as his objects. The subject feels that all steps in development counter-balance the harm done by the aggressive impulses and reparation of the injured love object is possible. This becomes the foundation for normal development. Due to this, relations with people develop and persecutory relating to the (external as well as internal) objects diminishes. This in turn results in the good internal objects becoming more firmly established with a greater sense of security. All these stated processes strengthen and enriches the ego. The stronger and more coherent ego (through the use of the manic defence) brings together and synthesises the split off aspects of the object and of the self. Due to this process of splitting and synthesis, perception of reality increases and the object appears in a more realistic view. This in turn leads to a growing adaptation to the internal as well as external reality.

Due to the aforementioned processes there occurs a corresponding change in the subject's attitude towards *frustration*. During the earlier stages the bad persecutory aspect of the mother (bad breast) becomes every evil and frustrating internal and external event. However, when the subject's sense of reality in relation to the objects, and the trust in the object increase, the subject becomes more capable of distinguishing between the frustration caused by the external sources and the internal fantasised danger. Thus the hatred and aggression become more closely related to the actual frustration and harm derived from the external factors. This then leads to a more realistic and objective method of dealing with the subject's own aggression. This in turn arouses less guilt and ultimately enables the subject to experience (as well as sublimate) the aggression in a more ego-syntonic manner. This realistic attitude regarding frustration leads to a greater capacity in the subject for re-establishing the good relation to his mother and other individuals. This growing adaptation to reality results in a secure relation to the external and intrapsychic world. This leads to a lessening of ambivalence and aggression, which in turn makes it

possible for the drive of reparation to work fully.

Klein (1945-1963) further states that there exists a close link between the depressive position and the phenomenon of mourning and melancholia. During normal mourning the subject succeeds in establishing the lost loved person within his ego, whereas in melancholia and in abnormal mourning this process is not successful. The characteristic feature of normal mourning is the subject's setting up of the lost loved object inside the self. Through the work of mourning, the lost object as well as the lost internal objects, are reinstated. Whenever grief arises this process is undermined and the early anxiety about the injured or destroyed object is reawakened. This results in the reactivation of feelings of guilt and persecutory anxiety. A successful reinstatement of the external love object; which is being mourned (and whose introjection is intensified through mourning) implies that the internal loved objects are restored and regained. Therefore, she states that, the testing of reality characteristic is the means of not only renewing the links to the external world but also of re-establishing the disrupted intrapsychic world. Thus, according to her, mourning involves the repetition of the emotional situation the subject experienced during the depressive position. Under the stress of fear of loss of the loved mother, the subject struggles with the task of establishing and integrating his inner world. She is of the opinion that one of the fundamental factors in determining whether the loss of a loved object will lead to manic-depressive illness or will be overcome, is that the depressive position should be successfully worked through and that the introjected loved objects are securely established within the subject.

According to Klein (1945-1963) the depressive position is bound up with the fundamental changes in the subjects' libidinal organisation. Due to this the depressive position has a relation with the directed and inverted Oedipus complex. The early Oedipus stage is bound up with the essential part, which the mother's inside and the subject's own inside, play heavily on the subject's mind. During the preceding position (paranoid-schizoid) the destructive impulses prevail. The subject's urge is to enter his mother's body, and to take possession of its contents is primarily of an oral and anal nature. This urge is still prevalent during the following position (depressive), but when the genital desires increase it is primarily directed towards the father's penis. Simultaneously the oral desires for the father's penis lead to the internalisation of the penis. This internalised penis (as a good and bad object) plays an important and integral part in the subject's internal object world. The early

stages of the Oedipus complex are of great complexity. Desires from various sources converge and this convergence means the father's penis and the mother's breast exist not only as a part of the parents' body but the subject also experiences himself as inside the parents' body. During the development of the Oedipus complex envy and jealousy evolves. She states that due to this, the subject's feelings in relation to both parents are as follows: When the subject is frustrated the mother or father enjoys the desired object of which the subject is deprived. It is characteristic of the subject to attribute to the parents a constant state of mutual sexual gratification.

These sexual theories are the foundation for the combined parental figures. These fantasies are that the mother contains the father's penis and that the father holds the mother's breast. Furthermore the parents are fused inseparably in sexual intercourse. She states that fantasies of this nature also contribute to the notion that the woman possesses a penis. Through the process of internalisation, the subject can establish such combined parental figures within the self.

As a more realistic relation to the parents gradually develops, the subject comes to consider the parents as separate individuals. Thus the primitive combined parental figure loses its strength. The subject's capacity to enjoy at the same time the relation to both the parents depends on his feeling that they are separate individuals. This more integrated relation to the parents implies a greater understanding of their relation to one another and is a precondition for the subject's hope that he can bring them together and unite them in happiness.

To summarise: In both sexes the fear of the loss of the mother (primary love object) contributes to the need for substitutes. The subject turns toward the father, who at this stage, is also introjected as a complete person. Due to this the libido and depressive anxiety are deflected away from the mother. This process of distribution stimulates object relations as well as lessens the intensity of depressive feelings. The early stages of the directed and inverted Oedipus complex thus bring relief to the anxieties and help the subject to overcome the depressive position. However, new conflicts and anxieties arise and are experienced towards two people who are both loved and hated.

According to Klein (1945-1963) these aforementioned positions and complexes have an influence on the subject's whole life. If the mother is taken into the child's intrapsychic world as a good and dependable object, the identification with the good

characteristic of the mother forms the basis for later identifications. A strong identification with the good mother makes it easier for the subject to identify with the good father figure and this in turn leads to identification with other amiable figures.

The growing integration of the ego to some extent bring together the subject's contradictory impulses. This in turn leads to a greater synthesis of good and bad aspects of the object. This implies that people can be loved in spite of their faults and that the world is not seen only in terms of black and white.

The early environment also causes unfavourable aspects of the attitudes of the adult towards the subject to be detrimental to the subject's development. These adult attitudes cause hatred and rebellion or the tendency to be too submissive. At the same time the subject internalises this hostile and angry adult attitude. Out of these experiences, an excessively disciplinarian parent, or a parent lacking in understanding and love, by identification influences the character (personality) formation of the subject. This could lead the subject to repeat in later life what he himself has undergone. Klein (1945-1963) is of the opinion that that personality (character) is the foundation for all human behaviour and good character relies on a healthy intrapsychic as well as social development.

Due to the fact that this dissertation addresses a form of criminality the researcher thought it necessary to include Klein's view on the development of criminality.

4.3.4 KLEINIAN VIEW OF CRIMINALITY

According to Klein (1921-1945) *it is not the weakness or lack of a superego that is responsible for criminal behaviour, but rather the overpowering strictness of the superego*. The subject first harbours aggressive impulses and fantasies against the parents. The subject projects these fantasies and impulses onto the parents and this in turn leads to the development of a distorted fantasy picture regarding people. Simultaneously the mechanism of introjection operates so that these unreal images become internalised. This results in the belief by the subject that it is being ruled by fantastically dangerous and cruel parents (the superego).

Klein (1921-1945) states that during the early sadistic phase, the subject protects itself against his fear of his violent objects (both introjected and external) by *redoubling his attacks upon them in his imagination*. Thus by getting rid of his

objects the subject in part silences the intolerable threats of the superego. This in part leads to a vicious circle: the subject's anxiety impels it to destroy its objects, which in turn leads to an increase of the anxiety. This in turn urges the subject to destroy the objects. If this circle between hatred, anxiety and destructive tendencies cannot be broken, the subject will remain under the stress of the early anxiety situations and will retain the defensive mechanisms belonging to that early stage. *If the fear of the superego (either through external or intrapsychic reasons) oversteps certain bounds, the subject may be compelled to destroy people and this compulsion may form the basis for psychosis or criminality.*

In both the aforementioned conditions, fantasies of persecution are present. Furthermore due to the fact that the criminal (in this case, serial killer) feels persecuted he goes about destroying other people. In cases where children (in reality and not only in fantasy) experience some degree of persecution through unkind parents and surroundings, the persecutory fantasies will be strengthened. The degree of intrapsychic anxiety as well as the environment will contribute to criminality.

In conclusion she states that love is not absent from the criminal mind. It is however hidden and buried. Love is repressed because the hated persecutory object was first the object to which the subject associated all its love and libido with. Thus the criminal is in the position of hating and persecuting the loved object. Due to this all memory and consciousness of any love for any object must be repressed. The repression of the love leads to the criminal to repress his unconscious feelings of guilt.

4.4 SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to Freud's concepts (id, ego, superego, psychosexual development and fixations), as it relates to the intrapsychic as well as object relational development of subjects.

The main focus of the narcissistic and object libido subsection is on narcissism and how it influences object choice. This section highlights two main developmental paths object choice may follow, namely the narcissistic and anaclytic object choice. According to the narcissistic object choice a person can love: (i) what he is himself; (ii) what he was; (iii) what he wants to be; or (iv) someone that was once "part" of

him. The anaclytic object choice pursues the following paths to love : (i) the woman who fed him; (ii) the man who protected him; and/or (iii) the consecutive substitutes who replaced them. In this section it is argued that the ego develops as a result of a divergence in the primary narcissism, while the ego attempts to reconvene that condition. The divergence is brought on by the transference of the libido to an *ego-ideal*. Consequently the ego directs the object cathexis, but the ego is impoverished in favour of the object cathexis and the ego-ideal. The ego-ideal, however, sets strict conditions for the gratification of libido by the objects due to the fact that some objects are rejected by the superego. The rejected objects are found to be unacceptable to the superego. If no ego-ideal is created, sexual urges will dominate and will take on the form of a perversion (e.g. choosing sexually immature persons as sexual objects or sexual sadism). Domination of the sexual object leads to a sexual-ideal. However, the sexual-ideal can enter into a relationship with the ego-ideal, and may become a substitute when narcissistic gratification becomes impossible. The narcissistic object choice contains the quality that is lacking in the subject. What the object has, is what the ego needs to be completed.

Repression was also addressed as it has an impact on object choice and object relations. Two types of repression can be distinguished, namely primary and secondary repression. In **primary repression** the intrapsychic representative (ideation) of the instinct is denied entry into the conscious. Due to this denial to the ego, fixations will be formed. However, the intrapsychic representative together with the instinct still exists “unchanged” in the unconscious part of the mind. **Secondary repression** consists of intrapsychic variants of the repressed representative. These variants are associations of the repressed representative. In this secondary phase of repression the conscious experiences disgust at what is repressed, but the repressed ideation also pulls the associations with it. Due to the fact that the repressed ideation of the instinct exists in the unconscious it is further organised and in turn forms more associations. The individual experiences this continuous formation of associations as dangerous and threatening. Repression also has upward and downward mobility. The repressed ideation exercises a continuous pressure in the direction of the conscious (upward pull) but this pressure is balanced by an unceasing counter-pressure (downward pull). The maintenance of repression involves uninterrupted expenditure of force, and according to him, if the repression is removed, the force and energy that is needed will be saved. The motivation for repression of an instinct is the avoidance of displeasure.

Anxiety plays a major role in the formation of repression and eventual object relations. Anxiety never arises from repressed libido but it is the ego's attitude towards anxiety that sets repression into action. In the discussion of anxiety, the differences between automatic anxiety and anxiety, which acts as a warning of danger, was highlighted. Automatic anxiety is due to the occurrence of a traumatic situation and warning anxiety occurs when there is a threat of a traumatic experience. These two cases of anxiety are further distinguishable. In automatic anxiety something occurs in the id which activates one of the danger situations for the ego and causes the ego to give the anxiety signal for inhibition. In signal anxiety a situation comparable to the trauma of birth is established in the id and an automatic reaction of anxiety takes place. It should be noted that automatic anxiety can be changed into signal anxiety. In this section three subtypes of anxiety were identified: (i) realistic anxiety - the reaction to danger; (ii) neurotic anxiety - an illogical form of anxiety; and (iii) moral anxiety - the superego. There is a connection between these subtypes of anxiety, the ego, the id, the superego and the external world. The generation of anxiety and formation of symptoms are related.

Freud's theory on Eros and Thanatos was addressed because these concepts have a definite influence on the intrapsychic structure. Under this section melancholia was also addressed because of its strong influence on object choice and object relations. To understand this process and how it relates to object choice and its relational implications, the focus should fall on an earlier object choice. As stated earlier an object choice existed first. This means that the libido was directed at another person. However, due to a rejection by this other person, the object relationship was reserved. Under normal conditions the libido would have been withdrawn from the person and would have been directed at another person. But in melancholia the libido is drawn into the ego and this leads the ego to **identify with the lost object**. During this process the lost object is enfolded by the ego and the ego in turn develops into the surrendered object. **Object loss is converted into ego loss**. Due to the critical activity of the ego and identification by the ego, the conflict between object and ego is transferred. For this whole process to take place there must be a strong fixation on the object and the object cathexis should have little resistance. This implies that the **object choice had a narcissistic basis**. This narcissistic basis implies that the ego could revert to narcissism whenever it experiences irreconcilability with the object. This narcissistic identification with the object forms a substitute for the erotic cathexis. This substitution of identification for object love forms the basic mechanism for narcissistic affection. **Narcissistic object**

choice is a predisposition for melancholia. In melancholia the subject blames himself for the loss of the object. When the love for the object is taken up in the narcissistic identification, a hate relationship develops with the substitute identified ego (object). This hate relationship causes the ego (object) to be abused, humiliated and a sadistic gratification is experienced through the suffering of the object (ego). The ego can kill itself only if it can treat itself as an object. It is only possible if it is able to direct itself against the hostility which relates to an object and which represents the ego's original reaction to objects in the external world. In regressing from the narcissistic object choice the object is able to get rid of the ego and, due to this, is also more powerful than the ego itself

The researcher included a Freudian view of criminality in the discussion due to the nature of the phenomenon being researched.

Klein's discussion of the Oedipus complex was considered due to the developmental impact of this complex on the formation of object relations. Klein's work on the development of the Oedipus complex evolved from 1928 till 1957. The researcher used the last written account that Klein formulated on this concept. According to Klein (1945-1963) the previous pregenital stages of the Oedipus complex and that which Freud stated of the Oedipal position is still of importance. She however, takes a different position regarding the onset and decline of the Oedipus complex. She also makes some important additions regarding the nature of the Oedipus complex. According to her sadism declines rather than escalates in the first six months. This implies that her earlier statement that the complex starts in the narcissistic phase, or when sadism is at its height falls away. *The weaning process and oral frustration release the Oedipus complex.* Hate is not the primary starting block for the Oedipus complex (as in Freudian psychology). The onset of the Oedipus complex is coincidental with the commencement of the depressive position. According to Klein this happens when the persecutory anxiety diminishes and feelings of love comes strongly to the foreground. She is also of the opinion that deprivation may cause the subject to turn away from the breast, but this is secondary to the love that propels the subject forward and the libido's inherent search for new objects. Guilt is not the primary factor in the decline of the Oedipus complex. Positive emotions are the main factor for the decline of the complex. She is also of the opinion that the subject's love for his parents and his wish to preserve the parents is also a definitive reason for the decline in the Oedipus complex's power. Due to the subject's struggle to integrate the feelings of love and hate directed at the object, the Oedipal desires and the

depressive anxieties become intertwined. This means that the sexual impulses gain the ability to repair the effect aggression has on the object. This in turn leads to the emergence of reparative sexual fantasies, which according to Klein, is of great significance for the development of future sexuality. The early stages of the Oedipus complex are important in understanding object relations. The connection between the Oedipus complex and the depressive position as paramount to the intrapsychic development of the subject.

According to Klein **object relations** exist from the beginning of life. The first object is the mother's breast, which to the subject becomes split into a good (gratifying), and bad (frustrating) breast; this splitting results in a love and hate severance. The relation to the first object implies its introjection and projection. Thus, the object relations are moulded by an interaction between introjection and projection, between internal and external objects and situations. These processes contribute to the development of the ego and superego. This in turn leads to the preparation for the onset of the Oedipus complex. Both life and death instincts are intimately linked with object relations. The external stimuli invested with libido or aggression become primitive objects. Objects are first part objects (characteristic of the **paranoid-schizoid position**), and only later become total or whole objects (characteristics of the **depressive position**). The term part object is used in two ways: (i) as partial aspects of real persons (e.g. breasts) that are perceived by the subject as if they were the object with whom the subject is relating; or (ii) as either a part of/or total person perceived in a distorted, unrealistic manner due to the influence of the projection of pure libido or aggression. This in turn causes the subject experience these objects as either all good or all bad. The early environment also causes that the unfavourable aspects of the attitudes of the adult towards the subject are detrimental to the subject's development. These adult attitudes stir up in the subject hatred and rebellion or too great submissiveness. At the same time, the subject internalises this hostile and angry adult attitude. Out of these experiences, an excessively disciplinarian parent, or a parent lacking in understanding and love, by identification influences the character (personality) formation of the subject. This could lead the subject to repeat in later life what he himself has undergone. Personality (character) is the foundation for all human behaviour and good character relies on a healthy intrapsychic as well as social development.

Because this dissertation addresses a certain form of criminality a Kleinian view on the development of criminality was explained. In the next chapter the rational and

research method employed for this dissertation will be addressed.

CHAPTER 5

RATIONALE AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

*The connection between cause
and effect had no beginning and
can have no end.
-Leo Tolstoy, War and Peace*

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the rationale and research method used in this study is discussed. The rationale will focus on the purpose of the research and the research question and the research methodology will address what processes will be used to conduct the research.

5.2 RATIONALE

The rationale for this dissertation is that the symbolism found in the acts of serial killers can be routed back to their intrapsychic/psychodynamic development. As previously stated, serial homicide seem to have no discernible extrinsic motive but a possible intrinsic motive. The research will attempt to show through the use of the already mentioned intrapsychic theories that maladjustments during the earliest phases of intrapsychic development could result in a serial homicidal personality. The research will attempt to find an answer for the research question, “**What is the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide?**”. By answering this question the research may provide insight into the serial killer psyche. This insight in turn may lead to better detection of serial killers and also early intervention with children who show similar intrapsychic development.

5.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A qualitative study was selected due to the fact that there are currently only a few serial killers incarcerated in South Africa and from those incarcerated serial killers

only a few were willing to participate in the research. The researcher also felt that using a qualitative study would better address the research question and would also lead to rich data. The researcher further selected the case study method as this method serves an unique function in psychology. Due to the fact that psychodynamic/intrapsychic theoretical models emphasise complexity, the case study method is the preferred research design. The case study method offers a rich source of hypothesis regarding the development of “abnormal” (pathological) behaviour and assists in the study of rare phenomena such as serial homicide. The limitations regarding the use of the case study method (the questionability of retrospective accounts, alternative explanations and observational bias) were taken into account (Kazdin, 1992).

5.3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design selected for this research is Yin’s (1984) exploratory case study method. This research strategy was selected for the following reasons:

- It proposes a general question.
- It incorporates a generalisation of the answer.
- It addresses multiple case studies.
- It provides an opportunity to make use of multiple data sources.

The motivations for employing this case study method will be addressed individually and in detail in the following sections.

5.3.1.1 The general question

According to Yin (1984) case studies can be divided into exploratory, descriptive and explanatory case studies. The decision to use one of the aforementioned case studies should be made by considering the following two conditions: i) the type of research question posed; ii) the extent of control the researcher has over actual behavioural events and the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events. These two considerations will be further discussed in the following subsection.

- i) The type of research question posed

Yin (1984) recommends that a basic question supporting the research should be

formulated based on the available literature on the subject. The available literature should provide answers to the questions that the research poses.

Yin (1984) also recommends that “how” and “why” question be asked in an *exploratory* case study research. “How” and “why” questions, in contrast to “what” questions, are more likely to lead to the use of case studies and histories as the preferred research strategies. The reason is that these types of questions deal with operational links over time and not mere frequencies or incidences.

- ii) The extent of control over behavioural events and the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events

Yin (1984) states that the extent to which a researcher has control over actual behavioural events will determine the choice between the case study, historical case study or the experimental research method.

Historical case studies are the preferred method when there is no control over the behaviour since the researcher is dealing with the “dead” past. The experimental study is done when the researcher can manipulate the behaviour directly and systematically. The case study is preferred in examining contemporary events due to the fact that the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated. Yin (1984) also states that the case study method uses the same techniques as the historical method but also has two other sources of evidence not included in the repertoire of historical methods namely: direct observation and systematic interviewing. Although case studies and histories can overlap he stresses that the unique strength of the case study lies in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence, namely documents, artefacts, interviews and direct observation.

After careful examination of the available literature and research regarding serial killers and serial homicide, the researcher felt that the available research did not fully address the origin of the serial killer personality. The question the researcher poses is **“What is the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide, and how does it develop?”**. The constitution of the question, namely “How does the serial killer’s personality develop?” or “Why does the serial killer personality develop?” is therefore suited to the case study method. Other research questions also suited to the study are: **“What is the parent-child relationship like?”**; **“How does the parent-child relationship influence the object relations of the serial killer?”**; **“How does the**

parental relationship influence the serial killer's interpersonal relationships?"

Regarding Yin's (1984) statement that the topic should be contemporary and the researcher should have little or no control over the topic; the phenomena and increase in incidents of serial homicide is a contemporary set of events, over which the researcher has no control. The next topic regarding the research design is the generalisation of the answer.

5.3.1.2 The generalisation of the answer

Yin (1984) states that case studies are generalisable to *theoretical propositions* and the goal of research is to expand and generalise theories (which Yin calls analytical generalisations) and not to compute frequencies. In this research the intrapsychic theories will be applied to *two case studies* to determine whether an intrapsychic approach could explain the origin of serial homicide. If these theories explain why serial killers feel a compulsion to murder, the intrapsychic approach as a theoretical basis can be generalised to determine the developmental patterns of other serial killers in an attempt to explain the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide. The generalisation lies in the proposition that the intrapsychic theories may be applied to all cases of serial homicidal behaviour, and not on the premise that the same developmental pattern will be found in every serial murderer.

5.3.1.3 Multiple case studies

Concerning the advantages of using multiple case studies opposed to single case studies, Yin (1984) mentions the term "replication logic" which can be applied to multiple case studies. With replication of logic Yin states that it is necessary when conducting research that the appropriate research design is able to predict the same results for each of the multiple case studies, thereby proving that all the case studies were in fact involved with the same phenomenon.

Yin (1984) further argues that a rich theoretical framework is needed for replication to take place. The theoretical framework needs to state the conditions under which a certain phenomenon will occur and also under which condition the said phenomenon will not manifest. According to him the theoretical framework can also, as in the case with experimental research, be modified if some cases do not work as predicted and the theoretical framework will serve as the ultimate medium for generalising to new

cases.

In this research multiple case studies is used to discuss the case studies of the two serial killers. If the same results are found in the cases one can assume replication took place. The desired result or outcome of this research is that the origin of serial homicidal behaviour can be explored and traced back to the intrapsychic development of each serial killer.

The rich theoretical framework, referred to by Yin (1984), is selected aspects of the psychoanalytic theory of Freud and selected aspects of the object relation theory of Klein. If these theories explain the origin of serial homicide they can be generalised to all serial killers.

It should be noted that only two case studies was selected for this research due to the following reasons: (i) Serial homicide is a rare phenomenon and subjects are scarce; (ii) permission had to be obtained from the Department of Correctional Services to conduct the research as well as from prisoners to participate in it. At the time the research was conducted, only the two serial killers were willing to co-operate with the study. In the following section the concept of multiple data sources will be addressed.

5.3.1.4 Multiple data sources

Yin (1984) states that multiple data sources are ideally suited to a case study research method. According to him the opportunity to use multiple data sources of evidence is better suited to the case study method than any other research design. The use of multiple data sources helps in addressing contemporary sources of evidence such as the direct observation of a phenomenon or interviews with key players. Another reason why Yin confirms the usefulness of multiple data sources in case studies is that it helps the researcher draw converging lines regarding the research and this convergence of ideas in effect helps the researcher to triangulate the data. Yin further states that if multiple sources of information are used, the findings or conclusions in a case study are much more likely to be accurate and credible.

In this research the following multiple data sources was used^{*}:

- psychometric testing of subjects (see 5.4)
- semi-structured interview with subjects (only to help enrich testing data, see Appendix C).

It should be noted that the above-mentioned information sources (including the semi-structured interview) will be used to form a synopsis of the subject and will help in understanding individual case studies as they relate to the interpretation of the TAT, PTSI and the TOR. In the next section the gathering of data will be discussed.

5.3.2 DATA GATHERING

According to Yin there are three principles applicable to data gathering. The three principles are: (i) using multiple sources of evidence; (ii) creating a case study data base; (iii) maintaining a chain of evidence.

- (i) Multiple sources of evidence have already been discussed in the previous subsection.
- (ii) The data base will contain the raw data that was used as data sources and will be kept in a safe by the researcher and the Department of Psychology. An individual will only be granted access to the database if both the researcher and department agree.
- (iii) Chain of evidence refers to the possibility that an external observer may be able to follow the derivation of any evidence from the initial research question to the case study conclusion. For this reason all data sources will be correctly cited, the data base will be available for inspection and the researcher will comply with the appointed procedures of the research methods.

5.3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis technique that will be used is the *descriptive-dialogic* case study method found in Van Vuuren (1991). According to this analytical strategy, while emphasis is still placed on the faithful portrayal of the phenomenon, the cases should also manifest the general principles already stated in the literature. The data is placed within the existing theory or is used to contest conflicting and diverging points

^{*}Police, court and correctional reports were used but not cited. The reason for this is that most of these sources use the individuals surname and name and this could lead to the discovery of the identity of the respondents.

in the theory.

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide through the psychoanalytic and object relation theories of Freud and Klein. The link that will be explored is the intrapsychic origin of the phenomenon.

5.3.4 DATA INTEGRATION

The data integration method is that of the *descriptive-dialogic* case study method (Van Vuuren, 1991). The data will be discussed in relation to the theories already developed. This will imply that parallels will be drawn between the processed information and the theories. Similarities and differences between the two case studies will also be discussed and a general overview of the intrapsychic structure of the serial killer will be presented.

5.3.5 CRITERIA FOR JUDGING THE QUALITY OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Yin (1984) there are four constructions for judging qualitative research. These four constructions are: (i) construct validity; (ii) internal validity; (iii) external validity; and (iv) reliability.

5.3.5.1 Construct validity

Yin (1984) states that construct validity questions the operational methods used to study a phenomenon. Construct validity is supplemented in a case study by employing multiple data sources. The use of multiple data sources encourages convergent lines of inquiry.

In this dissertation multiple data sources are employed. These sources of data are: (i) psychometric testing of subjects; and (ii) semi-structured interview with subjects. By using the different multiple data sources, construct validity will be enhanced. Internal validity will be stated in the next section.

5.3.5.2 Internal validity

According to Yin (1984) internal validity in an exploratory case study queries the relationship between two factors and the inferences made between the factors. The

inferences will be based on the interview, documentary evidence and psychometric testing which were collected as part of this case study.

Yin (1984) is further of the opinion that an exploratory case study complies with internal validity. In this dissertation the exploratory case study method will be used by applying the theories of Freud and Klein to the two case studies of serial homicide. The data derived from the research will be used to draw parallels with the theories.

5.3.5.3 External validity

Yin (1984) is of the opinion that external validity consists of the generalisation of the findings of the research. Replication in multiple case studies complies with the criteria for external validity. If replication took place, the result can be accepted for a larger number of case studies. This means that if replication takes place in this study, the findings of this study can be generalised to all serial killers.

5.3.5.4 Reliability

The concept of reliability implies that another researcher, using the same research method that was used in the original research, should reach the same findings. Yin (1984) states that it is imperative that all procedures are accurately written down and that a case study database should be kept.

All the data used in this thesis will be entered into a database and the researcher and the Department of Psychology will keep this database. The database will be open for inspection if an external observer wants to verify the findings of the research. The database may also be used to conduct further research on serial homicide. In the next section the psychometric tests that will be used will be cited. The research will also have inter-rater reliability. A qualified psychologist (the research supervisor Mr. L Daws) will verify the analysis of the data.

5.4 PSYCHOMETRIC TESTS

As previously mentioned certain psychometric tests will be used while conducting the research into serial homicide. The psychometric tests that will be used are: (i) the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT); (ii) the Test of Object Relations (TOR); and (iii)

the Picture Test of Separation and Individuation (PTSI). Two of the tests (TAT and PTSI) are projective and semi-projective techniques, the researcher thought it necessary to include a short discussion on the use of projective tests with intrapsychic/psychodynamic theory.

5.4.1 INTRAPSYCHIC THEORY AND THE USE OF PROJECTIVE TESTS

The primary characteristic regarding projective and semi-projective tests is that these instruments are either unstructured or semi-structured. According to Anastasi (1968) this unstructured or semi-structured approach reflects fundamental aspects of an individual's functioning. Projective tests have a global approach to personality and are useful in revealing latent or unconscious aspects of personality. Due to the nature of projective and semi-projective tests (limited guidelines for responses) the individual provides his/her own representation of conscious and unconscious object relation, defences, ego function and repression. Intrapsychic theory emphasise the importance of the unconscious, ego functioning, object relations as well as repression in studying personality development. Both the projective/semi-projective tests and intrapsychic theory emphasises that a holistic understanding of personality should be adhered to when conducting research on individual personality development.

5.4.2 THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST (TAT)

The first test that will be used is a projective test known as the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The TAT consists of 30 black and white picture cards (and one completely blank card) depicting people in ambiguous situations. The administration of the TAT begins by asking the examinee to tell a complete story about each of the cards selected appropriate for the subject's sex or interpretation method. The subject will be asked to spend approximately five minutes on each story, telling the researcher what is happening in the present, what thoughts and feelings the people in the story have, what events led up to the situation and how the story will turn out (Thematic Apperception Test Manual, 1943).

When interpreting the TAT, it is assumed that the respondents project their own needs, emotions and conflicts into the stories and characters. The assessment of the information will be analysed using Bellak and Abrams (1997) object relations method for the TAT and the cards that will be used will be the 1, 2, 3BM, 4, 6BM, 7BM, 8, 10, 13MF cards for men. Researchers such as Western, Lohr, Silk, Gold

and Kerber (1990) and Porcerelli, Abramsky, Hibbard and Kamoo (2000) found that the TAT is a valid method for evaluating object relations. Porcerelli et al. (2000) also state that TAT findings are relatively consistent with other psychometric tests conducted on serial killers. An example of Bellak and Abrams (1997) object relation method will now be quoted:

8BM: oh God. These are doctors back there and they're doing an operation. They're taking something out. And this kid's worried about his father, who's on the table. His father gets alright and the whole family's all happy he's still alive, 'cause in those days most of them weren't so successful. His was successful, so they're happy.

<i>Cast of characters</i>	<i>Type of personality</i>
<i>Doctors</i>	<i>Successfully lifesaving</i>
<i>Boy</i>	<i>Worried over potential loss of father</i>
<i>Father</i>	<i>Passively helped</i>

<i>Social interactions</i>	<i>Type of interactions</i>
<i>Doctors cure passive father</i>	<i>Helpful, life-saving</i>
<i>Boy worried over father's health</i>	<i>Caring or disguised anger?</i>

Summary

The story may express an actual worry over the subject's father's physical health or it could be a reaction formation of overt concern to cover underlying angry, death fantasies towards the father, who is seen as passively helped. Again, there is the "happily ever after" type of ending where everything turns out happily successful. His comment that this operation was successful, but in "those days they weren't always so successful," may express a depressive feeling that it is rare for things to turn out totally successful and happy. The idea that the doctors cure the father by taking something out of him may express a feeling that psychotherapy could cure him if something inside him was taken out, perhaps helping him get rid of troubling thoughts. (p. 223).

The four subscales (Bellak & Abrams, 1997) for scoring this approach are:

- *Complexity of representation of people.* Internalised self and object representations become increasingly more separate and differentiated from each other throughout child development to adulthood. This subcategory examines the level of differentiation of story characters and the extent to which an individual can see the self and others as having multifaceted qualities
- *Affect tone of relationship paradigms.* This dimension examines the types of

interactions in the TAT. These stories are usually along a continuum that is between malevolent, painful interaction and more benign, loving interaction.

- *Capacity for emotional investment in relationships and moral standards.* This dimension examines the extent to which relationships are experienced as meaningful and the extent to which moral standards are developed and considered.
- *Understanding of social causality.* This dimension explores whether the individual understands the cause of actions, thoughts, and feelings within himself and in others.

5.4.3 THE PICTURE TEST OF SEPARATION AND INDIVIDUATION (PTSI)

The second test that will be used is the Picture Test of Separation and Individuation (PTSI). The PTSI is a semi-projective test, composed of various pictures illustrating relations between the subject and a significant other. The test is divided into three subtests: Relationship with Mother, Relationship with Father and Attachment. The subjects are asked to respond to these pictures and then to write down all of their feelings toward the pictures (Zvelc, 2003).

5.4.4 TEST OF OBJECT RELATIONS (TOR)

The third test that will be used the Test of Object Relations (TOR). The TOR measures six dimensions of interpersonal relations: Symbiotic Merging; Separation Anxiety; Narcissism; Egocentricity; Fear of Engulfment and Social Isolation. These dimensions refer to the basic aspects of dyadic relations as described by writers on object relation theory. A validity scale for distinguishing a social desirability of answers and random answering is included as part of the test (Zvelc, 2003). A description of the dimensions that are mentioned will be given as well as the questions dealing directly with that dimension.

5.4.4.1 Symbiotic merging

This dimension refers to weak differentiation between the self and others. It can be viewed as the feeling of unity with others, or of losing oneself in relations with other people. Furthermore, it refers to the desire and longing for the establishment of symbiotic relationships (Zvelc, 2003).

Symbiotic merging questions.

1. I often communicate with the person I love without words.
14. I find it difficult to distinguish between my wishes and the wishes of a person I am very attached to.
18. Sometimes in a relationship with others I begin to lose my sense of self.
20. I need another person to feel whole.
28. Some people fascinate me so much I can't stop thinking about them.
33. I want to merge into ONE with the person I love.
38. If the person I love feels bad, I begin to feel bad too.
47. I find it difficult to accept that there isn't just kinship but also differences between myself and the person I love.
55. Sometimes I feel so close to another person that I no longer know who I am.
66. When I am with the person I feel close to, I can read his/her mind.
71. The person I feel close to has the same mind as I do.
82. I experience the person that I love as a part of myself.
83. Sometimes I expect other people to know what I need without me telling them that.
92. Sometimes I behave in the same way as the person I like.
94. I often feel as if though there is no clear boundary between me and other people.

5.4.4.2 Separation anxiety

The aforementioned dimension tests the difficulty in tolerating separation from significant others as well as fear of abandonment. According to psychodynamic/intrapsychic theory this anxiety develops during the phallic phase when the child start to fear the loss of love from the opposite sex parent (Zvelc, 2003).

Separation anxiety questions

1. If the person I love left me, my life wouldn't have any meaning any more.
13. I am distressed if I have to take leave for a short time of a person who I feel close to.
16. If I am on a short trip, I phone the people I am close to almost every day.
24. If I go on a trip, I am afraid that by doing so I will hurt those who are close to me.
27. I have a toy or an object from my childhood that I am very attached to.
37. I would like to always live with my parents.
40. I feel bad if the person I love leaves me alone.
50. I often think of the danger of losing the person I feel very close to.
52. It is difficult for me to cope with every separation from the person I love.
65. If the person I am very attached to has to leave for a while, I take an object belonging to

him/her to feel better.

- 66. Sometimes I fear that one of the people I am close to might die.
- 72. In a relationship, I try to chain the partner to myself.
- 76. When I go to bed at night, I want to have something with me to protect me.
- 79. When I go on a trip, I miss my family a lot.
- 86. Being alone causes me to feel despair.

5.4.4.3 Narcissism

This dimension tests the individual's grandiose and omnipotent experiencing of himself/herself. Psychodynamic/intrapsychic theory states that narcissism is a characteristic of early developmental stages when children experience gratification through the love of their bodies and their abilities. These theories also state that during these developmental stages children usually have little or no interest in other individuals' needs and well being (Zvelc, 2003).

Narcissism questions.

- 2. I admire myself very much.
- 8. I like dangerous pursuits.
- 21. I am going to achieve more in life than other people.
- 22. 'Average' people are uninteresting.
- 28. Other people are fascinated by me.
- 34. I am better looking than other people.
- 36. I am worth more than other people.
- 45. Sometimes I feel as if I am almighty.
- 53. Sometimes I feel so strong that I think nothing bad can happen to me.
- 57. I have a special power that other people don't possess.
- 61. I would like to become famous.
- 72. I want to be perfect.
- 77. I believe that I am truly special.
- 89. I believe I was born to do great things.
- 90. When I am in company, I want to be the center of attention.

5.4.4.4 Egocentricity

This dimension measures whether the individual experiences other people as a means of satisfying his/her own needs. Individuals who score high on this dimension usually have relationships based on manipulation and exploitation. In these

relationships the individuals behave in a demanding way and expect other people to act according to their wishes and desires. A high score on this dimension implies a lack of empathy and an inability to establish relationships of mutual reciprocity (Zvelc, 2003).

Egocentricity questions.

- 6. I am very good and kind to people as long as they are of some use to me.
- 10. In a relationship I expect the partner to always accommodate me.
- 12. If other people don't behave as I want them to, I get very upset.
- 25. Sometimes I manipulate other people.
- 29. I feel bad if the person I love does something that goes against my wishes.
- 32. When I am in a relationship, I want to control my partner.
- 42. The most important thing in love is that my partner is always available to me.
- 43. Sometimes I claim for myself rights that I am not willing to grant to others.
- 69. If the person I love tries to do something I disagree with, I try to stop him/her.
- 80. Sometimes I break all rules to achieve what I want.
- 84. I want other people to be the way I would have them be.
- 87. When a person no longer gives me what I need, he or she no longer interests me.
- 88. In a relationship, I do not allow my partner the things I allow myself.
- 90. In a relationship I become very angry when my partner doesn't act as I want him/her to.
- 95. I sometimes use other people to get what I want.

5.4.4.5 Fear of engulfment

This dimension tests whether the individuals fear that they might lose their own identity, individuality or freedom if they are in relationships with other people. A high score could indicate a fear of intimate relationships. Individuals who score high on this dimension usually want to be independent and act counter-dependently (Zvelc, 2003).

Fear of engulfment questions.

- 9. I usually do the opposite of what others expect of me.
- 11. I don't want a permanent partner because that would take away my freedom.
- 19. I sometimes oppose others just to prove that they have no power over me.
- 23. I refuse to become attached to other people because I don't want to lose my freedom.
- 31. I feel threatened when another person tries to establish a more intimate relationship with me.

- 39. Sometimes I am afraid of another person getting to close to me.
- 46. I am intimidated by people who want to become emotionally close to me.
- 47. My relationships are brief, no strings attached.
- 54. Sometimes I fear that another person will get overly attached to me.
- 56. When a relationship with another person becomes too committing, I withdraw.
- 60. Some people really impose on me.
- 64. If I get to close to another person, I become afraid of losing myself.
- 73. I would like to escape from a relationship that is becoming more and more intimate.
- 78. In a relationship I feel trapped.
- 93. In relationships I am afraid of losing my independence.

5.4.4.6 Social isolation

This dimension measures an avoidance and/or lack of relationship with others and a withdrawal into one's own world. A high score on this dimension could mean that the individual is alienated, distrustful, has a lack of intimate relationships or is self-sufficient (Zvelc, 2003).

Social isolation questions.

- 3. I don't have any good friends.
- 5. I have the feeling that nobody likes me.
- 7. Contacts with other people are not important to me.
- 17. I am reserved and introverted.
- 26. I am not close to anyone.
- 35. I don't need other people.
- 44. I have never fallen in love.
- 49. I feel that there is a barrier between myself and other people.
- 51. I can't rely on anyone but myself.
- 59. I cannot become attached to anyone.
- 62. I am mistrustful towards other people.
- 63. I have no one in my life on whom I could rely in difficult moments.
- 68. Other people seem so distant from me.
- 75. I don't have a lot of contacts with people.
- 85. I am alienated from other people.

5.4.4.7 Validity index

The validity index is composed of items that detect "random" answering and

answering according to the social desirability of answers. A validity index of >15 suggests random answering or answering due to the social desirability of the answer (Zvelc, 2003).

Validity index questions.

- 15. I am being frank in answering the questions in this test.
- 41. I have visited all the countries of the world.
- 58. Sometimes something unpleasant happens to me.
- 70. In the past week I have had at least a glass of something to drink.
- 81. I have told at least one lie in my life.

5.4.4.8 Interpretation

While interpreting the different aforementioned dimensions, questions that scored either four or five will be regarded to be of importance (Zvelc, 2003). Interpretation will involve concepts from the object relation theories mentioned in Chapter 4. The aforementioned dimensions of this test refer to the fundamental aspects of dyadic relationships (Zvelc, 2003). In the chapters dealing with each of the respondents (chapter 6&7&8) the researcher will include a diagrammatical representation of the scores on the dimensions.

5.5 SUMMARY

The rationale for the study is to apply the theories of Freud and Klein to cases of serial killers to explore the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide. The research will attempt to find an answer to the research questions: **“What is the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide?”**; **“What is the parent-child relationship?”**; **“How does the parent-child relationship influence the object relations of the serial killer?”**; **“How does the parental relationship influence the serial killer’s interpersonal relationships?”**. By answering these questions the research will provide insight into the psyche of the serial killer. This insight could lead in turn to better detection of serial killers and also early intervention with children who show the same intrapsychic development.

The research method employed is a qualitative, exploratory case study method. A qualitative study was selected because there are a small number of serial killers incarcerated in South African prisons. Of those incarcerated serial killers only two

were willing to participate in the research. The researcher also felt that using a qualitative study would better address the research question and would also lead to more rich data. The case study method was selected because it involves a research question, it deals with contemporary events, multiple data sources may be used and the findings can be generalised to other case studies.

Data gathering is done by psychometric testing (TAT, PTST and TOR), a semi-structured interview and other biographical information on the research participants. The data will be analysed by the descriptive-dialogic case study method. The data integration method is that of the descriptive-dialogic case study method (Van Vuuren, 1991). The data will be discussed in relation to the already developed theories. This will imply that parallels will be drawn between the processed information and the theories. Similarities and differences between the two case studies will also be discussed and a general overview of the intrapsychic structure of the serial killer will be presented. Multiple data sources and multiple case studies will be employed to ensure construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability.

In Chapter 6 the research respondent Mr. A will be discussed and analysed.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY OF MR. A*

*Ek is 'n goeie gentleman ek werk hard en is eerlik maar
iemand wat van agter kom maak my baie kwaad.*
-Mr. A

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Mr. A is an Afrikaans and Tsonga speaking African male in the late adulthood phase. During the interview he was dressed in an orange prison uniform, his appearance was neat and he was well groomed with short, neatly cut hair. Mr. A is of average height with a slender build. When we shook hands, his hand was slightly damp and his handshake was timid. This may have been indicative of anxiety, interpersonal submissiveness or his cultural background. He greeted the researcher with the commonly seen alternating three-grip handshake used in African culture. He seemed slightly cautious and suspicious of this writer and the other researcher. He later relaxed and even started to smile and use humour.

Mr. A requested that the purpose of the research be repeated to him and that the testing and interviews be done in Afrikaans. Mr. A explained that although he had been to school, his English was not that good and that he could thus express himself better in Afrikaans. He also initially stated that he did not want to speak about his mother or father. He mentioned that he had recently lost his mother and was still very “sad” and “angry” about it: “*Ek het 'n probleem ... Jy sien my ma is dood ... ek voel nie gemaklik om oor haar te praat nie*”. When asked why it was not easy to talk

*Please note that due to certain restrictions in the Correctional facility, where Mr. A is held, the researcher was unable to audio-record and transcribe the interview. The anecdotal quotes stated in this chapter can be found in the process notes of the researcher. It is also not the intention of the researcher to dispute the claims made by Mr. A. It is of the researchers opinion that whatever Mr. A presents will give a portrayal of his object relation and intrapsychic structure.

about her, he explained that the prison authorities had refused permission for him to go and bury her: "*Hulle wou nie dat ek haar gaan bêre nie*". The researcher later established that due to Mr. A being a high escape risk, and because he is held in a super maximum prison, permission to leave the prison could not be granted.

Mr. A claimed that he was very depressed about the loss of both his father and mother and that he was all alone in the world: "*Julle sien ... ek alleen*". At the onset of the interview Mr. A remarked that his parents, especially his mother, were "wonderful" parents: "*My ma hulle was wonderlik*". Later during the interview he seemed to contradict himself by stating that his father physically and emotionally abused him: "*My pa het my altyd gebliksem*". Mr. A's criminal history as well as the *modus operandi* he used when committing his crimes will now be addressed.

6.2 CRIMINAL HISTORY

Mr. A's criminal record dates back to an early age (17 years). Convictions range from theft, damage to property, attempted rape, rape, rape with a weapon, escape from custody, attempted escape, parole violation and murder. He committed eight murders along with various other offences such as rape, assault with intent to do bodily harm and assault with a deadly weapon. He was convicted on only four of the murder charges and one charge of kidnapping.

Modus Operandi

Mr. A approached a victim by walking up to her and asking her a question. If she did not respond in the way he expected or if the victim spurned his advances he would pull out a toy gun and abduct her. The victim was then taken to a secluded spot and physically assaulted and/or raped. **It should be noted that not all the victims were raped. He did however physically assault each of them.** After the assault and/or rape Mr. A would use one of his shoelaces to manually strangle the victim. In court his only surviving victim testified that he repeatedly assaulted and raped her. She also testified that he frequently told her that he was going to "teach her a lesson".

Finally, according to prison documents Mr. A broke down in court and admitted to having committed some of the murders and expressed remorse for what he had done. In defence he claimed that he could not control himself because he was angry

with the women. To gain an understanding of factors that could have contributed to his behaviour, it is necessary to give an exposition of his life history.

6.3 LIFE HISTORY

Pre-Oedipal development

Mr. A was the only child of a domestic worker (mother) and a miner (father) born in the Mpumalanga province between 1958 and 1965*. According to him his mother and father did not get along and when he was two or three years old, his mother took him out of his father's care. Although his father wanted him, his mother refused to let him grow up in the care of another woman (his father's girlfriend): *"My pa het die ander vrou gevat en my ma gelos"*. Subsequently his father "washed his hands of both of them" saying that he did not want anything to do with him or his mother: *"Hy het sy hande uitgespoel van my"*. The subject also recalled that both of his parents were heavy drinkers, especially his father. They often assaulted each other while he lived with them: *"Hulle het altyd baklei ... My pa het baie gesuip"*.

When he was four years old, his mother gave him up to his grandmother to raise. His mother stated that she was too young to be burdened with raising a child. According to him she wanted to go out and enjoy her life. She told him and his grandmother that she did not want to be stuck with a baby: *"Sy wou nog jonk wees en wou nie sukkel met 'n kind nie"*.

Oedipal development

According to Mr. A his grandmother loved him sincerely and played a significant role in his development. She was poor and neither of his parents supported her financially to raise him. Mr. A claims that he loved his grandmother very much, and even though she was poor; she had nothing but love for him: *"My ouma sy het baie liefde vir my gehad"*. According to him she gave him everything she possibly could: *"Sy het*

*These details are kept vague to ensure Mr. A's anonymity.

my gegee wat sy kon".

Mr. A stated that although he did not live with either his mother or father, he had regular contact with them. These contacts left him feeling confused and frustrated. Every time he visited his mother she would tell him of his father's wickedness and that he had abandoned them both for another woman. His father repeated the pattern by telling Mr. A that his mother was a "whore" and that she slept around: *"Hy het my altyd vertel dat my ma 'n hoer is, dis hoekom hy my gelos het"*. On the occasions he saw them together they fought constantly.

Mr. A's most vivid memory of his father was of an incident where his father beat him mercilessly. On his way to see his father he begged for money to buy the snacks other children could afford: *"Ek wou ook ice creams en peanuts koop soos die ander kinders"*. When his father found out that he had been begging for money he beat him severely and told him that no son of his would beg for money: *"Toe hy dit sien toe moer hy my dat die stof staan"*. The beating was so severe that he needed to escape physically and hide in a "scrap yard" where he also spent the night: *"Hy het my gemoer so erg dat ek in die scrap yard moes slaap om vir hom weg te kruip"*.

His grandmother also told him that his mother had abandoned him and that she did not want him. In this regard she told him: *"Jy het nie 'n ma, pa, suster of broer nie. Jy is almal jou self"*. His grandmother was the one who motivated him to do well at school. She told him that he would have to create a better life for himself because his parents were not going to help him: *"My ma en pa het my gelos"*. Mr. A's grandmother gave him the nickname of his favourite sports commentator because he sounded like this man: *"My ouma het my die nickname gegee van die bekende een want ek het soos hy geklink"*. She told him that he should aspire to be like the sportcaster, to become someone important: *"Sy wou gehad het ek moes soos hy wees"*. These words made an indelible impression on Mr. A as he then tried to be a "perfect gentleman", just as his grandmother wanted: *"Ek moes wees soos daai man ... ouma het dit gesê"*.

Mr. A started school when he was seven years old. In all, he attended two schools, (both primary and secondary) and claims that he enjoyed school and never failed a subject: *"Ek het baie gehou van skool, nooit gefail nie, ek was goed in skool"*. He had good relationships with girls and even had a few serious girlfriends while at school: *"Ek het 'n girlfriend gehad, dit was goed. Het baie van meisies gehou"*. Both his

grandmother and mother discouraged him from having friends, saying that friends would get him into trouble with drugs, alcohol and cigarettes. In particular his grandmother warned him that mixing with the wrong friends would lead him down the wrong path: *“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”*.

This warning as well as the feeling that he did not belong at school (because of their poverty), caused him to feel isolated: *“Ek was baie alleen”*. During breaks he either hid under a tree or sat on a rock for the entire period because he felt the other children did not like him: *“Ek was ashamed, ek het onder ‘n boom gaan weg kruip en alleen op ‘n klip gesit”*. He believed the other children were always looking down on him, which made him feel worthless: *“Die ander kinders het my nie baie gelaik nie”*. He felt as if he did not have any “balance” and was self-conscious about being poor: *“Ek was nie gelukkig daar nie, ek het nie balance daar gehad nie”*. He also wanted money to buy the things the other children had but which he could not. This, and having to wear mended clothes and having to go barefoot intensified his feelings of worthlessness. Feeling that he did not belong contributed to the fact that he felt bad about himself. He recalls that he was never excited to go straight home after school, as his grandmother expected of him. He did not have any friends to play with after school and never felt there was anything worth while going home to: *“Ek wou nie huis toe gaan na skool nie”*.

Latency development and Adolescence

By age 13 he felt that there was nothing worth living for. He was alone and decided it would be better to die because suicide would solve his problems: *“Het gevoel wat is die use”*. One day after school he decided to throw himself off a bridge but an old security guard, working at a train station, saw him and stopped him from jumping: *“n Ou man, hy was ‘n security guard, het my gekeer, hy het my baie gehelp”*. The security guard told him that things were not as bad as he believed they were and that things would improve. The security guard went with him to his grandmother and had a talk with her: *“Hy het saam met my na my ouma gegaan en met haar gesels oor alles”*. He saw the security guard every day after that as he walked home from school. Every day the old man had long talks with him telling him that things would get better.

Following his grandmother's death when he was 17 years old, he dropped out of school and started to mingle with the wrong crowd: *"My ouma was dood gegaan en ek het met die verkeerde vriende begin rondhang"*. His long-time girlfriend left him because of his involvement with this crowd: *"My serious girlfriend het my gelos, sy het gesê sy wil my nie ken nie omdat ek dit gedoen het"*. The incident that led to her breaking up with him involved the theft of cans of oil from a petrol station by him and his friends. They intended to sell it to someone else but were caught and punished before they could sell the merchandise. On this regard he says: *"Jy sien toe my ouma dood gegaan het het ek die verkeerde pad begin loop"*. After the death of his grandmother he returned to stay with his mother. Following the oil can incident the authorities told his mother that he had to be put into a reform school but she did not comply with this recommendation: *"Hulle het gesê sy moes my in 'n spesiale skool plaas, maar sy het nie"*.

During this time his mother was working for a family and he recalls playing with their children during the day: *"Ek onthou ek het met die wit kinders gespeel"*. Then one day his mother, without any reason, just packed up her belongings and told him to leave with her: *"Sy het net die werk gelos en geloop"*. While she went out to work she left him with some of her friends: *"As sy gewerk het, het sy my by haar vriende gelos"*. After a while she sent him to stay with a man she claimed was his "uncle". Afterwards he found out that the man only had the same surname as his mother, and was in no way related to her: *"Toe later stuur sy my na my uncle, hy was nie eintlik my uncle maar het net die selfde surname gehad as sy"*.

His "uncle" put him to work selling honeycombs: *"Ek het byekoeke verkoop op die straat"*. The "uncle" severely assaulted him repeatedly and without apparent reason: *"Het hy my gebliksem, baie keer"*. One incident, which Mr. A can vividly recall was a night when his "uncle" stayed with his real wife (the uncle lived in a kraal and had many "wives"). That night he saw and heard his "uncle" and his wife having sex. He was upset and disturbed by what he saw and heard: *"Hy en sy sommer hier by my genaai, sommer hier by my, ek was baie upset"*. Later that night, while Mr. A was asleep on the floor, his "uncle" ripped his blankets off and beat him with a "sjambok": *"Kom daai man hy ruk my kombars af en begin my met die sjambok bliksem dat die stof staan"*. During this beating the "uncle" accused Mr. A of sleeping with his wife: *"Hy sê ek het by sy vrou geslaap ... ek het nie"*. Mr. A broke away and ran to the

* Traditional whip

police station and tried to tell them what had happened: *“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”*. The police however, believed his “uncle” and he was also punished by the police. He was very angry and upset for being punished unfairly but most of all he felt anger towards the man’s wife for not saying anything in his defence and for letting him get beaten for something he did not do: *“Sy het net stil gebly en niks gedoen nie!”*.

Adulthood

After Mr. A’s grandmother had passed away he was in and out of prison on a regular basis. During his last imprisonment, before his serial murders began, Mr. A actually decided to make a change for the better. He remembered what his grandmother had said: *“Toe ek in die tronk was, het ek gedink aan wat my ouma vir my gesê het”*. He remembered what she always said, *“Jy het nie ‘n ma, pa, suster of broer nie. Jy is almal jousef”*. He started to work hard while in jail trying to show everyone that he was trustworthy and a gentleman: *“Ek was reguit en het hard gewerk”*. He was later put in charge of organising recreation for the prisoners and had to work with outside people: *“Ek word toe head of recreation in die tronk”*. While in prison he received a “day pass”: *“Ek kry toe die dag-pass”*. This was due to his progress and improvement in the prison. This “day pass” allowed him to leave prison for short periods to go out and buy supplies for the Recreation Committee. Later he was released on parole and found a job working with a white man who paid him R1 200 per month. He was very proud of himself, especially because the man told him that he knew he was a good and trustworthy man: *“Hy sien dat ek goed is en goeie werk doen en gee my toe die kans”*.

The man trusted Mr. A so much that while gone on business he asked Mr. A to look after his wife, son and three daughters. He showed him how to work the alarm system and basically left him in charge of the house. This made him feel good about himself because he was left alone with the man’s family and he believed that finally he was getting the better life his grandmother had told him he deserved. However, things did not go as well as he had hoped because a female in an authority position in the prison system wanted him to go and work for another man. He particularly disliked this woman, about whom he says the following: *“Daardie vrou het heelyd van agter gekom en het nie reg gemaak nie”*. She told him that he had to go and work for the other man for R60 per month. He was unhappy about this and told her

that he was not going to do it because it was a stupid idea: *“Maar ek sê toe vir haar nee, ek is besig om goeie geld werk te doen en dit is nie reg nie”*. The woman told him that he had no choice in the matter and should he refuse, all his privileges would be revoked.

On one occasion this woman and a man arrived at the house where he was working and told him that he had to go and work for the other man. Mr. A in frustration told the man that he should rather take his gun and shoot him in the head because death would be preferable to what they expected of him: *“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”*. Mr. A was unhappy about the situation and told his employer about it: *“Ek sê toe vir die man wat sy doen, maar hy sê ek moet bly want ek werk goed”*. Mr. A claims that he subsequently became so disillusioned, that he ran away and in so doing violated the conditions of his parole.

The police pursued him and eventually captured him. In the process he ran into a thorn bush, where he was injured by the thorns. He vividly remembers that he was bleeding all over: *“Dit was baie seer, ek het orals gebloei”*. He was angry about the situation that resulted in his running away and being taken back to prison. He was angry with the woman and with everyone. He felt that, despite his attempts to work well, she just kept on pushing him back down. For him this was the critical incident as he realised that walking the right path and working hard just like his grandmother had told him to do, was not working for him: *“Dit is toe dat ek weet EK gaan nie iets regkry deur om die goeie pad te loop nie. My ouma was dood; ek was so (shows one finger); ek was baie kwaad; ek probeer om die regte ding te doen; maar sy hou my daar (presses thumb on table)”*.

After having conducted the psychometric tests the researcher asked Mr. A how he now sees himself. He responded by saying that he was still the same person: *“Ek is ‘n goeie gentleman, ek werk hard en is eerlik maar iemand wat van agter kom maak my baie kwaad”*.

6.4 PSYCHOMETRIC TESTS

The psychometric tests selected for this study are the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), the Picture Test of Separation and Individuation (PTSI) and the Test of Object Relations (TOR) as described in Chapter 5.

6.4.1 THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Mr. A's responses will be analysed using Bellak and Abrams (1997) object relations method. For easier access to the information, the researcher placed the responses in a modified table.

Table 1

Summary of the Analyses of Mr A's TAT Responses

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
1	Man	Uncertain, pensive, distracted
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	No social interaction	Need for success, daydreaming

Summary

A man interested in acquiring a skill, uncertain as to play, seems distracted. Although initially uncertain, he phantasises himself as becoming famous. This acquired fame leads to financial security and acceptance. The interpersonal object relation seems to be that the person has no skill but wishes for fame and success. The fantasy can be seen as a defence mechanism against possible feelings of inferiority

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
2	Man, farmer as himself	Owner, master, boss, superior
	Farm workers	Dependant
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Farmer who has other people working for him	Master-servant, employer-employee.

Summary

A man or framer who owns a farm. He has people working for him so that his goal of financial security can be realised. Even though there are three people in the picture, Mr. A tells the story about one person (the farmer).

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
3BM	Woman	Depressed, abandoned, religious, suffering, weak
	God	Omnipotent, supportive, helpful
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Woman alone	Alone, rejected, depressed
	Woman prays to God	master-servant, religious interaction

Summary

A woman who is depressed, alone and suffering prays to God. She asks God to make her like other woman. If God answers her prayer she will be able to live just like the other women.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
4	Man	Angry, irritated, obstinate

Woman, wife	Willing, pleading, busy
Social interaction	Type of interaction
Man is irritated and angry	Demanding, angry
Woman, wife willing to work on problem	Conciliatory, acquiescent, willing

Summary

A man and a wife are in the middle of an argument. The man is getting angry and irritated by his wife's pleading. The wife, on the other hand, is more than willing to highlight the problem and to work on the problem.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
6BM	Man, father Woman, wife, mother Child	Angry, argumentative, fighting Angry, argumentative, fighting Learning, enquiring
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Man and woman arguing	Conflict, aggression, joylessness, problematic
	Child	The conflict between the mom and dad teaches the child how to be angry at another person

Summary

A husband and wife who are trapped in a joyless marriage are busy having an argument/fight. The fighting directly influences the child, by showing him how to argue/fight with other people.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
7BM	Father Son	Loving, knowing, advising Obstinate, rebellious, disrespectful
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	The father is giving the son some relationship advice; but the son is not interested	Respect vs. disrespect, father-son relationship, rebellious, advice

Summary

This story is about the relationship between a father and his son. The father is trying to advise or teach the son something but the son is not interested in what the father is saying.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
8BM	Criminals Sleeping figure Woman	Criminal, murderous Victim, complaisant Angry
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	The criminals are busy cutting up/attacking the sleeping figure	Criminal, illegal, murder
	Woman	Angry, no interaction

Summary

The criminals are busy cutting up/attacking a sleeping man. The woman in the front of the picture seems to be angry about something

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
10	Man, husband Woman, wife	Loving, passionate Loving, passionate
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Husband and wife in a loving devoted	Loving, passionate, emotional

embrace

Summary

A husband and wife are in a loving embrace. The embrace is full of emotion and passion. Mr. A sees this as a true loving relationship

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
13MF	Man, husband Woman, wife	Angry, obstinate Naked, willing, inviting
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Husband and wife are sleeping in the bed, the wife is naked but the husband is still fully dressed and unable to have sex	Failed sexual encounter

Summary

A husband is standing near the bed the wife is sleeping/lying in. The wife is naked and unwilling for a sexual encounter but the man is angry and fully dressed. The man fails to have a sexual encounter with his wife.

6.4.1.1 Summary of the TAT

The following themes were extracted from Mr. A's responses to the TAT cards. In Card 1 the story suggests that the person sees himself as someone who could become famous; if he had the skills. The interpersonal object relation in this story seems to be that the person has no skill but wishes for fame and success. In this story the representations of people are primarily narcissistic and no differentiation occurs. The affect tone of the relationship this story is nonexistent. This story has no social interaction. In this card there is an uncertain, feeling of inferiority, which is followed by feelings of a search for "fame". This indicates a possible intrapsychic narcissistic defence. This could also indicate that the imagination of Mr. A functions as a buffer against underlying feelings of inferiority.

The story in Card 2 suggests that Mr. A has a strong need to be seen as financially secure. It also seems that the interaction in this card is one of master-servant/dominance vs. submissiveness and superiority-success. In this story the people are undifferentiated and dependent on Mr. A. As in Card 1 there is a movement towards a narcissistic ideal (being financially secure and to be the boss). This in effect shows a very definite narcissistic defence. In this card the imagination of Mr. A functions as a narcissistic buffer against feelings of inferiority.

In Card 3BM Mr. A completely ignored the gun, which can possibly indicate that Mr. A tries to wish away/or ignore his own aggressiveness. This story seems to be one of suffering and rejection. The only way the suffering and rejection can be overcome is by putting one's faith in a higher power. The interaction found in this card is once again a master servant or dominance vs. submissiveness relationship. In this story the character is undifferentiated. The woman has only one quality and that is to be weak/or to suffer. The affect tone in this card can be indicative of a wish to be helped or saved from oneself or a situation. This wish is also reflected by the statement "*hy kan lewe soos ander vroumense*". The researcher postulates that this wish could serve as a narcissistic buffer against underlying feelings of inferiority and suffering.

Mr. A's responses to Card 4 seems to reflect anger vs. acquiescence or dominance vs. submissiveness interpersonal object relation. It can be hypothesised that Mr. A demands that relationships with woman should be one of him being dominant and the other party being submissive/acquiescing. The characters in this story are more differentiated than in the previous cards, however both characters only seem to exhibit one or two types of emotions. The wife is willing and conciliatory and the husband is angry and demanding. The affect tone in this story is a malevolent, painful angry interaction. The relationship in this story suggests that Mr. A's experiences of heterosexual relationships are marked by conflict and aggression.

In Card 6BM it appears as if Mr. A is projecting his past experience with his parents. According to him it is the parents' fault that the child (possibly Mr. A) learns to be violent and angry with other people. The characters in this story are not clearly differentiated from one another. The actions of both the mother and father have a direct influence on how the child will develop. The affect tone of the story is marked by conflict and aggression and this conflict and aggression cause the child to incorporate these emotions into himself. The emotional investment in this story suggests that Mr. A subconsciously equates all parental interaction with his own experience of his parent relationship. The social causality found in this story is that a 'troubled' parental relationship could possibly have negative effects on the child.

The interpersonal relationship evident in Card 7BM is of a father-son relationship. It can be hypothesised that in this card Mr. A's father is trying to teach or tell him something but Mr. A is unwilling to listen. What is worthy of note in this card is that Mr. A states that the father is not angry with the son ("*Pa wys hy nie kwaad*") and that

one should listen to one's father because you enter the world through your father (*"Die message is jy moet vir jou pa luister ... Jy kom die wêreld in deur jou pa"*). This could be a wish for a more loving father-son relationship. In this story the characters are clearly differentiated from one another and each character has its own set of emotional investment. The affect tone of the story is of a father-son interaction that is marked with conflict. This story suggests that Mr. A experiences his own father-son relationship as conflicting and that, even though the father is seen as an instiller of moral standards, the son rejects or rebels against these standards. The story seems to suggest that Mr. A understands the feelings, thoughts and actions within himself and others but he chooses to rebel against parental (fatherly) advice. It should be noted that the wish for a better father-son relationship could be indicative of a fixation in the pre-genital phase of development

Card 8BM seemed to have had an emotional impact on Mr. A. He developed facial tics and wiped his face three times. At first he could not understand what was happening in the card, but later stated that the people were criminals (*"Lyk soos doctors maar is skelms"*). This statement could possibly indicate that Mr. A sees what is socially desirable but is unable, due to his criminal and aggressive tendencies, to achieve it. Here again there is evidence of dominance vs. submissiveness interaction. The man (victim) is complaisant while the dominant criminals murder him. Even the interaction of the angry woman is submissive. The characters in this story are undifferentiated from one another and all the interactions suggest a dominance vs. submissive interaction. The affect tone in this story starts off as helpful (*"Lyk soos doctors"*) but then suddenly changes to a more ominous and malevolent interaction (*"is skelms"*). The relationships in this story suggest that moral standards are subjugated by Mr. A's aggressive and murderous impulses.

The theme in Card 10 is of a "true" loving relationship. According to Mr. A this is real good love (*"Regte goeie liefde tussen twee mense"*), which could be indicative of a wish that Mr. A has of finding a truly loving relationship. The representations of characters are undifferentiated. The affect tone in this story suggests a benign, loving interaction. The story suggests that Mr. A has a strong need to invest in an emotionally fulfilling, loving relationship.

Card 13MF could possibly show that Mr. A is unable to have sexual intercourse with a woman if she instigates the encounter. This could be indicative of dominance vs. submissive relationship. The characters in this story seem to be more differentiated

than in the other cards, however both characters are only showing two emotions: namely the man is angry and obstinate, while the wife is willing and inviting. The affect tone in this card seems to suggest that Mr. A sees sexual intercourse as an obvious course of action in such a situation, however his own emotional turmoil prohibits him from achieving the desired effect. This could indicate that Mr. A sees sexual intercourse as something that is either painful or difficult to achieve if instigated by another. The story suggests that Mr. A can only be sexually active if the woman is submissive or if he is the instigator of the interaction. This suggests that Mr. A is unable or unwilling to understand other people's feelings, thoughts or emotions in a sexually charged situation.

6.4.2 PICTURE TEST FOR SEPARATION AND INDIVIDUATION (PTSI)

Mr. A answered the PTSI in the following manner.

(i) Briefly describe what you imagine under each of the pictures showing your relationship with your mother.

Picture A: This one has no mother (*"Die eenne het nie 'n ma nie"*).

Picture B: This man has the best relationship with his mother (*"Die man het die beste verhouding met sy ma"*).

Picture C: This man and his mother do not have such a good relationship (*"Die man en ma het nie so goeie relationship"*).

Picture D: This man and his mother have problems (*"Die man en ma het problems"*).

Picture E: This man and his mother have heartache and a lot of problems (*"Die man en ma het baie problems en hartseer"*).

Picture F: This man has a mother but no relationship (*"Die man het 'n ma maar no relationship"*).

(ii) Briefly describe what you imagine under each of the pictures showing your relationship with your father.

Picture A: This one has no father (*“Die eenne het nie ‘n pa nie”*).

Picture B: This man has the best relationship with his father (*“Die man het die beste verhouding met sy pa”*).

Picture C: This man and his father do not have such a good relationship (*“Die man en pa het nie so goeie relationship”*).

Picture D: This man and his father have heartache and a lot of problems (*“Die man en sy pa het baie problems en hartseer”*).

Picture E: This man and his father have heartache and a lot, a lot of problems (*“Die man en pa het baie baie problems en hartseer”*).

Picture F: This man has a father but no relationship and love (*“Die man het ‘n pa maar no relationship en liefde”*).

(iii) Briefly describe what you imagine under each of the pictures showing your relationship with the person you are attached to.

In this part of the test Mr. A selected his grandmother (*“Ouma”*) as the person whom he is attached to.

Picture A: This man and his grandmother have a good relationship (*“Die man en ouma het ‘n goeie verhouding”*).

Picture B: This man and his grandmother have problems (*“Die man en ouma het problems”*).

Picture C: This man and his grandmother have a lot of problems (*“Die man en ouma het baie problems”*).

Picture D: This one has a grandmother but no love (*“Die eenne het ‘n ouma maar nie liefde”*).

Picture E: This person has no grandmother (*“Die het nie ‘n ouma”*).

6.4.2.1 Summary of the PTSI

The picture that Mr. A thought best described his relationship with his mother was picture B. He also stated that he was satisfied with the relationship with his mother as shown in the picture. It should be noted that the picture depicts a lack of differentiation and thus possible symbiosis. Mr. A also stated that his mother would also prefer the latter type of relationship. Picture F was selected as the relationship that he would least like to have with his mother and could be indicative of an experience of separation anxiety.

The picture that Mr. A thought best described his relationship with his father was picture F. He also stated that he was not satisfied with the relationship with his father as shown in the picture. Mr. A selected picture B as the relationship that he would most like to have with his father. This response is similar to his responses to Question 1, that is, he would want a symbiotic type of relationship with his father.

The picture that Mr. A thought best described his relationship with his grandmother was picture A. He also stated that he was satisfied with the relationship with his grandmother as shown in the picture. Mr. A selected picture A as the relationship that he would most like to have with his grandmother. He selected picture E as the relationship that he would least like to have with his grandmother and stated that picture A would be the relationship that his grandmother would most like to have with him. As with his responses concerning his mother and father, emphasis was on a relationship characterised by excessive “oneness” and separation seems to evoke the opposite need

6.4.3 MR. A: TEST OF OBJECT RELATIONS (TOR)

Mr. A scored the following on the aforementioned dimensions:

Symbiotic Merging	62
Separation Anxiety	65
Narcissism	52
Egocentricity	44

Fear of Engulfment	41
Social Isolation	46
Validity Index	16

6.4.3.1 Summary of the TOR

According to the scores Mr. A achieved on the TOR the following assumptions regarding his intrapsychic structure can be made. (i) He is primarily narcissistic and has egocentric traits. (ii) He has a wish to merge symbiotically with individuals which is in direct contrast to his fear of engulfment. This contrast could later lead to conflicting feelings when confronted with the possibility of having an intimate relationship. (iii) His high score on the social isolation scale indicates that Mr. A has a lack or avoidance of interpersonal relationships. However, this is in diametrical contrast to his fear of being separated from or being abandoned by, significant others. (iv) His score on the validity index indicates that he answered some of the questions in a socially desirable manner.

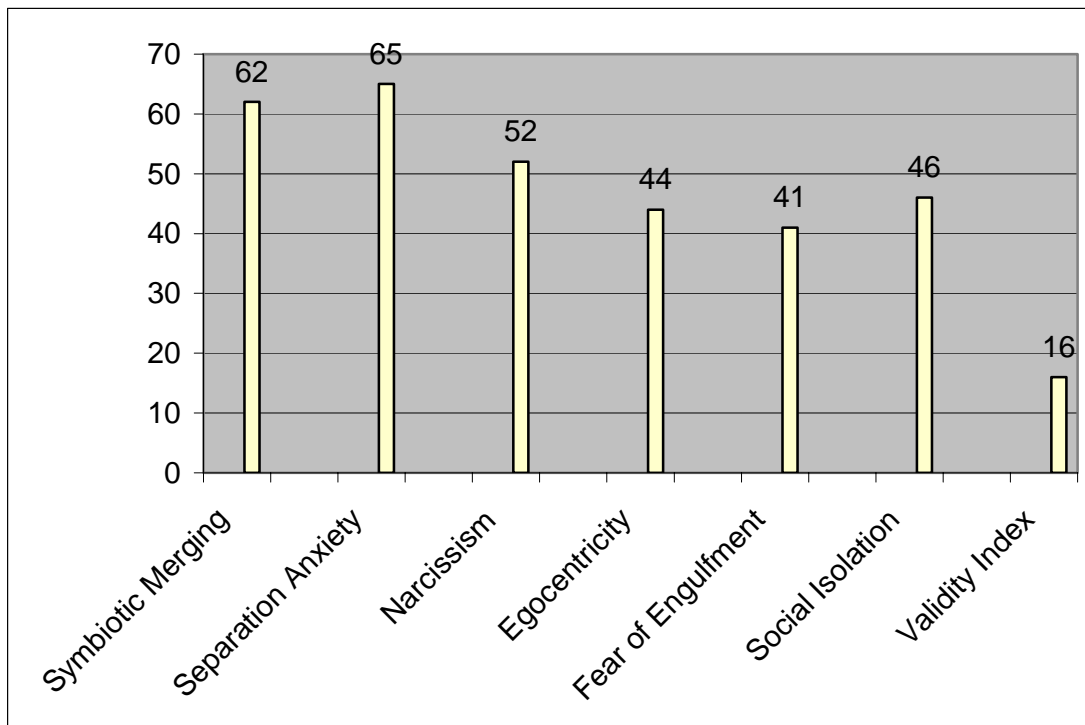


Figure 3. Scores achieved by Mr. A on the TOR

6.5 PSYCHOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF MR. A

Based on the aforementioned psychometric tests, the following assumption can be made about Mr. A's personality structure and possible development.

Mr. A exhibits definite narcissistic and egocentric traits (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM; TOR: Narcissism and Egocentricity level). He does not experience separation from his grandmother and wishes for a symbiotic relationship with the mother (TOR: Symbiotic Merging; PTSI: responses to question 1 and 3). However, he experiences separation anxiety due to the rejection he experienced from his parents (TAT: card 4,6BM; TOR: Separation anxiety; PTSI: responses to questions 1 and 2). He longs for better relationships with his parents (PTSI: responses to questions 1 and 2). He identifies with his violent father figure (TAT card: 7BM; PTSI: responses to question 2). It also seems that Mr. A fixated in the pre-genital phase of development (TAT: card 7BM; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety level; PTSI: responses to questions 1, 2 and 3). Mr. A wants to be dominant in all his relationships, because being dominant fuels his narcissism (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 4, 8Bm, 13MF; TOR: Fear of engulfment dimension and Social isolation dimension). He is also able to distinguish between right and wrong but, due to his murderous and aggressive

impulses, is unable to act accordingly (TAT: card 8BM; TOR: Validity index level). It can be postulated that Mr. A has a wish for a loving relationship (TAT: card 10; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety level) but, due to his past experiences of heterosexual relationships, he finds it hard to commit to such a relationship (TAT: card 13MF; TOR: fear of engulfment and Social isolation level). It is also postulated that Mr. A unconsciously blames his parents for his violent behaviour (TAT: card 6BM).

6.6 THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF MR. A

Theoretically, Mr. A could be classified as an organised, power/control serial killer. The organised component of his crime is evident from the way he approached his victims under the pretext of asking them something and then abducting and taking them to a secluded spot. The power/control component of the crime is manifested by his extreme use of physical force against the victims. Further support for the power/control component is that he did not sexually assault all of his victims and told his surviving victim that he wanted to “teach them a lesson”. Mr. A gained satisfaction from having complete life-and-death control over his victims. He could also be classified as an **ego-dystonic** serial killer because the perpetration of murder is directly opposite to his self-perception of being a “perfect gentleman”. As previously stated, ego-dystonia is prevalent in narcissistic personalities. According to the psychometric tests (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM; and the TOR: Narcissism level) Mr. A exhibits definite narcissistic traits, and therefore the conclusion of ego-dystonia is substantiated.

6.6.1 FREUD’S THEORY APPLIED TO MR. A

- **Id, ego and superego**

Mr. A has a dominating id and superego but an underdeveloped ego. This underdevelopment leads to a precarious balance between the id, the ego-ideal and reality. Each time the ego-ideal (perfect gentleman) is threatened, Mr. A reverts to a primitive form of instinctual gratification (“teach them a lesson”).

It is postulated that Mr. A’s ego is underdeveloped due to incomplete separation from his grandmother and the violent, unpredictable and rejecting mother (TOR: Symbiotic

merging, PTSl: responses to question 1 and 3) and rejection by both his mother and father (TOR: Separation anxiety and PTSl: responses to questions 1 and 2). What can be postulated, however, is that Mr. A unconsciously blames his mother and father for his aggression and the murders (TAT: card 6BM).

Evidence of a relatively dominating superego is based on Mr. A's ego-ideal (perfect gentleman), his confession and subsequent apology for committing some of the crimes as well as his responses to the psychometric tests (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM; TOR: Validity index).

- **Psychosexual developmental phases and fixations**

Mr. A was born into a financially deprived, isolated and often violent home environment. He seems to have been a lonely child whose father figure was emotionally as well as physically absent. Before the development of the Oedipal phase, Mr. A's mother abandoned him by leaving him with his grandmother to raise. Rejection by the mother led to the incorporation of the first "bad" object experience, namely the rejecting mother. However, during the Oedipal phase he identified with the grandmother and formed his first "good" object and created an ego-ideal. The ego-ideal, however, was created in an undifferentiated manner. Although he had contact with the father figure during this stage, the father figure was overtly strict and violent towards him. The rejecting behaviour of the mother and the father figure meant that the projected superego exhibited asocial and antisocial tendencies. Witnessing the aggression of the parents towards each other could have been introjected as violent and destruction characteristics of male and female relationships.

Extreme isolation was experienced during the latency phase of development. This can be attributed to having limited family support and being warned by his mother and grandmother against having friends. Accordingly, this isolation and lack of friends, meant that Mr. A never fully incorporated societal norms and morals. This in turn had the effect of impairing Mr. A's social skills.

It is also postulated that Mr. A fixated during the pre-genital phase. Evidence for this is based on the violent experience with the father figure; Mr. A formed a compulsion to repeat this violence (TAT: card 6BM, 7BM; PTSl: responses to question 2 and his recollection of his father). However, the compulsion to repeat was not directed at the

self or at the father, but channelled towards the rejecting “bad” mother substitutes.

Owing to Mr. A's experience of extreme isolation during the latency phase, the suicidal ideation during the genital stage can be regarded as a direct result of this isolation. The researcher is of the opinion that that the security guard who stopped Mr. A from committing suicide during the genital phase was precariously incorporated as a “good” father figure. .

- **Object choice and its relational implications**

Despite the various developmental paths object choice could follow, Mr. A seemed unconsciously to have chosen a narcissistic object choice, as reflected in the need to be a perfect gentleman. The struggle between his id, ego and superego can be explained by the ego-ideal that was created. Mr. A's superego set the ego-ideal of a perfect gentleman to compensate for the id's impulses. The ideal of being a perfect gentleman is prevalent in his description of himself and how he wants to be seen. The researcher postulates that he wanted to be seen as his grandmother's “good” grandson.

His superego, however, was at a disadvantage because this process developed a strong identification with the “bad” violent father figure (TAT card: 7BM) and by not learning to socialise during the latency phase. In contradiction to the ego-ideal is the id with its anger, frustration and feelings of rejection. The ego, although weak, tries to maintain the ego-ideal of a perfect gentleman. Throughout the life history of Mr. A the struggle between the superego (as represented by the perfect gentleman ideal) and the id never subsides.

It should be noted that Mr. A started his criminal career after the death of his grandmother. It can therefore be surmised that the superego was originally formed by an introjection of the loving grandmother or “good mother” object. This introjection was very precarious. Mr. A also claims that while in prison he thought about what his grandmother had said and from that day he tried to be what she expected of him. This can be seen as the superego's ability of to keep watch over the impoverished ego by measuring the ego against the ego-ideal. In other words, Mr. A's superego found that the ego was not in harmony with the ego-ideal and that changes to his behaviour had become necessary. Evidence for these changes in behaviour appear when Mr. A worked himself into a position of trust and importance while in prison.

The researcher postulates that the preservation of the ego-ideal satisfied Mr. A's narcissistic libido and explains his apology during the trial as well as his responses to the psychometric tests (TAT: card 1; PTST: responses to question 1 and 3). In other words, it is an attempt to preserve the ideal of a perfect gentleman. This preservation of the ego-ideal is also evident from the Social Validation dimension score on the TOR. Mr. A scored above the allowed 15 marks on this dimension, which could be indicative of the ego-ideal emerging while being tested.

Theoretically speaking the aim of the narcissistic object choice is to be loved, and being loved increases self-esteem. However, rejection of love decreases self-esteem. Libidinal object cathexis does not increase self-esteem. The person who is in love sacrifices narcissism in favour of the object. Narcissism can only be sacrificed if the love is reciprocated. Mr. A formed a precarious object cathexis with the "good" mother (grandmother) and "good" father (security guard). Whereas his mother and father ("bad" mother and father figure) rejected him, his grandmother and the security guard gave him the love he needed. However this love, in the long run, was not sufficient to create a barrier against his murderous impulses.

Regarding the relationship between self-esteem and libidinal object cathexis (also called erotica by Freud), Freud (1914-1916) differentiates between ego-syntonic erotic cathexis and repressed erotic cathexis. In ego-syntonic erotic cathexis love, the love is treated as any other activity. Love that is not reciprocated (and that includes deprivation and longing) decreases the self-esteem, while love that is reciprocated increases self-esteem. Mr. A experiences a longing for the love of the "bad" rejecting parental figure (this is evident in his answers to question 1 and 2 of the PTST). It can thus be argued that his wish for parental love had a negative effect on his self-esteem. Repression of the libido results in erotic cathexis being experienced as a depletion of the ego. Thus the fulfilment arrived from love cannot be realised. To safeguard the ego it becomes necessary to withdraw libido from the object. The return of the libido to the ego culminates in narcissism, which depicts happy love. Happy love is only experienced when the object libido and the ego libido are undifferentiated. Mr. A's low self-esteem is increased through the happy love he experiences from the "good" mother and "good" mother substitute (PTST: answers to question 1 and 3; TOR: Fear of Engulfment dimension).

- **Repression**

Theoretically, repression can take on two forms, namely primary and secondary repression. As discussed, in **primary repression** the intrapsychic representative (ideation) of the instinct is denied entry to the conscious (ego). Due to this denial fixations will be formed. However, the intrapsychic representative together with the instinct still exists “unchanged” in the unconscious. **Secondary repression** consists of intrapsychic variants of the repressed representative. These variants are associations of the repressed representative. In the secondary phase of repression the conscious experiences disgust at what is repressed, but the repressed ideation also pulls the associations with it. Because the repressed ideation of the instinct exists in the unconscious it is further organised and in turn forms more associations. The individual experiences this continuous formation of associations as dangerous and threatening.

The researcher postulates that Mr. A experiences repression in the following way. The ideation of the “bad” violent parental couple is repressed to the unconscious through the counter-pressure of the ego-ideal. When the ego-ideal is pressurised or threatened through “bad” rejecting mother substitutes, the ego fails to repress the aggression and violence associated with the ideation. It can thus be said that the inability to repress the murderous impulses of the id leads to Mr. A kill the threatening, rejecting “bad” mother substitutes (i.e. the victims).

- **Anxiety**

Anxiety as it relates to Mr. A can be described as follows: during infancy his ego was not yet fully developed, resulting in an inability to separate successfully from the mother. The mother did not gratify all his id impulses during the first three years, which lead him to form a strong symbiosis with her (this is evident in the TOR: Symbiotic merging dimension and PTSD: responses to question 1). However, when the mother rejected Mr. A, his fragile ego experienced its first concrete anxiety: loss of the mother. After experiencing this anxiety Mr. A substitutes his grandmother as the nurturing “good” mother figure (PTSD: question 1 and TOR: Separation anxiety and Fear of engulfment dimension). This new “good” mother gratified the needs of the id by giving him the attention and love he desperately needed.

Mr. A experiences signal anxiety as follows. Each time the ego-ideal is threatened by a “bad” mother substitute, *the weak ego is unable to defend the ego-ideal*. As a

result the absence of the ego-ideal poses a danger situation. As soon as *this danger* surfaces, the signal for anxiety is produced. The primary step for self-preservation also represents a transition from automatic anxiety to the intentional reproduction of anxiety as a signal for danger. Self-preservation of the ego-ideal becomes of paramount importance. The only way Mr. A can protect the ego-ideal is to “kill” the object that threatens it. In this sense Mr. A literally kills the threatening “bad” mother substitute and protect the fragile self with the ego-ideal.

- **Eros and Thanatos**

Mr. A grew up in a family which had a strong Thanatos component. Evidence for this can be found in the abuse, alcohol misuse and rejection that infused the family interaction. Mr. A experienced rejection by his own “bad” mother as well as the “bad” mother substitutes and incorporated this “bad” object. Due to this he could not direct his aggression (Thanatos) at the primary “bad” rejecting mother, he directed it at his victims who represented the “bad” rejecting mother.

Mr. A who had formed an ego-ideal (perfect gentleman) through the process of the superego development, to some extent experienced guilt for the murders he committed. Theoretically the structure and functioning of Mr. A’s superego were not well developed making true remorse a developmental deficit clearly seen in various activities such as his statement that he was sorry but that he was angry. On account of this the researcher postulates that his superego, even with the incorporated ego-ideal, was never effective enough to influence the ego and in effect the Thanatos. The ego could not inhibit the destructive and murderous impulses (Thanatos) effectively, because it gratified Mr. A’s narcissism (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM and TOR: Narcissism and Egocentrism dimension). It can further be argued that the ego instincts were at all times directed at the preservation of the ego-ideal and narcissism. Therefore the Thanatos was at all times projected towards the victims, who represented the “bad” rejecting mother.

According to Freud (1914-1916), in melancholia the libido is drawn into the ego and this leads the ego to *identify with the lost object*. During this process the lost object is enfolded by the ego and the ego in turn develops into the surrendered object. **Object loss is converted into ego loss.** Due to the critical activity of the ego and identification by the ego, the conflict between object and ego is transferred. For this whole process to take place, there must be a strong fixation on the object and the

object cathexis should have little resistance.

It is also postulated that Mr. A suffers from a severe case of melancholia as he had identified with the lost “bad” object (mother). Evidence for this statement can be seen from his responses to the psychometric tests (TAT: card 6BM; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension). Further evidence for this relates to his statements about the death of his mother: “*Jy sien my ma is dood ... ek voel nie gemaklik om oor haar te praat nie*”. This statement could theoretically be seen as his ego’s inability to deal with the loss of the object. The researcher is of the opinion that in effect Mr. A blames himself for his mother’s death. He at first did not want to talk about her and was very upset about the fact that he could not go and bury her. It is also evident from his statement that he was very depressed about the loss of both his parents and his expressed wish for a better relationship with them (PTSI: question 1 and 2).

- **A Freudian view of Criminality**

According to Freud (1927-1930), two traits are essential in a criminal: (i) boundless egoism; and (ii) a strong destructive urge. Furthermore he states that common to the aforementioned traits, and a necessary condition for criminality, are the absence of love and the lack of emotional appreciation of objects (especially humans).

“Boundless egoism” and narcissism can be found in the personality of Mr. A (TOR: narcissism and egocentricity dimensions; TAT: card 1, 2,3BM). His strong destructive urge is evident from the statement that he cannot control his anger. This in conjunction with being raised in an environment where parental love was absent supports the first hypothesis as set forth by the Freudian view of criminal personality. According to Mr. A the only person who really showed him love was his grandmother, who became part of his life when he was approximately four years old.

Freud (1932-1936) states that the *narcissistic type* (libidinal type) can only be described in negative terms. This type is characterised by an absence of tension between the ego and superego and no preponderance of erotic needs. The main interest of this type is directed at self-preservation, being independent and not being easily intimidated. The ego has a large amount of aggressiveness at its disposal, which manifest in readiness for activity. In this type’s erotic life, loving is preferred to being loved. Freud believes that this type (narcissistic) presents the essential

preconditions for criminality. He also argues that, if this type is mixed with the other libidinal types (erotic and obsessional), as well as with internal and external conflicts, pathogenic behaviour (criminal as well as neurotic) could develop.

The aforementioned relates to Mr. A in the following manner: Mr. A has a strong narcissistic personality type (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM; TOR: Narcissism and Egocentricity dimension; PTSI: answer to questions 1 and 3). He also demonstrates minimal tension between the ego and superego and his main interest is the preservation of his ego-ideal (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 4; TOR: Validity index dimension). Freud's statement that the ego has a large amount of aggressiveness at its disposal is evident from the extreme force used on his victims as well as from the responses to the psychometric tests (TAT: card 3BM, 4, 8BM, 13MF). Based on the preceding, the researcher argues that Mr. A fits the second part of the Freudian view of criminality. It can therefore be deduced that Mr. A is a prime example of the Freudian view of criminality. In the next section a Kleinian analysis of Mr. A will be presented.

6.6.2 KLEINIAN ANALYSES OF MR. A

- **Developmental phases**

Mr. A at first internalised his own mother and father as the "bad" breast figure. Due to the rejection he experienced from his mother, he incorporated his grandmother as the "good" mother and his rejecting mother as the "bad" mother. It should be noted that the grandmother was incorporated as a precarious good object that served as a narcissistic buffer for his feelings of inferiority. Mr. A's infantile ego acknowledged that the mother (both "good" and "bad") had the power of life and death over him.

During the urethral phase the subject/infants' sadistic tendencies and fantasies increase, while imaginary possession is taken of the mother's body. Possession is taken of the contents of the body representing the object, as well as of the external world. The destructive impulses of the subject/infant could also be transferred to the father figure. Transference of hate and anxiety towards the father from the mother's body forms part of the origin of mental disturbances and sexual deviance. The researcher postulates on account of the violent nature of the father-mother and father-son relationship, Mr. A introjected his father as a "bad" rejecting father figure (TAT: card 6BM; PTSI: responses to question 2).

During the anal phase the subject/infant develops fantasies of the parents destroying each other by means of their genitals and/or excrement. It can be argued that due to the violent nature of Mr. A's parents' relationship, he introjected the violent episodes into his id structure. The anxiety occurring during the anal phase serves as motivation for sadism, which gives rise to the wish to destroy the dangerous object. The objects Mr. A wanted to destroy were the introjected "bad" rejecting mother and father figures.

Klein (1963) also argues that fantasies of object destruction lead to the development of social and moral feelings. She is further of the opinion that maladjustment surfacing during anal-sadistic fantasies and Oedipal development could lead to criminal tendencies. The person who hates his father as a rival for the love of his mother, will try to use the fantasies that developed during the anal-sadistic phase to "kill" the father. Due to Mr. A's violent and criminal behaviour, it is postulated that a maladjustment occurred during the development of the Oedipus complex (TAT: card 6BM, 7BM; PTST: responses to question 2).

The Oedipus complex and object relations start to reach maturity during the phallic phase. According to Klein (1963) the person attributes all his emotions to his imagined objects resulting in the imagined and real objects being separated. When emotions directed at the imagined object become too overwhelming, sadistic and/or reparative fantasies can not be directed at the real objects. This leads to a disturbance in object relations as well as a reality disturbance. On the basis of the aforementioned it is postulated that Mr. A's imagined objects are the "good" nurturing mother (grandmother), and the "bad" rejecting mother and father. It could be argued that due to the violent and sadistic emotions attributed to the rejecting "bad" objects Mr. A could not act out his emotions towards his real mother and father. This in turn lead to a disturbance of his object relations.

Klein (1963) opines that the intrapsychic constitution of the person will determine whether the positive result of the gratified libido or the negative destructive fantasy will influence the further sexual development of the subject. The researcher argues that Mr. A's negative destructive parental fantasies (TAT: card 6BM, 7BM; PTST: responses to question 1 and 2) influenced his sexual development and were directly responsible for his serial homicidal behaviour.

- **Oedipus Complex**

Mr. A experienced extreme emotional and material deprivation during the Oedipal phase. Both his parents had rejected him and the only positive experience of love, according to Mr. A, was love he received from the “good” mother (grandmother). It can be argued that he did not resolve the Oedipus complex on account of his identification with the “good” mother figure (grandmother) and the fact that the parents were absent. The superego therefore took on the shadow of the grandmother. Due to a lack of individuation (PTSI: responses to question 3), the ego was not strong enough to utilise the defence mechanism of projection and thus failed to destroy the external real “bad” parental objects due to the ego-ideal. The impulse to destroy the external objects forms the basis of criminality. Since Mr. A could not destroy the external “bad” mother, he turned to murdering individuals that represented the “bad” mother.

In other words, every time Mr. A felt that his ego-ideal was threatened he recalled the rejection by the mother figure and the violence shown by the father figure. This made him feel helpless and unable to maintain the ego-ideal. His ego defended him against self-destruction (the suicidal ideation), by letting him identify with the aggressor (the “bad” father). Each murder of a “bad” mother substitute, confirmed that he was protecting his ego-ideal of a perfect gentleman. The superego was too weak to prevent the murderous impulses from entering the ego and therefore the murders became a compulsion.

- **Object Relations**

Objects are first of all part objects (characteristic of the **paranoid-schizoid position**), and only later become total or whole objects (characteristic of the **depressive position**). The term “part object” is used in two ways namely (i) as partial aspects of real persons (e.g. breasts) which are perceived by the person as if they are the object to which the subject is relating; and (ii) as either a part of/ or total person perceived in a distorted, unrealistic manner due to the influence of the projection of pure libido or aggression. This causes the person to experience these objects as either all good or all bad.

Mr. A’s first part objects were of a “bad” rejecting breast (violent mother and father).

His object relations later changed due to the rejection he experienced from his mother and his father. He created a “good” gratifying mother (grandmother) who later became his ego-ideal and a “bad” rejecting mother figure (the mother). Every time Mr. A experienced a rejection from a woman he projected the “bad” rejecting mother onto the rejecting woman. This increased his anxiety, which in turn led the Thanatos to kill the rejecting “bad” mother so that the ego-ideal of being a perfect gentleman could be maintained.

- **Kleinian view of Criminality**

According to Klein (1921-1945) it is not the weakness or lack of a superego that is responsible for criminal behaviour, but rather the overpowering strictness of the superego. She states that the subject first harbours aggressive impulses and fantasies against the parents. These fantasies and impulses are projected onto the parents resulting in the development of a distorted fantasy picture of people. Simultaneously the mechanism of introjection operates in such a way that these unreal images become internalised. This results in the person believing that he is being ruled or controlled by dangerous and cruel parents (the superego).

This above is evident in the life history of Mr. A. He harboured aggressive impulses against the parents (TAT: card 7BM) which he introjected to form a distorted picture of women (all women were “good” and gratifying or “bad” and rejecting). The anxiety experienced impels Mr. A to destroy the threatening or bad objects, which in turn leads to an increase in anxiety. This in turn heightens the need to physically destroy the objects. This is evident in Mr. A’s surviving victim’s statement that he wanted to teach her a lesson.

Klein (1921-1945) stresses that if fear of the superego (either through external or intrapsychic reasons) oversteps certain bounds, the individual may feel compelled to destroy people. This compulsion may form the basis for psychosis or criminality. It can be argued that Mr. A in part also incorporated the violent “bad” father into his superego structure. Each time his ego-ideal is threatened by a “bad” mother substitute (PTSI: answer to question 1 and 3), the incorporated violent “bad” father (TAT: card 6BM, 7BM; PTSI: answer to question 3) was used to murder the substitute.

Klein (1921-1945) also states that love is not absent from the criminal mind; it is,

however, hidden and buried. Love is repressed as the hated, persecutory object was first the object with which the person associated all his love and libido (PTSI: answer to question 1). Thus the criminal is in the position where he both hates and persecutes the loved object. All memory and consciousness of any love for any object is therefore repressed. Repression of his love also causes the criminal to repress his unconscious feelings of guilt. This is evident in the life history of Mr. A and his responses to the TOR (Symbiotic merging, Separation anxiety and Social isolation dimension) and PTSI (answers to question 1, 2 and 3). While Mr. A repressed his feelings of love for his rejecting mother, it became possible for him to murder the rejecting “bad” mother substitutes on account of repressed feelings of guilt. The repression of guilt is evident in the statements Mr. A made in court. While admitting to some of the murders he also rationalised his actions by stating that the victims angered him and not that he felt guilty for what he had done.

6.7 SUMMARY

Mr. A is an Afrikaans and Tsonga speaking, African male in the late adulthood phase. He committed eight murders along with various other offences such as rape, assault with intent to do bodily harm and assault with a deadly weapon. He was convicted on only four of the murder charges and one charge of kidnapping.

He was a lonely child and the parental relationship was marked by rejection. It should be noted that father figure was emotionally as well as physically absent. Mr. A's life history is marred by rejection and abuse. To compensate for this he created an ego-ideal, which he tried to live up to. However, due to further rejection he experienced, he could not live up to the ego-ideal of being a perfect gentleman.

Theoretically Mr. A can be classified as an ego-dystonic organised, power/control serial killer. It has been illustrated by using the intrapsychic theories and psychometric test that the intrapsychic and object relations development of Mr. A has been disturbed. It is also evident from his life history and psychometric tests that he made a narcissistic object choice. This serial killer did not identify with the father figure and experienced an isolated latency phase. The victims selected by him revealed his disturbed object relations development. Mr. A's first part objects were of a “bad” rejecting breast (violent mother and father). His object relations later changed due to the rejection he experienced from his mother and his father. He created a “good” gratifying mother (grandmother) who later became his ego-ideal,

and a “bad” rejecting mother figure (the mother). Every time Mr. A experienced a rejection from a woman he projected the “bad” rejecting mother onto the rejecting woman. This increased his anxiety, which in turn led the Thanatos to kill the rejecting “bad” mother so that the ego-ideal of being a perfect gentleman could be maintained. All the women in Mr. A’s life are seen as either “good” (like his grandmother) or “bad” (like the rejecting mother). If his ego-ideal is threatened, Mr. A projects his destructive fantasies onto the “bad” mother substitute which in turn enables him to physically kill her without experiencing remorse or guilt. The case study of Mr. B will be discussed and analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

CASE STUDY OF MR. B

I hate a woman ... who is a ... bitch
- Mr. B

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Mr. B is an English and Zulu speaking African male in the late adulthood phase. He

was dressed in a green prison cook uniform, his appearance was very neat and he was well groomed with short neatly cut hair. Mr. B is short with a stocky, muscular build. When we shook hands, his hand was rough and dry. He had a firm, almost forceful handshake, which may be indicative of interpersonal dominance. He greeted the researcher with the commonly seen African alternating three-grip handshake. He seemed highly cautious and suspicious, but later relaxed and even started to smile and laugh. Throughout the interview he gave the impression that he did not trust the situation completely.

He asked that the purpose of the research be explained to him and expressed the wish that the testing and interview be done in English. After the purpose of the research was explained to Mr. B he fell silent for a while as if contemplating whether or not to participate. After a lengthy period of silence, he enquired whether he would get anything for participating. He was informed that no monetary incentive could be offered. He then inquired whether his participation would benefit his chances for parole or his parole hearing. Again it was emphasised that his participation was voluntary and that it would in no way, negatively or positively, affect the possibility of parole. After hearing this, he agreed to participate in the study, although he still expressed concern that his comments would be used during his parole hearing. Once again it was explained to him that whatever he said would be treated as confidential and that his identity would not be revealed. This seemed to reassure him, and a start could be made with the semi-structured interview. After the interview, a 15-minute break was allowed before the psychometric tests were done. During this break he again wanted to know whether anything he said would be used against him. The researcher again explained that his anonymity would be respected and guaranteed.

7.2 CRIMINAL HISTORY

Although previously charged with murder and rape, Mr. B was acquitted. The current prison term he is serving is for committing 16 murders, one attempted murder, seven indecent assaults and three counts of rape. He was originally suspected of committing 19 murders along with various other offences such as rape, assault with intent to do bodily harm and kidnapping.

Modus Operandi

Mr. B's modus operandi was to lure a woman to a secluded spot under the pretext of having employment for her. On arrival at the spot he would overpower the victim, rape her and then strangle her with a rope or her underwear. In most cases he tied the victim's hands and feet up and sometimes stuffed clothing into her mouth to keep her quiet. According to his only surviving victim, after he had raped her, she pleaded for her life. He responded to this by asking if she would be his girlfriend. During the trial Mr. B showed no remorse and was impassive when hearing the sentence.

7.3 LIFE HISTORY

Pre-Oedipal development

Mr. B was the third child of a traditional African family, who was born in the 1950's* on a train station platform, in a township in KwaZulu-Natal. He describes his mother as a struggling woman who: "*struggled to the extent that ... she got me on a station*". She as well as his grandparents and older siblings raised him. What he especially remembers of his parents is that they often had violent quarrels. These frequent violent encounters left him confused and frustrated, because he did not know why they always fought: "*They fought a lot ... so ... I had to know the cause of their fighting ...but ... only to find out that ... you are small ... can't know everything*". He recalls one incident when trying to stop his father from hitting his mother, his father stabbed him with an assegai[†]: "*I even have a wound here ... of assegai ... my father trying to stab me with assegai*".

Oedipal development

Mr. B recalls that his mother "loved" him and played an important role in his development: "*Well she was loving at my side*". What he recalls of his father seems mostly negative. His father was a "difficult" man who drank too much and when intoxicated, abused the whole family, with the mother as his initial target: "*comes and hit everybody in the house ... beginning with my mother*".

Whereas he feels that his mother cared for him, his father neglected him: "*No one*

*These details are kept vague to ensure Mr. B's anonymity.

[†]Traditional short stabbing spear.

cares for me ... besides my mommy. I felt very neglected". This neglect is evident from the account of the violent and often rejecting father-son relationship: *"What is being given to other children ... I didn't get. That guy done nothing for me. He fight us all. The problems was just daddy"*.

Latency development and Adolescence

Mr. B started school when he was seven years old and attended both a primary and a secondary school. He claims that he enjoyed school very much and had good relationships with his fellow pupils.

Although his experiences of school were positive, he felt his father did nothing to encourage him. His father's non-involvement made him feel depressed because his brothers, sisters and cousins received everything that they needed but he was left out of the family: *"What is being given to other children ... I didn't get"*. His feeling of depression later manifested itself in suicidal thoughts: *"There are times that I even wanted to ... commit suicide"*.

His most vivid memory is of his father telling him that he was not going to pass standard six: *"My dad said that ... the way my ... uhm ... behaviour ... I am going to fail my standard six"*. Mr. B argued with his father and tried to convince his father that he was wrong: *"I said to him no ... I will not fail it ... I am going to pass"*. Even though he passed, his father did not acknowledge this achievement. Instead, his father bought his cousin who was in the same standard as Mr. B, school clothes and gave Mr. B nothing. Because his father gave him no financial support, he had to rely on himself for everything that he needed for school. One way of making money was to sell apples in the street: *"I was selling apples on the street to get some money for the school fees"*.

Another violent encounter between him and his father took place when he "borrowed" his father's car (van) for a joyride. When his father found out about it, he gave him a hiding with a sjambok: *"I got some very bad hiding ... ja ... sjambok"*. During high school he met his first true love, C. Although Mr. B claims that he truly loved her, his happiness was marred by violent encounters with his father.

Adulthood

Mr. B's most vivid memory is of a clash with his father during his adult life was when he impregnated his girlfriend C. He tried to do the honourable thing to tell his family about the pregnancy. This disclosure was greeted with violence in that his father assaulted both C and Mr. B: *"There comes my father ... the dad ... in the evening being drunk ... uhm ... ja ... harassed us ... hitting us"*. He recalls that at first they both ran away, but he returned in the hope of discovering the reason for the assault. However, on his return his father refused to talk to him. His father did not give a reason: *"only to find out that my father doesn't want to talk to me"*. Later when he saw C, she had had an abortion because of his father's behaviour. In this regard he says: *"Because my father doesn't like her ... she ... she got to abort the ... the ... pregnancy"*. He felt "bad" about what had happened and was disappointed about his father's behaviour. It was, however, not the first time that his father had acted in such a violent and rejecting manner: *"Being not the first time ... I mean on my behalf"*.

Following the break-up of his relationship with C, he had relationships with two other women. The first relationship was good, but childless: *"It was fine ... it's sad that ... he ... didn't get some children"*. This relationship ended when he was arrested for the first time: *"Our relationship ... ended the time ... I got arrested"*. His last and still continuing serious relationship, is with a woman who bore him a child. Although Mr. B is involved in this relationship, he still has contact with C and he harbours the wish that they will get together again. (This statement was not recorded, but has been noted in the researcher's process notes.)

Mr. B sees himself as someone who likes everybody. He stresses that he avoids arguments and hates men who abuse woman and children. After this he, however, declared that he does not like a woman who is a "bitch". A "bitch" he describes as a woman who, after being proposed to by him goes around and receives love from other men. While claiming that he does not like rape, he explains why someone might rape a woman. His reason is almost exactly the same as the statement he made to his surviving victim. After he proposes that she becomes his girlfriend, he "shows" her that she is his girlfriend: *"maybe ... he proposes ... someone and that someone ... maybe comes ... that they ... do not ... getting along ... so... being worried that ... that someone doesn't like them ... makes him ... her... to rape her ... just to feel ... to fulfil ... those emotions ... sure to fulfil those emotions ... this one doesn't like me ... so I'll show him"*.

7.4 PSYCHOMETRIC TESTS

Mr. B's responses to the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), the Picture Test of Separation and Individuation (PTSI) and the Test of Object Relations (TOR) are set out below.

7.4.1 THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Mr. B's responses will be analysed using Bellak and Abram's (1997) method for analysing object relation. For easier access to the information the researcher placed the responses in a modified table.

Table 2

Summary of the Analyses of Mr B's TAT Responses

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
1	Man, guy	Uncertain, pensive, worried
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	No social interaction	Beginning of a movement for success

Summary

A person or man who is worried about his broken musical instrument. He is wondering if there is someone who could fix it so that he can continue playing.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
2	Man, farmer Wife Daughter	Owner, hardworking Pregnant Studious
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Man, wife and daughter are hard Working	Movement to success

Summary

A man, farmer, is busy ploughing the fields. His pregnant wife is leaning against a tree and their daughter is going to school. The couple (man and wife) ploughing their own field will have a good future because they will have something to eat.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
3BM	Woman, lady	Depressed, stressed, crying, sad
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Woman alone	Alone, depressed

Summary

A woman who is depressed and stressed is alone. She has no future

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
4	Groom, man Bride, woman	Passionate, proud, loving Passionate, proud, loving
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Groom is showing love towards bride Bride is showing love towards the groom	Loving, passionate Loving, passionate

Summary

An ideal couple, they are loving, passionate and proud.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
6BM	Old lady, mother Son	Pensive, advising, ignoring Argumentative, confrontational
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Mother and son Son	Conflict, argumentative If he does not listen to his mother his life will be a mess.

Summary

A mother and son are quarrelling over some family issues. The mother is either ignoring or thinking about the family issues. The mother is also trying to advise the son but the son does not want to listen to the mother's advice.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
7BM	Lawyer Young man	Knowing, advising, guiding Troubled, concentrating, listening
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	The lawyer is giving the young man some advice, but the problem is of such a nature that the young man will have no future.	Respect, father-son relationship, advising

Summary

This story is about the relationship between a young man and his lawyer. The lawyer is trying to advise or guide the young man on some legal issues, but the legal trouble is of such a nature that the young man will have no definite future.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
8BM	Doctors Sleeping figure Woman, lady, wife	Helpful, healing Complaisant, ill, needing treatment Waiting, expectant
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	The doctors are operating on the sleeping figure Woman	Healing, helpful Waiting, no interaction

Summary

The doctors are operating on the sleeping figure, and the wife is waiting for the results. The doctor will do his work and the sleeping figure will recover.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
10	Dad Daughter Daughter's boyfriend	Loving, comforting Upset, emotional Attacking, unfaithful
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Father is comforting his upset daughter	Loving, comforting, emotional, father-daughter interaction

Summary

The father is comforting his daughter. She is upset due to the boyfriend who either attacked her or had another girlfriend. The daughter will recover her future after the attack.

Card	Cast of characters	Type of personality
13MF	Husband Wife	Angry, obstinate, upset, crying Unwilling, refusing, crying
	Social interaction	Type of interaction
	Husband and wife are quarrelling. This failed encounter angers the husband and he turns his back on the wife	Failed sexual encounter that leads to the husband rejecting the wife.

Summary

The wife is unwilling for a sexual encounter; this in turn angers the man. This failed sexual encounter leads to the man rejecting the wife.

7.4.1.1 Summary of the TAT

Before responding to card 1 Mr. B manoeuvred the researcher into revealing the type of musical instrument being depicted. The interpersonal object relation in this story seems to be that the person that has the skill to play is worried about his instrument. He wonders if someone would be able to fix it. The researcher also postulates that the broken instrument could be Mr. B and that he harbours a wish that someone should fix him. The affect tone of the relationship in this story seems to be nonexistent. There is no social interaction in this story. It seems that in this story the wish to be fixed has a narcissistic inclination. It could possibly indicate that to be fixed from the problem could increase Mr. B's feelings of self-worth.

Mr. B's responses to card 2 shows that he equates success with the idea of hard work. The way he describes the interaction is one of superiority and success. In this story the people are undifferentiated and are working towards a shared goal. The affect tone indicates a movement towards a narcissistic ideal (they will have something to eat in the future), which in effect shows a definite narcissistic defence. It can be postulated that this defence functions as a narcissistic buffer against feelings of rejection and inferiority. The statement that they will have something to

eat in the future could possibly indicate a fixation in the pre-genital phase of development.

In card 3BM Mr. B completely ignored the gun, which can possibly indicate that he tries to block or ignore his own aggressiveness. This story seems to be one of suffering and rejection. The researcher postulates that this card could be interpreted as how Mr. B sees himself. The interaction found in this card is one of hopelessness or a life without a future. In this story the character is undifferentiated. The only emotion the woman is exhibiting is to be depressed and alone. The affect tone in this story suggests that Mr. B sees his own situation as hopeless and that he has no future. The researcher is of the opinion that this indicates that Mr. B feels that there is something inferior or wrong with him but is unable to rectify the problem. This ties in with his narcissistic wish (to be fixed) found in card 1.

Card 4 represents a loving relationship. What is worthy of note is that according to Mr. B the only woman he truly loved was his first girlfriend. This could lead the researcher to speculate that this response is the kind of wish Mr. B still has for him and his first love. The characters in this story are more differentiated than in the previous cards, however both characters exhibit the same type of emotion. The affect tone suggests a benign, loving interaction. The researcher is of the opinion that the wish to be with the ex-girlfriend is a narcissistic/egocentric buffer against underlying feelings of rejection and inferiority. It also suggests that Mr. B has a strong need to invest in an emotionally fulfilling, loving relationship.

In card 6BM Mr. B sees a mother-son relationship. According to Mr. B if you do not listen to parental advice your life is/will be a mess. The researcher argues that Mr. B is actually reliving the argument he had had with his mother about why his mother and father always fought. The characters are clearly differentiated from one another and exhibit a range of emotions. The affect tone is marked with conflict and aggression. The emotional investment in this story suggests that Mr. B unconsciously equates all parental interaction with his own experience of his parental (i.e. mother) relationship. The social causality in this story suggests that if the person does not listen to parental advice, his life will be a mess. The researcher postulates that Mr. B sees his own life as being in a mess and partly and unconsciously blames his mother's inability to deal with the family problems, as a causative factor for the mess he is in.

The interpersonal relationship in card 7BM is a lawyer-client relationship, which could also be equated with a father-son relationship. This could be a wish for a more loving father-son relationship or a story about Mr. B's own legal troubles. In this story the characters are not clearly differentiated from one another. The affect tone suggests that, even though the father figure is trying to advise the son (client), the problems are of such a nature that the son (client) will have no future. This suggests that the interaction even though benign and helpful, cannot "rescue" the son. The researcher postulates that Mr. B wishes that he had had an advising, guiding father figure but unconsciously realises that even if he had had such a relationship he would still have had problems. This wish for a better father-son relationship could possibly be indicative of a fixation during the pre-genital phase of development.

Card 8BM represents dominance vs. submissiveness relationship, the doctor being dominant and the sleeping figure and wife being submissive/passive. The characters in this story are clearly differentiated, but the central theme of this card seems to reflect the need to be "fixed". The affect tone of this story is that of a benign, "fixing" relationship. The researcher also postulates that Mr. B tries to subjugate his aggressive feelings (*"the other one ... with a knife on his hand"*) with socially desirable answers (*"seems to be a doctor or somebody else"*).

Card 10 could be indicative of a father-daughter relationship. The characters in this story are more differentiated than in the other cards, however the characters seem dependent on each other. The affect tone of this story is benign, loving and comforting. The emotional investment in this story suggests that if the father figure helps, the person will have a future. This could be a wish Mr. B has regarding his own father. This in effect could also be indicative of a fixation in the pre-genital phase.

Card 13MF could possibly show that Mr. B believes that if a man wants sex the woman must comply. This in turn could be indicative of dominance vs. submissive relationship. The characters in this story seem to be differentiated, but both characters are only showing two emotions, namely the man is angry and upset and the woman is refusing and unwilling. The affect tone in this card seems to suggest that Mr. B sees sexual intercourse as something that he should have on demand. However, if he is refused sexual intercourse his murderous and aggressive impulses come to the fore and lead him to reject the woman. The researcher also postulates that the story suggests that Mr. B is unwilling to acknowledge or understand other

people's thoughts, emotions and actions as they relate to a sexually charged atmosphere.

7.4.2 PICTURE TEST FOR SEPARATION AND INDIVIDUATION (PTSI)

(i) Briefly describe what you imagine under each of the pictures showing your relationship with your mother.

Picture A: *"All alone, lonely"*.

Picture B: *"Security, very secure"*.

Picture C: *"Unsecured"*.

Picture D: *"Most unsecured"*.

Picture E: *"Abandoned"*.

Picture F: *"Really, really out of the family"*.

(ii) Briefly describe what you imagine under each of the pictures showing your relationship with your father.

Picture A: *"All alone"*.

Picture B: *"Security, very secure"*.

Picture C: *"Nearly unsecure"*.

Picture D: *"Partly unsecure"*.

Picture E: *"Abandoned"*.

Picture F: *"Away from home"*.

(iii) Briefly describe what you imagine under each of the pictures showing your relationship with the person you are attached to.

In this part of the test Mr. B selected his ex-girlfriend (C) as the person whom he is attached to.

Picture A: *“Togetherness”*.

Picture B: *“Loved one another”*.

Picture C: *“Departure”*.

Picture D: *“Lost to each other”*.

Picture E: *“All alone”*.

7.4.2.1 Summary of the PTSI

The picture Mr. B thought best described his relationship with his mother is picture B. He also professed to be satisfied with the relationship as is shown in the picture. It would seem from his descriptions that security is equated with a merger/symbiotic type of relationship lacking clear differentiation. Picture B was selected representing the relationship he would most like to have with his mother, while picture D portrays the relationship that he would least like to have with his mother. According to Mr. B his mother would also have chosen similarly.

The picture that Mr. B thought best described his current relationship with his father was picture F, actively introducing a theme of distance. He further states that he was not satisfied with the relationship with his father as shown in the picture and would have preferred a similar relationship to the one with his mother, that is a non-differentiated relationship that is equated with security. It is worthy of note that according to Mr. B his father would choose to “leave him alone” and this links with his fear of having an abandoning relationship.

The picture that Mr. B thought best described his current relationship with his ex—girlfriend was picture A. Again it is worthy to note that the choice is again symbiotic in nature. According to Mr. B his ex-girlfriend (as with his mother) would also choose such a relationship. Being lost to each other (represented by picture D) seems to be the relationship liked least and the opposite of the symbiotic need depicted by picture

A.

7.4.3 MR B: TEST OF OBJECT RELATIONS (TOR)

Symbiotic Merging	63
Separation Anxiety	65
Narcissism	45
Egocentricity	54
Fear of Engulfment	62
Social Isolation	56
Validity Index	11

7.4.3.1 Summary of the TOR

According to the scores Mr. B obtained on the TOR, the following assumptions regarding his intrapsychic structure can be made. (i) He is primarily egocentric and has narcissistic traits. (ii) He has a wish to symbiotically merge with individuals, which is in direct contrast to his high score on the fear of engulfment dimension. This contrast could later lead to conflicting feelings when confronted with the possibility of having an intimate relationship. (iii) His high score on the social isolation scale indicates that Mr. B has a lack of or shows avoidance of interpersonal relationships. However, this is diametrical opposed to his fear of being separated from/or being abandoned by significant others. (iv) His score on the validity index indicates that he answered the questions truthfully.

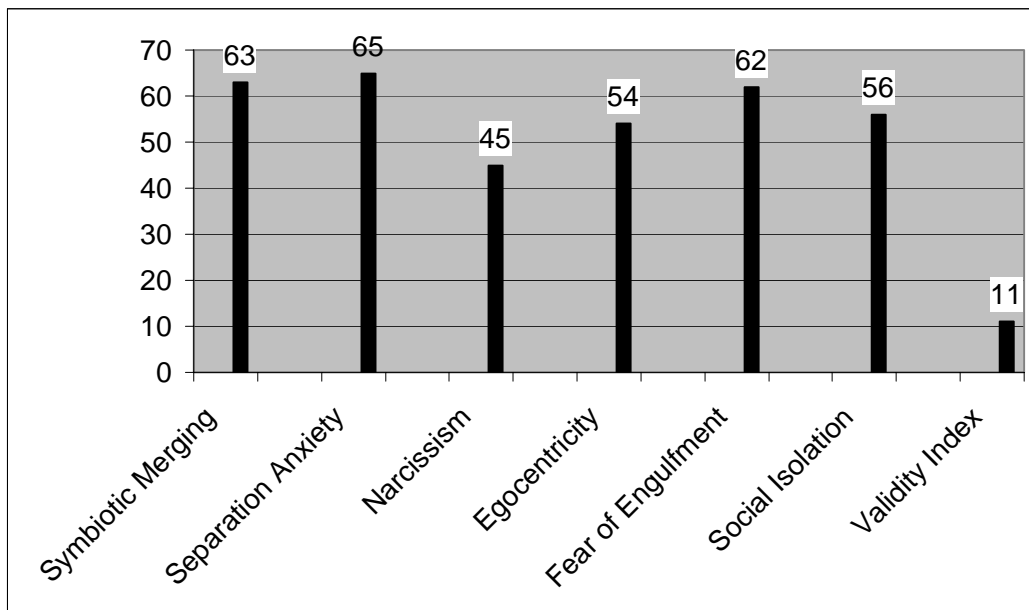


Figure 4. Scores achieved by Mr. B on the TOR

7.5 PSYCHOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF MR. B

According to the aforementioned psychometric test the assumptions set out below can be made regarding Mr. B's personality structure and development.

Mr. A exhibits definite egocentric and narcissistic traits (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 4; and TOR: Narcissism and Egocentricity level). He experienced a lack of separation from his mother and ex-girlfriend (TOR: Symbiotic Merging; PTSI: responses to questions 1 and 3) and wishes for a symbiotic relationship with the mother and his ex-girlfriend (TOR: Symbiotic merging dimension; PTSI: responses to questions 1 and 3), but experiences separation anxiety due to the rejection he experienced from his father and the ex girlfriend (TOR: Separation anxiety; PTSI: responses to questions 2 and 3) and he wishes for improved relationships with his parents (PTSI: responses to questions 1 and 2). He seems to have identified with his violent father figure (PTSI: response to question 2) and thus wants to be dominant in all his relationships (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 4, 8MB, 13MF; TOR: Fear of engulfment and Social isolation dimensions). It also seems that Mr. B fixated in the pre-genital phase of development (TAT: card 2, 7BM; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety level; PTSI: responses to questions 1,2 and 3). The researcher postulates that Mr. B is able to distinguish between right and wrong, and tries to conceal his aggressive and murderous impulses by delivering socially desirable answers (TAT: card 3BM, 8BM). It is also postulated that Mr. B has a wish for a loving relationship (TAT: card

4; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: responses to question 3) but due to his egocentric/narcissistic personality structure (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 4, 13MF; TOR: Egocentrism and Narcissism dimension), he finds it hard to comprehend the other person's actions and feelings in such a relationship. This in turn leads to an inability to commit fully to such a relationship. The researcher also postulates that Mr. B partly and unconsciously blames his mother for his troubles (TAT: card 6BM). It also seems that Mr. B sees himself as having problems that need to be "fixed", which in turn suggests underlying feelings of inferiority (TAT: card 1, 3BM, 7BM).

7.6 THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF MR. B

Theoretically Mr. B can be classified as an organised, hedonistic serial killer. The organised component of his crime is evident from his action of luring the victims to a secluded spot under the pretext of having the victims work. The hedonistic component of the crime manifests through his extreme use of sexual force and sexual bondage against the victims. Mr. B obtained satisfaction by having complete sexual control over his victims and gained considerable pleasures from the murder event itself. Mr. B also never formed an ego-ideal as in the case of Mr. A, which leads the researcher to classify Mr. B as an **ego-syntonic** serial killer. According to the psychometric tests (TAT: card 1, 2, 3bm; and the TOR: Narcissism and Egocentric levels) Mr. B has very definitive Egocentric/ narcissistic personality traits, which leads the researcher to argue that Mr. B saw his victims as objects for his own sexual gratification.

7.6.1 FREUD'S THEORIES APPLIED TO MR. B

- **Id, ego and superego**

Mr. B has a dominating id but an underdeveloped ego and superego. The ego is too weak to manage the balance between the id and reality. Mr. B attributes no value to human life and seems to lack moral judgement. He rationalises rape, which enables him to gratify his sexual and destructive instincts immediately. The researcher therefore concludes that Mr. B's id dominates the clinical picture.

The researcher proposes that Mr. B's ego is underdeveloped due to the lack of

separation from his mother (TOR: Symbiotic merging, PTSI: responses to question 1) and rejection by the father figure (TOR: Separation anxiety and PTSI: responses to questions 1 and 2). The subject's relationship with the mother and father figure will be discussed in a later section. The evidence of a primitive superego could be seen in his apparent disgust at rape. He, however, simultaneously rationalises the behaviour of men who rape.

- **Psychosexual developmental phases and fixations**

Mr. B was a lonely child who grew up in a violent home where the father figure was both violent and emotionally absent. Before the onset of the Oedipal phase, Mr. B's experienced his first rejection from the father figure (PTSI: responses to question 2; TAT: card 7BM). This rejection by the father lead to the incorporation of the first "bad" object, namely the rejecting father. During the Oedipal phase he identified with his mother (TOR: Symbiotic merging and separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: responses to question 1) and his eldest sister. Nonetheless, he did have interaction (however violent) with the father figure during this stage. The father figure was overtly strict and violent towards Mr. B. It can be postulated that Mr. B introjected the father figure's aggression into his own superego and id (TAT: card 3BM, 7BM, 8BM, 13MF).

As previously stated Mr. B experienced extreme emotional isolation during the latency phase of development. This can be attributed to his mother and father constantly fighting and his perception that he did not get what the other children in the family were given. This in turn means that Mr. B never learned the necessary social skills for that age.

The researcher also postulates that Mr. B fixated during the pre-genital phase. Evidence for this comes from the violence he experienced with the father figure and Mr. B's responses to the psychometric test (TAT: card 2, 7BM; PTSI: responses to question 2; TOR: Fear of engulfment and Separation anxiety dimension). The researcher postulates that, due to this violence shown by his father he developed a compulsion to repeat the violence he had experienced. The researcher also argues that the father's action towards the other children (giving them everything while Mr. B received nothing) increased his underlying feelings of inferiority (TAT: card 1 and 2).

Owing to the fact that Mr. B experienced extreme conflict with the father as well as

isolation (TOR: Social isolation dimension) and exclusion from the family during the latency phase, the suicidal ideation during the post-Oedipal stage was a direct result of the aforementioned. The researcher postulates that Mr. B did not resolve the Oedipus complex, as he never considered his father as competition for the mother's love (TAT: card 7BM,10; PTSI: response to question 2). The rape and murder of the woman can also be indicative of his incestuous desire for his mother and eldest sister. This heterosexual object relationship is evident in the fact that Mr. B reported that he loved a girl and there seems to be no evidence of homosexual identification in the psychometric tests.

- **Object choice and its relational implications**

According to the developmental paths that object choice can follow, Mr. B unconsciously made an anaclitic object choice, namely the woman who fed him and the consecutive substitutes who replaced her. The researcher argues that Mr. B chose victims who constituted the ex-girlfriend (sexual-ideal) who rejected him (PTSI: response to question 3). This indicates a sexual over-evaluation, which the researcher argues derived from his original narcissism and corresponds with the transference of that narcissism on to the sexual ideal (TAT: card 4, 8Bm, 13MF; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety level).

The researcher argues that Mr. B is primarily egocentric and has narcissistic traits. Evidence for this argument can be found in the narcissism and egocentrism dimensions of the TOR as well as TAT cards 1, 2 and 13MF. Originally Mr. B formed an object cathexis with the mother (TAT: card 6BM; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: response to question 1) and oldest sister, but this was later retracted into the ego. The researcher postulates that Mr. B formed a sexual object cathexis with the ex-girlfriend (TAT: card 4, 8BM, 13MF; PTSI: response to question 3 and TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation Anxiety level). She fulfilled all of Mr. B's narcissistic sexual id impulses. This caused Mr. B to incorporate her as his sexual-ideal. Mr. B rationalised rape by stating that if a man proposes to a woman he can then fulfil "*those emotions*", this statement indicates that Mr. B's id always tries to reconvene the narcissistic gratification that was experienced with the sexual-ideal (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM,4,13MF; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: response to question 3).

It is also the researcher's contention that after the rejection by the sexual ideal, Mr. B

selected victims who reminded him of the narcissistic gratification associated with the sexual-ideal (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 4, 13MF; TOR: Egocentrism, Narcissism, Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimensions; PTSI: response to question 3) and was thus able to fulfil the narcissistic sexual impulses of the id. The researcher argues that each time Mr. B found a woman who reminded him of his sexual-ideal, the sexual impulses of the id would come to the fore (TAT: card 13MF). His social frustration and weak ego drove him to achieve homeostasis, by raping the substitute sexual-ideal. It is also the researcher's contention that Mr. B incorporated the violent (sado-masochistic) action of the father towards the mother into the id. Each time a substitute sexual-ideal (i.e. victim) came along, Mr. B would recall this violence and direct it at the substitute object.

- **Repression**

The researcher postulates that Mr. B experienced minimal repression. Mr. B's ego identified with the "good" mother during the oral phase, due to the fact that she gratified all the impulses of his id (TAT: card 6BM; TOR: Egocentrism, Narcissism, Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimensions; PTSI: response to question 1). The ideation of the "bad" violent rejecting father figure (TAT: card 7BM, 8BM; PTSI: response to question 2) and rejection of the sexual-ideal were introjected in the unconscious. Mr. B did not incorporate societal norms and therefore remained narcissistic. The ego, thus, did not perceive the sexual or aggressive (violent) impulses as dangerous. Woman who represented the sexual-ideal (ex-girlfriend) activated the violent sexual impulses of the id (TAT: card 13MF; PTSI: response to question 3). Due to the fact that Mr. B only has a weak superego to repress this ideation the ideation, was acted out on the sexual-ideal substitutes (victims).

- **Anxiety**

During infancy Mr. B's ego was not developed and was unable to separate with his mother. During the first three years the mother gratified all the id's impulses. This in turn lead Mr. B to form a strong symbiosis with the mother (this is evident in the TOR: Symbiotic merging dimension and PTSI: response to question 1). However, due to the violent interaction between the father and the mother (the father beating the mother severely), Mr. B's ego experienced the first concrete anxiety: possible loss of the mother. The researcher postulates that the father's violent actions towards the mother instilled a fear in Mr. B that the father would eventually beat the mother to

death, which in effect would lead to the loss of the primary “good” object. After continually experiencing this anxiety (TAT: card 6BM; TOR: Separation anxiety dimension) Mr. B substituted his ex-girlfriend as the nurturing “good” substitute object (TAT: card 4; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: question 3) because she fulfilled all his sexual impulses. This new “good” object again gratified the needs of the id (TAT: card 4, 10; TOR: Egocentrism, Narcissism, Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimensions; PTSI: response to question 3). But, when the sexual-ideal rejected him, Mr. B went looking for a substitute object for the sexual-ideal. Each time when confronted with a substitute sexual-ideal Mr. B would recall the rejection of the original sexual-ideal (which activated signal anxiety). This recalled rejection activated the violence associated with the rejecting father figure and made it possible for Mr. B kill the sexual-ideal substitute objects (TOR: Fear of engulfment dimension) before they could, in his mind, reject him.

- **Eros and Thanatos**

Through the exposure of violence at home he unconsciously may have acknowledged that his father had the power of life and death over him and his mother. This in effect meant that Mr. B incorporated the violent father figure into the Thanatos (TAT: card 7BM, 8BM; PTSI: response to question 2) component of his psyche. Mr. B being primarily narcissistic (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 13MF; TOR: narcissism and egocentrism level), has strong ego instincts. He is theorised to unconsciously preserve these instincts by tolerating no opposition to his sexual and aggressive instincts (i.e. he raped and murdered, TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 13MF; TOR: narcissism and egocentrism level).

Mr. B seems to have overcathexed with his mother (TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: responses to question 1) and this in turn is hypothesised to have become his later sexual ideal (TAT: card 4; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: response to question 3). He later murdered the substitute sexual-ideals to prevent them from rejecting him thus evoking a complex internal state of both need for merger and fear of engulfment (TOR: Symbiotic merging and Fear of engulfment dimension). Mr. B’s strong Eros component employed the Thanatos component by directing it towards the substitutes of the rejecting sexual-ideal, instead of allowing the Thanatos to destroy Mr. B (suicidal ideation). The researcher thus argues that Mr. B is compelled to kill the sexual-ideal substitutes to protect himself from a disturbance of his narcissism.

Neither the superego, nor the ego had enough power at their disposal to inhibit the violent sexual impulses of the egocentric and narcissistic id (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 4, 13MF; TOR: Egocentrism and Narcissism dimensions). The expression of the Thanatos (rape and murder) confirms Mr. B's omnipotence of the self. To have complete sexual control over the victims produced an omnipotent feeling that fed Mr. B's primary narcissism.

Mr. B did express superficial feelings of guilt when he stated that he hated men who raped. The researcher argues that this is indicative of a weakly developed superego. However, Mr. B also gave an explanation of why men would rape, which was very similar to the surviving victim's testimony in court. This leads the researcher to speculate that each time the weak superego tries to assert itself, the overpowering and dominating id takes control and denies the aggressive and murderous impulses of Mr. B (TAT: card 8BM,13MF).

Mr. B experienced the loss of love from the father (Mr. B never experienced love from his father) and loss of love from the rejecting ex-girlfriend (sexual-ideal), on whom he depended to gratify all his narcissistic sexual impulses. Therefore the ego was exposed to danger. This danger threatened the Eros, which in retaliation activated the Thanatos to eradicate the danger. Mr. B had to destroy that which exposed him to danger, namely the rejecting sexual ideal. He succeeded by destroying the substitute sexual-ideals.

Mr. B was extensively and systematically physically abused by the father, and could therefore be hypothesised that Mr. B consciously as well as unconsciously hated his father. He also never experienced the father as loving (TAT: card 7BM,10, PTSI: responses to question 2), and the researcher argues that the only identification Mr. B made with the father figure was to identify with the aggression and violence which the father directed at Mr. B's own "good" mother. The researcher further postulates that this incorporated violence against women and rejection by the object that he loves (PTSI: responses to question 1 and 3) formed, with the id's narcissistic sexual impulses, the primary motive for Mr. B to kill the substitute sexual-ideals (TAT: card 13MF; TOR: Fear of engulfment dimension).

The researcher also argues that Mr. B does not suffer from melancholia. Although he did experience rejection and loss of love from the sexual ideal, he did not experience an increase of self-blame (he blames his father for his ex-girlfriends'

rejection of him), inhibition of activities or a decrease in self-esteem: “*I am a person who ... just likes everybody*”.

- **A Freudian view of criminality**

Freud (1927-1930) states that two traits are essential in a criminal: (i) boundless egoism; and (ii) a strong destructive urge. He furthermore argues that common to the aforementioned traits and a necessary condition for criminality, are the absence of love and the lack of emotional appreciation of objects (especially humans).

A high level of egoism and narcissism can be found in the personality of Mr. B (TOR: narcissism and egocentricity dimensions). The strong destructive urge is evident from the sexual bondage Mr. B used in his commission of the crimes. The researcher argued previously that Mr. B grew up in an environment where fatherly love was absent. The researcher also postulated that due to the violent father–mother and father-son relationships Mr. B learned that violence against human objects was unacceptable (TAT: card 7BM, 8BM, 13MF). Based on this it is argued that, he learned through the violent nature of his father that humans (especially females) are only there to fulfil his primary narcissistic needs (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 8BM, 13MF; TOR: Egocentric, Narcissism, Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimensions). All of the aforementioned information leads the researcher to argue that Mr. B fits the first part of the Freudian view of the criminal personality

Freud (1932-1936) states that the *narcissistic type* (libidinal type) can only be described in negative terms. In this type there is no tension between the ego and superego and no preponderance of erotic needs. This type's main interest is directed at self-preservation, and is independent and is not easily intimidated. The ego has a large amount of aggressiveness at its disposal, which manifests in readiness for activity. In this type's erotic life, loving is preferred to being loved. He further states that this type (narcissistic) presents the essential preconditions for criminality. He also argues that, if this type is mixed with the other libidinal types (erotic and obsessional), as well as with internal and external conflicts, pathogenic behaviour (criminal as well as neurotic) could develop. According to Freud (1932-1936) the erotic type can be defined as follows: this type is dominated by the fear of loss of love and is therefore dependent on others who may withhold their love from this type. This type represents the elementary instinctual demands of the id, for which the other intrapsychic structures have become yielding.

The researcher argues that Mr. B represents a combination of the erotic and narcissistic libidinal types. As previously stated Mr. B has a strong egocentric and narcissistic personality type (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 13MF; TOR: Egocentrism and Narcissism dimension). Mr. B also demonstrates minimal tension between the ego and superego and the main interest of Mr. B is to yield to his aggressive and sexual impulses (TAT: card 8BM, 13MF). Freud's (1932-1936) statement that the ego has a large amount of aggressiveness at its disposal is confirmed by the extreme amounts of sexual force Mr. B directed at the victims. On the basis of the aforementioned the researcher argues that Mr. B fits the second part of the Freudian view of criminality. This leads the researcher to deduce that Mr. B could be seen as an example of the Freudian view of criminality and especially of the combined erotic-narcissistic libidinal type. The researcher is of the opinion that Mr. B is very dependant on others for love (TAT: card 4, 7BM, 10; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension) but also has definite egocentric and narcissistic tendencies (TAT: card 1, 2, 3BM, 8BM, 13MF; TOR: Egocentrism and Narcissism dimension). Based on the aforementioned the researcher argues that Mr. B is a combined erotic-narcissistic type.

7.6.2 KLEINIAN ANALYSIS OF MR. B

- **The developmental phases**

Mr. B at first internalised his own mother as the nurturing "good" breast figure (TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: response to question 1) and his father as the "bad" breast figure (PTSI: response to question 2). He also incorporated his mother as the "good" object and his rejecting violent father as the "bad" object. It has been previously argued that Mr. B's infantile ego acknowledged that the "bad" violent father had the power of life and death over him and his mother (the "good" object).

The researcher further argues that due to the violent nature of Mr. B's parents' relationship he introjected these violent episodes into his id. The anxiety associated with the anal phase is a further motivation for sadism, which in turn leads to the wish for the destruction of the dangerous object. The object that Mr. B wanted to destroy was the introjected "bad" rejecting object (father and sexual-ideal).

Klein (1963), states that this fantasy of object destruction in turn leads to the development of social and moral feelings. She is also of the opinion that maladjustment in the anal-sadistic fantasies and Oedipal development could lead to criminal tendencies. The subject who hates the father as a rival for the love of the mother will try to use any of the fantasies that developed during the anal-sadistic phase to “kill” the father. The researcher postulates that due to Mr. B’s violent interaction with the first “bad” object, and the fear that this “bad” object (the father) could destroy him, Mr. B could not work through his violent anal-sadistic fantasies which were directed at the “bad” object. Due to the aforementioned the researcher is of the opinion that Mr. B experienced maladjustment during the development of the Oedipus complex.

The Oedipus complex and object relations start to reach maturity during the phallic phase. According to Klein the subject attributes all his emotions to his imagined objects. Due to this the imagined and real objects are separated. However, when the emotions directed at the imagined object become too overwhelming, the sadistic and/or reparative fantasies cannot be acted out towards the real objects. This in turn leads to a disturbance of object relations as well as a reality disturbance. The researcher postulates that Mr. B’s imagined objects were the “good” nurturing object (mother), and the “bad” rejecting object (father and sexual-ideal). The researcher argues that due to the violent and sadistic emotions attributed to the rejecting “bad” objects Mr. B could not act out his emotions towards the real father and sexual-ideal. This in turn lead to a disturbance of his object relations. The researcher argues that Mr. B acted out his emotions on the victims because they represented substitute “bad” objects.

Klein (1963) is of the opinion that the intrapsychic constitution of the subject will determine whether the positive result of the gratified libido or the negative destructive fantasy will influence the further sexual development of the subject. The researcher argues that Mr. B’s negative destructive parental interaction as well as his destructive parental fantasies influenced his sexual development and these were directly responsible for his serial homicidal behaviour.

- **Oedipus Complex**

Mr. B experienced extreme deprivation and violence during his Oedipal development. This phase was also marked by rejection of the father figure. The only positive loving

emotions that Mr. B experienced were the love of the “good” object (mother). The researcher argues that Mr. B did not resolve the Oedipus complex. He identified with the “good” object (mother) but the superego did not develop due to the narcissistic nature of the relationship with the “good” object (TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: response to question 1). Due to the lack of individuation (PTSI: response to question 1), the ego was not strong enough to employ the defence mechanism of projection and could not destroy the external “bad” objects. Mr. B later formed another “good” object namely the sexual-ideal. The sexual ideal gratified all the narcissistic id impulses (TAT: card 2, 3BM, 4, 13MF; TOR: Egocentrism, Narcissism, Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: responses to question 3). This led to the incorporation of the first “good” sexual object, which in turn is an extension of the “good” object. However, due to the rejection by the sexual-ideal, Mr. B incorporated a “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal, which can be seen as an extension of the “bad” rejecting object. The impulse to destroy the external objects forms the basis of criminality. Mr. B could not destroy the external “bad” rejecting objects and so instead murdered the victims who constituted the “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal substitutes.

The researcher is of the opinion that, each time Mr. B felt the narcissistic sexual impulses of the id, he recalled the sexual fulfilment and rejection of the sexual-ideal figure and the violence of the father figure. His strong Eros component defended Mr. B against self-destruction (the suicidal ideation), by identifying with the aggressor (the “bad” father who also forms part of the “bad” object). Every time Mr. B killed a “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal (“bad” object substitute) he confirmed to himself that he was in control of the sexual-ideal. The superego was too weak to prevent the sexual and aggressive impulses (TAT: card 8BM, 13MF) from entering the ego and therefore the rapes and murders became a compulsion.

- **Object Relations**

Mr. B’s first part objects were of a “good” gratifying breast (mother) and “bad” rejecting breast (violent father). His object relations later changed due to the continual violence and rejection that he experienced from his father. He formed a “good” gratifying object (mother), which nurtured all his id’s narcissistic impulses, and a “bad” rejecting object (which was first only representative of the father figure). Later Mr. B introjected another object, namely the sexual-ideal. The sexual-ideal gratified all the narcissistic id impulses. This led to the incorporation of the first

“good” sexual object, which can be seen as an extension of the “good” object figure. As previously argued, the rejection experienced by the sexual-ideal, lead Mr. B to incorporated a “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal, which can be seen as an extension of the “bad” rejecting object. Every time Mr. B’s id impulses experienced a surge, he projected the “good” sexual-ideal object (“good” object) onto the woman. This increased Mr. B’s expectation of narcissistic need gratification. However, due to the rejection by the sexual-ideal, he also projected the “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal (extension of the “bad” object) on to his victims. The anxiety associated with this rejecting object caused the Thanatos to kill the substitute sexual-ideal (which is an extension of the “bad” parental figure) before it could reject Mr. B. The expression of the Thanatos (rape and murder) confirmed Mr. B’s omnipotence and egocentrism/narcissism (TAT: card 8bm, 13MF;TOR: Egocentrism and Narcissism dimensions). The researcher is of the opinion that to have complete sexual control over the victims evoked an omnipotent feeling that fed Mr. B’s primary narcissism. Thus Mr. B killed the “bad” rejecting objects to gratify his own narcissistic tendencies

- **Kleinian view of criminality**

Mr. B harboured aggressive impulses against his parents (TAT: card 6BM, 7BM) and the sexual-ideal (TAT: card 13MF). He introjected these impulses and this formed a distorted picture regarding people (all women were either “good” and gratifying or “bad” and rejecting). The rejecting sexual-ideal substitutes (reminiscent of the “bad” rejecting object) increased Mr. B’s sexual and violent instincts, which in turn increased Mr. B’s anxiety about being rejected by these substitutes. This in turn urged the subject to destroy the substitute objects. The researcher argues that the victims unconsciously represented the rejecting ex-girlfriend (“bad” object); possible evidence for this hypothesis can be found in Mr. B’s act of asking the surviving rape victim if she was now his girlfriend. The researcher argues that, if the surviving victim had not pleaded for her life (which increased Mr. B’s feeling of omnipotent, narcissistic sexual control), as she did, Mr. B would have killed her too.

Klein (1963) states that, if the fear of the superego (either through external or intrapsychic reasons) oversteps certain bounds, the subject may be compelled to destroy people and this compulsion may form the basis for psychosis or criminality. The researcher argues that Mr. B in part incorporated the violence associated with the “bad” father into the superego. Each time Mr. B’s sexual impulses were threatened by a “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal substitute, the incorporated violent “bad”

father was used to murder this substitute.

The researcher also argues that the object to which Mr. B associated all his love and libido was the “good” (TAT: card 4, 13MF; TOR: Symbiotic merging and Separation anxiety dimension; PTSI: response to question 3) sexual-ideal (which the researcher argues is an extension of the “good” object). However, due to the rejection of the sexual-ideal (which formed part of the “bad” object), Mr. B both hated and loved the sexual-ideal. Mr. B loved the sexual-ideal for gratifying all the id’s sexual urges and hated it because the rejection by the sexual-ideal meant that his narcissistic urges could not be gratified.

The researcher postulates that Mr. B experienced minimal repression. The ego, thus, did not perceive the sexual or aggressive (violent) impulses (TAT: card 3BM, 4, 8BM, 13MF) as dangerous. Woman who represented the sexual-ideal (ex-girlfriend) activated the violent sexual impulses of the id. The substitutes also awoke in Mr. B the hatred attributed to the “bad” rejecting figures (TAT: card 6BM, 7BM, 13MF). Thus the victims, in effect, represented the object that gratified as well as the object that rejected. The researcher postulates that this enabled Mr. B to gratify the id (through the rape), and also to destroy the object that threatened the instinctual impulses (by murdering the substitutes).

7.7 SUMMARY

Mr. B is an English and Zulu speaking African male in the late adulthood phase. The current prison term he is serving is for committing 16 murders, one attempted murder, seven indecent assaults and three counts of rape. He was originally suspected of committing 19 murders along with various other offences such as rape, assault with intent to do bodily harm and kidnapping.

Mr. B’s home environment was characterised by rejection and violence. His father systematically and repeatedly physically abused him. The father’s interaction with Mr. B in effect led to the break-up with a woman he loved. The father’s actions towards Mr. B and this woman were of such a violent nature that the woman decided to have an abortion. This abortion had a huge emotional impact on him.

Theoretically Mr. B can be classified as an ego-syntonic organised, hedonistic serial killer. Through the use of the intrapsychic theories and psychometric test the

researcher has illustrated that Mr. B has disturbed intrapsychic and object relation development. It is evident from the life history and psychometric tests that Mr. B unconsciously made an anaclitic object choice. The researcher showed that the serial killer weakly identified with the father figure and experienced an isolated latency phase. The victims selected by Mr. B expose his disturbed object relation development. All the women in Mr. B's life are seen as either only "good" (like his mother) or "bad" (like the rejecting sexual-ideal and the violent father). A woman who represented the sexual-ideal (the ex-girlfriend) activated the violent sexual impulses of the id. But the substitutes also awoke in Mr. B the hatred attributed to the "bad" rejecting objects. Thus the victims, in effect, represented the object that gratified as well as the object that rejected. The researcher postulates that Mr. B was able to gratify the id (through the rape), and was also able to destroy the object that threatened the instinctual impulses (by murdering the substitutes). In the next chapter the data of the two case studies will be integrated and a conclusion regarding the research will be formulated.

CHAPTER 8

INTEGRATION AND CONCLUSION

*The young men were born with knives in their brain, a
tendency to introversion, self-dissection, anatomising of
motives*
-Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Life and Letters in New England*

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the integration and conclusion of this research will be addressed. The researcher will present the differences and similarities found between the two case studies, as well as tangent points with other research and possible criticism that could be levelled at the research. The researcher will also formulate a view regarding the intrapsychic development of the serial killer personality.

8.2 DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

The researcher found similarities and differences in the two case studies of serial murders. These differences and similarities seem to have had an influence on the development of the serial murderer.

8.2.1 CHILDHOOD

The research participants had deprived and disturbed childhoods. Both were physically abused and were financially underprivileged. Both research respondents had an emotionally absent father figure. It should be noted that Mr. A's father figure was also physically absent. Both were lonely children and their feelings of being alone lead to suicidal thoughts. Mr. A was denied peer group interaction (he states that his grandmother expected him to come home directly after school and he also stated that the other children did not like him), which in effect increased his feelings of social isolation.

8.2.2 ID, EGO AND SUPEREGO

In both individuals the id dominates the clinical picture. Both research respondents had weak egos and superegos. The ego could not sublimate the id's violent and murderous impulses. Mr. A had a stronger superego due to the formation of an ego-

ideal (perfect gentleman). Both internalised a nurturing “good” mother figure, but Mr. A also incorporated a “bad” mother figure, but was unable to direct his aggression to the external “bad” mother. He therefore directed it at the victims who threatened his ego-ideal. It is hypothesised that Mr. B formed a sexual-ideal. His victims represented a “bad” rejecting surrogate sexual-ideal (which is part of the “bad” object), that he murdered before they could reject him.

8.2.3 OEDIPUS COMPLEX

Both Mr. A and B were unable to resolve the Oedipus complex. Both incorporated a violent and aggressive father figure into the id and superego structures. This incorporated/introjected violent father aggression was later used in the perpetration of the serial murders.

Mr. A experienced extreme deprivation during his Oedipal development. Both his mother and father rejected him. The only positive loving emotion that Mr. A experienced was the love of the “good” mother (the grandmother). The researcher argues that Mr. A did not resolve the Oedipus complex. He identified with the “good” mother figure (grandmother) and due to this the superego took on the shadow of the grandmother (which was also later introjected into the ego-ideal). Due to the lack of individuation, the ego was not strong enough to employ the defence mechanism of projection and could not destroy the external “bad” parental objects. The impulse to destroy the external objects forms the basis of criminality. Mr. A could not destroy the external “bad” mother and so instead murdered the victims who constituted the “bad” mother substitutes.

Whenever Mr. A felt victimised he recalled the rejection of the mother figure and the violence of the father figure. He felt helpless and unable to maintain the ego-ideal. His Eros defended Mr. A against self-destruction (the suicidal ideation), by identifying with the aggressor (the “bad” father). Every time Mr. A killed a “bad” mother substitute, he confirmed to himself that he was protecting his ego-ideal of a perfect gentleman. The superego was too weak to prevent the murderous impulses from entering the ego and therefore the murders became a compulsion.

Mr. B experienced extreme deprivation and violence during his Oedipal development. This phase was also marked by the father figure’s rejection. The only positive loving emotion that Mr. B experienced was the love of the “good” mother (mother). The

researcher argues that Mr. B did not resolve the Oedipus complex. He identified with the “good” mother figure (mother) but the superego did not develop due to the narcissistic nature of the relationship with the “good” mother. Due to the lack of individuation, the ego was not strong enough to employ the defence mechanism of projection and could not destroy the external “bad” parental objects. Mr. B later formed a sexual-ideal. The sexual ideal gratified all the narcissistic id impulses. This led to the incorporation of the first “good” sexual object, which can be seen as an extension of the “good” mother figure. Due to the rejection by the sexual-ideal, Mr. B incorporated a “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal, which can be seen as an extension of the “bad” rejecting object (the “bad” rejecting object at first only consisted of the rejecting father). The impulse to destroy the external objects forms the basis of criminality. Mr. B could not destroy the external “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal but instead murdered the victims who constituted the “bad” mother (“bad” rejecting sexual-ideal) substitutes.

Whenever the narcissistic sexual impulses of the id came to the fore, Mr. B recalled the sexual fulfilment and rejection of the sexual-ideal figure and the violence of the father figure. His Eros defended Mr. B against self-destruction (the suicidal ideation), by identifying with the aggressor (the “bad” father). Every time Mr. B killed a “bad” rejecting sexual-ideal (“bad” rejecting object) he confirmed to himself that he was in control of his sexual-ideal. The superego was too weak to prevent the sexual and aggressive impulses from entering the ego and therefore the rapes and murders became a compulsion.

8.2.4 PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES

The researcher postulates that both Mr. A and B fixated during the pre-genital phase of development. Both introjected the violent father figure, and this introjection led to a compulsion to repeat the violence that was directed at the research respondents.

Mr. A was a lonely child and the father figure was emotionally as well as physically absent. Before the development of the Oedipal phase, Mr. A’s mother rejected him and gave him to his grandmother to raise. This rejection by the mother led to the incorporation of the first “bad” object, namely the rejecting mother. However, during the Oedipal phase he identified with the grandmother and formed his first “good” object and created an ego-ideal. He did, however, have contact with the father figure during this stage. The father figure was overtly strict and violent towards Mr. A. on

the basis of this it could be postulated that Mr. A introjected the aggression of the father figure into his own superego. Thus, Mr. A introjected both his parents as violent and destructive parental figures.

Mr. A experienced extreme isolation during the latency phase of development. This can be attributed to his mother and grandmother both prohibited him from having any friends. This in turn produced impaired social skills in Mr. A.

Mr. B experienced extreme emotional isolation during the latency phase of development. This can be attributed to his mother and father fought constantly and that he felt that he did not acquire what the other children in the family were given. The researcher postulates that Mr. B did not resolve the Oedipus complex, as he never considered his father as competition for the mother's love. The rape and murder of the women can also be indicative of his incestuous desire for his mother and eldest sister.

8.2.5 OBJECT CHOICES

Mr. A unconsciously made a narcissistic object choice through the creation of the ego-ideal. An anaclitic object choice is also seen in the life history of Mr. B. Neither could form a true object cathexis. Mr. A and B had very definite narcissistic and/or egocentric personality structures. The struggle between Mr. A's id, ego and superego can be explained through the creation of the ego-ideal. Mr. A's superego sets the ego-ideal of a perfect gentleman to compensate for the id's impulses. The ideal of being a perfect gentleman is prevalent in his description of himself and how he wants to be seen.

However, Mr. A's superego had a disadvantage because it developed a strong identification with the "bad" violent father figure and Mr. A did not learn to socialise during the latency phase. In opposition to the ego-ideal is the id with its anger, frustration and feelings of rejection. The ego of Mr. A, although weak, tries to maintain the ego-ideal of a perfect gentleman. Throughout the life history of Mr. A the struggle between the superego (as represented as a perfect gentleman) and the id never subsides. The ego-ideal satisfies Mr. A's narcissistic libido. The reason for the apology during the trial was also to preserve the ideal of a perfect gentleman. Mr. A tries to live up to the ego-ideal.

Mr. B chose victims that constituted the ex-girlfriend (sexual-ideal) who rejected him. This indicates a sexual over-evaluation, which the researcher argues derived from his original narcissism and corresponds with the transference of that narcissism on to the sexual ideal.

The researcher argues that Mr. B is primarily egocentric and has narcissistic traits. Originally Mr. B formed an object cathexis with the mother and oldest sister, but this was later retracted into the ego. Mr. B formed a sexual object cathexis with the ex-girlfriend. She fulfilled all of Mr. B's narcissistic sexual id impulses. This meant that Mr. B incorporated her as his sexual-ideal. Mr. B selected victims who reminded him of the sexual-ideal and was thus able to fulfil the narcissistic sexual impulses of the id. The researcher argues that each time Mr. B found a woman that reminded him of his sexual-ideal, the sexual impulses of the id would come to the fore. His lack of social skills and weak ego drove him to achieve homeostasis, by raping the substitute sexual-ideal. It is also the researcher's contention that Mr. B incorporated the violent action of the father towards the mother into the id. Each time a substitute sexual-ideal (victim) came along, Mr. B would recall this violence and direct it at the substitute.

8.2.6 EROS AND THANATOS

Mr. A's Eros directed the Thanatos towards females who threatened the ego-ideal, while Mr. B's Eros directed his Thanatos towards females who resembled the "bad" rejecting sexual-ideal.

Mr. A's superego, even with the incorporated ego-ideal, was never strong enough to influence the ego. The ego could not stop the murders, because the murders gratified Mr. A's narcissism. The ego instincts were at all times directed towards the preservation of the ego-ideal and narcissism, and the Thanatos were at all times directed towards the victims, who represented the "bad" rejecting mother.

Mr. B experienced the loss of love from the father (Mr. B never experienced love from the father) and loss of love from the rejecting ex-girlfriend (sexual-ideal), on whom he depended to gratify all his narcissistic sexual impulses, as dangerous and threatening. Therefore the ego was exposed to danger. This danger threatened the Eros component of his psyche, which in retaliation activated the Thanatos component to eradicate the danger. Mr. B had to destroy that which exposed him to

danger, namely the rejecting object (the father and ex-girlfriend). He succeeded by destroying the rejecting object substitutes (i.e. the victims).

8.2.7 OBJECT RELATIONS

Both Mr. A and B had disturbed object relations. Mr. A's first part object was of a "bad" rejecting breast (the rejecting mother). His object relations later changed due to the rejection which he experienced from his mother and his father. He formed a "good" gratifying mother (grandmother) who later became part of his ego-ideal and a "bad" rejecting mother figure. Every time Mr. A experienced a rejection from a woman, he projected the "bad" rejecting mother onto the rejecting woman. This increased Mr. A's anxiety which in turn led the Thanatos to kill the rejecting "bad" mother so that the ego-ideal of being a perfect gentleman could be maintained.

Mr. B's first part objects were of a "good" gratifying breast (mother) and "bad" rejecting breast (violent rejecting father). His object relations later changed due to the rejection which he experienced from his father. He formed a "good" gratifying object (the mother), which nurtured all his id's narcissistic impulses, and a "bad" rejecting object (the father figure). Later Mr. B introjected the sexual-ideal as an object of narcissistic gratification. This led to the incorporation of the first "good" sexual object, which can be seen as an extension of the "good" object. Due to the rejection by the sexual-ideal, Mr. B incorporated a "bad" rejecting sexual-ideal, which can be seen as an extension of the "bad" rejecting object. Whenever Mr. B's id impulses experienced a surge he projected the "good" sexual-ideal object ("good" object) onto the woman. This increased Mr. B's expectation of narcissistic need gratification. However, due to the fact that the sexual-ideal rejected him, Mr. B also projected the "bad" rejecting sexual-ideal (extension of the "bad" object) on to his victims. The anxiety associated with this rejecting object caused the Thanatos to kill the substitute sexual-ideal before it could reject Mr. B. The expression of the Thanatos (rape and murder) confirmed Mr. B's omnipotence and narcissistic control of the sexual-ideal. To have complete sexual control over the victims evoked an omnipotent feeling that fed Mr. B's primary narcissism. Thus Mr. B killed the "bad" rejecting objects to gratify his own narcissistic tendencies. It should also be noted that both research respondents' object relations is of such a nature that all objects are only seen in dualistic terms, namely either all "good" or all "bad".

Due to the effectiveness of the TOR and PTSI in indicating object relations and

personality structures of the research respondents, the researcher thought it pertinent to include a comparison between the responses of Mr A and Mr. B.

8.2.7.1 Mr. A and Mr. B: Test of Object Relations (TOR) comparison

	Mr A	Mr B
Symbiotic Merging	62	63
Separation Anxiety	65	65
Narcissism	52	45
Egocentricity	44	54
Fear of Engulfment	41	62
Social Isolation	46	56
Validity Index	16	11

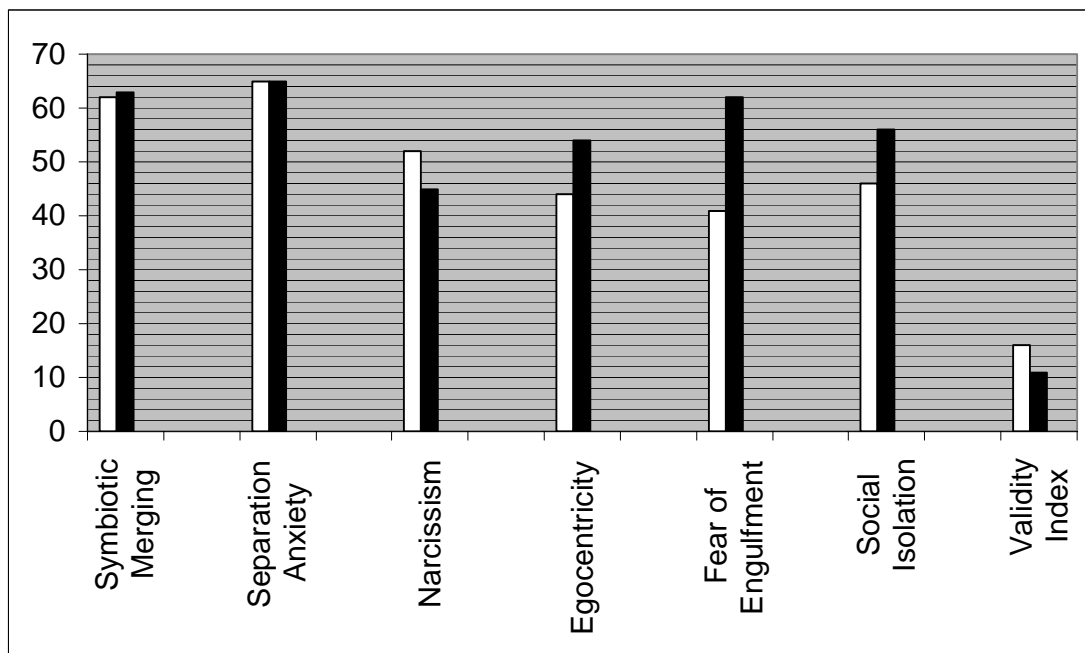


Figure 5 Combined scores of Mr. A and Mr. B on the TOR

As seen in Figure 5, both research respondents had definitive narcissistic and egocentric tendencies. Mr. A's score indicates a narcissistic personality type with underlying egocentric tendencies, whereas Mr. B's score is indicative of an egocentric personality type, which has underlying narcissistic inclination. The scores of both research respondents on the TOR show a marked wish to symbiotically

merge with loved ones. Both experience a considerable degree of separation anxiety which is indicative of a fear of abandonment. Their scores on the fear of engulfment scale show that both research respondents have a fear of intimate relationship. This is in complete contrast to their wish to symbiotically merge with loved ones. The scores achieved on the social isolation scale signify that both research respondents are alienated, distrustful and experience a lack of intimate relationships. Mr. B's score on the validity index indicates that he answered all the questions truthfully, whereas Mr. A's score on this dimension indicates that he answered some of the questions in a social desirable manner. This could be attributed to Mr. A's ego-ideal coming to the fore will he was being tested.

8.2.7.2 Comparison of Mr. A and Mr. B's responses on the PTSI

In the question (question 1) focussing on the maternal relationship, both research respondents indicated a wish to symbiotically merge with the mother. Both stated that they were happy with this type of relationship and also stated that the mother would have chosen a similar relationship. Both also chose a picture depicting separation from the mother as the relationship they would least like to have with her.

In the question (question 2) concerning the paternal relationship, both research respondents indicated that they did not have any relationship with a father figure, which possibly reveals abandonment issues in relation to the father figure. Both research respondents also stated that they were not satisfied with the paternal relationship as depicted in the PTSI. The research respondents also showed a wish to symbiotically merge with the father figure. Mr. A indicated that the father would also have chosen a similar relationship, however Mr. B indicated that his father would have chosen a relationship where he would have been all alone and abandoned.

In the question (question 3) pertaining to the relationship with a significant other, both research respondents indicated a longing to symbiotically merge with the significant other. Both stated that they were happy with this type of relationship and they also indicated that the significant other would have chosen the similar type of relationship. They also stated that a relationship resulting in abandonment would be the relationship they would least like to have with the significant other.

8.2.8 EGO-SYNTONIC/EGO-DYSTONIC SERIAL KILLER

Mr. A can be classified as an **ego-dystonic** serial killer because his murders directly oppose his self perception/ego-ideal of being a “perfect gentleman”. He tried to live up to his ego-ideal, but failed, and as a result suffers from depression and melancholia.

Mr. B is an **ego-syntonic** serial killer. According to the psychometric tests, Mr. B has a very definitive egocentric/narcissistic personality, which leads the researcher to argue that Mr. B saw his victims as objects that could be used for his own sexual gratification.

8.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions were answered in this research.

- **What is the parent-child relationship like?**

The father-son relationship seems to consist of rejection and abuse. The father is usually either physically and/or emotionally absent. The maternal relationship is marked by a symbiotic merging wish and a lack of separation from the mother.

- **How does the parent-child relationship influence the object relations of the serial killer?**

Due to the rejecting and abusive parent-child relationship experienced by the serial killer the object relations are of such a nature that all objects are seen in dualistic terms that is objects are either all “good” or all “bad”.

- **How does the parental relationship influence the serial killer’s interpersonal relationships?**

The serial killer’s parental relationship is usually marred by isolation, violence and sado-masochistic interaction. These types of interaction are introjected into the intrapsychic structure of the serial killer and repeated in subsequent interpersonal relationships.

- **What is the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide?**

According to this research a possible answer lies in the development of the subject’s object relations. The research has shown that both subjects introjected “bad” violent rejecting parental figures, which lead to a general disruption of the development of

intrapsychic and object relations. Each serial killer fixated in the pre-genital phase of development and never or only weakly identified with the father figure. Neither resolved the Oedipus complex. The research also found that both serial killers have dominating ids and undifferentiated egos. The ego has no influence on the violent and/or sexual impulses of the id. The ego of each serial killer incorporated a nurturing “good” mother and a violent rejecting “bad” father object. The research also shows that the disturbed object relations had an impact on the selection of the victims. Each victim resembled the “bad” rejecting parent object or rejecting “bad” object substitute.

8.4 TANGENT POINTS WITH OTHER RESEARCH

The researcher found the following tangent points with other research. These tangent points are set out below.

- Reported rape prior to the murder (Ansevics & Doweiko, 1991).
- Emotionally and/or physically absent father figure (Holmes & De Burger, 1988).
- Childhood abuse, characterised by deprivation, and unfair, harsh and inconsistent punishment (Holmes & De Burger, 1988).
- Tenuous societal adjustment (Ansevics & Doweiko, 1991).
- Inability to establish healthy peer group interaction (Levin & Fox, 1991).
- A inability to maintain meaningful and lasting relationships (Leyton, 1986).
- A charming, “normal personality” and a marked absence of gross pathology (Leyton, 1986).
- The murder is usually one-on-one and the motivation for the murder is psychological (Holmes & De Burger, 1988).
- Grew up lonely and isolated and had no one to share their emotions with (Ressler & Shachtman, 1993).
- The isolation experienced by the serial killers serves as an incubation for their fantasies (Ressler & Shachtman, 1993).
- Psychopathy, or characteristics thereof, are displayed, including lack of guilt feelings, no conscience, inability to show remorse and a craving for control over others (Egger, 1984).
- There is a high degree of suicidal ideation (Lane & Gregg, 1992).

- There is an inability to maintain meaningful and lasting relationships, on both social and sexual levels, marked by poor early child-parent relationships (Leyton, 1986).
- They witnessed or were the victim of sexually stressful events during childhood (Ressler & Shachtman, 1993)).

8.5 CRITICISM

The researcher will address possible points of criticism that may be levelled at the research.

- The researcher had a very small sample size, which makes the results prone to scrutiny. Although the small sample size could be criticised, the subjects represent an availability sample due to the fact that there was not enough serial killers willing to participate in this research. The internal validity of this research, is however above reproach.
- No research is ever uncontaminated by the context in which it takes place. It is difficult to determine what effect (i) the environment of the correctional facilities; (ii) the attention received by Mr. A and Mr. B and; (iii) the cultural differences between the researcher and subjects had on the research.
- Due to the nature of the research, the researcher felt that not enough time was given to interview the serial killers. It is the researcher's contention that if more time had been allowed a better rapport could have been established between the researcher and the serial killers. The researcher recommends that the Department of Correctional Services should try to allocate more time to researchers who conduct research on the aforementioned topic.

8.6 CONCLUSION

This research set out to find a possible answer to the question “**What is the intrapsychic origin of serial homicide?**”. According to the findings, a possible answer lies in the development of the subject's object relations.

The research has shown that both subjects introjected “bad” violent rejecting parental figures, which led to a general disruption in the intrapsychic and object relations development. Each serial killer fixated in the pre-genital phase of development and never or only weakly identified with the father figure. Neither worked through the

Oedipus complex. The research also found that both serial killers have dominating ids and undifferentiated egos. The ego has no influence on the violent and/or sexual impulses of the id. The ego of each serial killer incorporated a nurturing “good” mother and a violent rejecting “bad” father object. The researcher also found that the disturbed object relations had an impact on the selection of the victims. Each victim resembled the “bad” rejecting parent object or rejecting “bad” object substitute*.

According to Yin (1984) (Chapter 5) the findings of an exploratory case study can be generalised to a theory even though only two case studies were analysed. The researcher therefore postulates that the intrapsychic/object relation theories of Freud and Klein can be generalised to all cases of serial murder. This in turn means that what this study has found could be generalised to all serial killers.

The researcher is of the opinion that the application of the intrapsychic theories is twofold. Firstly it will enhance the profiling of serial killers and secondly, children with the same intrapsychic and object relations development could be detected. This in turn could lead to intervention techniques to remedy the disturbance in object relations.

It should be noted that intrapsychic theory is only one theoretical explanation of human behaviour and other theoretical avenues should also be explored. Future research should be undertaken with larger samples and with a multi-theoretical approach to the investigation of serial homicide.

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*There is case study evidence that supports this statement. Edward Kemper, a serial killer convicted of several serial murders, is a prime example of this statement. His mother, systematically and extensively abused Kemper. She forced him to dress up as a girl and constantly humiliated him. When he moved out of his mother's house, he started to pursue and decapitate women that had the same hair and face structure as his mother. After having had his fill of murder he went back to his mother's house and decapitated her. Afterwards he phoned the police and told them that he was the serial killer they were looking for. According to Kemper, he committed the serial murders to build up the backbone to kill his mother.

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APPENDIX A

LEGAL UNDERTAKING

I, **THE UNDERSIGNED** (state full initials and surname)

a major person, **DECLARE** myself willing to participate voluntarily and without remuneration in the proposed research programme on the phenomenon of serial murder, which is to be undertaken by Mr. J Barkhuizen.

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 and tests may be audio recorded. These recordings may not be used for purposes other than research.

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 _____ 200_____

As witnesses:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

(Signature of participant)

APPENDIX B

MR. B
TRANSCRIPTIONS

[What is your earliest memory of your childhood?] What I remember?...**[Yes, the first thing you remember]**...Is that...when I passed my standard six...**[Is that your first memory?]**...yeh...I had an argument with my dad...**[Your dad]**...My dad said that...the way my...uhm...behaviour...I am going to fail my standard six...so...we...uhm...had an argument...so...I said to him no...I will not fail it...I am going to pass it and I definitely did...I write the examination...uhm...and of it...ok...I do get my results...I passed my standard six...uhm...I had an cousin...which I was...uhm...with her in the class room **[Yes?]**...so...she also passed...uhm...ok...the following year when we where supposed to go to our school...uhm...that bothers me and annoys me...is that when...we...after getting our results...we...we...where supposed to register at the high school...during my certificate...uhm...not knowing what to wear...to go to the high school registration...but when I...look at my sister...she got everything...all the uniform that he...she...supposed to wear in the high school...she...she...got it...and I have got no uniform to...to...to go to school. So I asked myself...how...how is things going at home...because...we had...a...a...we had...a...some views with my father...ok...we come to a point that...you see if it ...somebody has passed...suddenly...my cousin...got some...got...got...got...some...uniform to go to the high school...so hat hurts me very, very bad..**[So that made you very sad, the fact that you didn't have the uniform for the high school?]**...yeh...**[Did it make you sad or did it make you angry?]**...it made me sad...and made me angry...you know what I really didn't know what to do...it really annoys me...**[Is that after you passed standerd six or standerd five?]**...six...**[You went to high school]**...uhm...**[Your cousin or your sister?]**...it was my cousin...**[When you went to go to register for school, she had everything]**...everything...**[And you had nothing?]**...nothing...**[And did your father give it to her, or was it because she passed, and her folks gave it to her and your father didn't think that you where going to pass or what?]**...ok...he didn't think I was going to pass...**[So your father didn't think that you where going to pass]**...during the holidays...during the holidays...we got our results...so I...so I showed him my results...my cousin also showed him...her...also showed him her results...so...what is the cause...what caused...buying him something to go to school next year and not

buying me...[**So your father bought her something to go to school, but he didn't buy you anything?**]...yes...[**Even though you did pass?**]...even though I did pass...[**So you said that made you very sad?**]...very, very sad...because I am also part of the family...I am one of the family...[**Did you have any illness or physical problems when you were a little child, do you know if you were sick or that you had flu or stuff?**]...no...[**Were you a healthy child?**]...I just remember when I broke my left foot...[**How old were you?**]...I was about...I think about...eleven years old...[**Where were you born?**]...uhm...I was born ...Meadowlands...yeh...[**DATE**]... [What month?]...the 15th...of...uhm...uhm...November...[**So you were born in Meadowlands?**]...its part of Meadowlands...but precisely?...[**No not precisely in general is fine?**]...in general...I was born in...in...in...Pumulong station...Pumulong station...[**Who did you grow up with?**]...I grow up with my mother...[**With your mother?**]...and my grandmother...[**And your grandmother?**]...my mother, my grandmother and grandfather...[**Tell me about your mother?**]...Well she passed away...but what I remember...[**Yes, what you remember?**]...what I remember...my mother was a struggling woman...uhm...she struggled to the extent that...she got me on a station...[**So she had you on the station?**]...yeh...[**Physically on the station?**]...on Pumulong station...[**Ok. You were born on the station?**]...On the platform...[**Was she loving?**]...Well she was loving at my side...actually at the family side...but the problem was one...they had a lot of quarrel with my father...[**So she and your father fought?**]...they fought a lot...so...I had to know the cause of their fighting...but...only to find out that...you are small...can't know everything...you are small...I will tell you when you grow up...until she passed away...[**So you never knew what the fought about, but did you see them fight?**]...Many, many...many times...I even...I even have a wound here...of assegai...my father trying to stab me with assegai...for what ...to trying to block that she must not hit my mommy...[**So you tried to interfere one time and he stabbed you with an assegai?**]...uhm...[**How would you describe your relationship with your mother?**]...My relationship with my mother was ok...was no problem...[**So you and your mother never fought?**]...Never fought...even one day...the problem was with the dad...uhm...[**The problem was your father?**]...the problem...uhm...was with my dad...[**Tell us a bit more about your father?**]...[**Sighs**]...my father...my

father...eish...was another man...eh...he was a drunkard...talks to no one in the house...when he came home from his business of drunkardness...comes and hit us...every...comes and hit everybody in the house...beginning with my mother...when we tried to block him...he fight us all...[**How many brother and sisters do you have?**]...uhm...one...two...three...I...uhm...two brothers...one sister...and that cousin of mine...two sisters...[**You and your father didn't get along?**]...sure...nothing...not all...no...[**And now?**]...I can say it...because even now he doesn't come to visit me...the problem is that he is still the same way...[**What do you most remember of your father?**]...uhm...What I really...really remember...what annoys me very, very bad...it's the day...uhm...I was with my girlfriend C...eh...being a couple of weeks pregnant...[**Was she pregnant?**]...yeh...being a couple of weeks pregnant...[**How old were you?**]...I was at my twenties...[**So plus minus twenty?**]...uhm...She was a few weeks pregnant...ok...telling myself with my girlfriend...that...we...are willing to ...report what happened to us...me and her...I mean...willing to report her pregnancy to the family so there comes my father the dad in the evening being drunk uhm ja harassed us hitting us...[**You and your girlfriend?**]...yeh uhm chasing my girlfriend away...even myself uhm ok being confused at that moment...[**So you were confused?**]...being confused at that particular moment...eh...my girlfriend went the other way...I went also the other way...ok...[**Did she leave you or did you leave her?**]...we left each other...but...I...because it was at home ...me wanting to know what have you done wrong to my father...ok...only to find out that my father doesn't want to talk to me...[**This is after he hits you?**]...and my girlfriend...with my girlfriend...so I wanted to ask...him what's wrong...what wrong we have we done...so...alright...realising that...eish...it is in the evening...by the way my girlfriend she is gone...and she is staying...a bit far from home...maybe some...criminals...could try and rape her...[**During the evening?**]...ja...she was going at home...[**So you were worried?**]...I was worried about her...ok...uhm...uhm...all right I decided to go...to her home...when coming to her home...I found her...ok...founding her...she told me that she told her mother...That our father...eh...[**SURNAME**]...my father...chased her away...and she...she was...some couple of weeks pregnant...and she got to have...because my father doesn't like her...she...she got to abort the...the...pregnancy...so that really frustrates me hey...[**So she aborted the pregnancy?**]...[**adamant**] ja...definitely...[**Due to the way your father acted?**] ...treated her...[**And**

treated her?]...yeh...she aborted the ...pregnancy...yeh...[**How did it make you feel?**]...very bad...very, very, very bad...[**How did you feel towards your father?**]...I was very disappointed...in the way he acted to us...and... being not the first time...I mean on my behalf...[**VERY EMOTIONAL**]...[**Want to take a minute?**]...continue...[**You were the third child, correct?**]...uhm...ok...[**How was your relationship with your family, did you get along with your brother, sisters and cousin?**].....[**Did you like them, did they like you?**]...very much...very much...the whole of them...even now I like them...[**So you like your family?**]...very much...[**And you get along well?**]...we are getting very along...[**So your father made everything unpleasant for everyone?**]...sure...[**Not nice?**]...sure...[**So you never had fights, arguments between your brothers, sisters and cousin?**]...never...never...[**But the incident you told us about, in standard six, you didn't have an argument with her?**]...no...no...[**You were angry and disappointed at your father?**]...uhm...but I got no problems with the others...[**Your brothers and sisters?**]...uhm...the problems was just daddy...[**Your dad?**]...my dad...[**Which brother, sister or cousin was your favourite one?**][**Which one do you love the most?**]...uhm...the first born...[**Is that your sister or brother?**]...It is our big sister...the first born...[**But you like everyone, there isn't one that you don't like?**]...[**LAUGHS**]...no...but her more than all...[**Who did you look up to, who was your role model?**]...uhm...from my family?...[**From your family, anyone?**]...actually I liked too much sport...[**Sport?**]...uhm...as I grew up playing football...so...actually wanted to be one of the best players...at the professional level...at professional football...such as Pele...[**From Brazil?**]...sure...I just wanted to be Pele...the South African Pele...[**The south African Pele?**]...sure...[**Did you play soccer in school?**]...uhm...[**Where did you go to school, can you remember?**]...I started my lower primary at Mpumalanga...[**Mpumalanga?**]...Mpumalanga...from Mpumalanga to the higher primary...Mzumsobo...that's the higher primary...from higher primary to the high school I attended Meadowlands high school...[**Did you like primary school?**]...eh...what I remember...at my...uhm...higher primary level...eh...because I was ...with my...eh...my...my...my...brothers father...[**Your brothers father?**]...my brothers father...ok...the wife of...of my brothers father...so...he...she...was the one that taught me everything...with schooling...I

was so fortunate...eh...to come ...in a class...of...that particular...wife of my...brothers...of my fathers...eh...what you call it?...**[Was that the brother of your father or your brother?]**...no...my fathers brother...**[His wife?]**...ja...she was the one that was teaching me...at the lower primary school...**[She was at the school?]**...sure...she was my teacher...**[Was she a good teacher?]**...definitely...**[You enjoyed school?]**...I enjoyed school very much...**[Did you get along with the other children?]**...no problem with the other children...**[No problem, no fighting?]**...no...nothing...**[Good relationships?]**...good relationships...**[How old were you when you started lower primary?]**...lower primary?...**[Yes]**...six to seven...**[Higher primary?]**...higher primary...ten upwards...**[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...**[No problems, you enjoyed school?]**...I enjoyed school...very...very...very much...**[Got along with the other children?]**...uhm...**[During high school, how did your father treat you? Did he love you or did he ignore you?]**...Aii...just ignored me...just ignored me...actually...that...that guy done nothing for me...really...done nothing for me...I was so struggling that...I was selling apples on the street...**[To get money?]**...uhm...to get some money...for the school fees...**[So your father didn't help?]**...a...did nothing...**[How old were you when you met C?]**...uhm...at my standard six...I think I was fourteen or fifteen...thirteen to fourteen to fifteen...uhm...**[Is that when you met her?]**...uhm...ja...**[When did she become your girlfriend?]**...we...we where firstly friends...and then at high school stage...we started...**[dating seriously?]**...ja **[laughs]**...**[when you did something wrong how where you punished, can you remember?]**...eh...when I did something wrong?...**[Yes]**...I remember...one time...one time...eh...daddy had a van...I remember one time...was use to reverse the van...outside...and create some space...so...I had a go with that van...without his permission...one of that days...jo...I get some hiding...eh...I got some very bad hiding...really, really...did you see the ...the...what you call it?...whipping?...**[Whip, sjambok?]**...ja...sjambok...uhm...**[He hit you with a sjambok?]**...ja...**[It was very bad?]**...very...**[How did you feel while growing up, happy or**

ignored?]. . .well. . .there is some stages. . .[**Some stages?**]. . .there is some stages were. . .that. . . were I felt very neglected. . .uhm. . .because. . .what is being given to other children. . .I didn't get. . .I feel really bad that no one cares for me. . .besides my mommy. . .my mother. . .[**Your mother?**]. . .uhm. . .uhm. . .there are times that I even wanted to . . .commit suicide. . .but. . .only to find that. . .I am a man. . .I just say. . .well God is there. . .he will see what's. . .happening with myself. . .[**Other than C, did you have any other relationships?**]. . .yes. . .I had a relationship. . .with a. . .with a. . .with I. . .a girl called I. . .uhm. . .[**Where you two married?**]. . .just in a relationship. . .[**Tell me about the relationship?**]. . .well. . .it wasn't so good. . .I mean it wasn't so bad. . .yah. . .it was fine. . .it's sad that. . .he. . .didn't get some children. . .and another relationship. . .with. . .R. . .[**How was that relationship?**]. . .it was fine. . .[**What happened to Irene?**]. . .oh. . .my relationship between . . .our relationship. . .ended the time . . .I got arrested. . .[**Is that I?**]. . .ja . . .I. . .[**For what were you arrested?**]. . .[laughs]. . .I was arrested for murder [**So she left you because of it?**]. . .uhm. . .[**When was this?**]. . .nineteen. . .[**you were nineteen?**]. . .I mean [Date]. . .[and R?]. . .uhm. . .R was. . .uhm we are still. . .[**are you still together?**]. . .uhm. . .we are still together. . .[**Are you married?**]. . .uhm. . .I had one children with her. . .[**One child with her?**]. . .one child with her. . .uhm. . .[**But your not married?**]. . .not married. . .[**Is it a good relationship?**]. . .it is. . .[**She comes to see you?**]. . .she comes. . .[**You love her a lot?**]. . .too much. . .[**Too much?**]. . .uhm. . .[**How do you see yourself?**]. . .eish. . .[**SIGHS**]. . .no. . .no. . .I'll . . .I'll tell something. . .[**Take your time**]. . .so. . .about myself. . .[**yes**]. . .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. . .[**So you avoid arguments?**]. . .ja. . .I am avoiding it. . .really. . .really I am. . .[**what happens when someone argues with you?**]. . .well. . .if he keeps on arguing with me. . .I ignore him. . .if not so. . .I tell him to get away from me. . .uhm. . .[**Anything else that you don't like?**]. . .uhm. . .what I don't like. . .[**Annoys you?**]. . .it is. . .it is somebody who. . .is treating somebody who cant do nothing for himself. . .like a child. . .a wife. . .let's say somebody hitting a child. . .wife. . .uhm. . .I mean that's. . . that's cruelty. . .that's cruelty. . .that is somebody that cant fight for himself. . .so why should you hit him? . . .that. . .that really annoys me. . .[**Anything you don't like about woman?**]. . .uhm . . .about a

woman...[yes]...eh...I hate a woman...who is a ...bitch...[A bitch?]....ja...[What do you mean with bitch?]....what I say...is a ...what I say is a bitch...because I hate a woman who comes to you...to me...to my men...even other guys...because...that at the end of the day...that...that...that's going to let us quarrel...all of us...let us fight...all of us...at the end of the day...yes...maybe...one of us could be murdered...through...one...woman...[What do you mean by when a woman goes around, sleeping around?]....I mean...I mean...lets say... I am getting to a woman...proposing her...dating her...asking her...that...does she have anybody...she is no...so telling her...I am going to be yours...ok...it is clear...you are mine...there is nobody else...I have...ok maybe...such a woman...eh says...yes...after some times...you see him getting along with somebody...getting along with this one...getting along with...[Talking?]....no, no, no...not just talking...yeh...being loved...being loved...after telling him you are the only one...no...no...no...[This makes you feel?]....angry...[Very angry?]....very angry...[What don't you like about men?]....its...rape...[Rape?]....ja...rape...uhm...raping...someone...innocent...child ren...and.....woman...uhm...It is wrong...for them...trouble is that...maybe they are doing it for some reason we don't know...[What reason?]....actually I cant see no reason...but the fact is...that they are men...that cant speaks for themselves...maybe...he proposes ...someone and that someone...maybe comes...that they...do not ...getting along...so...being worried that...that someone doesn't like them...makes him...her...to rape her...just to feel...to fulfil...those emotions...sure to fulfil those emotions...this one doesn't like me ...so I'll show him.....

APPENDIX C

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is your earliest childhood memory/experience?
2. Did you have any illness or physical problems when you were a child?
3. Where did you grow up?
4. Tell me about the friends you had while growing up
5. Tell me about your family structure
6. Tell me about your mother/ the woman that raised you
7. How would you describe your past relationship with your mother/ the woman that raised you?
8. How would you describe your current relationship with your mother/the woman that raised you?
9. Tell me about your father/ the man that raised you
10. How would you describe your past relationship with your father/ the man that raised you?
11. How would you describe your current relationship with your father/the man that raised you?
12. Tell me about your siblings
13. Did you have a favourite brother/sister? Why?
14. Was there a brother/sister that you didn't like? Why?
15. How is your current relationship with your siblings?
16. Did you have girlfriends while growing up?
17. How did you experience school?
18. Who do you think was the most important person in your life?
19. Who is currently the most important person in your life?
20. Why do you think you committed these crimes?