

**A PSYCHOANALYTICAL APPROACH TO SERIAL
KILLERS**

by

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**Dedicated to the tortured innocent victims
and the tortured souls of the serial killers**

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SUMMARY:

The phenomenon of serial killers is increasing world wide. During the past decade the most memorable cases of serial homicide in South Africa have been those of the "Norwood serial killer", the "Station Strangler", the "Cleveland serial killer", "The Gaunteng serial killer" and the "St Charles serial killer".

The enigma surrounding serial killers is the so-called "lack of motive" for the murders. No extrinsic motive such as robbery, financial gain, revenge or passion exists as there usually would be in the case of other murders.

The available literature indicates that several theories have been proposed to explain the origin of serial homicide, but none can explain sufficiently to the author why one person with a certain type of background and exposed to a certain environment becomes a serial killer, whilst another, with a similar background and circumstances does not. The theories that are discussed are the socio-cultural factors, Ressler's motivational model, systemic factors, demonic possession, neurological factors, psychogenic factors and fantasy.

In this thesis the author attempts to answer the question "What is the origin of serial homicide" by applying selected aspects of the psychoanalytic theories of Freud and Melanie Klein on two case studies of South African serial killers. The author formulates twenty nine statements of her own, based on the theories of Freud and Klein which she applies to the two case studies.

The cases of the "Station Strangler" in Mitchell's Plain, Cape province, and the "St Charles serial killer" in Donnybrook, Kwa-Zulu Natal are selected. Both of these serial killers are organized in their modus operandi, but the "Station Strangler" is a ego-dystonic killer and the "St Charles serial killer" a ego-syntonic serial killer.

The method of research is a qualitative case study method. The author divides the selected aspects of Freud and Klein's theories into categories and analyses the two cases presented according to these categories. In the final chapter she draws maps to illustrate the psychoanalytical developmental paths of serial killers in general and for each of the two cases. Multiple data sources are used for example interviews with the serial killers and their families, police dockets, court proceedings and psychiatric records. Multiple data sources, explanation building and replication by way of multiple case studies are employed to ensure construct validity, internal validity and external validity respectively. Reliability is supported by entering the data in a South African Police Service data base.

In conclusion the author compares the differences and similarities between the two case studies, and discusses the statements which are supported by this research. She also recommends that those statements which are not supported, be discussed in consecutive case studies. The statements are generalized to all serial killers.

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KEY TERMINOLOGY

1	Serial killers	6	Psychosexual developmental phases
2	Serial homicide	7	Qualitative research
3	Freud	8	Case study method
4	Melanie Klein	9	Station Strangler
5	Psychoanalysis	10	St Charles serial killer

OPSOMMING:

Die fenomeen van reeksmoordenaars neem wêreldwyd toe. Die opspraakwekkendste gevalle van reeksmoord in Suid-Afrika die afgelope dekade was die "Norwood reeksmoordenaar", die "Stasiemoordenaar", die "Cleveland reeksmoordenaar", die "Gauteng reeksmoordenaar" en die "St Charles reeksmoordenaar".

Die raaisel rondom reeksmoordenaars is die sogenaamde "gebrek aan motief" vir die moorde. Geen eksintrieke motief soos roof, finansiële gewin, wraak of passie wat gewoonlik by ander moorde gevind kan word, is teenwoordig by reeksmoordenaars nie.

Die beskikbare literatuur dui daarop dat 'n aantal teorieë al gepoog het om die oorsprong van reeksmoord te verduidelik, maar volgens die outeur kan nie een van hierdie teorieë verduidelik waarom een persoon, met 'n spesifieke agtergrond en wie aan sekere omstandighede blootgestel is, 'n reeksmoordenaar word, terwyl 'n ander persoon met 'n soortgelyke agtergrond en omstandighede nie een word nie. Die teorieë wat in hierdie tesis voorgelê en bespreek word is sosio-kulturele faktore, Ressler se motiverings- model, sistemiese faktore, demoniese besetting, neorologiese faktore, psigogene faktore en fantasie.

In hierdie tesis poog die outeur om 'n antwoord te verskaf op die vraag "Wat is die oorsprong van reeksmoord?" deur geselekteerde aspekte van Freud en Melanie Klein se psigoanalitiese teorieë op twee gevallestudies van Suid-Afrikaanse reeksmoordenaars toe te pas. Die outeur formuleer ook nege-en-twintig stellings op grond van Freud en Klein se teorieë wat sy ook op die gevallestudies toepas.

Die gevallestudies van die "Stasiemoordenaar" in Mitchell's Plein, Kaap-provinsie, en die "St Charles reeksmoordenaar" in Donnybrook, Kwa-Zulu Natal, is gekies. Albei hierdie reeksmoordenaars is georganiseer in hulle modus operandi, maar die "Stasiemoordenaar" is 'n egodistoniëse reeksmoordenaar, terwyl die "St Charles reeksmoordenaar" 'n egosintoniese

reeksmoordenaar is.

Die navorsingsmetode is 'n kwalitatiewe gevallestudiemetode. Die outeur verdeel die aspekte van Freud en Klein se teorieë in kategorieë en analiseer dan die gevallestudies volgens hierdie kategorieë. In die laaste hoofstuk stel sy die psigoanalitiese ontwikkelingsbaan van reeksmoordenaars in die algemeen en die twee gevallestudies in besonder met kaarte voor. Veelvoudige data bronne is gebruik, soos byvoorbeeld onderhoude met die reeksmoordenaars en hulle familieledede, polisie dossiere, hofprosedures en psigiatriese verslae. Die veelvoudige data bronne, verduidelikingsbou en herhaling word gebruik om konstruktigheid, interne geldigheid en eksterne geldigheid respektiewelik te ondersteun. Betroubaarheid word ondersteun deur die data in die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisiediens se databank te stoor vir opvolgende navorsing.

Ten laaste vergelyk die outeur die ooreenkomste en verskille tussen die twee gevallestudies en sy bespreek watter van die stellings deur die gevallestudies ondersteun word. Sy maak ook aanbevelings dat die stellings wat nie in hierdie tesis ondersteun word nie, na gelang van ander gevallestudies ondersoek word. Die stellings word dan tot alle reeksmoordenaars veralgemeen.

SLEUTELTERME

1	Reeksmoordenaars	6	Psigoseksuele ontwikkelingsfases
2	Reeksmoord	7	Kwalitatiewe navorsing
3	Freud	8	Gevallestudiemetode
4	Melanie Klein	9	Stasiemoordenaar
5	Psigoanaliese	10	St Charles reeksmoordenaar

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND GOAL OF THE RESEARCH

The phenomenon of serial killing is increasing world wide. During the past decade the most memorable cases of serial homicide in South Africa have been those of the "Norwood serial killer" (Johannesburg), the "Station Strangler" (Mitchell's Plain), the "Cleveland Strangler" (Cleveland and Atteridgeville), the "Gauteng Strangler" (Atteridgeville, Bon Accord and Boksburg), the "Cape Town Prostitute Killer", the "Nasrec Serial Killer" (Johannesburg) and the "St Charles Serial Killer" (Donnybrook area). There have also been several other serial killers, the first case being recorded in 1936. No statistics are as yet available on the incidence of serial killers in South Africa, although such research is currently being conducted by the Centre for Investigative Psychology of the South African Police Service.

The enigma surrounding serial killers is the so-called "lack of motive" for the murders. No extrinsic motive such as robbery, financial gain, revenge or passion exists, as there usually is in the case of other murders. This lack of an observable motive differentiates serial killers from other murderers and requires different investigative techniques. Detectives need to be trained in the psychology of serial killers, in order to investigate their cases.

Questions such as "What motivates a person to suddenly start killing innocent strangers?"; "Why do serial killers seem so normal?" and "How does one detect a serial killer?" all centre around the main question, namely: **"What is the origin of serial homicide?"**

Holmes and De Burger state the following on the origin of the motive for serial homicide: "In

short, the sources of serial homicide are **psychogenic** ... To the typical serial killer, homicide is simply the extensive to the motivation to kill. For such a murderer, the gain is psychological and the more who are murdered, the greater is the build up of psychological gain." (1988:49 - 50)

In the available literature on serial homicide, several authors (Leyton, 1986; Holmes & De Burger, 1988; Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1988; Leibman, 1989; Money, 1990; Levin & Fox, 1991 and Lane & Gregg, 1992) have attempted to determine the origin of serial homicide.

In the author's opinion, none of the above mentioned authors' explanations, whether it be learned behaviour, demonic possession, socio-cultural, neurological or systemic, can explain why one individual would become a serial killer, whilst another with the same background and exposition to the same circumstances, does not.

Based on personal experience in dealing with several South African serial killers and by reviewing hundreds of case studies, the author proposes that serial homicide is a compulsion locked in the deepest levels of the psyches of these individuals. It is the author's opinion that psychoanalysis (depth psychology) could afford a means whereby the secret of the origin of serial homicide can be revealed. It is thus the aim of this thesis to apply selections of the theory of Sigmund Freud and selected aspects of the theory on childhood fantasies of Melanie Klein to two case studies in an attempt to understand the origin of serial homicide. The case studies of the "Station Stranger" and the "St Charles serial killer" are used as examples.

Since the majority of serial killers are men, this thesis focuses only on male serial killers.

1.2 DESCRIPTION OF SERIAL KILLERS

1.2.1 Definitions of serial killers:

Serial killers are often confused with mass murderers and spree killers. There are several important differences between these categories of homicide that need to be addressed if confusion is to be avoided.

A review of the literature indicates several shortcomings in the different authors' definitions of serial killers. The definitions are presented in chronological order to indicate how they evolved from the very simplistic to the more comprehensive.

Leyton (1986:18) in his definition, merely highlights the aspect of time in the difference between serial killers and mass murderers by describing serial homicide as murders that are committed over a period of time and mass murders as murders committed during one explosive event. He attributes the motive for both types of homicide to social failure. (1986:297) Criticism against his theory is that if people become serial killers because their ambitions failed, why are there so few serial killers, since many people's ambitions fail.

Cameron and Frazer (1987:17) classify serial killers as a variance of sex murderers. They define serial killers as men, with a few exceptions, who murder their sexual objects, whether they be women, children or other men. The murders are characterized by sexual assault, rape, torture and mutilation. Criticism against this definition is that the motive is defined as solely sexual.

Holmes and De Burger (1988:18) differentiate between a mass murderer as a person who kills

many people at once and a spree killer as a person or persons who kill several people over a short period, whether it be hours, days or weeks. These authors do not give a definition of a serial killer, but rather list the following traits of the perpetrator:

- * The central element is repetitive homicide;
- * They are usually one-on-one murders;
- * The victim is usually a stranger to the killer;
- * The motivation is murder and not passion, nor does it stem from the victim's precipitation;
- * The motivation is intrinsic.

In the author's opinion these traits are accurate, but they omit the cooling-off period and the element of fantasy.

Leibman's (1989) definition is that a serial killer is a person who kills several people, usually in the same area over a short period of time, which corresponds with Leyton's definition. The author's criticism against this definition is that a serial killer does not necessarily confine himself to one area and may kill over a period of years. Andrei Chicatilo of Russia was operative for two decades.

Hollin (1989:74) considers a serial killer to be a type of mass murderer. The serial killer commits murder over a period of time and Hollin specifies that the victims are tortured or sexually assaulted before they are killed. Hollin's definition aligns with Cameron and Frazer's by focusing mainly on the sexual aspect of serial homicide. Criticism is that a serial killer is not a type of mass murderer and not all the victims are sexually assaulted or tortured before they are killed. David Berkowitz in New York, simply shot his victims without interacting with them.

Levin and Fox (1991:14) regard serial killers and "simultaneous" killers as two types of mass murderers. Serial killers are defined as mass murderers who murder victims at different times, while "simultaneous" murderers are mass murderers who kill their victims in one event. This definition again has a lot in common with Leyton's and Leibman's definitions. The author's criticism against this theory is that serial killers are simply regarded as mass murderers and these authors only focus on the element of time.

Lane and Gregg, (1992:3) define mass murder as a deed where several people are killed by the same person or persons at the same geographical site. A spree killing is defined as a multiple murder that is committed over a longer period.

Most of the above mentioned definitions focus mainly on the element of time in serial homicide, and ignore the other criteria. A robber who might kill several people over a period of time, as part of the robbery, will then also comply with most of these definitions but the author would not consider him to be a serial killer.

Robert K Ressler coined the term "serial killer" when he worked for the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States of America. He explained the term by using the example of a television serial programme. As an episode ends on a cliff hanger, the viewers are kept in anticipation of the next episode much as the serial killer anticipates the next murder after committing the previous one. Ressler and Shachtman (1993) defines 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. There is also premeditated planning and fantasy present. He defines a mass murder as one person who kills four or more victims during one event

at one location. There is no cooling-off period and family members may be victims. The spree killer is defined as one or more persons, who kill two or more victims during one event which could have a long or short duration, at two or more locations, with no cooling-off period. Ressler's definitions of serial killers, mass murders and spree killers are the most comprehensive.

After reviewing the different authors' definitions, the author proposes the following definition of a serial killer. 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.

The author adds the criteria of intrinsic motive, sexual abuse, mutilation, necrophilia and irresistible compulsion to Ressler's definition in order to cover the motivational aspects. The author does not specify that a person is only to be considered a serial killer after he has killed three or more victims, since a serial killer may be apprehended after the second murder.

1.2.2 Classification of serial killers:

Although serial killers are unique regarding the type of crime they commit, consensus is reached in the available literature that they can be classified into several different categories. It is the general opinion amongst some of the authors (Holmes & De Burger 1988; Nordby, 1989; Leibman, 1989 and Ressler & Shachtman, 1993) that the classification of serial killers should be modelled according to a phenomenological description, rather than on a quantitative study, because there are so few of them and because each one is so unique.

Nordby (1989:386) for instance, explains that a scientifically based model will not suffice to classify serial killers since the detectives who investigate these cases are not qualified nor sufficiently informed to interpret academic scientific research. Detectives at grass roots level need a practical and simple concept on which to base their investigations. He therefore proposes a model based on investigative arguments and a phenomenological description.

Holmes and De Burger employ a useful descriptive model which consists of four interdependent classification factors and four category typologies. They explain the need for classification as follows: "Careful study and classification of pertinent data is one of the most fundamental steps in developing adequate knowledge about criminal behaviour patterns such as serial murder... The purpose of a "model" is to list and demonstrate how the major components of a specific phenomenon - serial murder, in this case - are interrelated. The intent of a "typology" is to provide an inclusive set of categories for describing a particular behaviour or phenomenon - in this case, dominant motives in serial murder." (1988:46-47)

Their four categories for classification are the following:

- * Background of behaviour, including psychological, sociogenic and biological etiology;
- * Victimology, including characteristics, choice and relationship with the offender;
- * Pattern and method, including process versus deed, planning versus spontaneity, and organized versus disorganized;
- * Location of the murders, including concentrated or dispersed.

Their four category typologies regarding motive are the following:

- * Visionary type - murder on the orders of someone for example the voice of God;

- * Mission orientated - murder according to a mission, for example, to kill all prostitutes;
- * Hedonistic type - including three types namely lust, sensation and comfort;
- * Power / control type - murder to satisfy a need for control over life and death.

Holmes and De Burger's model is especially useful when a profiler is compiling the profile of an unknown serial killer, since an appraisal of the victims, method and location can be correlated with the type of serial killer most likely to have committed the murders. The type of serial killer indicates the motive and the motive in turn, can assist to decipher his fantasy. The fantasy is used by the detectives as an interrogation tool.

Table 1 (see page 9) illustrates Holmes and De Burger's model for classification of serial killers.

Holmes and De Burger's model is generally accepted as an accurate description of the different types of serial killers. The author however criticizes the inclusion of the comfort type serial killer, since this person would have an extrinsic motive such as financial gain. Paid assassins would fall into this category.

In her classification, Leibman (1989:41) differentiates between the psychotic, ego-syntonic and ego-dystonic killer:

- * The psychotic killer murders as a result of a mental disorder and is not in contact with reality;
- * The ego-syntonic killer commits murder without disruption of his ego function. The murder is rational and acceptable to the murderer;
- * The ego-dystonic killer disassociates himself on a conscious level from the killings.

Leibman considers all serial killers to be ego-dystonic. The author's criticism of this theory is that not all serial killers are in fact ego-dystonic. The author proposes that serial killers who have even a small degree of an active superego will be ego-dystonic, whilst those with hardly any superego will be ego-syntonic.

Table 1: Holmes and De Burger's model for classification of serial killers

SERIAL MURDER TYPE:	Vision	Mission	Hedonis			Power
			Lust	Thrill	Comfort	
FACTORS:						
VICTIMS						
Specific / Nonspecific	x	x	x	x	x	x
Random / Nonrandom	x	x	x	x	x	x
Affiliative/ Strangers	x	x	x	x	x	x
METHODS						
Act focused/ Process focus	x	x	x	x	x	x
Planned/ Spontaneous	x	x	x	x	x	x
Organized/ Disorganized	x	x	x	x	x	x
LOCATION						
Concentrated/ Dispersed	x	x	x	x	x	x

Ressler and Shachtman (1993:180) only refer to the categories of organized and disorganized serial killers and do not use Holmes and De Burger's typologies of visionary, missionary, lust and power motivated serial killers. Ressler warns that a serial killer could also be a mixture of the organized and disorganized categories.

Ressler and Shachtman (1993:179 - 196) attribute the following categories to the organized serial killer:

- * The murder is planned and the effectiveness increases with each murder;
- * Organized murders remind of psychopathy, while disorganized murders remind of psychosis;
- * The fantasy is the blueprint for the murder;
- * Victims are selected according to certain characteristics and they are stalked; while in the disorganized murder the victims are often of a high risk category;
- * The victim retains his/her humanity and the offender interacts with the victim;
- * Some form of confidence trickery is used to gain the victim's confidence;
- * The modus operandi is adaptable and the killer is mobile;
- * A weapon is taken to and then removed from the scene;
- * The body will be hidden or destroyed in order to avoid arrest;
- * If a vehicle is used it will be in good working order, to avoid arrest;
- * The clothing of the victim may be removed or the victim is mutilated to avoid recognition;
- * False clues may be left at the scene to confuse the investigators;

- * The crime scene is neat, while the disorganized crime scene is chaotic;
- * The "trophy" or "souvenir" taken may be a piece of clothing or another inanimate object, while the disorganised killer may take body parts;
- * Sexual abuse or rape is committed before the victim is killed, while the disorganized serial killer is more inclined to necrophilia;
- * The organized serial killer may have short term sexual relations with a partner, although not a long term emotionally fulfilling commitment;
- * The organized serial killer is confident, attractive and has a superiority complex;
- * The organized serial killer may be married, while the disorganized serial killer would more likely be living alone or with his parents;
- * The organized serial killer will probably have a skilled occupation while the disorganized serial killer will have menial employment if he is employed at all;
- * A stress factor precipitates the organized serial killer's first murder;
- * The organized serial killer is more likely to keep newspaper articles and follow the case in the media.

Fox (in Schwartz, 1992:146) does not acknowledge Ressler's differentiation between organized and disorganized serial killers. He is of the opinion that most serial killers torture and rape victims before murdering them and that the bodies are then merely dumped. By reviewing numerous case studies, the author has found that not all serial killers torture or rape their victims and some display the body purposely to shock the community or provoke the detectives.

Jeffers (1993:88-89) illustrates the different characteristics of organized and disorganized serial killers in tables 2 and 3.

Table 2: Jeffers' differences between the organized and disorganized crime scenes:
DIFFERENCES AT THE CRIME SCENES

Organized	Disorganized
Planned attack	Spontaneous attack
Victim: Selected stranger	Victim: random
Personalizes victim	Depersonalizes victim
Demands submissive victim	Sudden violence towards victim
Methods of restriction (ropes, handcuffs)	Minimal restriction
Scene reflects control	Scene chaotic
Murder precipitated by aggression	Sexual deeds after murder
Body hidden	Body displayed
Weapon absent	Weapon left at scene
Transports body	Leaves body at scene

Table 3: Jeffers' differences between the organized and disorganized serial killers
PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Organized	Disorganized
Average or high intelligence	Below average intelligence
Socially competent	Socially incompetent
Prefers schooled labour	Unschoolled labour
High order of birth	Low order of birth
Father stable employment	Father unstable employment
Inconsistent discipline	Strict discipline
Controlled mood during the murder	Anxious mood during murder
Uses alcohol before murder	Minimum use of alcohol
Precipitating stress	Minimal stress
Abides with partner	Lives alone
Reads news on case	Minimum interest in news coverage

Besides categorizing serial killers, Ressler and Shachtman (1993:182) also divide serial homicide in four phases, namely:

- * Pre-crime phase - the continuous behaviour of the serial killer;
- * The murder - including the selection of the victim;
- * Getting rid of the body - the body may be destroyed, dumped or displayed;
- * Post-crime phase - getting involved in the investigation or contacting the families of the victim.

Lane and Gregg (1992:4 - 9) confirm the following aspects of serial homicide, as stipulated by Holmes and De Burger (1988):

- * The murders are repetitive, increasing or decreasing in tempo, over a period of time which could be weeks or years and will continue until the offender is apprehended, dies or commits suicide;
- * The murders are usually one-on-one;
- * The victim and offender are usually strangers to each other, which includes the possibility that the offender stalked the victim for a period;
- * Although there may be a pattern regarding modus operandi and victim selection, the motive is seldom discernable;
- * Modern technology enables the offender to leave the scene in a hurry before the murder is detected;
- * There is usually a high degree of aggression and unnecessary violence present and the victim is subjected to unnecessary brutality.

1.2.3 Characteristics of serial killers:

The definitions and classification of serial killers have now been discussed, but it is important to review the authors' opinions on the characteristics and behaviour of serial killers. All the authors warn that these characteristics are generalized and that not all of them will be present in every serial killer. The characteristics are mainly listed to indicate to the reader how the authors may agree or differ from each other.

Ressler and Shachtman (1993:192) describe the childhood years of disorganized serial killers as follows: As a child the killer was a member of a family where the father had an unstable employment record, discipline was strict, alcohol abuse was present and there was a greater tendency to psychopathology in the family history. The childhood years of the organized serial killer are described as follows: The father of the organized serial killer probably had a stable employment record and the discipline in the house would have been inconsistent. Ressler warns that these characteristics are generalized and should not be regarded as a rule.

Based on extensive qualitative research Ressler and Shachtman (1993:116 - 130) describes the following general characteristics of serial killers;

- * Not all serial killers come from broken homes or poor families;
- * Their intelligence quotient varies from below 90 to above 120;
- * In half of the cases there was pathology in the immediate family, or one or both parents were involved in crime;
- * In more than 70% of the cases alcohol and substance abuse were present in the families of the offenders;
- * All serial killers were exposed to excessive emotional abuse during their childhood years;
- * Not one serial killer was able to commit to a long term emotional relationship with a partner;
- * The serial killers' relationships with their mothers were described as cold and distant;

- * In 40% of the cases the serial killers were subjected to physical abuse as children;
- * Parental discipline was slack and no boundaries were set for the serial killers as children;
- * More than 70% of serial killers witnessed or were the victims of sexually stressful events during their childhood;
- * All serial killers grew up lonely and isolated and had no-one to share their emotions with;
- * More than half the serial killers' fathers were physically absent during their childhood;
- * Anti social tendencies surfaced in most of the serial killers at an early age, such as the use of dangerous weapons, abuse of animals, theft and arson;
- * The serial killers' isolation continued during their latency phases. They avoided their peers and social gatherings and preferred auto-erotic activities in stead of heterosexual exploration;
- * Most of the serial killers continued with auto-erotic sexual activities and some developed voyeurism and fetishism during adolescence;
- * The serial killers' fantasies were acted out on animals during adolescence;
- * Daydreaming, compulsive masturbation, lies, enuresis and nightmares prevailed during their adolescences;
- * Their academic achievements were weak, despite the high intelligence of some serial killers;
- * All have a poor employment record and were unable to stabilize.

The following characteristics as found by Lane and Gregg (1992:15) can be added to Ressler's list:

- * Ritualistic behaviour;
- * Mental stability that masks mental illness;
- * Compulsivity;
- * Periodical cry for help;
- * Loss of memory and inability to tell the truth;
- * Suicide notions;
- * History of violent behaviour;
- * Hyper sexuality and abnormal sexual behaviour;
- * Head injuries or injuries during birth;
- * History of alcohol and drug abuse;

- * Illegitimate birth;
- * Signs of genetic disorders;
- * Biochemical symptoms;
- * Feelings of helplessness and incompetence.

Some of the authors comment on the serial killers' peculiar behaviour at the crime scene.

Ressler and Shachtman (1993:110) found that some serial killers return to the scenes of crime to relive the fantasy. They also found that serial killers are inclined to take photographs or souvenirs from their victims. Serial killers reported that they usually masturbate while reliving the crime. Levin and Fox (1991:151) confirm that the violence increases with every murder.

Other authors comment on the serial killers inability to prevent themselves from killing. Jeffers (1993:15) states that most serial killers are not apprehended and that a sudden break off of murders in an area might be attributed to a total mental breakdown, institutionalization, prison sentence, natural death, suicide or that the killer has moved to another area. The author's personal experience in the investigation of serial homicide confirms Jeffer's finding.

The author has found no record, either in the case studies or in the literature of a serial killer who has been able to prevent himself from killing. Some give themselves up, but the author considers this only to be a desperate attempt to transfer the responsibility to stop the murders to the detectives. The serial killer knows he is unable to stop and hands himself over so that it becomes the authorities' responsibility to prevent him from killing again. Many serial killers have committed murder while on parole or after being released from prison.

Ressler and Shachtman (1993:133) predict a low prognosis for serial killers. They doubt if they could ever be rehabilitated due to the lack of opportunity to establish meaningful interpersonal relationships in a prison.

Various authors, such as Rumbelow (1988), Levin and Fox (1991) and Ressler and Shachtman (1993) found that some serial killers commit their first murder after a period of incubation. The isolation, be it a prison sentence or institutionalization, serves as an incubation period for the fantasies.

1.3 SUMMARY

The phenomenon of serial homicide is increasing world wide, including in South Africa, but there are currently no statistics of serial homicide available in South Africa.

The aim of this thesis is an attempt to find an answer to the origin of serial homicide by applying the psychoanalytical theory of Freud and the selected theory of Melanie Klein to two case studies, namely that of the "Station Strangler" and the "St Charles serial killer".

Serial killers differ from other multiple murderers and the most comprehensive definition is provided by Ressler and Shachtman (1993). The author has supplemented this definition with a description of the origin of the motive.

Serial killers can be classified as organized or disorganized and are further differentiated by the categories of visionary, missionary, hedonistic or power motivations. The category of a comfort serial killer is disregarded by the author. Most authors reach consensus on the general characteristics of serial killers. A general profile of a serial killer however serves no purpose to an investigative detective and a profiler should tailor the profile of a suspect by working from the general theoretical characteristics to the specific individual dynamics which are presented at the scene of the crime.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW AND LIMITATIONS OF PAST RESEARCH

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the 1970's Ressler, who was then an agent of the Federal Bureau for Investigation in the United States of America, began interviewing incarcerated serial killers in an unofficial capacity. This informal interviewing was later structured and became the basis for the formal research programme of the Federal Bureau for Investigation on the subject of serial killers. Several theories about serial killers have evolved from this research. Most of the current literature on serial killers is of American or British origin. The available literature indicates that several theories have been proposed to explain the origin of serial homicide, however none can explain to the author why one person with a certain type of background and exposed to a certain environment becomes a serial killer, whilst another, with a similar background and circumstances does not.

2.2 THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF SERIAL KILLERS

2.2.1 Socio-cultural theories:

Holmes and De Burger state the following regarding the socio-cultural origin of serial homicide: "Sociogenic forces, especially in the form of violence-associated learning, are undoubtedly present in the cultural and behavioral background of the serial killer. However, sociogenic theories are also unable to account **directly** for the appearance of serial homicide." (1988:48)

Holmes & De Burger (1988:64) name two socio-cultural sources that are important in the origin of serial homicide. The first is the continuous culture of violence coupled with a continuous change in the relationship between the individual and his environment. The second source is the pattern of early development and interaction within the serial killer's family.

The above mentioned authors identify the following characteristics of the American culture that are associated with an increase in violence: (Holmes & De Burger, 1988:65)

- * Normalizing of interpersonal violence;
- * Emphasis on personal comfort;
- * Emphasis on thrills;
- * Extensive violence;

- * Magical thinking;
- * Unmotivated hostility and blaming of others;
- * Normalizing of impulsiveness;
- * Excessively violent role models;
- * Anonymity and depersonalizing in over crowded areas;
- * Extensive and accelerating spacious geographic mobility;
- * Emphasis on immediate and fast gratification of needs.

These characteristics bear relation to the first mentioned socio-cultural source that Holmes and De Burger regard as a possible origin of serial homicide, namely the continuous culture of violence coupled with the change in the relationship between the individual and his environment.

The author is of the opinion that the above mentioned characteristics also exist within the South African culture, especially within the so called townships and in the rural communities. The current political unrest situation in the province of Kwa-Zulu-Natal serves as an excellent example of the normalization of personal violence, hostility and blaming of others and violent role models, anonymity and depersonalizing in over crowded areas.

Leibman (1989) also supports the socio-cultural theory on the origin of serial homicide. She addresses two elements in a serial killer's early development, namely a cruel and violent childhood and rejection by parents, which appeal to Holmes and De Burger's identification of early developmental patterns as a possible source of serial homicide.

She (1989:42) identifies the following common social factors in the analysis of the case studies of four serial killers:

- * Childhood marked by cruel and violent patterns;
- * Rejection by parents;
- * Rejection by a member of the opposite sex during adulthood;
- * Confrontation with the law during youth or adulthood;
- * Admittance to psychiatric hospitals

In her article, Leibman indicates that these five characteristics are found in the following four case

studies. Ted Bundy (19 female victims, United States of America) was rejected by his biological father and was not supported emotionally by his mother; Albert de Salvo, the "Boston Strangler" (13 female victims, United States of America) was physically abused by his father; Edmund Kemper (eight female victims, including his mother and grandmother, United States of America) was abused and humiliated by his mother; and Jerry Brudos (four female victims, United States of America) was physically abused by his father and rejected by his mother. According to Leibman all four these men were unable to act out their aggression directly towards those who abused them. All four were loners and had no one with whom they could discuss their emotions.

It is Leibman's theory that a childhood marked by cruel and violent patterns, rejection by parents, rejection by a member of the opposite sex during adulthood, confrontation with the law and admittance to psychiatric hospitals can be socio-cultural factors that cause a person to become a serial killer.

The author agrees with Leibman's theory in the sense that these elements may contribute to a person becoming a serial killer, but proposes that many individuals were exposed to the five social factors as mentioned by Leibman. Not all people who are exposed to the factors become serial killers. Her theory therefore still does not answer the question as to why a particular individual would resort to serial homicide, while others in the same circumstances do not.

Albert Bandura's theory of social learning states that a child models the behaviour of his parents and the example set by his environment and can therefore also be regarded as a socio-cultural theory which may be applied to serial killers. However, the author has not found evidence or any record of a serial killer whose father was also a serial killer. The intrinsic elements of serial homicide, namely multiple murder of strangers, torture and in some cases necrophilia and mutilation, are not learnt behaviour. In the author's opinion these elements are idiosyncratic to the serial killer.

Leyton is an anthropologist who also proposes a socio-cultural theory on the origin of serial homicide. He describes all serial homicide as a type of sub-cultural political and conservative protest which implies a social gain of revenge, star status, identity and sexual gratification for the serial killer. He acknowledges that these people kill for pleasure. He regards all serial killers as

the missionary types. According to Leyton (1986:26) the mission is a primitive rebellion against the social order of which they would have liked to be a member, but were rejected.

Leyton is of the opinion that the victims of serial killers are all of the same social class and this class is usually a step higher than the class to which the serial killer belongs. He regards the sexual motive as a basis for the social revenge motive. He indicates that Ted Bundy, a student of law, achieved the social status which he craved, but that he felt uncomfortable in this position. To take revenge on the higher social classes, he robbed them of their most precious possessions, namely the talented and beautiful young women.(1986:110)

Leyton differentiates between serial killers and mass murderers by admitting that both are rebelling against society, but maintains that the mass murderer usually ends his own life. He considers the murders of many people in one event to be the “suicide note” of the mass murderer, since the mass murderer will also commit suicide during this event. The serial killer on the other hand, decides that he wants to live and attempts to ensure fame by planning and committing a series of crimes. (1986:298)

The author's criticism of the above mentioned statement is that Leyton describes the murder sprees of the mass murderers as "planned careers". The mass murderer may plan the mass murder as a last desperate cry for help, or out of desperation or revenge, due to a feeling of being duped by the community. However, these murders are not compulsions and may be prevented by counselling. Another point of Leyton's theory with which the author disagrees is that he states that serial killers kill people of a social class to which they themselves would have liked to belong, but many serial killers actually prefer low risk victims, such as prostitutes, renegades, hitch hikers and street children, who often belong to a lower social class than the serial killer. The social rejection to which Leyton refers, has merit, but the author would rather interpret it as a repetition of the first rejection the serial killer experienced by his parents. Leyton does not refer to any intrinsic psychological motivation in his theory.

2.2.2 Ressler's motivational model:

Ressler and his colleagues at the Federal Bureau for Investigation interviewed 36 serial killers in prison. The material of these interviews was then used as a basis for qualitative and quantitative

research on serial killers and sexual homicide. Ressler (in Ressler, Burgess and Douglas, 1988:69-97) designed the following model to explain the cause of serial killing, based on the knowledge he gained from the interviews as well as the results of their qualitative research. The model has five dimensions which will be discussed individually. They are the following:

- * Ineffective social environment;
- * Formative years;
- * Patterned responses;
- * Action towards others;
- * Feedback

2.2.2.1 Ineffective social environment:

In his description of the serial killer's social environment as a child, Ressler addresses the dysfunctional family environment.

According to Ressler as a child, the serial killer's social bonding fails or becomes narrow and selective because his caretakers either ignore, rationalize or normalize unaccepted behaviour in the boy. He states that the parents of the serial killer ignore pathological behaviour, and gives the example of Jeffrey Dahmer's father who did not mind that his child was dissecting animals. (Jeffrey Dahmer is the Milwaukee serial killer who committed necrophilia and who ate the flesh of his victims.)

Ressler and his colleagues found that in about 70% of the cases drugs and alcohol were problems in the homes of the serial killers' families. In more than half of the families there were psychiatric problems, mainly that the mother had been institutionalized for a period of time. These psychiatric problems are usually linked to aggression. Half of the serial killers' family members were involved in criminal activity, usually of a sexual nature.

Ressler states that the family members of serial killers have inconsistent contact with each other as well as dysfunctional interpersonal relationships. According to him this indicates that the serial killer never had any close relationships with his siblings as a child. They were all so called loners as children.

Many of the families of serial killers were nomadic. Only one third of the cases, on whom the research was conducted, lived in one place. About 40% of the serial killers grew up away from the nuclear family before the age of eighteen years. These serial killers were denied the opportunity to form close relationships with people outside the family, because they were uprooted so often. The families also had minimal contact with any community, resulting in extreme loneliness for the serial killers as children.

The research indicated that in almost half of the cases the father had left the home before the serial killer reached twelve years of age. Ressler and his colleagues concluded that the physical absence of the father did not have such a negative effect as his emotional absence had. Therefore, even if the father was present, but had a negative relationship with the boy, it had a greater negative effect on the potential serial killer. Ressler gives the example of one of the fathers of the serial killers who threw a glass bottle at his son, before the boy was one year old. He tried to strangle him when he was four years old and shot at him when he played in the back yard as a child.

Ressler proposes that the serial killers also have ambivalent relationships with their mothers. They subconsciously love and hate the mother. The mother gives double messages to the son, which he can not decipher as a child.

In their quantitative research Ressler and his colleagues found that serial killers were usually the eldest sons, which means that not only were their parents poor role models, but there were no older brothers or sisters who could substitute as good role models either. The parents of serial killers were often divorced and when the mother remarried the son's birth order possibly changed due to additional stepbrothers and stepsisters. This could confuse the child especially if the situation at home was unstable.

According to Ressler the lack of closeness in family ties is transferred to childhood friendships. The serial killer as child is a loner who seldom, if ever, has close friendships with other children. Generally their school friends can not even remember them.

2.2.2.2 Formative years:

Here Ressler focusses on the traumas a serial killer would have been exposed to during his

formative years. As a child the serial killer is exposed to direct trauma such as emotional, physical and / or sexual abuse. A developmental failure arises due to the direct trauma, because the child's distress caused by the trauma is ignored. Ressler describes the developmental defect as the forming of negative social relationships (wrong friends) and a decrease in the child's ability to experience positive affect and emotions. As a result he becomes very desensitised. His interpersonal relations are weak and lack depth. His role models are also defective or lacking.

The observance of certain events such as rape, suicide or murder could be considered examples of indirect trauma. According to Ressler the child remembers these images and this destabilizes his impulse control. He becomes confused regarding human responsibility - who is responsible for the trauma - and so he begins to fantasize about revenge at an early age.

Ressler states that the neglect of serial killers during their childhood is more subtle than one would have expected. The boys were mainly psychologically abused through humiliation and the discipline at home is usually unfair, alien, inconsistent and abusive.

Ressler and his colleagues found that sexual and violent experiences during childhood also have a negative effect on the formation of the personality of serial killers. The quantitative research on 36 incarcerated serial killers provide the following statistics:

- * Nine of the 36 serial killers said they witnessed violent sex as children;
- * Nine witnessed upsetting sex between their parents;
- * Eleven witnessed upsetting sex between other family members;
- * Six serial killers contracted a venereal disease during adolescence;
- * Some of the serial killers mutilated their own genitals as punishment for "bad thoughts";
- * Nineteen of the serial killers were punished for masturbation as children;
- * Some of the serial killers observed homosexual activities between their peers;
- * Some parents made derogatory remarks about the boys' genitals.
- * 43% of the serial killers were sexually abused at ages 1 - 12;
- * 32% of the serial killers were sexually abused as adolescents;
- * 37% of the serial killers were sexually abused when they were older than 18 years;

Within the family sexual abuse was conducted by parents, stepparents, siblings and stepsiblings, and outside the family by friends of the family, extended family members or by prison mates when they were incarcerated either as juveniles or later as adults.

Ressler finds that the adult sexual behaviour of serial killers is visually orientated and that they prefer auto-erotic activities (masturbation). The following results of the quantitative study support his statement:

- * About half of the group of 36 serial killers had a total aversion to sex;
- * Three quarters of the serial killers reported to have sexual problems;
- * 70% of the serial killers reported to have feelings of sexual inadequacy.

Ressler states that the traumas to which these children are exposed to leads to fantasies. He gives the example of one of the serial killers who had a sexual fantasy at the ages of four to five years and who was aroused by the image of sticking needles and knives into his stomach.

Ressler and his colleagues propose that most abused children fantasize as a method to escape reality. The serial killer's early fantasies are not about escaping from one negative situation to a better one, as are those of other abused children. The serial killer fantasizes about aggression, dominance of other people and a repetition of what happened to him, but in his fantasies he is the aggressor and not the victim. The serial killer therefore develops these aggressive fantasies during childhood and discusses them with no one. They are committed to these violent and sexual fantasies. The fantasies before the first murder focuses on the murder itself and the fantasies after the murder focus on the improvement of the four phases of the murder. The motivation for sexual murder is therefore fantasy.

2.2.2.3 Patterned responses:

In this dimension Ressler states that the child's memories of frightening and upsetting life experiences shape his developing thought patterns. The type of thinking that emerges develops structured, patterned behaviors that in turn help generate daydreams and fantasies. Ressler terms the structure and development of thought patterns, cognitive mapping.

In the serial killers, cognitive mapping is fixed, negative and repetitive and manifest in daydreams,

Another case was (1995-07-08). It was late in the morning at 04:00. We were at ML's kraal. We went to the victim's kraal in the St Charles area. On our arrival I knocked on the flat house. ML kicked the door open. A female was sleeping in the room. I knew the female, she was about 21 years old. She was sleeping in the room and dressed in a night dress. Both of us grabbed her and dragged her out of the room. She resisted. ML shot her near the gate. We dragged her to the gum plantation. She was injured. I am uncertain where in the body she was shot. I saw a lot of blood on her head. I had sexual intercourse with her first. She was not dead when I had sex with her. ML then had sex with her. We left her in the gum plantation. We went to the tavern at Bulwer Trading. We hung around at this place. We later went to the place where ML left the gun. We did not go back to the scene. We heard from the people what happened the previous night at this kraal.

In another case on a certain day, late at night I went to a certain kraal. I don't know the owner of the kraal. I was with ML, but he hid himself. I saw a female at this kraal. I fired shots at the woman. I don't know whether the shots hit her. She grabbed my firearm... Both of us struggled with this firearm. I fired a shot - I don't know whether it hit her because it was dark. She bit my finger and the firearm fell to the ground. She picked up the firearm and we both struggled for the firearm. I took possession of the firearm. She ran away. I don't know where she ran to. I was very cross, she bit my small left finger. ML put fire to the house. We ran away to my place of residence.

(Previously you have implicated many people being involved with you - what is your comment?)

I ask the major to accept my apologies.

- * Fetishism;
- * Rebelliousness;
- * Aggression;
- * Lies;
- * Self entitlement

Ressler states that these personality traits interact with the cognitive mapping to generate fantasies.

2.2.2.4 Action towards others:

Here Ressler gives examples of how the fantasies are acted out during the childhood years in the serial killer's behaviour towards other people.

Ressler states that the repetitive patterns, as described in the previous dimension, manifest at an early age. He gives the example of Ed Kemper who, as a child, asked his sisters to tie him to a chair. He would then play that he was being shocked to death. When John Joubert was eight years old he fantasized that he was going to kill his baby sitter and eat her. As a little boy he stood behind her chair and would play with her hair with one hand and with the other hand he would stroke a knife he had in his pocket. Ressler also refers to Harvey Glatman who as a child tied a piece of string around his penis and tied it to a door knob and swung himself on the door.

2.2.2.5 Feedback filter:

By "feedback filter" Ressler means that the serial killer, as an adult, commences to act out the fantasies that have developed during his childhood years and that he measures his performance according to the fantasy.

By committing his first murder the serial killer departs from his fantasy world and enters the real world. He justifies the murder and evaluates the mistakes he made. He reaches a point where he becomes very good at what he does and this is usually when he starts making mistakes, because he gets over confident.

In summary Ressler's motivational model emphasizes that as a child the serial killer grows up in

a negative environment where the home atmosphere is characterized by negligence, alcohol and drug abuse and a lack of positive role models. Interpersonal relationships are dysfunctional and the child is emotionally isolated. The child is exposed to direct and indirect emotional, physical and sexual traumas. He starts to develop aggressive and revengeful fantasies, which he acts out in play and towards other children and animals. According to Ressler, these fantasies are conscious thought patterns and they condition him to be able to act them out as an adult by murdering other people. After the first murder the serial killer has departed from his fantasy world and over stepped the boundaries into reality. Each murder provides him with feed back on how to improve the next murder so that it would resemble the perfect fantasy.

The author agrees in principle with Ressler's motivational model, especially with the elements of childhood abuse and the early development of sadistic and revenge fantasies. The author however disagrees that the motive for serial homicide can be explained on a cognitive level as conscious thought processes. The case studies of most serial killers indicate that they themselves can not explain why they murdered their victims. Many of them can only ascribe it to an "impulse" or "urge" over which they had no control. The author is therefore of the opinion that the motivation lies not on a cognitive level, but on a deep unconscious psychological level. Ressler's model has acceptable and logical points, but once again it does not explain why one brother will become a serial killer, whilst the other brother in the same circumstances does not.

2.2.3 Systemic theories:

The systemic theories on the origin of serial killers focus on how the whole system, including family environment, the educational system, social structures like the churches and welfare organizations, law enforcement, the judicial system and correctional facilities, can contribute to the development of a serial killer. This is in accordance with the general systems theory which focusses on the interaction between the individual and different sub-systems. Some of the authors who support these theories also pay attention to how the system may prevent a serial killer from developing.

Holmes and De Burger (1988:155) identify the following elements of a system that may make a contribution in the prevention of serial homicide:

- * Components of the criminal justice system, namely police services, courts and correctional services;
- * The media;
- * The public

According to Holmes and De Burger these element of the system should be focused on the early identification of violent personalities in order to prevent serial homicide. This statement implies a relationship between that which can prevent serial homicide and that which causes it.

Lane and Gregg (1992:15) question how much freedom the state, social workers and the police services should have in the interference of domestic activities of families and individuals, where abuse is suspected. These authors also consider the laxity of the system as a contributory factor to serial homicide.

The case of Jeffrey Dahmer poses a good example on how the system failed to prevent the murder of innocent victims. In 1989 Dahmer was charged with possession of pornography of children under the age of consent. During the court case one of the psychologists described him as schizoid and manipulative and it was recommended that he be institutionalized. Dahmer's defence made the following statement during his plea: " We don't have a multiple offender here. I believe he was caught before the point where it would have gotten worse, which means that that's a blessing in disguise..." (Schwartz, 1992:67)

At this time Dahmer had already killed five people, but this fact was unknown. Dahmer was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, but he was allowed to go out to work every day. Two years and twelve murders later he was finally apprehended again. In the five years he was under probation, his probation officer noticed something wrong, but did not investigate further because the suburb in which that Dahmer lived was too dangerous.

Schwartz (1992:94) refers to two policemen who ignored the plea of a member of public on 26 May 1991 concerning the boy, Konerak Sinthasomphone, who was found naked and drugged on the street. They escorted him back to Dahmer's apartment and Konerak was murdered a few hours later. The police officers who are a part of the system failed through negligence in their

duty in this instance.

The author agrees with the principle that the early identification of certain patterns in the behaviour of children could prevent them from becoming serial killers. The author is also of the opinion that society and the system, comprising the family and the authorities, are neglecting their duties in identifying potential serial killers. The system is geared to react to a serial killer, but not to prevent a child from developing into one.

The media as a component of the system plays a major role in the dynamics of the organized serial killer. Ressler and Shachtman (1993:106) state that most organized serial killers keep newspaper clippings of their crimes and fantasise about them later. Ressler reported that David Berkowitz only took on the name "Son of Sam" after a newspaper reporter referred to him by that name. Ressler also blames the newspaper reporter for irresponsibly enticing Berkowitz to murder. The reporter had published the names of the counties in which Berkowitz had already murdered and speculated whether he was going to attempt to commit a murder in each of the remaining counties. In an interview with Ressler, Berkowitz admitted that the idea to commit a murder in each county only appealed to him after he had read the speculation in the newspaper.

Ressler (in Jeffers, 1993:94) identifies social, environmental, psychological, cultural, economical and stress as elements in the American culture that contribute to the increase in serial homicide. Ressler exceptionalizes the media as an exacerbatory factor. He states that Monte Rissler, who murdered five women in 1978, admitted that he was inspired by the news coverage of David Berkowitz. Ressler regards the media as a catalyst in the sense that the organized serial killer likes to see his name in print because he craves acknowledgement.

The author is in complete agreement with the other authors regarding the irresponsible attitude of the media. In her personal experience the author has found that the media often interferes with the investigation of serial killer cases.

Schwartz (1992:134) refers to the district attorney Michael McCann who accused the New York Times regarding the premature publication of Dahmer's confession, since it could have influenced the jury.

Jeffers (1993:231) refers to the book Zodiac by Robert Graysmith which relates the tribulations of the serial killer called Zodiac, who operated in San Francisco in 1986. The killer was never apprehended. After the publication of the book in 1986 a second serial killer also called himself Zodiac and applied a similar modus operandi in New York.

American television programmes such as Unsolved Mysteries and America's Most Wanted often view programmes about serial homicide. Although these programmes render an important service by alerting the public, they also serve as a source of inspiration to potential serial killers.

In the author's opinion films such as Silence of the Lambs, Seven, Copycat and Natural Born Killers glorify serial killers as super natural beings and add to the myth that serial killers are either raving lunatics or super intelligent human beings. These films provide negative role models. Several films have also been made about the lives of Ted Bundy, David Berkowitz, John Wayne Gacy, Wayne Williams and John Reginald Christie. These films may serve a documentary purpose and are not as harmful as the fictional films.

The author agrees that there are several systematic factors that contribute to serial homicide, but they do not explain the origin of serial homicide.

2.2.4 Demonic possession:

There is a misconception that serial killers are possessed by demons. A probable reason for this conception is that normal people can not conceptualize that other normal people are capable of the atrocities that serial killers commit. When asked what the worst act of a serial killer could be most people are inclined to name necrophilia or cannibalism. They can not even stretch their imagination to visualize a serial killer masturbating into the decapitated heads of his victims. The uninformed usually do not grasp the symbolism of these acts. The serial killer is himself often not even aware of the symbolism. People are therefore inclined to attribute such deeds to demonism.

In the article Psychodynamic aspects of demon possession and Satanic worship (1993) Ivey described the symptoms of demonic possession as follows:

- * Radical personality change;
- * Loss of self control;

- * Blasphemy;
- * Dissociative states;
- * Voice changes;
- * Auditory or visionary hallucinations of demons.

None of these symptoms were found in the recorded case studies of serial killers available to the author.

Ivey explains demonic possession with regard to object relations as the internalization of the bad object that derives from disturbed relationship between the parents and the child. The case of David Berkowitz illustrates how “demonism” can actually be explained due to an incorporation of a bad object.

Berkowitz (Son of Sam) attributed his behaviour to demonic possession. He made the following inscription in his diary: " There is no doubt in my mind that a demon has been living in me since birth. All my life I've been wild, violent, temporal, mean, sadistic, acting with irrational anger and destructiveness." (Jeffers, 1993:3)

Lane and Gregg (1992:36) describe Berkowitz's childhood as follows: He was born in 1953 as the illegitimate child of a mother who abandoned him. According to Ressler and Shachtman (1993:106) he had problems with his adoptive parents. His adopted mother died when he was fourteen years old and Berkowitz attempted to locate his biological mother. He succeeded in tracing her but she rejected him. His first sexual experience was with a prostitute and he contracted a venereal disease.

Although Berkowitz referred to a demon in his diary there is sufficient evidence that he had the opportunity to internalize the bad object. There is no evidence that he ever manifested with any of the symptoms as put forward by Ivey.

After his arrest Berkowitz stated that he committed the murders in the name of a demon, a six thousand year old man, who lived in the dog of his neighbour, Sam. He shot this dog before commencing with the murders. Berkowitz later reported that any dog had the ability to point out

the next victim that he should kill. Berkowitz was traced due to the evidence of an elderly lady who walked her dog late one night and spotted him with a firearm.

During an interview with Berkowitz, Ressler (1993:108) confronted him with the fact that the stories about the dogs and the demons were nonsense. Although Berkowitz had managed to mislead psychiatrists with this story to such an extent that they diagnosed him with paranoid schizophrenia, Ressler did not believe his story. Berkowitz admitted to Ressler that the story was merely a ploy to secure a plea of insanity. He admitted that he had committed the murders because he resented his own mother and could not establish a relationship with any woman.

Berkowitz referred to himself as the Wicked King Maker, the Chubby Monster, the Duke of Death and Sam's Creation before he took on the name of Son of Sam.

Jeffrey Dahmer's case also provides an example of how a serial killer justifies his acts by believing it to be the work of a demonic entity. Schwartz (1992:195) reported that Dahmer was fascinated by the devil and liked films such as The Exorcist III and Return of the Jedi. Ressler (1995, personal communications.) reported that Dahmer wanted to build a shrine in his apartment with real skulls and a skeleton from which he could draw power. He also bought yellow contact lenses which he often wore. Although Dahmer was interested in the occult, there is no record of demonic possession. Dahmer admitted to an evil influence in his life: "I have no question whether or not there is an evil force in the world and whether or not I have been influenced by it." (Schwartz, 1992:200)

At this stage the author draws the following conclusions regarding demonic possession as the origin of serial homicide based on an extensive review of the available literature:

- * Serial killers do not manifest the symptoms associated with demonic possession;
- * People who abduct children and rape or murder them in Satanistic rituals do not have the same intrinsic motives as serial killers;
- * Satanists belong to covens and serial killers prefer to work alone, although there have been cases of two or three working together, but these instances are rare.

2.2.5 Neurological theories:

Authors who support the neurological theories propose that serial killers suffer from brain injury which cause them to murder strangers.

Money (1990) refers to paraphiliac serial rape (biastophilia) and lust murder (erotophonophilia) and attributes these two forms of sadism to neurological damage. According to him the section of the brain that is damaged is the limbic system, which is responsible for attack as defence of the self or the species.

According to Money, in the case of sexual sadism, the brain is pathologically activated to transmit the signal for attack coupled with the signal for sexual arousal. He attributes this default in functioning to a brain tumour or brain injury. This default does not occur continuously, but can be compared to epileptic fits.

He states that contributory factors to sexual sadism are inherited vulnerability, hormonal functioning, pathological relationships and syndrome overlapping. Syndromes which overlap may include epilepsy, bipolar disorders, schizoid pre-occupation, antisocial tendencies and dissociative disorders. When the person experiences a paraphiliac attack his level of consciousness undergoes change. In this state of changed consciousness he may change to another personality.

Jeffers (1993:100) refers to Bobby Joe Long who murdered ten women and raped several others. Long had contracted several head injuries, the first being at the age of five when he fell from a horse. He was also injured in a motorbike accident. He always complained of headaches and had temper outbursts. Long had an insatiable sexual drive. He had intercourse with his wife twice daily and masturbated five times a day. He also suffered from a genetic disfunction and developed breasts, which were surgically removed.

Although the above mentioned biological factors support Money's theory, there are other circumstances that influenced Long. He was allowed to share his mother's bed until the age of thirteen. His mother was twice divorced. He married as a teenager and had intercourse with his mother as well as his wife. Both these women dominated him. According to the author these circumstances may indicate a psychodynamic related pathology.

The author has found that records and case studies indicate that not all serial killers have brain damage and not all of them dissociate during the act of murder.

2.2.6 Psychopathological theories:

Holmes and De Burger (1988) believe that biogenic factors, with rare exceptions, can never be regarded as the cause of serial homicide. These authors do not elaborate on what a rare exception of a biogenic factor influencing a person to become a serial killer would be. They consider the origin of serial homicide to be psychogenic.

In consideration of psychogenic factors it is necessary to enquire whether a serial killer can be classified according to the DSM IV diagnostic categories.

2.2.6.1 Schizophrenia:

The diagnosis of schizophrenia compares to Ressler and Shachtman's (1993:180) definition of the disorganized serial killer, which relates more to psychosis than to psychopathy. Ressler states that schizophrenia commences during the teenage years, a theory which is confirmed by Kaplan and Sadock (1991:332). Ressler is of the opinion that a period of ten years is necessary for schizophrenia to take on the characteristics that are found in disorganized serial killers. This decade will place the operative serial killer in his early to mid twenties. According to Ressler an older person's schizophrenia will already have taken on such proportions that he is no longer able to function in society, and will probably be a chronic patient in an institution.

Trenton Chase is an example of a disorganized serial killer who was diagnosed with schizophrenia. Ressler's knowledge of schizophrenia led to the correct profile and subsequent arrest of Chase in 1978. His schizophrenia commenced during his high school years and in 1976 he was committed to a psychiatric hospital after injecting himself with rabbit's blood.

While he was in the institution, Chase bit off the heads of birds and was often found with blood on his clothing. He believed that he was being poisoned and that his blood would turn to powder. He believed he needed other blood to replace his own. Chase was discharged in 1977 but remained an outpatient. He often killed animals including his mother's cat. He also set fire to the

house of people whom he disliked. On the day of the murder of his second victim Chase broke into a house, defecated on a child's bed and urinated on the clothing.

Ressler and Shachtman (1993:203) also refer to the case of Herbert William Mullin, who was diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia. His schizophrenia commenced during his high school years and he manifested several personality changes. Although most schizophrenics are not dangerous, Mullin was extremely violent. He believed that he should commit murder on the orders of his father. His mission was to murder people as a sacrifice to prevent an earthquake in California.

Lane and Gregg (1992:166) refer to Joseph Kallinger, who was diagnosed with schizophrenia and who believed he committed murder in the name of God. He blamed his alter ego named Charlie. Kallinger spoke in several languages during his trial and foamed at the mouth. He was found to be able to differentiate between right and wrong and was convicted. After he set fire to his prison cell he was transferred to a psychiatric hospital. He tried to suffocate himself with the plastic cover on his bed and was transferred to the Pensylvania State Hospital for the Criminally Insane.

Cameron and Frazer (1987:105) provide further insight into Kallinger's background. In 1975 he killed a woman with a knife after she refused to bite off the penis of a captured male victim. Kallinger believed it was his mission to relieve people of their genitals. He also fantasized about the mutilation of female victims.

During his youth, Kallinger was operated on for a hernia. Upon his arrival home from hospital his adopted parents told him that the doctor had removed a devil from his penis and that it will always remain soft and small. Shortly thereafter he had a daydream in which his penis rested on the blade of the knife his adopted father used for carving the soles of shoes. According to Cameron and Frazer the combination of the symbolic castration by the parental figures, the vision of the knife and the real pain of the operation formed the basis of his delusion.

Kallinger could only obtain an erection when he held a knife in his hand. " These events fitted in with what Kallinger later did, and with the notion that he was defending himself against castration anxiety, as well as revenging himself on his parents who castrated him." (Cameron and Frazer,

1987:105)

Cameron and Frazer also quote dr Terrence Kay who made the following statement when defending Peter Sutcliffe, the "Yorkshire Ripper": " A sadist killer can very rarely relate to adult women and therefore is very rarely married; secondly he has a rich fantasy life, dreams about sex and is usually ... very anxious to discuss his fantasies; thirdly such people would stimulate their fantasy with pornography and would be interested in torture, whips and female underwear." (1987:130)

Kay was of the opinion that Sutcliffe did not conform to these requirements, since he was married. Sutcliffe tried to present himself as a schizophrenic who committed the murders on the orders of God in order to enter a plea of diminished responsibility before the court. Sutcliffe raped Helena Rytka while she was dying and inserted a wooden plank into the vagina of Emily Jackson. He repeatedly stabbed Josephine Whitaker with a screwdriver. He was therefore sadistic and acted out his sadistic fantasies. According to Cameron and Frazer Kay's defence that Sutcliffe was schizophrenic and not sadistic held no water. Later Sutcliffe admitted to his brother that he committed the murder because he wanted to rid the world of prostitutes.

Although there is no doubt that some schizophrenics are capable of serial homicide, the author is of the opinion that not all schizophrenics are serial killers and many serial killers only pretend to be schizophrenic in order to enter a plea of mental disorder.

2.2.6.2 Schizoid personality disorder:

Case studies indicate that schizoid tendencies are more common among disorganized serial killers than among the organized serial killers. Reference has already been made to Jeffrey Dahmer's schizoid tendencies. He had no close ties to family members, with the exception of his grandmother; he preferred solitary activities and did not have any friends. Schwartz (1992:191) mentions that acquaintances, neighbours and teachers described him as a loner.

Regarding sexual behaviour the criteria for schizoid personality disorder is a person who avoids sexual contact. Jeffrey Dahmer is an example of a person who avoided sexual contact with another living human being. He tried to turn his victims into zombies by drilling holes into their

heads and pouring acid into the holes. He said he wanted to create a sex slave who would conform to all his wishes, without having a personality of his own. (Ressler, 1995, personal communications.) Dahmer was unsuccessful in his attempt to create "zombies" and settled to commit necrophilia with the bodies of his victims. This indicates that he preferred sexual intercourse where no interpersonal relations were possible.

Another criteria for schizoid personality disorder is restricted affect. Dahmer's case also illustrates this criteria. During the court case Dahmer seldom exhibited any facial expressions. Schwartz (1992:191) states that Dahmer only stared in front of him and only laughed once about the false news report that he had eaten his prison cell mate. An early acquaintance describes Dahmer as follows: " I felt uncomfortable around him because he was so weird and emotionless." (Schwartz, 1992:41)

The author wishes to emphasize that schizoid tendencies however are not found in all serial killers and not all people with schizoid tendencies become serial killers.

2.2.6.3 Schizotypal personality disorder:

Jeffrey Dahmer is also an example of a person who presented schizotypal tendencies. He reported that the reason why he committed cannibalism was because he believed the spirits of his victims would live inside him. This is an example of magical thinking. Eccentric behaviour is another criteria of the schizotypal personality disorder that Dahmer exhibited. He wore yellow contact lenses, planned to build an altar from which to draw power and did not bath often. Dahmer also had no confidants, which is another criteria for this personality disorder. (Schwartz, 1992)

Again the author emphasises that schizotypal tendencies are also not found in all serial killers and not all people who are diagnosed with this disorder become serial killers.

2.2.6.4 Anti social personality disorder:

Holmes and De Burger describe the psychopathic inner structure of the serial killer as follows: "The single most important one of the basic behavioral sources in repetitive homicide is the

existence of a sociopathic character structure or personality in the perpetrator," and "he has sociopathic tendencies and a capacity for aggression and raw violence." (1988:66)

These authors emphasize that the typical serial killer is not mentally ill, but that a lack of remorse can be attributed to a psyche that is socially defective. "This sociopathic pattern, originating in early childhood, separates them from the rest of humanity and results in a lack of empathy for it. Yet they are otherwise rational, logical, appropriate, competent, even charming and persuasive." (Holmes and De Burger, 1988:66)

All authors seem to agree that several of the criteria for anti social personality disorder manifest in some serial killers. The criteria before the age of fifteen, namely physical cruelty towards animals and other people as well as forced sexual relations, can be found in many serial killers, for instance Jeffrey Dahmer slaughtered and dissected animals as a child. (Ressler, 1995, personal communications.)

Arson is also committed by some serial killers. Notes on one thousand four hundred incidences of arson were found in David Berkowitz' diary. It is estimated that he committed about two thousand cases of arson. (Jeffers, 1993:143) It is uncertain whether the arson commenced before the age of fifteen.

Theft is also one of the criteria before the age of fifteen years for anti social personality disorder. Albert de Salvo, the " Boston Strangler" already had a criminal record at the age of seventeen for house breaking. (Jeffers, 1993:2) Monty Rissel had raped twelve women and murdered five by the age of nineteen. At the age of nine he had shot his cousin, he was caught driving without a licence at thirteen and at fourteen he was charged with housebreaking, car theft and two rapes. (Ressler and Shachtman, 1993:122)

An unstable employment record is another criteria for anti social personality disorder and is commonly found in the case histories of most serial killers. According to Ressler serial killers often work in occupations beneath their intellectual or social standards. Dahmer worked in a chocolate factory and Peter Sutcliff was a truck driver. Dahmer was often truant from work, especially after a murder. In 1991 he was dismissed for being late and absent without leave.

(Schwartz, 1992:109)

Aggression and violence are also characteristics of the anti social personality disorder and are common characteristics among serial killers. Beside the torture of their victims they are often involved in fights and woman battering. Albert de Salvo beat his first wife when she refused to comply with his sexual desires. (Jeffers, 1993:2) Dahmer's father, Lionel Dahmer reported that his son was often involved in bar fights. (Schwartz, 1992:49)

Another characteristic of the anti social personality disorder is the inability to commit to a long term emotional relationship with a partner. Although some may be married, serial killers as a rule do not have the ability to commit to a long term fulfilling relationship with a partner. Ted Bundy, charged with nineteen murders, was married but admitted to an inability to have a long term fulfilling relationship with a partner. He claimed the fact that he was illegitimate contributed to this inability.

David Berkowitz was offended by a newspaper article that referred to him as a misogynist, (Jeffers, 1993:59) but he later admitted to Ressler that he reproached his mother and murdered women because he could not have a fulfilling relationship with them. (Ressler and Shachtman, 1993:108)

The criteria of anti social personality disorder which is most applicable to serial killers is a lack of remorse or guilt. Ted Bundy made the following statement: "What's one less person on the face of the earth anyway; I don't feel guilty for anything; I feel sorry for people who feel guilt; I'm the most cold-hearted son of a bitch you'll ever meet." (Jeffers, 1993:78) Levin and Fox refer to Clifford Olson who murdered eleven children and at the time of his arrest made an offer to the police that he be paid ten thousand pounds for every body he points out. He argued that if the police complied they could then solve unsolved cases and the families could bury the victims. The police agreed to pay the money to Olson's wife. She was paid nine thousand pounds. When he was asked to point out the rest of the bodies without payment, he made the following remark: "If I gave a shit about the parents, I wouldn't have killed the kid." (1991:167)

Again not all serial killers can be diagnosed with anti social personality disorders and all people

diagnosed with anti social personality disorder are not serial killers. Anti social tendencies are often found in most organized serial killers. The author proposes to explain the absence of guilt feelings in serial killers by means of Freud's theory on the superego.

2.2.6.5 Paraphilias:

Kaplan and Sadock (1991:443) describe paraphilias as characterized by sexual fantasies and intense sexual urges and practices that are repetitive and upsetting to the afflicted person. Paraphilias are considered to be divergent behaviour, which is hidden by the person and directed at the exclusion of damage to others and they disturb the person's potential for binding with others. Paedophilia, sexual sadism, fetishism, oralism, sadism, voyeurism and necrophilia are paraphilias that can manifest in serial killers.

The question arises whether serial homicide can be classified as a paraphilia. Elements of paraphilia are present in serial killers but this need not necessarily dominate their lives. Another problem encountered when serial killers are to be diagnosed as paraphiliacs is that one of the criteria for paraphilias is that it should be upsetting to the person. Ego-syntonic serial killers do not perceive the perversion as offensive and they do not hide it. The author in her personal experience, has found that they sometimes even provoke the police with their perversions and generally they do not experience any guilt feelings.

An example of a serial killer who had a fetish is Jerry Brudos. According to Lane and Gregg (1992:55) Brudos already had a shoe fetish at the age of five years. At seventeen he was arrested for threatening a woman with a knife to disrobe. He was incarcerated for nine months in a mental institution and was classified as an early personality disorder. He often paraded in his wife's underwear and took photographs of himself. In 1968 he murdered a woman, chopped off her left foot and threw the body into a river. He kept the foot in a deep freeze and dressed it in different shoes. Besides committing necrophilia he also mutilated victim's breasts and kept the breasts.

If the serial killer is offended by his own sexual deviation, as Kaplan and Sadock's definition of paraphilia requires, the author proposes that his ego would defend against the offensive impulses by dissociation. He would then be an ego-dystonic serial killer.

2.2.6.6 Dissociative disorders:

Carlisle (in Holmes and De Burger) is of the opinion that serial killers have a multiple personality structure. Holmes and De Burger state the following: "Carlisle holds to the position that the serial killer has an overwhelming urge to kill, and that this urge to kill, which some serial killers call their "beast" or their "shadow" can take over the complete task of murder. The beasts are only visible to the serial killers, who outwardly appear to be "nice people". With some of the serial killers, the person is no longer in charge, only the impulses of the beast." (1988:98)

Cameron and Frazer analyze the case of Dennis Nilsen who murdered sixteen young men from 1978 to 1983. Nilsen experienced the murders as ego-dystonic. "I seem not to have participated in the killings, merely stood by and watched them happen - enacted by two other players... I always covered up for that "inner me" that I loved... He just acted and I had to solve all his problems in the cool light of day." (1987:151)

Ted Bundy also tried to pretend that the murders were committed by another entity inside him. (Cameron and Frazer, 1987:179) Lane and Gregg, (1992:59) refer to Bundy's statement that an unknown "urge" hides within the murderer. Bundy confessed to the murders in the third person singular.

Lane and Gregg (1992:173) also referred to Kenneth Bianchi, one of the "Hillside Strangler" duo of Los Angeles, who pretended to suffer from multiple personality disorder. One of his alleged personalities was called Steve, a violent personality who committed the sex crimes.

The author is of the opinion that multiple personality disorder develops as an escape and defence mechanism due to excessive abuse. The child fantasizes about escaping an unbearable situation and creates different personalities to manage the abuse. According to Ressler's motivational model the serial killer on the other hand fantasizes about revenge and manages the abuse by acting out the fantasies. The origin of serial homicide and multiple personality disorder therefore differ fundamentally as different defence mechanisms come into play in each case.

2.2.6.7 Normality:

Normality is not a DSM IV category, but the question is often asked whether a serial killer can

be a normal person and therefore the author included this section.

Cameron and Frazer quote the following statement by a psychologist about serial killers: "Most of them are very normal and very friendly, that you maybe went into a pub to have a drink, and you'd sit there and talk to him and he'd all of a sudden become one of your good friends, you can't look at him and tell that there is something strange about him, they're very normal." (1987:157)

Leyton makes the following statement: "... madness is not like cancer or any other physical ailment. Rather it is a culturally programmed dialogue. It should not therefore be surprising that no matter how hard our psychiatrists search, they are unable to discover much mental disease among our captured murderers (except in the nature of their acts). Therein lies the special horror, for the killers are as "normal" as you and me, yet they kill without mercy, and they kill to make a statement." (1986:22)

Ressler and Shachtman indicate that organized serial killers often exhibit acting out and violent behaviour during their childhood, but this is not necessarily the childhood behaviour pattern of the disorganized serial killer. When he is arrested and his identity is publicized his neighbours, school friends and teachers hardly remember him. "And when his neighbours are interviewed, they characterize him as a nice boy, never any trouble, who kept to himself and was docile and polite." (1993:194)

The question of whether a serial killer is normal or mentally ill often arises during their court trials. Levin and Fox discuss the dilemma regarding a plea of insanity which results in an accused being found not accountable for his actions. Many serial killers avoid the death penalty by successfully entering a plea of insanity and are institutionalized for the rest of their lives. A psychotic person can however still be held legally accountable in The United States of America and sentenced to a prison term. Twenty seven American states accepted the criteria of the American Legal Society which states the following: "a defendant is not criminally responsible if 'as a result of mental disease or defect he lacks substantial capacity either to appreciate the criminality of his conduct or to conform his conduct to the requirement of the law'." (1991:175)

Some American states accept the verdict "guilty but mentally insane" and such a person will

receive therapy in prison.

In South Africa an accused may be referred for thirty days or longer for observation in a state appointed psychiatric hospital. According to Sections 77 and 79 of the Criminal Procedures Act, 1977 (Act no 51 of 1977) the accused may be found mentally ill or not mentally ill, fit to stand trial or not fit to stand trial and to have the capability to appreciate the wrongfulness of the act in question and to act accordingly, or not, and to be found mentally ill or not mentally ill at the time of the alleged offence.

Jeffrey Dahmer attempted to enter a plea of insanity before the court. Schwartz (1992:213) reports that Dahmer, who was a mixture of an organized and disorganized serial killer, was found guilty and mentally accountable for the murders he committed. Dahmer did not succeed in his plea for insanity. The question still exists whether the following description of his behaviour, given by his defence attorney during the trial, is that of a normal person: "Skulls in locker, cannibalism, sexual urges, drilling, making zombies, necrophilia, disorders, paraphilia, watching videos, getting excited about fish eggs, drinking alcohol all of the time, into a dysfunctional family, trying to create a shrine, showering with corpses, going into the occult, having delusions, chanting and rocking, picking up a road kill, having obsessions, murders, lobotomies, defleshing, masturbating two, three times a day as a youngster, going and trying to get a mannequin home so he could play sex with a mannequin, masturbating into the open parts of a human being's body, calling taxidermists, going to graveyards, going to funeral homes, wearing yellow contacts, posing people who are dead that he killed for pleasure, masturbating all over the place." (Schwartz, 1992:212)

Ressler related that when he asked Dahmer whether he ate the human flesh raw, Dahmer answered as follows: "Mr Ressler, I'm not that sick." (Ressler, 1995, personal communications.)

By reviewing case histories of South African serial killers the author has found that none of the accused were found unfit to stand trial. The author is of the opinion that organized serial killers, although their actions can be explained through the tool of psychoanalysis, are for the majority not mentally ill. Psychoanalysis provides an explanation of the origin of serial homicide to the author. The results is not considered to provide an excuse for their actions.

2.2.7 Fantasy:

MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood and Mills (1983) studied a group of sixteen sexual sadists. In thirteen of the sixteen cases, sadistic masturbatory fantasies were found to have inspired the sadistic acts. MacCulloch et al found that thirteen of the sadists had behavioral "try outs" where their fantasies corresponded with their sadistic behaviour. In nine cases they found a progression in the contents of their sadistic fantasies.

Prentky, Wolbert-Burgess, Rokous, Lee, Hartman, Ressler and Douglas (1989) examined the role of fantasy by comparing 25 serial killers with 17 murderers who committed only a single murder. The authors hypothesized that the drive mechanism for serial killers is an intrusive fantasy life manifesting in higher prevalences of paraphilias, documented or self reported violent fantasies and organized crime scenes in the serial homicides. All three their hypotheses were supported.

Prentky et al reports (1989) that Burgess, in a study she conducted in 1986, had found evidence of daydreaming and compulsive masturbation in over 80% of a sample of 36 serial murderers in childhood as well as adulthood.

Prentky et al summarizes the MacCulloch et al research as follows: " While the precise function of consummated fantasy is speculative, we concur with MacCulloch et al (10) that once the restraints inhibiting the acting out of the fantasy are no longer present, the individual is likely to engage in a series of progressively more accurate "trial runs" in an attempt to enact the fantasy as it is imagined. Since the trial runs can never precisely match the fantasy, the need to restage the fantasy with a new victim is established. MacCulloch et al suggested the shaping of the fantasy and the motivation for consummation may be understood in terms of classical conditioning... While it is unlikely that the translation of fantasy into reality conforms precisely to a classical conditioning model, it does appear that the more fantasy is rehearsed, the more power it acquires and the stronger the association between the fantasy content and sexual arousal." (1989:890)

The author agrees that fantasy is the blueprint for serial homicide. Whereas Prentky et al were unable to explain the lack in inhibition that causes the fantasies to be acted out in reality, this

thesis will attempt to explain this phenomenon according to Freud's theory of the id, ego and superego. Prentky et al do not support MacCulloch et al's suggestion that the repetitive fantasy can be attributed to classical conditioning, but they themselves do not provide a sufficient explanation. This thesis will also attempt to explain this phenomenon according to Freud's theory on the compulsion to repeat.

2.3 SUMMARY

Literature on serial killers is mainly of American and British origin. Several authors have attempted to explain the elusive motive of serial killers by proposing socio-cultural, demonic, neurological and systemic theories. The author has also attempted to explore the psychogenic categories to determine whether serial killers could be classified according to the DSM IV. Although several criteria of the DSM IV categories are evident in some serial killers, they do not all conform to a specific diagnostic category.

It is evident that socio-cultural factors and a violent and alienated system are contributory factors to serial homicide, but none of these theories are able to explain why one person with a particular background and exposed to a certain environment becomes a serial killer, while another with a similar background and circumstances does not.

According to the author the origin of serial homicide should therefore be sought within the individual and not in his circumstances. The debate about the normality or abnormality of serial killers also does not provide an explanation of the phenomenon.

CHAPTER 3

PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In her preparation for this thesis, the author read the available literature on serial killers, and came to the conclusion that no theory to date has been able to explain the exact origin of serial homicide. In addition to the literature the author has also read two hundred and fifty case studies of serial killers, who were active in several countries, and recognised a pattern in the psychosexual development of these men. The author decided to investigate the theories of Freud and Klein to determine whether they could explain or substantiate her theory that the origin of serial homicide lies within the psychosexual development of an individual.

Freud's theory of psychoanalysis comprises several volumes, all of which are not applicable to the psychosexual development of serial killers. The author therefore selected certain aspects of Freud and Klein's theories which would be applicable. Due to this selection, this chapter may seem fragmented to the reader, but it must be taken into consideration that Freud and Klein's complete theories could not be incorporated in this thesis.

Regarding the chronological presentation of the theory, the author endeavours to incorporate Freud's progressional thoughts on each aspect selected for this thesis. The author selected a certain theme, for example Freud's theory on anxiety, and traced this theme through several volumes. Condensed quotations of every theme are then presented in the thesis, in order to familiarize the reader with the theme. The different aspects selected for this thesis are mainly presented by quoting directly from the works of Freud and Klein, in order to provide the reader with an opportunity to comprehend the theories, before they are applied to the two case studies. It may therefore correctly seem to the reader as if the author has withdrawn her personal interpretation from this chapter. The author's interpretation of the theories are discussed in the case studies.

The author firstly selected Freud's topographical theory of the id, ego and superego in order to illustrate later in the case studies how a serial killer's ego is dominated by the id, and why the superego fails in its censorship over the ego. Short quotations from Freud will familiarize the reader with the functions of the id, ego and superego.

The second aspect selected is the psychosexual developmental phases. The pre-genital phases, namely the oral, anal and phallic phases are presented by quotations, followed by the different fixations that could arise from these phases. The discussion of the latency phase and its fixations and the genital phase are also mainly presented to the reader through direct quotations.

The case studies will attempt to illustrate the different paths in the two subjects' psychosexual developments, as well as the fixations of each subject.

Freud's sexual theories of children are the next aspect which the author selected, since traces of these theories manifest in the serial killers' behaviour when they commit their crimes.

The author selected Freud's theory on ego instincts and libido instincts since it incorporates the concepts of narcissism and object relations. The author wishes to demonstrate in the case studies that serial killers are ultimately narcissistic in their approach to other human beings and that their object relations are depleted.

The theme of Eros and Thanatos was selected since it may illustrate how these two essential instincts compel the serial killer to kill repeatedly. The concept of the compulsion to repeat a deed is described by Freud, and the author applies this theory in the case studies to explain the serial killers' unique characteristic of repetitive homicide. Freud's theory on melancholia can describe the feeling of depression which most serial killers suffer from.

Fantasies are the blueprints of serial killers' modus operandi. Their murder scenes will reflect the exact contents of their fantasies. The author therefore selected the theme of symptoms and fantasies in Freud's work, which is later used to explain how serial homicide can rather be attributed to perversion than to neurosis.

The author selected Freud's theory of repression, in order to illustrate in the case studies how it is possible for a serial killer to act out a destructive fantasy directly, which would have been repressed and transformed into symptoms in a neurotic person. The theory on anxiety is

incorporated since anxiety is the mechanism which causes the ego to repress threatening instincts and subsequent wishes. The difference between the two forms of anxiety, as described by Freud, is discussed, and in the case studies the author endeavours to demonstrate which type of anxiety is absent, or present in a serial killer.

The theory of obsessive neurosis was selected by the author since she is of the opinion that a serial killer may use the two mechanisms involved in obsessional neurosis, namely undoing and isolation, to express guilt feelings or to distanciate himself from the crime. Only the ego-dystonic serial killer will use this psychological tool. The case study of the "Station Strangler" will illustrate this concept.

The last aspect of Freud's theory which the author selected is that of sadism and masochism, since this element may arise in serial homicide.

Before Melanie Klein formulated the theories on the depressive position and the paranoid-schizoid position in 1935 and 1946 respectively, she followed Freud's theory on the psychosexual developmental phases and expanded her views on the phase theory. In her work with children, Klein discovered that infants and children have unconscious fantasies which influence their perceptions and object relations. The discovery of the fantasy life of children, led Klein to change her emphasis from the theory of the libidinal phases of development to that of the "positions" in the development of the object relationships.

Segal explains the term "position", which Klein preferred to that of "phase":

"The term "position" refers to a state of organization of the ego and describes characteristically conjoint phenomena: the state of the ego, the nature of the internal object relationships, the nature of anxiety and characteristic defences." (1979: 122)

Segal points out that a position can not be compared to a psychosexual developmental phase. The paranoid-schizoid position precedes the depressive position, but they can also alternate and fluctuate. The paranoid-schizoid position relates to the most primitive relationship with the breast, which is regarded as a part-object, and to persecutory anxiety. The depressive position

begins in the second quarter of the first year, when the child begins to perceive his mother as a whole object.

Freud and Klein differ on their views of object relations. Freud sees the object as the object of the instinctual drives, while Klein sees the object not only as one of the instincts, but also as one of relationships.

It is not the aim of this thesis to pursue the object relationships of serial killers, but rather to explore their libidinal psychosexual developmental paths. The author will therefore not elaborate on Klein's theories of the two positions, but rather focus on her elaborations of the psychosexual developmental phases, which she wrote before 1934. Although her emphasis changed from phases to positions after 1935, the author is of the opinion that her views and differences from Freud's theory will compliment the theory on the psychosexual developmental paths of serial killers. Later in this chapter Klein's theory will therefore be presented in the same formula as Freud's psychosexual developmental theory, by dividing the sub-headings into the different phases.

The purpose of this introduction is to orientate the reader regarding the unavoidable fragmented presentation of Freud and Klein's theories, and to prepare the reader for the application of the theories to the case studies.

3.2 THE THEORIES OF SIGMUND FREUD

3.2.1 ID, EGO AND SUPEREGO

3.2.1.1 The id:

In New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis Freud describes the nature of 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."* (1933:74)

The id is the first inborn substratum of the psychic personality. There is no time, negotiation or logic present in the id. The id only contains the instincts and the energy needed to satisfy those instincts.

3.2.1.2 The ego:

Freud describes the difference between the ego and the id as follows: *"To adopt a popular mode of speaking, we might say that the ego stands for reason and good sense, while the id stands for the untamed passions."* (1933:76)

The ego's task as negotiator between the id, superego and external reality is explained in the following paragraph:

"The poor ego has things even worse; it serves three masters and does what it can to bring their claims and demands into harmony with one another. These claims are always divergent and often incompatible. No wonder that the ego so often fails in its task. Its three tyrannical masters are the external world, the superego and the id...It feels hemmed in on three sides, threatened by the three kinds of danger, to which, if it is hard pressed, it reacts by generating anxiety ... In its attempt to mediate between the id and reality, it is often obliged to cloak the unconscious commands of the id with its own pre-conscious rationalizations to conceal the id's conflicts with reality, to profess with diplomatic disingenuousness, to be taking notice of reality even when the id has remained rigid and unyielding. On the other hand it is observed at every step it takes by the strict superego, which lays down definite standards for its conduct, without taking into account of its difficulties from the direction of the id and the external world, and which, if these standards are not obeyed, punishes it with tense feelings of inferiority and of guilt." (1933:77 - 78)

3.2.1.3 The superego:

According to Freud, the superego develops due to the influence of the parents on the child:

"Even if conscience is something 'within us', yet it is not so from the first. In this it is a real contrast to sexual life, which is in fact there from the beginning of life and not only a later condition. But, as is well known, young children are amoral and possess no internal inhibitions against their impulses striving for pleasure. The part which is later taken on by the super-ego is played to begin with by an external power, by parental authority. Parental influence governs the child by offering proofs of love and by threatening punishments which are signs to the child of loss of love and are bound to be feared on their own account." (1933:61 - 62)

The process by which the child incorporates the parents as superego is called identification (1933:63). Identification is the assimilation of one ego into another. The result is that the first ego in certain aspects behaves like the second, mimics it and incorporates it. According to Freud, identification can be compared to the oral cannibalistic incorporation of another person. Identification differs from object choice in the sense that by identification the son wants to be like the father, while in the case of object choice, the son wants to have the father. When a person however loses an object or has to fortify it, he can compensate by identifying with the object.

Although Freud formulated the topographical theory of id, ego and superego almost thirty years after he wrote the theory on the psychosexual development, the author presents it first because she is of the opinion that a comprehension of the topographical theory is a necessary prelude to understanding the theory on the psychosexual development phases. The two theories become intertwined, but are presented separately to facilitate understanding.

3.2.2 DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES

3.2.2.1 Pre-genital phases:

In Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality (1905:197) Freud explains that the final result of sexual development culminates in the normal sexual life of the adult. The drive for pleasure is influenced by the instinct for reproduction and all the other instincts culminate in one erotogenic zone, namely the genital organs. This forms a fixed organization that is specifically goal directed towards an external sexual object. This eventual organization is preceded by pre-genital organizations namely the oral, anal and phallic phases, which each have their own respective erotogenic zones namely the mouth, anus and penis. Should something go amiss in these pre-genital phases, various pathologies may develop.

The term pre-genital refers to the phases where the genital organs have not yet reached their primal functions.

*** Oral phase:**

The first pre-genital organization according to Freud, is the oral or cannibalistic pre-genital sexual

organization.(1905:198) The sexual activity in this phase is not yet distinguished from the intake of food. The sexual aim is the incorporation of the object - a prototype of the process of identification, which later plays an important psychological role. The erotogenic zone is the mouth.

* **Anal phase:**

The second pre-genital phase is the sadistic-anal organization. Two components of later sexuality are already present during this phase, namely activity and passivity. Activity comes into force through the instinct of mastering and the agent responsible for the mastering is somatic muscle control. The agent for passivity is the erotogenic mucous membrane of the anus. Sexual polarity and external objects are already observable in this phase, indicating that the toddler can discern between its own body and that of the object's. The erotogenic zone is the anus.

* **Phallic phase:**

During the phallic phase, the penis (and clitoris in case of the girl) becomes the erotogenic zone. The role of the Oedipus complex, which develops during the phallic phase, justifies further discussion. The repression of the Oedipus complex results in identification with one or both parents which in turn leads to the development of the superego. Freud explains this process as follows in The Ego and the Id:

"The broad general outcome of the sexual phase dominated by the Oedipus complex may, therefore, be taken to be the forming of a precipitate in the ego, consisting of these two identifications in some way united with each other. This modification of the ego retains its special position, it confronts the other contents of the ego as an ego-ideal or superego."
(1923:24)

During the Oedipus complex the boy forms an object cathexis with his mother and the girl with her father. The cathexis is sexual by nature with incestuous undertones, and causes anxiety in the ego. (The concept of anxiety will be discussed later under 3.2.7.) The boy fears the wrath of the father, and his ego experiences anxiety. The anxiety causes the ego to repress the Oedipus complex, and in the case of the boy, identification with his father. This identification forms the basis of the superego. The repression of the Oedipus complex is therefore the function of the

superego, which emulates from the father for its development and the superego therefore retains the basic characteristics of the father.

It must be taken into consideration that the superego has a dual origin; firstly it takes on the characteristics of the father and secondly it is determined by the nature of the child's constitutional destructive impulses.

In a foot-note (in Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality) Freud writes that the Oedipus complex is the basis of all neuroses:

"It has been justly said that the Oedipus complex is the nuclear complex of the neuroses, and constitutes the essential part of their content...With the progress of psychoanalytic studies the importance of the Oedipus complex has become more and more clearly evident; its recognition has become the shibboleth that distinguishes the adherents of psychoanalysis from its opponents." (1905:226)

Although serial killers may fixate in the Oedipal phase, the author is of the opinion that they do not develop neurosis, but rather perversion. This concept will be discussed under the heading of symptoms and fantasies. Since the author postulates that serial homicide originates in fixations during the psychosexual developmental phases, it is necessary to explore Freud's theory on the different fixations which may develop in the pre-genital phases.

*** Fixations in the pre-genital phases:**

Freud calls the pleasure experienced through the gratification of the infantile sexual instinct fore-pleasure, while the pleasure of adult sexual gratification is called end pleasure. (1905:210) The danger of fore-pleasure is that it becomes excessively pleasant and the tension is minimal since the superego has not yet developed. The motive for further sexual development is consequently lacking, which will imply that one of the erotogenic zones which correspond with a specific instinct, may become so important that a fixation will subsequently develop. This may later give rise to a compulsion or a particular perversion.

Examples of fixations in the pre-genital phases may be the following:

* **Oral phase: Mother's breast**

In his discussion of the sexual object during the early infantile phase, Freud makes the following comment:

"At a time at which the first beginnings of sexual satisfaction are still linked with the taking of nourishment, the sexual instinct has a sexual object outside the infant's own body in the shape of his mother's breast. It is only later that the instinct loses that object, just at the time perhaps, when the child is able to form a total idea of the person to whom the organ that is giving him satisfaction belongs... There are thus good reasons why a child sucking his mother's breast has become the prototype of every relation of love. The finding of an object is in fact a refinding of it." (1905:222)

The pleasure of sucking may become excessive so that a fixation with the mother's breast is formed.

* **Anal phase: Masturbation of the anus**

In Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality under the heading: "Infantile sexuality" Freud discusses how masturbation of the anus can manifest in children:

"Children who are making use of the susceptibility to erotogenic stimulation of the anal zone betray themselves by holding back their stool till its accumulation brings about violent muscular contractions and, as it passes through the anus, is able to produce powerful stimulation of the mucous membrane. In so doing it must no doubt cause not only painful but also highly pleasurable sensations... The contents of the bowels, which act as a stimulating mass upon a sexually sensitive portion of mucous membrane, behave like forerunners of another organ, which is destined to come into action after the phase of childhood. But they have other important meanings for the infant. They are clearly treated as a part of the infant's own body and represent his first "gift": by producing them he can express his active compliance with his environment, and by withholding them, his disobedience. From being a "gift" they later come to acquire the meaning of "baby" - for babies according to one of the sexual theories of children, are acquired by eating and are born through the bowels." (1905:186)

A fixation in this phase can result in various pathologies for example sadism and obsessive

compulsiveness.

* **Phallic phase: Homosexuality**

Freud refers to homosexuals as "inverts" and describes it as a sexual deviance regarding object choice. In a foot-note which he added in 1910 he makes the following comment:

"... In all the cases we have examined we have established the fact that the future inverts, in the earliest years of their childhood, pass through a phase of very intense but short lived fixation to a woman (usually their mother), and that, after leaving this behind, they identify themselves with a woman and take themselves as their sexual object. That is to say, they proceed from a narcissistic basis and look for a young man who resembles themselves and whom they may love as their mother loved them." (1905:145)

He adds another foot-note in 1915 regarding the anal and Oedipal origin of homosexuality:

"... Their most essential characteristics seem to be coming into operation of narcissistic object-choice and a retention of the erotic significance of the anal zone." (1905:146)

Regarding children as object choices, Freud is of the opinion that adults choose children as sexual objects because they are more readily available and because the sexual urge requires immediate gratification:

"It is only exceptionally that children are the exclusive objects in such a case. They usually come to play that part when someone who is cowardly or has become impotent adopts them as a substitute, or when an urgent instinct (one which will not allow postponement) cannot at the moment get possession of any more appropriate object... Thus the sexual abuse of children is found with uncanny frequency among school teachers and child attendants, simply because they have the best opportunity for it." (1905:148)

The fixations which therefore may arise during the pre-genital phases are a fixation on the mother's breast (oral phase); a fixation on the masturbation of the anus (anal phase) and homosexuality (phallic phase). The latency phase follows the pre-genital phases and will henceforth be discussed, together with its fixations.

3.2.2.2 Latency phase:

Freud describes the latency phase in Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety as follows:

"We have found that the sexual life of man, unlike that of most of the animals nearly related to him, does not make a steady advance from birth to maturity, but that, after an early efflorescence up till the fifth year, it undergoes a very decided interruption; and that it then starts on its course once more at puberty, taking up again the beginnings broken off in early childhood. This has led us to suppose that something momentous must have occurred in the vicissitudes of the human species, which has left behind this interruption in the sexual development of the individual as a historical precipitate. This factor owes its pathogenic significance to the fact that the majority of the instinctual demands of this infantile sexuality are treated by the ego as dangers and fended off as such, so that the later sexual impulses of puberty, which in the natural course of things would be ego-syntonic, run the risk of succumbing to the attraction of their infantile prototypes and following them into repression." (1926:155)

Should the ego experience the instinctive impulses as dangerous it will repress them, leading to neuroses and neurotic symptoms. The ego experiences the impulses as threatening because they obstruct the task of the latency phase, which is to learn and accept moral and ethical values. Freud (1926: 116) postulates that it is the main task of the latency phase to avoid masturbation, which can result in ritualistically orientated symptoms. The sexual instinct and accompanying fantasies threaten the ego and are disapproved of by the developing superego. The ego represses the wish to masturbate to the subconscious, giving rise to obsessive compulsive ritualistic symptoms.

Freud further describes the latency phase in The Question of Lay Analysis 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." (1926:210)

He explains how the prototype of the first object is continued during the latency phase:

"All through the period of latency, children learn to feel for other people who help them in their helplessness and satisfy their needs of a love which is on the model of, and a continuation of, their relation as sucklings of their nursing mother." (1905:222)

The parents' affection directs the child's choice of his eventual sexual object when he reaches adulthood. The child would of course prefer his first object but this is prevented by the latency phase. The fact that the child's sexual development is halted by the latency phase enables him to develop moral inhibitions, such as a taboo against incest.

Freud is of the opinion that the mother, who mainly cares for the child during the latency phase, can also be a source of sexual stimulus to the child. This stimulation is a natural process, but he warns against the result of excessive stimulation:

"This is especially so since the person in charge of him, who, after all, is as a rule his mother, herself regards him with feelings that are derived from her own sexual life; she strokes him, kisses him, rocks him and quite clearly treats him as a substitute for a complete sexual object... It is true that an excess of parental affection does harm by causing precocious sexual maturity and also because, by spoiling the child, it makes him incapable in later life of temporarily doing without love or of being content with a smaller amount of it." (1905:223)

A sexual perversion can persist in adulthood if the child's latency phase was interrupted by sexual precocity. This precocity can also be due to external factors such as a child being seduced or introduced to sex by an older person.

"[Spontaneous sexual precocity] is manifested in the interruption, abbreviation or bringing to an end of the infantile period of latency; and it is a cause of disturbances by occasioning sexual manifestations which, owing to the one hand to the genital system being underdeveloped, are bound to be in the nature of perversions. These tendencies to perversion may thereafter either persist as such or, after repressions have set in, become the motive forces of neurotic symptoms. In any case sexual precocity makes more difficult the later control of the sexual instinct by the higher mental agencies which is so desirable, and it increases the impulsive quality which, quite

apart from this, characterizes the psychical representations of the instinct. Sexual precocity often runs parallel with premature intellectual development and, linked in this way, is to be found in the childhood history of persons of the greatest eminence and capacity; under such conditions its effects do not seem to be so pathogenic as when it appears in isolation." (1905:240 - 241)

* **Fixations in the latency phase:**

* **Preservation of early impressions:**

According to Freud, the preservation of early impressions also plays a role in the persistence of perversion:

"I have in mind the fact that, in order to account for the situation, it is necessary to assume that these early impressions of sexual life are characterized by an increased pertinacity or susceptibility to fixation in persons who are later to become neurotics or perverts. For the same premature sexual manifestations, when they occur in other persons, fail to make so deep an impression; they do not tend in a compulsive manner towards repetition nor do they lay down the path to be taken by the sexual instinct for a whole lifetime." (1905:242)

* **Seduction by others:**

Freud indicates the relationship between early impressions and the co-incidental (or not co-incidental) seduction of a child by an older person:

"The ground prepared by the psychical factors which have just been enumerated affords a favourable basis for such stimulations of infantile sexuality as are experienced accidentally. The latter (first and foremost, seduction by other children or by adults) provide material which, with the help of the former, can become fixated as a permanent disorder. A good proportion of the deviations from normal sexual life, which are later observed both in neurotics and in perverts are thus established from the very first by the impressions of childhood - a period which is regarded as being devoid of sexuality. The causation is shared between a compliant constitution, precocity, the characteristic of increased pertinacity of early impressions and the chance stimulation of the sexual instinct by extraneous influences." (1905: 242 - 243)

The factors Freud refers to are constitutional disposition and accidental factors. Constitutional

factors may include repression and sublimation, while accidental factors can be seduction by other children or adults. The accidental and constitutional predispositional factors interact, since the constitutional predisposition must wait for an experience before it can be activated and an accidental factor must have a constitutional basis in order to come into operation.

The fixation in perversion and the persistence thereof into the adult sexual life is based on a constitutional predisposition and precocity which can be brought on by an older person, and the persistence of early sexual impressions. The stimulation of the sexual instinct due to external factors may indicate that the child was not co-incidentally sexually stimulated but rather intentionally, as in the case of incest or molestation.

In his discussion of polymorph perversity (1905:191) Freud claims that a child can be seduced at an early age, before the censorship of the superego sets in. The normal inhibitions of shame, censure and morality have not yet been established at this stage or are in the process of being established, depending on the age of the child. Through seduction the child can be introduced to any kind of perversion and he will retain this as part of his later adult sexual repertoire. Freud finds a similar predisposition towards perversion in all people. He is of the opinion that other instincts such as scopophilia, exhibitionism and cruelty are already prevalent within the child but that they function independently from the erotogenic zones at this stage.

As soon as children discover their own genitals they are quick to develop an interest in the genitals of other people (scopophilia). These children may progress to voyeurists who want to observe the act of excretion by others.

*** Observing intercourse:**

In The Question of Lay Analysis Freud discusses the effect that early sexual activities, such as observing intercourse between the parents, may have on the child's vulnerable ego:

"These events owe their importance, of course, to their having occurred at such an early age, at a time when they could still produce a traumatic effect on the feeble ego...In the first place, impressions capable of permanently influencing a child's budding sexual life - such as observations of sexual activities between adults, or sexual experiences of his own with an adult

or another child (no rare events); or again, overhearing conversations, understood either at the time or retrospectively, from which the child thought it could draw conclusions about mysterious or uncanny matters; or again remarks or actions by the child himself which give evidence of significant attitudes of affection or enmity towards other people." (1926:216)

*** Cruelty:**

Freud mentions that cruelty is generally present in all children, since the ability to have empathy for another's pain only develops later. The instinct of cruelty arises from the instinct for mastery and manifests before the genital phase.

"Children who distinguish themselves by special cruelty towards animals and playmates usually give rise to a just suspicion of an intense and precocious sexual activity arising from erotogenic zones; and though all the sexual instincts may display simultaneous precocity, erotogenic sexual activity seems, nevertheless, to be the primary one. The absence of the barrier of pity brings with it a danger that the connection between the cruel and erotogenic instincts, thus established in childhood, may prove unbreakable in later life." (1905:193)

3.2.2.3 Genital phase:

Freud (1905) maintains that it is during the genital phase where the sexual instinct, which was previously auto-erotic finds a sexual object. All the previous erotogenic zones become subjected to the genital zone.

He describes the genital phase as follows:

"The genital organization 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." (1926:116)

During the genital phase the libidinal impulses re-emerge, but they are now predestined to take

on the form set out for them during the pre-genital phases. If a fixation developed during the pre-genital phases it will re-appear during the puberty phase. However, this is also the phase where the ego, being more mature, has a chance to rectify previous fixations. Freud mentions that erotic tendencies will be disguised by aggression and due to the reaction formation defence of the ego the struggle against sexuality will remain under the banner of ethical principles. The ego recoils from the cruelty that penetrates it from the id, due to the establishment of the superego during the latency phase.

During the latency phase, psychic energy is invested in learning social skills, empathy and incorporating ethical and moral values, but during the puberty phase, this energy is re-directed to sexual development.

In a foot-note added in 1920, Freud discusses the development of sexual fantasies during the puberty phase. These fantasies derive from the questions asked about sex, during the child's infantile years. He acknowledges that these questions may persist, though greatly unconsciously, during the latency phase and that:

"They are of great importance in the origin of many symptoms, since they precisely constitute preliminary stages of these symptoms and thus lay down the forms in which the repressed libidinal components find satisfaction." (1905:226)

The following section deals with the type of questions and concepts that children develop during their infantile years.

3.2.3 THE SEXUAL THEORIES OF CHILDREN

In The Sexual Theories of Children (1908) Freud describes the misconceptions which children have regarding sex. He acknowledges however, that each of these misconceptions have an element of truth in them, however misguided they may seem to be.

3.2.3.1 Female penis:

The first of these misconceptions is that all people, including women, have a penis. Freud explains

how homosexuality develops through this misconception:

"If this idea of a woman with a penis becomes 'fixated' in an individual when he is a child, resisting all the influences of later life and making him as a man unable to do without a penis in his sexual object, then, although in other respects he may lead a normal sexual life, he is bound to become a homosexual, and will seek his sexual object among men who, owing to some other physical and mental characteristics, remind him of a woman." (1908:216)

Freud refers to the fact that boys are often threatened with castration when their parents discover them masturbating. The boy having had the misconception that women also have penises, discovers that they do not. This causes a fear that his penis might be removed, as the girl's penis was apparently removed. Any sight of female genitalia reminds him of the possibility of losing his own penis:

"The woman's genitalia, when seen later on, are regarded as a mutilated organ and recall this threat, and they therefore arouse horror instead of pleasure in the homosexual." (1908:217)

3.2.3.2 Baby equals faeces:

The second sexual misconception which children have is that babies, like faeces, come from the anus. (1908:219) The reason for this is that boys have a lack of knowledge about the existence of the vagina. If a baby is born through the anus, then both men and women can give birth. In Morning and Melancholia Freud discusses the comparison between babies and faeces:

"... we may take the fact that it appears as if in the products of the unconscious - spontaneous ideas, phantasies and symptoms - the concepts faeces (money, gift), baby and penis are indistinguished from one another and are easily interchangeable." (1917:128)

In New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis Freud also explains that children equate babies to faeces:

"We have learnt then, that after a person's own faeces, his excrement, has lost value for him, this instinctual interest derived from the anal source passes over on to objects that can be presented as gifts. And this is rightly so, for faeces were the first gift that an infant could make, something he could part with out of love for whoever was looking after him...It is a universal conviction among children, who long retain the cloaca theory, that babies are born from the bowel like a

piece of faeces; defecation is the model of the act of birth." (1933:100)

In the same manner that children equate babies with faeces, a child also believes a penis can be used both for urinating and sex at the same time and therefore that urine can procreate:

"The child still believes that he can unite the two functions. According to a theory of his, babies are made by the man urinating into the woman's body."(1933:193)

3.2.3.3 Coitus equals aggression:

The third sexual misconception is conceived when children first discover their parents having sexual intercourse. Children regard intercourse as a deed of aggression which takes on a sadistic stance. (1908:220)

3.2.3.4 Considered in isolation:

Already in 1905 in Three essays on the theory of sexuality in the section on infantile sexuality Freud indicates that these theories that children have about sex are mainly conceived and considered in isolation by them:

" The sexual researches of these early years of childhood are always carried out in solitude. They constitute a first step towards taking an independent attitude in the world, and imply a high degree of alienation of the child from the people in his environment who formerly enjoyed his complete confidence." (1905:197)

The child becomes naturally inquisitive about sexual matters and procreation and formulates questions about these subjects, but he does not discuss these questions with his parents yet. He formulates his own misguided answers in solitude. He avoids discussing these issues with the people in his environment, thereby distancing himself from previously held confidences in these people. As the ego and his verbal abilities mature, and if a trust relationship exists with an older person, the child may start to verbalize his questions and misconceptions.

3.2.3.5 Compulsion to repeat:

In the addition to Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety Freud explains the tendency of the child's ego to repeat a trauma in order to master it:

"The ego, which experienced the trauma passively, now repeats it actively in a weakened version, in the hope of being able itself to direct its course. It is certain that children behave in this fashion towards every distressing impression they receive, by reproducing it in their play. In thus changing from passivity to activity they attempt to master their experiences psychically."
(1926:167)

This compulsion to repeat is not the same as the instinctive compulsion to repeat or to maintain homeostasis.

The first three aspects discussed so far, namely the id, ego and superego; the developmental phases and the sexual theories of children dealt mainly with the development of children's sexuality. The following aspects presented by the author deal with Freud's theories on instincts, the formation of narcissism, anxiety, symptoms and neuroses.

3.2.4 EGO INSTINCTS AND LIBIDO INSTINCTS

The main emphasis in this discussion falls on narcissism and how it influences object choice. There is a difference between infantile / primary narcissism and the later manifestation of narcissism. When Freud conceptualized the theory on ego instincts and libido instincts he equated the libido instincts with sexual instincts and used the two terms interchangeably. Later he called any psychic energy libido and did not reserve the term solely for the sexual instincts. In 1925 Freud replaces the terms ego instinct (that which is directed as self preservation) and libido instincts (love) with narcissistic libido and object libido.

In 1917 Freud distinguishes between two instincts namely the ego instincts - directed towards the preservation of the individual - and the sexual instincts. He describes the internal struggle between the ego instincts and the sexual instincts as follows:

"For human beings it may happen that the demands of the sexual instincts, whose reach of course extends far beyond the individual, seem to the ego to constitute a danger which threatens its self-preservation or its self-esteem. The ego then assumes the defensive, denies the sexual instincts the satisfaction they desire and forces them into those by-paths of substitutive

satisfaction which become manifest as nervous symptoms." (1917:138)

In On the history of the Psychoanalytical Movement (1914) Freud describes the concept of narcissism which forms an integral part of the ego instincts. In this discussion he differentiates between ego libido and object libido.

A definition of narcissism is found in An Autobiographical Study :

"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 were no such objects. There followed from this fact the concept (of fundamental importance for the libido theory) 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." (1925:56)

Freud explains that the libido initially, during the early oral stage, formed a cathexis with the own ego. All the erotic urges and capability to love were directed at the self. This is infantile narcissism. Only when the life essential needs are satisfied, can the libido be transferred to objects. Only under these circumstances can the libido instincts and the ego instincts be differentiated. The libido can distance itself from the objects and withdraw into the ego. This withdrawal into the ego is called narcissism.

Freud explains that megalomania (narcissism) comes into being at the cost of the object libido. He describes the following characteristics of megalomania which exists within primitive people; an over evaluation of the power of their wishes and deeds; omnipotence of thoughts and belief in the mystical. (1914:75)

The antithesis between ego libido and object libido needs to be explained. During the condition of narcissism, ego libido and object libido exist at the same time, because the subject is its own object. The more assertive the one becomes, the more depleted the other will become. For example when a person is in love, he will surrender his own personality in favour of object cathexis (being in love) and this is when the height of object libido is reached. Only when object cathexis takes place is it possible to differentiate the sexual energy (object libido) from the energy

of the ego instincts (ego libido).

Freud queries the difference between narcissism and auto-eroticism. He reiterates that the ego does not exist immediately after birth, it has to develop. Auto-erotic instincts on the other hand are innate and they relate to the function of self preservation. Auto-eroticism therefore exists before narcissism. He states that some psychic action has to be added to the auto-erotic instincts to cause narcissism. In the case of the pervert and homosexual, it is a fixation (a psychic action) which causes the object choice to be narcissistic.

He further explains the difference between auto-eroticism and narcissism according to his theory on object choices. The sexual instincts are initially coupled to the gratification of the ego instincts. This original relationship can be explained by the fact that the child's first primary caretaker, (usually the mother) becomes his first sexual object. Freud refers to this as the anaclytical object choice. In the case where the libidinal development has been fixated, as in the cases of perversion or homosexuality, the later object choice is not programmed on the mother but on the self.(1914:88) This he calls a narcissistic object choice. Freud maintains that the choice of object - anaclytical or narcissistic - is open to all people. Originally all people have two primary objects, namely the mother or the self. Primary narcissism is prevalent in all people.

Regarding the difference between men and women, Freud is of the opinion that the anaclytical object choice (mother) is more characteristic of men. This indicates a sexual over evaluation which can be derived from the child's primary narcissism and corresponds with a transference of that narcissism on to the sexual object. This sexual over evaluation is also characteristic of the condition of being in love. Freud compares being in love with a depletion of the ego because the libido is directed towards the object.

The woman's object choice is more narcissistic in nature. With the maturation of the female genitals during puberty, the primary narcissism intensifies. This is a counter indication of the development of true object choice with accompanying sexual over evaluation. Women therefore have a stronger need to be loved, than to give love. These women fascinate men because another person's narcissism is a great attraction to a person who had to sacrifice his own narcissism in

favour of object love. Freud also admits that there are women, who have an anaclytical object choice with accompanying sexual over evaluation, like men. These women develop according to the male complex.

Freud identifies the following developmental paths that object choice may follow:

A person can love:

according to the narcissistic object choice;

- * what he is himself;
- * what he himself was;
- * what he himself wants to be
- * someone who was once part of him.

according to the anaclytic object choice:

- * the woman that fed him;
- * the man that defended him;

and the consecutive substitutes that replaced them.

Freud asks what becomes of the ego libido in people who are capable of object cathexis. He finds his answer in the psychological process of repression. Repression is an act of the ego. Libidinal instinctive impulses undergo a pathological repression when they come into conflict with the subject's cultural and ethical ideation. The person who allows himself to be ruled by culture and ethics, sets himself an ideal according to which he measures his ego, while another person, who does not have the same values, does not have that ideal. Repression is a prerequisite for the creation of an ego-ideal.

The ego-ideal becomes the target of self love. During the childhood the ego itself is the target. As a person matures he is exposed to the criticism of others and of himself. He realises that he is not perfect. He is however unwilling to relinquish the narcissistic perfection of his childhood and attempts to regain it through the ego-ideal.

Freud describes the difference between creating an ideal and sublimation. Sublimation relates to

object libido and consists of instinct that is directed towards a goal that harbours no sexual gratification. Idealization is a process that relates to the object. The object is elevated in the mind of the subject. Idealization can take place within the sphere of ego-libido as well as object libido. A person can therefore idealise his own ego, or idealize the object. Sublimation relates to instinct and idealization to object.

The creation of an ego-ideal is not the sublimation of instinct. A person who sacrifices his narcissism in favour of an ideal has not necessarily succeeded in sublimating his libidinal instinct. Although the ego-ideal requires such sublimation, it can not be enforced. The creation of an ego-ideal increases the demands on the ego and this is a powerful factor that leads to repression; sublimation is however an outlet whereby those demands can be met without having to resort to repression. Freud refers to a psychic agent that keeps watch over the ego, to see to it that it measures up to the ego-ideal, namely the superego. This is present in all people and manifests as voices in paranoiacs. This agent represents the parents, the caretakers and the general community.

According to the above mentioned pattern, a large amount of libido, of essentially homosexual nature is used to create the narcissistic ego-ideal. The preservation of the ego-ideal satisfies this libido. The conscience (superego) takes on the shadow of the parents and the criticism of the community. This process is repeated in the act of repression which originates from a prohibition or hindrance that is originally externally enforced. The sickness (paranoia) is the modus whereby the voices re-appear. The evolution of the conscience is therefore regressively reproduced. The revolt against the sensor agent originates within the subject's need to become independent of other influences (including the parents) and this again originates from his retraction of his homosexual libido from the parents. His conscience confronts him in regressive form as a hostile influence from the external world - he hears voices which criticises him in the third person.

Freud discusses the difference between the self esteem of normal people and that of neurotics. Self esteem has an intimate dependency on narcissistic libido. To be loved increases the self esteem and to be rejected decreases it. Freud refers to his earlier statement that the aim of narcissistic object choice, is to be loved.

Libidinal object cathexis does not increase self esteem. A person who is in love is humble. The narcissism that this person sacrifices in favour of the object, can only be replaced through reciprocated love.

The realization of impotence has a negative impact on self esteem. A feeling of inferiority originates from the impoverished ego, due to a major libidinal cathexis that has been withdrawn from the ego. The ego is damaged due to sexual urges that the subject has no control over.

Freud explains the relationship between self esteem and erotica (libidinal object cathexis) as follows: He differentiates between ego-syntonic erotic cathexis and repressed erotic cathexis. In the case of ego-syntonic erotic cathexis the ego treats love as any other activity. Love that includes deprivation and longing, decreases the self esteem, while reciprocated love increases the self esteem. When the libido is repressed, the erotic cathexis is experienced as a depletion of the ego, the gratification of love is impossible and the enrichment of the ego can only be experienced by withdrawing the libido from the object. The return of the libido to the ego and the reform thereof into narcissism represents again a happy love. On the one hand true happy love reminds of the primary condition where object libido and ego libido were undivided.

Freud makes the following summary of narcissism: The development of the ego consists of a deviation from primary narcissism and gives rise to an attempt to recall that condition. The deviation is brought about by the transference of the libido to an ego-ideal, that is externally enforced and gratification is derived by fulfilling this ideal. At the same time the ego has directed the object cathexis. The ego is impoverished in favour of this cathexis in the same manner that it is impoverished in favour of the ego-ideal. The ego is enriched through the gratification by the object as it can be enriched by fulfilling the ego-ideal.

The ego-ideal however sets strict conditions for the gratification of the libido by the objects since some objects are rejected by the sensor because they are considered to be unacceptable. When no ego-ideal is created the sexual urges take on the form of a perversion. To become their own ideal as they were during childhood, in respect of their sexual as well as other urges, is the happiness all people strive for.

The condition of being in love is the transference of ego-libido to the object. It has the ability to rid itself from repressions and to re-instate perversions. It elevates the sexual object into a sexual ideal. The sexual ideal can enter into a relationship with the ego-ideal. It may become a substitute where narcissistic gratification becomes an obstacle. This person chooses according to the narcissistic object choice - he chooses an object that reminds him of what he was before, or wished to be. The object contains the excellence which is lacking in the subject - that which the ego needed to be perfect, is found in the object.

3.2.5 EROS AND THANATOS

The previous discussion emphasized the concept of narcissism according to Freud's theory on the ego instincts and the sexual instincts. This discussion illustrates how Freud's initial theory developed into the theory of Eros and Thanatos, the life and death instincts. The author also refers to Freud's theory on melancholia to illustrate the process of identifying with an aggressor.

Freud calls the instincts directed at self preservation and the preservation of the species Eros, as opposed to the death and destruction instincts which he later calls Thanatos. The destructive instincts usually operates in silence. Eros and the destructive instincts are forever in conflict with each other.

He explains that an instinct is an impulse directed towards the recovery of a situation as it was before, thereby attaining homeostasis. This essentially conservative character of instincts is represented by the compulsion to repeat. In New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis: Freud discusses the compulsion to repeat: *"We may suppose that from the moment at which a state of things that has once been attained is upset, an instinct arises to create it afresh and brings about phenomena which we can describe as a 'compulsion to repeat'... There are people in whose lives the same reactions are perpetually being repeated uncorrected, to their own detriment or others who seem to be pursued by a relentless fate, though closer investigation teaches us that they are unwittingly bringing this fate on themselves. In such cases we attribute a daemonic character to the compulsion to repeat."* (1933:106)

In Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety, (1926:125) he explains that instinctive impulses consist of various proportions of both of the two main groups of instincts (Eros and the destructive instincts).

In Civilization and its Discontents Freud discusses the death instinct. He mentions that besides Eros - the life instinct - there is another instinct that attempts to dissolve units and to revert them to their primarily inorganic state. The activities of the death instinct operate in silence and are not easily observable:

"A more fruitful idea was that a portion of the instinct is diverted towards the external world and comes to light as an instinct of aggressiveness and destructiveness. In this way the instinct itself could be pressed into the service of Eros, in that the organism was destroying some other thing, whether animate or inanimate, instead of destroying its own self. Conversely, any restriction of this aggressiveness directed outwards would be bound to increase self-destruction, which is in any case proceeding. At the same time one can suspect from this example that the two kinds of instinct seldom - perhaps never - appear in isolation from each other, but are alloyed with each other in varying and very different proportions and so become unrecognizable to our judgement. In sadism, long since known to us as a component instinct of sexuality; we should have before us a particularly strong alloy of this kind between trends of love and the destructive instinct..."
(1930:119)

Freud further explains by an example of sadism, that the destructive instincts are only observable when they form an alliance with Eros:

"It is in sadism, where the death instinct twists the erotic aim in its own sense and yet at the same time fully satisfies the erotic urge, that we succeed in obtaining the clearest insight into its nature and its relation to Eros. But even where it emerges without any sexual purpose, in the blindest fury of destructiveness, we cannot fail to recognize that the satisfaction of the instinct is accompanied by an extraordinary high degree of narcissistic enjoyment, owing to its presenting the ego with a fulfilment of the latter's old wishes for omnipotence." (1930:121)

He elaborates on the relationship between the life and death instincts in the following paragraph:

"It is our opinion then, that in sadism and in masochism we have before us two excellent examples of a mixture of the two classes of instincts, Eros and aggressiveness; and we proceed to the hypothesis that the relation is a model one - that every instinctual impulse that we can examine consists of similar fusions or alloys of the two classes of instincts." (1933:104)

Freud maintains that the destructive instinct is directed at others to prevent self destruction:

"... we are led to the view that masochism is older than sadism, and that sadism is directed outwards, thus acquiring the characteristics of aggressiveness ... And now we are struck by the significance of the possibility that the aggressiveness may not be able to find satisfaction in the external world because it comes up against obstacles. If this happens, it will perhaps retreat and increase the amount of self-destructiveness holding sway in the interior ... It really seems as though it is necessary for us to destroy some other thing or person in order not to destroy ourselves, in order to guard against the impulsion to self-destruction." (1933:104)

Freud explains that the tendency towards aggression is originally an innate instinct, but that the community disapproves thereof for the sake of its preservation and civilization. He queries how a person can render this aggressive instinct within himself harmless. The answer is that the internalized aggression is directed at the own ego. The superego directs the same degree of extensive aggression on to the ego, than the ego would have directed towards other people. The tension between the ego and the strict superego causes guilt feelings and is expressed as a need for punishment.

A person feels guilty when he has done something that he considers "bad". Freud also indicates that guilt feelings can exist when a person only considers doing something "bad". The question arises how does the person differentiate between good and bad. He mentions that the differentiation between good and bad is not an innate function. What can be considered as bad, is not necessarily harmful to the ego, it may be something that is desired and that the ego enjoys. There is an external influence which determines what is good and what is bad. Freud explains that this concept relates to dependency and fear of loss of love. If a person loses the love of someone he is dependent on and who defends him, he exposes himself to many dangers. In the

beginning therefore anything that is bad is anything which threatens loss of love. Later, the child's fear of loss of his parent's love is replaced with fear of disapproval from the community:

"In small children it can never be anything else, but in many adults too, it has only changed to the extent that the place of the father or the two parents is taken by the larger human community" (1930:125)

Freud acknowledges two sources of guilt feelings; the first is the origin of guilt due to fear of authority - fear of the loss of love of a person in an authoritative position develops into fear for the disapproval of the community and a realization that the person has done something "bad"; and secondly guilt originates due to fear of the superego.

Fear of authority demands the relinquishment of instinctual gratification, while fear of the superego not only demands the afore mentioned but also implies that the superego wants to punish the ego because the superego is aware of the existence of the prohibited instinctual wishes. A person may be able to hide these wishes from the external community, but he can not hide them from his own superego.

"Now we see in what relationship the renunciation of instincts stands to the sense of guilt. Originally, renunciation of instinct was the result of fear of an external authority: one renounced one's satisfactions in order not to lose its love. If one has carried out this renunciation, one is, as it were, quits with the authority and no sense of guilt should remain. But with fear of the super-ego the case is different. Here, instinctual renunciation is not enough, for the wish persists and cannot be concealed from the super-ego. Thus, in spite of the renunciation that has been made, a sense of guilt comes about. This constitutes a great economic disadvantage in the erection of a super-ego, or as we may put it, in the formation of a conscience. Instinctual renunciation now no longer has a completely liberating effect; virtuous continence is no longer rewarded with the assurance of love. A threatened external unhappiness - loss of love and punishment on the part of external authority - has been exchanged for permanent internal unhappiness, for the tension of the sense of guilt." (1930:127 - 128)

Freud explains how a child relinquishes aggression towards the father due to fear of loss of the

father's love and fear of punishment expected from the father. The child relinquishes the aggression by identifying with the father. The aggression which was directed towards the father is now directed at the child himself:

" A considerable amount of aggressiveness must be developed in the child against the authority which prevents him from having his first, but none the less his most important, satisfactions, whatever the kind of instinctual deprivation that is demanded of him may be; but he is obliged to renounce the satisfaction of this revengeful aggressiveness. He finds his way out of this economically difficult situation with the help of familiar mechanisms. By means of identification he takes the unattackable authority into himself. The authority now turns into his super-ego and enters into possession of all the aggressiveness which a child would have liked to exercise against it. The child's ego has to content itself with the unhappy role of the authority - the father - who has thus been degraded... The relationship between the super-ego and the ego is a return, distorted by a wish, of the real relationships between the ego, as yet undivided, and an external object." (1930:129)

The process of identification and Thanatos that is directed towards the self, can also be retraced to Freud's theory on melancholia. In Mourning and Melancholia (1917) Freud describes the process of identification which derives from the oral phase. He indicates that identification takes place before object cathexis comes into being.

Freud compares melancholia with the mourning process. The mourning process originates after the death of a loved one or any other major loss. However, some individuals rather experience melancholia, which is more pathological than mourning. The characteristics of melancholia are painful rejection, lack of interest in the external world, loss of ability to love, inhibition of all activities, decrease in self esteem, increase in self blame and increase in the expectancy of punishment. These characteristics compare with those of the mourning process, but the loss of self esteem is absent in the mourning process and unique to melancholia. In the process of mourning it is the external world that is experienced as impoverished and empty, while in melancholia it is the ego that is impoverished and empty. In the mourning process the loss is that of the object, in melancholia the loss is the ego.

"The patient represents his ego to us as worthless, incapable of any achievement and morally despicable; he reproaches himself, vilifies himself and expects to be cast out and punished. He abases himself before everyone and commiserates with his own relatives for being connected with anyone so unworthy...This picture of a delusion of (mainly moral) inferiority is complemented by sleeplessness and refusal to take nourishment, and - what is psychologically very remarkable - by an overcoming of the instinct which compels every living thing to cling to life." (1917:246)

In Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety Freud explains how energy is lost in depression and melancholia:

"When the ego is involved in a particularly difficult psychical task, as occurs in mourning, or when there is some tremendous suppression of affect or when a continual flood of sexual phantasies has to be kept down, it loses so much energy at its disposal that it has to cut down the expenditure of it at many points at once... We have here a point from which it should be possible to reach an understanding of the condition of general inhibition which characterizes states of depression, including the gravest form of them melancholia." (1926:90)

Freud (1917) mentions that the ego divides in melancholia. The one part is critical of the other. The critical part takes on the rest of the ego as object. Freud compares this critical part with the conscience which can function independently from the rest of the ego. The conscience, censorship and reality testing are the main institutions of the ego. Freud indicates that the most hostile accusations made by the subject are not really appropriate to himself, but are rather more appropriate to a loved one, or one he has loved, or must love. The self accusations are actually accusations against a loved object which are transferred on to the subject's own ego. Humbleness and subservience, which can be expected of a person with such low self esteem, are however lacking in subjects suffering from melancholia. They are irritated and have an attitude that they have been wronged by others. The psychic constellation that this behaviour results from is revolt, which is transformed into melancholia.

He describes this process as follows: An object choice - the directing of the libido towards another person - existed earlier. Due to a rejection by this person the object relationship was

curtailed. Under normal circumstances the libido would have been withdrawn from this person and directed towards another person. In melancholia the libido is withdrawn into the ego and the ego identifies with the lost object. The shadow of the object falls on the ego and the ego becomes the object that has been surrendered. Object loss is transformed into ego loss. The conflict between the ego and the object is transferred by the critical activity of the ego on the one hand, and the ego which is transformed through identification on the other hand.

In order for this process to take place there must have been a strong fixation on the object and contradictory, the object cathexis must have had little resistance. This contradiction implies that the object choice had a narcissistic foundation, so that it could revert back to narcissism whenever it meets with an obstacle. The narcissistic identification with the object becomes a substitute for erotic cathexis. This implies that the love relationship is not given up notwithstanding the conflict with the loved object. This substitution of identification for object love is an important mechanism in narcissistic affections. It represents a regression of one type of object choice to the original narcissism. A narcissistic object choice is predisposed to melancholia.

"We have elsewhere shown that identification is a preliminary stage of object-choice, that it is the first way - and one that is expressed in an ambivalent fashion - in which the ego picks out an object. The ego wants to incorporate this object into itself, and, in accordance with the oral or cannibalistic phase of libidinal development in which it is, it wants to do so by devouring it."
(1917:249)

In melancholia, the subject blames himself for the loss of the object. When the love for the object - a love that can not be relinquished although the object itself has been given up - is taken up in narcissistic identification, a hate develops for this substitute object (the identified ego). The hate causes the ego to be abused and humiliated and a sadistic gratification is experienced through the suffering of the ego.

"The self-tormenting in melancholia, which is without doubt enjoyable, signifies, just like the corresponding phenomenon in obsessional neurosis, a satisfaction of trends of sadism and hate, which relate to an object, and which have been turned around upon the subject's own self in the

ways we have been discussing. In both disorders the patients usually still succeed, by the circuitous path of self punishment, in taking revenge on the original object and in tormenting their loved one through their illness, having resorted to it in order to avoid the need to express their hostility to him openly." (1917:251)

Freud discusses the danger of suicide in melancholia. The instinctive life originates from the ego's love for itself. The urge of narcissistic libido is very persistent when the subject's life is threatened. The question arises under which circumstances will the subject succeed in killing himself - overcoming the life instinct. Freud gives the following answer:

"We have long known, it is true, that no neurotic harbours thoughts of suicide which he has not turned back upon himself from murderous impulses against others, but we have never been able to explain what interplay of forces can carry such a purpose through to execution. The analysis of melancholia now shows that the ego can kill itself only if, owing to the return of the object cathexis, it can treat itself as an object - if it is able to direct against itself the hostility which relates to an object and which represents the ego's original reaction to objects in the external world. Thus in regression from narcissistic object-choice the object has, it is true, been got rid of, but it has nevertheless proved more powerful than the ego itself." (1917:252)

3.2.6 SYMPTOMS AND FANTASIES

The author selected two short quotations of Freud to define symptoms and to illustrate the difference between neuroses and perversion. Perversion is fantasies acted out directly, while symptoms develop when threatening fantasies are repressed.

Freud describes symptoms as follows:

"... symptoms are substitutes - transcriptions as it were - from a number of emotionally cathected mental processes, wishes and desires, which, by the operation of a special psychical procedure (repression), have been prevented from obtaining discharge in psychical activity that is admissible to consciousness." (1905:164)

Freud makes the following differentiation between neuroses and perversion:

"(Psychoanalysis) shows that it is by no means only at the cost of the so-called normal sexual

instinct that these symptoms originate - at any rate such is not exclusively or mainly the case; they also give expression (by conversion) to instincts which would be described as perverse in the widest sense of the word if they could be expressed direct in phantasy and action without being diverted from consciousness. Thus symptoms are formed in part at the cost of abnormal sexuality; neuroses are, so to say, the negative of perversion." (1905:165)

3.2.7 REPRESSION

In the previous selections reference has often been made to repression. The author would like to draw the reader's attention to the role that anxiety plays in repression.

In On the history of the Psycho-Analytic movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works (1914 - 1916) Freud devotes a chapter to repression (1915).

One of the changes that an instinctive impulse can undergo is to meet with an obstacle, which prevents the impulse from becoming operative. Freud explains that repression is a preliminary condition for condemnation. (Condemnation is when something is rejected on the grounds of disapproval, while flight is the reaction to some external threatening force.) According to Freud, repression lies between flight and condemnation. He explains that the reason why an instinctive impulse is repressed is because the acting out thereof would cause displeasure rather than pleasure. He admits however that the gratification of an instinct is always experienced as pleasure. Certain circumstances must however be present which influence the subject to experience the gratification of the impulse as displeasure.

Freud makes the following statement in this regard:

"... repression is not a defense mechanism which is present from the very beginning, and it cannot arise until a sharp cleavage has occurred between conscious and unconscious mental activity ..." (1915:147)

He (1915) describes the following general characteristics of repression. The first phase of repression is called the primary repression. It consists of the psychic representative (ideation) of the instinct which is denied entry to the consciousness. Due to the denied entrance to the ego a

fixation forms. The representative then exists unchanged in the unconscious, together with the instinct that is attached to it.

The second phase of repression is repression proper which consists of psychic variants of the repressed representative. They are associations of the repressed representative. The conscious experiences disgust at what is repressed (a downwards pressure), but that which is repressed also pulls that with which it is associated (a downwards pull). The representative of the instinct exists in the unconscious, where it is further organized and in turn forms more associations. This trend is experienced by the subject as dangerous and threatening.

"... the instinctual representative develops with less interference from conscious influence. It proliferates in the dark, as it were and takes on extreme forms of expression, which when they are translated and presented to the neurotic are not only alien to him, but frighten him by giving him the picture of an extraordinary and dangerous strength of instinct. This deceptive strength of instinct is the result of uninhibited development in phantasy and the damming-up of consequent frustrated satisfaction." (1915:149)

Freud explains the upwards and downwards mobility of repression as follows:

"We may suppose that the repressed exercises a continuous pressure in the direction of the conscious so that this pressure may be balanced by an unceasing counter-pressure. Thus the maintenance of repression involves an uninterrupted expenditure of force, while its removal results in a saving from an economic point of view." (1915:151)

The gratification of an instinct can never be unpleasant, since the id experiences satisfaction and homeostasis through the gratification. However, the motivation for repression of an instinct is the avoidance of displeasure. Freud explains the existence of the displeasure by pointing out that the psychic energy of the repressed instinct is transformed into affect and more specific into anxiety. The instinct arising from the id and the connotations attached to it, causes anxiety and resultant displeasure in the ego, which leads to the ego repressing that instinct and its connotations.

Earlier Freud was of the opinion that which is repressed causes anxiety, but in 1926 he alters his opinion in Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety . He is now of the opinion that anxiety is settled in the ego. Anxiety is a prerequisite for repression:

"It was anxiety which produced repression and not, as I formerly believed, repression which produced anxiety... It is always the ego's attitude of anxiety which is the primary thing and which sets repression going. Anxiety never arises from repressed libido." (1926:109)

Freud investigates the mechanism of repression in order to explain this transformation. The mechanism of repression can only be observed by making deductions from the result of the repression. Repression on its own is not observable. That which is being repressed, is represented by an idea - a substitute formation. Freud questions the mechanism that forms this substitute. He also indicates that repression causes symptoms. He queries whether the mechanism that is responsible for repression, might be the same as the mechanism that is responsible for forming symptoms. In his opinion the two differ. It is not repression itself which causes substitute formations or symptoms. The substitute formations and symptoms are representatives of that which is repressed.

In writing this chapter in 1915 Freud indicates that the mechanism which forms substitute formations and symptoms can only be investigated when there is a better understanding of the relationship between the conscious and unconscious. All that he is prepared to venture at this stage is:

- the mechanism of repression differs from the mechanism that causes substitute formations and symptoms;
- there are many mechanisms that cause substitute formations and;
- the mechanisms of repression have one factor in common, namely a withdrawal of cathexis of energy (or libido if sexual instincts are at work.)

Freud makes the following statement regarding ego-strength and repression:

"Although the act of repression demonstrates the strength of the ego, in one particular it reveals the ego's powerlessness and how impervious to influence are the separate instinctual impulses of the id." (1926:97)

He explains that symptoms develop in order to salvage the ego from a threatening situation:

"We can also add that the generating of anxiety sets symptom formation going and is, indeed, a necessary prerequisite of it. For if the ego did not arouse the pleasure-unpleasure agency by generating anxiety, it would not obtain the power to arrest the process which is preparing in the id and which threatens danger." (1926:144 - 145)

Freud differentiates between automatic (spontaneous) anxiety and anxiety as a warning against danger.

"The fundamental determinant of automatic anxiety is the occurrence of a traumatic situation; and the essence of this is an experience of helplessness on the part of the ego in the face of an accumulation of excitation, whether of external or of internal origin, which cannot be dealt with... Anxiety "as a signal" is the response of the ego to the threat of the occurrence of a traumatic situation. Such a threat constitutes a situation of danger." (1926:81)

The different types of anxiety are also explained in the following paragraph:

"Here again we are rightly distinguishing between the two cases: the case in which something occurs in the id which activates one of the danger-situations for the ego and induces the latter to give the anxiety-signal for inhibition to take place; and the case in which a situation analogous to the trauma of birth is established in the id and an automatic reaction of anxiety ensues." (1926:140 - 141)

Freud explains how spontaneous anxiety is transformed into signal anxiety:

"When the infant has found out by experience that an external, perceptible object can put an end to the dangerous situation which is reminiscent of birth, the content of the danger it fears is displaced from the economic situation on to the condition which determined that situation, viz., the loss of object. It is the absence of the mother that is now the danger; and as soon as that danger arises the infant gives the signal of anxiety, before the dreaded economic situation has set in. This change constitutes a first step forward in the provision made by the infant for its self-preservation, and at the same time represents a transition from the automatic and involuntary fresh appearance of anxiety to the intentional reproduction of anxiety as a signal of danger." (1926:137 - 138)

Freud equates internal danger to any loss. That which is lost relates to the different developmental phases. Initially it is the loss of the mother (or her breast) during the oral phase, then the loss of faeces during the anal phase, the loss of the penis during the Oedipal phase and lastly the loss of the object during the puberty phases and subsequent adulthood. The loss leads to non gratification of needs and a feeling of helplessness, comparable to that which the infant experiences at birth.

The first loss the subject can experience is the loss of the mother. Freud describes this situation as follows:

"The reason why the infant in arms wants to perceive the presence of its mother is only because it already knows by experience that she satisfies all its needs without delay. The situation then, which it regards as a "danger" and against which it wants to be safeguarded is that of non-satisfaction, of a growing tension due to need, against which it is helpless...The situation of non-satisfaction in which the amounts of stimulation rise to an unpleasurable height without its being possible for them to be mastered psychically or discharged must for the infant be analogous to the experience of being born - must be a repetition of the situation of danger." (1926:137)

Freud explains castration anxiety according to the loss theory:

"The high degree of narcissistic value which the penis possesses can appeal to the fact that organ is a guarantee to its owner that he can be once more united to his mother- i.e. to a substitute for her - in the act of copulation. Being deprived of it amounts to a renewed separation from her, and this in its turn means being helplessly exposed to an unpleasurable tension due to instinctual need, as was the case at birth...It may be added that for a man who is impotent (that is, who is inhibited by the threat of castration) the substitute for copulation is a phantasy of returning into his mother's womb." (1926:139)

According to Freud (1926:140), castration anxiety develops into moral anxiety, due to the power of the superego. This anxiety relates only to that part of the superego which manages social sanctions and not to the part which represents the internalized parents. The ego experiences anxiety that the superego may punish it or may stop loving it. The final change that the fear of the superego undergoes, is the fear of death.

Death threatens self preservation. Freud refers to the theory of narcissism, in which it is accepted that the instinct towards self preservation also has a libidinal or sexual character. Freud equates the fear of death with castration fear:

"...the unconscious seems to contain nothing that could give any content to our concept of the annihilation of life. Castration can be pictured on the basis of the daily experience of the faeces being separated from the body or on the basis of losing the mother's breast at weaning. But nothing resembling death can ever have been experienced; or if it has, as in fainting, it has left no observable traces behind. I am therefore inclined to adhere to the view that the fear of death should be regarded as analogous to the fear of castration and that the situation to which the ego is reacting is one of being abandoned by the protecting super-ego - the powers of destiny - so that it has no longer any safeguard against all the dangers that surround it." (1926:130)

He indicates that anxiety is a symbol of or reaction to separation. He also acknowledges the contradiction that the reaction to separation is usually pain and mourning and not anxiety.

In New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis (1933) Freud further elaborates on the concept of anxiety. According to him there are three types of anxiety, namely realistic anxiety - the reaction to danger - neurotic anxiety - enigmatic and illogical - and moral anxiety - the superego.

Neurotic anxiety can present in three situations:

- free flowing anxiety;
- phobias and;
- in extensive neuroses such as hysteria and obsessive compulsiveness.

Freud explains the relationship between anxiety and symptoms as follows:

"And it seems, indeed, that the generation of anxiety is the earlier and the formation of symptoms the later of the two, as though the symptoms are created in order to avoid the outbreak of the anxiety case." (1933:84)

Freud makes the connection between realistic anxiety, neurotic anxiety and moral anxiety and the ego, - the external world -; the id and the superego.

Freud explains what happens to the ego when it experiences a dangerous impulse from the id:

" Thus the ego anticipates the satisfaction of the questionable instinctual impulse and permits it to bring about the reproduction of the unpleasurable feelings at the beginning of the feared situation of danger. With this the automation of the pleasure- unpleasure principle is brought into operation and now carries out the repression of the dangerous instinctual pleasure." (1933:89 - 90)

The impulse is repressed in the id. Freud explains what happens to the impulse in the id:

"In some cases the repressed instinctual impulse may retain its libidinal cathexis, and may persist in the id unchanged, although subject to constant pressure from the ego. In other cases what seems to happen is that it is totally destroyed, while its libido is permanently diverted along other paths." (1933:90)

In some cases the impulse is not destroyed, and a regression to an earlier phase of libidinal organization takes place. An example is obsessive neurosis where libidinal regression and repression co-operate.

Freud describes the process of repression relating to obsessive neurosis as follows; a strong hostile impulse towards an object, that is loved by the subject, is suppressed. The repression is initially successful - the contents of the idea as well as the negative connotation is repressed. A substitute formation develops into an increased consciousness in the ego, that can scarcely be called a symptom. The repression has been made possible, by the withdrawal of the libido, and the mechanism employed is reaction formation - the opposite of hostility is excessive love. The initial successful repression does not last long. The ambivalence of the reaction formation is also the point where that which was repressed, returns. The related affect returns as social anxiety, moral anxiety and unlimited self blame. The rejected idea is transferred by a substitute - usually very insignificant. The failure of the repression of the qualitative affective factor is caused by the same mechanism of flight, through avoidance and prohibitions. An example is a woman who avoids all knives in the house because she unconsciously wants to murder her husband.

Since obsessive neurosis is an example of what could develop when an impulse in the id is not

destroyed, the author chose this as the next theme to be explored.

3.2. 8 OBSESSIVE NEUROSIS

In Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety Freud mentions that obsessional neurosis originates from the Oedipal phase:

"Obsessional neuroses originates, no doubt, in the same situation as hysteria, namely, the necessity of fending off the libidinal demands of the Oedipus complex...The genital organization of the libido turns out to be feeble and insufficiently resistant, so that when the ego begins its defensive efforts the first thing it succeeds in doing is to throw back the genital organization (of the phallic phase), in whole or in part, to the earlier sadistic-anal level. This fact of regression is decisive for all that follows." (1926:113)

Freud explains the regression that takes place:

"As regards the metapsychological explanation of regression, I am inclined to find it in a "defusion of instinct", in a detachment of the erotic components which, with the onset of the genital stage, had joined the destructive cathexis belonging to the sadistic phase." (1926:114)

Although obsessional neurosis originates from the Oedipal phase, it only manifests in the second phase, namely the latency phase. The latency phase is characterized by the solving of the Oedipus complex, the consolidation of the superego and the creation of ethical boundaries within the ego. In obsessional neurosis an exacerbation takes place. Not only is the Oedipus complex destroyed, but the libido regresses, the superego takes on an excessively strict character and the ego, in obedience to the superego, produces strong reaction formations in the form of conscientiousness, empathy and cleanliness.

According to Freud the main task during the latency phase is the defence against the impulse to masturbate. This defence causes ceremonial symptoms such as continuous washing of the hands.

Freud indicates that unpleasant obsessional thoughts are conscious, but that they have been through a process of repression. The wording of the aggressive instinctive impulses are unknown to the ego, and even in cases where they are known, the affect thereof has been

repressed:

"What does penetrate the into consciousness is usually only a distorted substitute which is either of a vague, dream-like and indeterminate nature or so travestied as to be unrecognizable. Even where repression has not encroached upon the content of the aggressive impulse it has certainly got rid of its accompanying affective character. As a result the aggression appears to the ego not to be an impulsion, but, as the patients themselves say, merely a "thought" which awakens no feeling." (1926:117)

There are two variances, namely undoing and isolation, which the ego employs to repress:

"If one considers how much more the ego is the scene of the action of symptom-formation in obsessional neurosis than it is in hysteria and with what tenacity the ego clings to its relations to reality and to consciousness, employing all its intellectual faculties to that end - and indeed how the very process of thinking becomes hypercathected and eroticized - then one may perhaps come to a better understanding of these variations of repression." (1926:119)

Freud describes the process of undoing as follows:

"It is, as it were, negative magic, and endeavour, by means of motor symbolism, to "blow away" not merely the consequences of some event (or experience or impression) but the event itself...The aim of undoing is the second underlying motive of obsessional ceremonials, the first being to take precautions in order to prevent the occurrence or re-occurrence of some particular event. The difference between the two is easily seen: the precautionary measures are rational, while trying to get rid of something by "making it not to have happened" is irrational and in the nature of magic." (1926:119)

Freud explains the obsession to repeat:

"When anything has not happened in the desired way it is undone by being repeated in a different way." (1926:120)

Another technique of repression is isolation, which is explained as follows by Freud:

"When something unpleasant has happened to the subject, or when he himself has done something which has a significance for his neurosis, he interpolates an interval during which

nothing further must happen - during which he must perceive nothing and do nothing. This behaviour, which seems strange at first sight, is soon seen to have a relation to repression. We know that in hysteria it is possible to cause a traumatic experience to be overtaken by amnesia. In obsessional neurosis this can often not be achieved: the experience is not forgotten, but, instead, it is deprived of its affect, and its associative connections are suppressed or interrupted so that it remains as though isolated and is not reproduced in the ordinary process of thought. The effect of this isolation is the same as the effect of repression with amnesia." (1926:120)

According to Freud obsessional neurosis is based on the taboo of touching. Freud explains the euphemism that to touch oneself implies auto-erotic gratification (masturbation):

"If we should ask ourselves why the avoidance of touching, contact or contamination should play such a large part in this neurosis and should become the subject-matter of complicated systems, the answer is that touching and physical contact are the immediate aim of the aggressive as well as the loving object-cathexis. Eros desires contact because it strives to make the ego and the loved object one, to abolish all spatial barriers between them. But destructiveness too, which (before the invention of long-range weapons) could only take effect at close quarters, and must presuppose physical contact, a coming to grips." (1926:121 - 122)

3.2.9 SADISM AND MASOCHISM

A sexual deviance that justifies investigation is sadism and masochism. Freud (1905:157) mentions that the sexuality of most men contains an element of aggression. Sadism develops when this component becomes independent and exacerbated and through the process of transference becomes the main aim of sexual intercourse. He differentiates between cases of sadism where it is firstly only characterized by an active and violent attitude towards the sexual object, and in the second place where pleasure can only be experienced through the humiliation and abuse of the object.

Masochism is the situation where pleasure can only be experienced through the psychological and physical pain that is extended to the subject. In 1920 Freud adds a foot-note in which he explains that masochism originates from sadism. When sadistic impulses are not gratified, the person

directs these impulses upon himself and so produces secondary masochism. Factors such as the castration complex and guilt feelings relate to masochism.

Freud finds that the active and passive forms of sadism and masochism are often present in the same individual.

According to Freud, the presence of a sexual deviance does not necessarily dictate abnormality or psychosis. He does however indicate that the manifestation of abnormality in other spheres of life may have a background of abnormal sexual behaviour:

"Certain of them are so far removed from the normal in their content that we cannot avoid pronouncing them as 'pathological'. This is especially so where (as for instance, in cases of licking excrement or of intercourse with dead bodies) the sexual instinct goes to astonishing lengths in successfully overriding the resistances of shame, disgust, horror or pain. But even in such cases we should not be too ready to assume that people who act in this way will necessarily turn out to be insane or subject to grave abnormalities of other kinds...On the other hand, manifest abnormality in the other relations of life can invariably be shown to have a background of abnormal sexual conduct." (1905:161)

3.3 THE THEORIES OF MELANIE KLEIN

3.3.1 THE ORAL, URETHRAL AND ANAL PHASES

3.3.1.1 The oral phase:

Klein in The Psychoanalysis of children (1963) differs from Freud, for in her opinion the Oedipus complex and the formation of the superego already commence in the oral phase. This early Oedipal phase prevails from the first year until the third year. The peak of the so called sadistic period, when destructive fantasies reign, extends from the oral-sadistic phase until the commencement of the anal sadistic phase.

Klein refers to Carl Abraham's opinion that a lack of gratification during the oral sucking phase, or too much gratification, can lead to a fixation in the pleasure of biting. Lack of pleasure in sucking can be due to external circumstances for example a mother who does not have sufficient milk, but Klein also indicates that it may be due to an internal situation. She attributes this to an increase in oral sadism. Where fixation in the oral-sucking phase can be interpreted as an expression of the power of the libido, a fixation in oral sadism can be interpreted as an expression of destructive instinctive components. According to Klein the more serious psychological deviations originate where external circumstances - such as insufficient breast feeding - co-exists with an internal constitutionally enforced oral sadism.

Klein reiterates that normal oral sadism - which immediately follows the oral sucking phase - is necessary for the normal development of the child. When the sadistic phase commences too early or is too violent, the child's object relations will be coloured by sadism. The subsequent anxiety due to the sadism, will put enormous pressure on the immature ego, which could lead to obsessional neurosis.

According to Klein, sadism derives from the destructive impulses. The child's internal destructive impulses divide. One part is directed towards the external object but the other is directed at the subject itself. The subject can defend himself against these destructive impulses by internalizing the object. The internalized object is the enemy of the destructive id-impulses, because they were directed at the external objects before the internalization. The ego expects the internalized object to defend it against the old enemy - the destructive id impulses.

The destructive id impulses cause anxiety. In the first place the child fears that he might be destroyed by his own destructive impulses and secondly the external objects on to which the sadism is also directed, become a source of fear as well. The child acknowledges that the object - for example the mother - has the power of life or death over him. The child transforms the full load of the instinctive danger onto the object - the fear that he might destroy himself is unbearable and the internal fear is transferred to the external feared object. The immature ego attempts to defend itself against this dangerous external object, by attempting to destroy it.

This process manifests in the child's sadistic fantasies:

"He has certain oral-sadistic phantasies of a quite definite character, seeming to form a link between the oral sucking and oral biting stages, in which he gets possession of the contents of his mother's breast by sucking and scooping it out. This desire to suck and scoop out, first directed to her breast, soon extends to the inside of her body." (1963:185)

The child's wish to rob the mother's body of its contents and to destroy it, arises from these fantasies.

Klein refers to Glover who explains that the child experiences his body as being empty, due to lack of feeding and oral gratification. The child fantasizes that the mother's body is full of the desired food. This also explains the fantasy to attack the mother's body and rob it of its contents.

"In early analysis we find, furthermore, that oral frustration arouses in the child an unconscious knowledge that its parents enjoy mutual sexual pleasures and a belief at first that these are of an oral sort. Under the pressure of its own frustration it reacts to this fantasy with envy of its

parents, and this in turn gives rise to hatred of them. Its cravings to scoop and suck out now lead it to want to suck out and devour all the fluids and other substances which its parents (or rather their organs) contain, including what they have received from one another in oral copulation." (1963:188)

Segal explains the fantasies and anxieties relating to the mother's body which reigns during the child's primitive Oedipus complex as follows:

"In the child's phantasy the mother's body is full of riches - milk, food, valuable magic faeces, babies and the father's penis, which (in this oral stage of his development) the infant imagines as incorporated by his mother during intercourse. His mother's body stirs in the child powerful desires to explore it and possess himself of its riches. It stirs libidinal desires but also envy and hatred. In phantasy, the infant subjects the mother's body to greedy attacks in which he phantasies robbing her of these riches and to envious destructive attacks motivated more by hatred than by desire." (1979: 51)

3.3.1.2 The urethral phase:

In her discussion of urethral sadism Klein is of the opinion that a child's fantasies about destruction by way of floods, drowning, fire and poisoning through large amounts of urine, are a sadistic counter reaction against the lack of liquid (milk) from the mother. These fantasies are also directed towards the mother's breast. In these fantasies the child converts the penis (urethral zone) into an instrument of cruelty. Klein maintains that bed wetting is an overt manifestation of these fantasies.

Klein is also of the opinion that any sadistic action, be it oral sadism, urethral sadism, anal sadism

or muscular sadism is always initially directed towards the mother's breast, whereafter it is transferred to her body. As the child's sadistic tendencies increase and he takes possession of his mother's body in his imagination, the contents of the body not only represents her person as an object, but it also represents the external world and reality.

The child's destructive impulses against the mother are quickly transferred to the father as well. The child imagines that the father's penis is incorporated into the mother's body through oral sex. This is the reason why the boy fears the mother as castrator as well - she keeps the father's penis inside her. Klein attributes one of the causes of male homosexuality to this transference of hate and anxiety towards the father's penis on to the mother's body. This transference also forms part of the etiology of mental disturbances and especially of sexual deviances.

"As we know from Abraham, in an early stage of development, both real and introjected objects are mainly represented by their organs." (1963:195)

The penis inside the mother represents a combination of father and mother in one person and this person becomes a very threatening and fearful object.

3.3.1.3 Anal phase:

The child also has fantasies where the parents destroy each other through their genitals or excreta. An example of the contents of these fantasies can be that the penis inside the mother turns into a dangerous animal, or that her vagina becomes a poisonous mouse trap. As the child matures the methods of destruction become more sophisticated. Where excreta initially represents an instrument of direct attack, it may later evolve to the more subtle form of poison.

According to Klein the point of fixation in paranoia is the phase of maximum sadism when the child in his fantasies attacks the interior of the mother's body and the penis inside her by way of poisonous and dangerous excreta. Delusions of reference and persecution develop from the anxiety caused by these fantasies.

The destructive fantasies directed towards the combined parents lead to guilt feelings and the child expects combined punishment from the parents. His anxiety at this stage only serves as further motivation for sadism and the destruction of the dangerous object.

3.3.2 THE PHALLIC PHASE

The child's Oedipus complex, object relationships, masturbation fantasies and superego are important elements in this phase. According to Klein, the boy's Oedipus complex commences as soon as he begins to hate his father's penis, desires genital unity with the mother and wants to destroy the father's penis which is inside the mother.

"Although the child's pre-genital impulses are still in the ascendant, it is already beginning to feel, in addition to oral, urethral and anal desires, genital desires for the parent of the opposite sex and jealousy and hatred of the parent of the same sex and to experience a conflict between its love and its hatred of the latter." (1963:191)

3.3.2.1 Object relationships:

Klein explains that child attributes emotions of hate and anxiety but also positive emotions, to his imagined objects. In this manner imagined objects and real objects are separated. When either the negative or positive emotions towards the imagined objects are too overwhelming, the sadistic

or reparative fantasies can not be acted out towards the real objects. This leads to a reality disturbance and a disturbance of object relationships.

3.3.2.2 Masturbation fantasies:

Klein is of the opinion that all masturbation fantasies have early sadistic fantasies against the parents' sexual intercourse as a foundation. The destructive impulses, combined with the libidinal (sexual) impulses cause the superego to defend against masturbation fantasies and masturbation itself. The guilt feelings about the libidinal impulses and incestuous desires derive from the amalgamation of the destructive and libidinal impulses.

3.3.2.3 Superego:

If the child's Oedipus complex then commences during the maximum phase of sadism, it is mainly impulses of hate that cause the Oedipus complex and form the superego. Klein refers to Freud's confirmation that the impulse of hate is primary to the impulse of love. Klein's opinion that the superego originates during the oral phase contrasts with the traditional psychoanalytical supposition that the superego develops after the phallic phase.

"As far as I can judge, the nucleus of the superego is to be found in the partial incorporation that takes place during the cannibalistic phase of development, and the child's early imagoes take the imprint of those pre-genital impulses." (1963:195)

Klein explains how the superego already commences during the oral-sadistic phase. The child tries to get rid of the feared object through devouring, biting and cutting. This gives rise to anxiety. The awakening of Oedipal tendencies are followed by internalization of the object and

punishment is expected from the object. The child fears the punishment that will fit the transgression. Therefore the superego becomes something that devours, bites and cuts.

Klein refers to Freud's explanation that the Oedipus complex is repressed by the internalization of the father object. The father is the obstacle in the son's gratification of his Oedipal desires. The Oedipus complex needs to be repressed because the castration anxiety is too great a threat to the ego. The ego calls on the external father object - who is the natural enemy of the Oedipus complex - and internalizes this father object. This is the germination of the superego. The superego therefore retains the character of the father.

In her research into the manner by which the superego and the development of object relationships influence each other, Klein makes the following remark; in the sadistic phase the child defends himself against the fear of the violent object - the introjected as well as the external object - by doubling his hostile attacks on the object in his imagination. By getting rid of the object in this manner, the child also succeeds in silencing the unbearable threats of the superego. The defence mechanism employed here is projection - the ego places the object in the place of the superego as well as the id, because the ego would like to rid itself of both. The hate against the object is supplemented by hatred against the superego and the id.

"Thus it would seem that in people in whom the early anxiety-situations are too powerful and who have retained defensive projection mechanisms belonging to that early stage, fear of the superego - if for external or intra-psychic reasons it (the child) oversteps certain bounds - will compel them to destroy their object and will form the basis for the development of a criminal type of behaviour." (1963:204)

"If crime does indeed spring from early anxiety in this way, our only hope of understanding the criminal and perhaps reforming him would seem to be to subject the deepest levels of his mental life to analysis." (1963:204)

If the fearful superego is projected on the objects, the child's fear and aggression towards that object increases, which causes the child's external world to change into a fearful environment where his objects become enemies and where he is persecuted by internal and external enemies.

Should the anxiety become unbearable and his ego is unable to handle it, he tries to rid himself of his external enemies by ceasing the defence mechanism of projection. This in turn prevents the introjection of objects and ceases the relationship with reality. The child is increasingly exposed to the fear of the external objects, from which he can not escape. The child denies and eliminates not only the source of anxiety but also the affect thereof.

3.3.3 THE LATENCY PHASE:

The period in which the child's sexual activities are least pronounced is the latency period. This is because of the decline of the Oedipus complex is accompanied by the diminution in the force of instinctual trends. On the other hand, there is the still unexplained fact that it is at that very period that the child's struggle against masturbation is at its height. In his "Heimung, Symptom und Angst" (1026) Freud says (S.55) that during the latency period the energies of the child seem to be mainly taken up with the task of resisting the temptation to masturbate. His statement seems to support the view that even during the latency period the pressure of the id has not diminished to the extent commonly supposed, or else that the force exerted by the child's sense of guilt against its id-tendencies has increased." (1963:164)

A complete repression of masturbation causes, according to Klein, various symptoms such as muscle contractions and an excessive repression of masturbation fantasies cause a great obstacle regarding the forming of sublimations in the latency phase - the ability to sublimate is important from a cultural viewpoint.

"It would seem, then, that the decline of the Oedipus conflict normally ushers in a period in which the child's sexual desires are diminished though by no means entirely lost..." (1963:166)

According to Klein a lack of reaction formation during destructive masturbation fantasies can be compared to the deeds of a sadistic criminal. With regard to the case study of Gunther and Franz, two brothers, (1963:167) Klein makes the following comments: fear of revenge due to the excessive destructive fantasies towards the object, inspire the child to try and rid himself of the object. Every time one brother became violent towards the other and forced sexual deeds on him, he convinced himself that he was no longer the victim. His overpowering fear of his parents increased his impulse to rid himself of them, and his consequential imaginary attacks on them supplemented this fear.

Klein explains that the younger brother, Franz, did not complain about his brother's sadistic sexual practises. He tried to master his anxiety by identifying with his object of fear. In his imagination he became the aggressor and his enemy/victim was his own id and his brother's internalized penis, which also represented his father's penis. The father's penis in turn again represented Franz' own persecutory superego. The internal persecutor is destroyed by attacks on his own body. The struggle between the id and the superego becomes too great a threat for the ego, and therefore Franz directed his hatred against the external objects (smaller children) who in turn represented

his own weak ego.

Klein comes to the conclusion that excessive pressure of the superego usually causes repression of sexual activities, but it could also lead to the compulsion to participate in such activities. Anxiety and guilt feelings can strengthen libidinal fixations and desires. This causes these instinctive needs not to decrease during the latency phase.

"As far as we can judge, the effect of the sense of guilt during the latency period is to allow the child to continue to masturbate, though in a lesser degree than before, but at the same time to make it give up its sexual activities with other children, whether its own brothers and sisters or not, as being too realistic an enactment of its incestuous and sadistic desires." (1963:174)

According to Klein, sexual activities of children can not be prevented. She indicates that these activities have a positive function in the sense that it satisfies the child's libido as well as its sexual curiosity. The guilt feelings of children who share sexual activities with other children are relieved because the destructive masturbation fantasies towards the parents are shared. This relieves guilt and anxiety. The deduction can be made then, that children who do not share sexual activities with other children are ridden with guilt feelings and anxiety.

According to Klein the constitution of the child will determine whether the positive result of the gratified libido or the destructiveness of the fantasy will influence further sexual development. Klein refers to Freud's statement that strict supervision to prevent a child's sexual activities, will only result in the child never developing the ability to resist the urgent demands of his own sexuality.

3.4 SUMMARY

According to the research method of structuring by categories the following categories were selected from Freud's theories to be discussed:

- * The id, ego and superego;
- * The developmental phases;
- * The sexual theories of children;
- * The ego instincts and libido instincts;
- * Eros and Thanatos;
- * Symptoms and fantasies;
- * Repression;
- * Obsessional neurosis;
- * Sadism and masochism

The purpose of this selection is to refamiliarize the reader with Freud's concepts, which are applicable to the author's proposition that psychoanalysis can be employed to explain the origin of serial homicide. The rest of Freud's theories are not applicable to the origin of serial homicide and are therefore not discussed.

Some of the concepts discussed in the theories overlap, for example the superego is discussed under 3.2.1. and also under 3.2.2.1. This overlapping is unavoidable.

Klein's theory on the developmental phases was selected since it supplements Freud's theory in the sense that Klein has a different theory on the origin of the Oedipus complex; she adds the

urethral phase and she elaborates on the fantasies which exist during the childhood years. Since fantasies are the blueprint for the serial killers' murders this aspect could not be ignored. The author has added a different chapter to this thesis to propose the statements that she has formulated regarding Freud and Klein's theories.

CHAPTER 4

STATEMENTS OF THE THESIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The general statement of this thesis is that psychoanalysis can explain the origin of serial homicide.

After studying the theories of Freud and Klein, the author formulates specific statements in an attempt to explain certain detailed aspects of psychoanalysis. The author proposes to illustrate by means of the two case studies how these specific statements can be used to understand the origin of serial homicide. The author foresees that not all the statements may be addressed by the two selected case studies, but predicts that they can be substantiated by other case examples. The author therefore reserves the privilege to document all these statements, whether they are all addressed in the two case studies or not.

After reading numerous case studies on serial killers and incorporating her knowledge on psychoanalytic theories, the author recognized a typical psychosexual developmental pattern in serial killers. Serial killers do not all follow exactly the same developmental pattern, but the theory that there occurs a fixation in one or more of the psychosexual developmental phases remains the general recipe for deciphering their behaviour. The presumptions that the author makes about serial killers in these statements, for example that the father figures of serial killers are either emotionally or physically absent during their childhood years, are based on her extensive reading of the numerous case studies, as well as personal interviews with South African serial killers.

4.2 STATEMENTS

4.2.1 Statement 1:

Regarding Freud's theory that the superego develops after the Oedipus complex by internalization of the father figure and that guilt feelings are manifestations of the superego:

The author proposes that if no guilt feelings are evident as in the case of most serial killers, this implies that internalization of the father figure did not take place, that the superego did not develop and that the Oedipus complex remains unresolved as the father figures of serial killers are either emotionally or physically absent during their childhood years.

4.2.2 Statement 2:

Regarding Freud's theory that the Oedipus complex is the nucleus of all neurosis:

The author proposes that serial killers are not neurotic. The Oedipus complex is not the basis of serial homicide, but that the basis is rather a fixation or fixations in the psychosexual developmental phases, of which the Oedipal /phallic phase is but one. The kidnapping and rape of a female victim is symbolic of the son's Oedipal desire to have intercourse with his mother. The victims in these cases represent the mother figure. The murder is revenge for the perceived rejection of the son by the mother figure during the Oedipal phase. Necrophilia also indicates an avoidance of the rejection by the mother figure which the son originally experienced. The victim represents the mother and a person can not be rejected by a dead body.

4.2.3 Statement 3:

Regarding Freud's theory that adults select children as sexual objects because they are more

readily available and because the sexual urge needs immediate gratification:

The author proposes that a serial killer may be a paedophile who prefers children and will not have sexual relations with adults even if they are available. To some serial killers, such as in the first case study, the child victim represents the killer himself and the choice is intrinsically motivated. The mission motivated, lust motivated and power motivated serial killers will select specific victims, according to their intrinsic psychosexual developmental fixation. This could explain why the serial killers select specific strangers and do not kill at random. Only the vision motivated serial killer will kill at random without a particular preference.

4.2.4 Statement 4:

Regarding Freud's theory that the ego experiences the instinctive impulses as dangerous and that this leads to neurosis:

The author proposes that the serial killer's ego does not experience the instinctive impulses as dangerous and therefore does not repress them. If the tasks of the latency phase are not fulfilled, namely acquiring moral and ethical values, the superego develops weakly and sexual development remains on an infantile primitive level. Serial killers remain loners during the latency phase and do not socialize. Some serial killers are exposed to sex during this phase, as for example in the first case study. The ego's tasks during the latency phase are therefore not fulfilled.

4.2.5 Statement 5:

Regarding Freud's theory that the ego experiences anxiety due to the threatening instinctive

impulses, which causes the ego to repress these impulses, and this in turn leads to neurotic symptoms:

The author proposes that the serial killer's ego is not threatened by the impulse, and therefore immediately satisfies the impulse by adhering to its demands. The serial killer is consciously aware of his destructive fantasies and is therefore not threatened by them. The destructive fantasies develop and persist before and during the latency phase and are therefore not censored by morals or ethics. The ego never differentiates completely from the id. The ego does not experience anxiety and does not repress the instinctive impulses, therefore the serial killer does not present with neurosis and is considered normal.

4.2.6 Statement 6:

Regarding Freud's theory that the prototype of the first object, meaning the affection experienced towards the mother figure, is continued in the latency phase by developing empathy for other people:

The author proposes that if the serial killer was not breastfed or experienced rejection, the fixation of rejection by the first object, namely the mother figure, will continue during the latency phase and he will not develop empathy for other people. If he does not socialize he will persist in treating his victims as mere objects. Serial killers have an uncanny ability to treat their victims as mere objects without any consideration for their feelings or pain.

4.2.7 Statement 7:

Regarding Freud's theory that the main task during the latency phase is to avoid masturbation

which can result in neurosis - the impulse to masturbate causes anxiety to the ego, which leads to the ego repressing the impulse and the repressed impulse will then give rise to neurotic symptoms:

The author proposes that serial killers probably continue to masturbate during this phase and again are unlikely to develop neurotic symptoms. The impulse to masturbate is therefore not repressed by the serial killer's ego, because the ego is too weak to withstand the demands of the id.

4.2.8 Statement 8:

Regarding Freud's theory that boys are under the impression that women also have penises and Klein's theory that children are under the impression that the father's penis is incorporated in the mother:

The author proposes that this theory could explain why some serial killers dissect the womb of female victims. The primitive conviction that women also have penises is still prevalent in the psyche of especially the disorganized serial killer. By dissecting the womb, the serial killer is castrating the mother and his father, either due to revenge fuelled by his own castration anxiety or because he identified with the aggressors, his parents, who are perceived as his castrators.

Another reason for evisceration of the womb is Klein's theory that lack of breastfeeding leads to destructive fantasies directed at the mother's breast and then transferred to her body. The serial killer attempts to get back into her womb because that is where his primitive need, hunger, will be satisfied.

The author also proposes that some serial killers insert phallic objects into the vaginas of their victims for two reasons. The first being that it substitutes rape because he experiences himself as psychologically impotent. Psychological impotence means that although a man may be physically able to have sex, there is a psychological reason which causes impotency. Ressler refers to this practice as regressive necrophilia. (Ressler, 1995, personal communications.) The second reason why some serial killers insert foreign objects into the vagina of a victim relates to the castration anxiety. The serial killer leaves the object protruding from the vagina thereby creating a penis for the woman. The sight of a woman without a penis activates his own unconscious fear that his own penis may be castrated. He therefore needs to see a penis protruding from a vagina to subdue his own fears.

4.2.9 Statement 9:

Regarding Freud's theory that the child equates faeces with a baby:

The author proposes that the serial killer who defecates on top of the body of a female victim, or in close proximity to it, is symbolically impregnating her. In the Oedipal situation it is the wish of the son to impregnate the mother as evidence of his love. The faeces is proof of the Oedipal love the serial killer still bears for his mother. The faeces can also represent a penis. By defecating on her the serial killer gives her a penis, which again relates to castration anxiety as explained in statement 8.

4.2.10 Statement 10:

Regarding Freud's theory that coitus equals aggression:

The author proposes that many serial killers come from a home environment where they were exposed to the primal scene at a very young age. The circumstances could also have been that there was hostility between his parents and that the father often sexually abused the mother. The serial killer is therefore justified in equating sex with violence.

In many cases in rural Africa, children share the bedrooms of the parents and are therefore exposed to the primal scene at a young age.

4.2.11 Statement 11:

Regarding Freud's theory that children's theories about sex are conceived and considered in isolation:

The author proposes that serial killers are loners during their childhood years and with the exception of maybe one friend, they generally do not have any confidants with whom to discuss their theories about sex.

4.2.12 Statement 12:

Regarding Freud's theory on narcissism namely that if a child's basic needs are not fulfilled he will remain totally narcissistic:

The author proposes that serial killers are totally narcissistic. The gratification of their libidinal needs as projected in their fantasies are only directed towards their own narcissistic pleasure without consideration or empathy for their victims. The deduction can therefore be made that serial killers' basic needs were never fulfilled.

4.2.13 Statement 13:

Regarding Freud's theory that the death instinct operates mostly in silence:

The author proposes that this is not the case with serial killers, since they act out their destructive fantasies.

4.2.14 Statement 14:

Regarding Freud's theory that the compulsion to repeat is based on maintaining an internal homeostasis:

The author proposes that serial killers will kill repeatedly because there is a discomfort in the id and the ego is too weak to defend against its satisfaction. The discomfort or urge is acted out in murder. After the murder, the urge is satisfied and the homeostasis is recovered but it soon starts to build up again until the next murder relieves the tension. The modus operandi of the murder act presents the psychosexual fixation for example a mutilation of the female breasts indicate a fixation in the oral phase. The victims represent a specific pathology of the killer and the serial killer has no personal grudge against the victim.

4.2.15 Statement 15:

Regarding Freud's theory that the destructive instinct is directed at others to prevent self destruction:

The author proposes that feelings of depression may result in self destruction, but due to the serial killer's outlet of directing his destructive impulses towards his victims, he prevents self

destruction, especially if he selects victims who represent himself as will be illustrated in the first case study.

4.2.16 Statement 16:

Regarding Freud's theory that the tension between the ego and the strict superego causes guilt feelings that are expressed as a need for punishment:

The author proposes that serial killers have weak and underdeveloped superegos which are unable to pressurize their ego's. They experience no external restrictions (moral or ethical codes of civilization) or internal restrictions (the superego) to prevent them from acting out their destructive fantasies. Therefore the majority of serial killers do not have any guilt feelings and express no need for punishment, which should expel the popular myth that they actually want to be caught.

4.2.17 Statement 17:

Regarding Freud's theory that the ego considers anything to be "bad" which threatens loss of love:

The author proposes that some serial killers experience rejection from the mother at birth. Loss of love is therefore present at the beginning of their lives, which causes the ego in its struggle for self preservation to become totally narcissistic. The ego then considers anything to be "bad" which threatens its own narcissism and the gratification of the id's impulses.

4.2.18 Statement 18:

Regarding Freud's theory on melancholia:

The author proposes that a serial killer with a dysthymic disposition may experience melancholia activated by any interpretation of a loss. The only manner in which such a person can salvage himself, if his Eros is strong enough, is to identify with an external aggressor. The serial killer's destructive impulse takes on the personality of the external aggressor and the anger is directed towards the victims in stead of the self. In this process the serial killer confirms to himself that he is no longer the victim. By taking on the personality of the aggressor, the serial killer dissociates himself from the murders and becomes an ego-dystonic killer.

4.2.19 Statement 19:

Regarding Freud's theory that energy is lost in depression due to repression of sexual fantasies:

The author proposes that some serial killers attempt to repress their destructive and sexual fantasies, arising from the id impulses and in the process energy is lost and the ego is depleted, causing depression. Any interpreted loss however causes the depression to slip into melancholia, which activates the Eros and Thanatos struggle. Statement 18 is then activated.

4.2.20 Statement 20:

Regarding Freud's theory that the ego wants to incorporate the object into itself and in accordance with the oral or cannibalistic phase, wants to do so by devouring it:

The author proposes that this explanation of identification arising from the cannibalistic phase also explains why some serial killers, notably the disorganized types eat the flesh of their victims. (The organized killers would be more likely to bite their victims and then to cut out that flesh to remove evidence of teeth marks.) The serial killer has a poorly developed identity and compensates by

attempting to take on the identity of the object or the object's substitute which is that of the victim. His ego has not managed to differentiate itself completely from the id and therefore the ego remains very primitive. In a primitive manner the ego tries to take on the identity of the object by incorporating it orally, by eating it. The oral phase is the most primitive phase. The object might either be the mother, or an object which the serial killer would like to be. For example Jeffrey Dahmer ate the biceps of homosexual men because he wanted to look like them.

4.2.21 Statement 21:

Regarding Freud's theory that neurosis is the opposite of perversion:

The author proposes that serial killers are perverse rather than neurotic because their libidinal impulses are transformed into fantasies which are directly acted out and not translated through repression into neurotic symptoms. This explains the typical "boy-next-door syndrome", in the sense that when the identity of the serial killer is revealed, people who know him always express their disbelief that that particular individual could be capable of such deeds.

4.2.22 Statement 22:

Regarding Freud's theory that energy is lost in the process of repression:

The author proposes that some serial killers attempt to prevent themselves from acting out their fantasies. In the process of deciding whether he should or should not commit murder a lot of mental energy is also wasted as in the case of the neurotic. This could cause a feeling of depression before the murder. The waste of mental energy leads to loss of physical energy as well. After the murder the inner tension is relieved and some serial killers are physically and

mentally so tired that they go to sleep for long periods. The first case study illustrates this aspect.

4.2.23 Statement 23:

Regarding Freud's theory which differentiates between first spontaneous anxiety and secondary anxiety as a warning to the ego:

The author proposes that the serial killer can experience the first spontaneous anxiety, but not secondary anxiety since the ego is not threatened by the impulses of the id. Secondary anxiety is caused by an impulse from the id which threatens the ego. It warns and reminds the ego of the first spontaneous anxiety.

4.2.24 Statement 24:

Regarding Freud's theory that the first loss a subject can experience is loss of the mother's love:

The author proposes that the serial killer can either form a too strong symbiosis with an overly gratifying mother, or can experience immediate loss of the mother's love by her rejection. In the first case the ego identifies with a mother who gratifies all the needs of the id immediately. The ego takes on this task in relation to its own id. In the case of rejection, the frail ego recognizes that in order for it to survive it has to take care of the id's needs itself. In both cases the ego is centred around the id's needs. The author proposes that this is the reason why the serial killer has such a weak ego which is unable to resist the id's impulses or to be threatened by them.

4.2.25 Statement 25:

Regarding Freud's theory on castration anxiety and the theory of loss:

The author proposes that serial killers' and sadistic lust murderers' aggression towards the womb of the female victim, as well as those who insert a foreign object into the victim's vagina are signs of psychological impotence. The serial killer might therefore be physically able to have sex, but is impotent due to a psychological reason. These killers manifest with castration anxiety.

4.2.26 Statement 26:

Regarding Freud's theory on obsessional neurosis:

The author proposes that the ego-dystonic serial killer's ego employs the same mechanisms to appear normal that the normal person's ego uses to become neurotic, namely isolation and undoing.

4.2.27 Statement 27:

Regarding Freud's theory that undoing is a primitive, magic and irrational method of getting rid of the consequences of an event and the event itself :

The author proposes that some serial killers also attempt to undo their actions by redressing, washing, or caring for the body of a victim. A serial killer committing undoing would be ego-dystonic and will have a weak superego.

4.2.28 Statement 28:

Regarding Freud's theory on isolation being a method a person employs to distance himself from an unpleasant event:

The author proposes that ego-dystonic serial killers employ the same method to distance themselves from the murders. When discussing the details of the murder, they can hardly remember it, or are completely unable to remember it, or discuss it without affect as if describing the actions of someone else.

4.2.29 Statement 29:

Regarding Klein's case study of the brothers Franz and Gunther:

The author proposes that the serial killer identifies with an aggressor and when he is murdering a victim, he is confirming to himself that he is no longer the victim. He actively attempts to master his own abuse, by repeating it on the passive victim, as he once was a passive victim.

4.3 SUMMARY

The above mentioned statements are derived from the theories of Freud and Klein and are formulated not only by analyzing the two case studies presented in this thesis, but also by studying 250 case studies of serial killers. The two case studies presented in this thesis alone are not sufficient to substantiate all the statements. Statements which are not addressed in this thesis will be addressed in consecutive research when appropriate subjects become available for interviewing.

CHAPTER 5

RATIONAL AND METHOD OF RESEARCH:

5.1 RATIONAL

The rational for this thesis is that the symbolism found in serial killers' acts can be traced back to their psychosexual development. The intrinsic motive for serial homicide originates during these developmental phases. The author attempts to indicate by use of Freud and Klein's theories how fixations in the psychosexual developmental stages result in serial homicide.

The author attempts to answer the question, **"What is the origin of serial homicide ?"** The answer to this question could serve a double purpose. First of all it will enable the psychological profiler to draw up more accurate profiles of serial killers. The profile is used as an investigative tool by detectives and forms a vital part in the apprehension of serial killers. The community is indirectly served by this purpose. Secondly the answer will provide an extensive insight into the psyche of the serial killer. The current opinion is that serial killers can not be rehabilitated, but that they can be understood.

It is the author's point of view that serial homicide is a symptom that speaks and that can be heard through the ear of psychoanalysis. When it can be explained which unique intrinsic as well as external circumstances lead to serial homicide, the community may be motivated to recognize the early warning signals and may prevent future serial killers from developing.

The author is versed in the theories of Freud and has read over 250 case studies of serial killers. She identified a pattern in their psychosexual development. Melanie Klein's theory on childhood fantasies is useful and is selected, since it is commonly accepted in the literature on the subject

that fantasy is the blueprint of serial homicide.

The author does not venture too far into the theory of object relations, but restricts herself mainly to Freud. Melanie Klein's object relations theory imply that it is affect which is directed towards the object, while Freud's theory implies that it is the id instincts which are directed towards the object. It is the author's opinion that in the case of serial killers, their instincts are operative when they murder and not their affect, since they target strangers with whom they have no relationships and no affect is involved.

5.2 METHOD OF RESEARCH

5.2.1 Introduction:

In the United States of America a large group of serial killers were researched by Ressler, Burgess and Douglas (1988), all personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), of which some of the results were discussed in chapter 2. Their research was qualitative. A South African quantitative study would at this stage possibly only duplicate the FBI's research. There are also not enough serial killers incarcerated in South Africa at the time of this thesis for such an intensive study. The author finds it more appropriate to instigate a qualitative research into the psyches of serial killers.

5.2.2 Research design:

Yin's (1984) explanatory case study method is selected as research strategy for the following reasons:

- * It proposes a general question;
- * It can incorporate a generalization of the answer;
- * It addresses multiple cases studies;
- * It provides an opportunity to make use of multiple data sources.

Each of these motivations for employing the case study method will be addressed individually.

5.2.2.1 The general question:

Yin (1984:16) states that there is a distinctive need for case studies in order to understand complex social phenomena. Case studies can be divided into exploratory case studies, descriptive case studies and explanatory case studies. The decision to use one of these case studies should be made by considering the following three conditions:

- * The type of research question posed;
- * The extent of control the investigator has over actual behavioral events;
- * The degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events.

These three considerations are each individually discussed:

- * The type of research question asked

Yin (1984:20) recommends that a basic question supporting the research should be set up by studying the available literature on the subject and identifying illuminative questions. The available literature should not be able to provide an answer to the question that the research poses.

Yin recommends that "how" and "why" questions be asked in an explanatory case study research:

" In contrast [to "what" questions] "how" and "why" questions are more explanatory and likely to lead to the use of case studies, histories, and experiments as the preferred research strategies. This is because such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence." (1984:18)

- * The extent of control over behavioral events and the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events

When choosing a case study method, a historical case study method and an experiment as the desired approach to research, Yin points out that the extent to which an investigator has control over the actual behavioral events will determine the choice.

Histories are the preferred strategy when there is no control over the behaviour since the investigator is dealing with the "dead" past. The case study is preferred when the investigator is dealing with contemporary events, but when the relevant behaviours can not be manipulated. Experiments are done when the investigator can manipulate the behaviour directly and systematically.

Yin adds the following comment on the difference between the case study method and the historical method:

"The case study is preferred in examining contemporary events, because then the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated. Thus, the case study relies on many of the same techniques as a history, but it adds two sources of evidence not usually included in the historian's repertoire: direct observation and systematic interviewing. Again, although case studies and histories can overlap, the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence -

documents, artifacts, interviews and observations." (1984:19 - 20)

Regarding Yin's recommendation that a case study method should be selected according to the type of questions asked, the control the investigator has over the actual behaviour and whether the investigator is dealing with historical or contemporary events the author gives the following motivations for selecting the case study method:

After carefully studying the available literature on serial killers, the author could not find an answer to her question regarding the origin of serial homicide. According to the author the theories as discussed in chapter 2 can mostly be described as contributory factors, but not as a causative factor. They do not sufficiently explain why one person from a particular background who is exposed to a certain social environment can become a serial killer while another person from the same type of background and exposed to similar social circumstances does not. The question which then arose is **"What is the origin of serial homicide, how does it develop?"** The nature of the question, namely "How do serial killers develop?" or "Why do they develop?" or "What is the origin of serial homicide?" is therefore also fitted to the case study method.

"A "how" or "why" question is being asked regarding a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control." (Yin, 1984:20) The increase in serial homicide is a contemporary set of events over which the author has no control.

With reference to Yin's remark regarding contemporary topics, it has already been pointed out that serial homicides are increasing in South Africa. It is therefore a contemporary topic, not only in South Africa, but also in the rest of the world. During the 1980's serial homicide escalated by

270% in the United States of America, while murder increased by 12 %. No formal statistics regarding the number of serial killers in South Africa are available as yet.

5.2.2.2 The generalization of the answer:

Yin states the following on generalization in case studies: "The short answer is that the case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "sample" and the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytical generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)." (1984:21)

In this thesis psychoanalytical theories are applied to two case studies to determine whether a psychodynamic approach can explain the origin of serial homicide. If this research then succeeds in psychodynamically explaining why these individuals feel compelled to commit serial homicide, the psychoanalytical approach as a theory can be generalized to determine the psychosexual developmental patterns of other serial killers in order to attempt to explain the origin of serial homicide.

The generalization lies therein that psychoanalytical theories may be applied to all serial killers to determine the origin of their homicidal behaviour, and not in the principle that the same psychosexual development pattern will be found with every serial killer.

5.2.2.3 Multiple case studies:

In his discussion of the advantages in selecting a multiple case study approach rather than a single case study approach Yin states that "replication logic" can be applied to multiple case studies.

He explains the logic of replication: "Thus, if one has access to only three cases of a rare, clinical syndrome in psychology or medical science, the appropriate research design is one in which the same results are predicted for each of the three cases, thereby producing evidence that the three cases did indeed involve the same syndrome. If similar results are obtained from all three cases, replication is said to have taken place." (1984:48)

"An important step in all of these replication procedures is the development of a rich, theoretical framework. The framework needs to state the conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found ... as well as the conditions when it is not likely to be found... The theoretical framework later becomes the vehicle for generalizing to new cases... Furthermore, just as with experimental science, if some empirical cases do not work as predicted, modifications must be made to the theory." (Yin, 1984:49)

In this thesis multiple case studies are used by discussing two serial killers. The case studies of the "Station Strangler" of Mitchell's Plain and the "St Charles serial killer" of Donnybrook are selected. Both are organized serial killers. The "Station Strangler" is homosexual Coloured male and selected young Coloured boys as his victims. The "St Charles serial killer" is heterosexual Zulu male and selected adult women and men as his victims. The dynamics of the cases vary to such an extent that together they offer enough material to substantiate the author's statements, made in chapter 4. Both are contemporary cases, stretching from 1986 to 1994 and 1995 respectively. All persons mentioned in these case studies will remain anonymous.

If the same results are found in both cases, it implies that replication took place. The "result" or outcome which is predicted in this research is that the origin of serial homicide can be explained

by psychoanalysis.

The rich theoretical framework to which Yin refers, is - in the present study - the psychoanalytical theory of Freud, complemented by Klein's theory on childhood fantasies. If these theories can explain the origin of serial homicide, they can be generalized to all serial killers. The theories will not be enforced on the case studies, and if they fail, the author will propose alternative theories in an attempt to explain the phenomenon.

Only two case studies were selected since serial homicide is a rare phenomenon and subjects are scarce. Besides their rarity, there are also other complications to take into consideration when selecting serial killers as subjects, for example the permission of the Department for Correctional Services as well as that of the prisoner is needed to conduct an interview, current court cases are considered sub judice. At the time of this thesis the selected two cases were they only two available under these circumstances.

5.2.2.4 Multiple data sources:

Yin describes why the use of multiple data sources are suited to a case study research method: "The opportunity to use multiple sources of evidence far exceeds that in other research strategies, such as experiments, surveys, or histories. Experiments, for instance are largely limited to the measurement and recording of actual behaviour and generally do not include the systematic use of survey or verbal information. Surveys tend to be the opposite, emphasizing verbal information but not the measurement or recording of actual behaviour. Finally, histories are limited to events in the "dead" past and therefore seldom have any contemporary sources of evidence, such as direct observations of a phenomenon or interviews with key actors." (1984:90)

Yin discusses the usefulness of multiple data sources: "However, the most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of an inquiry, a process of triangulation ... Thus any finding or conclusion in a case study is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information..." (1984:91)

In this thesis the author uses the following multiple data sources:

- * Interviews with the subjects;
- * Interviews with the subjects' families and friends;
- * Letters and confessions written by the subjects;
- * Psychiatric reports;
- * Interrogation notes;
- * Victim statements;
- * Court evidence;
- * Reports by detectives

5.2.3 Data gathering:

Yin names the following three principles that are applicable to data gathering:

- * Using multiple sources of evidence;
- * Creating a case study data base;
- * Maintaining a chain of evidence

Multiple data sources have already been discussed in the previous paragraph. The data base contains the "raw material" that was used as data sources and should be available to any person

who wants to review the evidence directly and not be limited to the written report. The chain of evidence refers to the possibility that any external observer may be able to follow the derivation of any evidence from the initial research question to the ultimate case study conclusions, and be able to retrace the steps from the conclusions to the initial research questions. This implies that any data sources should be correctly cited, the data base should be available for inspection and the research should comply to the research method's appointed procedures.

In this thesis the author used multiple data sources as discussed in 5.2.2.4. A data base is currently being established by the Centre for Investigative Psychology of the Specialize Investigations Unit in the South African Police Service and applications to access the information are considered on merit. The data sources are all cited in the thesis and the case study research method is adhered to.

Another point regarding data gathering which Yin does not mention, but which merits attention is the subjective influence a researcher may have on the gathering of data.

Jones (in Walker, 1985:47) makes the following remark regarding data gathering: "The crucial point is that there is no such thing as presuppositionless research. In preparing for interviews researches will have, and should have, some broad questions in mind, and the more interviews they do, and the more patterns they see in the data, the more they are likely to use this grounded understanding to want to explore in certain directions rather than others."

Since the author adopts a psychoanalytical stance it may be argued that she had preconceived ideas and imposed these on the data that was gathered. The validity of a psychoanalytical approach is not defended in this thesis.

Interviews were conducted with preconceptions which form the categories by which the data is analyzed. The interviews were not structured according to a formal questionnaire, but the author's presentation of the questions followed the chronological pattern of the psychosexual developmental phases. Questions relating to the oral phase were therefore asked first, followed by questions relating to the anal phase, and so forth.

The South African Police Service condoned the interviews and in the case of the "Station Strangler", evidence presented to the court was mainly used. Since the accused was convicted these documents were opened to public scrutiny.

5.2.4 Data analysis:

Yin describes explanation-building as an analytical strategy which is relevant to explanatory case studies. He makes the following comments on this strategy: " To "explain" a phenomenon is to stipulate a set of casual links about it... In most studies, the links may be complex and difficult to measure in any precise way. In most existing case studies, the explanation-building has occurred in narrative form. Because such narratives cannot be precise, the better case studies are the ones in which the explanations have reflected some theoretically significant propositions...the social-science propositions, if correct, can lead to major contributions to theory-building." (1984:107)

The aim of this thesis is to explain the origin of serial homicide through psychoanalytical theories. The phenomenon is therefore serial homicide. The casual links to be investigated are the links between the way in which the murders were committed - the modus operandi - and fixations in the psychosexual developmental paths of the serial killers. The theoretically significant propositions to which Yin refers in his quote are the statements discussed in chapter 4. These

statements are derived from the psychoanalytical theories of Freud and Klein.

In the case studies, the author presents the data directly by quoting from the subjects' and their families' own written or verbalized material, or from police or medical reports. The data is then analysed by applying the proposed theoretical statements to the quotes. Thereby the author explains the subjects' behaviour according to the psychoanalytical theories. In this manner the author is contributing to and building the theory on the origin of serial homicide.

5.2.5 Data integration:

The author selected Jones' (in Walker, 1985) method of structuring by means of categories and his method of mapping to integrate the data.

Structuring implies that gathered data is divided into predetermined categories while mapping implies that a diagram be drawn up from the categories.

In this thesis the categories selected are represented by the different headings employed in the literature study (chapter 3). Each subject's data is structured under the relevant heading or category when his case is presented. Each case is accorded a separate map. The maps consist of a generalized map that may be used as a guideline for replicating this research on other serial killers. Both the serial killers discussed in this research has his own map, illustrating how his adult serial homicide can be traced back to the fixations in his psychosexual development. The maps are presented in the final chapter.

Similarities and differences between the two case studies are also discussed in the last chapter and

the statements proposed in chapter 4 are also addressed in the final chapter.

5.2.6 Criteria for judging the quality of the research design:

Yin (1984:35) recommends the following four logical constructions for judging a qualitative research model:

- * Construct validity;
- * Internal validity;
- * External validity;
- * Reliability

5.2.6.1 Construct validity:

Construct validity questions the operational methods employed to study a concept. According to Yin (1984) construct validity is supplemented in a case study method, by the use of multiple data sources. The use of multiple data sources encourages convergent lines of inquiry.

Multiple data sources are used in this thesis. The author does not merely rely on the subjects' personal relation of their life histories. It is supplemented by different psychiatric reports in the first case example and by an interview with the subject's mother in the second case example. The second subject's description of his behaviour at the crime scenes are compared to the witnesses' statements of what happened. In such a way multiple data sources are employed to enhance construct validity.

5.2.6.2 Internal validity:

Internal validity in an explanatory case study questions the relationship between two factors and

the inferences which are made. Yin (1984:38) states the following: "Thus an investigator will "infer" that a particular event resulted from some earlier occurrence, based on interview and documentary evidence as collected as part of the case study."

He is of the opinion that explanation-building complies with internal validity.

In this thesis explanation-building is used by applying the psychoanalytical theories of Freud and Klein to the two case studies in order to explain the origin of serial homicide.

The author proposes certain statements, derived from the psychoanalytical theories that will explain serial homicide and provides maps to illustrate the psychosexual developmental paths of the two cases in particular and serial killers in general.

5.2.6.3 External validity:

External validity consists of the generalization of the findings of the research. Yin emphasizes the difference in external validity between experiments and case studies: "Critics typically state that single cases offer a poor basis for generalizing. However, such critics are implicitly contrasting the situation to survey research, where a "sample" (if selected correctly) readily generalizes to a larger universe. *This analogy to samples and universes is incorrect when dealing with case studies.* This is because survey research relies on *statistical* generalization, whereas case studies (as with experiments) rely on *analytical* generalization." (1984:39)

Yin is of the opinion that replication in multiple case studies comply with the criterium for external reliability because once replication has been made, the results may be accepted for a larger number

of cases, even though further replications have not been performed.

The theory that psychoanalysis can explain the origin of serial homicide is replicated on two case studies in this thesis and a map for generalizing the theory to other serial killers is provided.

5.2.6.4 Reliability:

Reliability implies that another researcher should come to the same findings, when he/she repeats the research. According to Yin (1984) it is therefore imperative that procedures are accurately written down. A manner of establishing reliability is to build a case study data base.

All data used in this thesis will be entered in the Centre for Investigative Psychology's data base. The "raw material" used is available on merit to any investigators who wish to reproduce the research or conduct further research.

5.3 SUMMARY

The rational of this thesis is to apply Freud's theories, mainly those on the psychosexual developmental phases, supplemented by Klein's theory on childhood fantasy to explain the origin of serial homicide. It is illustrated in the maps how the symbolism which is expressed in the murders by serial killers can be traced back to fixations in their psychosexual development.

The answer to the question; "**what is the origin of serial homicide and why does it develop?**" serves a double purpose in that it will provide the means to more accurate profiles when investigating serial homicides and secondly it may assist the community in the early identification of potential serial killers.

The research method is a qualitative, explanatory multiple case method. At the time of the thesis there are not enough incarcerated serial killers available in South Africa to merit a quantitative study or to include more than two case studies in the thesis.

The case study method is used because it involves a research question, it deals with contemporary events, it may be generalized and multiple case studies as well as multiple data sources may be used.

Data gathering is done by interviews, court documents, psychiatric records and police records. The psychoanalytical stance of the author is not defended in this thesis.

The data is analyzed by the strategy of explanation-building, which is suited to a case study approach. Statements derived from the psychoanalytical theories are employed to explain the origin of serial homicide.

Data integration consists of structuring according to categories and mapping. The categories are represented by the headings used in the literature study. Each case study has its own map, as discussed in the final chapter.

Multiple data sources, explanation-building and replication by way of multiple case studies are employed to ensure construct validity, internal validity and external validity respectively. Reliability is supported by entering the data in a South African Police Service data base which can be obtained by valid request from the Centre for Investigative Psychology.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY 1

The subject was convicted for the murder of his last victim in June 1995. It is not the aim of this thesis to assume the role of a court and condemn or convict him of more murders. Although he was not charged with more murders, the author ascribes the other twenty one known murders, with a similar modus operandi, to the subject, on the psychological basis - and not judicial grounds - that he confessed to them and pointed out the scenes where these murders were committed during the investigation. All sources used in this case, including clinical records, were presented to court and are therefore open to the public. Personal names are not used, to protect the identities of those involved. The subject used two names; a Christian name and a Muslim name. He often referred to himself in the third person using either of these two names. In his quotes, these names are presented in brackets.

6.1 PERSONAL PARTICULARS OF SUBJECT 1

Date of birth: 1967-01-12

Place of birth: Cape Town

Race: Coloured and Xhosa

Family structure: Mother: The subject's mother is a Coloured woman, aged 61 years. She is a domestic worker, who suffers from arthritis, hypertension and is a diabetic.

Stepfather: The subject's stepfather is the mother's common law husband. He is 66 years old, a black man and employed as a driver. The subject met his stepfather for the first time in 1982.

Biological father: The subject never had any contact with his biological father who is a Xhosa.

Older stepbrother: The subject's older stepbrother was murdered in November 1991. He abused alcohol, had a rastafarian life style and was unemployed.

Older stepsister: The subject's older stepsister has three illegitimate children from different fathers and abuses alcohol. She runs a shebeen at their mother's house.

Older sister: The subject's biological older sister has two children from different fathers and was expecting the third from a boyfriend who is serving a prison sentence. She is unemployed.

Religion: Christian - Moslem (1993) - Christian (April 1994)

Level of education: Commenced school at five years of age
Skipped Sub B by accident
Failed standard 7 in Queens Town, repeated in Cape Town
Failed matric in 1986
Post graduate diploma in teaching

Occupation: 1982: casual part time worker at a department store
1986 - 1988: voluntary teacher
1989 - 1992: student at teacher's college
1991: general office clerk at another department store
1992: teacher - primary school

Language: Speaks seven languages including Xhosa, Afrikaans, English, Sotho, Zulu and French.

Childhood illness: Asthma
Chicken pox
Stomach problem during primary school years

Substance abuse: None

Residential moves: Sent to live with family in Johannesburg, East London and Durban, attended boarding schools.
1973 - (5 years) Aunt's home in Queens Town during primary years
1982 - back to Cape Town (15 years)
1986 - teacher's house
1988 - mother's house
1989 - intern at children's home
1990 - intern at another children's home
1991 - friend's house
1991 - back to first children's home
1992 - mother's new house
1993 - friend's house

1994 - mother's house

Extra-mural activities: Involved in various community projects

Date of first murder: 1986

Arrest: 1994-04-13

Psychiatric history: 1991-09-20: Grootte Schuur and Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospitals
Admittance: Depression and suicidal ideation
Diagnosis : Axis 1: Adjustment disorder with depressed mood.
Axis II: Mixed personality disorder

1993-04-26: Grootte Schuur Hospital
Admittance: Depression, suicidal ideation and anxiety
Diagnosis : Axis 1: Adjustment disorder and dysthymia
Axis 11: Cluster C personality disorder traits

1993-06-29: Private therapist
Admittance: Depression and suicidal behaviour
Diagnosis : Axis 1: adjustment disorder with major depression.

1993-07-01: Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital
Admittance: Depression and suicidal ideation
Diagnosis : Axis 1: Dysthymia
Axis 11: Borderline personality disorder with marked histrionic traits.

1994-01-18: Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic
Admittance: Depression
Diagnosis : Axis 1: Depressive disorder

1994-02-02: Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic
Admittance: Depression
Diagnosis : Axis 1: Depressive disorder

1994-03-31: Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic
Admittance: Depression
Diagnosis : Axis 1: Depressive disorder

1994-04-08: Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic
Admittance: Depression

1994-05 : Pollsmoor psychiatric ward
Admittance: Section 79(2) of Criminal Procedures Act 51 of 1977
Diagnosis : Not mentally ill
Fit to stand trial in terms of Section 77(i)

He was not at the time of the alleged offence affected by mental illness or defect... He is responsible for his actions.

6.2 PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

6.2.1 Oral phase:

Medical records state that there were no problems during the subject's birth and that the subject was breastfed for the first eleven months. He was a healthy baby, quiet, and reached all milestones at the normal ages. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991)

6.2.2 Anal phase:

No information is available on this phase, but the deduction can be made that potty training was managed by a surrogate mother figure since he did not live with his mother at this stage. There are no references of complications during this phase in any of the psychiatric records.

6.2.3 Oedipal phase:

No recorded information is available on this phase.

6.2.4 Latency phase:

Medical records state that the subject remembered that he had no friends during primary school years. He received sex education in Sub A. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991)

6.2.5 Genital phase:

Medical records indicate the subject had many friends in school though not one particular best friend. The subject did not participate in any sport, but he had B-average grades. The subject "discovered" masturbation at 14 - 15 years and described it as a "funny" experience. The records

state that the subject explained he felt guilty about it and that it felt like "killing somebody".

(Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991)

6.3 VICTIMOLOGY PROFILE

	DATE	SEX	AGE	MODUS OPERANDI
1	86-09-30	male	14	sodomized and strangled
2	86-12-29	male	10	decomposed - strangled
3	87-01-23	male	13	decomposed
4	87-04-09	male	14	decomposed - strangled
5	87-06-25	male	12	sodomized and strangled
6	87-08-24	male	15	sodomized and strangled
7	87-10-01	male	14	decomposed
8	88-02-05	male	14	sodomized and strangled
9	88-11-11	male	11	decomposed - strangled
10	92-10-23	male	10	decomposed - strangled
11	93-12- ?	male	?	sodomized and strangled
12	93-12-13	male	12	decomposed - strangled
13	93-12-20	male	9	decomposed - strangled
14	93-12- ?	male	?	decomposed - strangled
15	94-01-05	male	10	decomposed - strangled
16	94-01-07	male	13	decomposed - strangled
17	94-01-10	male	10	sodomized and strangled
18	94-01-10	male	10	decomposed - strangled
19	94-01-11	male	9	decomposed - strangled
20	94-01-24	male	13	strangled
21	94-01- ?	male	33	strangled
22	94-03-11	male	10	decomposed - strangled

The subject preferred Coloured school children between the ages of eight and fourteen years.

Although there were many street children in the areas in which he operated, he never selected one of them. All were Coloured boys with the exception of one Black boy. He lured the children from game shops and train stations to accompany him. This modus operandi is characteristic of an organized serial killer.

Some of the bodies were too decomposed to determine whether they were sodomized or not. Some of the victims' hands were tied behind their backs. The victims' clothing was used to strangle them and to tie their hands. All the bodies were dumped under bushes in desolate dunes. The crime scenes were only accessible by foot.

At only one crime scene the bodies of two victims were found next to each other. Two boys who had allegedly escaped from the subject in 1988 reported that he had tied wire around their necks to control them. The subject allegedly sodomized one, but they managed to escape before they were killed. These boys recognized the subject through an identikit which was released to the media and related their experience to the detectives and the author in 1994.

The identity of the thirty three year old male victim has not been established. His age was determined through forensic science.

A friend of the subject testified to the prosecution that the subject had told her that his brother was murdered in a similar way that the children had died. The South African Police Service had no record of who the murderer was. The subject was a patient at Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital at the time of his brother's death. He left the hospital over weekends. He reported during therapy sessions at Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic in 1994 that he did not know of his brother's death, but that he has attended the funeral. (Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic, 1994)

6.4 FREUD'S THEORY APPLIED TO SUBJECT 1

Each aspect of Freud's and Klein's theories will be addressed in the order of the themes presented

in chapter 3. The reader will be reminded of the main issues in an introductory paragraph. Thereafter extracts from the subject's life, for example confessions, letters or statements, will be used to illustrate aspects of the theory. This pattern of presentation will be followed throughout this chapter.

6.4.1 ID, EGO AND SUPEREGO

A short summary of Freud's theory on the id, ego and superego which is applicable to this thesis is the following: The id is the first inborn substratum of the psychic personality. It is primitive and dominated by the pleasure principle. It knows no judgement of values nor is it governed by morality. The ego has the task of negotiating between the demands of the id and the superego and has to maintain a balance with reality. The superego develops as a result of identification with and internalization of the parental figures. The superego acts as a sensor to the ego and measures the ego against an ego-ideal.

The author first discusses the subject's ego by referring to his symbiosis and internalization of a "bad mother" figure. Thereafter the subject's id is discussed by illustrating how he refers to the impulses of the id as the "spirits" inside him. Lastly the author addresses the subject's superego by indicating how it progresses through the confessions, how it managed to manifest slightly in his self admittances to psychiatric hospitals and how signs of the superego were detected at the crime scenes.

It is the author's proposal that the serial killer's ego is underdeveloped, due to a lack of separation from his mother (too great symbiosis), the forming of a "bad mother" in his own ego, or due to rejection from the mother figure, and domination by the id. The subject's relationship with his

mother and the internalization of the bad mother will be discussed when Klein's theories are addressed. What suffices at this point is that the subject stated that an "amafufunyana" or "bad mother" influenced his early life and was partly responsible for the killings. The influence of the id's impulses - in this case what the subject refers to as the "spirits" - is illustrated in his statements.

The subject attributes the murders to these evil spirits as well as the spirit of his "evil" brother which lives inside him. This mode of thinking is very primitive and illustrates the id in operation. The subject made the following statements in an emotional state whilst being interrogated by a colonel:

"Voices, my brother's voices.

Kill because I kill you. Me emotionally.

I could not do it with my hands. Choked them with the hands.

Abuse them. Not me (brother) did it.

(Christian name) does not know where it is (the bodies). (Brother) has a clue.

(Brother) did it. (Brother) is whispering to me. (Brother) can say where the children were killed.

It is a power, it is not me.

We walked until the end.

Free at last.

Free at last it is finished.

Life has conquered over death.

(Brother) killed 22 children.

I heard his cry for help, I saw his face.

(He said) you are sick, you are sick.

I was amongst the crowd and the boys were there.

The voice said to be strong, be strong.

I could not resist it.

I spoke to (brother) in quiet times.

Told him he is destroying my future.

The theme I chose is peace with myself, the church, no peace (brother) is too strong. I haven't done it.

The spirit the evil spirit within me.

Let this moment pass me by.

Evil spirit still remains.

Evil spirit remains with my people.

The forces talked.

I am sometimes boss.

(Brother) is dead.

He remains within. The spirit that opened in me.

Satan in me.

The spirit killed the children.

The spirit chokes them with hands and clothes.

Not me, the spirit." (South African Police Service, 1994-04-15)

The subject made the following confession to a magistrate after the interrogation:

"It happened after I was sodomized by my brother, who is now deceased. He died in 1991, due

to murder. From the day he sodomized me his spirit lived inside me. During the period he was alive, I also began hearing the voices inside and outside. I can not really remember when the first murder was committed, but it went on and the voices also kept on. The voices are derogatory and have nothing pretty to them. In the presence of his spirit, and after my brother died, and the voices that I heard, I heard: Kill. From there the child murders began, which was tragic. It was not good for my soul...All the years I tried to hide behind the voices... The charge against the voices are murder and once more murder. I am sitting in front of you as open and empty as I am. To do with me as you wish. I want to carry on with education, even if it is in a rehabilitation centre, but first I want to get rid of the cruel spirit and the cruel voices inside me through treatment." (South African Police Service, 1994-04-15)

The subject wrote the following statements while he was alone in his cell:

"... At a stage the urge/ voices/ spirits came up to me to walk to Johannesburg for killings. I stopped the journey that wasn't even started. If I may describe these feelings, they were:

- *at times audible (can hear)*
- *talking inside my belly / stomach and ears*
- *destroying*
- *gave me hell no joy*
- *had no feelings as such*
- *at the scenes the spirits / persons within are strong to commit these deeds. They are very dominating and serious. I can always have the whole world at other times. I don't go back to the scenes at all... I could never give utterance to these forces / feelings... According to what I'm commanded, I'll speak to the kids. The innocent kids would listen to me and carry out the instructions. At times it seemed that these forces were carried*

over to the kids in order for them to listen. My personality then changes and I'm now capable of doing the wrong.

I am nothing, I am dirty. I am filthy and not worthy. I am sorry for letting you down. Don't get caught in the same thing. I really regret everything. It's hard, it is very hard to be possessed by unknown forces. These forces can not be explained by medication. I salute you with love for a better and understanding and peaceful South Africa." (Anonymous, 1994-04-17)

The subject made the following statements while pointing out the crimes scenes to a lieutenant in the South African Police Service: (translated)

"These things only happened when the "power" influenced me. I am now fully comprehensive. It would not have happened if I was fully comprehensive. I only talked to the child. It was not me (Muslim name) that talked to the child. It was the evil that took possession of me." (South African Police Service, 1994-04-18)

During an interview on 1994-04-20 with a psychologist in the South African Police Service, the subject was confronted with malingering regarding the voices and he admitted that he never had auditory hallucinations. His attorney also confirmed in court during the trial that the subject admitted to not having heard any voices. (South African Police Service, 1994-04-20)

There are several instances where the subject's superego comes to light. The development of the superego will be discussed under the Oedipal phase.

It is the author's proposal that the serial killer does not want to be caught. Rarely do they give

themselves up, and then it is an impulsive act at a time when the serial killer's weak superego manages to surface for a short while, when the ego is too exhausted to resist. In some cases, however when a serial killer is arrested, the superego is so relieved that it now has an external ally - be it the police - that it forces the ego to confess.

In the case of the subject, the period of confession lasted for six days, with fluctuations of dominance between the ego, id and superego clearly visible. During the court trial, the subject again denied his involvement in the crimes, partly due to the fact that the ego realized that there was a possibility that he might be acquitted due to lack of evidence.

In the first statement made in writing on the evening prior to his arrest, when he was interrogated, the subject's superego is dominant, but still guarded.

"(I) heard about the Station Strangler and felt very upset for a person to do such harm to the community. I surely believe that the Strangler is a person who is eloquent and knows how to get to the children. (I) explained and trained my pupils at school regarding this matter. Prayed for the families...My life was opened up to me by the officers. First time I could really identify myself. But to harm innocent children, it is not in my profile... I firmly believe that injustice done to the community by the Strangler should be addressed. I'm also glad that I was part of the questioning. The police and community are very angry and hard at work with this matter... Once again thanks to Lieutenant, who could identify and describe me. I do feel much more relieved now that I've spoken openly about my pattern. At least somebody in the community does care for the well-being of the community. I don't have enough words to describe my thankfulness to the Mitchell's Plain squad. Once again, with the fullest confidence, I can say that I DON'T

HAVE ANY CLUE REGARDING THE STATION STRANGLER. I firmly believe that wherever he is, he must have a conscience and try at least to give himself up to the SAP for help. The person must not let the community catch him because it will mean the end of his life. Thank you very much officers. I can go into the public and tell the community that the SAP is working very hard and overtime to search for the Strangler. Thank you very much for opening up my life and replay the happenings in my life. I feel much more at ease now. I'll try to the best of my abilities to grow out of this sexual preference which is one that is not normal in society... I'm really thankful and glad that God's spirit was with us during this conversation. I've never opened my life to people like the officers who helped me this day. It is a really wonderful experience. I really feel at ease now. Thank you very much. At least I know that the SAP is concerned about the well-being of the community as a whole. Now I can really fight the battle to overcome my homosexuality, because confidence and assurance was given to me. I love the community whom I serve." (Anonymous, 1994-04-12)

At this stage, the superego is only willing to admit to the homosexuality and the superego draws the detectives' - who represent authority and therefore a father figure - attention to the subject's community work. The subject was involved in many community projects and chose a career as a teacher, which is also a community orientated profession. This involvement in community work can however be seen as an attempt by the ego to appease the superego and to compensate for the murderous impulses of the id, to which the ego also adhered.

On 1994-04-13 the detectives arrested the subject and charged him with the Station Strangler offenses. On 1994-04-14 the subject was pointed out in an identity parade as the man last seen with the last victim. The following extracts from his statement after the identity parade illustrate

how the superego attempts to let itself be heard, but how the ego and the denial seem to dominate the present situation:

"..Today, 1994-04-14 I was on parade for the Station Strangler. I was indicated by a member of the community that I was the guilty one. Although deep down in my heart I know that I was not responsible for the killing and abusing of the children. If I wanted to, I could have abused the kids at the children's home, my class pupils (I gave hugs to), etc, because I was working with the kids a lot. Psychologically and physically I know I am tired and so is the investigating team. So, Station Strangler, whoever you are, get out of the closet and come meet these wonderful people of investigating officers. Share your skills with them in order to build a better and secured SA for everyone. My fingerprints are found on the bodies/ remains of the children. So do SA a favour and get out of your closet. I've just had it with everything that I must go through, even my family has to suffer, because of an ignorant unsuccessful person in the community. Come out and meet the team of people. I still insist and God knows that I didn't commit the acts/ sodomy. Do you want me to take your place ? You're taking children to game shops and offer them the world. Let the SAP investigating team offer you their services. They are very tolerant, they just want to learn from YOU should something like that occur within our community. Be a helping hand, share your ideas. I must suffer, because of your ignorance. Your guts is really a tough one...DO YOU REALLY WANT ME TO TAKE YOUR BLAME ? I CAN DO IT IF MY FAMILY AND ESPECIALLY MY SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY IS WELL INFORMED, REGARDING YOUR INSANE WORKS...I'M SURE THAT THE CREATOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH IS JUST TO FORGIVE YOU, so He does to everyone who asks forgiveness from him? Try God's way. You Strangler. Do you know that I'm standing on trial to be sentenced to death because of the deeds you've committed... Under the conviction of my

conscience and to make easy the task of the investigating team - I TAKE YOUR PLACE...

'Till we meet again on that judgement day, where the judge of all judges will be the Chief Judge. SA I salute you and my friends with the Love of God that passes all understanding.'

(Anonymous, 1994-04-14)

Two days later on 1994-04-16 the subject denied any involvement in the murders. He gave an alibi for the day of the last murder, which was later proven to be false in court. The following extracts are taken from a warning statement made to one of the sergeants: (A warning statement is a statement taken from a suspect in which he has the opportunity to explain his involvement in a crime or to proclaim his innocence.)

" I did not commit the murders. I don't know the deceased or the person the deceased was with. I am innocent of what I am being charged of...I gave a false declaration to the colonel, because I was told my blood group compares with that found on the bodies." (South African Police Service, 1994-04-16)

On 1994-04-15 during an interrogation session with a colonel, the subject for the first time introduces the voices of the spirits. The ego under pressure from the superego, has now progressed from blaming an unknown stranger, to admitting that he killed the children, but still refuses to take responsibility and places the blame on the evil spirits and the spirit of his brother inside him.

"(Brother) did it... It is a power, it is not me...I want to be a credit to the community...The voice said to be strong, I could not resist it...I am sorry... I feel sorry... I feel hurt... (I am) a

community leader... It was not me it was (brother) ... the spirit killed the children...the spirit choked them with his hands and clothes... Not me, the spirit." (South African Police Service, 1994-04-15)

Later that day, during his confession to a magistrate the subject admitted that he killed the children in adherence to the voices "inside" him:

"I can not really remember when the first murder took place, but it kept going on and the voices went on...I heard: KILL. From then the child murders began, which was tragic...The breaking point came when I saw the community was angry. Luckily I was pointed out at an identity parade. From then on I had the courage to talk to the investigating officers. These innocent boys were cruelly murdered. There are many people in the community that have the same problem." (South African Police Service, 1994-04-15)

On the evening of 1994-04-17 the subject wrote a statement in his cell:

"In 1986 I failed matric due to amafufunyana / destroyer in my life... At that stage the killings started... I knew what I was doing was wrong and evil and unacceptable... According to what I'm commanded, I'll speak to the kids... My personality then changes and I am capable of doing the wrong. I must admit that it wasn't and shall never be good. I felt dirty and "shit" after each deed. I'll go home with a dirty mind but realized later that I had a problem. " (Anonymous, 1994-04-17)

The subject proceeded to describe the sodomizing by his brother and then continued with the

following confession:

" My life was in pieces (fucked) so to say. That's why in 1986, the brutal killings started. Two forces were in operation now. The sodomizing one and the Xhosa plague on me. These were enormous spirits within me. They changed my whole emotional state. After the death of my brother in 1991, many killings occurred... Brutal killing occurred in my second year of teaching. The two forces took my whole being towards the end of 1993...The killings were brutal and gruesome. I couldn't handle the situation until on Tuesday 1994-04-12. A bit of the truth came out. I've admitted that I have gay tendencies... I was cross examined about my lifestyle, but still wouldn't let go. The button was pressed on Friday, 1994-04-15 where I really gave utterance to the interior feelings. Those investigating officers really have patience... Lieutenant K spoke to me and it opened my eyes that I'm in trouble and that I need help. The only way out was to speak the truth. After the communication I realized I had to declare these spirits...(It came out little by little). Today, Sunday, two detectives again painted the picture to me. I demonstrated to them. They were really a great help. I felt the emotional struggle in my stomach, head and ears, but kept on telling the truth. Never mind the brutal forces, these brutal killings had to come to an end... At the end, though, I must confess that it is hard and gruesome to even think of what has happened. The bereaved families. I know it is hard and a loss was caused. Now that I have confessed, I don't now whether these forces will leave me, will rest now... Help is there. Why did I not previously seek help. While I am writing these pages I am going through emotional turmoil, but I will keep at it. It is an internal struggle and I am not going to fight it alone. I am giving utterance to my feelings in this prison cell where I am today. The true (Moslem name) (Christian name) will never live on. No more bending to any forces, help is at hand...After eight years of emotional wandering, I feel today, 1994-04-17 at 20h40 very relieved.

The truth must come out... The practical procedures of the killings will always be on my mind. The crying of both the kids and myself. The struggle to get out of the situation. To be free. I've caused you the damage. The way your bodies looked afterwards. I CANT TAKE IT. IT IS REALLY GRUESOME, I'M VERY SORRY. FORGIVE ME IF I CAN'T SPEAK FOR MYSELF, FORGIVE ME FAMILIES, FRIENDS AND SOUTH AFRICA. I'M DOOMED."

(South African Police Service, 1994-04-17)

During the pointing out of the crime scenes in the early hours of Monday 1994-04-18 the subject made the following statements. By now the superego has gained dominance and his confessions are less emotional and more truthful:

"Here I killed four to seven children. Murdered ugly, cruelly. I found them in the street in this suburb...This is about the place where I killed and sodomized the children...The murders - the place I have just showed you, occurred in this year, 1994. I can not remember the dates. Here I picked up another child... it was two weeks ago... I don't believe the body has been found yet. I struggled with him and shut his mouth. I pulled down his clothing and sodomized him...Here I killed another three to four children...Here in the bushes I killed two to three children last year... The bodies have already been found. I read about it in the newspaper... I met the child in a games shop... I molested him at the station. I also killed him. I can not remember if I left the body at the station or near the station... I only want to say that it was very gruesome and it touched me terribly. If it was (Muslim name) I wouldn't have done these things. I was only responsible for the murders I pointed out to you." (South African Police Service, 1994-04-18)

Other examples of the surfacing of the superego are the voluntary admissions to clinics due to

depression. Clinical records, however, never refer to confessions of murder. The subject only admitted his identity crisis regarding his homosexuality and the fact that he was sodomized by his brother.

When the dates of his admittances to psychiatric hospitals are compared to the dates of the murders, the pattern reveals that he committed himself for the first time at the age of 24 years, (1991) after he had already murdered nine children during the previous six years. It was during this time in hospital that his brother was murdered.

He admitted that many murders occurred during his second year of training - 1990 - but the South African Police Service has no record of these murders.(Anonymous, 1994-04-17)

During 1993, he was admitted to psychiatric hospitals during April, June and July, after he had killed once (1992-10-23) as indicated by the South African Police Service records.

In December 1993 and January 1994 he murdered nine people and was committed to Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic. He was admitted to Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic a week after his spree of murders. During this period in the clinic he complained of depression and requested sleeping pills. The topic of his brother sodomizing him was discussed. He was discharged on 1994-01-23 and the last entry in his clinical record stated that he was "tearful and miserable and requested discharge." Another victim was murdered the following day. He was readmitted on 1994-02-02 and discharged again on 1994-02-11.

On 1994-03-11 he murdered his last victim and was readmitted on 1994-03-31. During this time

an entry was made in the clinical record that the subject was confronted with the fact that he spent more time outside the clinic than inside the clinic. He apparently answered that he benefitted from being there and that there was no need for him to be outside. He did not elaborate on this seemingly contradictory answer.

The Station Strangler detective task force was formed on 1994-02-01 and the psychological profile was released at the end of February. It seems as if the subject was of the opinion that a clinic was a safe place to hide, which would explain his contradictory remark regarding his time spent outside the clinic. He was discharged on 1994-04-08 and readmitted on the same day. He was arrested on 1994-04-12. During the last period in the clinic the subject's main complaint was the conflict at home between his mother and his sister over his sister's shebeen. He stated that he would be receiving his housing subsidy the following week. Again it seemed as if he was looking for a safe place to hide until he could buy his own property. During his stay at the clinic, one of the staff members noted that he had newspaper clippings of the Station Strangler in his possession and confronted him with being the Strangler.

The deduction is made that initially the subject admitted himself to psychiatric clinics as a cry for help. He never admitted to the murders however. Later it seemed as if he used the clinics as a convenient hiding place since the South African Police Service's search for the Station Strangler had intensified dramatically. House searches were conducted and about two thousand suspects were eliminated between February 1994 and April 1994. (South African Police Service, 1994)

Another indication of the superego at work is the element of undoing found at the crime scenes. Undoing is any action taken by the offender to indicate retribution, such a covering the body of

the victim, washing or redressing it. Several of the victims of the Station Strangler were found perfectly redressed although their underpants were missing. There were also unconfirmed reports that the subject was spotted at the funeral of one of the victims, where he wept bitterly.

The author comes to the conclusion that the suspect had an overpoweringly dominating id - which he described as the spirits - and a weak superego. The development of the ego, complicated by ethnic, religious and sexual identity crises will be discussed later, but it suffices to point out that the ego attempted to gain a balance between the destructive impulses of the id and the need for compensation urged by the superego. The ego clung to a false ideal - that of community worker - and refused to accept the reality of the murders. The ego, therefore failed in its task as mediator between id, superego and reality.

6.4.2 DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES

Freud's theory on the developmental phases postulates that there are three pre-genital phases namely the oral, anal and Oedipal phases. Each of these phases have an erotogenic zone, namely the mouth, anus and penis respectively. The psychosexual development is then interrupted by the latency phase which is not a sexual phase, but rather a socialization process and there is no erotogenic zone. The sexual development then continues in the genital phase where the penis and vagina are the erotogenic zones. Should anything go amiss during one of these phases, a fixation could develop which can give rise to various pathologies.

6.4.2.1 Pre-genital phases:

The oral, anal and phallic/Oedipal phases are regarded as pre-genital phases. The sexual aim of

the oral phase is the incorporation of the object, which is a prototype of the latter identification process. Two components of later sexuality are present in the anal phase namely activity and passivity. Activity comes into force through the instinct of mastering. During the Oedipal phase the boy will fall in love with his mother and reject and fear his father. He will also develop castration anxiety. The end of the Oedipal phase is marked by an identification with the parental figures which culminates in the development of the superego.

There are not many facts available on the oral, anal or Oedipal phases of the subject. Therefore deductions are made from his adult behaviour to reconstruct his development during these phases.

It was established that he was sent away from his mother at an early age and moved to different places during the first five years of his life. This indicates a possible rejection from the beloved "good mother" - confirming the fear of loss of love - as well as an unstable environment. It is also known that the family and surrogate families were financially deprived and the home environment was overpopulated. It can therefore be deducted that the subject did not receive any special comfort, affection or attention and was left by and large to rely on his own resources. This could have attributed to his feelings of loneliness and rejection. Moving to different towns also upset his stability and could have caused a feeling of "not belonging".

Freud explains that a fixation during the oral phase will centre on the mother's breast. His being homosexual can indicate that the subject identified with a mother figure in stead of the father figure. It can also be assumed that his basic need was gratified by breastfeeding, although this can also give rise to a narcissistic personality type. This aspect will be discussed later. He therefore associated himself with the role of nurturer. This need was gratified by his occupation as a

primary school teacher and extended after hours into community work, often involving small children. The subject also stated on 1994-04-14 that he "*love(s) people to fiddle with my tits*", which can indicate a fixation on the mother's breast. (Anonymous, 1994-04-14)

There were indications in the previous discussion (under 6.4.1) that the subject had a superego, however weak and frail. This supposes that he must have experienced some Oedipus complex and had some father figure with whom he identified slightly. The identification, however, was very insubstantial as demonstrated by his homosexual identity later. His own father and stepfather were absent during the Oedipal phase and he has never made any reference to any prominent father figure during these years. It is therefore postulated that he rather identified with the mother figure.

The superego not only takes on the identity of the father, but is also represented by the community. The subject's superego had a definite shadow of the community, as is illustrated by his community work and submissiveness to and praise of the detectives. The superego thrived on the empathy of the detectives, who represented the "good father" figure to him. He regained his father's lost love, by confessing to the detectives. He not only confessed his murders but also his homosexuality to them. This indicates a capitulation in the Oedipal triangle, admitting to the father figure (detectives) that he is no threat to the mother, by being homosexual.

Freud regards homosexuality as one of the results of a fixation in the Oedipal phase. The following statements relate to the subject's own reference to his homosexuality.

In the statement to the detectives on the evening of 1994-04-12 the subject wrote the following

under the heading "Sexual life":

"No sexual experience with females yet, but do have a girlfriend. Anal intercourse with late brother. Hormonal problems - can't find the real sexual preference. Admits he is homosexual although he has a girlfriend... Thanks to the officers who could identify the problem of being homosexual and that I have to work through it by means of therapy to get rid of this homosexual pattern. I'll try to the best of my abilities to grow out of this sexual preference which is not normal in society... Now I can really fight the battle to overcome my homosexuality, because confidence and assurance was given to me." (Anonymous, 1994-04-12)

"Being sodomized at age about 14 years old by bigger older brother. Penetration took place. Afterwards developed love some same sex. Love people to fiddle with my tits. Masturbation the best. Love good looking guys. About four guys. Different guys, age groups between 23 and up. Mixed or met gay men and women at gay bars like the one up in Riebeeck street. Spent some hours just watching the inside scenery. Felt a bit uncomfortable because of the "place" wherein I find myself." (Anonymous, 1994-04-14)

"No steadiness re; girlfriends (use them as a disguise.)" (Anonymous, 1994-04-17)

The subject identified with a mother figure and not a father figure after the Oedipal phase. Freud postulates that the subject will then take himself as a sexual object. He states that the subject should proceed from a narcissistic basis and look for a young man who resembles himself and whom he may love as his mother loved him. It will be illustrated that the subject took young boys as sexual objects, who reminded him of himself when he was sodomized. In contrast with Freud's

opinion, the subject did not merely choose boys because they were easily available, but rather due to an intricate intrapsychic process of mastering the trauma he himself experienced. By analyzing the specific characteristics of a serial killer's victims, the profiler will reveal an intrapsychic fixation within the subject himself.

6.4.2.2 Latency phase:

Freud postulates that the task of the latency phase is to learn and accept moral and ethical values. During this phase the ego will also experience any sexual impulses as threatening. The latency phase occurs between the ages of about six to twelve or thirteen years. These are the primary school years during which the child is expected to learn to appreciate the needs of others, acquire empathy and to share.

It is the author's proposal that serial killers do not socialize and that their ego's do not experience the sexual impulses as threatening. If the task of the latency phase was not completed - moral and ethical values were not developed - it follows then that the superego would develop very weakly, especially if the Oedipus complex remained unresolved. By reading a hundred and fifty case studies, the author has found that most serial killers experienced a period of loneliness during the latency phase and that they did not socialize. This can explain their later inability to show empathy for their victims, and to treat them merely as objects for gratification.

In the case of the subject, psychiatric records report that he did not have friends during his primary school years and that he was lonely. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991)

It can be postulated that the subject's superego was already boycotted by not resolving the

Oedipus complex and that his loneliness during the latency period was attributed to the fact that he did not socialize and therefore never developed true empathy for other people. It must be stated that he strived to show empathy and compensated through community work, indicating faint traces of a superego. He therefore showed a typical "serial killer pattern" during the latency phase .

Freud postulates that the mother remains the primary care taker during the latency period and that she may wittingly or unwittingly expose the child to sexual experiences. The subject referred to the "bad mother" amafufunyana, who took great pains to look after him and touched him. (Anonymous, 1994-04-17) He did not state whether this woman abused him or not, but even excessive stimulation in the form of touching, stroking and kissing could cause harm, according to Freud.

During the latency period, the child represses all sexual impulses and runs a dangerous risk of fixation if exposed to any sexual activities. The subject on one occasion revealed that he was sodomized at the age of fourteen (Private therapist, 1994) and at another occasion he stated that he was sixteen years old (Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital, 1993). It can therefore be taken that he was sodomized at the end of the latency phase, entering the genital phase. If the sodomy took place when the subject was not emotionally ready for it, the damage would be extensive.

Freud states that the latency phase gives the child an opportunity to develop moral inhibitions such as incest. Incest is considered a moral taboo by the community. The subject's older brother, who was supposed to be a role model, introduced him to incest during the end of the latency period, thereby shattering any inhibitions that might have formed in his fragile superego.

Freud maintains that a sexual perversion that can persist into adulthood if the child's latency phase was interrupted by sexual precocity. The precocity can also be due to external factors such as a child being seduced or introduced to sex by an older person. The perversity may be repressed and will then manifest in neurotic symptoms.

The subject's first sexual experience was being sodomized by his brother. During an interviewing session on 1994-04-17 he told the detectives that his brother tied his hands behind his back when he sodomized him. This perversity persisted in his own adult sexual behaviour towards his victims - he tied their hands behind their backs before sodomizing them. The subject did not repress the perversity and therefore did not develop a neurotic symptom due to it.

Freud explains that seduction by another can become a permanent fixated disorder. He considers early exposure to sexual activities as a predisposition for perversion. Through seduction, the child can be introduced to any kind of perversion and will retain this as a part of his later adult sexual repertoire. The sodomy by the brother at a stage when the subject was not emotionally ripe for any sexual experience can thus be held responsible for his later perversion.

Freud postulates that an early sexual precocity weakens later control of the sexual instinct by the superego, which increases impulsivity. He also states that sexual precocity runs parallel with premature intellectual development. Both of the above mentioned aspects are true of the subject. He acted impulsively on his sexual impulses and could not resist them. He was also intellectually developed and achieved high grades at school, notwithstanding his deprived and frustrating circumstances.

Freud describes the persistence of early impressions as a fixation of the latency phase. They will have a tendency towards compulsive repetition in persons who have a susceptibility to fixations. The subject persisted in sodomizing his victims in the manner in which he himself was sodomized.

Freud considers observing sexual intercourse at a too young age as another cause for fixation and he states that observing sexual intercourse at a too young age could lead to enmity towards other people. The subject related in one of his written documents that he observed his brother and his girlfriend having sex and that this caused him to have an erection. (Anonymous, 1994-04-17) During this episode he was sodomized for the first time.

The subject thus formed several fixations in the latency phase which manifested in his murders.

6.4.2.3 Genital phase:

During this phase, according to Freud, the sexual instinct which was previously auto-erotic, should find an object. However, the sexual development during this phase is determined by the previous phases. Early aggressive impulses are re-awakened and emerge as aggressive and destructive tendencies.

Since the first episode of sodomy could have occurred during the late latency to early genital phase, it is justified to present the subject's description of the event under the heading of the genital phase:

"... Came to Cape Town at the end of 1982 December, where I met my stepfather and

stepsister...It so happened that one night, I can clearly remember, before I was admitted to Lentegour High School. My brother and his girlfriend were drunk. The problem was that we were sharing the bottom room of the maisonette. They had sex and I got an erection. I closed my eyes with that erection or movement from the opposite bed. I was fast asleep when suddenly somebody's hands were around my body. My big brother was busy sodomizing me. He told me not to tell anybody about the happening. At once, during penetration, I told him to stop because I was hurt. I cut him off. He innocently went back to sleep without a guilty conscience. I was terrified and first thing in the morning, I went to the bathroom. I realized that my anal way has been widely opened. I didn't tell my mother or any other person about the happenings. Friction automatically started between my brother and I. I hated what he has done. I hated what he did to me. I hated his guts when he still smiled at me. Another step further in the destroying of my emotional life...After the death of my brother in 1991, many killings occurred. Feelings about my brother's death were neutral. Only after coming back from the graveyard, I shed a tear."(Anonymous, 1994-04-17)

By the genital phase the subject had already fixated in the pre-genital and latency phases and did not pursue any heterosexual object relationships.

6.4.3 THE SEXUAL THEORIES OF CHILDREN

Freud postulates five theories regarding children's conceptualization of sex. They are: a woman also possesses a penis; a baby is equated to faeces since the child believes a baby is born through the anus; coitus is associated with aggression; thoughts about sex are considered in isolation and not discussed with adults and a child will repeat a traumatic incident in order to master it.

Three of these childhood theories seem to prevail in the subject, namely that coitus equals aggression, that theories are considered mainly in isolation and the compulsion to repeat.

The subject's first introduction to sex was being unwillingly sodomized by his brother. He experienced this as a very painful incident. The subject related in 1991 to a therapist at Valkenburg Psychiatric Hospital that he had no sexual experiences with either men or women. At that stage he did not admit being abused by his brother. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991) It seems the only sexual experience he ever initiated or had besides the sodomy by his brother, was to aggressively sodomize his victims. The subject never had a meaningful, emotional sexual experience with another adult, either male or female. It can therefore be deduced that he associated sex with aggression, since his first experience of sex was aggressive.

Since the subject related that he was a lonely child, the deduction can be made that he never discussed his concept of sex with anyone else and that the misconceptions he might have had, persisted throughout childhood into adulthood. He therefore formed his own sexual theories in solitude.

Freud explains the tendency of the child's ego to repeat a trauma in order to master it. The ego, which experienced the trauma passively, attempts to repeat it actively in order to master it. The subject was the passive receiver when he was sodomized and assumed the active position when he sodomized his victims. The subject however fixated on the perverse sexual pattern and his ego was too weak to ever master the trauma. Therefore he continued actively repeating the trauma. The reversal of roles will be discussed in the following section.

6.4.4 EGO INSTINCTS AND LIBIDO INSTINCTS

Freud explains that the ego of a neurotic person denies the sexual instincts because they constitute a threat to self preservation and self esteem. The sexual instincts are then repressed and converted into neurotic symptoms.

In his discussion of ego libido and object libido Freud states that in a case where the libidinal development has been fixated as in the case of perversion and homosexuality, the object choice is not programmed on the mother, but on the self, being a narcissistic choice.

It has already been established that the subject had a fixated psychosexual development and that the nature of that fixation is mainly the sexual perversion and homosexuality. It follows then that the subject's object choice will be programmed on himself and therefore be a narcissistic object choice.

This explains why the subject chose victims who reminded him of himself when he was sodomized. They were school children in their late latency - early - genital phase. One half of the role reversal, referred to earlier has now been explained. The other part, namely the subject's identification with the aggressor will be discussed later. According to the developmental paths that object choice can follow, the subject made a narcissistic choice, choosing an object such as he himself was.

It is the author's proposal that serial killers do not repress their sexual instincts and therefore do not present with neurotic symptoms. They act out these sexual instincts according to their fantasies. The id, therefore overrules the ego. The person who allows himself to be ruled by

culture and ethics sets himself an ideal by which he measures his ego. Repression of the sexual instincts is a prerequisite for the creation of an ego-ideal.

The struggle between the subject's id ego and superego can be explained by means of the theory on the ego-ideal. The subject's superego set for himself the ego-ideal of a community worker to compensate for the destructive id. The theme of his community work is prevalent in all his statements. The superego, however, already had a disadvantage. First of all by not being able to develop from a strong identification with the father figure and secondly because the subject did not learn to socialize during the latency phase. Opposing the weak superego is the dominating id with its murderous impulses. The subject's ego made a gallant attempt against the overwhelming impulses in of the id, by attempting to maintain the ego-ideal of community worker. The struggle between the superego - as represented by the ego-ideal of community worker - and the id never subsided.

Freud postulates that the superego keeps watch over the ego to see that it measures up to the ego-ideal and that this will manifest as voices in paranoiacs. The subject complained of the "voices inside" him. He was never diagnosed with auditory hallucinations. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991) The derogatory voices the subject referred to are therefore mainly his experience of the assertion of his own superego, and not the auditory hallucinations of a paranoiac. The subject admitted through his attorney in court that he never had auditory hallucinations.

Freud explains the assertion of the superego as follows: A large amount of libido, of essentially homosexual nature, is used to create the narcissistic ego-ideal. The preservation of the ego-ideal

satisfies this libido. The conscience takes on the shadow of the parents and the criticism of the community. The subject's apologies for his deeds were always coloured by the opinion of the community. He seemed more concerned about what the community would think of him if he confessed to being the "Strangler", than to demonstrate true remorse for his deeds.

According to the author, narcissism plays an important role in serial killers. The gratification of libidinal needs, exemplified in their fantasies, are only directed towards their own narcissistic pleasure. They show no consideration for any experience, be it emotional or physical, of their victims. The subject never transferred his libido to objects, which indicates that his life essential needs were never satisfied. This presupposition justifies investigation and will be discussed under the next heading.

6.4.5 EROS AND THANATOS

Freud explains that Eros are the life instincts directed at self preservation while Thanatos are the destructive instincts, which usually operate in silence. Eros and Thanatos are forever in conflict with each other, but can also operate simultaneously. Thanatos can be pressed in the service of Eros, for instance, by destroying something else, instead of destroying the own self. This prevents self destruction.

Freud explains that when a certain state is disturbed an instinct arises to create it afresh. This is described as the compulsion to repeat, to create homeostasis.

Freud's theory on melancholia will also be addressed in this section. He postulates that the

difference between mourning and melancholia is that in mourning it is the object which is lost, whilst in melancholia it is the ego which is lost.

The author postulates that the destructive instincts do not operate in silence in the case of serial killers, but that they are rather acted out according to the individual's fantasy. The destructive urges in the serial killer's id cause a discomfort. The ego is too weak to defend against the id's impulses and the deed is acted out according to fantasy. As soon as the murder is committed the homeostasis is recovered, but the tension builds up again soon, leading to the next murder. The modus operandi followed in the murders represent the fixations of the early developmental phases which remain unsolved. The serial killer has no personal grudge against the victims. They are usually strangers who only represent the specific pathology or fixation.

In the case of the subject, the victims represented himself as a young boy and the modus operandi - strangulation and sodomy - derive from a fixation in his late-latency to early-genital phase. The following discussion will explain how the subject managed to redirect his death instinct towards "something else" namely his victims, instead of destroying his own self.

The subject always presented with depression when admitted to a psychiatric hospital. Depression is self destructive and the ultimate outcome is suicide. The clinical records often reveal that the subject had suicidal ideation.

The 1991 Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital records state that the subject was admitted for depression and suicidal ideation. The subject stated he came to the hospital because he felt rejected and lonely. The book entitled "Mens alleen" ("Man alone") was the catalyst which led

him to identify with the main character. He reported that he felt completely alone and rejected, though by no one in particular and described a “feeling of a void” inside him. He wrote suicide notes to his friends, saying that he was unworthy of their friendship. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991)

A private therapist noted in June 1993 that the subject reported suicide ideation and had made five suicide attempts in the previous two weeks. He described the depression as worse than in 1991. (Private therapist, 1993)

The subject was admitted to Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital with symptoms of depression and suicidal ideation in July 1993. He admitted that he tried to commit suicide by driving his car over a cliff, but stopped because he realized that he had a contribution to make to society. (Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital, 1993)

Six months after this last discharge, the subject directed this death instinct towards the external world and killed eleven people, who represented himself, instead of killing himself.

Freud states that the superego also directs the death instinct on to the ego, causing feelings of guilt and a need for punishment. The author proposes that ego-syntonic serial killers have a weak and underdeveloped superego, which is unable to pressurize the ego. They experience no external restrictions and therefore experience no guilt when directing the death instinct on to others. Ego-dystonic serial killers have a slightly better developed superego and will experience traces of guilt feelings, but they are not strong enough to prevent them from killing.

The subject had formed an ego-ideal - the community worker - in his superego and this in some sense made him feel guilty towards the community for killing the children. The superego however was never strong enough to cause true remorse. His confessions were a result of the superego feeling relieved that the act of punishment could now be transferred to an external power, namely the court. The superego, notwithstanding the ego-ideal that it incorporated, was never strong enough to influence the ego. The ego also never differentiated enough from the id and the id dominated the ego. The ego could not convince itself that the murders were bad, because they gratified the narcissism. The ego instincts - Eros - were at all times directed at self preservation and the death instincts were also at all times directed towards the victims, who represented the self.

It seems to be a contradiction that the ego could allow the destructive impulses to be directed towards victims who represented the self. The answer is that during the murders, the ego identified with the aggressor. This is the second part of the role reversal which is referred to earlier in this chapter.

The process of identification with the aggressor and the theory of Thanatos being directed towards the self is described in Freud's theory on melancholia. The characteristics of melancholia are painful rejection, lack of interest in the external world, loss of ability to love, inhibition of all activities, decrease of self esteem, increase in self blame and increase in expectancy of punishment. In the process of mourning it is the external world that is experienced as impoverished and empty, while in melancholia it is the ego that is impoverished and empty. Freud adds that this process is complemented by sleeplessness.

The subject suffered from severe melancholia. His complaints during his admissions to the various psychiatric hospitals were of feeling void and empty, lonely, rejected, unworthy and depressed. He was diagnosed with dysthymia, adaption disorder with depressive mood, histrionic and borderline personality disorders and depressive disorders. Depression is a form of self punishment. Whenever he experiences a loss in his life, it re-activates the loss in the ego. He considers suicide, but the Eros instinct devises a way to preserve the self, by directing the death instinct towards others, and by identifying with the aggressor, the brother. He takes on the character of the brother, who was stronger than he. His brother was the stronger, "evil" one, to whom he refers in his confession. The subject experienced this identification with the aggressor as the voice and spirit of his brother who commanded him to kill. Thanatos is represented by the subject's identification with his brother. The subject symbolically committed suicide every time he murdered one of the children.

Freud explains that energy is lost when the ego is involved in a particularly difficult task, such as when a continual flood of sexual fantasies have to be repressed. Although loss of energy can be attributed to several causes, it is also one of the symptoms of depression.

Freud gives three examples of loss of ego energy, namely mourning, repression of affect and repression of sexual fantasies. The subject mourned the loss of his innocence by sodomy, he repressed his affection for children when he killed them - (being a good teacher, he had an affection for children) - and he tried to repress his murderous sexual fantasies. All three examples for loss of ego energy were thus present. The struggle between Eros and Thanatos emerges at this point. Instead of self destructing, Eros causes him to identify with his brother, the aggressor. Now he has the energy to commit the murders, his fantasies are acted out and he no longer has

to try to repress them and he does not have to mourn his own abuse. After the murder his energy is drained again and he reverts back to his own personality. Most of the clinical notes made during his last admissions to Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic were that he slept most of the time. The subject also always requested sleeping pills and complained of insomnia.

The subject is also depressed because the ego's energy is drained in trying to keep the balance between the id, superego and reality. The ego does not have enough energy even to properly differentiate itself from the id and it tries to invest energy in the upkeep of the ego-ideal. When the subject experiences a loss in his life, be it the death of a friend, a rejection, an emotional upheaval, or any other external stressor, he slips from depression into melancholia.

Freud notes that humbleness and subservience can be expected from a person with low self esteem, but that these elements are lacking in melancholia. In both the clinical reports of Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital (1991) and Lenteguur Psychiatric Hospital (1993) references are made to the subject's passive-aggressive attitude. He often claimed special privileges and complained when he thought he was wronged by the staff. He was therefore neither humble nor subservient, which supports the theory that he suffered from melancholia.

Freud explains that narcissistic identification with an object becomes a substitute for object cathexis. He claims that a narcissistic object choice is predisposed to melancholia. It has already been discussed that the subject had a narcissistic object choice. He chose boys who resembled himself and he possibly hero-worshipped for his older brother before he was sodomized. The sodomy was interpreted as a rejection. The subject also experienced rejection from the mother figure, with whom he also identified. The mother and brother both became lost

objects. When the ego identifies with the lost object, the ego itself becomes the object that is lost. This explains the feelings of voidness and emptiness which the subject experienced.

When the love for the object - a love that can not be relinquished although the object has been given up - is taken up in narcissistic identification, a hate develops for the substitute object, which is the identified ego. The two objects who were given up, and which were incorporated through narcissistic identification were his brother and mother. The subject hated the incorporated brother inside him and blamed the incorporated brother for the murders. He also hated the "bad mother" incorporated in him and blamed her for the murders. He therefore hated his identified ego, but he directed his hatred towards the victims who reminded him of himself.

The urge of narcissistic libido is very persistent when the subject's life is threatened. Due to his own narcissism the subject could not kill himself, but rather killed those who represented him. His destructive urge found a convenient diversion in the children.

6.4.6 SYMPTOMS AND FANTASIES

Freud explains that symptoms are expressions of repressed wishes and desires, which have been prevented from being discharged in psychical activity and which are admissible to consciousness. In describing the difference between neurosis and perversion, he is of the opinion that the repressed sexual desires give rise to symptoms, whilst if the sexual desires were acted out, they would constitute perversion. According to Freud, neurosis is the negative of perversion.

Serial killers can therefore, according to the author, rather be described as perverse instead of

neurotic, because their sexual and aggressive impulses are directly acted out in reality according to their fantasies and are not repressed and converted into symptoms. The ego is too weak to repress them and the id dominates the ego. The fact that a serial killer does not present with neurotic symptoms can be taken as one of the reasons why they are often described as "normal people of whom one would never have expected such behaviour".

It has already been established that the subject's sexual orientation - sodomizing and strangling young boys - is perverse.

During the court procedure, the defence called several character witnesses who described the subject as an excellent teacher who loved children, who participated in community work and attended church regularly. The character witnesses could not believe that he could have murdered a little boy, because he seemed so normal. (Court proceedings, 1994)

6.4.7 REPRESSION

Freud states that the nature of that which is repressed - the psychic representative or ideation of the instinct - threatens and disgusts the ego. The threat and disgust is partly caused by the strict superego and the incorporated social ethics. The agent which is responsible for the repression is anxiety. The threatening instinct causes the ego to generate anxiety. He points out that repression demonstrates the strength of the ego.

Freud differentiates between spontaneous anxiety - an experience of helplessness on the part of the ego in the face of an accumulation of excitation - and anxiety as a warning against danger.

The first anxiety can be compared to anxiety experienced by the trauma of birth. The first anxiety can be caused by any loss, for example loss of the mother's breast, loss of faeces, loss of penis and loss of an object.

The author postulates that serial killers however, have weak superegos and are consciously aware of the contents and ideation of the instinct. They however also have weak egos, which are dominated by their ids. They can experience the first anxiety activated by any loss.

In the case of the subject, the sodomy and abuse by his brother caused the first anxiety - a helplessness, such as birth would have caused. His ego however did not experience the murderous instincts from the id as threatening and therefore did not generate an anxiety, which would have repressed these instincts in any other person.

The question arises why the serial killer has such a weak ego. The author proposes two possibilities: In the first case a weak ego can be ascribed to an inability to separate from the mother. The infant has not yet developed an ego and is primarily dependant upon the mother for the gratification of the id's needs. The main need at this stage is hunger. The id is very dominant during this stage. The mother usually gratifies all the needs of the id immediately. The serial killer as an infant forms a strong symbiosis with the mother figure who always gratifies the id. The ego then develops according to this example - it becomes a nurturing mother figure for the dominating and demanding id. Secondly, in the case of the rejecting mother, the fragile ego again substitutes itself in the role of the good mother and again gratifies all the needs of the id. The ego therefore does not experience any demands from the id as threatening, but it does experience the first spontaneous anxiety, namely fear of loss of the mother. This mother can either be the real

mother or the mother which the ego has created for itself.

The subject clearly identified with his mother, as proved by his homosexuality. Even his superego takes on the role of nurturer.

The subject's weak ego is further demonstrated by his various identity crises. First of all he has an ethnic crisis, being of mixed Xhosa and Coloured birth. He blames the influence of a black woman during his early childhood years in part for the murders. After being sent to live with his extended family, he had a Xhosa influence in his early life. In the Valkenburg Psychiatric Hospital clinical report it is stated that the subject had difficulty in adjusting to the Coloured community when he moved back to Cape Town. He also took Xhosa students under his wing when he attended college and gave Xhosa lessons at Nicro. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1993)

Secondly the subject has a sexual identity problem. During therapy at Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital in 1991 he admitted to having a femininity about him, but stated that there were aggressive masculine feelings behind it. He stated if he did not feel secure in his masculinity it was difficult for him to tolerate his feminine feelings. He intended to take up weight lifting to improve his physique. He also reported that he heard voices calling him a "moffie" ("gay") and not a real man. He was also concerned about his gynaecomastia. He complained that he was teased with being effeminate, but sometimes felt feminine. He would have liked his body to be more masculine. He had no sexual contact at this time and did not reveal the abuse by his brother. The report also states no history of cross-dressing or unhappiness about being a male. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991)

During the admittance to Lentegour Psychiatric Hospital in 1993 the subject admitted that he had been sodomized by his brother. He stated that he did not withdraw from people, but did not practice any sex. (Lentegour Psychiatric Hospital, 1993)

The subject made the following remarks about his sexual preference during his first interrogation:

"No sexual experience with females yet, but do have a girlfriend. Anal intercourse with late brother. Hormonal problems - can't find the real sexual preference. Admits he is homosexual although he has a girlfriend... Thanks to the officers who could identify the problem of being homosexual and that I have to work through it by means of therapy to get rid of this homosexual pattern. I'll try to the best of my abilities to grow out of this sexual preference which is not normal in society... Now I can really fight the battle to overcome my homosexuality, because confidence and assurance was given to me." (Anonymous, 1994-04-12)

"Being sodomized at age about 14 years old by bigger older brother. Penetration took place. Afterwards developed love some same sex. Love people to fiddle with my tits. Masturbation the best. Love good looking guys. About four guys. Different guys, age groups between 23 and up. Mixed or met gay men and women at gay bars like the one up in Riebeeck street. Spent some hours just watching the inside scenery. Felt a bit uncomfortable because of the "place" wherein I find myself." (Anonymous, 1994-04-14)

"No steadiness re; girlfriends (use them as a disguise.)" (Anonymous, 1994-04-17)

Thirdly the subject has a religious identity problem. He stated at Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital

that 15th June 1983 was the happiest day in his life, since he then became a reborn Christian. He denied his suicidal ideation as it opposed his religious beliefs. In 1993 at Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital he complained of a religious confusion and could not choose between being a Muslim or a Christian. He had embraced Islam in January 1993. He believed that God would solve his problem. In April 1994 he reported at Kenilworth clinic that he was called back to Christianity. He blamed the reconversion for his depression. (Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic, 1994)

It is evident that the ego is weak and underdeveloped, as demonstrated by the various identity crises. The ego is overruled by the id and does not experience anxiety when confronted by the id's demands. Therefore the impulse to sodomize and strangle are perversely acted out and not repressed.

6.4.8 OBSESSIVE NEUROSIS

Freud explains that obsessional neurosis develops when a strong hostile impulse towards an object that is loved, is repressed. The mechanism employed in the repression is reaction formation - the opposite of hostility is excessive love. The rejected idea is substituted by a usually insignificant obsession. According to Freud obsessions are always related to the prohibition of touching. Freud states that touching and physical contact are the immediate aim of aggressive as well as the loving object cathexis.

The author has found that many serial killers show signs of obsessive neurosis, for example placing the victims shoes neatly next to the body. It is the author's proposal that obsessive compulsions in serial killers is not a neurotic symptom, but rather that the same mechanism that

the ego's of normal people employ in the process of becoming neurotic, is used by the serial killer's ego in attempt to function normally. The ego-dystonic serial killer can present with an obsessive compulsion for neatness at times when he is not actively murdering, to prevent him from murdering. His perfectionism becomes a habit he can not rid himself of, even when killing. Obsessions with perfectionism will be more in common with the organized serial killer than the disorganized killer. The disorganized serial killer will be far more primitive and has more rituals. He is not as neat as the organized serial killer and generally makes a mess of the crime scenes.

The object to which the subject seems to aim the hostile impulse at is himself, represented by the child victims. His destructive impulse (Thanatos) is directed at himself, but due to his weak superego and lack of complete incorporation of social ethics and as a prevention of self destruction by the ego, he substitutes the children as victims.

Records of Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital state that the subject had a compulsion to check doors and windows at least three times a night while living at the children's homes. Due to reaction formation the subject checked the locks of doors and windows in the children's home in order to keep them safe, instead of killing them. By playing the role of their protector he attempted to fulfil the ego-ideal of community worker.

The subject can be classified as an organized serial killer. A characteristic of organized serial killers is the neatness reflected in their crime scenes. The subject's crime scenes were very neat, there was no evidence left behind and shoes and toys were often placed next to the victims. The subject is a perfectionist and is always neatly dressed. The subject's "voices" telling him to kill can also be described as obsessional thoughts. The subject has an ego-dystonic disposition towards

the murders - he refuses to accept responsibility and blames various spirits because being a child murderer does not fit in with the ego-ideal of a helpful community worker.

A further example of his perfectionism is the following: A letter was found in the pocket of one of the "Station Strangler's" victims, referring to the victim as number 14. The detectives did not find the bodies in the order in which they were killed and named another body as number 14, implying that was the fourteenth body found. This was printed in the newspapers. Apparently it seemed that the subject read the article and it upset his sense of perfectionism since that was not the fourteenth victim murdered. He must therefore have returned to the body which he had murdered fourteenth in chronological order and placed the note on the body. The note would not have been placed there when the murder was committed because at that stage the South African Police Service and the community were unaware that a serial killer was active and there was no reason for him to communicate with the police in this manner.

Freud maintains that obsessional neurosis originates from the Oedipal phase, when the ego feels compelled to fend off the libidinal demands from the Oedipus complex. The ego only succeeds in throwing back the genital organization (the penis being the erotogenic zone of the Oedipal phase) to the previous anal-sadistic level. Although obsessional neurosis originates from the Oedipal phase, it only manifests in the latency phase. The developmental task during the latency phase is to solve the Oedipus complex, consolidate the superego and create ethical boundaries within the ego. In obsessional neurosis the Oedipus complex is not truly destroyed, the libido regresses and the superego takes on an excessively strict anal-sadistic character.

During the latency phase, the subject did not solve the Oedipus complex - he capitulated and

identified with the mother; his libido did not regress since it was activated by the seduction and as has already been discussed, his superego was extremely weak. Not only did he not have a strong father figure to identify with, but he was also seduced and did not socialize. Yet he still presented with compulsive obsessions.

Freud discusses two techniques that the ego employs to repress namely undoing and isolation. The author proposes that an ego-dystonic serial killer's ego employs these two techniques in an attempt to retain normality immediately after the murder and relieve any guilt feelings that might develop.

Freud explains that the reason for undoing is to get rid of the consequences of an event and to prevent it from re-occurring. Freud describes it as an attempt to "making it not to have happened". This is irrational and reminds of omnipotence, which is a primitive characteristic. The serial killer, although he might be intelligent and socially apt, is still psychosexually primitive and is ruled by the primitive id. It therefore fits the pattern that he should have a primitive characteristic such as omnipotence and believe that he can undo a deed by practising a certain ritual.

It has already been discussed that the subject employed undoing at the crime scenes by redressing some of his victims. He is therefore employing the same mechanism that a normal person's ego would do in becoming neurotic.

Freud also explains the obsession to repeat in this regard as follows: when anything has not happened in the desired way it is undone by being repeated in a different way. Serial killers

fantasize in detail about their murders. Reality is however never as perfect as the fantasy. Therefore the serial killer is compelled to repeat his murders because they never fulfil the fantasy. Each serial killer will have his own individual fantasy, depending on his fixation.

Regarding isolation Freud explains that when something unpleasant has happened to the subject or when he has done something of significance for his neurosis, he interpolates an interval during which nothing further must happen - during which he must perceive nothing and do nothing. Through repression the deed is stripped of affect.

Many serial killers succeed in dissociating themselves to such an extent from the murders they have committed, that they either do not remember them at all, or scarcely remember them, and that they can discuss the murders without any affect. By dissociating themselves from the murder, they are isolating the unpleasant event.

Regarding the letter that was found in the pocket of one of the victims during interrogation the subject stated that he could not remember such a note.

The subject also employed isolation after the murders by having himself admitted to psychiatric clinics. The clinical reports of all four admissions to Kenilworth Psychiatric Clinic from 1994-01-18 to 1994-04-08 report that the subject slept most of the time and requested sleeping pills. He sought refuge in a clinic where he thought he would be safe and dissociated himself from the murders by inducing sleep. This mechanism however, did not prevent the murder of two more known victims.

Freud also explains the euphemism to touch oneself implies auto-erotic gratification (masturbation). In the clinical report of Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital the subject stated that masturbation "feels like killing someone". This indicates that the subject's masturbation fantasies centre around murder. While touching himself in a sexual manner, he fantasizes about killing himself and he later killed the children, who represented himself, after sodomizing them. (Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital, 1991)

The subject's pre-genital development, including the ego's difficulty in individualizing and separating from the mother during the oral phase; the rejection by the mother figure during the anal and early Oedipal phases, the failure of the superego, and the isolation during the latency phase, lays a foundation for mental instability. The seduction and sodomy during the late latency and early genital phase adds to the already dysfunctional development. It is possible that if the sodomy did not take place, the subject could have developed neurosis instead of becoming a serial killer. His psychosexual developmental pattern illustrates how several fixations and malfunctions contribute to cause serial killing.

6.4.9 SADISM AND MASOCHISM

The subject was not a true sadist in the sense that he enjoyed torturing the victims and derived pleasure from their pain. It can only be explained, that being an innocent child when he was sodomized, he felt responsible and guilty - an emotion often found in sexually abused children. The guilt feelings compelled him to masochism - to punish himself, but since this destructive impulse found an outlet in the substitution of children, he turned his sadistic impulses on them and murdered them after sodomizing them. Although he was upset by this, their pleas to stop did not

prevent him from continuing.

6.5 KLEIN'S THEORY APPLIED TO SUBJECT 1

Klein states that sadism derives from the child's destructive impulses. The destructive impulses divide. One part is directed towards the external object and the other towards the self. The ego defends itself against this destructive impulse by internalizing the object. The destructive impulses cause anxiety because the ego fears that they can destroy itself and it also fears the external object. The child acknowledges that the object - the mother - has the power of life and death over him. He transfers the entire load of the instinctive danger on to the object.

This kind of anxiety can be compared with Freud's theory of first and spontaneous anxiety.

The subject internalized his own mother as the nurturing figure and internalized the amafufanyana as the bad mother. The following quotes from the subject describe his bonding with his mother and the early influence of the bad mother figure:

In 1993 medical reports state the subject described his mother as a quiet personality, shy, but also cheerful. He described their relationship as wonderful. (Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital, 1993)

"Mother, caring tender, always there." (Anonymous, 1994-04-14)

"(Christian name) - needs to open up with his mother. Tell her about the incident (1982). Does not have the will to tell her, but prefer a professional person to deal with this matter."

(Anonymous, 1994-04-12)

"In 1986 I failed matric due to amafufunyana / destroyer in my life. Nobody knew or could believe that I failed. At that stage the killings started...I can clearly remember in my childhood in Queens Town how these things started. A certain lady (old) named "Mam Cete" liked me a lot. She would go a long way just to see or to touch me. She is the main character in many deeds. She stayed about five houses away from my aunt, my mother's oldest sister. Every afternoon, I'd go to her and she'll offer me something to drink or eat. She sort of portrayed my life and ruled it a lot. This really horrified me. Nevertheless, I wouldn't tell anybody, otherwise I'll be in big trouble. I won't be safe. It so happened that I had stomach problems which nobody could solve. My aunt is a witness to this. This stomach problem affected my sister as well. The only way out was a custom from my father's people. My father was working in Cape Town. His family used their own initiative to solve the problem by cutting my left small finger and my sister's left ring finger. A goat was slaughtered. If I can clearly remember in this regard, the stomach problem stopped just after the slaughtering of the goat and some water from this specific lady. Nobody knew of the dirtiness that she planted within me." (Anonymous, 1994-04-17)

"... Two forces were in operation now. The sodomizing one and the Xhosa plague on me. There were enormous spirits within me. They changed my whole emotional state." (Anonymous, 1994-04-17)

The subject's ego had difficulty in individualizing and separating from his own "good" and nurturing mother. He was, however sent away from her during the pre-genital phases and could

have experienced this as an early rejection. During this period, he was also influenced by a "bad mother" the amafufunyana whom he believed planted the "evil spirits" inside him.

The subject apparently was sufficiently breastfed for the first eleven months. This deduction can be made from the fact that he did not chose female victims, representing the mother and did not mutilate their breasts in order to get to the denied milk. The subject however complained of feeling void and empty. This void and emptiness are symptoms of a depleted ego, one being unable to individualize and to separate itself from the mother.

The subject's oral sadistic fantasies were thus coloured by the feeling of emptiness due to the inability to separate and not due to lack of breastfeeding. The destructive impulses caused the spontaneous anxiety, first of all that he would destroy himself which he later compensated for by killing representatives of himself, and secondly he feared the external object, namely the mother who had the power of life and death over him. As Klein predicted, he internalized the mother figure. The ego would then direct the destructive impulses towards the external object. In the subject's case, the external object would be the mother. However, the subject's mother was not present. He then directed them firstly towards the "bad mother", the amafufunyana, but found her too powerful. The only option left was to direct the destructive impulses at the internalized mother - himself. In stead of splitting the destructive impulses and directing one part on the internalized object and the other part on the external object, he directed both parts at himself, but to prevent himself from self destruction, he killed his substitutes, the children.

Klein explains when negative emotions towards the imagined objects are too dominating, the sadistic fantasies can not be acted out towards the real objects. This causes a disturbance of

reality and disturbance in object relations. A disturbance of reality and disturbance in object relations are characteristic of borderline personality disorders. The subject was diagnosed with mixed personality disorder including borderline at Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital (1991) and borderline personality disorder at Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital (1993).

Klein explains that masturbation fantasies are based upon sadistic fantasies directed at the parents' sexual copulation. It has already been postulated the subject's masturbation fantasies had an element of murder - to kill. Again this supports the author's theory that the sadistic fantasies to destroy - or kill - the parents because they excluded him in copulation, could not be directed at the external objects, and were subsequently directed at himself, only later to be substituted by the victims, who were children.

The subject did not resolve the Oedipus complex. He capitulated and identified with the mother. The superego therefore took on the shadow of the mother. Due to lack of individualization, the ego was not strong enough to employ the defense mechanism of projection and could not destroy the external object. Klein postulates that the impulse to destroy the external object, due to powerful anxiety situations, forms the basis of criminal behaviour. The subject did not destroy the external object, but still exhibited criminal behaviour. This need not be a contradiction, if it is taken into consideration that the object which he attempted to destroy was himself, but that he defended himself by substituting himself with child victims and identifying with his aggressor, namely the brother. Children like himself became his narcissistic chosen objects.

The identification with the aggressor is explained by Klein's case study of the brothers, Franz and Gunther. Every time the older brother forced sexual deeds on the younger brother he confirmed

to himself that he was no longer the victim. The younger brother, Franz did not complain about Gunther's abuse, and tried to master his anxiety by identifying with Gunther. Franz in turn directed his hatred towards smaller children who represented his own weak ego.

The same pattern is evident with the subject. Every time the subject felt victimized in his life, it recalled the first conscious victimization, namely the sodomy. He felt helpless and depressed and compelled to commit suicide. His Eros instinct defended against self destruction, by identifying with the aggressor. Every time he killed a child, he confirmed to himself that he was no longer the victim. The children represented his own weak ego, against which the destructive impulse was actually directed. He could not only sodomize the children, but had to kill them as well in order to divert self destruction.

Klein postulates that excessive pressure from the superego can also lead to a compulsion for sexual activities. Anxiety and guilt feelings strengthen libidinal fixations, which in turn prevents them from being repressed during the latency period. The subject suffered from anxiety and guilt feelings due to the sodomy - that is pressure from the superego - which inhibited the libidinal impulses from being repressed during the latency period. The superego was also too weak to prevent these impulses from entering the ego and therefore the sex murders became a compulsion.

According to Klein, the guilt feelings of children who share their sexual experiences and inquisitiveness with other children, are relieved. Serial killers are mostly loners and the subject is no exception. His guilt feelings therefore were not relieved because he had no friends with whom to discuss his sexual experiences as a child. He told no one about the sodomy.

6.6 SUMMARY

* **Id, ego and superego:**

The subject's ego was dominated by the id. The subject experiences his id to be represented by spirits, on whom he blames the murders. The main spirits are his deceased elder brother, who sodomized him and an amafufunyana. The subject has developed a stronger superego than most other serial killers, due to the formation of the ego-ideal of a community worker. The ego takes on a nurturing stance in accordance with the identification with the good mother and the ego-ideal. The ego is still too weak to manage the balance between the id, the superego and reality. The ego also suffers from an ethnic, sexual and religious identity crisis.

* **Developmental phases:**

The subject was breastfed and moved to different towns during his pre-genital phase. He came from a financially deprived and overpopulated home environment. He was a lonely child and the father figure was emotionally absent. During the Oedipal phase he identified with the mother figure and capitulated to the father figure. This led to his homosexuality. He did not socialize during the latency phase, had no friends and was seduced by his older brother. The superego had no opportunity to develop which caused a lack in moral and ethical values.

* **The sexual theories of children:**

The subject persisted with three childhood sexual theories namely that coitus equals aggression, that sexual theories are considered in isolation and the compulsion to repeat a trauma in order to master it.

* **Ego instincts and libido instincts:**

He made a narcissistic object choice, namely children who represented himself. He developed no object cathexis.

* **Eros and Thanatos:**

He suffered from depression which slipped into melancholia whenever he suffered a loss. His destructive instincts, Thanatos, took on the personality of his deceased brother and he directed his aggression towards the child victims, who represented himself. This prevented his own suicide, but the murders represented a symbolic suicide. He felt rejected by his own mother as well as the bad mother and his brother and incorporated these objects. He could not direct his aggression on to the external objects and therefore directed the aggression on himself, but transferred the hate to the victims who represented himself.

* **Symptoms and fantasies:**

The subject is perverse and not neurotic, since his ego was too weak to defend against the id's impulses. He acted out his aggressive fantasies and did not repress them and consequently did not develop neurotic symptoms.

* **Repression:**

The first spontaneous anxiety was activated by the sodomy. He did not experience secondary anxiety as is evident by the lack of repression.

* **Obsessive neurosis:**

The subject was perfectionistic. What seems to be an obsessional neurosis, caused by the hate towards himself, is actually an employment of the same mechanism that causes neurosis. The

subject employed undoing and isolation to dissociate himself from the murders, which confirm him as an ego-dystonic serial killer. The undoing also confirms his omnipotence, which is a primitive element in accordance with the primitive id overruling the ego.

* **Sadism and Masochism:**

Sadism and masochism manifested in the sense that he experienced himself as the victim, but he converted his masochism into sadism by sodomizing and murdering the child victims, who represented himself.

* **Klein's theory:**

The subject incorporated the good mother as his ego-ideal of nurturer and the bad mother as the spirit of the amafufunyana who participated in the murders. He had oral destructive fantasies, which can be deducted by the adult feelings of voidness and emptiness. His infantile ego acknowledged that the mother had the power of life or death over him. His masturbation fantasies had a murderous content as he stated that he heard a voice which told him to kill and that masturbation felt like killing someone.

CHAPTER 7

CASE STUDY 2

At the time of the interview the subject had been arrested but not charged before the court. As with subject 1 the aim of this thesis is not to condemn or to judge, but to analyze the subject on the psychological grounds of his confession to being a serial killer.

7.1 PERSONAL PARTICULARS OF SUBJECT 2

Date of birth: 1975-11-08

Place of birth: Umzimkulu - Kwa-Zulu Natal

Race: Zulu

Family structure: Father: Paralysed in legs, died in 1985

Mother: Pensioner

Older sister: 34 years, left in 1975

Older brother: 25 years, left years ago

Older brother: 23 years, epileptic, burnt

Younger brother: 14 years, scholar, epileptic

Younger brother: 12 years, scholar, epileptic

Younger brother, 9 years, scholar, epileptic

Adopted younger brother: 7 years

Adopted younger sister: 4 years

Religion: Roman Catholic

Level of education: Standard 4 at the age of 17 years
Commenced school at 13 years

Occupation: Pre 1994: Collecting firewood
1994: Truck conductor
1995: Labourer at trading store

Childhood illnesses: None

Substance abuse: Cannabis

Residential moves: Childhood: Moved at least five times due to unrest
Adulthood: Donnybrook, Estcourt, Durban, Donnybrook

Extra-mural activities: ANC activist

Date of first murder: 1994-04-06

Arrest: 1995-08-10
Bail: 1995-08-13
Re-arrested: 1995-09-29

Psychiatric history: None

7.2 PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

7.2.1 Oral phase:

In an interview with the author the subject's mother reported that there were no complications during the subject's birth, but that the umbilical cord was looped around his neck. He was breastfed until the age of two years. She had enough milk, but also supplemented his feeding with cows' milk. He only sucked from the left breast. The subject did not bite the mother during breastfeeding. (Anonymous, 1995-11-08)

7.2.2 Anal phase:

The mother reported that she had trained the subject to use the toilet and that there were no problems in this regard. She reported that the subject did not suffer from enuresis. (Anonymous, 1995-11-08)

7.2.3 Oedipal phase:

According to the mother, the family moved around often due to the unrest in the area. The family lived in a two-roomed house with the boys sleeping in one room and the daughter sleeping in the same room as the parents. She denied that the subject would have had an opportunity to observe intercourse between his parents. The daughter, who was 15 years older than the subject, mainly took over his upbringing. He was not physically punished by anyone, but only shouted at when he touched something he should not have.

The father was paralysed in both legs. Although he had a good relationship with the subject, the subject took care of the father by keeping him company, since he could not walk around.
(Anonymous, 1995-11-08)

The subject reported during the interview with the author that he participated in faction fights at a young age, that he fought with spears and saw many people die during these fights.
(Anonymous, 1995-11-07) The mother denied that the subject participated in the fights.
(Anonymous, 1995-11-08)

The subject reported that his older brother used to hit and bully him severely. The mother was unaware of this. Neither the subject nor the mother reported any sexual abuse of the subject.
(Anonymous, 1995-11-07)

The subject once had a dream about his ancestors who requested him to have a chicken slaughtered. The mother complied. The subject was never taken to traditional healers, but was introduced into the Catholic faith. (Anonymous, 1995-11-07) (Anonymous, 1995-11-08)

The mother did not teach the subject about sex and was not aware that he ever asked questions about it or discussed the topic with anyone. (Anonymous, 1995-11-08)

7.2.4 Latency phase:

The subject did not go to school during this phase. He looked after the family's goats and spent most of his time on his own. His father prohibited his children from playing with other children outside the family. During this period, when he was about ten years old, the subject's sister, with whom he bonded, left the family. The father died shortly afterwards.

(Anonymous, 1995-11-07)

The subject was never rebellious or lost his temper and he never set fires, stole or broke property. He was not overly fond of animals, but he once received guinea pigs from his father as a present and grew attached to them. (Anonymous, 1995-11-08)

7.2.5 Genital phase:

When the subject was twelve years old he lived with his grandmother. He reported that he had two friends, who died after being poisoned. He moved back to the Donnybrook area and attended school for the first time. He made friends with the neighbours' younger daughter. This was the first girl besides his family members to whom he talked. (Anonymous, 1995-11-07)

He was often truant from school and was asked to leave after he attempted to enlist school friends as members of the African National Congress. He was seventeen years old when he left school and stayed at home with his mother. He had a room separate to her hut and helped her to collect firewood. (Anonymous, 1995-11-07)

The subject reported that the neighbours' daughter was his girlfriend. During an interview with the detectives the girl denied this and said the subject was only a childhood friend and that she had no intimate or special relationship with him.

In 1995, the mother brought some "Scope" magazines home and the subject decorated his room with pictures of naked women. These pictures were confiscated by the detectives. Many of the pictures depicted semi-naked women bending over chairs.

7.3 VICTIMOLOGY PROFILE

	DATE	SEX	AGE	MODUS OPERANDI
1	1994-04-06	male	35	shotgun - political
2	1994-04-06	male	36	shotgun - political
3	1994-04-19	male	20	shotgun - political
4	1995-03-31	male	25	attempted murder
5	1995-04-01	male	37	murder - political
6	1995-04-13	female	18	attempted murder - rape
7	1995-04-19	male	22	murder - shot
8	1995-04-19	female	20	murder - shot - intended rape
9	1995-04-23	male	23	murder - shot
10	1995-04-23	female	23	attempted murder - rape
11	1995-05-14	female	25	murder - shot - rape - mutilated
12	1995-06-09	female	33	murder - shot - intended rape
13	1995-06-09	male	34	attempted murder
14	1995-06-10	female	24	house breaking - intended rape
15	1995-06-10	male	24	house breaking, pointing firearm
16	1995-06-19	female	41	attempted murder, housebreaking
17	1995-06-24	female	29	rape

18	1995-06-24	female	9	rape
19	1995-06-25	male	20	murder - shot
20	1995-06-25	female	17	murder - shot - rape
21	1995-06-25	female	55	house breaking, pointing of firearm
22	1995-06-25	female	21	attempted rape, pointing of firearm
23	1995-06-26	male	47	murder - shot
24	1995-06-26	female	30	attempted murder, intended rape
25	1995-07-01	male	40	murder - shot
26	1995-07-01	female	35	murder - rape
27	1995-07-03	male	20	murder shot
28	1995-07-03	female	20	attempted murder/rape - escaped
29	1995-07-06	male	40	murder - shot
30	1995-07-06	female	adult	attempted murder/rape - escaped
31	1995-07-08	male	24	attempted murder
32	1995-07-08	female	27	murder- shot - rape
33	1995-07-27	female	43	attempted murder
34	1995-08-05	male	54	attempted murder
35	1995-08-05	female	45	attempted murder - intended rape
36	1995-09-25	female	42	murder - shot - necrophilia

Summary:

Males murdered for political reasons:	4
Males attempted murder for political reasons:	1
Males murdered to get to female:	7
Females murdered:	7 (5 raped as well)
Females raped:	9 (including 1 necrophilia and 1 mutilation)

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Females intended rape:	8 (2 murdered)
Males attempted murder:	3 (excluding 1 political)
Females attempted murder:	8 (2 raped)
House breaking and pointing of firearm:	3 incidences
Mutilation:	1 (including rape and murder)
Murdered in total:	18 (11 males and 7 females)
Raped in total :	9 females
Attempted murders in total:	12 (4 males and 8 females)
Attempted rapes in total:	8 females

The subject's usual modus operandi was to operate in the early hours before dawn. He would disguise himself with a balaclava. He would kick open the door of the selected victim's house and immediately shoot the male if one was present. He preferred to drag the female out to the plantations, rape her and shoot her. If the females offered too much resistance he would shoot them as well and retreat. On at least one occasion he raped the female after shooting her, committing necrophilia. Later he progressed by taking a torch along in order to see if there were any males present in the huts.

His second modus operandi would be to waylay a female on a footpath and attack her from behind. On one occasion he confronted a female in the company of her female friend, proposed

to her, dragged her away, wounded her and attempted to rape her, before she managed to escape.

The subject waylaid his neighbour, the mother of his supposed girlfriend, attacked her and wounded her behind the right ear. She reported that he felt her private parts and then fled. The subject later returned to the scene in the company of his mother. Several people were at the scene to comfort the woman. Although the subject had worn a balaclava during the attack the woman had recognized him, but was too scared to point him out immediately. The subject did not discuss the incident with his mother.

On one occasion he returned to one of the crime scenes to ensure that the victim was dead, and when he found her dead where he left the body there. On another occasion, the community had discovered the body of one of his victims. He returned to the crime scene and helped the police to load the body into the mortuary vehicle.

7.4. FREUD'S THEORY APPLIED TO SUBJECT 2

As in the case with the first subject the important elements of Freud's theory are repeated in condensed form as a guideline for the reader. Thereafter it is applied to the case and elaborated on by the author.

7.4.1 ID, EGO AND SUPEREGO

According to Freud, the id knows no judgement of value, no good or evil and no morality. The id is governed by the pleasure principle and it is primitive. The ego develops first by separating from the mother figure and secondly by identifications. The ego has to serve three masters,

namely the id, the superego and reality. The superego develops after the Oedipus complex has been resolved and by identification with the parental figures and due to an incorporation of society's values and morals. The superego acts as censor to the ego.

The subject attributes no value to human life, has no judgement in the sense that he seems not to realize that rape is wrong and seeks immediate gratification of his sexual and destructive instincts. The author therefore comes to the conclusion that the subject is dominated by his id.

The subject was very attached to his mother - as will be discussed under the oral phase - and to his sister, who became the surrogate mother figure. His process of separation was restricted by the symbiosis. The subject's ego is therefore underdeveloped and weak, and unable to control the dominating id.

The author proposes that the subject also has a weak and underdeveloped superego, whose voice is faintly heard when he admitted that he felt bad about the murders. The weakness of the superego is illustrated in his confessions:

During the first interrogation on 1995-09-29 the subject reported that he had bought a firearm from his friend. He implicated this friend and three other men as being responsible for the murders and the rapes. He admitted to killing one man, because he had a personal quarrel with that man. He implied that these murders were motivated by robbery and politics, although he admitted that the women were raped. During this interrogation, the subject admitted to shooting his neighbour, the mother of his "girlfriend". It must be taken into consideration that this woman identified him as the suspect and that he was arrested on this case. He could therefore not deny

his involvement or place the blame on someone else. (South African Police Service, 1995-09-29)

The friend whom the subject had blamed was interrogated and the detectives found that he only knew the subject as an acquaintance and was not a partner in the crimes.

During the second interrogation on 1995-09-30, the subject again named that friend and named two other friends as being involved as well. At the start of the interrogation he admitted to the murders, but attributed the rapes to his friends. Later during the same session, he placed all the blame for the murders as well as the rapes on his friends. (South African Police Service, 1995-09-30)

During the third interview on 1994-10-04 the subject reported that he went to the implicated friend and handed the firearm to him, because his ammunition had run out. He was arrested before he could retrieve the firearm and new ammunition. In this interview he implicated a fourth friend, who had a firearm of his own. The subject proclaimed that he was in love with his neighbour's daughter. He was confronted with the fact that she denied any involvement with him, but he reiterated that they were in love. (South African Police Service, 1995-10-04)

The fourth interrogation took place on 1995-10-12. The subject discussed his childhood years and implicated two other friends as his partners in the political murders. During this interview, he stated that the firearm he had used, was borrowed from another friend. The person who had lent him the firearm was under the impression that it was used for a political purpose and was unaware that he used it to rape and murder. (South African Police Service, 1995-10-12)

The detectives had traced some of the persons identified by the subject, and found that they were not involved in the crimes. The detectives also established that some of the other people whom the subject had attempted to implicate, did not exist. The detectives did not disregard the possibility that the subject had an accomplice.

The warning statement was taken on 1995-10-16 and the subject then realized that his lies were being detected. His superego surfaced in his confession to some of the cases, when he was confronted by facts and realized that he could no longer lie. He made the following statement:

"I want to tell the truth. I am involved in many cases. I would like if you can discuss or inform me of each case and thereafter I would make my statement." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-16)

This statement illustrates that he was trying to manipulate the detectives, by first attempting to find out how much they knew, and how much evidence they had on each case, before implicating himself.

In the first case where two males were killed due to political motivation, he admitted to being armed, but denied the murder and blamed his friend for killing the men. He maintained that the police had confiscated both weapons from his friend.

The subject admitted the murder of the third victim on 1994-04-19 but claimed that political unrest was the reason.

The subject admitted to the case on 1995-05-14 where the victim was mutilated, shot and left in the Bulwer plantation. He made the following confession:

" The deceased was at her kraal. I don't know the name of the deceased. The deceased was asleep in her kraal. I kicked the door open. The deceased was alone. I grabbed the deceased and pulled her outside. Outside I raped her. I took her to the forest and raped her again. I shot her in the head. I left the body in the forest."

(South African Police Service, 1995-10-16)

The subject later pointed the kraal out to the detectives. Enquiries made at the kraal revealed that no woman was missing. The subject had thus lied about where he had found the victim. The victim was scalped, her face was cut away, her right breast was cut off and sticks and stones were placed in her vagina. Her legs were spread-eagled and kept open with pegs driven into the ground. The subject made no mention of this in his confession. The victim's identity has not yet been established and detectives intended to exhume the body.

The subject admitted to the case on 1995-06-24 when a 29 year old mother and her nine year old daughter were raped. He made the following confession:

" I remember this case. I knocked on the door and no-one opened it. I kicked the door where I found the mother and the daughter. I don't know the name, but the surname is M. I raped the mother. I grabbed the daughter. I put my finger into the child's private parts. I thereafter ran away." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-16)

The subject did not admit to raping the daughter as well. He guessed her age as being between ten to twelve years old.

During this interview the subject eventually admitted to killing the man with whom he had a quarrel as well as wounding the man's girlfriend on 1995-06-26. Previously he attributed this incident to his friend. He did not admit that he had intended raping the woman.

The subject admitted that he intended raping two women aged 55 and 21 years on 1995-06-25, but that he only succeeded in pointing the firearm.

The subject admitted to the case where he committed necrophilia on 1995-07-18. He made the following confession:

" Yes, I know this case. I went to the K house. I kicked the door open. I shot her with a firearm. I dragged the deceased to the plantation where I raped her. I raped her whilst she was injured. I pointed out this scene to the police." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-16)

The detectives asked the subject why he had intercourse with a victim who was already dead and he answered that the body was still warm.

The subject made the following confession to shooting his neighbour on 1995-07-27:

" I remember this case. In the morning I saw the complainant going to work. I followed her slowly. I shot her near the gum plantation. I ran back home after I shot her. I shot her because

I want her daughter. She is my girlfriend." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-16)

The subject did not confess to touching the woman's private parts after wounding her behind the ear.

The subject admitted to the last case on 1995-09-25 when he raped and murdered a 42 year old woman.

The subject denied being involved in thirteen other cases which were presented to him during this interview.

The sixth interrogation took place on 1995-10-19. During this interrogation indications are that the superego surfaced more strongly. The subject admitted that he had implicated innocent people during previous interviews and apologized, yet he again attempted to implicate another friend: (Questions asked by the detectives are bracketed.)

"I have to tell the truth. I have spoken too many lies. Please forgive me... During the unrest period, this is the third year, I met up with ML and MM and S. We started to kill the people of Inkatha. The army people confiscated the firearms from MM. An AK47 and a .38 revolver. This happened in 1993 at Bulwer area. He was charged.

This year, 1995, when I came from Durban where I met up with ML at St Charles. ML took the firearm from MM. This firearm is an automatic 16 shot handgun. We were involved in killing the people. ML and I killed and raped people in the St Charles, Nkwezela location and Seafort

area. In all the places I was with ML except the (neighbour's) case. I shot (neighbour) and I was alone.

The people that we were killing this year does not belong to any political group. I want to tell you of the people whom I killed that does not belong to any political group.

The first case is a woman, a black person who is about 22 years old. She was sleeping alone in a certain kraal at Nkwezela location. The kitchen door was not locked. I made a mistake, she was not sleeping. She was sitting in the kitchen alone. At this stage I was alone. I entered the kitchen. I did not speak to the woman, but I just dragged her outside the kraal. She did not scream because she was afraid of the firearm I had in my hand. I dragged her out the kraal and took her to the plantation. At the plantation I raped her. I shot her four times because she might point me out to the public. She does not know me. I was scared that she might come across me again on the road and inform the people. I left her in the plantation, but later I went and reported the matter to ML.

(Early on you stated that the only case you were alone was (neighbour's) case. Do you want to comment ?)

Sorry, I made a mistake. There are other three cases where I was alone. When I reported this matter to ML, he asked me whether I shot the female to death. He told me that we must go to this place the following day to see whether the female was lying at the same spot. He told me if the woman is not dead he would report me to MM that I am wasting bullets. On the following day ML and I went to the place where I shot the female. We found the female lying dead in the same

spot. After that we went back to ML's place.

I want to discuss a second case, the (neighbour's) case. I woke up in the morning at 05:30. I walked towards the plantation. It is a gum plantation next to my kraal. I was dressed with a balaclava which covered my head and face. I was alone. I was hiding myself between the trees. I saw this female coming towards me. When she was close to me I came out of the bushes. I shot her with the firearm. I used the automatic firearm and shot her behind the right ear. She fell down. She staggered with her body swaying from side to side. I then ran away. I ran back home and I went to sleep. My mother heard (the victim's) children screaming. My mother woke me up and made a report to me. I went with my mother to where (the victim) was lying. I went to see her. She was lying at another kraal. I went to see her. I noticed she was shot in the back of the right ear. She was able to talk. After some time I noticed the police at the scene. I was still at the scene. The police loaded her into the back of a yellow police van and she was taken away from the scene. I noticed Sgt Ndumo and (friend) at the scene. I then went back home.

On the following day I heard that (the victim) had said a young man who shot her. I heard the people talking in the location. When she came out of hospital I heard from the people that I am responsible for shooting her. I did not take notice of this report. On a Friday I was arrested on the same case. I admitted to the police that I shot her. The police questioned me about the firearm. The firearm was with ML. I was charged and appeared in court on Monday. On Monday I was released on bail which was paid by my mother.

I want to tell you of another case - the female at the P family. I was from my small father's kraal. It was about 21:00 at night. I came across the female near the gum plantation. I shot her once

or two times. I left her in the plantation. I ran away after shooting her. I ran to my kraal. I don't know why I shot her.

During the night I left my kraal and proceeded to another kraal (1995--06-24) at Seafort. I was alone at that stage... On my arrival at the kraal, it was late at night, early part of the morning. The kraal doors were locked. I found three persons in the kraal. I kicked the door open. It was the mother and two children. The room was dark. I had a torch and I was shining it in the room. I noticed it was a woman and two children in the room. I threatened her with the firearm. I grabbed her and she fell down on the floor. I had sexual intercourse with her. She did not consent to have sexual intercourse with me. Before raping her I took her outside the kraal by dragging her. I pushed her onto the ground next to the kraal door. She did not make a noise as she was afraid of my gun. I pulled out her panty. She was also wearing a night dress. I pushed the night dress above her upper body and then raped her. I had sex with her only once. As soon as I had sex with her, I shot her. I shot her four times. I then went inside the kraal to the children. I found a female child in the room. I grabbed the child. I put my finger into her private part. I noticed the child was still young. I left her and ran away. I went back home.

I want to mention the case when I was with ML. I want to tell you of (1995-06-26) case. On at certain day at 05:30 in the morning I was with ML. Both of us were from ML's kraal and we proceeded to the road at St Charles. ML and I had a quarrel with (the male victim) before we intended to kill him... We found (the victim) and his girlfriend walking along the road. Both of them walked along the roadside... We approached them. I shot at (the male victim) with the firearm. I shot him in the head. ML told me that the female might recognize us. ML shot the female in the leg. The female fell down at a place like a donga. We ran back to ML's kraal.

Another case was (1995-07-08). It was late in the morning at 04:00. We were at ML's kraal. We went to the victim's kraal in the St Charles area. On our arrival I knocked on the flat house. ML kicked the door open. A female was sleeping in the room. I knew the female, she was about 21 years old. She was sleeping in the room and dressed in a night dress. Both of us grabbed her and dragged her out of the room. She resisted. ML shot her near the gate. We dragged her to the gum plantation. She was injured. I am uncertain where in the body she was shot. I saw a lot of blood on her head. I had sexual intercourse with her first. She was not dead when I had sex with her. ML then had sex with her. We left her in the gum plantation. We went to the tavern at Bulwer Trading. We hung around at this place. We later went to the place where ML left the gun. We did not go back to the scene. We heard from the people what happened the previous night at this kraal.

In another case on a certain day, late at night I went to a certain kraal. I don't know the owner of the kraal. I was with ML, but he hid himself. I saw a female at this kraal. I fired shots at the woman. I don't know whether the shots hit her. She grabbed my firearm... Both of us struggled with this firearm. I fired a shot - I don't know whether it hit her because it was dark. She bit my finger and the firearm fell to the ground. She picked up the firearm and we both struggled for the firearm. I took possession of the firearm. She ran away. I don't know where she ran to. I was very cross, she bit my small left finger. ML put fire to the house. We ran away to my place of residence.

(Previously you have implicated many people being involved with you - what is your comment?)

I ask the major to accept my apologies.

(Can you name the people you implicated? The suspect named seven friends and his younger brother as well as his mother.)

(Why have you implicated them ?)

I was scared of mentioning ML because his family are dangerous people. They would kill my family and I. "

(South African Police Service, 1995-10-19)

During the seventh interrogation on 1995-10-25 the subject asked to be taken to court to admit to all the cases he had committed.

By the eight interrogation on 1995-11-02, the subject had already been in prison for a while, where he had heard that a certain Mkhize was caught by the Ixopo community for committing a murder. The community took the law into their own hands and killed this man and his accomplices.

When the subject was interviewed by the author on 1995-11-07, he transferred the blame again, by reporting that Mkhize was his friend and that Mkhize's brother had told him to commit the rapes and the murders. He contradicted himself by later reporting that he had never met the brother personally, although the brother gave him orders to rape and kill.

The subject reported to the author that he had been to Catholic confession twice in 1995 after the murders and the rapes. He prayed to God to forgive him, but succumbed to the urge to rape and

murder again after the confessions.

By reading the subject's confessions and tracing how the superego vaguely emerges when he is confronted, the author comes to the conclusion that it is clear that the subject's superego is not mature enough to force the ego to accept full responsibility for complying with the id's impulses.

7.4.2 DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES

The first three pre-genital developmental phases are the oral (0 - 2 years), anal (2 - 4 years) and Oedipal (4 - 6 years) phases. The erotogenic zones are the mouth, anus and penis respectively. Freud states that a fixation in one of these phases can lead to pathology. The pre-genital phases are followed by the latency phase (6 - 12 years), which is not a sexual phase. The child has the opportunity to invest the ego's energy in social learning and incorporating society's values. The latency phase is then followed by the genital phase (13 - 19 years) which is a sexual phase, with the erotogenic zones being the penis and vagina for the different sexes. Freud warns that the ages should not strictly be adhered to since they may vary by a year or two.

7.4.2.1 Pre-genital phases:

The subject was born with the umbilical cord looped around his neck. This could have caused a pre-verbal, spontaneous anxiety perceiving life to be dangerous and threatening. As a newborn infant the subject was torn from the safety of the womb, and his first experience of life was negative, due to the umbilical cord around his neck.

The subject was breastfed until he was two years old. Although his mother had enough milk, he

was also given cow's milk. The mother then, gratified the first need of the id to such an extent, that the ego found it very difficult to develop. The id was being excessively gratified and thus became more dominant and the ego could scarcely individualize itself from the dominating id and the gratifying mother. The ego did not learn to postpone gratification, and is therefore impulsive in satisfying the id's needs.

The author is of the opinion that the continuous availability of the mother's breast caused a feeling of omnipotence in the subject. By having all his needs excessively gratified, the infant experienced enormous power. This immature omnipotence re-emerged later during the murders, when the subject had the power over life or death. His ego never managed to assert itself over the dominating, omnipotent id.

The mother reported that the subject did not bite her whilst breastfeeding. The subject therefore did not progress to the natural oral-sadistic phase. He had no outlet for any aggression at this stage.

The mother also reported that the anal stage was trouble free and that the subject did not throw temper tantrums or exhibit any deviant behaviour. Again the subject had no outlet for any aggressive fantasies, which should have been formed by then. He remained passive.

In the pre-genital phases the subject's primary caretaker became his sister instead of the mother. His sister was approximately fifteen years older than him.

The subject entered the Oedipal phase, but did not resolve it. The father was an invalid and it was

the subject's task to look after the father, by keeping him company. Therefore although they were often in each other's company, the subject did not experience his father as a strong masculine figure with whom he would have to compete for his mother's affection. The subject became the victor in the Oedipus complex. He not only had his mother's attention, but he also enjoyed the affection of his sister.

It is therefore reasonable to accept that later in his life the subject would not experience any other man as competition in his yearning for a woman. This is illustrated by the fact that he simply murdered any man who stood in his way when he wanted a woman.

The fact that the subject did not fear any man is illustrated in a statement by a nine year old victim, who described how the subject approached a kraal where he knew men were present after he had raped her and her mother. The mother had escaped and ran to the Dhlamini kraal:

"The person ran out. I followed in order to run away. I followed this person who was running towards the Dhlamini kraal. His hat fell off. He went to the window of the house of Dhlamini and listened to what was being said. He actually tilted his head. Whilst he was doing this, he felt his head and realized his balaclava was moving. He ran back the way he had come. At this stage I was running to the same kraal. I changed direction and ran to another Dhlamini kraal. I saw him pick up the hat, put it in his pocket and ran back to the kraal where my mother was. He went around the house." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-09)

In his Oedipal phase the subject had incestuous desires towards both the mother figures, namely his mother and his older sister. When he was ten years old, the subject's surrogate mother - the

sister - rejected him by leaving home and never returning. It is not a co-incidence that he preferred victims to be in the same age group as his sister was when she left home. He gratified his incestuous Oedipus desire by raping his victims and murdered them as an act of revenge due to the Oedipal rejection by his sister.

By the age of ten, the subject also conjured up revenge fantasies towards his sister and these fantasies were not subjected to censure, because he had not yet entered the latency phase, as will be discussed later. During the interview with the author the subject admitted that he had committed the rapes because he could not talk to women. He said it should have been his sister's duty to introduce him to girlfriends. If she had done this it would not have been necessary for him to rape the women. By the age of ten, the subject had also not yet resolved his Oedipus complex, his sister had left and he felt rejected by a mother figure and his father died shortly thereafter, confirming to him that no man would be a match for him.

The subject reported that the first time he had witnessed sex was when he was ten years old. He watched a couple having intercourse in the forest. The mother reported that the subject was not instructed in sexual topics and she was not aware that he ever discussed the topic with anyone.

The subject's pre-genital years were unstable, characterized by political unrest and often moving home. The subject reported to the author that he was involved in faction fights. This was denied by the mother. The subject's report of his involvement in faction fights, during which he allegedly fought with a spear and saw many people die, can rather be taken as illustrations of childhood fantasies, since the mother denied that he was ever involved in factions fights as a young child.

Imagining himself to be a Zulu warrior was the only psychological defence he had in a very unstable and threatening environment. These revenge fantasies emerged before the latency phase, therefore they were not subjected to censure. It is not disputed that faction fights did take place during those years and that he was aware of many people dying.

The subject also reported that he was physically abused by his older brother. The role model which he incorporated was that physical violence went unpunished. The mother claimed to be unaware that the brother was beating the subject, therefore it can be concluded that the older brother probably did it behind her back, and was not punished for it. The faction fight fantasies of the subject could also be a defence against the beatings by the brother.

The mother reported to the author that the subject was never punished when he was a boy, except for being shouted at when he touched something that could hurt him. The lack of discipline, lack of identification with a strong father figure and no guilt feelings about incestuous desires all prevented the superego from establishing itself as a reckoning force.

The author makes an unusual deduction about this subject's psychosexual development, namely that he did not enter the latency phase at the normal expected age of six years, but rather entered this phase at thirteen, when other boys entered puberty. The subject therefore had an extended Oedipal phase and a retarded latency phase, which in return only allowed him to enter his puberty phase at about nineteen - the age at which he commenced with the sexual murders.

7.4.2.2 Latency phase:

There are several reasons why the subject had an extended Oedipal phase and entered the latency

phase too late. The latency phase is usually characterized by the child leaving the home environment, going to school and learning to socialize. The sexual impulses are repressed and the ego's energy is employed in incorporating morals and ethics.

The subject did not go to school until he was thirteen. His supposedly latency years, from ages six to twelve, were spent looking after the family's goats alone in the veld. His father did not allow other children to enter the kraal and befriend the subject, because he thought the family was big enough. The subject's sister left home when he was ten years old. She was the only other woman, besides his mother, whom he had known. From birth to thirteen years the subject only knew his mother and sister as women and from ten to twelve years his mother was the only woman he knew.

During this supposed latency period, the subject had no chance to socialize, did not get to know the opposite sex and obviously did not incorporate morals or ethics nor did he acquire empathy for fellow human beings. His superego therefore was still dormant, leaving the way open for the pre-genital and incestuous Oedipus sexual desires to remain conscious and dominate the ego. The ego did not therefore experience these impulses as threatening.

The lack of superego, and subsequent lack of morals, ethics or empathy, is demonstrated in his cold blooded approach when committing the rapes and murders:

In her statement a 23 year old victim makes the following report about the subject's verbal approach during the offence:

"He also told me that he does not propose love, but only rapes to the females."

(South African Police Service, 1995-10-09)

Another victim (29) also made the following report concerning the subject's verbal behaviour towards her and her daughter (9) in her statement:

"Thereafter a figure appeared behind a dividing curtain separating the two rooms. This person stood behind the curtain and said I must light the candle and he wanted to shoot me in the light, not the dark...He came inside my room and instructed me to come to him. I told him I was afraid of him. He again repeated this. I repeated I was afraid. He demanded that I came to him and said I was wasting his time... He climbed off me and instructed the child to pull off her panties, which the child did. He lay on top of her and began to sexually abuse her. The child began to cry saying that she wanted to go and pan water. He ignored the child. The child complained that it was sore what he was doing. He replied that the other children did not complain like she was doing." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-09)

The nine year old child reported the following abuse in her statement:

" He put his private part into my parts. He tried to force it in. He was pulling me closer. It would not go in and it was very sore. I cried out. He wanted me to keep quiet or he would shoot me. He moved up and down on top of me until I felt wet. I pleaded with him to stop as I was a child. He replied by saying:" you are playing and there is no such thing as a child." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-09)

Another victim who was attacked in the company of her friend reported the following in her statement regarding the subject's lack of empathy:

"This person first came up to us and said he wanted to go to bed with me. I refused saying I don't do that. He advanced and grabbed me. (My friend) intervened and also pulled me. He realized the two of us were too strong and he let me go. He took approximately five steps towards the road and turned back. He started shooting." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-11)

At the age of twelve the subject was living with his grandmother for a short time and had made two friends. The subject alleged that these two friends died due to poisoning. At this age then the subject was denied an opportunity to socialize and he had experienced that significant others in his life - his sister, older brother, father and the two friends - either died or left him.

By the age of thirteen the subject rejoined his mother's family in the St Charles area and went to school there for the first time. He was handicapped firstly by probably being older than his classmates, and secondly his peers would have completed their latency phases and were entering their puberty phases. The subject was often truant from school and decided to leave school after he had encountered trouble for attempting to enlist other scholars as ANC members. According to his mother he left school in 1992, at the age of sixteen. He seemed to have passed a standard 4 level. He stayed at home and worked with his mother collecting firewood. The period that the subject was exposed to an environment that could have conducted socializing was too short and characterized by instability.

During this phase the subject met his neighbour's daughter, who was three years younger than him. This was the first female he actually had a relationship with, besides his mother and sister. His mother and the girl described the relationship as a childhood friendship. The subject later insisted that she was his girlfriend.

At the age of sixteen the subject had his first sexual experience in Durban. He explained to the author that he followed the Zulu tradition of incomplete penetration. Thereafter his sexual encounters subsided until the age of nineteen. He also reported that he only started masturbating at sixteen. He would not elaborate on any sexual fantasies and denied having any.

7.4.2.3 Genital phase:

The subject only entered his genital phase at the age of nineteen. The catalyst in this process was the pornography that suddenly appeared in his life. Early in 1995 the subject's mother had brought several "Scope" magazines home with the intention of decorating her house with the pictures. The subject decorated his room with pictures of naked women. Shortly after, the rapes and murders commenced. It is significant that the poses that the models in the pictures assume, correspond with the positions he forced his victims to take. The poses are of models bending over chairs. The following statements of victims illustrate this phenomenon:

"This person got hold of my arm and pulled me out of bed. He pulled me to the dining room and down onto the chair. It was not too dark in the morning. He instructed me to stand up and undress. I then took off my nighty which was the only item of clothing I had on. He instructed me to romance him by playing with his private parts and kissing it. I did so because I was afraid. I could feel his penis become erect as a result. I was then pushed on to the chair. I sat

back on the chair. He instructed me to open my legs. He inserted his private parts into mine and began having sex with me. There were times when the chair would nearly fall over and he would tell me not to worry as he was holding the chair. He had sex with me for a long time without ejaculating and asked me what my husband says when myself and my husband have sex. I told him I would tell my husband it was nice. He got up from me and told me to get up from the chair, turn my back towards him by holding my ankles. I did as he instructed. He then inserted his penis into my private parts from behind and began having sexual intercourse. He would ejaculate and start again. He had sex with me for a long time. Eventually I became sore and tired and started complaining. He then asked me how old my daughter was. I informed him she was seven and in so doing shield her as she was in fact nine. He instructed me to accompany him to the bed. He took me to the bed. He instructed me to lie down on the bed. He climbed on top of me and continued. He ejaculated and would start again without a rest." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-09)

The victim who was attacked in the company of her friend made a similar statement:

"He caught me in the gum trees and pulled me into the trees. He pulled me approximately ten meters. This person instructed me to lie on the ground. I refused, telling him he had shot me. He told me to bend forward and touch my toes and remove my panty. I complied as I was scared. This person had sexual intercourse from behind." (South African Police Service, 1995-10-11)

The author comes to the conclusion that at the age of nineteen the subject had released his aggressive fantasies by committing murder in the name of politics and after being activated by the

external stimuli of pornography, he released his sexual urges as well. Neither the ego nor the superego were able to control the primitive urges of the id.

7.4.3 THE SEXUAL THEORIES OF CHILDREN

Freud postulates that children have the following theories about sex: women also have penises; babies are equated to faeces since a child believes that a baby is born through the anus; coitus is an act of aggression; all their theories are considered in isolation and they do not discuss them with adults and a child will repeat a traumatic event in order to master it.

The only theory that is absent with this subject is that babies are equated with faeces.

7.4.3.1 The female penis:

Castration anxiety derives as an outcome of the Oedipus complex. The boy is afraid that the father will castrate him, for his incestuous desires towards the mother. The subject did not experience his father as competition or someone to be feared. He did not fear that his father would castrate him. The fact that he did not insert any phallic objects into the vaginas of his victims supports the author's deduction that the subject did not suffer from castration anxiety.

The subject showed an interest in the vagina, which could indicate a childlike curiosity about women's anatomy, which he previously thought no different to that of men. His neighbour reported that he had touched her private parts after shooting her, but he did not attempt to rape her. He also inserted his finger into the vagina of the little girl before he raped her. In one of the pictures that were on his wall the subject had scratched over the model's vagina.

The most significant indication that he was curious about a woman's anatomy was the case in Bulwer, where he mutilated the victim. She was naked and her legs were spread-eagled and kept apart with wooden pegs driven into the ground. This indicated that she must have already been dead when he spread-eagled her. Rigor mortis could also have set in, necessitating the wooden pegs. Small sticks and stones were later found in her vagina. She had also been scalped and her face and one breast removed. This indicates that the subject spent a reasonably long time undisturbed at this scene. He had time to spread-eagle his dead victim and to inspect the vagina. As the identity of this woman is unestablished, the detectives are investigating the possibility that she could have been the subject's sister. The mother reported that the sister had returned that year, but left again and that she did not know where her daughter was. During the interview with the psychologist, the subject made an unusual voluntary comment that he would not recognize his sister if he saw her again.

7.4.3.2 Coitus equals aggression:

The subject's mother reported to the author that as a young boy the subject would not have been in a position to observe intercourse between her and her husband, since the boys slept in a different room. The subject reported that he observed intercourse for the first time when he was ten years old. He did not elaborate on the incident.

The subject reported to the author that he did not get an erection when he planned the rapes or murders, nor when he approached the kraals. He only got an erection when he dragged the women out of their homes and they put up a struggle. The struggle and the need for him to assert force supports the author's conclusion that the subject persisted in the childhood theory that coitus is associated with aggression. The comment that he made to one of the victims that he does not

propose love but only wishes to rape the women also illustrates that he equated sex with violence.

7.4.3.3 Considered in isolation:

The subject had a solitary childhood. His older brother beat him, the second eldest suffered from epileptic fits and he was five years old when his younger brother was born. He spent most of his time on his own in the veld looking after the goats. The mother reported that the subject never discussed sex with anyone, received no sex education and asked no questions about the topic. It is therefore reasonable to assume that he must have made his own conclusions about sex and considered them in isolation. He had no-one to clarify them with.

7.4.3.4 Compulsion to repeat:

The psychological trauma that the subject was exposed to was the following: he was isolated as a child, denied the opportunity of a stable home, and never resolved the Oedipus complex, including the lack of identification with the father and the rejection by the sister.

The rapes and murders of the women, were an active attempt by the subject to master the rejection he experienced during the Oedipus complex and to gratify the sexual and aggressive impulses of the id. The murders of the men were a manifestation of the result of not resolving the Oedipus complex and not considering any man to be competition.

The subject never mastered the rejection by the mother figure and therefore committed repetitive murder.

7.4.4 EGO INSTINCTS AND LIBIDO INSTINCTS

In order to explain narcissism, Freud studied the erotic element of human life. The first auto-erotic sexual gratification relates to the function of self preservation. The sexual instincts are initially coupled to the gratification of the ego instincts. This relationship can be explained by the fact that the child's first primary caretaker becomes the first sexual object. This is the anaclytical object choice. An anaclytical object choice suggests sexual over evaluation, which is a characteristic of being in love. In the case where libidinal development has been fixated as in the cases homosexuality, the later object choice is programmed on the self - a narcissistic choice.

The subject chose women of about the same age as his sister as object choices. He therefore had an anaclytical object choice, based on his sister who became a primary caretaker in his life. This indicates a sexual over evaluation, which can be derived from his original narcissism and corresponds with the transference of that narcissism on to the sexual object.

The subject reported that he raped the women because he was in love with them. He did not have the social skills to talk to them, and therefore just raped them. This contradicts the statement of one of the victims who reported that the subject had said that he does not propose love but only wishes to rape the women. The contradiction can be explained that the subject fell in love with a specific type of woman, but did not have the social skills to form a normal intimate relationship with them. He was acutely aware of this lack, and it frustrated him. The social frustration and the overpowering sexual instinct drove him to what he considered to be the only other option, namely to rape them. He probably had delusionary fantasies that they were in love with him as well, as proved by his conviction that the neighbour's daughter was his girlfriend.

Although the subject professed to be in love with the women, he was not capable of object cathexis, due to his isolated childhood.

Freud explains that when a person is capable of object cathexis, the libidinal instinctive impulses are repressed when they come into conflict with the subject's cultural and ethical ideation. The person who allows himself to be ruled by culture and ethics, sets up an ego-ideal by which he measures his ego. This function is managed by the superego. In the case of this subject, his libidinal instinctive impulses did not come into conflict with cultural or ethical ideation, because he did not socialize during the latency phase and did not develop a strong enough superego.

Freud explains that libidinal object cathexis decreases self esteem because the libido is transferred to the object and the ego becomes depleted. The subject reported to the author that he never had a self esteem problem, loved himself as a boy and still feels good about himself as an adult. This confirms the deduction that the subject was not capable of true object cathexis as an adult.

Freud states that the development of the ego consists of a deviation from primary narcissism and gives rise to a recall of that condition. The subject's ego is underdeveloped and the libido was never transferred on to an object, it remain attached to the ego. The subject is therefore still primarily narcissistic. Primary narcissism prevails during the oral stage, when the libido is catexed to the ego. The subject's oral needs were extensively gratified by long term breastfeeding. Only when life's essential needs are satisfied, can the libido be transferred to objects. The needs of the oral and perhaps the anal phase were gratified, but the fixation appeared in the Oedipal phase. The subject did form an object cathexis with his mother and sister - the surrogate mother - during the oral phase, but when the sister rejected him in his Oedipal phase,

he retracted the libido and never attached it to any other object again.

7.4.5 EROS AND THANATOS

Freud called the self preserving instincts Eros and the destructive instincts Thanatos. The struggle between Eros and Thanatos gives rise to the compulsion to repeat, to create homeostasis. Thanatos is in the service of Eros, when it is diverted to an external object, in stead of being directed at the self.

Being primarily narcissistic, the subject has strong ego instincts - Eros. He preserves himself by tolerating no opposition to his sexual and aggressive instincts. The subject first made the acquaintance with his own destructive instincts - Thanatos - during birth, when his umbilical cord was strangling him. In a pre-verbal state he recognized that the mother had the ability to destroy him and that she was a threat to him. Having such a strong Eros, he pre-verbally realized that he has to destroy the mother figure, to preserve himself. His cathexis towards the mother was transferred to the sister. He later murdered the substitutes for the sister - the victims - to prevent them from destroying him. He professed to love the victims - thereby loving the sister and loving the mother, but realising that the mother, and then the sister and therefore the victims, were able to destroy him, he killed them. (There is still the suspicion that the victim who was mutilated at Bulwer, might have been his sister.)

The subject's strong Eros employed Thanatos in it's service by directing it towards the surrogates of the mother figures, instead of allowing it to destroy itself. The subject is therefore compelled to kill repetitively in order to preserve himself. Neither the superego, nor the ego had the strength

to tame these basic instincts of the id. The superego never took on the shadow of the community which condemns murder and rape.

Freud explains when the destructive impulses emerge in the blindest fury of destructiveness, whether coupled to the sexual urge or not, the satisfaction of this instinct is accompanied by a high degree of narcissistic enjoyment owing to its presenting the ego with a fulfilment of the latter's old wish for omnipotence.

It has already been established that the subject had feelings of omnipotence, due to the excessive gratification during the breastfeeding / oral phase. The expression of the destructive instinct - murdering men and women - confirms the subject's omnipotence to himself. To have the power over life and death is an omnipotent feeling.

The subject did express superficial feelings of guilt when he reported to the author that he felt bad about the murders. This indicates that although the superego did not develop by identification with the father figure, a weak superego amount must have developed when he eventually had an opportunity to socialize at the age of thirteen.

Freud explains that a feeling of badness, is not internal because what can be considered as bad is not necessarily harmful to the ego. There is an external influence that determines what is good and what is bad. What is bad to the ego is anything that threatens loss of love. If a person loses the love of someone he depends on, he exposes himself to danger.

The subject experienced the loss of love of his sister, on whom he depended. Therefore he was

exposed to danger. This danger threatened his self preserving instinct, Eros, which retaliated by activating Thanatos to destruct this threat. He had to destroy that which exposed him to danger, namely his sister, and he succeeded by killing her substitutes. Although he professed feeling bad, the superego was not strong enough to prevent the murders, as confirmed by the fact that he reported to the author that he had nothing to say to the families of the victims, but preferred his mother to apologize to the families. He transferred the responsibility of guilt feelings on to his mother. The mother was replaced by the sister and he felt it was the sister's fault that he had raped and murdered the women, therefore a mother figure should take responsibility and apologize.

Freud explains that a child relinquishes aggression towards the father, due to fear of loss of the father's love and fear of punishment expected from the father. The child relinquishes the aggression by identifying with the father. The subject was never punished by the father, and therefore did not fear him, and he lost the father's love when the father died. He also did not identify with the father. He therefore had no reason to direct the aggression towards himself and had no qualms at directing it at other men, by killing them when they stood in his way.

The subject did not suffer from melancholia. Although he experienced rejection and loss of ability to love, he did not experience a lack of interest in the external world, inhibition of activities, a decrease in self esteem, increase in self blame or an expectancy of punishment. He still felt good about himself and reported that he was not concerned when the community pointed him out as the one responsible for the attack on his neighbour.

The subject did not suffer from depression as no energy was lost in the repression of the id's

impulses.

7.4.6 SYMPTOMS AND FANTASIES

Freud explains that neurotic symptoms originate when the impulses from the id are repressed. Symptoms are neuroses which develop due to the repression of perverse impulses. The author made the statement (chapter 4) that organized serial killers appear to be normal and without neurotic symptoms, because their ego's do not repress impulses from the id. This attributes to the general disbelief among the community when a serial killer is exposed, as he was previously thought to be an ordinary decent person.

The subject was known in the community and no-one suspected him of being responsible for the reign of terror that existed from April to September 1995. Even his mother could not believe that her son was capable of the offences. The subject even exhibited normal behaviour by joining the community when a body was found and offered assistance to load one of the bodies into the mortuary vehicle.

Freud proposes that the Oedipus complex is the nucleus of neurosis due to the repression of the incestuous sexual impulses and the castration anxiety. Although the subject fixated in the Oedipal phase he did not develop neurosis. In the author's opinion the reason for this contradiction is that he did not repress his incestuous sexual desires and did not suffer from castration anxiety. He expressed the incestuous sexual desires by raping the substitutes for the mother figures and expressed lack of castration anxiety by killing the men. He acted out his fixation in his murders, in stead of repressing it, which would otherwise have caused neurosis.

The subject vehemently denied having any fantasies about the rapes and the murders and denied that he fantasized about killing the next victim, after killing the previous one. He did however admit to returning to the scenes of crimes. He professed that this was to ensure that the victim was dead. The denial of these fantasies, which are present in all serial killers, seems to be a defence mechanism of the subject. As soon as he admits to having these fantasies he would have to take responsibility for committing the crimes. Admitting to the crimes, after being confronted with evidence, is not the same as taking psychological responsibility for them.

The repetition in modus operandi, including the positions he preferred the women to take, while raping them, are all indications that the subject had fantasies and acted them out instead of repressing them.

7.4.7 REPRESSION

A threatening impulse from the id is repressed by the ego, because it causes anxiety in the ego. According to Freud, anxiety is a prerequisite for repression. He distinguishes between the first spontaneous anxiety, which he compared with the trauma of birth, and the second anxiety which is a warning of danger to the ego. The author is of the opinion, however that the first spontaneous anxiety would rather be due to loss of own life and not as Freud postulates that the first loss a person can experience is loss of the mother's love. The loss of the mother's love is however, closely related to the loss of own life, because the infant is normally dependent on his mother for his survival. The author postulates that both the loss of life and loss of the mother's love can therefore be constituted as first spontaneous anxiety. Any incident that activates this anxiety will be treated as secondary anxiety by the ego.

The subject experienced the first spontaneous anxiety due to the umbilical cord suffocating him during birth. He experienced potential loss of own life, before he could experience loss of the mother's love. At the first moment then he must have experienced his mother as a life threatening force, however, he survived the birth and his mother compensated by being overly gratifying during the oral phase.

The rejection by his sister during the Oedipal phase, must have triggered the first fear namely loss of life. His sister was the surrogate mother figure on whom he depended. A triggering of the first anxiety, should result in the second anxiety leading to repression of impulses. The subject however did not repress the impulse to retaliate towards the sister by killing her substitutes. He therefore did not experience secondary anxiety. The rejection by a mother figure activated the direct anxiety due to fear of loss of life. The self preserving Eros instinct (life is at stake) retaliated by employing Thanatos to destroy the sister by killing her substitutes.

The subject's ego identified with the good mother during the oral phase, the one who gratifies the needs of the id immediately and continuously. The "good mother" ego did not extend its nurturing towards other people, because the ego remained primarily narcissistic, and the superego never took on the shadow of the community. Therefore the ego did not perceive the sexual nor the aggressive impulses as dangerous. These impulses did not cause secondary anxiety which would have led them to be repressed. Women representing his rejecting sister however activated the first life threatening anxiety, to which the subject retaliated by destroying them first. The subject acted out the ideation of his id impulses and did not repress them.

Castration anxiety activates the fear of loss of the mother's love, because the son, feeling

castrated, does not have the means to copulate with the mother and is therefore separated from her. The subject never experienced castration anxiety, because he did not fear punishment from the father. He still possessed the means to fulfil his incestuous desires and did so by raping the substitute mothers/sisters. By never resolving the Oedipus complex and not developing a strong enough superego, there were no morals and ethics preventing him from raping.

7.4.8 OBSESSIONAL NEUROSIS

Freud explains that obsessional neurosis is formed when an impulse is repressed to the id, but not destroyed and regresses to an earlier phase of libidinal organization.

The author postulates that organized serial killers will be more prone to obsessions than disorganized serial killers, since organized serial killers are perfectionistic, leave no clues and have very neat crime scenes.

Taken at face value, the subject may at first seem to have some disorganized characteristics. He left evidence on the crime scenes in the form of bullet shells, he did not take enough precautions not to be recognized and he operated on foot in close proximity to his home. These seemingly disorganized characteristics can however be declared when his background and circumstances are taken into consideration. He comes from a rural background where the general mode of transport is by foot. Hardly any person owns a car. The kraals are loosely scattered around the hills and linked by footpaths. The subject had no previous criminal record and had therefore no court or prison experience where he would have learnt the value of ballistic evidence. He was also poorly educated and did not even read newspapers and therefore did not have access to any source that

could inform him of the mistakes a criminal could make. His negligence could therefore rather be attributed to naivety and ignorance rather than to disorganized characteristics.

Although he is an organized serial killer, the subject did not manifest with any obsessional symptoms. The type of organized serial killer who would have obsessional symptoms, employs the same mechanism that normal people's ego's use to become neurotic, to maintain a facade of sanity. They do this because they experience the murders as ego-dystonic, that do not comply with their ego-ideal. The subject is an ego-syntonic killer who does not regret the immediate and impulsive gratification of his needs. He is too socially naive to truly realize that he has done wrong. The only extent that his guilt feelings reached was to admit that he had committed the acts, but he refused to take responsibility for them.

7.4.9 SADISM AND MASOCHISM

Freud differentiates between cases of sadism which are in the first place only characterized by an active and violent attitude towards the sexual object, and in the second place where pleasure can only be experienced through the humiliation and abuse of the object. Factors such as the castration complex and guilt feelings relate to masochism.

The subject does not suffer from the castration complex or guilt feelings and is therefore not inclined to masochism.

Since rape is by nature a violent and aggressive crime, the subject fulfils the requirement for the first type of sadism. He admitted that he threatened the victims with a firearm and the victims

reported that he was aggressive during the rape by physically attacking them.

Neither the subject nor the victims reported sadistic behaviour such as torture. The subject however reported that he only got an erection when he struggled with the victims. One of the victims reported that she was forced to fondle his penis before he could get an erection. The positions that the victims had to adopt can be regarded as humiliating when the conservative cultural nature of Zulu women is taken into account. The subject does not appear to fulfil the requirements for the second type of sadism.

7.5 KLEIN'S THEORY APPLIED TO THE SUBJECT

Klein is of the opinion that normal oral sadism - which immediately follows the sucking phase - is necessary for the normal development of the child. The subject's mother reported that the subject never bit her during breastfeeding. It seems therefore that the normal oral sadism remained dormant during this phase.

Klein explains that anxiety due to the sadism puts enormous pressure on the immature ego, which could lead to obsessional neurosis. This could explain why the subject did not manifest with any obsessional symptoms. Since the subject was breastfed for such a long period he never developed any strong destructive impulses towards the mother as would a person who experienced lack of feeding. He therefore experienced no anxiety due to these impulses and did not need to internalize the object to defend against these impulses. He did however internalize the mother as an object who gratified all his needs.

Klein constitutes that the child acknowledges that the mother has the power of life and death over him. The subject was born with the umbilical cord around his neck and therefore it can be assumed that he could have developed a destructive impulse in this regard. This impulse was appeased by the immediate over gratification during his oral phase, but it remained dormant. It was activated by the rejection he experienced when his sister left during his Oedipal phase and manifested in the murder of her substitutes. The dormant destructive impulse also manifested in the mutilation of one of the victim's breasts, which was completely cut off.

Klein states that urethral sadism is manifested in enuresis. The subject's mother reported to the author that the subject never manifested with bed wetting. It seems therefore that the destructive impulses also did not surface during this phase.

Klein explains that the child's destructive impulses are also directed to the father because he believes the father's penis is incorporated into the mother's body through oral sex. This is the reason why a boy fears the mother as a castrator as well. The subject apparently did not observe any sexual intercourse between his parents as a young boy. He had no reason to believe that his father's penis was incorporated into his mother's body. He did not fear the father as a castrator, and therefore did not fear the mother as a castrator either.

The subject did not present with any symptoms of paranoia, and according to Klein's theory therefore did not fixate during the maximum sadistic phase, namely the anal phase.

Since the subject's destructive impulses did not surface during the oral, urethral or anal phases, his ego did not need to develop any defence strategies towards them. When they did emerge

later, the ego was ill equipped to deal with them and had no support from the weak superego.

Klein states that the Oedipus complex originates in the oral phase. During the sadistic phase, the child defends himself by developing a hatred towards the objects. The impulse of hate causes the Oedipus complex and forms the superego. The hate against the object is supplemented by hate against the own id and superego, because the object is transferred to replace the superego and id.

The subject's father however did not present as an obstacle during the oral phase, since the subject's oral needs were over gratified. He did not develop a hate against the objects during this phase. The subject's ego did not hate it's id, because the ego did not experience the id as threatening, and the ego did not hate the superego, because being too weak, the superego did not pose a threat to the ego either.

The subject's internal anger was aroused during his Oedipal phase, when he was rejected by his sister, the surrogate mother. The ego was by then not mature enough to manage the anger. External anxiety was caused by the faction fights and a subsequent unstable environment. The subject experienced the community as dangerous and life threatening during his early years.

During his supposed latency years, the subject was not exposed to the community. This isolation and the early anxiety caused by the faction fights, caused him to limit his internalized nurturing object only to his own needs.

The subject experienced his latency period late at the age of thirteen to about sixteen years, when other boys entered the genital phase. He reported that he started masturbating during this phase.

Physiologically he was in his puberty, but mentally he was in the latency phase. The latency phase is supposed to suppress the impulse to masturbate and the accompanying fantasies. This ambivalence between his physiological and psychosexual mental states further confused an already weak ego.

The destructive impulses manifested at the end of this phase when he became a political activist. It can therefore be assumed that the destructive fantasies, regarding the sexual and aggressive instincts must have reigned during his latency phase. At the age of nineteen, when the subject entered his puberty phase, these fantasies were acted out in the murders and the rapes.

Klein states that sexual activities of children serve a purpose in that they satisfy their libidos and natural curiosity. Children who share sexual activities with other children relieve their guilt feelings because their destructive fantasies towards the parents are shared. The subject did not have any sexual activities during his childhood and had no-one to share them with. His curiosity manifested later in his already described fascination with the vagina, especially during the incident where he spent a long time with the mutilated corpse.

7.6 SUMMARY

* **Id, ego and superego:**

The author comes to the conclusion that the subject has a dominating id and his ego is weak, due to over-symbiosis with the mother and not being granted the opportunity to defend against the destructive impulses of the id. The ego suffered no identity crises. The superego is also exceptionally weak due to lack of identification with the father figure, lack of external discipline and not being granted the opportunity to develop during the latency phase. The superego

surfaced superficially during the confessions, but the subject continued to blame other people and also transferred the responsibility to apologize to the victims' families on to his mother. This is significant since he blamed his sister, the surrogate mother, as the reason for committing the murders. The subject did not manifest with undoing or isolation and is an ego-syntonic serial killer.

*** Developmental phases:**

The subject was born with the umbilical cord looped around his neck. He was breastfed for two years and it is the author's opinion that this gratification of the id's first need had a far reaching effect in the sense that the ego took on this aspect of the mother figure. The subject's family moved home many times and he was exposed to a hostile environment, threatened by faction fights. The family was financially deprived. The only two women the subject knew as a young child were his mother and sister. The father can be considered emotionally absent and died when the subject was ten years old. The sister left the family shortly before the father's death and the subject experienced this as a rejection by a mother figure.

The subject did not resolve the Oedipus complex as he never considered his father to be competition. He therefore also did not suffer from the castration complex. The supposition that he did not consider the father to be competition is supported by his murders of the men in order to gain access to the women. The rape and murder of the women also indicate to the author his fixation in the Oedipal phase as he released his incestuous desires on them, being substitutes for his sister. Although the subject did not resolve the Oedipus complex he remained heterosexual.

The subject's Oedipal phase lasted until the age of thirteen. During this time when he was

supposed to enter his latency phase he was alone, looking after the family's goats in the veld. He had no opportunity to socialize or acquire ethical and moral codes. During this phase the destructive fantasies emerged in the form of him imagining himself being involved in faction fights, which his mother later denied. He experienced his environment as hostile and the nurturing aspect of his ego therefore never extended beyond gratifying the id to any involvement in the community.

He had a retarded latency phase which only commenced at thirteen years. He attended school from the ages of thirteen to sixteen. It was however too late for him to socialize and this period was characterized by truancy and trouble. His two friends allegedly died due to poisoning. The fact that he was physiologically in his puberty, but psychologically in his latency phase, confused the already weak ego.

The subject reached his puberty phase at the age of nineteen, the catalyst was being exposed to pornography. This is the age when he commenced with the murders. His ego has no control over the expression of his sexual and destructive impulses.

* **The sexual theories of children:**

Four of the sexual theories of children seem to prevail in the subject, namely the belief that females have penises, coitus equals aggression, sexual theories are considered in isolation and the compulsion to repeat a trauma in order to master it.

* **Ego instincts and libido instincts:**

The subject has an anaclitical object choice, based on his sister, who was a mother figure to him. He is primarily narcissistic. Originally he developed object cathexis towards his mother and sister,

but this was retracted into the bruised ego after his sister rejected him and was never released again. The subject never formed an ego-ideal, which conforms with him being an ego-syntonic serial killer. He has a high self esteem, being narcissistic and ego-syntonic.

* **Eros and Thanatos:**

The subject has a strong Eros. By being born with the umbilical cord around his neck he acknowledged on a pre-verbal level that the mother had the power of life and death over him. His sister's perceived rejection activated this threat and he revenged himself by murdering her substitutes. The Thanatos is therefore directed on to the victims, instead of being directed at the incorporated internal objects. He does not suffer from melancholia.

* **Symptoms and fantasies:**

The subject does not suffer from neurosis as his ego did not need to repress the sexual and destructive impulses of the id. The community did not suspect him of being a serial killer, as he appeared normal. Although he fixated in the Oedipal phase and the Oedipus complex is considered to be the nucleus of neurosis, he does not manifest with neurotic symptoms as he acted out his fantasies. Although he denied having sexual fantasies, the fact that his rapes were similar to the pornographical pictures in his room and that his modus operandi remained similar indicate that they were fantasies which were acted out.

* **Repression:**

The subject suffered from spontaneous anxiety, having been rejected by his sister who was a mother figure to him. There was no secondary anxiety as demonstrated by the acting out of the fantasies, derived from the instinctive impulses. As he is ego-syntonic, there is no need for his ego

to employ the mechanisms of obsessional neurosis to maintain a mask of normality.

* **Sadism and Masochism**

As the subject did not suffer from the castration complex, he has no masochistic tendencies. He also feels no guilt concerning his incestuous desires and therefore did not develop a need for punishment. He was primarily sadistic in the rapes and accompanying threats of his victims.

* **Klein's theory:**

The subjects oral, urethral and anal destructive fantasies remained dormant. He did not bite his mother's breasts, wet his bed or have temper tantrums. He also did not suffer from paranoia, indicating no fixation during the sadistic phase. The ego therefore did not have the opportunity to defend against these threats and later when they did emerge the ego was too ill equipped to defend against them. His destructive fantasies emerged when he fantasized as a boy about being involved in faction fights. This was a response to an extremely hostile environment.

Being born with the umbilical cord looped around his neck must have caused a pre-verbal destructive fantasy towards the mother, but this was appeased by her continuous breastfeeding and gratification of the id's needs. Due to this gratification he had no need to internalize his mother as a bad object and to defend against that internalized bad object. This later manifests in his high self esteem. He does not experience himself as a bad person and shows no real guilt or remorse. The original fear of the mother, due to the negative birth process was activated when his surrogate mother, the sister left him. He revenged himself by killing her substitutes and the mutilation of the face and breast of one of the victims prove to be the symbolic manifestation of aggression fantasies towards the female breast that nurtured him, but later rejected him.

CHAPTER 8

INTEGRATION AND CONCLUSION

8.1 DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE TWO CASE STUDIES

8.1.1 Childhood:

Both subjects had deprived and disturbed childhoods. They moved residences often and were financially deprived. The second subject was additionally exposed to a hostile environment being threatened by faction fights. Although both were lonely children, the second subject was especially deprived of interaction with his peer group. The father figure was emotionally and physically absent from the first subject and emotionally absent from the second subject and physically absent after his tenth year.

8.1.2 Id, ego and superego:

Both subjects have a dominating id, and a weak ego. The first subject has a stronger superego than the second subject, due to the formation of an ego-ideal. Both subjects internalized a nurturing mother figure, (both being sufficiently breastfed) but the first subject extended this nurturing to the community by forming the ego-ideal of a community worker. The second subject experienced the community as hostile and did not extend the nurturing beyond the requirements of his own id. The first subject incorporated a bad mother figure, but was unable to vent his aggression towards the external object. He therefore directed it on himself, but substituted himself with child victims. The second subject did not incorporate a bad mother figure. His victims did not represent himself, but rather the surrogate mother figure, his sister whom he perceived to have rejected him.

Both subjects have weak ego's which were unable to defend against the sexual and destructive

impulses of the id. Their ego's never differentiated enough from the id, they remained primitive in the sense that both subjects believe themselves to be omnipotent and both are narcissistic.

8.1.3 The Oedipus complex:

Neither of the subjects resolved the Oedipus complex. The first subject identified with the mother figure and became a homosexual. He capitulated to the father figure. The second subject did not identify with the father figure and later tolerated no opposition from any male. He killed them when they stood in his way. The second subject remains heterosexual, and acted out his Oedipal incestuous desires towards the victims, who were substitutes for his sister, who in turn was a mother figure to him. He did not suffer from the castration complex. The second subject fixated in the Oedipal phase. Neither of the two men therefore identified with their father figures, attributing to a weak superego.

8.1.4 The latency phase:

The superego is also supposed to be formed during the latency phase. The first subject fixated in the late latency-early-puberty-phase when he was sodomized by his older brother. This introduction to sexual activities during a supposedly sex-free phase caused a fixation in a sexual perversion. His opportunity to develop moral values was boycotted by this process. Both subjects were lonely children during this phase. The first subject did not form any friendships within his peer group and the second subject was not exposed to any peer group.

The second subject was deprived of social contact during this phase and also had no opportunity to learn moral and ethical values. Both subjects demonstrated this lack in their treatment of their victims. They showed no empathy and treated them merely as objects to fulfil the id's needs. This

is a typical characteristic of serial killers.

8.1.5 Psychosexual developmental patterns:

There is a difference regarding their psychosexual developmental patterns in the sense that the first subject followed the normal predicted chronological pattern, while the second subject had an extended Oedipal phase which resulted in a retarded latency and genital phase. This was due to external circumstances. Both were breastfed and neither identified with the father figure. Both experienced lonely latency phases.

8.1.6 The sexual theories of children:

Regarding the misconceptions that children have about sex, it is apparent that traces of three of these sexual theories persisted in both subjects. Both of them had no one to share these theories with and therefore considered them in isolation. Both the subjects equated sex with aggression, and they both conformed to the compulsion to repeat a trauma in order to master it.

8.1.7 Object choices:

The first subject, being homosexual made a narcissistic object choice choosing boys who represented himself. He experienced no object cathexis towards the objects. The second subject, being heterosexual, made an anaclitical object choice, choosing women representing his mother figure. Although he had an original object cathexis towards the mother figures, he narcissistically retracted it and had no object cathexis towards the objects. This indicates that serial killers are incapable of forming true object cathexis and remain primitively narcissistic.

8.1.8 Ego-syntonic versus ego-dystonic serial killers:

The first subject formed an ego-ideal to which he desperately tried to conform, but failed. He suffers from depression and melancholia as a result. The first subject is therefore an ego-dystonic serial killer, who attempts to dissociate himself from the murders.. He also applied the mechanisms of undoing and isolation employed in obsessional neurosis in an attempt to distanciate himself from the murders, which were unacceptable to his ego-ideal. The first subject apologized in his confessions, but blamed the spirit of his brother and the amafufunyana for the murders. The second subject has no ego-ideal and consequently a high self esteem. He is an ego-syntonic serial killer who does not need the mechanisms of obsessional neurosis to distanciate himself. He showed less remorse and placed the responsibility to apologize for his deeds on his mother, because he felt a mother figure, his sister was responsible for his actions.

8.1.9 Eros and Thanatos:

Both subjects have a strong Eros and their Eros directed the destructive Thanatos instincts on to the victims instead of themselves. The first subject, being ego-dystonic could not accept his own destructive impulses and therefore they took on the identity of his deceased brother who was his aggressor. In this mind frame he was able to sodomize and murder the victims, who represented himself. Through the murders he confirmed to himself that he was no longer a victim. The second subject was ego-syntonic and therefore did not need to take on the identity of another aggressor. He revenged himself on the substitutes of his sister and tolerated no opposition from the male victims, because he does not fear the father figure.

8.1.10 Perversity versus neuroticism:

Both subjects demonstrate the typical behaviour of serial killers to direct their sexual and aggressive fantasies and impulses on their victims. Their ego's are too weak to defend against

these instincts and their egos have a nurturing stance towards the id. The superegos of both subjects are also too weak to enforce any prohibiting influence. Their fantasies are therefore acted out and not repressed, causing lack of neurotic symptoms. They are therefore both perverse and not neurotic. In both cases the community never suspected the subjects to be serial killers and considered them to be normal people. This author refers to this aspect as the typical "boy-next-door-syndrome" of organized serial killers.

8.1.11 Repression:

Regarding the repression process, both subjects experienced spontaneous anxiety. The first subject experienced spontaneous anxiety due to the sodomy by his brother and the second due to the umbilical cord around his neck and the rejection of his sister. Neither of them experienced secondary anxiety which would have caused them to repress the instincts.

8.1.12 Sadism and masochism:

The first subject took on a masochistic stance, experiencing himself to be the victim of sodomy. He transformed the passive masochism into active sadism which he vented on his own substitutes. The second subject did not suffer from the castration complex, nor did he suffer from guilt feelings due to his incestuous impulses or the need for punishment. He was therefore not masochistic. He was primarily sadistic though in the rape of and threats to his victims.

8.2 STATEMENTS SUPPORTED

The author proposed twenty nine statements in chapter 4 which now need to be verified in this final chapter. The following statements seem to be supported by the case studies:

8.2.1 Statement 1:

The subjects did not identify with their father figures. It can be generalized that serial killers show a lack of remorse partly due to lack of identification with the father figure and partly due to lack of socialization during the latency phase, which both lead to the underdevelopment of the superego.

8.2.2 Statement 2:

The Oedipus complex is not the origin of serial homicide, but rather fixations in any of the psychosexual developmental phases of which the Oedipal phase can be one. The first subject fixated in the late latency-early-puberty phase and the second subject fixated in the Oedipal phase.

8.2.3 Statement 3:

The case study of the first subject supports that the subject did not chose children as sexual objects simply because they were available, but rather because they had an intrinsic value to him, by representing himself. Any serial killer's victims will reveal an intrinsic and idiosyncratic element of his pathology.

8.2.4 Statement 4:

Both case studies supports the statement that the subjects' ego's did not experience the impulses of the id as threatening, because their ego's never differentiated properly from their ids and took on a nurturing stance towards the id.

8.2.5 Statement 5:

Both case studies also supports the statement that the ego did not repress the threatening impulses of the id as they were acted out according to the fantasies.

8.2.6 Statement 10:

Both case studies supports the statement that the subjects equated sexual intercourse with aggression.

8.2.7 Statement 11:

Both case studies supports the statement that their childhood sexual theories were considered in isolation and neither subjects had anyone to discuss those theories with.

8.2.8 Statement 12:

Both case studies supports the statement that serial killers are primarily narcissistic and that their ego's will always comply with their ids' needs.

8.2.9 Statement 13:

Both case studies supports the statement that the subjects' Thanatos did not operate in silence but was acted out in the murders.

8.2.10 Statement 14:

Both subjects adhered to the compulsion to repeat. The tension in the id could not be negotiated by the ego and the ego complied to restore the situation of homeostasis. Both subjects also murdered repeatedly in order to attempt to master the psychological trauma they had experienced

as children.

8.2.11 Statement 15:

Both case studies illustrate that the subjects' egos employed the Thanatos in the service of self preservation and directed it on their victims instead of themselves.

8.2.12 Statement 16:

The case studies support the statement that the ego's did not experience any tension or pressure from the superego which caused lack of guilt and true remorse.

8.2.13 Statement 17:

The case studies support the statement that the subjects' ego's only considered something to be bad when it threatened the gratification of the id and not when it threatened loss of love.

8.2.14 Statement 18:

The first case study illustrates a serial killer who suffers from melancholia.

8.2.15 Statement 19:

The first case study supports the statement that a serial killer can also experience loss of energy due to depression.

8.2.16 Statement 21:

Both case studies support the statement that the subjects are perverse rather than neurotic.

8.2.17 Statement 22:

The first case study supports the statement that an ego-dystonic serial killer loses energy in the struggle between "should I commit murder or shouldn't I" as the neurotic loses energy in repression.

8.2.18 Statement 23:

Both case studies support the statement that the subjects experience first spontaneous anxiety, but not secondary anxiety as the id's impulses are acted out and are not feared by the ego.

8.2.19 Statement 24:

Both case studies illustrate that the ego identified strongly with the nurturing mother and acted in a nurturing manner towards the id. The first subject extended this aspect towards the community by creating an ego-ideal. The case studies did not illustrate an example of a serial killer who was rejected by the mother figure and whose ego consequently would have to form its own nurturer towards the id in order to survive.

8.2.20 Statement 26:

The first case study illustrates how the subject employed the same mechanisms used in obsessional neurosis, to distance himself from the murders, being an ego-dystonic killer.

8.2.21 Statement 27:

The first case study illustrates how the subject used undoing, an obsessional neurotic mechanism in order to try and undo his murders. This is a primitive omnipotent mechanism, which illustrates that his ego did not differentiate from the primitive id.

8.2.22 Statement 28:

The first case study illustrates how the subject used isolation, another obsessional neurotic mechanism, to distance himself after the murders. He went to sleep for long periods in the clinics.

8.2.23 Statement 29:

The first case study illustrates how the subject identified with the aggressor and actively abused the victims as he was passively abused as a child. The subject confirms to himself that he is no longer the victim by choosing victims such as he was.

The statements that were not addressed in this thesis are the following:

8.2.24 Statement 6

Regarding Freud's theory that the prototype of the first object will be continued into the latency phase, the author proposed that if the first object was experienced as bad due to lack of breastfeeding, the subject would subsequently not develop empathy during the latency phase. Since both the subjects in this thesis were breastfed sufficiently this statement could not be proved.

8.2.25 Statement 7:

The author's proposal that serial killers continue to masturbate during the latency phase and therefore do not develop neurosis could not be addressed since there was no evidence in either of the cases that the subjects continued to masturbate during the latency phase.

8.2.26 Statement 8:

The author's statement that some serial killers will dissect the womb of female victims due to the childhood belief that a woman has a penis and that the father's penis is incorporated in the mother could not be addressed in this thesis, since none of the subjects dissected the wombs of the victims.

8.2.27 Statement 9:

The author proposed that since children equate faeces with babies, the serial killer who defecates on the body of a female victim, is symbolically impregnating her according to incestuous wishes. Since there is no evidence in the second case study of faeces on or near the bodies, this theory could not be addressed.

8.2.28: Statement 20:

The author proposed that some disorganized serial killers would be inclined to eat the flesh of their victims according to a primitive manner of oral incorporation and the devouring of an object. Since both the serial killers in this thesis are organized and neither exhibited cannibalism, this statement could not be addressed.

8.2.29 Statement 25:

The author proposed that castration anxiety would cause a serial killer to mutilate the womb of the female victim, or to insert a protruding object into her vagina. Although the second subject was curious about the vagina he did not suffer from the castration complex. Neither of the cases provided the opportunity to address this statement.

8.3 MAPPING OF THE PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES OF THE SUBJECTS

The author's hypothetical map for serial killers is presented first followed by each subject's individual map. The maps illustrates the different psychosexual phases, the developmental aspects or characteristics of each phase, the fixations and the resultant features and symbolism in the murders.

PSYCHOSEXUAL PHASES	CHARACTERISTICS	FEATURES IN ADULT MURDER
Oral and anal phases: Destructive fantasies Object incorporation Primarily narcissistic	oral sadistic - mother's breast urethral - mother's body anal sadistic - father's penis in mother's body	female breasts mutilated womb mutilated eat victims
Oedipal phase: Not resolved	No identification with father Superego weak Possible homosexuality Castration anxiety/ impotency Incestuous desires	no remorse defecate on victims' bodies arrogance towards authority foreign object insertion genitals mutilated
Latency phase: Id impulses and fantasies not repressed Possible seduction Masturbation continues	Isolation No empathy, moral or ethical values	no empathy, victims remain objects for narcissistic gratification
Puberty and adolescence: Acceleration in sexual development Fantasies prevail undeterred	Physical maturity and means to commit murders Practice runs for example cruelty to animals Weak heterosexual / homosexual relationships Superego underdeveloped	
Adulthood: Precipitating event for organized serial killers For example rejection		fantasy acted out resulting in repetitive murder

Psychosexual developmental map for subject 1		
PSYCHOSEXUAL PHASES	CHARACTERISTICS	FEATURES IN ADULT MURDER
Oral and anal phases: Destructive fantasies Incorporation of good nurturing mother as well as bad mother (amafufunyana) Primarily narcissistic	Oral gratification Rejected by mother figure	no primitive symbolism
Oedipal phase: Not resolved Capitulated to father Identification with mother	No identification with father Superego weak Homosexuality & castration anxiety	no real remorse male victims
Latency phase: Id impulses and fantasies not repressed Seduction by sodomy	Isolation No empathy, moral or ethical values	no empathy, victims remain objects for narcissistic gratification
Puberty and adolescence: Fantasies prevail undeterred	Physical maturity and means to commit murders Weak relationships Superego underdeveloped	
Adulthood: Loss and depression precipitating murders		fantasy acted out resulting in repetitive murder of child victims

Psychosexual developmental map for subject 2		
Psychosexual PHASES	CHARACTERISTICS	FEATURES IN ADULT MURDER
Oral and anal phases: Destructive fantasies Incorporation of nurturing mother Primarily narcissistic Rejection by mother figure		Mutilation of female breast
Oedipal phase: Not resolved Father no competition	No identification with father Superego weak Heterosexual No castration anxiety Incestuous desires	no remorse arrogance towards other men rape of adult females curiosity about vagina
Latency phase: Id impulses and fantasies not repressed No exposure to peer group	Isolation No empathy, moral or ethical values	no empathy, victims remain objects for narcissistic gratification
Puberty and adolescence: Acceleration in sexual development Fantasies prevail undeterred	Physical maturity and means to commit murders No heterosexual relationships Superego underdeveloped	
Adulthood: Political scenario facilitating first murders Pornography catalyst in serial homicide	No heterosexual relationships	fantasy acted out according to pornography resulting in repetitive murder

8.4 GENERALIZATION AND CONCLUSION

The explanation of Freud and Klein's theories in the case studies have answered the question as to **"what is the origin of serial homicide?"** Psychoanalysis succeeded in explaining the psychosexual development and fixations of the two selected case studies of serial killers. The thesis illustrates that each case has his own developmental path and fixations and although there were similarities and differences between them, the author is of the opinion that the psychoanalytical theory succeeds in explaining the origin of serial homicide.

The author refers the reader to chapter 5 where Yin's principle of generalization is discussed. According to him the findings of an explanatory case study can be generalized to a theory, although only two case studies are discussed. The author therefore proposes that the psychoanalytical theory and her supported statements be generalized to all serial killers. The theory can explain the origin of serial homicide, which the author found lacking in the other theories. Each serial killer will subsequently have his own psychosexual developmental pattern and fixations. It suffices to say that generally all serial killers will have an id which dominates the ego. They will all have an ego that takes on a nurturing stance towards the id whether by identifying with the nurturing mother or by developing it in order to survive. The ego will not completely differentiate from the id, and it will therefore remain narcissistic, omnipotent and primitive. The weak ego may further be burdened with identity crises. The superego will be extremely weak or virtually non-existent.

Serial killers all have fantasies, derived from the id's impulses which will be acted out in the murders. The ego has no power to control these impulses and the superego has no influence on the ego either. The lack of repression causes lack of neurotic symptoms.

No serial killer will have identified with the father figure and all will have experienced isolated latency phases.

It will be possible to trace the symbolism of the modus operandi during the murders back to a developmental fixation. The victims selected by the serial killers, will expose a particular aspect of their pathology.

Bearing in mind that the psychoanalytical theory can explain the origin of serial homicide the contributory role of socio-cultural and systemic factors should not be ignored.

The author is of the opinion that the application of the psychoanalytical theory will enhance the profiling of serial killers. A more accurate profile will assist the detectives in the recognition, apprehension and interrogation of the serial killer.

The author recommends that the untested statements be applied to subsequent case studies. It is also recommended that the psychoanalytical theory be applied to more case studies and operative serial killers.

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