Richard Trenton Chase: A Psychobiography of the "Dracula Killer"

Hanlie Theron Nel

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Magister Societatis Scientiae in Clinical Psychology

in the Faculty of the Humanities

at the University of the Free State

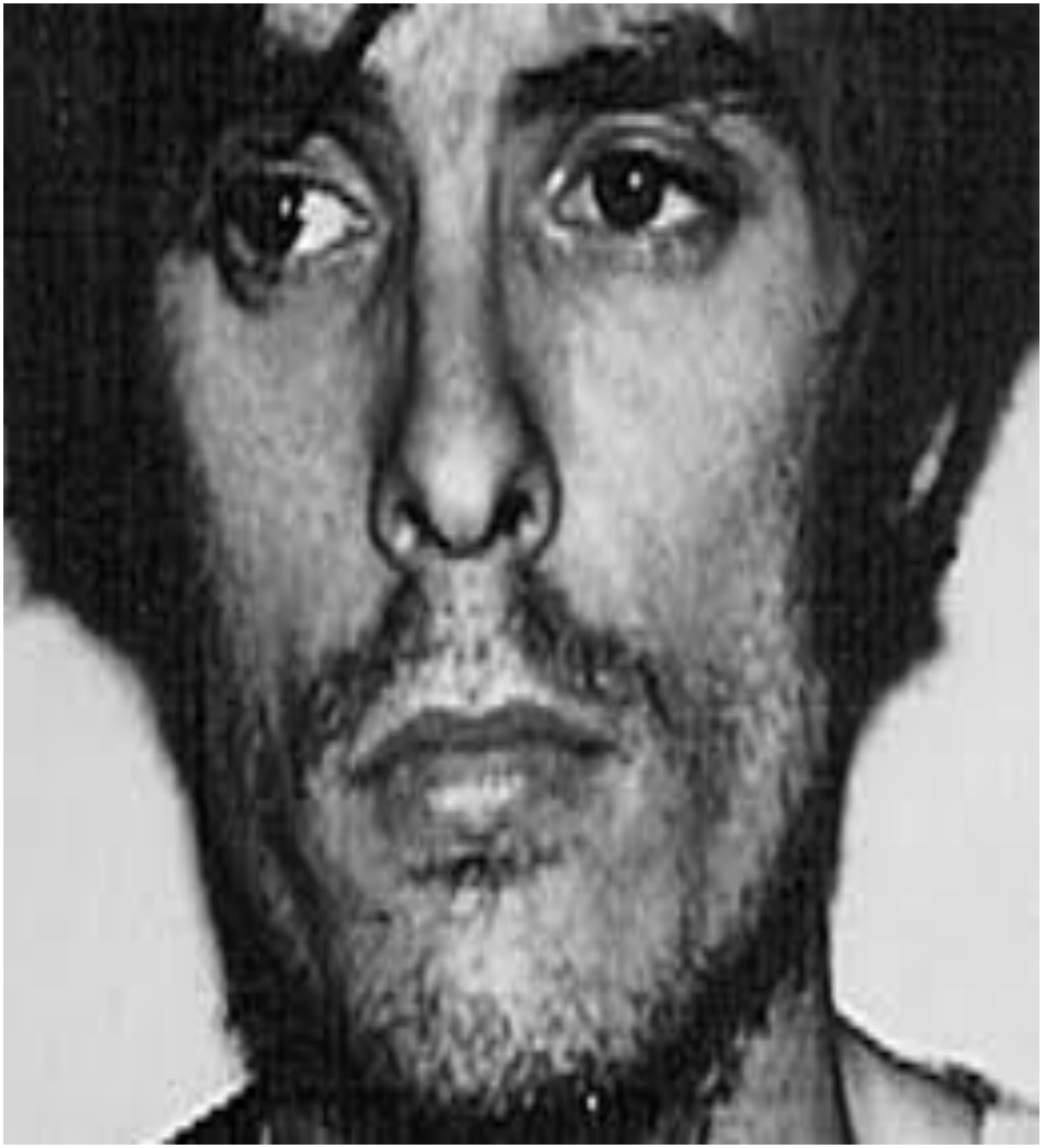
Bloemfontein

August 2014

Supervisor: Prof. J. P. Fouché

Co-supervisor: Dr. P. Naidoo

Photograph of Richard Trenton Chase



Retrieved from http://profilesofmurder.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/richard-trenton-chase.jpg

Acknowledgements

This research endeavour was facilitated by the contributions of more people than the researcher's alone. My sincerest appreciation and gratitude are expressed to:

- My supervisor, Prof. Paul Fouché, for your shared brilliance, guidance, and continued encouragement, patience and support.

- My co-supervisor, Dr. Pravani Naidoo, for your keen interest in this study and your insightful suggestions.

- Ingrid Kluyts, for the editing of this thesis and Danila Liebenberg, for the plagiarism report.

- My dearest boyfriend, Pannas van Deventer, for your patience, understanding, uplifting attitude, assistance with daily responsibilities, and sustained confidence in me.

- My brother-in-law, Gerald Fourie, sister-in-law, Simoné Nel, and my precious nieces and nephews, Mila, Emma, Ruben, and James, for your inspiration.

- The four people to whom this work is dedicated, my father, Prof. Johan Nel, my mother, Marthie Nel, my brother, Adriaan Nel, and my sister, Louise Fourie. "Many reasons have been given for why some people become 'monsters' while others don't. Reasons that make sense. Maybe it can all be condensed into one word – *grace*" (Van der Spuy, 2012, p. 456).

Declaration by the Language Editor

I, Ingrid Kluyts, hereby declare that I have proofread and edited Ms Hanlie Nel's Master's thesis. I currently hold an Honours degree in Language Practice and practice as a language editor and translator at the University of the Free State's School of Open Learning.

Signature 

Date 11 Jun '14

Student Declaration

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted by me for the Magister Societatis Scientiae (Clinical Psychology) degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work[1] and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. I further cede copyright of the dissertation in favour of the University of the Free State.

[1] This work has been evaluated for originality through the turnitin service (Submission ID: 437667530).

Table of Contents

Chapter 3

Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Personality Development

Chapter 4

Serial Murder and the Schahriar Syndrome Model

Chapter 5

Psychobiography and Case Study Research: A Theoretical Overview

Chapter 6

Preliminary Methodological and Ethical Considerations

Chapter 7

Research Design and Methodology

Chapter 8

Findings and Discussion: The Psychosocial Personality Development of Richard Chase

Chapter 9

Findings and Discussion: The Schahriar Syndrome of Richard Chase

List of Tables

List of Appendices

Abstract

This study is a psychobiography of serial murderer, Richard Trenton Chase (1950 – 1980). Serial murder is a complex phenomenon that seems to remain with humankind despite multiple efforts to understand and reduce its occurrence. The workings of the minds of serial murderers continue to bemuse and fascinate scholars and even in our modern-day existence more can be learnt in this regard. The primary aim of this study was to explore and describe the psychodynamic life of Chase with specific reference to (a) his psychosocial personality development through the use of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory, and (b) his functioning as a serial murderer through the use of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. Within this single case psychobiographical research design the theory and the model were systematically used to reinterpret and reconstruct Chase's life into an illuminating psychological narrative.

Chase was an American serial murderer who killed six people in the span of a month in Sacramento, California. He was selected as the subject for this psychobiography through a non-probability purposive sampling procedure. "The Vampire of Sacramento" and "The Dracula Killer" are his famous nicknames because he usually drank his victims' blood and cannibalised their remains. Although his case is often lectured about in the fields of forensics and investigative services, Chase's personality development, motivations and psychological underpinnings as serial murderer have not yet been comprehensively explored and/or studied. Furthermore, no psychobiography had previously been done on Chase.

Chase's life history was uncovered in this psychobiography through systematic and consistent collection, analysis and interpretation of available biographical data which consisted mostly of published materials. Five significant historical life periods were highlighted and salient themes in the collected data were identified and extracted for analysis through the use of Alexander's (1988, 1990) model. Additionally, data were organised and integrated in a conceptual matrix which further guided the analysis and the presentation and discussion of the findings. The secondary aim of this study was to informally test the content and aspects of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) psychosocial personality development theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model through analytical generalisation (Yin, 2009).

The findings of this study suggested that Chase had difficulty with his psychosocial personality development and that it was largely unfavourable. According to the findings, Chase also exhibited the five primitive psychic mechanisms in his functioning as serial murderer and thus fulfilled the criteria of the proposed Schahriar syndrome. Furthermore, this study supported the applicability and relevance of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory for gaining a psychological understanding of the individual. In addition, the findings supported the use of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model to provide a systematic psychological understanding of serial murderers' functioning.

Keywords: Psychobiography; Richard Trenton Chase; serial murder; Erikson; psychosocial personality development; Claus and Lidberg; Schahriar syndrome; primitive psychic mechanisms

Chapter 1

Introduction and Problem Statement

1.1. Chapter Preview

In this introductory chapter a general orientation to the study is provided. The rationale and problem statement of the study are discussed, followed by the research aim and theoretical orientation. An overview of the chapters in the study is also presented.

1.2. General Orientation to the Study

This research project entails a psychobiographical account of the life of serial murderer, Richard Trenton Chase (1950 – 1980). The researcher attempted to explore and describe the psychodynamic life of Chase with specific reference to (a) his psychosocial personality development and (b) his functioning as a serial murderer. Two psychological frameworks were used to investigate Chase's psychosocial personality development and serial murder over his entire lifespan. The first framework is Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) psychosocial personality developmental theory. The second framework is Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. The theory and the model are comprehensively discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively.

The research design is a single case psychobiographical study over a lifespan. Within this design Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model were used in a systematic manner to coherently reinterpret and reconstruct Chase's life into an illuminating psychological narrative. The biographical data that were collected for analysis consisted mainly of published materials and included two biographies, excerpts from interviews, forensic reports, newspaper articles and select audio-visual media. The rationale and problem statement of the study are discussed in the next section.

1.3. Rationale and Problem Statement

Psychobiographical study is aimed at transforming an individual's life into a coherent and illuminating story by using psychological (especially personality) theory in a systematic way (McAdams, 2006). The clarity sought in psychobiography is psychological in nature. The main emphasis is on the subject's interior world and the effects of his/her life history on his/her mind and actions (Schultz, 2005).

Even in the 21st century, little is known about the mind of a serial killer (Zeigler & Kurtz, 2007). A preoccupation with demonising serial killers exists within society and 'monster' is a term often reverted to when attempts to explain their incomprehensible behaviours are made (Robertson, 2004). A comprehensive life narrative can create a better understanding of serial killers and how their idiosyncratic deviant behaviour develops. That in turn could extend the view that serial killers are not monsters, but human beings with tortured souls (Pistorius, 2000).

Schultz (2005) noted that, despite promising beginnings, psychobiographical scholarship has not progressed sufficiently because too few hands have worked the field. He added that academic psychologists generally prefer the pursuit of rigorous methods and nomothetical problems, thereby neglecting to attend to the type of soft, idiographic scholarship that is psychobiography.[2] Even the earliest commentators on idiographic/nomothetic issues (e.g., Münsterberg in 1898, Stern in 1902, and Allport in 1937), emphasised that it is important that the science of psychology maintain a balance between both nomothetic and idiographic approaches (Hurlburt & Knapp, 2006). Despite this, however, such a balance has been neglected with idiographic approaches such as psychobiography remaining in the minimum (Schultz, 2013).

In South Africa psychobiography has not yet fully developed its identity (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) pointed out that a passion for the genre, active academic social engineering and the establishment of psychobiography as a curriculum - driven field are required to grow institutionalised academic psychobiography in South Africa. However, psychobiographical research not only has considerable logistical and

[2] Psychologists use the term 'idiographic' to refer to the characteristics of unique individuals and the term 'nomothetic' to refer to universal characteristics (Hurlburt & Knapp, 2006).

administrative value, but also holds rich academic benefits for the theoretical development of South African psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

Psychobiography could be valuable for longitudinal research and theory in various fields including personology, developmental psychology, positive psychology, health psychology, and career psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The value of psychobiography could further be highlighted by discussing the following reasons why psychologists should become biographers (Elms, 2005). Useful applications of both psychological knowledge as well as methodological and conceptual skills could be made. Furthermore, it would be worthy to test nomothetic hypotheses and to yield new theoretical concepts. The last two reasons include that a personality could be understood as a worthy goal in and of itself, and the available body of psychobiographical studies could be added to.

Selecting a particular personality for psychobiographical study is chiefly based on the individual's significance or interest (Howe, 1997). Elms (1994) advised psychobiographical researchers to let the subject choose them and not the other way around. Richard Trenton Chase was selected as the subject for psychobiography on the basis of interest value and uniqueness as well as the many unsolved mysteries surrounding his life. Chase was an American serial killer who killed six people in the span of a month in Sacramento, California. He was nicknamed "The Vampire of Sacramento" and "The Dracula Killer" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 178) because he drank his victims' blood and cannibalised their remains. His victims included women, men, a young boy and a baby (Storey, Strieter, Tarr, & Thornton, 2005). Apart from allegedly being abused as a child and suffering from alcoholism and drug abuse as a teenager, different psychiatrists also diagnosed Chase with several different disorders including hypochondria, delusional disorder and paranoid schizophrenia (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). A thorough literature search of existing publications (conducted both online, for example in databases such as Academic Search Complete, Ebscohost, Legal Source, and Psycinfo, and offline, for example in books such as *Whoever fights monsters* by R. K. Ressler and T. Shachtman, 1992, and *The world's most evil psychopaths* by J. Marlowe, 2014) revealed that no psychobiography had been done on Richard Trenton Chase.

This study provides information on the applicability and relevance of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial personality development. It will hopefully contribute to the existing knowledge base of psychobiographies which could be used for

further refinement of aspects of psychological theory. The research will also add to the growing field of academic psychobiography in South Africa. Furthermore, it contributes to a better understanding of Chase as a serial murderer and provides information on the applicability and relevance of the Schahriar syndrome model and the psychic mechanisms involved in serial murder. The research aim is discussed in the following section.

1.4. Research Aim

The primary aim of the study was to explore and describe the psychodynamic life of Richard Trenton Chase. The focus was specifically on the exploration and description of his psychosocial personality development and the primitive psychic mechanisms as well as their possible contributing factors prevalent in his functioning as serial murderer.

It is worthy to note that the study did not seek to generalise the research findings to a larger population through statistical generalisation. Instead, the secondary aim of the study was to informally test the content and aspects of psychosocial theory and the Schahriar syndrome model through analytical generalisation (Yin, 2009). This means that the research findings were compared to the expected outcomes of the two psychological frameworks used in the study. This comparison was facilitated by the creation of a dialogue between the exploratory-descriptive findings and the applied theoretical concepts and propositions (Fouché, 1999). The theoretical orientation is presented in the next section.

1.5. Theoretical Orientation

Chase's psychosocial personality development was investigated by using Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) psychosocial theory. Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) supported an epigenetic principle whereby biological (genetic) and environmental forces interact to bring forth particular developmental outcomes. Development unfolds in a sequence of eight stages, predetermined by a genetic "fundamental plan" (Erikson, 1963, p. 65) and the demands set on the individual at each stage by society. Progression and development of the unfolding personality depends on the person's readiness to be driven forward, to be aware of, and to interact with a widening radius of individuals and institutions.

The primitive psychic mechanisms prevalent in Chase's functioning as serial murderer were investigated by using Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. Claus and Lidberg (1999) defined a syndrome as a cluster of personality traits or other behaviour patterns and added that the Schahriar syndrome model is intended as an aid to facilitate diagnostic understanding. The model views serial murderers as a homogenous group with regards to five specific psychic mechanisms and therefore manages to provide a systematic understanding of serial murder. The five psychic mechanisms are omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation, and symbiotic merger. In short, this means that when committing the murder, the serial killer experiences a god-like feeling, has violent fantasies, performs some kind of ritual, tortures the victims as if they were objects, and tries to achieve a fusion with the innermost identity of the victim. Whether these traits or behaviour patterns will be developed, adopted and internalised in pathological degrees by the individual depends on many circumstantial factors and influences beginning in infancy and continuing throughout the individual's life. An example often used is the many possible effects the mother – infant relationship has on the individual as a child, adolescent and adult (Knight, 2006). The primitive psychic mechanisms prevalent in Chase's functioning as well as possible contributing factors and influences were thus explored. An overview of the study is provided in the next section.

1.6. Overview of the Study

This study consists of 11 chapters, the first being an introduction and problem statement. Chapters 2 to 5 are literature review chapters. In Chapter 2, a comprehensive historical overview of the salient aspects in the life of Richard Trenton Chase is presented and described. Chapter 3 provides a detailed discussion of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial personality development. Chapter 4 entails an exploration of the phenomenon of serial murder and a comprehensive discussion of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. A theoretical overview of psychobiography and case study research is presented in Chapter 5. Preliminary methodological and ethical considerations related to the psychobiographical approach are discussed in Chapter 6. This is followed by a discussion of the research design and methodology in Chapter 7.

The findings of the study are presented and discussed in Chapters 8, 9 and 10. In Chapter 8, the findings as related to Chase's psychosocial personality development are

discussed. Chapter 9 provides a discussion of the findings as related to the Schahriar syndrome model. Chapter 10 provides an integrative discussion of the findings in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9. The study is concluded in Chapter 11 and a discussion of the limitations and value of the study as well as recommendations for future research is provided. The final chapter also includes the researcher's general reflective remarks about the study.

1.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter provided the reader with a general orientation to the study. The rationale and problem statement of the study were discussed, followed by the research aim and theoretical orientation. The chapter also included an overview of the outline of the study. The historical life of Richard Trenton Chase is described in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

The Life of Richard Trenton Chase

2.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter provides a historical overview of the life of Richard Trenton Chase. Chase's lifespan is presented over five historical periods ranging from his birth in 1950 to his death in 1980. An overview of the major aspects and events in each of the five periods is also provided.

2.2. Historical Periods in the Life of Richard Trenton Chase

The literature review on the life of Richard Chase revealed five distinguishable, but interrelated periods of development throughout his lifespan. Each of these historical periods together with its salient biographical events are discussed in the ensuing subsections.

2.2.1. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

Richard Trenton Chase (full name, Anthony Richard Trenton Chase Tuma) was born on May 23, 1950 in Santa Clara County, California. He was the first born child of Beatrice Chase and Richard Chase senior. His later born sister, Pamela Chase, was four years younger than him. Before he reached the age of five the family moved to Sacramento, California (Dennison, 2009a). According to Biondi and Hecox (1992) Chase had not been an abused child. On the contrary, he received the love and support of his parents all his life. Biondi and Hecox (1992) also claimed that neither sibling rivalry nor any unusual circumstances prevailed in Chase's childhood. However, Morrison (2011) stated that the Chase family was considered to be the typical "1950 dysfunctional family" in which a lot of arguing and some physical abuse were present, but it was not severe enough to be classified as "out of the norm" of the culture of that time. Thus, according to the above authors no severe difficulties existed in the family. Other authors (e.g., Castro, 2009; Nieto, 2012; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) differ more radically from them in this regard.

According to Athena Intelligence (2012)[3] problems including financial restraints, constant marital bickering, and physical and emotional abuse existed in Chase's family environment. Nieto (2012) indicated that Chase was raised in a strict household and often beaten by his father. On one account Chase's mother and grandmother even accused his father of being too strict a disciplinarian and overly critical of his son. Allegedly however, Chase was also a victim of abuse at the hands of his mother, Beatrice (Castro, 2009). Beatrice was known to be a mentally unstable woman who consulted psychologists and psychiatrists on numerous occasions. According to Ressler and Shachtman (1992) one such group of mental health care professionals labelled her as, the classic mother from whom a schizophrenic child would result – highly aggressive, hostile, and provocative. Beatrice often accused Richard senior of infidelity, of poisoning her, and of using drugs. In an interview with Richard senior, he said that these accusations and other loud arguments had to have been overheard by his son (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Some authors believe that the seeds of Chase's problems have been planted with the marital strife of his parents (Bovsun, 2010; DirectEssays, 1969; Green, 2011).

Prior to age 10, Chase's teachers and acquaintances thought of him as a sweet and cooperative boy. Apart from consistently wetting the bed, he displayed no other behavioural problems and the bed wetting also ceased soon after his 8th birthday (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey, Strieter, Tarr, & Thornton, 2005). Two years later however, Chase was passionately lighting matches and setting fires (Lucas, 2012). He once set fire to a neighbour's garage because he disapproved of the loud music they had constantly played (DirectEssays, 1969). One afternoon in 1960, when Chase was 10 years old, Beatrice took a visiting neighbour to her backyard where she pointed to some flower boxes. She told her visitor that her son had buried a cat among the boxes. The neighbour recalled later that quite a few cats were missing from the neighbourhood around that time (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Ramsland (2012a) reported that Chase was indeed killing cats at age 10. Storey et al. (2005) stated that Chase's killings started with cats and later moved on to include dogs, birds, and rabbits.

[3] Athena Intelligence is a registered specialist security facility that provides bespoke investigation services and deals with complicated and challenging jurisdictions. Some of their operations and training services include, specialist research; covert surveillance; close protection and residential security; kidnap, ransom, and extortion advisory; and complex investigations (Athena Intelligence, 2012, 2013).

It is clear that Chase exhibited evidence of enuresis, pyromania, and zoo sadism by the age he was 10. The aforementioned are merely academic terms for bed wetting, fire setting, and animal torture and/or killing as discussed in the previous paragraph. These three phenomena together are commonly known as the Macdonald Triad (MacDonald, 1963) and are considered an early sign of serial murder (Miller, 2013).

The family's problems escalated as Chase grew older and by the age he was 12 they lost their house due to inadequate finances (Storey et al., 2005). They once again had to move into a small apartment similar to the one they had rented for the first three years of Chase's life (Paul, 2010).

2.2.2. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

Chase was of normal intelligence with an IQ of 95 (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). After finishing primary school in 1963 he entered grade nine at Mira Loma High School, Sacramento in 1964. Founded in 1960, it was a relatively new establishment at the time. Today Mira Loma is regarded as one of the most reputable public high schools in the area (Greatschools, n.d.). In the middle of his ninth grade Chase's parents separated. As a consequence he and Pamela had to reside with relatives in Los Angeles for a while (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). The Chase family soon reunited and returned to Sacramento well in time for Chase to finish grade nine (Paul, 2010).

For some time at least Richard, or Rick as his peers called him, was considered to be conventionally dressed and able to fit in to some degree (Stone, 2011). He had many friends, both male and female, and classmates described him as neat, well-mannered, and well-groomed (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). He dated several girls, two of whom he considered more serious than the rest. Both girls were about two years younger than him and both considered him as their steady date for a while. These relationships were broken off when it got to the point where Chase attempted intercourse but was unable to attain and maintain an erection (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Wilson, 2011).

According to Ressler and Shachtman (1992) Chase's behaviour began to deteriorate in his sophomore (2nd) year of high school. He became rebellious and defiant, had no ambition and his room was in a state of disarray most of the time. It was also during this time

that he began experimenting with drugs. Consumption of extremely heavy doses of marijuana and LSD (Lysergic Acid Diethylamide) (Hofmann, 1980) became common practice for Chase (Morrison, 2011). One of his previous girlfriends said that he started hanging out with the "acid-head" crowd (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 12). In 1965 he was arrested for possession of marijuana and the juvenile court sentenced him to do community clean-up work on weekends (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). Chase was outraged at his father for refusing to hire a lawyer to defend him (Biondi & Hecox, 1992).

Blanco (2013) indicated that Chase was also abusing alcohol. He once attended a party where he had more than enough to drink. In his drunken state he ran down the street shouting something and making a noise that no one could understand. A friend ran after him and took him home where he sobered up. Chase admitted to the friend that his inability to function sexually affected him deeply (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). A year later, in 1966, he was caught stealing a bottle of liquor from a neighbour. He showed no embarrassment or remorse concerning the theft (Biondi & Hecox, 1992).

As Chase progressed through high school his records reflected a growing defiance of authority that grew into open rebellion before his years at Mira Loma ended. Periods emerged when he was hopelessly selfish and inconsiderate. He often told lies when it proved more convenient than telling the truth (Montaldo, 2013). These periods became more frequent as he grew older. He rationalised his actions and blamed his misfortune on others. He was quick with alibis or explanations when he strayed from what is generally regarded as acceptable behaviour. As his behaviour deteriorated, so did his grades. He managed to graduate from high school in 1968 with C's, D's, and F's (Storey et al., 2005).

In December of the same year, when he was 18 years old, Chase consulted a male psychiatrist specialising in adolescent problems (Ramsland, 2012a). Chase complained about his erectile dysfunction and told the psychiatrist about his failed attempts at having intercourse. He also shared fears regarding his emotional stability as well as concerns about his family and the problems they were experiencing (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). The psychiatrist told Chase that repressed anger was the most common cause of male impotence and that the anger was often directed at women in general (Gilks & Saunders, 2013). He also suspected that Chase might have been suffering from a mental illness. At the time, however, he did not think it necessary to commit Chase to a psychiatric hospital (Sophia, 2010).

For a few months in 1969 Chase held a job (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Although unspecified, it was the only job that he ever managed to maintain for more than a day or two. Chase also thought about college and his family encouraged him to continue his education. He enrolled at American River College where he oscillated between various courses for a couple of years (Storey et al., 2005). Specific courses that Chase attended were not indicated in the biographical data on him, but it was stated that he did not take his studies seriously. His grades were below average and Richard senior noticed that fewer of his friends visited him at home. His appearance deteriorated, his hair grew, and he was somewhat scroungy. Beatrice refused to notice the difference. She told her friends that her son did not look any different from other youths of his generation which was the era of hippies (Biondi & Hecox, 1992).

At the age of 20, Chase moved out of his parents' house into a house on Annandale Lane. He shared the house with two young women, one of whom he had known since high school and the other, a friend of hers. The housemates described Chase as a slob and complained about him for seldom, if ever, bathing and never washing his clothes. To their minds his behaviour was generally repulsive (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). According to Davis (2005) he once walked out of his room entirely naked, sat down, and started an unintelligible conversation with female friends who were visiting his housemates. Another time, a friend who attended a party at the Annandale residence claimed that as the evening wore on he found Chase lying on the floor moaning and making strange noises. The friend said that Chase was not able to talk in any intelligible way. A female guest at yet another party remembered Chase leaning out the window and waving a gun at strangers on the street (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). On another occasion Chase boarded close the bedroom door and knocked a hole in the closet wall. He then nailed the closet door shut from the inside. Chase told people that he had to nail the door shut because he was being sneaked upon (Gilks & Saunders, 2013; Ramsland, 2012a). Chase's strange behaviour scared his housemates and they requested him to move out. He refused and since they did not want to argue with a "crazy" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 167), they moved out instead (Montaldo, 2013; Morgan, 2008).

According to his housemates Chase was using marijuana on a daily basis before they left. He did not restrict himself to marijuana either, but used any and all drugs he could get

hold of, including barbiturates and amphetamines (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Gilks & Saunders, 2013). Chase seemed to withdraw increasingly from his surroundings and the things and people he had known. Visits from his friends were few and eventually became virtually non-existent. (Montaldo, 2013).

2.2.3. The delusional nomad (1971 – 1974)

In 1971 Chase's life began sliding steadily downhill. He dropped out of college, did not work often and had trouble holding jobs. His behaviour became increasingly strange to the point of being completely irrational. His search for his place in the world took him to Utah in 1972 (Storey et al., 2005). On this solitary journey he was arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol. His father bailed him out of jail and Chase returned to Sacramento. He told his parents that he had been gassed in jail (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). His physical appearance had deteriorated further and he constantly complained about unusual and even impossible injuries and ailments. He expressed his concerns to anyone who would listen. Among these were that his stomach was upside down and that his heart frequently stopped beating (Dennison, 2009b; Lucas, 2012; Sallamy, 2011).

Despite a decade's efforts to make the marriage work, Chase's parents divorced in November 1972 (Nieto, 2012). Chase moved in with his father and during his stay, caused the elder Richard more than enough trouble. One evening in April, 1973 Chase joined a small social gathering at an acquaintance's apartment. He was drinking from a bottle wrapped in a paper bag. The two men who were at the gathering went to buy some beer, leaving their female friend alone with Chase. While they were gone Chase began fondling the woman and would not stop even after she insisted he quit. With lewd intent, he followed her around the apartment (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). When the men returned they ordered Chase to leave. Instead of doing so, he delivered a screaming declaration that no one had a right to tell him what to do or when to leave. After an hour of arguing he finally left, but only to return a few minutes later. Supposedly looking for his cigarettes he entered the apartment again. He started shouting and pushing one of the men, saying that no one could make him do anything he did not want to do. The arguments became physical and during the brawl a .22 calibre gun fell out of Chase's pocket. The second man grabbed it and threw it into the bedroom. Chase was still outraged, shouting that the world had no right to tell him what to do and that they could go ahead and call the police, because he did not care. Eventually

deputies came and took him to lodgings in the county jail (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Once again his father had to bail him out (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Back at his father's house, Chase was complaining all the while about nervousness and a rapid pulse. His father took him to a hospital where he was treated for hypertension (Storey et al., 2005). In the next few weeks Richard senior started a few "do-it-yourself" home improvement projects and his son decided to help. Chase worked alone and unsupervised on several fledgling projects. His work was perfectly acceptable. When his father suggested that he go out and get a paying job Chase replied that he was still sick and had to build up his strength before he tried to work for an employer outside the family (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). During this time Chase constantly complained about not having a car. Arguments ensued about whether he should own a car when he was not healthy enough to keep a regular job. Both of them grew tired of the continuous strife and Chase finally moved in with his mother (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Beatrice noticed that Chase had become extremely thin. His sister thought he was about as skinny as a man could get. She also described him as "spooky" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 170) which caused her to run from the house on more than one occasion. Both Beatrice and Pamela were often terrorised by Chase's violent temper tantrums (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Montaldo, 2013). Unable to get along with either parent, Chase resided with his grandmother in Los Angeles for a while in May, 1973 (Storey et al., 2005). This entailed helping his uncle and her operate a school for developmentally challenged children. Chase's job was to transport the children to and from school with a bus (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Since his relatives were not exactly satisfied with his behaviour, this did not last long. He was nervous and upset most of the time and constantly complained of heart and stomach discomfort. He flatly refused to keep his hands or clothes clean. At times he presented with angry, hostile, and peculiar behaviour. According to his relatives there was nothing rational about many of the things he did (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Returning to Sacramento and his mother's house after a few months, he went for several physical examinations. At one stage he decided he had cardiac arrest and called the fire department (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Upon arrival the paramedic refused to treat Chase and suggested Beatrice take him to a hospital. On the first of December, 1973 he was admitted at the American River Hospital (Dennison, 2009b; Storey et al., 2005). He told the

attending physician that his heart and kidneys had stopped working, his pulmonary artery had been stolen, his blood had stopped flowing, and his entire body was numb (DirectEssays, 1969; Lucas, 2012; Morgan, 2008; Sallamy, 2011). The physician did not find any medical complications and referred Chase to a psychiatrist. In the emergency room the psychiatrist noticed that Chase was filthy and foul smelling (Biondi & Hecox, 1992).

Chase defended his sanity and emphatically denied any hallucinations and delusions. He insisted that he knew as much about the subject of medicine as any of his attending physicians. The psychiatrist's diagnosis indicated that Chase suffered from chronic paranoid schizophrenia (Athena Intelligence, 2012), but the psychiatrist also believed that a toxic psychosis (i.e., substance induced psychosis) could not be ruled out (Dennison, 2009b; Gilks & Saunders, 2013). Therefore, he referred Chase for 72 hours observation at the psychiatric ward. According to Storey et al. (2005) Chase was allowed to leave the hospital without permission and that is exactly what he did. His mother returned him only to find him out of the hospital again a few days later. This time she told the doctors that she had decided to handle the problem at home. The psychiatrist told Beatrice that her son needed treatment and care, yet he was not a danger to himself or anyone else. Throughout 1974 Chase complained of physical disabilities, one after the other. Time and again his mother took him to physicians who, despite multiple brain scans, electrocardiograms, and thyroid tests, could find nothing physically wrong with him (Ramsland, 2012a).

2.2.4. Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 – 1976)

In 1975, when Chase was 25 years of age, he applied for social security assistance and welfare (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). This necessitated another physical examination in which the physician found him coherent and well behaved with an intact memory. The physician also claimed that Chase's judgment was not impaired and that he knew what he was doing. However, he was thought to be neurotic and the physician had some comments about Chase's physical appearance. He observed that his patient was at best unkempt looking. He weighed 145 pounds - approximately 65kg - which was considered dangerously underweight for his height of five foot eleven - approximately 1.8m (Gilks & Saunders, 2013; Ramsland, 2012a). The physician recommended him for welfare based on the conclusion that Chase was an impossible job candidate (Storey et al., 2005).

In the next five months Chase exercised and gained weight. Then he appeared to slip away from reality. He started to accuse his mother of poisoning him (Athena Intelligence, 2012; Blanco, 2013; Castro, 2009; Sophia, 2010), and threw the meals she prepared on the floor. He cooked for himself and refused to drink from an open milk carton. Once Chase flavoured the milk with soap because he thought it tasted strange before (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). On more than one occasion he would put oranges on his head, believing that his brain would absorb the vitamin C. According to Douglas and Olshaker (1995) he thought that his cranial bones had separated and were moving around inside his head. Thus, he decided to shave his head in order to observe the movement. After reading an article about cardiac patients, he demanded that his mother buy an oxygen tent. He frequently conversed with an imaginary person whom he believed was sending him messages via telepathy (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Twice he accused Beatrice of controlling his mind. His father demanded that Chase move from his mother's house and located an apartment for him on Cannon Street (Biondi & Hecox, 1992).

Residing on his own, Chase began riding his bicycle to a nearby rabbit farm. He bought rabbits there and butchered them at home. He did not complain about physical ailments and his parents, who did not know about the rabbits, thought he was doing well. However, on an evening in April, 1976, Richard senior found his son sitting in his apartment with the door open, pale and sick, wearing only his shorts (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). He told his father that he had purchased a bad rabbit and might have food poisoning. Apparently he injected himself with a rabbit's blood (Athena Intelligence, 2012; DirectEssays, 1969; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Richard senior promptly took him to Sacramento Community Clinic where he was admitted to the emergency room. He explained to the doctor that he had eaten a rabbit that had eaten battery acid which, consequently seeped through the walls of his stomach and into his flesh (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Additionally, he insisted that his blood pressure was zero. A physical examination revealed he had septicaemia (i.e., blood poisoning) (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Chase was completely irrational and demanded to be moved because he was afraid of contracting a disease from one of the other patients in the ward. His parents informed the doctor about Chase's history of drug abuse which included marijuana, LSD, and narcotics. The doctor, convinced that Chase suffered from paranoid schizophrenia, transferred him to the psychiatric unit at the American River Hospital. There, the medical team agreed that he

indeed had somatic delusions, claiming that his body was falling apart and that his circulatory system was not functioning (Sallamy, 2011). A 14 day hold for further psychiatric evaluation was ordered and on May 3, 1976 conservatorship proceedings started. Chase was coherent enough to announce that he had spoken to a lawyer and to ask what would happen if he left the hospital. He was told that he would be returned to either the hospital staff or the sheriff. Despite this, he ran away two days later. His father returned him the next day and he was transferred to Beverly Manor, a facility specialising in the treatment of mental patients (Storey et al., 2005).

At Beverly Manor, Chase earned the nickname, "Dracula" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 178). He was preoccupied with blood and when he talked at all, it was inevitably about killing animals. Once he announced that it was easy to kill and butcher rabbits because they looked like mechanical toys (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). The nurses found him with fresh blood on his face several times. Beheaded birds piled up outside his bedroom window. The nurses were frightened of Chase and two of them quit during his stay at the institution. His parents, appointed as conservators on the 2nd of June, decided to have Chase discharged. He checked out of Beverly Manor on September 29, 1976. His discharge summary stated that he had developed good socialisation skills, a realistic view of his problems, and that his thinking was clearer than when he entered the establishment (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005).

Chase used his monthly social security grant of $246 to rent apartment number 12 at the Watt Avenue Complex, while Beatrice shopped and paid for groceries and additional utilities (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). For a while Chase lived up to his obligations. He kept doctor's appointments during which he did not have any peculiar complaints. After two or three months, however, he started complaining of headaches which, according to him, were caused by a blood clot in his head (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). A computerised brain scan revealed that nothing was wrong, neurologically (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

2.2.5. Murders, trial and death (1977 – 1980)

"*If the door is locked, that means you're not welcome*" (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 21).

Shortly after Chase's parents decided to end the conservatorship in 1977, Chase moved out of his apartment and left for Washington, D.C. He travelled alone, carrying $1 000 in retroactive social security payments (Storey et al., 2005). He was gone for 18 days when he returned with a new possession – a silver 1966 Ford Ranchero. He stayed with Beatrice for a few days but after an argument in which he slapped and knocked her to the floor, moved back into the Watt Avenue Complex, this time into apartment number 15 (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). He set forth his brutal acts towards animals and revisited his delusional ideas in an even exacerbated demeanour. To name a few, he ripped open his mother's cat in front of her and smeared its blood all over his face, he mutilated her German Shepherd, he bought and stole dogs and puppies only to dismember and devour them, and above all, he tormented the families whose pets he had abolished, if they attempted to find them or report them as missing (Stone, 2011). Among his delusions were that he was reincarnated as one of the bank robbers associated with Jesse James, that he was going to disappear, and that a Nazi crime syndicate from high school was after him with a soap dish – their weapon of choice – that would turn his blood to powder (Blanco, 2013; Bovsun, 2010; Douglas & Olshaker, 1995). He frequently spoke of flying saucers and unidentified flying objects and he became fascinated with the Hillside Strangler, two men who were kidnapping, raping, torturing, and killing female victims in Los Angeles at the time (Gibson, 2006).

On August 3, 1977 police officers found Chase's Ford Ranchero near Pyramid Lake Reservation in Nevada. Inside were a 30/30 lever-action Marlin rifle loaded with four rounds and a .22 semiautomatic rifle with two rounds in its clip. Both rifles were stained with blood. On the driver's seat a pile of men's clothing and a pair of bloody tennis shoes had been left. Lastly and probably worst of all, in a white plastic bucket on the floor, a raw perfectly shaped liver was sitting in a pool of fresh blood (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). Trying to find the person responsible, the officers scanned the area with field glasses. Perched on a rock about one mile (1.6km) away they spotted an unclothed figure who immediately bolted in the opposite direction. They caught up with him and took him into custody. Blood had been smeared all over his stark naked body and face (Wilson, 2011). The man identified himself as Richard Trenton Chase, age 27, of Sacramento, California. When asked where the blood came from, Chase replied in a soft, high-pitched voice "it's seeping from me" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 3). Laboratory tests revealed the blood and liver to be from a cow and as a result, all charges were dropped and Chase was released (Shechter, 2004).

On the 29th of December, 1977 he killed his first victim, Ambrose Griffin. The 51 year old male was busy unloading groceries from his car when Chase drove by and shot him in the chest (Biondi, 2011; Dennison, 2009c). Frank Davidson, a crime scene investigation (CSI) officer, pronounced that not much evidence was picked up at the crime scene, but the next day a couple of shell casings were found down Robertson Avenue, the street of the Griffin residence (Davidson, 2011). On January 5, 1978, Chase bought a copy of the "Sacramento Bee", the local paper of the city. He kept an editorial about the Griffin killing along with its societal condemnation of the futile shooting (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

On the 23rd of January, 1978 Chase proceeded to kill his second victim, Theresa Wallin, a 12 week pregnant female aged 22 years. On that day Chase was walking around a neighbourhood executing repugnant acts. He entered one house where he defecated on a child's bed and urinated in a drawer filled with baby clothes (Wilson, 2011). Eventually he entered house 2630 on Tioga Way, the Wallin residence (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Theresa was on her way to take out a garbage bag when Chase turned the knob of the front door. Upon entering they stared at each other after which he pulled the trigger of his .22 calibre handgun. The first bullet entered her right hand, the second her skull, and the uncalled for third bullet, her left temple. Then Chase procured a steak knife and an empty yoghurt can from the kitchen and dragged his victim to a bedroom (Biondi, 2011). He opened her clothes from head to toe in order to have a sufficient entrée to the corpse. Chase carved off her left nipple, cut open her torso from the sternum to the left hipbone, pulled out parts of her intestine, and concocted a mixture of blood and organs inside the yoghurt can (Biondi, 2011; Davidson, 2011; Irey, 2011; Sallamy, 2011). The mixture was consumed. Later, examinations revealed that the victim had not been sexually assaulted. The pathology /autopsy report indicated that the victim's chest cavity was the result of forceful upward thrusts. Detective Fred Homen emphasised how remarkable the kidneys were "in that they were severed (by the assailant) and were both resting on the left side beneath the liver" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 47). Oddments of a 3 month old fetus were also found (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

On the 27th of January, 1978 four more people had fallen victim to Chase's hands. In the front room of 3207 Merrywood Drive, 52 year old Daniel Meredith had been shot in the head. Evelyn Miroth, a 38 year old woman, had been killed and mutilated, her abdominal

cavity opened and some organs removed, in a bedroom at the back of the house. This time Richard also sodomised his female victim. On the opposite side of the bed her six year old son, Jason Miroth, had been shot in the head. The walls and floor of the bathroom were smeared with blood and the bathtub was filled with bloody water. Chase killed a 22 month old child and took the body with him. The decapitated body of baby David Ferreira was found on March 23, 1978 inside a cardboard box in a vacant parking lot between a church and a supermarket (Dennison, 2009d; Montaldo, 2013; Ramsland, 2012a; Ressler & Shachtman, 1997).

After careful investigation and congregation, police were able to locate Chase's apartment and take him into custody on the 28th of January (Storey et al., 2005). While in interrogation, Chase initially refused to talk to anyone. At a later stage, he was interviewed by two psychiatrists who found that Chase displayed no remorse or guilt and described the crimes in a concrete manner. They managed to elicit the following confessional statement.

> The first person I killed was sort of an accident. My car was broken down. I wanted to leave but I had no transmission. I had to get an apartment. Mother wouldn't let me in at Christmas. Always before, she let me come in at Christmas, have dinner, and talk to her, my grandmother, and my sister. That year she wouldn't let me in and I shot from the car and killed somebody. The second time, the people had made a lot of money and I was jealous. I was being watched, and I shot this lady – got some blood out of it. I went to another house, walked in, a whole family was there. I shot the whole family. Somebody saw me there. I saw this girl. She had called the police and they had been unable to locate me. Curt Silva's girlfriend – he was killed in a motorcycle accident, as a couple of my friends were, and I had this idea that he was killed through the syndicate, that he was in the Mafia, selling drugs. His girlfriend remembered about Curt – I was trying to get information. She said she was married to somebody else and wouldn't talk to me. The whole syndicate was making money by having my mom poison me. I know who they are and I think it can be brought out in a court of law if I can pull the pieces together like I've been hoping. (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 17)

The trial began on January 2, 1979 and lasted four months (Dennison, 2009e). Chase pleaded not guilty due to insanity (Sallamy, 2011). Surprisingly, the psychiatrists deemed

him sane at all times of the crimes (Stone, 2011). On the 8th of May, 1979, after the jury had deliberated only a few hours, Chase was found guilty and charged with six counts of first degree murder. The judge sent him to death row at San Quentin State Prison to await the gas chamber (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Tochterman, 2011).

In San Quentin, the other inmates taunted Chase. They threatened to kill him and encouraged him to commit suicide (Blanco, 2013; Montaldo, 2013). Psychologists and psychiatrists who examined Chase during that time suggested that he be transferred to Vacaville Prison, California, a facility for the criminally insane. According to them Chase was psychotic, insane, and incompetent (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a). Chase was admitted to Vacaville in December and after being stabilised, sent back to San Quentin in April, 1980 (Montaldo, 2013).

On the morning of 26 December, 1980, a correctional officer assigned to guard duty on death row greeted the prisoner in cell 5800. Chase was lying on his back, breathing normally. At 11:05 the same day, the guard checked his cell again. This time Chase was lying on his stomach, legs extended off his bunk and feet on the floor. His head was buried in the mattress and his arms extended upwards, to the pillow. Next to the bed were four sheets of paper covered in handwriting. Two of them contained drawn squares filled with a strange, cryptographic - like code. On the other two pages was a message in which Chase indicated that he might drink some pills which could cause his heart to stop beating (Biondi & Hecox, 1992).

It turned out that Chase had saved his three daily 50mg tablets of Sinequan (doxepin hydrochloride), a psychotropic agent for depression, for approximately 3 weeks in order to ingest them that morning (Bovsun, 2010; Castro, 2009; Ramsland, 2012b). As a result, the life of 30 year old Richard Trenton Chase, the "Vampire of Sacramento", the "Dracula Killer" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 178), had ended.

2.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter highlighted the major socio-historical and personal events in the life of Richard Chase. Chase's lifespan was presented over five historical periods that ranged from

his birth in 1950 to his death in 1980. In Chapter 3, the researcher provides a theoretical overview of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial personality development.

Chapter 3

Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Personality Development

3.1. Chapter Preview

In this chapter the psychosocial developmental theory of Erik Erikson is discussed. Firstly, an introduction to Erikson is provided, followed by a discussion on his viewpoints regarding psychology, psychoanalysis and personality development. Secondly, his theory and its contents, the eight psychosocial stages of development, are explained. Thirdly, an overview of the possible forms of psychopathology resulting from the unsuccessful resolution of each life stage is given. Fourthly, an additional stage of Erikson's theory, the ninth stage, is briefly discussed. Fifthly, Erikson, his relation to psychobiography and the applicability of his theory for the study are examined. Lastly, the researcher mentions the critique against the theory and reflects on its relevance for this study.

3.2. Erik Erikson

Erik Homburger Erikson (1902 – 1994), a Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award winner (Friedman, 2000), was a leading pioneer in the field of psychoanalysis and human development. He coined the term *identity crisis* and his greatest innovation was to postulate eight stages of development (a ninth stage was later added). It seems his work was influenced and shaped to a great extent by subjective experience. Erikson's father, a Danish Protestant, and mother, a Danish Jew, separated before he was born. Consequently, he was raised in a home with stepfather, Theodore Homburger, a German-Jewish paediatrician (Coles, 2001). Throughout his life, Erikson's mother refused to reveal any information about his birth and he never knew his biological father. Furthermore, he was bullied at school and later became the father of a son who suffered from Down's syndrome (Paranjpe, 2000). Erikson gave his son, who died at the age of 21, up for institutionalisation right from his birth (Friedman, 2000). Thus, a combination of factors probably gave rise to his interest in psychology, psychoanalysis, and eventually the instigation of a theory of psychosocial development.

3.2.1. Erikson's prospect of psychoanalysis

"Freudian thought shifted upward in consciousness, outward to the social world, and forward throughout the complete life span" (Hoare, 2005, p. 19).

Erikson was inspired by the psychoanalytic theory of the revolutionary thinker, Sigmund Freud. In brief, Freud proposed that humans are driven by motives and emotional conflicts of which they are largely unaware and that they are shaped by their earliest experiences in life (Hall, 1954). He described three components of the personality namely the id, superego, and ego. Freud (1938) used the term, id, to refer to a reservoir of unorganised instinctual drives. It is present at birth and largely unconscious. "Simply put, the id wants what it wants when it wants it" (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010, p. 42). The superego, a rigid conscience that internalises rules and guidelines of an individual's world, opposes the id. The ego could be considered mediator between the id and superego. It represents the executive organ of the psyche and controls motility, perception, contact with reality, as well as delay and modulation of drive expression (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

Along with his description of the components of personality, Freud (1930, 1936, 1938) put forward a theory of psychosexual development. He identified five psychosexual stages, the oral, anal, phallic, latency, and genital stage, through which an individual develops (Blatt & Levy, 2003; Freud, 1930, 1936, 1938). In the oral stage (age, 0 – 18 months), the mouth is the most important zone otherwise known as the erotic zone, and it provides nurturance for the child by sucking and eating (Carver & Scheir, 2000; Freud, 1930). Gratification shifts from the oral functions to the social pleasure of impressing parents and the physical pleasure of emptying the bowels during the second or anal stage (age, 18 – 36 months) (Fiske, 1988; Freud, 1936). During the phallic stage (age, 3 – 5 years) feelings of pleasure are associated with the genitals and children cherish unconscious sexual desires for the parent of the opposite sex (Carver & Scheir, 2000; Freud, 1930, 1936). Sexual drives become less important in the latency stage (age, 5 – puberty), while social interests escalate (Blatt & Levy, 2003; Freud, 1930). Freud's concept of developmental stages ends with the fifth or genital stage (puberty onwards) during which sexual drives intensify and the

individual develops a mature adult sexual identity to establish loving and sexual relationships (Carver & Scheir, 2000; Freud, 1938).

Erikson accepted Freud's concepts of instinctual development and infantile sexuality. Like Freud, Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) concerned himself with the inner dynamics of personality and proposed that the personality evolves through systematic stages of development. In his book, *Childhood and society*, Erikson (1950) endeavoured to integrate individual psychosexual development with societal influences. For each of Freud's psychosexual stages, Erikson designated a matching phase or stage, each with a specific mode of behaviour. Compared to Freud, however, Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) placed less emphasis on sexual urges as the drivers of development as well as on the unconscious, irrational, and selfish id. Instead he focused on the rational ego and its adaptive powers. He emphasised that the development of the ego is more than the result of intra psychic wants or inner psychic energies. He expanded the concept of the ego to include self and identity and described how the ego develops over the life course. Moreover, he called attention to social influences on development as well as reciprocal regulation between individuals and society's culture and traditions.

3.2.2. Erikson and personality development

> The study of human development reflects the interdependence of people at all ages. Children become adults; adults guide and nurture children. A person moves from the comfort of competence at each life stage in order to master the challenges of the next stage. (Newman & Newman, 2006, p. 2)

Personality could be defined as the constantly changing but nevertheless relatively stable organisation of all physical, psychological, and spiritual characteristics of the individual that determine his or her behaviour in interaction with the context in which the individual finds himself or herself (Meyer & Moore, 2008). Human development refers to systematic changes and continuities that occur in the individual from conception to death (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). This definition implies that development involves changes that are orderly, patterned, and relatively enduring while continuities, or ways in which the individual remains the same, are also present. A lifespan approach to human development

strives to identify and account for moulds of transition and transformation from one aeon of life to another while recognising both intergroup differences and individual diversity within groups (Newman & Newman, 2006).

Early personality theorists such as Freud insinuated that development was completed by the end of childhood or adolescence (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) was one of the first theorists who focused on lifespan development. He adopted a positive view of human nature and considered humans active and rational participants in their development. Furthermore, he believed that the experience of human life is produced by the interaction and amendment of three major systems: the biological, psychological, and societal.

Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) based his originations on the concept of epigenesis, a term borrowed from embryology. According to his epigenetic principle, the personality undergoes a biological unfolding in relation to the environment and socio-cultural setting (Capps, 2004). This unfolding or development takes place in predetermined, sequential, and clearly defined stages, each of which must be adequately resolved in order for development to proceed efficiently (Capps, 2004; Coles, 1970, 2001). The epigenetic principle also holds that the unsuccessful resolution of a particular stage is reflected in all subsequent stages. The reflection of that unsuccessful resolution or failure could take the form of physical, cognitive, social, or emotional maladjustment (Elkind, 1970). Thus, progress through each stage is partly determined by the individual's success or lack thereof in all preceding stages (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977).

3.3. Psychosocial Theory

Psychosocial theory seeks to understand the internal experiences that result from the interactions between biological, psychological, and societal systems. Changes in any one of the three systems generally bring about changes in the others. According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) each of these systems could be scrutinised for patterns of continuity and change over the life span. Evidence of adaptive capacities that respond to societal demands appears in each system and each system can be modified by self-guided choices. The

integration of the biological, psychological, and societal systems brings about a complex and dynamic portrait of human thought, behaviour, and thus, personality (Carver & Scheir, 2000).

3.4. Eight Stages of Psychosocial Theory

After 15 years of research, Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) introduced eight psychosocial stages of ego development which he termed, the Eight Ages of Man. He posited that, within these stages, the individual had to establish new basic orientations to himself or herself and his or her social world. Thus, in each of the eight stages a new dimension of social interaction becomes possible – one being the individual's interaction with himself or herself and the other with his or her social environment (Elkind, 1970). Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) used the term, ego identity, to refer to the conscious sense of self that individuals develop through social interaction. The ego identity is constantly changing due to new experiences and information that individuals acquire in their daily interactions with others.

The eight stages of ego development indicate points along a continuum in which physical, cognitive, instinctual, and sexual changes amalgamate to trigger an internal conflict or crisis (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Resolution of the conflict or crisis results in either psychosocial regression or growth and the development of specific virtues also known as ego strengths or inherent strengths (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). With the term, conflict or crisis, Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) referred to a turning point in development during which the potential for both personal growth and failure is high. It is also important to note that each stage is of a bipolar nature with two extremes opposing each other (Capps, 2004). In order for development to proceed optimally, a healthy balance between these extremes or terms of conflict must be struck (Coles, 2001). In this manner both the negative and positive components of the crisis can be incorporated into the psyche and the crisis resolved successfully by reaching an equilibrium (Capps, 2004; Coles, 2001; Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977).

Although Erikson situated the crises at specific points along the lifespan continuum, he also left room for individual capriciousness in the timing of these issues (Sneed, Whitbourne, & Culang, 2006). The eight crises can potentially arise at any point in life as a

function of particular psychosocial forces, or what he termed the "hazards of existence" (Erikson, 1963, p. 274). Therefore, earlier stages can be revisited later in life and later stages can reach pre-eminence earlier in life. This suggests that all possible psychosocial crises can potentially arise at all ages (Coles, 1970, 2001). Although Chase underwent only six of the stages, owing to his death at the age of 30, all eight stages are discussed as to provide a comprehensive overview of Erikson's theory.

3.4.1. Stage one: Basic trust versus basic mistrust (0 – 1 year)

The first stage of psychosocial development, basic trust versus basic mistrust, is considered the most fundamental stage of life. Such a statement makes sense given that Erikson as well as others (Blatt & Blass, 1996; Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975) has suggested that the development of a basic sense of trust in infancy is an essential antecedent for further healthy personality development. Erikson (1968, p. 96) described trust as "the most fundamental prerequisite of vitality" and "a capacity for faith". From his perspective, a capacity to trust or not to trust shapes all other aspects of personality development, lying at the very core of a person's sense of identity (Boon & Holmes, 1991).

This stage starts at birth and usually extends throughout the first year of life (Elkind, 1970). The conflict revolves around whether or not infants become able to rely on other individuals to be responsive to their needs. To develop a sense of trust, infants must be able to depend on their primary caregivers to feed them, comfort them, attend to their gestures, and return their smiles and gibbers. According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) the caregiver's general responsiveness is critical to later development. Caregivers who neglect, reject, or respond inconsistently to infants will cause infants to mistrust others (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). On the contrary, infants who develop a secure attachment to a nurturing and trustworthy caregiver are more able to develop healthy, close, and trusting relationships later in life (Hook, 2002; Louw & Louw, 2007; Maier, 1988; Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010).

While resolving the psychosocial conflict of basic trust versus basic mistrust, infants also begin to realise that they are separate from their caregivers (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). The initial development of trust enables the infant to begin the process of self-definition (Blatt & Blass, 1996). In other words, infants begin to distinguish themselves from

others and accordingly a sense of self starts prospering. According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980), knowing who one is (sense of self or ego identity) is not possible without the trust of the first stage.

In this first stage the infant uses the senses – the mouth, eyes, ears, and sense of touch to experience the world. Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) called the social modality that the infant uses, *to get*. By this he meant that the infant learns to receive what is offered and elicit what is desired (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Another social modality that appears in this stage is that of *taking and holding on* to things. This occurs when the infant starts to reach out and grasp at surroundings instead of being passively receptive to stimuli (Sigelman & Rider, 2009).

The social modalities contribute to successful resolution of the conflict only if they are fulfilled (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). Only if the caregiver provides for the infant things to get and to take and hold on to, will he or she be able to master the stage and gain the ego strength of **hope**. Along with the social modalities, Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) stated that social institutions safeguard the ego strengths that emerge during each stage. For him, the element of society that corresponds to this stage and protects the trust and hope gained is religion. Stage one aids children in feeling safe enough to expand their array and miscellany of experiences necessary to develop a sense of autonomy in stage two (Hamachek, 1988).

3.4.2. Stage two: Autonomy versus shame and doubt (1 – 3 years)

With their new sense of trust, resulting from resolution of the first stage, toddlers enter the second stage of psychosocial development, autonomy versus shame and doubt. This conflict typically arises between the first and third year of life when toddlers develop new motor and mental abilities (Elkind, 1970). Sphincter and muscular control develops, toddlers test limits, practise new behaviours, and make mistakes while learning new skills. Through these abilities, toddlers acquire an even stronger sense of self and assert that they have wills of their own (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977).

If caregivers recognise the toddler's need to do what he or she is capable of doing at his or her own pace, then he or she develops a sense of control (Hook, 2002; Sigelman & Rider, 2009). This involves toddlers discovering that they are able to control their muscles, their impulses, themselves, and their environments – the sense of autonomy. Children who are allowed to attain independence and learn from their mistakes without being shamed or reprimanded are likely to become independent, competent, and self-confident adults (Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989). However, if caregivers are impatient, overprotective, harsh, and critical, the toddler will develop a sense of shame and doubt about his or her ability to act independently (Corey, 2005; Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). The following quote from the originator of psychosocial theory summarises the above mentioned.

> This stage can be decisive for the ratio between…the freedom of self-expression and its suppression. From a sense of self-control without loss of self-esteem comes a lasting sense of autonomy and pride; from a sense of…loss of self-control, and of parental overcontrol comes a lasting sense of doubt and shame. (Erikson, 1968, pp. 70 – 71)

Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) noted that the toddler exercises two simultaneous sets of social modalities, *holding on and letting go*. With his or her new abilities such as sphincter and muscular control, the toddler starts to experience the first stirs of the ego strength, **will**. The social institution believed to safeguard will, is law and order, a legal system which provides parameters for the privileges and limitations of autonomy (Massey, 1986). Trusting their environment and having the necessary autonomy to move freely in it enables children to reinforce the attitude of initiative in stage three (Hamachek, 1988).

3.4.3. Stage three: Initiative versus guilt (3 – 6 years)

According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) stage three focuses on initiative versus guilt. Between the ages of three and approximately six years, children become masters of their bodies (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Motor, language, and imagination skills increase and usually children can, for example, ride a tricycle, run, cut, and hit. Preschoolers assert their power and control by directing play and social interactions. Thus, various activities are initiated rather than being a mere response to or imitation of others' actions (Elkind, 1970).

The skills mentioned in the previous paragraph help children intrude on the boundaries of the adult world. Therefore, Linn, Fabricant, and Linn (1988) also referred to this stage as the stage of intrusion. Due to this intrusion, parents play an eminent role in determining whether or not children will resolve the stage efficiently (Baron & Spear, 1989). Establishing secure attachments to parents of both genders as well as identifying with the parent of the same sex is important during this stage (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). Parents reinforce initiative when they allow the child enough freedom and opportunity to initiate motor play and when they answer and respond to children's questions (intellectual initiative) in a respectable manner. Conversely, parents bolster guilt when they evaluate the child's motor activity as being bad, questions as being a nuisance, and fantasy or play as being inane (Elkind, 1970).

Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) described the social modality of this stage as *being on the make*. According to him, "the great governor of initiative, namely conscience" (Erikson, 1968, p. 84) becomes firmly established. This conscience, the faculty of self-observation, self-regulation, and self-punishment, is internalised from parental and societal authority (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Although the conscience is critical and obdurate initially, it constitutes the foundation for the succeeding development of morality (Sigelman & Rider, 2009).

If stage three is resolved efficiently children develop the initiative that allows them to plan and embark upon big projects and move forward in life (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). The ego strength of **purpose** is yielded when children devise bold plans and take pride in accomplishing their goals. Those who do not resolve this stage successfully are left with a sense of guilt and a negative or confused sense of self (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) the social institution associated with this stage is that of economic endeavour. The dreams of early childhood become attached to possible and tangible goals in adulthood. The social institution of economic endeavour provides children with the opportunity to replace their fictional counterparts with actual adult heroes whose depiction could be actively pursued. The sense of initiative and purpose paves the way for success when primary school children face the conflict of industry versus inferiority in stage four (Louw & Louw, 2007).

3.4.4. Stage four: Industry versus inferiority (6 – 12 years)

Stage four, industry versus inferiority, falls within the time of the primary school years. Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) believed that during this stage children focus primarily on feeling competent or industrious as they learn well and do well, or on inferiority as they fail. The term, industry, captures a dominant theme of this period – the concern with how things are made, how they work, and what they do (Elkind, 1970). Evans (1981, p. 26) described this enormous curiosity as "a wish to learn, a wish to know". In this stage, the child learns that he or she wins recognition by producing things (Carver & Scheir, 2000). Children who are encouraged in their efforts, allowed to complete their products, and praised and regarded for the results, develop a sense of industry. But when parents view children's efforts at making and doing as mischief or waywardness, a sense of inferiority is fortified (Elkind, 1970).

As previously discussed, parents contribute to a significant degree whether or not children master stages successfully. Indeed, the social context in which the first three crises were negotiated predominantly included the parents and immediate family. However, because children begin formal instruction of some sort (such as attending primary school) in stage four, teachers' and the broader society's evaluation, appraisal, and disregard become the focal concern (Baron & Spear, 1989). A child's school experiences influence his or her industry–inferiority balance (Carver & Scheir, 2000). For example, a popular child would consider himself or herself as industrious, whereas a bullied child might feel inferior when compared to his or her peers (Sigelman & Rider, 2009).

Important cognitive and social skills are to be mastered in this stage. In primary school, children are intent on evaluating their competences, they engage in more social comparison than before and are likely to acquire a sense of industry if those comparisons turn out favourably (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). Reciprocally, the gained sense of industry will again reinforce mastering academic and social skills. Healthy development entails achievement of both academic and social success (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). Children learn good work habits and become productive and capable of meeting new challenges

(Baron & Spear, 1989). This is reflected in their ability to be responsible and successfully cope with impediments as adults (Sigelman & Rider, 2009).

The ego strength of **competence** is said to develop if this stage is resolved successfully (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). The child also learns the essentials of technology as they pertain to the use of basic utensils and tools (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Therefore, technology is the social institution that shapes and facilitates participation in productivity (Massey, 1986). With the basic groundwork laid (basic trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry), young people are ready to take on the monumental challenge of stage five – establishing an identity (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010).

3.4.5. Stage five: Identity versus role confusion (12 – 18 years)

The conflict for which Erikson is best known, identity versus role confusion, portrays the fifth stage. The concept of identity has been the subject of investigation for many historians. To name a few, John Locke, David Hume, and Robert Langbaum were all concerned with exploring the ambiguities of the meaning of the term from as early as the 1600's (Gleason, 1983). Erikson admitted that the term is difficult to grasp because it concerns "a process located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture" (Erikson, 1980, p. 22). By this he meant that identity involves an interaction between the internal development of the individual personality and the growth of a sense of selfhood that arises from participating in society, internalising its cultural norms, acquiring different statuses, and playing different roles (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980).

This concept of identity stemmed from Erikson's clinical experience as a psychoanalyst working mainly with children, a career he pursued only after trying out several other possibilities, including art (Friedman, 2000). Reflection upon his own life experience as a European refugee who travelled widely in the United States and who was acquainted with leading social scientists at the time also contributed to this concept (Coles, 1970). Furthermore, the rise of Adolf Hitler and World War II endorsed Erikson's interest in the interaction between historical movements and the development of personality. It was against the background of World War II that he first began to use the term, identity (Gleason, 1983).

With the onset of puberty and its innumerable physiological and social changes, adolescents become preoccupied with the issue of identity (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). They attempt to define who they are in terms of, among others, career, religion, and sexuality, where they are heading, and how they fit into society (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). This is a time of experimentation and as part of their search, adolescents often revolutionise their appearance, relationships, major subjects, and group memberships. The question of how to connect previously cultivated roles and skills with current prototypes becomes a primary concern (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). Childhood roles and fantasies are no longer suitable, yet the adolescent is far from equipped to become an adult (Sigelman & Rider, 2009).

During this stage, adolescents are more concerned with how others perceive them as opposed to what they, themselves, feel they are. Developing a defined ego identity requires "confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others" (Erikson, 1980, pp. 94 – 95). Thus, a discrepancy between one's own sense of self and the sense of self ascribed to one by others may result in role confusion otherwise known as identity diffusion – not having a sense of self and confusion about one's place in the world (Montgomery, 2005; Sigelman & Rider, 2009). However, if one develops a clear sense of identity that is true to the self, it will most certainly match the identity that others perceive one to have (Montgomery, 2005).

Attaining a sharply focused identity leads to possession of the ego strength, **fidelity** (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980). This represents faithfulness to the promising self-definition as well as to an ideology that provides a version of self-in-world (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). This ideology is an attractive set of societal values and ideals and therefore also the social institution that supplies the imagery required for establishing a positive psychosocial identity (Massey, 1986). Successfully resolving the adolescent crisis, identity versus role confusion, is a prerequisite for resolving the early adulthood crisis of intimacy versus isolation in stage six. People must know themselves before they can truly love another person (Baron & Spear, 1989; Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1980; Montgomery, 2005).

3.4.6. Stage six: Intimacy versus isolation (18 – 40 years)

Erikson believed that psychosocial growth continues during the adult years. Stage six, intimacy versus isolation, covers roughly the period of courtship and early family life that extends from late adolescence to early middle age (Elkind, 1970). When Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) referred to intimacy he implied much more than sexual intercourse alone. With the term, he also meant the ability to share with and care for another person without fear of losing oneself in the process. Therefore, it is essential that the individual has developed a stable sense of his or her own identity in the previous stage in order to navigate this stage successfully (Hook, 2002). This stage thus largely depends on the successful resolution of prior crises which, if unresolved, are likely to reoccur here (Craig, 1996; Hook, 2002).

As in the case of identity, parents no longer contribute directly to success or failure in this stage. Instead, success or failure depends on parents only indirectly since they have contributed to the individual's success or failure at the earlier stages (Elkind, 1970). However, social conditions may still to a large degree aid or thwart the establishment of a sense of intimacy. Similarly, intimacy need not involve sexuality, as it includes the relationships between friends (Corey, 2005; Hook, 2002).

Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) pointed out that the ego needs to be strong enough to fend off the fear of ego loss in the case of close friendships, in the case of inspiration by teachers, in the orgasms of sexual union, and in all other close affiliations. As already mentioned, the concern in this stage involves the necessity to maintain the integrity of the ego and not let it be incorporated into something or someone else. Erikson viewed the healthy functioning adult as someone who is able to form a mature love while expressing a general work productiveness that does not compromise him or her being a loving person (Elkind, 1970).

Successful resolution of the crisis, intimacy versus isolation, results in a readiness to form and participate in committed, long-term relationships (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). If this is achieved the ego strength of **love** ascends. If a sense of intimacy is not

established, Erikson believed, a sense of isolation develops and the individual ends up alone without anyone to share with or care about. An ethical sense, the social institution for this stage, is viewed to nurture a relationship with a loved one (Massey, 1986). The next stage that middle-aged adults need to face is that of generativity versus stagnation.

3.4.7. Stage seven: Generativity versus stagnation (40 – 65 years)

Generativity is primarily the concern to inaugurate and guide the next generation (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). The individual is seen to have largely resolved earlier life crises, giving them the freedom to now direct their attention to assisting others (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). This stage is also characterised by a sense of community or a willingness to direct one's energy, without conflict, to the solution of social issues (Corey, 2005). Furthermore, during this stage the individual starts to adjust to the discrepancy between his or her dreams and that which he or she has actually achieved (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010).

Successful resolution of this middle-age crisis, generativity versus stagnation, entails individuals achieving a sense of having produced something that would outlive them. Activities such as parenting, teaching, mentoring, and leading generally underlie the achievement of a sense of having been generative (de St. Aubin, McAdams, & Kim, 2004; Slater, 2003). According to McAdams, Hart, and Maruna (1998) and Timmer, Bode, and Dittmann-Kohli (2003) middle-aged adults are more likely than young adults to have achieved a sense of generativity. This supports the fact that Erikson envisaged this stage for the middle-age years. Adults with a sense of generativity tend to be caring people, committed parents, productive workers and mentors, and community leaders (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010).

Care is the ego strength acquired in this stage (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). Failing to achieve a sense of generativity often leads to stagnation (Corey, 2005). Such individuals struggle to find a way to contribute to society and they might feel disconnected from, and uninvolved with, their communities (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). These individuals also tend to be preoccupied with themselves and gain their only pleasures through self-indulgence (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). All social institutions

including politics, education, medicine, recreation, and religion are seen to foster generativity (Massey, 1986). At the end of this stage, the individual moves on to stage eight, integrity versus despair.

3.4.8. Stage eight: Integrity versus despair (65 years and onwards)

Stage eight in the life cycle resembles roughly the period when individuals' major efforts are nearing completion and when there is time for reflection (Elkind, 1970). Elderly adults have to confront the crisis, integrity versus despair (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). Dealing with the fear of death is an important challenge at this stage of development (Craig, 1996). Elderly adults who resolve this crisis efficiently will find a sense of meaning in their lives that will ultimately help them face the inevitability of death (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) viewed integrity as something one has gained from traversing the previous seven stages. If a life story or narrative identity has been constructed in their early adult years, accepting it as the only life they could have lead becomes the focal concern for the elderly (McAdams & Adler, 2006).

If the individual is able to reflect upon his or her life with satisfaction, a sense of integrity arises. Most elderly adults seem to attain a sense of integrity (Erikson, Erikson, & Kivnick, 1986). The resulting ego strength is **wisdom** which could be passed on through an integrated heritage (Massey, 1986). Unsuccessful resolution, on the other hand, involves looking back upon one's life as a series of missed opportunities and directions. Realising that it is too late to start over results in a sense of despair at what might have been (Elkind, 1970).

To a certain extent, the individual must have developed all the previously mentioned ego strengths and resolved all the preceding developmental crises when reaching this stage. However, Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) pointed out that each culture requires a particular combination of these resolved crises. Integrity is only really achieved when the individual participates, to a greater or lesser degree, in the various institutions (e.g., religion, politics, technology, arts and science) that make up their home culture (Massey, 1986). In the following section, the researcher provides an overview of the aspects pertaining to the unsuccessful resolution of Erikson's proposed developmental crises. Specific unfavourable outcomes as well as possible resulting forms of psychopathology are discussed shortly.

3.5. Psychopathology

While successful resolution of Erikson's stages of psychosocial development results in favourable outcomes, unsuccessful resolution of the stages could just as easily result in unfavourable outcomes (Blatt & Levy, 2003). These unfavourable outcomes might not entail only the acquisition of the negative extreme of each stage such as mistrust, shame, or guilt, but also the development of psychopathological traits and even disorders in full (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Although this is not a clinical study with a diagnostic or psychopathological focus, the researcher thought it necessary to include this section, because the biography and other literature on Chase contain many references to psychopathological conditions that he has been diagnosed with. In order to have explained Chase's psychopathology in Eriksonian terms (see Chapter 8), the following content proved helpful.

3.5.1. Basic mistrust

Unsuccessful resolution of the first stage of psychosocial development leads to the acquisition of basic mistrust. Rather than trusting others, individuals with a sense of mistrust tend to experience others and the world as being dangerous and untrustworthy (Lewicky, 2006). Lack of trust in the early years of the individual could manifest as various psychopathological disorders in later life (Greene, Graham, & Morano, 2010). Firstly, the belief that others are unreliable and even dangerous could predispose the individual to develop disorders of a paranoid or persecutory nature such as paranoid personality disorder, delusional disorder, and even paranoid schizophrenia. Secondly, the negative view that these individuals have of others and the world, and their consecutive pessimism regarding social relationships could contribute to the development of depressive disorders and schizoid personality disorder. Thirdly, substance related disorders could be the result of individuals' attempts at self-nurturance and satisfaction (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

3.5.2. Shame and doubt

If shame and doubt dominate over autonomy in the second stage of psychosocial development, the sense of being a failure and a lack of self-confidence could arise (Linn, Fabricant, & Linn, 1988). Excessive shaming during toddlerhood causes children to feel obnoxious and filthy. This might pave the way for delinquent behaviour later on. Children develop an attitude of "if that's what they think of me, that's the way I'll behave" (Sadock & Sadock, 2007, p. 211). Rigorous and inflexible parenting during this stage could lead to a feeling of being inhibited and controlled. This in turn could predispose a child to develop paranoid personality disorder or persecutory delusions in later life. Impulse control disorders might also result from unsuccessful resolution of the second stage and could be explained as the individual's refusal to be inhibited or controlled (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

3.5.3. Guilt

If children are excessively punished for taking initiative in stage three, a sense of guilt is the outcome. The accumulation of guilt feelings often drive the individual to strive for perfection (Dunkley, Zuroff, & Blankstein, 2006). The child learnt that in order not to get punished, everything must be perfect. Driven by unhealthy guilt and a fear of not being able to live up to what others expect, individuals might develop psychosomatic disorders (Linn, Fabricant, & Linn, 1988; Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Furthermore, punishment or severe prohibitions during the third stage could possibly produce sexual inhibitions including impotence or erectile disorder (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

3.5.4. Inferiority

A sense of inferiority develops when children's efforts at reaching their goals are thwarted in stage four of psychosocial development (Baron & Spear, 1989). Feelings of inadequacy and incompetence affect an individual's eagerness to work and as an adult, severe work inhibitions could occur (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). On the contrary, a compensatory drive for money, power, and prestige might develop in order to fend off feelings of inferiority (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Unfortunately, this drive and reached accomplishments do not necessarily induce a sense of industry. Furthermore, research has shown that self-beliefs of

inferiority are highly associated with depressive disorders (Allan & Gilbert, 1997; Gilbert & Allan, 1998; Gilbert, Allan, Brough, Melley, & Miles, 2002).

3.5.5. Role confusion

If role confusion - resulting from unsuccessful resolution of the fifth stage of psychosocial development - persists, individuals fail to develop an integrated identity and are left with a disturbed self-image (Sneed, Whitbourne, & Culang, 2006). According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980) it is a strong confusion about one's identity, primarily sexual and occupational, that disturbs individuals in most cases. Role confusion is linked to many forms of psychopathology. According to Sadock and Sadock (2007) conduct disorder, disruptive behaviour disorder, gender identity disorder, and psychotic disorders are most commonly diagnosed during the adolescent period. Moreover, an inability to separate from parents and prolonged dependence could occur, leading to the development of dependent personality disorder (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

3.5.6. Isolation

The pathological outcome of stage six, intimacy versus isolation, could be described as *distantiation*, a term coined by Erikson meaning, to distance or isolate oneself (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). The inability to form meaningful relationships or to become intimate could lead one to shut out others (Linn, Fabricant, & Linn, 1988). One disorder documented to develop in response to isolation and the lack of a capacity to love is schizoid personality disorder (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

3.5.7. Stagnation

Failure of generativity could lead to profound personal stagnation in stage seven of psychosocial development (Timmer, Bode, & Dittmann-Kholi, 2003). As a result the individual might lapse into various escapisms such as alcohol and drug abuse, and sexual infidelities (Hoare, 2002). Furthermore, a higher incidence of depressive disorders were found among middle aged adults than among younger adults which could be related to

stagnation on disappointments and failed expectations as they review their lives (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

3.5.8. Despair

Compared to integrity, a sense of despair develops when stage eight is not resolved successfully. Individuals with a sense of despair struggle to accept their lives and tend to feel hopeless. This could result in severe depressive disorders (Charles, Reynolds, & Gatz, 2001). Additionally, anxiety disorders might be related to individuals' reflecting on their lives with a sense of panic as they realise that time has run out and chances are used up (Sadock & Sadock, 2007; Whitbourne, 2008).

3.6. The Additional Ninth Stage

In an extended version of Erikson's earlier work, *The life cycle completed* (Erikson, 1982) his wife, Joan Erikson, took his theory a step further and added a ninth stage (Erikson, 1998). It was not until their late 80s and early 90s that the Eriksons confronted their aging selves and this led Joan to believe that development beyond the eighth stage is possible (Brown & Lowis, 2003). The ninth stage entails the individual cycling back to the issues he or she was born with. The stage is marked by loss of strength, control, and autonomy and the key issue is to gain hope and trust, thus mirroring the crisis of the very first stage (Haber, 2006). The challenge that the individual faces involves that of not giving up and being as fully alive as possible until he or she is dead (Verbraak, 2000).

3.7. Erikson, Psychobiography, and Applicability of his theory for the Study

Noland (1977) was of the opinion that Erikson's two psychobiographies, *Young Man Luther* (1958) and *Gandhi's Truth* (1969) were the best work of psychobiography at the time. He added that Erikson's method and practice had an enormous influence on writing a good psychobiography. Erikson acknowledged both normal and abnormal ego development while maintaining a focus on the interaction of the individual human ego with a facilitating or non-facilitating environment at every stage of the human life cycle (Noland, 1977). This enabled

him to explore both the individual and communal elements of a life[4] and make inferences about early experience without reducing a life to a few unconscious, repressed infantile themes[5] (Noland, 1977).

According to Erikson (1993) the descriptions and interpretations of lives are inevitably linked with rich psychological conceptualisations and assumptions. Erikson is considered an enthusiastic predecessor when it comes to psychobiography and the study of lives (Bertaux, 1981; Capps, 2004). Because of its significance, his work has been suggested for use as a general model in psychobiography (Noland, 1977). Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory made it possible for the researcher to analyse the subject of the study from a lifespan approach. Furthermore, it enabled the researcher to bring together - moment and sequence in the life of Chase, moment and sequence in the life of Chase's community - into one unified structure which links inner experience and outer reality. The findings and discussion of Erikson's theory as applied to Chase is provided in Chapter 8.

3.8. Critical Reflection

Erikson's theory has been subject to various criticisms. According to Hook (2002) Erikson's theory has been criticised for being too idealistic and optimistic. However, although Erikson believed that growth continues in adulthood and adults are capable of constructive change (Douvan, 1997), he did include the possible unfavourable outcomes resulting from unsuccessful resolution of each life stage in his theory. Therefore, this criticism does not seem to bear significant weight and its relevance for this study - in which both normal and abnormal development received attention - is small.

Another criticism against Erikson's theory is that it reflects a male bias and is limited in its explanation of female development (Douvan, 1997; Hook, 2002). Even if such a criticism were true, it does not have an effect on this particular study, because the subject is male. Hook (2002) also pointed out that Erikson's theory represents 20th century capitalistic values of an American society and therefore, may not be culturally sensitive. However,

[4] Considering the individual within his or her communal context is an important characteristic of psychobiography (see Chapter 5).

[5] Interpreting a life, solely based on early experience and / or infantile wishes is one of the criticisms against psychobiography (see Chapter 6).

Erikson did investigate the cross-cultural applicability of his theory (Brown & Lowis, 2003) and the subject is of the same context and era being criticised. Thus, the study is not necessarily negatively influenced in this regard.

3.9. Chapter Summary

Erikson's theory of psychosocial development was discussed and explained in this chapter. The researcher aimed to introduce Erik Erikson, his viewpoints and his theory to the reader. Both normal and abnormal development in the context of psychosocial theory were elaborated on. The applicability of the theory for the study as well as a critical reflection were given. The other psychological framework used in the study, the Schahriar syndrome model, is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Serial Murder and the Schahriar Syndrome Model

4.1. Chapter Preview

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the construct of serial murder and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. First a brief overview of serial murder and its definition is given. This is followed by a discussion of the classification of serial murderers, the motives and types of serial murder and the aetiology of serial murder. Thereafter, the Schahriar syndrome model and its five components are discussed. The five components are defined and possible explanations for the occurrence of each are provided. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of the applicability of the model for this particular study along with critique of the model.

4.2. Serial Murder

4.2.1. Definition of serial murder

Over the past few years the definition of serial murder has been labile (Van der Spuy, 2012). Murdering multiple victims over a period of days, months, years, or decades (Bezuidenhout, 2011), having at least three or four victims (Hickey, 2010), and murdering for pleasure (Van der Spuy, 2012) are some of the properties that have been ascribed to the phenomenon. According to Captain Myburgh of the South African Police Service Forensic Unit,[6] recent consensus about the definition of serial murder has been reached among professionals both nationally and internationally (Van der Spuy, 2012). The consensus was based on a serial murder symposium held by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in San Antonio, Texas in 2005 where serial murder was defined as the murder of two or more victims by the same offender on different occasions (Van der Spuy, 2012). The classification of serial murderers is discussed in the next section.

[6] The South African Police Service Forensic Unit is allied with international researchers and investigators of serial murder and could be considered a reliable source.

4.2.2. Classification of serial murderers: Offender profiling

Offender profiling entails the development of a behavioural composite, a social and psychological assessment, of the perpetrator of certain types of crimes (Geberth, 1990; Kocsis, 2006). This is based on the premise that proper interpretation of crime scene evidence can indicate the personality type of the individual(s) who committed the offence (Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004). Certain personality types exhibit similar behavioural patterns, and knowledge of these patterns can assist, typically police personnel, in the investigation of the crime and of potential suspects (Pistorius, 2006). The examination of the crime scene, the victim and forensic reports usually results in one of two distinct classifications, either organised or disorganised (Geberth, 1990; Pakes & Winstone, 2013). Seldom, however, it can be difficult to make a clear distinction in which case the examination results in a third typology, namely mixed (Canter et al., 2004). These three classifications are discussed below.

4.2.2.1. The organised offender

According to Canter et al. (2004) the organised offender typically portrays an individual who is in control and plans his or her crimes carefully. They usually take time to select specific victims and choose specific locations where they can perform the crime without being disturbed (Geberth, 2003; Turco, 1998). Furthermore, organised offenders generally try to remove evidence from the crime scene and often hide their victims' bodies in order to evade discovery (Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman, & D'Augostino, 1986). This type of offender is also thought to be socially competent and may appear friendly and charming (Kocsis, 2006). Additionally, he or she is usually sexually competent and likely to be in a relationship. Lastly, the organised offender is considered to have normal to high intelligence, but may be a poor achiever (Geberth, 2003; Ressler et al., 1986).

4.2.2.2. The disorganised offender

Opposed to the organised typology, the disorganised offender lacks control and tends to leave a chaotic crime scene behind (Canter et al., 2004). His or her attacks seem to be spontaneous and show little evidence of planning (Geberth, 2003). Although this offender's victims may have basic features in common (e.g. all women), they usually have not been

carefully selected, but instead were targets of opportunity (Geberth, 2003; Pistorius, 2006). According to Ressler et al. (1986) and Pakes and Winstone (2013) disorganised offenders surprise their victims and murder them either at or near the scene where they first struck. These authors added that the victim is usually killed quickly in an uncontrolled manner with weapons that were improvised and/or acquired at the scene of the attack. Further characteristics of this type of offender include little or no attempt to conceal the body or to remove evidence, and infrequent to absent collection of trophies (Turco, 1998). The disorganised offender also has poor social skills and is likely unable to maintain a romantic or sexual relationship. Therefore, he or she probably lives alone and, generally, close to the scene of the crimes (Kocsis, 2006; Pakes & Winstone, 2013). Furthermore, this individual typically has poor hygiene, low intelligence and is usually unemployed (Geberth, 1990). These offenders have also been described as psychologically disturbed and/or psychotic (Ressler et al., 1986).

Chase was classified as a disorganised offender (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). His case is often lectured about and documented in textbooks and other training material as a classic example of a disorganised offender and/or serial killer (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

4.2.2.3. The mixed offender

In seldom cases, offenders may have a mixture of both organised and disorganised features (Pakes & Winstone, 2013). This makes it difficult for investigators to classify the offender in either of the two categories and as a result the category of ‘mixed offender’ is used (Kocsis, 2006). The different motives and types of serial murder are introduced in the next section.

4.2.3. Motives and types of serial murder

Serial murderers may have multiple motives for committing their crimes (Morton & Hilts, 2005). Experts on serial murder have attempted to identify specific motivations for serial murderers and to apply those motivations to different typologies developed for classifying serial murderers (Gibson, 2006; Morton & Hilts, 2005). This resulted in the five

categories discussed below. It is important to note that, although these categories are distinct, motives and types may overlap for any given killer (Keppel & Birnes, 2003).

4.2.3.1. Psychosis

Psychosis refers to a situation in which the offender is suffering from a severe mental illness and is murdering because of that illness (Pontius, 2002). This may include auditory and/or visual hallucinations as well as paranoid, grandiose, and/or bizarre delusions (Cook & Hinman, 1999; Pontius, 2002). Some psychiatrists and investigators regarded Chase as a psychotic killer (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

4.2.3.2. Mission-oriented: Anger and ideology

According to Mason (2003) mission-oriented murderers target a specific type of person, usually belonging to a particular group of people such as homosexuals or prostitutes, whom they perceive as undesirable. The offender's mission is generally driven either by anger displayed through rage or hostility towards a certain person or subgroup (Keppel & Birnes, 2003; Mason, 2003), or by an ideology to further the offender's own goals and ideas regarding the specific person or subgroup (Morton & Hilts, 2005).

4.2.3.3. Hedonistic

The hedonistic serial murderer derives pleasure from killing and views his or her victims as expendable means to this goal (Gunn & Caissie, 2006). The following three subtypes of hedonistic murder were identified by forensic experts.

4.2.3.3.1. Lust

Lust killers are motivated by their sexual needs or desires. Sexual gratification often depends on torture and mutilation of their victims. It was also indicated that the lust murderer has a psychological need to possess absolute control, dominance and power over his or her victims (Gunn & Caissie, 2006; Morton & Hilts, 2005).

4.2.3.3.2. Thrill

The primary motive for a thrill killer is to induce pain or terror in their victims, which provides stimulation and excitement for the killer (Pontius, 2002). According to Salfati and Bateman (2005) these killers murder only for the rush of the kill and usually the attack is not prolonged.

4.2.3.3.3. Comfort / profit

Financial or material gain and a comfortable lifestyle are the primary motives for comfort killers (Morton & Hilts, 2005; Salfati & Bateman, 2005). Additionally, these killers often wait for a long period of time before they kill again, they often use poison and are mostly female (Gunn & Caissie, 2006).

4.2.3.4. Power / control

Keppel and Birnes (2003) stated that the main objective for this type of serial murderer is to exert power over his or her victims. They added that many power/control murderers sexually abuse their victims, but they differ from hedonistic lust murderers in that the sexual abuse is not motivated by lust, but by their need to dominate.

4.2.3.5. Media

This category was included based on the premise that many serial murderers claim that their murders were the result of a violent culture often presented in the media (Gibson, 2006; Mason, 2003). Furthermore, serial murder cases seem to be inherently newsworthy with some investigations lasting for years (Morton & Hilts, 2005). Thus, some authors are of the opinion that the media's fascination with serial murder might contribute to the creation of more serial murderers (Cook & Hinman, 1999; Keppel & Birnes, 2003). In the next section, the researcher provides an overview of the various perspectives of the aetiology of serial murder.

4.2.4. Aetiology of serial murder

The amount of existing models and theories for why certain people commit serial murder are inexhaustible (Hickey, 2010; Van der Spuy, 2012). However, there seem to be three major schools of thought regarding the causality of serial murder. These three categories are shortly discussed below.

4.2.4.1. Serial murder as a social construction

This category focuses on serial murder as a social, rather than an individual phenomenon. Emphasis is placed on the interaction between the individual and social institutions (Bartels & Parsons, 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2011). Furthermore, the individual or serial murderer is largely viewed as a product of his or her broader culture or society (Haggerty, 2009). One specific theory that has been suggested as an explanation for serial murder and falls into this category is social process theory (Jenkins, 1994; Skrapec, 2001). Social process theory states that criminal behaviour is a process of interaction with social institutions, in which everyone has the potential to become a criminal (Jenkins, 1994; Wiest, 2011). In this view, offenders may turn to crime due to family and/or peer pressure (Skrapec, 2001).

Another example of a social constructionist view is the 'military theory' (Castle & Hensley, 2002; Fox & Levin, 2012). According to Castle and Hensley (2002) various serial murderers have served in the military. This observation gave rise to the view that serial murder might be related to military training and as a result an explanation of serial murder as learnt behaviour commenced (Fox & Levin, 2012). This perspective holds that serial murderers learnt how to kill while they were in the military. Soldiers' military training includes desensitisation towards taking a human life and soldiers often get praised for their efforts. Thus, the soldier becomes the serial murderer who has learnt that it is acceptable to kill (Castle & Hensley, 2002; Egger, 1999; Fox & Levin, 2012).

Many authors also interpret serial murder as a grotesque form of the violence that prevails in society (Drukteinis, 1992; Hoffmeister, 2007; Wulf & Zirfas, 2004). Additionally, it has been stated that the media and society's fascination with serial murder are largely responsible for the phenomenon, because it feeds the serial murderer's desire for admiration

and elevation (Fox & Levin, 2012; Gibson, 2006). Many other theories regarding serial murder as a social construction exist, but the extent thereof is beyond the scope of this research. Therefore, the second category is discussed below.

4.2.4.2. Serial murder as a response to infantile and childhood trauma

One of the most popular perspectives of the aetiology of serial murder entails the role of infantile and childhood difficulties in the formation of serial murderers (Van der Spuy, 2012). According to Fox and Levin (1994; 2012) many serial murderers have faced similar problems in their childhood development. This school of thought also suggests that the child's immediate family environment (e.g., parents) and especially the primary caretaker shape the individual's development and later functioning (Hodgskiss, 2004; Meltzer, 1992). Therefore, a disturbed early family environment has a negative influence on the individual's development and it has been suggested that unfavourable circumstances such as emotional -, physical - and sexual abuse, neglect, and rejection lay the groundwork for becoming a serial murderer (Meltzer, 1992; Vaknin, 2003).

From this perspective, most authors agreed upon two specific aspects or processes that are of great significance. Firstly, an individual's socialisation practice is formed during infancy and early childhood (Knight, 2006; Mahler & McDevitt, 1968). Maccoby (2000) stated that the family has continued to be seen as a major - perhaps *the* major - arena for socialisation. According to Mahler, Pine and Bergman (1975) the quality of the child's attachments to parents is critical to how he or she will view and relate to others later in life. Factors such as abuse, divorce and neglect can disrupt the child's socialisation process, leading to unsettling interpersonal relationships and a disturbed view of others (Knight, 2006; Mahler et al., 1975). Several studies have found that serial murderers exhibit severe difficulties with relationships and carry distorted views of others as bad and harmful objects. Furthermore, the studies indicated that these serial murderers have been subject to adversities such as abuse, divorce, emotional neglect and rejection in their early years (Fox & Levin, 1994; 2012; Hickey, 2010; Silverstein, 1994; Stein, 2007; Vaknin, 2003).

The second important process that occurs during early childhood and is believed to contribute to serial murder is the creation of fantasy (Johnson & Becker, 1997; Knoll, 2006). Juni (2008) said that, in order to escape from their maltreatment, children create a fantasy

world in which they have complete control over themselves and their circumstances. This fantasy becomes part of the child's daily existence and guides his or her development (Juni, 2008; Martens, 2011). However, according to Garrison (1996) the child's emotional and social development is hindered because it occurs within his or her self-centered fantasies. He explained this further by stating that the individual can do no wrong in his own world and the pain of others is of no consequence when the sole purpose of the fantasy is to satisfy the needs of one person, the individual himself or herself. According to Martens (2011) and Ressler and Burgess (1985) a serial murderer results when the boundaries between fantasy and reality are lost, allowing the individual to act out his dominant and violent urges. Claus and Lidberg (1999) have largely drawn from this perspective when they formulated the Schahriar syndrome model (see section 4.3.). Serial murder as a lifespan phenomenon is discussed next.

4.2.4.3. Serial murder as a lifespan phenomenon

From this perspective, the causality of serial murder is a complex process based on biological, psychological, social and environmental factors in the development of the individual from birth to adulthood (Morton & Hilts, 2005; Pistorius, 2002; Van der Spuy, 2012). Thus, according to these authors there is no single identifiable cause or factor that leads to the development of a serial killer, but rather a multitude of factors that contribute to their development. Stone (2001) said that human beings are in a constant state of development from conception until death.

On a biological level, behaviour is affected by stimulation received and processed by the central nervous system (Morton & Hilts, 2005; Stone, 2001). Furthermore, neurobiologists believe that our nervous systems are environmentally sensitive which allows it to be shaped throughout a lifetime (Cahill, 2011; Schlesinger, 2000). On a psychosocial level, researchers with this lifespan view believe that socialisation and the development of social coping mechanisms indeed begin early in life, but that it also continues to progress as the individual interacts, learns and compromises with others throughout life (Van der Spuy, 2012). Additionally, they agree that factors such as abuse and neglect in childhood have been shown to contribute to an increased risk of future violence, but that it cannot be considered the only responsible factor (Pistorius, 2002; Van der Spuy, 2012).

Serial murder as a lifespan phenomenon is generally based on the following additional observations. Firstly, serial murderers have an appropriate biological predisposition, moulded by their psychological makeup, which is present at a critical time in their social development (Morton & Hilts, 2005). Secondly, there are no specific combinations of characteristics shown to differentiate serial murderers from other violent offenders (Stone, 2001; Van der Spuy, 2012). Thirdly, there is no generic template for a serial murderer and they are driven by their own unique motives and/or reasons (Morton & Hilts, 2005; Schlesinger, 2000). Lastly, serial murderers are not limited to any specific demographic group (e.g., age, race, religion or sex) (Cahill, 2011). This perspective also emphasises that more research is needed to identify specific pathways of development that produce serial murderers (Morton & Hilts, 2005).

Despite serial murderers having been with us since the beginning of humankind, attempts to conceptualise and explain their aetiology and behaviour prevail. It is undeniable that vast improvements in the assessment, profiling, and comprehension of serial murderers have been made and that many models of serial murder deserve high recognition (Robert, Cullen, & Ball, 2007). Yet, the phenomenon persists which indicates that even greater emphasis may need to be placed on its decipherment. Claus and Lidberg (1999) suggested one such tool which they believed could facilitate not only a better understanding of serial murder, but also crime prevention and risk assessment. The Schahriar syndrome model is introduced and discussed below.

4.3. The Schahriar Syndrome Model

Claus and Lidberg (1999) proposed the Schahriar syndrome model for systematic understanding of serial murder. The name of the model was derived from the cruel king, Schahriar, in the Persian folk-tale, Arabian Nights, who married various different women and murdered each of them on their particular wedding night (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Shah, 2007). According to Claus and Lidberg (1999) the story contained five important factors in its description of king Schahriar. After this realisation, they examined several studies on serial murder and found that the description of king Schahriar as a serial killer bore remarkable applicability to modern research. Therefore, they proposed the Schahriar syndrome as an explanatory model for serial murder. This is further explained below.

Claus and Lidberg (1999) defined a syndrome as a cluster of personality traits or other behaviour patterns. According to them as well as various other experts in the fields of forensic psychiatry and forensic psychology (Geberth & Turco, 1997; MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood, & Mills, 1983; Warren, Hazelwood, & Dietz, 1996) certain personality traits or behaviour patterns are too common among serial murderers to be considered a coincidence. Thus, one could say that experts such as them view serial murder as a syndrome since it consists of clusters of personality traits or behaviour patterns. Claus and Lidberg (1999) identified five such personality traits or behaviour patterns which they referred to as primitive psychic mechanisms.[7] The five primitive psychic mechanisms they believe to be present in serial murderers' functioning are omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation, and symbiotic merger. Each of these mechanisms is discussed below.

4.3.1. Omnipotence

Pearce and Pruss (2012) described omnipotence as the property of being *all powerful.* According to them an omnipotent being would be a being with unlimited power, one who could do anything and everything even if it were deemed impossible. One could easily experience a sheer sense of excitement with the thought of being all powerful and completely capable of anything. It is a commonly known fact that people tend to do more of something if it excites them. Pistorius (2000) stated that serial murderers have little control over their own lives and feelings. Executing control over someone else's life (the victim's life) provides the serial murderer with a sense of omnipotence. The sense of omnipotence excites them and the excitement in turn leads them to become addicted to omnipotence. Then it is not surprising that first time murderers become serial murderers. In her book, Pistorius (2000, p. 7) quoted a serial murderer, "… only God gives and takes life and to consider myself somehow responsible for the deaths of others would imply that I empowered myself with a certain omnipotence".

According to Ramsland (2006) some murderers have said that to take a human life makes them feel like God, with power over life and death. She added that the occasional murderer has identified himself with Christ. Consistent with her beliefs, Fox and Levin

[7] A primitive psychic mechanism is a personality trait or behaviour pattern that is primitive in nature because it has never been fully processed or integrated and often stems from unresolved infantile or early childhood issues (Bollas, 1987; 1995; Claus & Lidberg, 1999).

(1994), Pistorius (2000), and Warren et al. (1996) stated that the driving force behind serial murder is the need for outright control, which is tightened with the murderer's belief that he is special in some superior way. Claus and Lidberg (1999, p. 429) supported this notion and described the serial murderer's career as "a striving towards an establishment of the infantile omnipotence". They explained this description by sharing their views of the serial murderer before, during, and after the crime. Before the crime the serial murderer is viewed as an insignificant person in a chaotic world who is able to control his penis only in masturbation. During the offence he has control over life and death and after it he is victorious in having outsmarted the complete police force (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Fox & Levin, 1994).

This control, triumph, and god-like feeling has been described differently by several authors as pathological omnipotence (Lowenstein, 1992), entitlement (Moes, 1991), domination (Geberth & Turco, 1997), and grandiosity. Not only did Claus and Lidberg (1999) research the construct of omnipotence, but they also brought it into relation with the other four primitive psychic mechanisms believed to be present in serial murderers, thereby justifying their outlook on serial murder as a Schahriar syndrome. The second primitive psychic mechanism, sadistic fantasies, is discussed next.

4.3.2. Sadistic fantasies

Sadism involves the preoccupation with inflicting pain on others (Glasser, 1996). According to Martens (2011) this pain could be either physical or psychological as long as it causes the victim to suffer. Furthermore, it can be associated with the arousal of sexual pleasure (Krafft-Ebing, 1898), nonsexual pleasure, or both (Freud, 1962; Martens, 2011). Ressler and Burgess (1985) declared that serial murderers have a longstanding involvement in, and preference for, a vastly active fantasy life in which they are especially devoted to sadistic sexual fantasies. They further stated that these fantasies become so intense and vivid that they provide the impetus for the offender to act them out with victims of opportunity. According to Knoll (2006) the presence of sadistic sexual fantasy is one of the most reliable psychological findings in the mental lives of serial murderers. However, a high frequency of sadistic fantasies, not necessarily sexual in nature, has also been continuously reported by convicted serial murderers (Brittain, 1970; Johnson & Becker, 1997; Warren et al., 1996).

Aware of the significantly high prevalence of sadistic fantasies in serial murderers, Claus and Lidberg (1999) included it in their Schahriar syndrome model. They wrote that serial murderers create a fantasy, a self-produced make-believe world that is far more important to them than reality. They added that, in their inner world of imagination, serial murderers can be whoever they want to be, free from pain, free from the deceitful external reality. Many scholars of serial murder (Juni, 2008; Martens, 2011; Silverstein, 1994) view the creation of fantasy as an escape from the agony of real life stemming from early childhood difficulties. Among others, early abandonment, abuse, deprivation, and deception could all contribute to an explanation of the current pain and agony in serial murderers' realities (Lachmann & Lachmann, 1995).

According to Claus and Lidberg (1999) sadism resembles the projection of primitive aggression onto others. The primitive aggression refers to aggressive drives experienced by the infant or young child in response to neglect, abuse, or other maltreatment by the primary caretaker or object. This primitive aggression causes an "inner abyss" since it was never effectively processed (Claus & Lidberg, 1999, p. 433). The sadistic nature of the serial murderer's fantasies and/or acts could also be described as a reversal of roles (Lachmann & Lachmann, 1995; Vaknin, 2003). The last mentioned authors believe that the serial murderer redresses his early painful experiences by reversing roles and inflicting his own torture on his victims.

Although various theories attempt to explain the phenomenon of sadistic fantasies, a satisfactory and comprehensive theory of the aetiology thereof remains unknown (Brittain, 1970; Johnson & Becker, 1997). A common factor in the existing theories is the emphasis on the important influence that infantile and early childhood experiences may have on the development of sadistic fantasies. Claus and Lidberg (1999) agreed that sadistic fantasies are, to a great extent, rooted in infantile or early childhood experiences. Therefore, they included it in their model as a primitive psychic mechanism. The third primitive psychic mechanism, ritualised performance, is discussed next.

4.3.3. Ritualised performance

Serial murderers' actions are usually methodical and ritualised (Drukteinis, 1992). Ritualised acts or performance entails that the serial murderer divulges a repetitive pattern

from one murder scene to the next (Van der Spuy, 2012). Bezuidenhout (2011) believes that rituals can take on various forms such as leaving something at the scene, removing something from the victim or the scene, marking the victim's body, sodomising the victim, or doing something symbolic (e.g., writing on walls). He stated that the essence of such acts is that they are not prerequisites for committing the offence. According to him it is the serial murderer's way of personalising the scene. Thus, in order to leave his signature, the serial murderer performs the ritual(s) in addition to his already awful crime. Although ritualised acts are not viewed as prerequisites, Grimes (1996) and Hoffmeister (2007) argued that disturbances in the atmosphere or absence of important ritual accessories might ruin the ritual action which in turn could interrupt and cease the murderer from completing the offence. This argument emphasises the importance and value that ritualised performance holds for the serial murderer.

As is the case with the two primitive psychic mechanisms discussed previously, various opinions regarding the functions and meanings of rituals in serial murder exist. The performance of rituals has been considered as a need to create social solidarity, a necessity to suppress traumatic experiences, and an intention to influence the environment (Hoffmeister, 2007). According to Wulf and Zirfas (2004) ritualisation is tightly bound to the society in which the serial murderer lives. They suggested that the serial murderer is shaped to a large extent by society and his crimes represent performative subversions of social norms. Their suggestion is in line with Drukteinis's (1992) interpretation of ritualised behaviour as a grotesque form of the violence that prevails in society.

An object-relational view of ritualised performance presumes that the ritual recreates earlier conflicts with meaningful objects such as parents, authority figures, or peers (Vaknin, 2003). According to this view the difference lies in the outcome of the replay since the murderer now dominates the situation and is the one to inflict abuse and trauma on others. It could be described as a form of poetic justice or balancing of the books (Schlesinger, Kassen, Mesa, & Pinizzotto, 2010). Vaknin (2003) added that the ritual is cathartic and allows the serial murderer to release repressed aggression. The serial murderer thus performs the ritual in response to a diseased inner dialogue or manuscript. This can be further explained by Pistorius's (2000, 2002) view that serial murderers repeat what was done to them either directly or symbolically in order to master childhood trauma. Similar to sadistic fantasies (see section 4.3.2.), ritualised performance can also be interpreted as a reversal of roles in

which the serial murderer avenges his or her suffering on victims who represent either himself/herself, or the original tormentor (Pistorius, 2000).

Claus and Lidberg (1999) considered both the social and inner aspects of ritualised performance. Although they were not in favour of any specific aetiological explanation thereof, they did recognise ritualised performance as a primitive psychic mechanism present in serial murder.

4.3.4. Dehumanisation

Dehumanisation refers to the perception of others as objects, animals, or machines and classification of them as being subhuman (Zimbardo, 2009). It entails the ability of humans to drop their inhibitions against doing harm to others and commit ineffable acts of cruelty and revulsion (Smith, 2011). Such acts of horrendous torture are common in serial murder (Warren et al., 1996). Consistent with Smith's (2011) description, Levin and Fox (2007) believe that it is dehumanisation that enables serial murderers to torture, rape, and murder. Zimbardo (2009, p. 307) stated that "not responding to the human qualities of other people automatically facilitates inhumane actions". Thus, the process of dehumanisation makes it easier for the serial murderer to be callous towards his victims (Smith, 2011).

Some authors are of the opinion that the characteristic of dehumanisation is not exclusively related to serial murderers. According to Levin and Fox (2007) there is a degree of normalcy in this characteristic, since it is shared by millions of regular or normal human beings. They give the examples of business leaders known for hiring and firing, teachers who are unnecessarily tough on their students and politicians whose actions further their own interests, but have injurious human effects. In support of their prospect, Bandura (1999; 2004) and Bandura and Zimbardo (2005) suggest that dehumanisation could be viewed as a process of moral disengagement which could help explain political, military, and terrorist violence as well as everyday situations in which decent people objectify and harm others in order to pursue their own attractions. Thus, dehumanisation might be considered an existential process that not only enables serial murderers to commit their horrendous acts, but also permits them to do so with moral impunity (Zimbardo, 2009).

The presence of dehumanisation in serial murderers' functioning might lessen people's perception of them as monsters, because the need to dehumanise their victims in order to perform their brutality indicates the existence of a conscience and possibly even empathy (Levin & Fox, 2007; Warren et al., 1992). Additionally, the presence of dehumanisation could support a degree of normalcy rather than psychopathology such as psychopathy or antisocial personality disorder in serial murderers. Levin and Fox (2007) proposed that instead of requiring psychopathological traits or disorders to kill, serial murderers might merely be able to overcome the forces of conscience in the same way as most other human beings – by dehumanising their victims. By regarding their victims as subhuman objects, serial murderers delude themselves into believing that their crimes are good rather than bad. In their minds they are saving their victims from degeneration and degradation, while simultaneously ridding the world of filth and evil (Levin & Fox, 2007; Vaknin, 2003). According to the serial murderer his victim was specifically chosen and should be grateful (Vaknin, 2003).

Biven (1997) insisted that dehumanisation is the result of irrevocable childhood trauma. He stated that the lack of a nurturing environment and absence of a true bond between the infant or young child and the primary caregiver instigates a wish in the child to obliterate all signs of humanness in the caregiver. Along with this wish, however, the child carries an immense desire for love and affection from the caregiver (Smith, 2011; Vaknin, 2003). The child is thus caught between a longing for, and a destruction of, the caregiver at the same time. One could otherwise describe it as wanting the caregiver to appear and disappear or to be both present and absent (Haggerty, 2009). According to Biven (1997) the serial murderer's crimes are a repetitious and compulsive enactment of the past. His or her victim becomes an object symbolising the primary caregiver whom he or she causes to disappear (murder) and reappear (in the form of the next victim).

Vaknin (2003) supported the consideration of childhood trauma or difficulties as causative factors. He argued that the serial murderer is afraid that the victim will run on him or her or vanish as earlier objects such as his or her parents have done. Therefore, he or she dehumanises his or her victims in order to possess them like he or she would animals or other subhuman articles. Claus and Lidberg (1999) took note of the mentioned authors' observations, opinions, and suggestions. They furthered it by stating that "the victim has to

be an object to play with, or the magic of the ritual is broken, and the fantasy becomes reality" (Claus & Lidberg, 1999, p. 430).

4.3.5. Symbiotic merger

The term *symbiosis* has its origin in psychoanalytic thought and was traditionally conceptualised as a merged relationship (Silverman, 2004). It is often referred to as merger, boundarylessness, or undifferentiatedness (Mahler et al., 1975). Regardless of the synonym used, the concept signifies a phase of infantile development during which the infant behaves and functions as though he and his mother were a dual unity (Mahler et al., 1975). Mahler (1952), Mahler and Gosliner (1955) and Stein (2009) described the essential feature of symbiosis as delusional fusion with the mother and the creation of a delusional common boundary between the mother-infant unit and the external environment. Thus, it encompasses a phase where the infant is not yet able to distinguish between inner and outer or self and other.

According to Mahler (1952) the phase of symbiosis is essential for enabling young children to navigate through a process of separation-individuation. The separation-individuation process is characterised by a gradual increase in awareness of the separateness of self and other which paves the way for the origination of a sense of self (identity), the establishment of true object relationships, as well as the recognition of an outer reality (Mahler et al., 1975). These authors added that the dual mother-infant unit constructs the primal basis from which all subsequent human relationships develop. Symbiosis also constitutes a central part in socialisation, evaluation of objects, and the attainment of object constancy[8] (Mahler & McDevitt, 1968). To further emphasise the importance of symbiosis, Spitz (1965) wrote that vestiges of this phase remain with the individual throughout the entire life cycle. Thus, improper symbiosis can have critical effects on the individual's development, particularly his or her social development (Stein, 2009).

Without proper symbiotic contact, the opportunity for an infant to develop into an adult with an integrated identity would be foregone (Mahler & Furer, 1968). Furthermore,

[8] Object constancy, similar to object permanence (Piaget, 1975), indicates the ability of children to realise that their mother and other important objects are separate individuals who remain permanent even when not in their presence (Louw & Edwards, 2008; Mahler et al., 1975).

such a loss in infancy anticipates the absence of satisfactory future relationships as well as an inability to acknowledge and appreciate others, outside of the self, as possible nurturance givers. Complete disruption of the symbiotic phase could occur easily since the infant's need for the mother is absolute, while the mother's need for the infant is relative (Mahler et al., 1975). Proper symbiosis requires the mother's nursing care which should incorporate affective, perceptual, and physical investment in the infant (Spitz, 1965). Abandonment, neglect, rejection, and trauma in any of the aforementioned domains could thus interfere with the symbiotic process (Stein, 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2011).

According to Claus and Lidberg (1999) most case-reports of serial murderers indicate that they had no basic symbiotic contact at all. Meltzer (1992) indicated that, for individuals who fear abandonment due to early neglect or rejection, the precondition for any further object relation is object merger. This could explain why the serial murderer is engaged in a delusive endeavour to achieve a fusion or symbiotic unity with his victim as Claus and Lidberg (1999) proposed. Acts that point to the presence of symbiotic merger in serial murderers' functioning include the ingestion of blood, organs, and/or other parts of their victims. By doing this a symbiotic fusion is created and the serial murderer finally attains long sought object constancy (Vaknin, 2003). As one serial murderer put it "they are a part of you, and you two are forever one… you then possess them and they shall forever be a part of you" (Stein, 2007, p. 8). In the next section the applicability of the Schahriar syndrome model for this particular study and its criticisms are discussed.

4.4. Applicability and Critique of the Schahriar Syndrome Model

The serial murderer and his analogy of serial murder are dynamic and complex (Morton & Hilts, 2005). However, as seen throughout this chapter, the possibility of formulating theories and models to simplify its understanding exists. Claus and Lidberg (1999) did extensive research on various theories and models in order to cultivate their own, the Schahriar syndrome model. This model intends to enable the investigator to identify the presence or absence of five primitive psychic mechanisms in serial murderers' functioning. Along with this, it promotes possible aetiological explanations for each of the five mechanisms by incorporating various theories.

The Schahriar syndrome model has been criticised for its sole emphasis on the significance of infantile and early childhood adversities in the development of omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation and symbiotic merger (Schlesinger, 2000; Youngs & Canter, 2011). However, in this particular study, this criticism proved helpful in the researcher's attempts to explain the subject's functioning as serial murderer. The Schahriar syndrome model enabled the researcher to consider the influence of infantile and early childhood difficulties on the subject's future functioning as serial murderer, while psychobiography with its holistic, lifespan focus (Schultz, 2005), enabled the researcher to analyse the subject's functioning throughout his entire life as well. Furthermore, because Claus and Lidberg (1999) did not exclusively bind their model to one specific aetiology, room was left for the researcher to also incorporate other perspectives on the development of the five primitive psychic mechanisms of which, some (e.g., Fox & Levin, 1994; Geberth & Turco, 1997; Gresswell, 1991) had a lifespan focus. Thus, despite the criticism mentioned above, the researcher was still able to explore and discuss the development of the subject holistically throughout his entire life.

The researcher could not find any other studies in which the Schahriar syndrome model was used to describe serial murderers' functioning. Therefore, this study's findings would contribute to the informal evaluation of the applicability of the model by either supporting or rejecting its propositions. Additionally, Morton and Hilts (2005) stated that more research is needed to identify specific pathways of development that produce serial murderers. The informal testing of the applicability of the Schahriar syndrome model in this particular study could prove helpful in this regard. The findings and discussion of the Schahriar syndrome model as applied to Chase is provided in Chapter 9.

4.5. Chapter Summary

The phenomenon of serial murder and the Schahriar syndrome model of Claus and Lidberg (1999) were discussed in this chapter. The researcher provided a general discussion of serial murder and related concepts which included its definition, the classification of serial murderers, motives and types of serial murder and perspectives on the aetiology of serial murder. After this, the researcher introduced the Schahriar syndrome model and discussed its components, the five primitive psychic mechanisms believed to be present in serial murderers' functioning. The chapter ended with a discussion of the model's applicability for

this particular study as well as criticisms against the model. A theoretical overview of psychobiography and case study research is provided in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

Psychobiography and Case Study Research: A Theoretical Overview

5.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter provides a discussion on psychobiographical research. Firstly, the relationship between psychology and biography is considered. Secondly, psychobiography is defined and described. Thirdly, various related concepts including autobiography, biography, life history, life story, psychohistory, historical psychology, historiography, and personality assessment are discussed in an attempt to distinguish them from psychobiography. This is followed by an overview of psychobiography as case study research in which light is shed on case method, case research epistemology, case research objective, case research design, and case research method. Lastly, the history and trends in psychobiography are provided, followed by the value of the approach. Criticisms of the approach are discussed in the next chapter.

5.2. Psychology and Biography

Elms (1994) stated that the relationship between psychology and biography resembles an uneasy alliance. According to Anderson (1981) and Runyan (1982) the biographical approach has traditionally been unclear and received controversial status in the discipline of psychology. McAdams (1994) indicated that the best means with which to capture a human life situated in time is psychologically informed biography. However, psychologists and more specifically personality psychologists have traditionally not viewed themselves as biographers (Elms, 1994).

Scientific psychology highlights the need for reliable evidence and utilises theoretical paradigms of developmental and personality psychology to outline and explain the typical pattern of human development (Howe, 1997). Academic psychology is theory-centred and concerned with the development of general conceptual and theoretical analysis of various classes of psychological phenomena such as abnormal, biographical, cognitive, developmental, personality, and social psychology (Jacobs, 2004). In the past, psychologists did not consider the study of individual lives as contributory to the formulation of

psychological theory (McAdams, 1994). Rosenwald (1988) believed that such studies did not add to the formation of general truths. Furthermore, Simonton (2003) was of the opinion that, in their pursuit to produce universal scientific knowledge, psychology researchers tend to use participants who share a similar historical and social context as that of the researcher. He argued that the use of historical material, instead, would yield information about human behaviour that is far more diverse in terms of culture and thus, more valuable to the understanding of unique individual lives.

To tell the story of a life by describing the experiences and events therein, defines biography (Strouse, 1988). Cole and Knowles (2001) described biography as a structured account of a life written by another, typically according to fictional conventions. Early biographers hardly ever employed psychological concepts to understand their subjects' lives (McAdams, 1994). Instead, a diversity of other interpretive methodologies are utilised in biography to explain individual life occurrences within their specific cultural and structural settings (Roberts, 2002). According to Schultz (2005) the duty of the biographer is to inform the reader about a story of an entire life that, in most cases, has ended. Thus, biography could be depicted as the study of an individual's life over an entire lifespan (Howe, 1997).

Biographical methodology is criticised for lacking structure and being too subjective to be classified as scientific (Runyan, 1984). Smith (1998) noted that biographers need to be conscious of the value conflicts and doubts that may be provoked in life-writing. Another criticism of biography encompasses its reliance on arts, literature and history when mapping the progressive course of an individual's life (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). The complexity and uniqueness of biography, however, requires that it be viewed more theoretically than an observatory skill or process. Counter-arguments in favour of the biographical tradition highlighted that (a) critics of the single-case method hold a markedly restricted view of science, (b) good biographies are greatly enlightening, and (c) psychologists who dismiss biographical research in the study of individual lives neglect their intellectual responsibility (McAdams, 1994).

According to Elms (1994) and Schultz (2005) biography often includes psychology and *vice versa*. Therefore, they declared that the perturbed or uneasy alliance between biography and psychology resembles a vague impression of the boundary between them. Despite psychobiographical research having been criticised as being non-scientific, sustained

effort and perseverance by social scientists and personality psychologists have resulted in valuable life history research (Elms, 1994; McAdams, 1988). Howe (1997) pointed out that the extent to which psychological theories are applied in the interpretation of biographical data accounts for the variation between the two disciplines. Psychology is a scientific discipline that highlights empirical proof and conceptual models in order to explain behaviour and development, whereas biography is a subjective and intuitive approach that emphasises the uniqueness of individuals rather than the commonalities between them (Van Niekerk, 2007). According to Elms (1994) the two disciplines are characterised by a conventional alliance with reciprocal benefits – as much as psychology improves biography, biography improves psychology.

5.3. Psychobiography: Definitions and Descriptions

Bromley (1986, p. 9) described psychobiography as "a biographical study in which psychological concepts, methods, and findings play a major role". In accordance with this description, Schultz (2005, p. 14) defined psychobiography as "the analysis of historically significant lives through the use of psychological theory and research". Furthermore, Runyan (1988, p. 219) stated that "psychobiographical research concedes an in-depth study of the whole person in time and context through the narrative of individual experience". The evolution of understanding interesting individual lives is becoming an increasingly important objective in both psychology and the social sciences in general (Perry, 2012).

According to McAdams (1994) the aim in the study of individual lives is to detect the key underlying story that animates a person's life. Schultz (2005) referred to this as focusing on one facet of a life or a single mysterious enquiry. Psychobiographers would thus inevitably utilise biographical data (McAdams, 1988). However, psychobiography is not quite biography, for it aspires to make both psychological and fictional sense of the subject under study (Roberts, 2002). Psychobiography could be explanatory and interpretive in that it deals with the question of motives (Schultz, 2005, 2013). The psychobiographer explicitly uses formal psychological theory and research to explain and interpret individual lives (Runyan, 2002). Psychobiography could therefore be viewed as "the systematic use of psychological, particularly personality theory to transform a life into a coherent and illuminating story" (McAdams, 1994, p. 699).

McLeod (1994) described psychobiography within the context of a qualitative narrative case study, which is concerned with elucidating and understanding the stories people tell about their lives. Psychobiography, as an engaging discipline seeks to understand the changing experiences and outlooks of individuals and emphasises the importance of subjective accounts individuals give of their past, present, and future (Roberts, 2002). Diaries, journals, letters, and biographical material could be used to gather information about life stories (Runyan, 1982; Willig, 2008). Materials regarded as relevant for psycho-biography include personal documents that create a biographical sketch of the individual within a psychological, social, and historical context (McLeod, 1994; Plummer, 1983). Thus, psychobiography essentially serves to illuminate both inner, subjective experiences and the connection between life and theory (Schultz, 2005). Notwithstanding the various dimensions in its description, McAdams (1994, p. 12) summarised the core of psychobiography as "the study of an entire life, from birth to death, with the aim to discern, discover, and formulate the central story of the entire life, a story structured according to psychological theory". The study of lives presents a better opportunity for the study of personality than does traditional longitudinal research, because of its holistic and unique nature (Carlson, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). Furthermore, insight into the ways in which individuals reform their past and shape their present, future and social relations could be gained from psychobiography (Hones, 1998; Roberts, 2002).

5.4. Psychobiography and Related Concepts

A discussion on related concepts and possibly confusing terms is provided in this section in an effort to better understand psychobiography.

5.4.1. Autobiography and biography

Autobiography refers to the story of an individual's life, or part thereof, authored by the individual him- or herself (Bertaux, 1981; Bromley, 1986). While referring to objective facts and records, autobiography tends to be selective and biased since the perspective from which it is written, is subjective (Roberts, 2002). Autobiography shares properties of biography as it draws on a varied array of sources (Bromley, 1986; Roberts, 2002).

Biography depicts a structured account of a life written by another, typically according to literary conventions (Cole & Knowles, 2001). According to Howe (1997) good biography clarifies an individual's life through the utilisation of history, art, and literature that outline the individual's progress through life. Shortcomings which set the two approaches apart from psychobiography include lack of scientific structure (Runyan, 1984) and the absence of a psychological perspective on the individual (Schultz, 2003).

5.4.2. Life histories and life stories

Relationships and patterns among multiple lives are examined in life histories and both subjective and objective information obtained from a number of sources are utilised (McAdams, 2006; Yin, 2009). Bromley (1986, p. 8) described life history as a "scientific reconstruction and interpretation based on the best evidence available, of major formative, critical and accumulative episodes in a person's life". In life histories, the aim is to understand similarities between various individuals as opposed to focusing on the uniqueness of a single life such as in psychobiography (Rosenwald, 1988).

Life stories entail biographical accounts of individual lives (Bujold, 1990; McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1982). A life story provides a complete account of an individual's life while highlighting the most important aspects thereof (Atkinson, 1998; Roberts, 2002). The necessary feature is the subjectivity of the author's personal thoughts, feelings, and motives (Fouché, 1999). Whereas life histories are considered interpretive and the presentational work of the researcher, life stories are commonly applied to narrated stories by the author (Stroud, 2004).

5.4.3. Psychohistory, historical psychology and historiography

Psychohistory is primarily a historical exercise which makes use of formal psychological theory in an attempt to historically interpret cultural, political, and social events (Berg, 1995; Loewenberg, 1983; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005). Considerable confusion about the scope and definition of psychohistory exists due to underlying tension between the disciplines of history and psychology (Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005). Runyan (1988) further stated that the relationship between the two disciplines is not characterised

only by cooperation and recognition of mutual interest, but also by misunderstanding, occasional hostility, and suspicion.

Historical psychology refers to the history of psychological phenomena and/or the history of thought about psychological development and important formative and cumulative influences on the life course (Runyan, 1988). According to Anderson (1988) and Simonton (2003) historiography is past-orientated and seeks to shed light on current questions of interest about the historical past. It involves an intense study of existing materials as a means to reconstruct past information into a meaningful array of historical explanations (Berg, 1995; Denzin, 1978).

5.4.4. Personality assessment

Personality assessment is related to the measurement and evaluation of lives in progress (Fouché, 1999). It focuses on the individual's way of being in the present and analyses forces such as identity, modes of thinking, traits, and values that exemplify the individual and differentiate him or her from other individuals (Claasen, 2006). What it has in common with psychobiography, is that it also demands a psychological description of what the individual is like at designated points on a timeline (Cohen & Swerdlik, 2005). The difference between personality assessment and psychobiography, however, is that the latter does not require an element of prediction as is the case with personality assessment (Alexander, 1990). Instead, psychobiography is directly concerned with the problem of understanding and allows the researcher to track human development in a manner that exceeds static personality assessment of clinical case studies (Alexander, 1990; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005).

5.5. Psychobiography as Case Study Research

Case study research entails an intensive investigation of a singular unit such as a person, group, or organisation bound within a time and contextual setting (Runyan, 1982; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). As life history research, psychobiography is considered an exceptionally good example of specialised case study research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cozby, 1997). Case study research could be differentiated from other related forms of research such as action research, ethnographic study, and field study on the basis of certain

characteristics it exhibits (Cavaye, 1996). An overview of these characteristics in terms of case research epistemology, case research objective, case research design and case research method are provided in this section.

5.5.1. Case research epistemology

Epistemology entails the researcher's belief about the manner in which knowledge is constructed (Willig, 2008). Differing views of reality, for example interpretive and positivistic paradigms[9] rely on alternative ideas about the nature of knowledge and demand alternative approaches to the research (Hart, 1998). Being particularly versatile, case study research could be used in both traditions (Willig, 2008). In psychobiography, case research is used within a qualitative framework as an attempt to understand the nature of a phenomenon and to elicit meanings from complex social behaviours (Struwig & Stead, 2004; Yin, 2009). Conversely, case research could also be used within a quantitative paradigm where predefined variables would be measured according to predefined measures (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Willig, 2008). An example of this would be a single case experimental research design (Yin, 2009). Furthermore, psychobiography is an interpretive practice used not to explain human behaviour in terms of universal laws, but rather to understand and interpret meanings and intentions that might underlie everyday human actions within their context (Willig, 2008).

The desire to understand complex social phenomena gives rise to a need for case studies which allow an investigation whereby holistic and meaningful features of real-life events could be retained (Yin, 2009). In addition, case studies focus on change and development (Willig, 2008) and adopt a holistic perspective that allows for the development of idiographic insight (i.e., unique understanding) into the phenomenon under study (Stake, 2005).

[9] The interpretive paradigm seeks to explain how people attribute meaning to their circumstances, and how they develop and make use of rules which govern their behaviour. The positivistic paradigm stresses the power of sensorily apprehended or valid, observed knowledge to solve practical problems (Candy, 1989; Willig, 2008).

5.5.2. Case research objective

Case research could be used to describe phenomena, construct theory and test existing theoretical concepts and relationships (Fouché, 1999; McLeod, 1994; Willig, 2008). In case research, the construct of analytical generalisation prevails and describes the generalisability of case studies to theoretical propositions (Yin, 2009). Instead of enumerating statistical frequencies, case studies could be generalised to theoretical propositions in a manner similar to when a scientist generalises from a single experiment to theory (Yin, 2009). Case studies could also facilitate conceptual refinement of emerging theoretical formulations or lead to the discovery of new insights into social and psychological processes from which new theoretical foundations and hypotheses could be formulated (Willig, 2008).

Case research is a process of conceptualisation and description of phenomena (Neuman, 2003; Willig, 2008). Conceptualisation occurs when hypotheses are generated and explanations developed for observed relationships (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). According to Bromley (1986) and Cavaye (1996) it is these statements about relationships that provide the groundwork for constructing theory. Grounded theory is a formalised approach to inductive case research (Cooney, 2010; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It suggests that theory transpires as the researcher collects and interprets data regarding a phenomenon (Neuman, 2003).

Validation or disconfirmation of existing theory is a deductive process whereby cause-and-effect relationships are tested in accordance with a natural science model (Yin, 2009). Propositions are tested by collecting and comparing data from the observed reality with logical hypotheses or predictions derived from theory (Colborn, 1996). In psychobiography, either or both inductive or deductive case research could be used, because the research objectives might include the discovery and/or testing of theory (Bromley, 1986; Fouché, 1999).

5.5.3. Case research design

Research design could be described as a logical sequence that links data to the study's initial research questions and its eventual conclusions (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Kagee, 2008; Yin, 2009). The complexity of case research designs vary, with some designs involving the

study of a single case, and others involving the study of multiple cases (Bless et al., 2008). In a single case study, a phenomenon can be investigated in depth and a rich description thereof provided (Cavaye, 1996). A single case study also enables theory construction through the development and refinement or confirmation and refutation of concepts against real world data (Yin, 2009). In a multiple case study, data across various cases could be analysed, allowing the researcher to verify that findings are not merely the result of a unique research setting (Bromley, 1986; Cavaye, 1996).

Psychobiography most commonly adopts a single case research design. However, a multiple case design could at times be employed where the researcher would conduct comparative biographical studies of subjects by bringing intensive, exploratory interviews into conversation with one another (Rosenwald, 1988). Such designs have proven useful in the biographical study of career development (Bujold, 1990) and the comparative study of leaders (Gronn, 1993).

5.5.4. Case research method

The case method is utilised in case study research as a way to systematise observation (Neuman, 2003; Struwig & Stead, 2004). The absence of explicit control and manipulation of variables typifies this method. The case method seeks to gain an idiographic understanding of the case within its eccentricity (Hart, 1998; Willig; 2008) and uses a variety of tools and techniques for data collection and analysis (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Willig, 2008). Furthermore, it draws attention to contextual data through a holistic perspective on various dimensions of the case and contributes to knowledge by relating findings to generalisable theory (Yin, 2009). According to Yin (2009) case research is particularly suited for situations where separation of the phenomenon's variables from its context is impossible.

In order to generate suitable materials for the study, the researcher needs to carefully select methods of data collection and analysis (Yin, 2009). Two types of data collection methods are (a) nomothetic or quantitative methods based on numerical data, and (b) idiographic or qualitative methods based on linguistic data (Bromley, 1986; Yin, 2009). Most case research utilises a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Willig, 2008). In qualitative research the assumption of multiple realities subsists and the world is

viewed as a subjective function of personal interactions and perceptions (Willig, 2008). Qualitative researchers explore, describe and comprehend phenomena within its context in order to ascribe meaning to it (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). To achieve contextual understanding, direct and in-depth knowledge of the research setting is vital. Therefore, case methods are associated with interviews, verbal data and observation (Stake, 1995). In case research with a quantitative dimension, outcomes are assessed with procedural measures such as checklists, indices, or questionnaires (McLeod, 1994). Evidence in these studies is reflected in the form of numerical indicators or ratings such as frequencies over time (Willig, 2008; Yin, 2009).

In case study research, multiple sources of information, including documents, interviews, observations, archival records, artefacts and photographs may be used (Struwig & Stead, 2004). Two major sources of data are available to historical researchers (Berg, 1995). Primary data sources are materials produced by the subject (Strydom & Delport, 2005), including excerpts from interviews. Secondary data sources consist of material that is derived from someone else (Woolums, 2011), including biographical literature on the subject's life. In psychobiography, qualitative evidence in the form of diaries, letters, personal documents and recorded information is primarily used (Alexander, 1990; Simonton, 2003).

The aim of this section was to provide an overview of psychobiography as case study research and the underlying principles and characteristics shared by both approaches. The next section takes a glance at the history of psychobiography.

5.6. History and Trends in Psychobiography

Prior to the 20th century, literary biographers rarely employed psychological concepts to interpret their subjects' lives (McAdams, 1994). Accuracy and in-depth study of the lives of ancient rulers were relinquished in order to glorify the subjects (McAdams, 1994). This exaltation of leaders caused biographers to neglect their subjects' failures, imperfections, feelings, desires, and fantasies (McAdams, 1994).

With the emergence of psychoanalysis, a focus on the effects of childhood desires and frustrations on adult life arose (Runyan, 1982). Freud's 1910 publication, *Leonardo da Vinci*

and a Memory of his Childhood, sanctioned the first true affiliation between literary biography and psychology. His work was regarded as the first genuine psychobiography and according to Elms (1988) it presented several guidelines for psychobiographical research. Among them was the rejection of both pathography and idealisation as well as the avoidance of both, along with arguments built upon a single cue and conclusions based upon inadequate data (Elms, 1988). Although the guidelines were sound, Freud violated them in the very work where they were proposed. His attempt to illustrate the dynamics underlying creativity proved problematic, because his argument that da Vinci's creative images stemmed solely from an infantile wish was difficult to prove (McAdams, 1988; Scalapino, 1999). Despite its methodological weaknesses, Freud's work was influential and it redefined the mission of biography and psychology as applied psychoanalysis (Elms, 1994; McAdams, 1988).

In the 1910s and -20s the number of psychoanalytic biographies escalated. Consequently, numerous criticisms of the method surfaced, reductionism taking precedence. Despite this, psychobiography prevailed and early attempts such as Prince's 1915, *Psychology of the Kaiser: A study of his sentiments & his obsessions*, and Hall's 1917, *Jesus, the Christ, in light of psychology*, were carried out. Noteworthy studies continued during the 1920s and -30s and included works on, among others, Caesar, Darwin, Lincoln, Napoleon, and Nietzsche (Runyan, 1988). The 1940s witnessed a decline in the study of individual lives which slowly caught on again in the 1950s when a renewed production of psychobiographies commenced (Runyan, 1988). Most notable was Erikson's 1958, *Young man Luther: A study in psychoanalysis*. Throughout 1960 psychobiography amplified and matured as evidenced by Erikson's second related study, *Gandhi's truth: On the origins of militant non-violence* (1969).

According to Runyan (1988) the amount of psychobiographical publications has increased since 1970. There was also a rising awareness that both traditions of psychology and biography contributed remarkably to the unravelling and understanding of individual lives (Elms, 1994). Schultz (2005) noted that, despite promising beginnings, psychobiographical scholarship has not progressed sufficiently because too few hands have worked the field. He added that academic psychologists generally prefer the pursuit of rigorous methods and nomothetical problems, thereby neglecting to attend to the type of soft, idiographic scholarship that is psychobiography. He was also of the opinion that the amount of psychobiographical work in institutionalised academic psychology and the endowment of

formal academic training in psychobiography were limited and unusual. Although psychobiographies remain in the minimum when compared to nomothetic and quantitative approaches, formal training has become a more common practice, especially in the United States, and researchers, both nationally and internationally, attempt to deliver more in the field of psychobiography (McAdams, 2006; Schultz, 2013).

Some psychobiographies that have recently been conducted internationally include *An emergency in slow motion: The inner life of Diane Arbus* by W. T. Schultz, 2011; *Barack Obama in Hawaii and Indonesia: The making of a global president* by D. Sharma, 2011; *George W. Bush and the redemptive dream: A psychological portrait* by D. P. McAdams, 2011; *Tiny terror: Why Truman Capote (almost) wrote* by W. T. Schultz, 2011; *A psychobiography of Bobby Fischer: Understanding the genius, mystery and psychological decline of a world chess champion* by J. G. Ponterotto, 2012; *Lucy in the mind of Lennon* by T. Kasser, 2013; and *The genius and madness of Bobby Fischer: Understanding his life from three psychobiographical lenses* by J. G. Ponterotto and J. D. Reynolds, 2013.

In South Africa, the first psychobiography was conducted in 1939, but it was only in 1995 that psychobiography was officially initiated as a research project at the University of Port Elizabeth (now Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University). After this, a number of studies at master's and doctoral level have examined the lives of literary, political, religious, and sporting figures (Perry, 2012). Most of the psychobiographical work has been conducted by researchers associated with the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in Port Elizabeth, Rhodes University in Grahamstown, and the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein, under the supervision of Roelf van Niekerk and Paul Fouché (Fouché, Smit, Watson, & Van Niekerk, 2007). An outline of the completed psychobiographies conducted in the South African context at the time of this study is presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1.

South African Completed Master's and Doctoral Level Psychobiographies

Subject	**Researcher**	**Degree**	**Year**
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Burgers, M. P. O.	M.A	1939
Louis Leipoldt	Burgers, M. P. O.	D. Litt	1960
Ingrid Jonker	Van der Merwe, L. M.	Ph.D	1978

Jan Christiaan Smuts	Fouché, J. P.	D.Phil	1999
Helen Martins	Bareira, L.	M.A	2001
Bantu Stephen Biko	Kotton, D.	M.A	2002
Balthazar John Vorster	Vorster, M. S.	M.A	2003
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	Warmenhoven, A.	M.A	2004
Mother Theresa	Stroud, L.	D.Phil	2004
Albert Schweitzer	Edwards, M. J.	M.A	2004
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Jacobs, A.	M.A	2005
Karen Horney	Green, S.	M.A	2006
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	Warmenhoven, A.	Ph.D	2006
Chris Barnard	Van Niekerk, R.	M.A	2007
Ray Charles	Biggs, I.	M.A	2007
Hendrik Verwoerd	Claasen, M.	M.A	2007
Melanie Klein	Espinosa, M.	M.A	2008
Herman Mashaba	McWalter, M. A.	M.A	2008
Isie Smuts	Smuts, C.	M.A	2009
Helen Keller	Van Genechten, D.	M.A	2009
Jeffrey Dahmer	Chezé, E.	M.A	2009
Emily Hobhouse	Welman, C.	M.A	2009
Ralph John Rabie	Uys, H. M. G.	M.A	2010
Ernesto “Che” Guevara	Kolesky, C.	M.A	2010
Frans Martin Claerhout	Roets, M.	M.A	2010
Alan Paton	Greeff, M.	M.A	2010
Paul Jackson Pollock	Muller, T.	M.A	2010
Christiaan de Wet	Henning, R.	Ph.D	2010
Bram Fischer	Swart, D. K.	M.A	2010
Brenda Fassie	Gogo, O.	M.A	2011
Olive Schreiner	Perry, M. J.	Ph.D	2012

Note. Adapted from *The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) (p. 130), by M. J. Perry, 2012, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Additional completed psychobiographies conducted in the South African context at the time of this study include *The life of Beyers Naudé: A psychobiographical study* by B. Burnell, 2013; *The life of Helen Suzman: A psychobiographical study* by C. Nel, 2013; and *Roald Dahl: A psychobiographical study* by T. Holz, 2014. In spite of the increase in psychobiographical studies, Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) stated that psychobiography has not yet fully developed its identity in South Africa. They pointed out that a passion for the genre, active academic engagement and the establishment of psychobiography as a curriculum–driven field are required to grow institutionalised academic psychobiography in South Africa. However, psychobiographical research not only has considerable logistical and administrative value, but also holds rich academic benefits for the theoretical development of South African psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Various scholars have advocated the significant value of psychobiography for the development and testing of theories related to human development (Fouché, 1999). Fouché and Van Niekerk (2005) also advised that South African academic institutions utilise psychobiography as a research design and methodology in the study of individual lives more often.

5.7. Value of Psychobiographical Research

As mentioned previously, psychobiography holds significant value in terms of multiple aspects. These aspects are discussed in the following section.

5.7.1. Individual case within the whole

Psychobiographical research adopts a morphogenic nature that allows the researcher to investigate and provide a unique and holistic description of the individual within the subject's entire socio-historical context (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994). This enables the researcher to study individualised patterning processes of the whole personality rather than singular elements (Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

5.7.2. Subjective reality

Psychobiography offers an in-depth description of the subject's inner experiences (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). According to Corey (2005) subjective reality or the way in which reality is interpreted subjectively is more important than objective reality. Knowledge

and understanding of subjective reality enables the researcher to empathise with the subject whereby an emotionally compelling narration of the subject's life story could be constructed (Runyan, 1984).

5.7.3. Socio-historical context

Psychobiography fosters a holistic understanding of the individual by taking into consideration his/her whole context (Roberts, 2002). The use of life history material makes it possible to uncover cultural influences on human development, because the individual subject can be considered within the richness of his or her entire socio-historical context (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010). In this manner, both larger contextual and sub-contextual influences on human development are revealed (Fouché, 1999) and both the individual's social and historical contexts are acknowledged (Goodson & Sikes, 2001).

5.7.4. Process and pattern over time

Psychobiographical research is conducted on finished lives in order to trace patterns of development and behaviour that can be fully described across an individual's entire lifespan (Carlson, 1988). Thus, an integrated and comprehensive picture of human development could be gathered and a comprehensive understanding of personality formed (Fiske, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Such longitudinal research benefits the researcher with an integrated and complete representation of human development within the particular time setting (Alexander, 1990).

5.7.5. Theory testing and development

Life history material provides an ideal 'laboratory' to test and develop theories of human development (Carlson, 1988). Theory guides the identification of design and objectives in data collection and acts as a template for generalisation. As previously mentioned, analytical generalisation is used to compare empirical findings of the study to existing theory in order to test, extend, or develop it further (Yin, 2009). Insights gained from psychobiographical research could thus draw attention to conceptual complexities in the understanding of individual lives that prompt research and theory refinement (Schultz, 2005). In this regard, psychobiography has proven valuable in the informal testing and development

of theory in aging and gerontology, career development, human health development, human potential development, leadership development and personality development (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1994).

5.8. Chapter Summary

After shedding light on the alliance between psychology and biography and discussing the resultant field of psychobiography, the importance and rich benefits of the approach became clearer. Psychobiography has origins in, and shares characteristics with, many related fields as discussed in this chapter. One could easily be confused by the various concepts, since the differences between them are often subtly presented. Despite the aforementioned advantages of psychobiography, the design and methodology of biographical approaches are often criticised (Runyan, 1982). The critique of the psychobiographical method and the suggestions to minimise these challenges as well as ethical considerations, are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Preliminary Methodological and Ethical Considerations

6.1. Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the primary methodological issues and challenges which might affect the quality of the psychobiographical study are highlighted. The researcher also discusses the strategies that were employed to deal with these obstacles and mitigate their impact. The chapter is concluded with an overview of the ethical considerations inherent to the psychobiographical approach as well as the ethical guidelines and suggestions followed by the researcher to have ensured that the study was ethically sound.

6.2. Methodological Considerations in Psychobiographical Research

Despite its numerous advantages and significant value, psychobiography has received much criticism (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005). Based on noted transgressions of scientific psychology and/or history, the reality of such criticism has been justified by even the most ardent proponents of psychobiographical research (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999). In order for a psychobiography to qualify as exemplary the researcher needs to be cognisant of existing criticisms and potential obstacles inherent to the approach and attempt to surmount them, or at least mitigate their effects (Schultz, 2005). In the following section the researcher discusses the major constraints and obstacles inherent to the methodology of psychobiography as highlighted by Fouché (1999) and based on the writings of Anderson (1981), Runyan (1988), Elms (1994), Schultz (2005), and Yin (2009) as well as the methods employed to govern them.

6.2.1. Researcher bias

6.2.1.1. Researcher bias explained

According to Morrow (2005) and Flick (2006) the presence of subjectivity on behalf of the researcher conducting qualitative research is inevitable. This statement supports the stance taken by many psychobiographers, that absolute objectivity and impartial engagement

in the life of any biographical subject is impossible (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Meissner, 2003; Schultz, 2005).

Counter-transference and strong emotional responses towards the subject are often elicited in the researcher, given the in-depth and long-term nature of psychobiographical study (Meissner, 2003; Stroud, 2004). Times of idealising the subject are often interspersed with times of disparaging him or her (Anderson, 1981). Researcher bias could thus adversely affect the psychobiographical study, not only in terms of outcome, but also in terms of data collection, extraction, and analysis. Erikson (1958, 1969, 1993, 1994) suggested that psychobiographers apply a level of *disciplined subjectivity* to recognise the subjective nature of interpretation and to self-reflect on the impact of emotions, perceptions and personal history that are inevitably linked with qualitative psychobiographical research.

6.2.1.2. Researcher bias applied

In order to minimise and counteract the criticism of researcher bias the researcher implemented the following strategies. Firstly, the researcher chose a subject about whom she felt considerably ambivalent. While reading about Chase the researcher found it difficult to bind herself to either completely approving or disapproving of his behaviour and functioning. According to Elms (1994) and Elms and Song (2005) such ambivalence serves as a means to prevent premature conclusions and stay objective. Although the researcher neither approved nor disapproved of Chase's behaviour, she attempted to understand and make sense thereof throughout the study. Thus, as a second strategy, the researcher maintained a healthy degree of empathy for Chase which, according to Anderson (1981), Fouché (1999) and Elovitz (2003) safeguards against denigration of the subject. Lastly, the researcher was continuously aware of her feelings towards Chase and reflected on them by having her supervisors, Prof. Fouché and Dr. Naidoo, review the case study draft. In this manner an evaluation of both the researcher–subject relationship and the validity of data on which the case was based could be obtained.

6.2.2. Reductionism

6.2.2.1. Reductionism explained

Psychobiography, as a qualitative approach, places significant emphasis on the holistic analysis of human development and personality. However, when compared with quantitative methods, the criticism of reductionism seems to bear pronounced importance (Runyan, 1984). Various areas of possible reductionism exist. According to Anderson (1981), Runyan (1988), Wallace (1989), Elms (1994) and Howe (1997), infantile and early childhood experiences are frequently overemphasised as factors that shape personality. Schultz (2005) ratified the importance of childhood influences on personality development, but rejected the notion of it as the only considerable contributor. Erikson (1993, 1994) also cautioned psychobiographers against such practice which he termed *originology*. With the term *originology*, Erikson (1993, p. 18) referred to "the reduction of every human situation to an analogy with an earlier one, and most of all to that earliest, simplest and most infantile precursor which is assumed to be its origins."

Psychobiographies have also been criticised for excessive focus on psychopathology at the expense of normalcy and health (Alter, 2002; Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999). McAdams (1994) referred to such a tendency as *overpathologising*, while Schultz (2005) termed it *pathography*. This reductionistic error might lead to the researcher condensing an entire life to a neurotic tendency (Meissner, 2003; Scalapino, 1999) with static diagnostic or psychopathological categories or symptoms (Runyan, 1988). Another form of reductionism involves the application of a fixed psychological formula and overemphasis on psychological variables which could cause omission of important external social, historical, and cultural factors and thus an incomprehensive analysis of the subject's life (Capps, 2004; Runyan, 1988).

6.2.2.2. Reductionism applied

In an attempt to move away from reductionism towards complexity, as Elms (1994) suggested, the researcher employed several strategies. Firstly, the researcher applied a developmental theory in which the entire lifespan was considered. This allowed the researcher to avoid limiting the study to a particular developmental period and therefore

bypass the reductionistic error of originology. Secondly, instead of pathologising the subject, the researcher made a conscious effort to also convey a developmental psychological understanding and explanation of Chase's actions and experiences. Thirdly, the researcher investigated the life of Chase holistically by conducting a comprehensive literature study and incorporating multiple sources of information as recommended by Fouché and Van Niekerk (2005). Socio-historical literature related to the cultural and historical milieu of Chase's life was also reviewed, aiding the researcher in remaining cognisant of the subject's socio-historical context (Howe, 1997). Lastly, the researcher harnessed Anderson's (1981) advice to minimise the use of psychological jargon and explained terminology with which readers from outside the psychological profession might be unfamiliar with.

6.2.3. Cross-cultural differences

6.2.3.1. Cross-cultural differences explained

The cross-cultural criticism presumes that psychological concepts and theories might not be applicable to the subject's life due to the variance in their cultural contexts (Anderson, 1981; Stroud, 2004). Accordingly, psychobiographers have often been reproved for trying to make such applications work (Runyan, 1984). Anderson (1981) and Neuman (2003) advised psychobiographers to develop a culturally empathic understanding of their subjects.

6.2.3.2. Cross-cultural differences applied

In order to learn about the socio-historical context of Chase and develop an acceptable frame of reference the researcher conducted an extensive literature study (e.g., Athena Intelligence, 2012; Biondi, 2011; Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Blanco, 2013; Morrison, 2011; Nieto, 2012; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992), in which cultural, social and historical information regarding Chase's life were reviewed. Furthermore, the psychological frameworks applied in this study accentuate the importance of cultural, social and historical influences on the individual.

6.2.4. Analysing an absent subject

6.2.4.1. Analysing an absent subject explained

Psychobiographers are often thought of as being disadvantaged in their attempts to analyse a subject with whom limited or no contact is possible (Anderson, 1981; Izenberg, 2003; Meissner, 2003; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005). This prohibits the researcher, not only to directly question the subject, but also to obtain his or her commentary on proposed hypotheses. The psychobiographer must thus bring together a picture of the subject from primarily written sources which could contain significantly less information than what might have been available from direct contact with the subject (Anderson, 1981; Runyan, 1988).

Analysing an absent subject, however, could also bear several advantages. Anderson (1981) and Elms (1994) contended that the psychobiographer is able to access various information sources covering the subject's entire lifespan, affording the researcher the opportunity to analyse events from a distant vantage point which, in turn, results in a more accurate and a more objective view of the subject's life. Furthermore, the psychobiographer is mostly not restricted by therapeutic considerations such as informed consent (Carlson, 1988) or confidentiality (Elms & Song, 2005) and may present a more balanced description of the subject since the focus expands beyond maladaptive behaviour alone (Anderson, 1981; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005).

6.2.4.2. Analysing an absent subject applied

To minimise the limitations caused by the absence of the subject under study, the researcher conducted an extensive literature search. A wide range of biographical data on Chase was collected and reviewed among which were books such as *The true story of California's Vampire Killer: The Dracula Killer* (Biondi & Hecox, 1992) and *Whoever fights monsters* (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) as well as various published newspaper and magazine articles, audio-visual documentaries, interview excerpts, and police reports. These collected materials are also mentioned in section 7.6. and included within the reference list.

6.2.5. Elitism and easy genre

6.2.5.1. Elitism and easy genre explained

According to Stroud (2004) psychobiography has been criticised for being elitist and easy. Elitism holds that psychobiographers tend to focus on leaders, rulers and privileged members of society while ignoring the lives of ordinary men and women (Runyan, 1988). Runyan (1988) argued that psychobiography is appropriate for individual lives from any social realm because the focus should be placed on being *human* and more specifically, personality development. Thus, subjects need to be chosen irrespective of social class and according to personal characteristics instead. Furthermore, elitism depends not only on the chosen subject, but also on the interpretations offered by the qualitative psychobiography (i.e., elitism is minimised when the psychobiography does not offer interpretations that necessarily elevate the subject) (Runyan, 1988).

As psychobiography is characterised, to a certain degree, by predictability (e.g., analysis of a life from birth to death), some critics have reckoned it easy (Runyan, 1988). Runyan (1988) and Elms (1994) stated that writing a superficial biography would indeed be easy, but producing a satisfactory one would require of the biographer significant effort, determination and thoroughness. Additionally, Schultz (2005) described a good psychobiography as a cogent and comprehensive narrative of consistent and viable data. Therefore, the complexity of psychobiography is demonstrated in its requirements to consult numerous sources, acquire thorough psychological knowledge, and retain substantial literary skill (McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1988).

6.2.5.2. Elitism and easy genre applied

Chase was chosen as the subject of the study predominantly based on his actions and unique personality characteristics. Before his arrest he was considered an infamous and regular man from a family judged initially to be middle class and later even regarded as poor (Morrison, 2011). Furthermore, when Chase was exposed for the crimes he committed, he was labelled a “monstrous vampire” (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 194), far-removed from those who would qualify as elite. Thus, the criticism of elitism does not appear justified in this study.

In response to the criticism of the study as being within an easy genre, the researcher would argue that forming a holistic portrait of Chase's life and personality was a remarkably complex task. The extensive nature of the literature review conducted to learn about the subject and his cultural – and socio-historical contexts made the study even more challenging. The use of one theory and a model necessitated broader data collection and analyses as well as an integration of findings. Additionally, the variety of constructs related to the study, for example the phenomenon of serial murder, further increased its complexity.

6.2.6. Inflated expectations

6.2.6.1. Inflated expectations explained

With regard to inflated expectations, psychobiographers should be attentive to two particular limitations. First, psychological interpretations of an individual life should be recognised as supplementary to other existing explanations. That is, psychological explanations cannot replace, among others, historical, political and economic explanations, but rather add to them (Anderson, 1981; Stroud, 2004; Vorster, 2003). Second, all explanations should be regarded as speculative rather than definitively factual (Anderson, 1981; Elovitz, 2003; Meissner, 2003).

6.2.6.2. Inflated expectations applied

The researcher recognises that the case study on Chase was predominantly carried out from a psychological point of view. The discussion was limited to the frameworks provided by the one theory and one model discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Thus, the researcher cannot and does not claim to have uncovered the complete complexity of Chase's life and personality development. Furthermore, the researcher admits that, because no psychological theory can be regarded as unmistakeably definitive, the aim was to sketch a plausible psychological picture of Chase rather than proposing any absolute conclusions about his life.

6.2.7. Infinite amount of biographical data

6.2.7.1. Infinite amount of biographical data explained

According to Simonton (2003) an important methodological issue in psychobiography is the handling of biographical material in a competent manner. Psychobiographers are faced with a vast amount of information from which they have to extract relevant data (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999). It could thus be a challenge for the psychobiographer to treat the data in such a way that important information is revealed (Alexander, 1988). Alexander (1988; 1990) proposed an approach by which biographical data could be reduced and salient data, in need of further enquiry, identified. Firstly, he suggested questioning the data in order to provide a structure from which the large amount of data could be organised. Secondly, he formulated nine indicators of salience that the researcher could use for further extraction and organisation of important data. The nine indicators of salience are (a) primacy, (b) frequency, (c) uniqueness, (d) negation, (e) emphasis, (f) omission, (g) error or distortion, (h) isolation, and (i) incompletion. Both strategies are discussed in greater detail in section 7.7.1.

6.2.7.2. Infinite amount of biographical data applied

The researcher collected a large amount of publicised data on Chase. This enabled the researcher to cross-reference information and engage with the material throughout the study. Included in the wide range of published materials were excerpts from interviews with Chase, his family and acquaintances, letters and messages written by Chase, biographies, newspaper articles, select audio-visual media, and forensic reports. Although archival data was not always directly accessible or retrievable it was, to a great extent, already incorporated into many of the collected published materials.

In order to reduce the collected data to a manageable quantity and extract the important and relevant information, the researcher utilised the strategies proposed by Alexander (1988; 1990). Firstly, the researcher asked specific questions related to the psychological theories used in the study and organised the data accordingly. Secondly, information believed worthy of further investigation were identified based on the nine

indicators of salience as mentioned above. These strategies used to reduce and organise the infinite amount of biographical data are discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

6.2.8. Validity and reliability criticisms

6.2.8.1. Validity and reliability criticisms explained

One of the most widespread criticisms against the psychobiographical approach involves issues regarding its validity and reliability (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2009). These criticisms relate to the trustworthiness of the study and the quality of the psychobiographical research design and methodology. Specific criticisms have been directed at (a) the validity of retrospective and introspective data, which tends to be subjective, (b) the method's ability to test generated hypotheses, (c) the internal validity of the approach because alternative explanations regarding the subject often exist, and (d) the external validity of the research method because findings of the individual case cannot be securely generalised (Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005). According to Yin (2009) the quality of any case study's design can be measured by the four tests common to all social science research methods, namely: (a) internal validity, (b) external validity, (c) construct validity, and (d) reliability. In qualitative research, these tests are often referred to as: (a) credibility, (b) transferability, (c) confirmability, and (d) dependability (Yin, 2009). These tests and their relevance to the case study method are discussed below.

1. *Internal validity or credibility*

Internal validity relates to establishing a causal relationship between conditions and is considered more relevant to explanatory or causal studies than exploratory or descriptive studies (Neuman, 2003; Yin, 2009). According to Yin (2009) credibility in psychobiography has to do with the accuracy of inferences, which depends on the accuracy of the collected data. In an attempt to evaluate such accuracy, the researcher would have to be cognisant of all alternative explanations and possibilities. Correlating with this statement, Elms (1994) cautioned psychobiographers to refrain from drawing conclusions from inadequate data. Krefting (1991) and Rudestam and Newton (2001) suggested in-depth and prolonged exposure to the data as well as adequate submersion in the data whereby any distortions and recurrent patterns could be investigated and validated.

Another possible threat to the credibility of the qualitative psychobiographical study is researcher bias (Fouché, 1999). This may result from the researcher's subjective attitude towards the chosen subject and/or her enthusiasm for a particular theoretical assumption or interpretation (Elms, 1994). Researcher bias and the strategies employed to surmount it were discussed in section 6.2.1.

The process of triangulation has been recommended to enhance the credibility of case study research such as psychobiography (Willig, 2001). Triangulation is based on the principle that convergence of multiple perspectives offers mutual confirmation of data to elucidate themes or theory and to ensure that all aspects of the phenomenon are investigated (Flick, 2006). This multiplicity minimises the distortion from a single source or biased researcher because data is cross-checked (Tindall, 1999). Patton (2002) indicated four types of triangulation that could prove useful for case study research. *Data triangulation* maximises the range of data sources to which the researcher poses the same questions. *Researcher triangulation* refers to involving different evaluators to provide multiple perspectives into the interpretation of data. *Method triangulation* is when multiple methods of enquiry are used and *theory triangulation* occurs when different theories are utilised to interpret the same data set. According to Krefting (1991) triangulation not only enhances the trustworthiness of a study, but also has a positive impact on confirmability and dependability.

2. *External validity or transferability*

External validity refers to the extent to which findings can be applied to other contexts or whether the findings of the study can be generalised beyond the immediate case study (De Vos, 2005; Yin, 2009). Runyan (1988) warned psychobiographers not to aim at generalising their findings to other cases, because the suggestion of a single individual as representative of a larger population is both controversial and questionable. Furthermore, Yin (2009) stated that single cases provide a poor basis for generalising findings. Subsequently, he argued for a distinction between *statistical generalisation*, where the sample is intended to generalise to the larger population (as in quantitative survey research), and *analytical generalisation*, where a particular set of results is generalised to a broader theory (as in qualitative case study research). Transferability is thus a less important criterion in psychobiographical research where findings are considered inherently descriptive (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004).

3. *Construct validity or confirmability*

Construct validity and confirmability refer to the establishment of (a) the correct operational measures for the concepts studied, and (b) neutral findings based solely on the ideas and information of the literature and theoretical frameworks and not on the characteristics and preferences of the researcher (De Vos, 2005; Yin, 2009). Yin (2009) indicated that a chain of evidence should be produced whereby all data, constructs, and variables considered could be traced. The use of multiple data sources (i.e., data triangulation) would serve helpful in this regard (Krefting, 1991). Another strategy to ensure the clear presentation of the operational definitions and study variables is a conceptual matrix (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2009). Furthermore, the research could be subjected to an auditor to follow the study's progression, understand the decision-making process, and the nature of the interpretations, and determine whether or not other researchers would draw similar conclusions (Flick, 2006; Krefting, 1991; Yin, 2009).

4. *Reliability or dependability*

Dependability relates to whether the findings, conclusions and recommendations are consistent with the presented data (Krefting, 1991). Yin (2009) stated that the goal of dependability is to minimise errors and biases in the study to afford another researcher the opportunity to arrive at the same findings and conclusions if he/she were to conduct the same case study. Therefore, a fit between the research question and data collection and analysis procedures is essential for the study to be reliable. In this regard, Flick (2006) suggested that the research process be documented in comprehensive detail. To facilitate this, Yin (2009) proposed the use of a case study protocol and the development of a case study database.

6.2.8.2. Validity and reliability criticisms applied

In order to address the aforementioned concerns regarding validity and reliability, the researcher applied the following strategies:

1. *Internal validity or credibility*

Having taken into consideration Yin's (2009) concern regarding internal validity, the researcher recognised that it was important to maintain credibility to make general inferences throughout the study. Although, the researcher's aim was only to explore and describe the historical life of the subject within the context of psychological frameworks and not to explain a cause-and-effect relationship, credibility was recognised as important. Credibility was achieved, firstly, through extensive and prolonged engagement with the biographical data on Chase's life. This included an in-depth exploration and analysis of all data samples. Secondly, the researcher applied data triangulation, researcher triangulation and theory triangulation. Through data triangulation, the researcher consulted multiple sources of data which were examined and cross-referenced. Researcher triangulation entailed presenting methods and analyses to the supervisor and co-supervisor for feedback. Theory triangulation was employed through the complementary use of the psychosocial personality development theory and the Schahriar syndrome model. Lastly, the researcher obtained an evaluation of the researcher-subject relationship which also minimised researcher bias (see 6.2.1.2.).

2. *External validity or transferability*

Transferability was not a major concern in this study because the aim of the research was not to generalise findings to a broader population through statistical generalisation. Instead, Chase was selected as a unique and complex personality whose life and development were intensively investigated and documented. The focus was on comparing the findings of the study to the propositions of the psychosocial personality development theory and the Schahriar syndrome model (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4) through analytical generalisation.

3. *Construct validity or confirmability*

In order to ensure confirmability, the researcher clearly identified the concepts and stages under study as well as their operational measures. The available literature on the theory and model used in the study informed this conceptualisation. The conceptual frameworks for the theory and the model as well as the data analysis matrix are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7. The researcher also utilised triangulation and subjected the study to the supervisors for review, as discussed previously.

4. *Reliability or dependability*

To enhance dependability, the researcher employed a systematic and consistent approach to data selection and analysis. The coding system consisted of a conceptual matrix wherein the relevant, salient data were placed and evaluated. The matrix was grounded in the constructs of the psychosocial personality development theory and the Schahriar syndrome model and informed by Alexander's (1988; 1990) guidelines to extract salient data. A more detailed discussion and exposition of this coding scheme is provided in Chapter 7.

Section 6.2. described the various methodological considerations inherent to the psychobiographical research approach, provided suggestions to minimise these difficulties and explored their relevant applications to this particular study. In addition to methodological considerations, the researcher is faced with certain ethical considerations which can be vital to the psychobiographical endeavour (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). The next section highlights the potential ethical dilemmas inherent to psychobiography and provides a discussion of the approaches followed by the researcher to ensure that ethical principles were adhered to throughout the study.

6.3. Ethical Considerations in Psychobiography

6.3.1. Ethical considerations explained

Haverkamp (2005) and Ponterotto (2010, 2014) stated that qualitative research methods often present some unique ethical challenges such as confidentiality and informed consent. In psychobiography, ethical concerns regarding privacy and confidentiality seem to be of marked importance, as the psychobiographer is lodged in an in-depth investigation of the subject's private world (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1988). According to Elms (1994) an important issue relates to whether the psychobiographer will study a living or deceased individual. Further issues that may arise relate to the kind of data that is allowable to use and whether findings are to be published in a sensitive, yet true, manner (Fouché, 1999).

Elms (1994) highlighted the need for explicitly stated ethical guidelines in psychobiographical research when he noted the limited involvement of the American

Psychological Association in psychobiographical and psychohistorical ethics. However, the American Psychiatric Association assembled a task force in 1976 that established two ethical guidelines for psychobiography (Runyan, 1988). These guidelines stipulated that psychobiographies may be conducted only on (a) deceased subjects, preferably without any surviving relatives likely to be embarrassed by unsavoury revelations, and (b) living subjects who gave informed consent (American Psychiatric Association, 1976). Although the aforementioned guidelines do not directly emphasise confidentiality and respect, Elms (1994) suggested that all intimate knowledge be treated as such. Furthermore, he emphasised the importance for psychobiographers to reflect on the ethics of their work and ensure that their research is ethically justified to a certain degree, at least.

6.3.2. Ethical considerations applied

This study posed fewer ethical problems, because it is primarily an academic exercise. The researcher chose to study a deceased individual, Richard Trenton Chase, and therefore no informed consent was necessary. The information collected on Chase was predominantly published materials that exist in the public domain and are freely accessible. This minimised the possibility of potential embarrassment for any of Chase's surviving relatives and friends. Throughout the study, the researcher also maintained a level of respect for the subject despite the frequent negative portrayal of him in the gathered data.

6.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the most prominent methodological difficulties in psychobiographical research and the researcher's attempts to overcome or minimise them. This was followed by a brief discussion of the ethical considerations inherent to psychobiographical studies and the relevance thereof to this particular study. The next chapter focuses on the research design and methodology of the study.

Chapter 7

Research Design and Methodology

7.1. Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the design and methodology of the study are discussed. Information regarding the research subject is presented, followed by a discussion of the research objectives, research method, and data collection, extraction, and analysis procedures. The chapter is concluded with remarks about the validity and reliability of the study as well as the management of the ethical concerns regarding the research.

7.2. Research Design

The proposed research study on the life of Richard Trenton Chase could generally be described as life history research (Plummer, 1983; Runyan, 1982) with a qualitative single case research design (Yin, 2009). In life history research the array and course of experiences in an individual's life is tracked (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). A single case research design is used to test, clarify, and challenge theoretical propositions, particularly against a unique individual case (Yin, 2009). Therefore, the research design could specifically be defined as a single case psychobiographical study over a lifespan (Fouché, 1999). The design utilises psychological theory in a systematic manner to coherently reconstruct and reinterpret an individual life by providing an illuminating narrative that contributes to both knowledge and theory construction (McAdams, 1994).

The qualitative psychobiographical study is both exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic in nature (Edwards, 1990). By being exploratory-descriptive, an accurate and rich description of Chase's psychological personality development over his lifespan could be provided and an in-depth understanding of this individual case within his socio-historical context gained (Fouché & De Vos, 2005; Neuman, 2003). The descriptive-dialogic nature of the study enables the researcher to provide a faithful portrayal and description of a phenomenon and to 'informally' test and clarify the content and aspects of specific theories and models (Edwards, 1990; Martin, 1996; McLeod, 1994). The specific theory and model in this study include Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) psychosocial

theory of personality development and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. This theory and model were discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

7.3. Subject under Study

Selecting a particular personality for psychobiographical study is chiefly based on the individual's significance or interest (Howe, 1997). Elms (1994) advised psychobiographical researchers to let the subject choose them and not the other way around. Richard Trenton Chase (1950 - 1980) served as the single case whose life history was uncovered in this psychobiography.

A non-probability purposive sampling procedure was employed to select the psychobiographical subject. Purposive sampling relies on the researcher's judgement to determine the desired characteristic attributes and to ensure richness of data (Strydom & Delport, 2005). According to Neuman (2003) purposive sampling in conjunction with case study research is effective when the case is especially unique or part of a specialised population or when the purpose of the study is to achieve a deep understanding of a specific individual.

Chase was selected as the subject for psychobiography on the basis of interest value and uniqueness as well as the many unsolved mysteries surrounding his life. The researcher thought it necessary to attempt to foster a greater understanding of Chase's motivations and psychological underpinnings as serial killer. A lack of such an understanding is evident in the conflicting opinions and contradictory statements regarding his life. Furthermore, a thorough literature search of existing publications conducted both online (e.g., in databases such as Academic Search Complete, Ebscohost, Legal Source, and Psycinfo), and offline (e.g., in books such as *Whoever fights monsters* by R. K. Ressler and T. Shachtman, 1992, and *The world's most evil psychopaths* by J. Marlowe, 2014) revealed that no psychobiography had been done on Richard Trenton Chase.

7.4. Research Objectives

The primary objective of the study was to explore and describe the psychodynamic life of Richard Trenton Chase. The focus was specifically on the exploration and description

of (a) his psychosocial personality development through the use of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) psychosocial theory, and (b) the primitive psychic mechanisms (as well as their possible contributing factors) prevalent in his functioning as serial killer through the use of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. The primary objective is demonstrative of an inductive approach and reflects the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study. This is said because it entails an in-depth exploration and thick description of an individual case situated within a specific socio-historical context (Edwards, 1990; Yin, 2009).

The secondary objective of the study was to informally test the content and aspects of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) psychosocial theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. This reflected a deductive approach as well as the descriptive-dialogic nature of the study. The descriptive-dialogic nature involves a process through which theoretical propositions and conceptualisations are informally validated or disconfirmed by comparing research findings with expected outcomes or theoretical models (Edwards, 1990; Fouché, 1999). Thus, a dialogue between the exploratory-descriptive findings and the theoretical concepts and propositions was facilitated (Edwards, 1990). Analytical generalisation was used for the informal testing of the theoretical models (Cavaye, 1996; Yin, 2009).

7.5. Research Method

The psychobiographical research method, a qualitative-morphogenic approach, was used in this study. This method involves the conceptualisation of individuality within both the nomothetic and idiographic paradigms (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1983). Furthermore, this method along with its complementary single case design emphasises the individuality of the whole person through a holistic qualitative description and interpretation of a single, time bound socio-historical case (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005).

7.6. Data Collection Procedures

Available data on the life of Richard Chase were collected by doing a comprehensive search on the World Wide Web, at the information-system services at the SASOL Library of the University of the Free State, and in book stores. Both primary and secondary data sources were used. As discussed previously (see section 5.5.4.), primary data sources are produced

by the subject (Strydom & Delport, 2005), whereas secondary data sources are produced by someone else who focused on the subject (Woolums, 2011). Biographical materials collected in accordance with the primary objective of the study thus served as the basic units of analysis.

Primary sources from which data were collected for analysis included excerpts from several interviews held with Chase by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation such as Ressler and Shachtman, homicide detectives such as Biondi and Hecox, and various doctors, psychiatrists and profilers, in 1977, 1978, and 1979 as well as letters and messages written by Chase and published by Mondo and St. Martin's Paperbacks in 1992. Secondary sources used included a biography of Chase written by Biondi and Hecox in 1992, a short biography written by Ressler and Shachtman in 1992, several published newspaper articles on Chase's endeavours, select audio-visual media, forensic reports, and publicised interviews with family and acquaintances.

All the data sources were clearly documented within the reference list. Such documentation is believed to enhance the study's trustworthiness, while also providing other researchers with a database that can be accessed and retrieved for future perusal (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2009). Potentially the most difficult task with which the psychobiographer is faced, involves the examination, extraction, categorisation and analysis of the collected materials (Alexander, 1990; Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1994; Schultz, 2005). Data extraction and analysis are discussed in the following section.

7.7. Data Extraction and Analysis

According to Creswell (1994) and Schurink (1998) data in qualitative analysis usually takes the form of textual narrative that can be analysed by extracting emergent constructs or themes. An excess of fact and opinion exists and the psychobiographer must clearly demarcate the content to be set aside and ignored, and the content to be privileged (Schultz, 2005). Once gathered, a central difficulty is to organise the information in a manner that reveals the data it contains (Alexander, 1990). The essence of psychobiography is to highlight salient events of an individual life and apply psychological theory in order to organise the data into a captivating narrative. Alexander (1988; 1990) proposed two analytic

strategies for the extraction, organisation, prioritisation and analysis of psychobiographical data. His model is discussed next.

7.7.1. Alexander's model

Alexander's (1988, 1990) model provides a way to extract core-identifying units from the collected biographical data through the use of two strategies, namely (a) questioning the data, and (b) letting the data reveal itself. The researcher utilised Alexander's model and employed the two aforementioned strategies. These are elaborated on below.

7.7.1.1. Questioning data

The first strategy used to approach the collected material was that of *questioning the data*. This was done by extracting and systematically categorising information into themes of personality development and functioning that corresponded to the theory and the model utilised in the study. This strategy thus facilitated the sorting of an excessive amount of data to answer questions that were operationalised within the theory and the model applied in order to reveal critical information about the subject under study (Alexander, 1988, 1990). In order to extract units of analysis relevant to the objectives of the study, the researcher approached the collected data with the following general questions in mind:

1. "Which of the data contained in the collected material would enable and facilitate the exploration and description of Chase's psychosocial personality development and the primitive psychic mechanisms as well as their possible contributing factors prevalent in his functioning as serial killer?" In order to answer this question, the researcher first conceptualised Chase's life history in terms of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial personality development and second, according to Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model (see Chapters 3 and 4). Data applicable to the propositions and conceptualisations of the two psychological frameworks were, therefore, selected for extraction. This reflected the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study as discussed earlier in the chapter.

2. "To what extent does the content of the applied theory (Erikson's 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977 psychosocial theory) and model (Claus and Lidberg's 1999 Schahriar syndrome model) relate to, compare with, or match the indicators of psychosocial development and primitive psychic mechanisms as reflected in the extracted data and vice versa?" A dialogue between the exploratory-descriptive findings and the psychological frameworks used enabled the researcher to critically compare the extracted data with the propositions and conceptualisations of both psychological frameworks. This reflected the descriptive-dialogic nature of the study that provided the researcher with the opportunity to informally test the content and propositions of the theory and the model.

7.7.1.2. Letting data reveal itself

The second of Alexander's (1988, 1990) proposed strategies of data extraction are known as *letting the data reveal itself*. It has the purpose of lessening the data to manageable proportions and specifically applies to selecting data and marking it for further investigation of possible underlying conscious and unconscious intent (Alexander, 1988, 1990). Alexander (1988, 1990) postulated nine guidelines to extract salient data which he referred to as the nine principles of salience. The researcher attempted to follow these guidelines in a consistent manner in order to identify data and descriptions that were significant in terms of the study. Each of the nine principles of salience is discussed below together with an example of how the researcher applied it to the data in the study.

1. *Primacy*: Information provided first in a text could bear psychological significance and deserves close inspection (Schultz, 2005). Elms (1994) stated that such information is regularly perceived as being most important or foremost in mind. Alexander (1990) noted that the importance of primacy is often seen in the first few minutes of a therapeutic session when the therapist considers the opening communication as fundamental for what will follow. In the process of data extraction, closer attention would thus be given to information such as early memories, first experiences, and introductory comments (Elms, 1994).

Primacy is evident in the following examples from the data. Chase set a neighbour's garage on fire at the age of 10 (Lucas, 2012). This incident would instigate a pattern of

emotional and behavioural responses. Soon after this, Chase killed his first cat and then continued with animal torture and killing (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a). Another indicator of primacy is when, at the age of 14, Chase attempted intercourse in two relationships, but was unable to attain an erection (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Wilson, 2011). He started experimenting with drugs shortly after these failed attempts (Morrison, 2011). The event considered the strongest indicator of primacy, as evident in all the literature on Chase, was at Pyramid Lake where he extracted the liver from a cow and police found him completely naked with blood smeared all over his face and body (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

2. *Frequency*: Repeated communications, events, obsessions, patterns, symbolic representations, or themes represent frequency (Schultz, 2005). According to Alexander (1988) such repetitions or obsessive reference to a message, incident, or theme indicates an increased certainty regarding its significance. Although Elms (1994) was of the opinion that monotony might decrease awareness or perceived importance of a message, he stated that the significance thereof should not be underestimated.

Frequency is most evident in Chase's continuous obsession with bodily functions and somatic complaints. In all the literature on Chase, frequent reference to these obsessions were made. From 1971 until shortly before his death in 1980, Chase complained of unusual injuries and ailments. He consistently expressed concerns about having headaches, hypertension, kidney failure, cardiac arrest, and stomach discomfort. He said that his stomach was upside down, his heart frequently stopped beating, his pulmonary artery had been stolen, his blood had stopped flowing, and his blood pressure was zero. He also complained about his whole body being numb and his cranial bones separated and moving around in his head. Furthermore, Chase was extremely afraid of contracting diseases from others and he would put oranges on his head in order to absorb the vitamin C. Despite various physical examinations, brain scans, electrocardiograms, and blood – and thyroid tests, that did not yield any conclusive diagnoses, Chase's preoccupation with his body persisted (Dennison, 2009b; Lucas, 2012; Ramsland, 2012a; Sallamy, 2011).

3. *Uniqueness*: This entails aspects in the collected data that are unusual or singular and therefore worthy of closer inspection (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994). These

may include events such as unique memories or other information marked by the subject as being unique or unprecedented (Schultz, 2005). Unexpected or unexplained outcomes in a sequence of events also indicate uniqueness (Alexander, 1988). Furthermore, the researcher must be cognisant of more subtle signs of uniqueness such as those arising from departures from generally accepted language or cultural expectations (Alexander, 1988).

More than one instance exists in which *uniqueness* is demonstrated. In 1973 Chase volunteered to help his father with tasks in and around the house (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Not only did his father allow Chase to work unsupervised, but he also claimed that his work was perfectly acceptable. It was unusual of Chase to volunteer to help out and on top of that, deliver an acceptable outcome. In the same year, Chase joined a social gathering where he determinedly attempted to become intimate with a woman (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). This was unique, because Chase had been an asocial loner for quite a period of time and was bothered by his erectile dysfunction, previously claiming that he would never attempt intercourse again (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

4. *Negation*: That which is denied or turned into its opposite is known as negation (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994). According to Elms (1994) a subject's perception of who he is, is as important as his emphasis on who he is not. Negation statements often indicate possibly repressed or unconscious material (Alexander, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). Elms (1994) viewed such statements as truths that the subject wanted others to believe or wanted to believe himself. Schultz (2005) believed that the subject protests excessively against a psychological or biographical fact and that this refutation could be a confirmation of the opposite.

A clear example of *negation* is Chase defending his sanity. During visits to physicians and psychiatrists, Chase denied any hallucinations and delusions. He also insisted that he knew as much about medicine as any of his treating professionals (Dennison, 2009b). Negation is also prominent in the way Chase's parents refused to notice the severity of his problems and deterioration. For example, Beatrice telling her friends that her son did not look any different from other youths and that he simply fitted in with his generation, the era of hippies (Biondi & Hecox, 1992).

5. *Emphasis*: Alexander (1988) identified three forms of emphasis that the researcher must take note of, namely over-, under-, and misplaced emphasis. Overemphasis occurs when an event, considered by the reader as mundane, is unduly stressed. Underemphasis, on the other hand, entails seemingly important information such as a major life experience being noticeably underscored. When emphasis is misplaced, irrelevant information is stressed with undue force because the outcome is not credibly linked to the stated or implied means (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005).

The literature review on Chase indicated that his affective experiences and personality development were *underemphasised*, while his 'monstrous' and 'crude' actions were *overemphasised* by biographers (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). *Emphasis* was also *misplaced* in terms of numerous psychiatrists attempting to diagnose and classify Chase, but completely lacking regard for the severity of his difficulties and consideration of possible prevention and treatment (Dennison, 2009a).

6. *Omission*: This refers to what is missing, particularly the absence of expected content (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005). Elms (1994) described this as the Sherlock Holmes rule implying that a vital clue in the subject's life might be revealed when questioning what is lacking from the picture. Alexander (1988) further pointed out that in favouring rich descriptions of actions or events, information regarding the subject's affect is most often omitted.

Omission is evident in biographers' failure to include in-depth explorations and descriptions of Chase's affective experiences and inner dynamics. Few details regarding his early childhood and upbringing are provided. Furthermore, extensive information about the time Chase spent in prison (nearly two years) is omitted. See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on Chase's life.

7. *Error or distortion*: This principle of salience involves the presence of mistakes, most often regarding people, places, and times (Schultz, 2005). According to Alexander (1988), errors and distortions could be indicative of important hidden motives or conflicts which could easily go by undetected.

An example where Chase *distorted* facts is when he got into a fight with two men who ordered him to leave their female friend alone and instead of doing so, he denied his actions, became defensive and shouted that no one had the right to tell him what to do and that they could call the police because he did not care (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Another *error* is indicated during the incident at Pyramid Lake where Chase was asked by police officials where the blood on his face and body came from and he answered "it's seeping from me" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 3).

8. *Isolation*: Isolation signifies an isolated fragment of information that stands out from the text or does not fit (Alexander, 1988; 1990; Schultz, 2005), thereby posing the question of how the information logically makes sense within the presented context (Elms, 1994). These seemingly out of place associations or comments could serve the purpose of uncovering the deeper meaning of the isolated fragment of the unconscious (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005).

Chase's last murder, the one of 22 month old baby, David Ferreira, could be interpreted as *isolated* in that Chase decapitated the victim and took the body with him, which does not fit with any of the other murders he committed (see Chapter 2).

9. *Incompletion*: That which is not finished or, incompletion, is essentially an indication of a topic that is introduced, but dismissed without closure (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994). It points to the subject's failure to conclude a story which might be evident in him abruptly ending a sequence before its closure, using distraction without a return to the original sequence, or completing a means-end sequence without an explanatory means-end relationship (Alexander, 1988). Schultz (2005) viewed incompletion as avoidance of certain thoughts or actions with associated negative emotions.

Chase's suicide is a good example of *incompletion*. He abruptly ended his life, thereby facilitating a riddance of unbearable inner turmoil (Bovsun, 2010; Castro, 2009).

Alexander's model enabled the researcher to consistently and systematically reflect on the collected data (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Fouché, 1999). His model aligned with Yin's

(2009) proposed strategies for case study analysis. One of these strategies entails data analysis guided by theoretical approaches, objectives and propositions (Yin, 2009). This requires the researcher to use the theoretical orientation and research objectives to identify salient data in the collected material for which Alexander's guidelines proved useful.

A second of Yin's (2009) strategies is to formulate a case description by developing a descriptive framework to organise and integrate case information. In order to reach this goal the researcher developed a conceptual matrix that facilitated data extraction and categorisation (Fouché, 1999). This conceptual matrix is discussed in the next section.

7.8. Conceptual Matrix

Establishing a data analysis matrix (Yin, 2009) as applied to psychobiographical research (Fouché, 1999) was implemented in this study. The researcher developed a conceptual matrix for the categorisation of data which served as a screening grid during data analysis. The matrix was developed according to the frameworks of the psychological theory and model applied in this study. The *Matrix of Personality Development over the Historical Lifespan of Richard Trenton Chase* (see Table 7.1) was designed to categorise data in the frameworks proposed by (a) the psychosocial developmental theory and (b) the Schahriar syndrome model.

In Table 7.1, the periods of historical development in Chase's life (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2) are presented in five rows on the left. The periods range from birth (age 0) to death (age 30). The five columns at the top of the matrix represent the five primitive psychic mechanisms believed to be present in serial murderers' functioning as proposed by the Schahriar syndrome model of Claus and Lidberg (1999). The model was applied to all the developmental periods of Chase's life in order to identify (a) the presence or absence of primitive psychic mechanisms in Chase's functioning, and (b) factors in Chase's development that might have contributed to the expression of these mechanisms. During data collection, extraction, and analysis, the researcher focused on salient biographical data related to these aspects. The primitive psychic mechanisms illustrated by the Schahriar syndrome model are omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation, and symbiotic merger. For a detailed description and discussion of the model, see Chapter 4.

The second vertical set in Table 7.1. consists of six columns representing the psychosocial developmental theory of Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) in terms of the six psychosocial stages that Chase underwent. During the collection, extraction, and analysis of salient biographical data related to Chase's psychosocial personality development, attention was paid to the developmental crises that corresponded with Chase's psychological and social development. In terms of historical development, the first period of 0 – 12 years was divided into Erikson's first four stages, the second period of 13 – 20 years into Erikson's fifth and sixth stages, and the final three periods ranging from 21 – 30 years into Erikson's sixth stage. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial personality development was comprehensively discussed in Chapter 3.

The matrix, as schematically represented in Table 7.1, aided the researcher in systematically and consistently analysing and categorising the biographical data collected on Chase's life. In this manner, the researcher was able to construct a longitudinal portrait of each of the stages of psychosocial personality development and the components of the Schahriar syndrome model, respectively. The findings of the theory and the model as related to Chase's development over his lifespan are provided in Chapters 8 and 9 respectively. An integration of the findings is presented in Chapter 10.

Table 7.1.

Matrix of Personality Development over the Historical Lifespan of Richard Trenton Chase

Periods of historical development	**Schahriar syndrome model by Claus & Lidberg**					
	Primitive psychic mechanisms					
	Omnipotence	Sadistic fantasies	Ritualised performance	Dehumanisation	Symbiotic merger	
	Psychosocial personality development by Erikson					
	Trust vs. Mistrust (0 – 1)	Autonomy vs. Shame and doubt (1 – 3)	Initiative vs. Guilt (3 - 6)	Industry vs. Inferiority (6 - 12)	Identity vs. Role confusion (12 – 18)	Intimacy vs. Isolation (18 – 40)
Vampire in the making (1950 - 1962)						
The teenage drug user (1963 - 1970)						
The delusional nomad (1971 - 1974)						
Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 - 1976)						
Murders, trial and death (1977 - 1980)						

7.9. Ensuring Validity and Reliability

Criticisms regarding the validity and reliability of the psychobiographical research design and methodology are common (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2009). The possible limitations inherent to the psychobiographical approach were explored in the previous chapter (see section 6.2.8.) together with the strategies employed to mitigate the possible threats to credibility, transferability, confirmability, and dependability. The researcher herewith provides a summary of the employed strategies.

1. Prolonged, in-depth engagement with the biographical data on the subject.
2. Data triangulation, researcher triangulation, and theory triangulation.
3. Evaluating the researcher-subject relationship.
4. Aiming for analytical generalisation rather than statistical generalisation.
5. Applying established guidelines for the organisation of data and using clear operational measures, coding schemes, and a conceptual matrix.
6. Enhancing the researcher's knowledge and understanding of the subject's cultural and sociohistorical contexts.
7. Utilising a lifespan approach in which all historical periods of the subject's life were included.
8. Recognising all findings as tentative.

In addition to concerns regarding the validity and reliability of the study, the researcher was also mindful of the ethical considerations posed by the study. Preliminary ethical considerations related to the psychobiographical approach were discussed in section 6.3. Concluding remarks on the researcher's management of these considerations are provided next.

7.10. Ethical Considerations

The researcher chose to study a deceased individual which posed fewer ethical considerations. Issues, as applied to this study, included possible invasion of the family's privacy and the potential embarrassment to the subject's surviving relatives and friends. However, all data gathered for this study exist in the public domain and, therefore, the

chances for invasion of privacy and potential embarrassment were slim. No informed consent from close family members was required because the study has an academic nature and gathered information (all publicly available) was handled with respect. The researcher aimed to produce a valuable academic study with an accurate narrative conceptualisation of deeper psychological issues within the specific case of Richard Trenton Chase.

7.11. Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the research design and method. The chosen subject for the study, the research objectives as well as data collection procedures were discussed. This was followed by a description of the techniques used to extract and analyse relevant data. In regard to this, the researcher discussed (a) Alexander's model and its proposed strategies of *questioning data* and *letting data reveal itself* along with examples of how these strategies were applied, and (b) the development and use of a conceptual matrix. A summary of the strategies used to ensure the validity and reliability of the study was provided. The chapter concluded with a reflection on concerns regarding ethical research practices.

Chapter 8

Findings and Discussion: The Psychosocial Personality Development of Richard Chase

8.1. Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the psychosocial personality development of Richard Chase is presented. To begin with, a conceptual outline for the presentation of the findings is provided. Thereafter, each of the six stages of Erikson's theory of psychosocial personality development that Chase underwent is discussed according to the conceptual matrix presented in Chapter 7.

8.2. Conceptual Outline for the Presentation of Findings

The presentation of findings in a psychobiography requires a biographical account of the subject's life within the context of the selected psychological theory (Fouché, 1999; Schultz, 2005). Owing to Chase's death at the age of 30, the first six developmental stages proposed by Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) are discussed separately across each of the five historical periods throughout Chase's lifespan. Referenced examples that relate to each of the developmental crises and ego strengths are provided. These include events that impacted on Chase's development during a particular stage as well as events later in his life that are thought to be resultant of the outcome of a particular developmental stage. In this manner, the researcher was able to explore each stage of Chase's psychosocial personality development more holistically.

8.3. Chase's Psychosocial Personality Development

8.3.1. Stage one: Basic trust versus basic mistrust (0 – 1 year)

The first stage of the psychosocial personality development theory is characterised by the crisis, basic trust versus basic mistrust, and covers roughly the first year of life (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). The essence of this stage revolves around the relationship between the infant and his or her primary caregiver(s) – in this case, between Chase and his parents, Beatrice and Richard senior. Erikson believed that the quality of this early relationship

would determine whether or not the infant develops a healthy view of the world as a safe and trustworthy place (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). A caring, loving, nurturing and responsive caregiver would bestow upon his or her infant a sense of trust (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). If the stage is mastered the ego strength of **hope** is also gained (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977).

8.3.1.1. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

According to various authors, Beatrice did not carry the reputation of a respectable mother (see section 2.2.1.). Instead of having the positive qualities that serve helpful to create a trusting child, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, she was known to be aggressive, hostile and even abusive towards Chase (Bovsun, 2010; Castro, 2009; Green, 2011; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Although the literature indicates a different picture of her later in Chase's life, such as bailing him out of jail numerous times, receiving him with open arms when he had nowhere to go, and standing up for him when others mortified him (Paul, 2010; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005), the opposite might have been true during his early years. Apart from being inimical towards Chase, Beatrice also experienced some difficulties with trust herself. According to Ressler and Shachtman (1992) and Bovsun (2010), she often accused her husband, Richard senior, of being unfaithful, of trying to kill her and of abusing drugs. These preconceived ideas and Beatrice's own mistrust could have altered her caretaking practice.

Infants depend on their caregivers to supply adequate food, protection, security, and stimulation to satisfy their physical, emotional, social, and developmental needs (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). If this is satisfactory, infants acquire the trust necessary for further healthy personality development (Elkind, 1970; Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). The Chase family lived in a small apartment and had financial problems (Athena Intelligence, 2012). Chase's parents did not have an ideal marital relationship and engaged in continuous fights to the point of physically and emotionally abusing each other (Nieto, 2012) (see section 2.2.1.). Therefore, Beatrice might not have had the sufficient time or vivacity to dedicate her much needed attention to her son.

Discrepancies regarding Chase's early years exist in the literature (see section 2.2.1.). Whereas some authors, such as those mentioned above, support the antagonistic nature of

Chase's early childhood environment, others (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Morrison, 2011) are of the opinion that Chase had a close to perfect upbringing. According to them, neither abuse nor rivalry or any unusual difficulties triumphed in his family circumstances. If this were the case, Chase would, according to Erikson's theory, indeed have resolved the first stage successfully with a clearly gained sense of trust as result. However, Chase's future behaviour and relationships warrant a strong inclination towards the contrary.

8.3.1.2. Discussion of the first stage

Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) indicated that unsuccessful resolution of the first stage of psychosocial development results in the acquisition of basic mistrust. This acquired sense of mistrust incessantly presents itself throughout the individual's life and is easily recognised in displayed behaviour and interpersonal relationships (Lewicky, 2006). It alters our perception of ourselves, others and the world and consequently shapes how we function and conduct ourselves within our daily lives (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977; Lewicky, 2006).

The following examples are indicative of Chase having had a sense of mistrust rather than trust. Chase started abusing alcohol and drugs such as marijuana and LSD (Lysergic Acid Diethylamide) in his early teenage years (Morrison, 2011) (see section 2.2.2.). This could be viewed as an attempt at self-nurturance and satisfaction (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) argued that the need to self-nurture stems from inadequate parental nurturing in the first stage, a prerequisite for the development of a sense of trust.

Chase often suspected that others were against him and wanted to harm him (Biondi & Hecox, 1992) (see sections 2.2.2 & 2.2.4.). The possibility of others being generous and genuinely in favour of his best interests seemed not to have occurred to Chase in the least. Although Chase had many friends during primary school and for a while during high school (Biondi & Hecox, 1992), it did not necessarily mean that he trusted them. Instead, he kept his relationships superficial while his inner battle with mistrust matured to the point of becoming external and severe. In 1970, when Chase was 20 years old, he locked himself in his bedroom closet, nailed the door shut from the inside and told his housemates that he was being sneaked upon (Gilks & Saunders, 2013; Ramsland, 2012a). In 1975, Chase started to

accuse his mother of poisoning him and of controlling his mind (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Like Chase said in his confessional statement (see section 2.2.5.),

> The whole syndicate was making money by having my mom poison me. I know who they are and I think it can be brought out in a court of law if I can pull the pieces together like I've been hoping. (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 17)

Chase's behaviour and beliefs became so irrational that he was diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia (Storey et al., 2005). In terms of Erikson's theory, this disorder could be explained as the extremist consequence of unsuccessful resolution of the first stage (Greene, Graham, & Morano, 2010). Resolving stage one not only leads to trusting others and the world, but also to having a sense of trust in oneself (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). It impacts on the individual's self-concept and self-esteem and influences whether or not the individual views him- or herself as being good enough (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). Chase doubted himself in many ways (see Chapter 2). He dropped out of college and refused to work for any employer for more than a few days, because he deemed himself unfit (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Along with doubting his abilities, he had a complete lack of faith in his health and physical condition. Despite his scepticism about the medical profession (Dennison, 2009b), he consulted physicians on numerous occasions about several invalidated physical ailments and disabilities (Ramsland, 2012a).

With regard to the ego strength of this stage, a lack of hope is not indicated in Chase's functioning. Instead, a sense of hope is illustrated by Chase's continuous efforts to generate and obtain assistance for constructive change (see Chapter 2). At the age of 18 years Chase sought help from a psychiatrist in the hope of improving his emotional stability and erectile dysfunction (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a). Chase's numerous consultations with physicians (see sections 2.2.3 & 2.2.4.) also demonstrate that he hoped that his physical ailments and disabilities might subside. Furthermore, in 1980 Chase wrote a note in which he warned that he might commit suicide (see section 2.2.5.). This might illustrate that, even in his last few hours, he did not lose hope that someone might intervene or something might happen that would change his fate.

Therefore, the researcher hypothesises that Chase did not resolve the first stage of basic trust versus basic mistrust successfully, which left him with an acquired sense of

mistrust in himself, others and the world. Despite this, however, Chase seemed to have acquired the ego strength of hope. Failing to navigate what Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) and others (Blatt & Blass, 1996; Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975) considered the most fundamental stage of life would have had an adverse effect on Chase's further personality development. In section 8.3.2, stage two is discussed.

8.3.2. Stage two: Autonomy versus shame and doubt (1 – 3 years)

In stage two, the conflict of autonomy versus shame and doubt, typically arises between the first and third year of life (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). During this time, children begin a process of physical maturation and develop control over their bodies (Elkind, 1970). As children become aware of this novel physical control, they also start to exercise new behaviours and skills. Their psychosocial development is thus linked with their physical maturation. Caregivers play an eminent role during this stage of development. If caregivers allow children to practise their new abilities at their own pace, they develop a sense of autonomy (Hook, 2002). However, if children are reprimanded or ridiculed for their attempts at acting independently, they develop a sense of shame and doubt (Corey, 2005). According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977), the corresponding ego strength of this second stage is **will**.

8.3.2.1. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

Critical and impatient caregivers are likely to foster a sense of shame and doubt in their children (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). According to the literature, Chase was often beaten and criticised by his exceedingly strict parents in his early years (Castro, 2009; Nieto, 2012) (see section 2.2.1.). Although no specific examples of such incidents during his first three years of life were found in the biographical literature, much of Chase's later demeanour supports the above and resembles what might be considered the result of unsuccessful resolution of stage two.

8.3.2.2. Discussion of the second stage

When Chase was 10 years old, he set their neighbour's garage on fire because he disapproved of their loud music (Lucas, 2012), possibly modelling or projecting the endless

disapproval received from Beatrice and Richard senior. The sense of being a failure and a lack of self-confidence could arise if shame and doubt dominate over autonomy in the second stage of psychosocial development (Linn, Fabricant, & Linn, 1988). As mentioned previously, Chase refused to be employed and was financially dependent on his parents and his social security grant throughout his life (see Chapter 2), probably indicating a lack of self-confidence and uncertainty regarding his ability to function independently.

Part of the process of physical maturation in stage two involves the development of bladder, muscle, and sphincter control (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). Up until the age of eight, Chase consistently wet the bed (Storey et al., 2005) (see section 2.2.1.). Furthermore, he was unable to attain an erection later in life (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Wilson, 2011) and thus, unable to exert control over his penis. This bed wetting, along with his erectile dysfunction might be suggestive of him having been fixated or stuck at this developmental stage. Additionally, excessive shaming during early childhood could contribute to delinquent behaviour later on (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Delinquency is evident in Chase's adolescent years when he began to experiment with drugs, fires, theft, and even murder of animals (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a; Storey et al., 2005) (see section 2.2.2.) as well as throughout his adulthood when he executed these behaviours more austerely and ended up in jail numerous times (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) (see sections 2.2.3; 2.2.4 & 2.2.5.).

Excessive shaming could also cause children to feel despicable and filthy which could mature into an attitude of "if that's what they think of me, that's the way I'll behave" (Sadock & Sadock, 2007, p. 211). Acquaintances and housemates described Chase as a slob who seldom, if ever, bathed, refused to keep his hands clean and never washed his clothes (Davis, 2005). When psychiatrists evaluated Chase, they usually remarked about his filthiness and unpleasant odour (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Moreover, Chase's diagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia (see section 2.2.3.) might have been contributed to by critical parenting during his first three years of life which instigated feelings of being controlled. Sadock and Sadock (2007) indicated that such parenting and consequential feelings could predispose a child to develop disorders of a persecutory nature.

In contrast, extreme inhibition and control in the early years could cause the individual to do exactly the opposite in the future (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Chase's

defiance of authority, rebellion, and even his murders (see Chapter 2) might be viewed as a refusal to be inhibited or controlled like he had been in early childhood. Perhaps two of the best examples of this are (a) in 1973 at a social gathering where Chase stridently declared that no one had a right to tell him what to do or when to leave and that no one could make him do anything he did not want to do (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992), and (b) in 1977 when he defecated on a child's bed and urinated in a drawer filled with baby clothes (Wilson, 2011), trying to flaunt just how much control he actually possessed.

Furthermore, most of Chase's demeanour suggests that he did not have a strong sense of will. Although Chase attempted to pursue an education and career a year after he matriculated in 1968, it seemed that he did not have the necessary willpower to pull through (see sections 2.2.2 & 2.2.3.). Similarly, most of Chase's attempts at becoming healthier were almost completely based on a reliance on others (e.g., his parents and numerous physicians) (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a) and the realisation that he himself also had to put in efforts to maintain a more fulfilling life seemed not to have occurred to Chase, possibly due to a lack of will. Even when he did try to do his part (e.g., through exercise and weight gain, enrolment for college, and a few odd jobs) it seldom lasted long (see sections 2.2.2; 2.2.3 & 2.2.4.), likely illustrating that Chase lacked the will not to quit. Additionally, Chase's delinquency (e.g., experimentation with drugs, fires, theft and animal murder) and even his murders (see Chapter 2) might be suggestive of a lack of will to refrain from misconduct. Moreover, Chase's suicide in 1980 might be the best example of his failure to acquire the ego strength of will, indicating that he even lost the will to live (see section 2.2.5.).

Consequently, the researcher is inclined to believe that Chase's parents were rigorous and inflexible as the literature suggested and that their critical and strict parenting hindered Chase's navigation through the second stage of psychosocial development, which left him with a detrimental sense of autonomy and control on the one hand and a devitalising sense of shame and doubt on the other. Ambivalence, instead of balance, was thus achieved and the researcher is of the opinion that Chase did not acquire the ego strength of will. Without the necessary trust of the first stage and the unhealthy imbalance of the second stage, Chase might have had some difficulty in stage three.

8.3.3. Stage three: Initiative versus guilt (3 – 6 years)

Between the ages of three and approximately six years, children need to deal with the crisis of initiative versus guilt (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). During this stage, children usually enter preschool where they direct play and social interactions and initiate various activities instead of merely imitating others (Elkind, 1970). With their new motor and cognitive capacities, children can manipulate others and provoke reactions which may cause them to feel guilty about the acts initiated (Welchman, 2000). Because of these reactions, others, especially parents, have a great impact on whether or not the child will resolve the stage successfully (Baron & Spear, 1989). Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) believed that successful resolution of the third stage leads to the acquisition of the ego strength, **purpose**.

8.3.3.1. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

Establishing secure attachments to both parents and identifying with the parent of the same sex is important during this stage (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). The nature of Beatrice and Richard senior's parenting, having been characterised by abuse, strict discipline and criticism (see section 2.2.1.), might have thwarted this process with their son. No specific examples of activities that Chase initiated between the ages of three and six years are given in the literature. However, based on Erikson's theory, it is likely that Chase did make attempts to take initiative. Furthermore, it could be speculated that the things he initiated, whether it was fantasy, play, curious exploration or questions, were unconstructively criticised by his parents, especially his "overly critical father" (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 12).

8.3.3.2. Discussion of the third stage

A complete lack of initiative is not indicated in Chase's functioning. The literature is filled with exemplars which could be interpreted as *Chase's initiative gone wrong*. By this, the researcher means that Chase did demonstrate a sense of initiative, but in a socially undesirable fashion. Many of his misbehaviour such as animal torture and killing, fire setting, and even manslaughter (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a) could be viewed as acts of initiative. Throughout his life, Chase has seldom been criticised, punished or reprimanded for this kind of conduct by his parents (see Chapter 2). Whenever Chase killed

an animal, Beatrice chose to discuss it with a neighbour rather than confronting him (Ramsland, 2012a). When he ingested animal remains, his father took him to a hospital where he was cared for and nourished (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Whenever he was arrested, Richard senior almost immediately bailed him out of jail and provided him with a place to stay (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Even when Chase's appearance and self-care severely deteriorated, his parents claimed that he did not look any different from other youths of his generation (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Therefore, the researcher speculates that Chase's parents were exceedingly critical of his initiated *good* acts in his early years which bolstered a certain degree of guilt and lead Chase to initiate other acts, *bad* acts, towards which they were mostly uncritical, thus reinforcing his initiative to execute such acts without any guilt.

Chase's acquired sense of guilt is well illustrated in his preoccupation with bodily functions and his somatic delusions (see sections 2.2.3, 2.2.4 & 2.2.5.). Among these were that his stomach was upside down, that his heart frequently stopped beating (Dennison, 2009b; Lucas, 2012; Sallamy, 2011), that his pulmonary artery had been stolen, that his blood had stopped flowing, and that his kidneys had stopped working (Morgan, 2008). According to Erikson's theory, individuals might develop psychosomatic disorders because of unhealthy guilt and a fear of not being able to live up to what others expect (Linn, Fabricant, & Linn, 1988; Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Another indication that Chase had developed a sense of guilt could be his erectile dysfunction (see section 2.2.2.), which Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) would explain as a sexual inhibition produced by severe punishment or prohibitions during the third stage. Lastly, his guilt is elucidated in the perfection displayed when he removed the intestines of some of his victims (see section 2.2.5.). Detective Homen emphasised how remarkably Chase did this when he commented on the neat precision of the kidneys of Chase's second victim, Theresa Wallin, "in that they were severed and both resting on the left side beneath the liver" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 47). This partial strive for perfection might have been the result of accumulated guilt feelings and the gained postulation that, in order not to get punished, everything must be perfect (Dunkley, Zuroff, & Blankstein, 2006).

As already mentioned, a great deal of Chase's misbehaviour, such as animal killing, fire setting and murder (see Chapter 2), is suggestive of him having had a sense of initiative. The literature also pointed out that Chase usually showed no embarrassment or remorse (Biondi & Hecox, 1992), insinuating a lack of guilt concerning his mischief. Chase's attempts to justify his demeanour (e.g., lying when it proved more convenient than telling the

truth (Montaldo, 2013), having alibis or explanations when he strayed from acceptable behaviour (Storey et al., 2005), and blaming his mother for one of his murders, because she would not let him in at Christmas) (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992), further advocates an absence of guilt regarding his *bad* acts.

In terms of the ego strength of purpose, it seems that it might have manifested in Chase's development and functioning, although in a socially undesirable manner. The actions previously interpreted in this section as *Chase's initiative gone wrong* might also demonstrate a sense of purpose. As discussed earlier, Chase's *bad* acts (e.g., animal torture and killing, fire setting and multiple arrests) elicited mostly uncritical reactions from his parents (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). As such, it is possible that Chase executed these acts as a means to an end – to receive uncritical responses as opposed to the all too familiar criticism – and thus with purpose. Similarly, Chase's later behaviour and misconduct (e.g., somatic complaints and murders) might have served the purpose, at least in his mind, of winning attention and less critical responses from his parents. Purpose is also illustrated by the pride Chase took in killing animals and humans (see Chapter 2). According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977), the ego strength of purpose is yielded when individuals devise bold plans and take pride in accomplishing their goals. Chase frequently boasted about his animal murders and how easy it was (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). He also kept an editorial about his first human murder along with its societal condemnation of the futile shooting in 1977 (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). These events probably indicate that Chase was proud of his actions and therefore it suggests the fulfilment of some kind of purpose. Although the specific reasons for Chase's behaviour are beyond the scope of this chapter, it seems as though he did develop a sense of purpose and even if it most likely were maladaptive, the researcher is of the opinion that its presence cannot be denied.

Thus, the researcher speculates that, for Chase, the result of this third stage encompassed both (a) an acquired sense of initiative to do wrong without any guilt, and (b) an underlying sense of guilt fostered by stern and critical parenting in his early years. Additionally, the researcher speculates that Chase did acquire the ego strength of purpose. Stage four, industry versus inferiority, is discussed next.

8.3.4. Stage four: Industry versus inferiority (6 – 12 years)

The fourth stage, industry versus inferiority, generally occurs when children enter a more formalised educational setting such as primary school. If children master this stage successfully, a sense of being competent or industrious develops (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). However, if children do not effectively succeed at this stage, they are left with a sense of failure or inferiority (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). Because the child's social context expands during this stage, peers', teachers' and the broader society's evaluation, appraisal and regard become increasingly important (Baron & Spear, 1989). The ego strength of **competence** is said to develop if this stage is resolved successfully (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977).

8.3.4.1. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

In primary school, Chase's teachers described him as a sweet and cooperative boy (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). They did not seem to have any difficulties with him and almost never complained about any behavioural problems (see sections 2.2.1 & 2.2.2.). Chase also had many friends which consisted of both boys and girls (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). His peers called him Rick, suggesting a tinge of popularity, and they labelled him neat, well-mannered and well-groomed (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Stone, 2011). The literature also indicated that Chase was considered conventional during his primary school years and that he fitted in well until his second year of high school (Paul, 2010; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Furthermore, he was of normal intelligence with an IQ (intelligence quotient) of 95 and he never failed a grade (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Thus, it appears that Chase's academic and social circumstances were set out in his favour to master this stage and gain a sense of industry. However, a sense of inferiority instead is undeniably detectable in his future functioning.

8.3.4.2. Discussion of the fourth stage

In 1964 when Chase was 14 years old, his academic performance began to deteriorate and the literature stated that he had no ambition (Morrison, 2011). Although he attended the American River College after he matriculated, his grades were below average and he dropped out after a few years (Storey et al., 2005). He did not work often and when he did, it entailed

minor errands for family members which he endured with punishing nervousness (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). Every time his parents suggested that he work for an employer outside the family, Chase brought about many excuses not to (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Chase's poor work habits and inhibitions (see Chapter 2) could be reflective of feelings of inadequacy and incompetence that affected his eagerness to work (Baron & Spear, 1989; Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977; Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

A sense of industry is also typically reflected in children's ability to become responsible adults who can successfully cope with impediments (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). Chase's irresponsibility and inability to successfully cope with obstacles are well illustrated in the literature (see Chapter 2), further promoting the researcher's argument that Chase had acquired a sense of inferiority. Specific examples of these attributes include his alcohol and drug abuse, drunk driving, fire setting, multiple arrests, threats at strangers and finally, his suicide (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Bovsun, 2010; Castro, 2009; Ramsland, 2012b).

Another possible consequence of ineffectively undertaking stage four is the development of a compensatory drive for money, power and prestige in order to fend off feelings of inferiority (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Although less clear, this might have been the case with Chase as well. Firstly, his statement regarding his second murder, "the people had made a lot of money and I was jealous" (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 17) might be an indication that he attached great meaning and value to being rich. Secondly, both his animal and human murders (see Chapter 2) might be partly viewed as exercises of extreme power, the power to take lives, linking well with his detrimental sense of control discussed in stage two. Lastly, keeping an editorial about his first murder (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) (see section 2.2.5.), might be suggestive of a desire for prestige and recognition.

Although the child's broader social context is the focal concern during this stage, parents also contribute to a significant degree to whether or not the child will resolve the stage successfully (Elkind, 1970; Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977). When parents are critical and view children's efforts as a nuisance, they urge feelings of failure (Elkind, 1970). Thus, it is possible that, in spite of Chase's constructive academic and social circumstances, the disapproving parenting he received, as discussed in the first three stages, fortified a sense of inferiority and incompetence rather than industry. Furthermore, in stage four children engage in more social comparison than before and are likely to acquire a sense of inferiority

if those comparisons turn out unfavourably (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). One such comparison that Chase might have made, entails his family's poor financial condition that escalated to losing their house when he was 12 years old (Storey et al., 2005) (see section 2.2.1.).

In light of the above, the researcher is of the opinion that Chase's unfortunate family and home environment together with his futile navigation through the first three stages of psychosocial development overruled his promising academic and social contexts and cultivated a sense of inferiority. Furthermore, it seems that Chase did not acquire the ego strength of competence either. With mistrust, limitless autonomy, shame, doubt, detrimental initiative, guilt, and inferiority Chase was at a disadvantage when he had to take on the monumental challenge of stage five – establishing an identity.

8.3.5. Stage five: Identity versus role confusion (12 – 18 years)

According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980), the crisis of identity versus role confusion predominantly occurs during adolescence. In this fifth stage adolescents attempt to define who they are, where they are heading and how they fit into society (Sigelman & Rider, 2009). If adolescents succeed at this stage they establish an integrated positive psychosocial identity and acquire the ego strength of **fidelity**, but if they fail they are left with role confusion and a disturbed self-image (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980; Sneed, Whitbourne, & Culang, 2006).

8.3.5.1. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

Upon entering this stage, when Chase was 12 years old, the family lost their house due to inadequate finances and consequently had to move into a small apartment (Storey et al., 2005). Less than two years later, in the middle of his first year (grade nine) at Mira Loma High School, Chase's parents separated and as a result his sister, Pamela, and him had to reside with relatives in Los Angeles (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). After two months, however, the family reunited and moved back to Sacramento where Chase re-entered Mira Loma and finished grade nine (Paul, 2010). Now at the age of 15, Chase decided to investigate the world of dating (see section 2.2.2.). He had two quite serious relationships, at separate times, in his second year of high school. Both girls ended their relationships with him because of

his erectile dysfunction (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Wilson, 2011). Chase also started to experiment with various drugs such as marijuana and LSD at this point (Morrison, 2011).

8.3.5.2. Discussion of the fifth stage

Stage five of psychosocial development typically portrays a time of experimentation during which adolescents in search of their identities often transform their appearance, relationships, major subjects and group memberships (Seligman & Reichenberg, 2010). At times adolescents experiment outside of established societal boundaries, causing them to get into trouble and occasionally to bear the label of a conduct or disruptive behaviour disorder (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). As stated in the previous subsection, experimentation was common practice for Chase. His attempts at having intercourse and consumption of drugs (see section 2.2.2.) are examples of this. Chase also changed his friendships and eventually joined the "acid-head" crowd (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 12). Moreover, he took his experimentation to extremes and in 1965 he was arrested and sentenced by the juvenile court to do community clean-up work on weekends (Storey et al., 2005).

According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980), the experimentation of the adolescent years comes to an end when an integrated identity is formed. With the appreciation and knowledge of who they are, where they belong and fit into society, they no longer require trialling of different roles. Thus, if experimentation persists, it results in an extended moratorium and is an indication that the individual is still searching for an identity (Montgomery, 2005). Chase experimented with different roles long after he had reached the age of 18 years (see sections 2.2.2 & 2.2.3.). After he matriculated in 1968, he enrolled at American River College where he oscillated between various courses and finally quit (Storey et al., 2005). He also tried out different jobs within the family, but was unable to keep one for longer than a few days. Furthermore, according to Biondi and Hecox (1992) his appearance alternated between a "deteriorated and filthy slob" (p. 167) and an "exercised young man of healthy weight" (p. 179).

Throughout his teenage and early adult years, Chase searched for his place in the world. Wavering between apartments, cities, prisons, mental institutions, hospitals, his mother's house, his father's house, when they were together, his parents' house and his grandmother's house (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Nieto, 2012; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992;

Storey et al., 2005), Chase clearly was confused about where he belonged. Additionally, Chase started to withdraw from his surroundings and the things and people he had known (Montaldo, 2013). He did not participate in society and was unable to internalise its cultural norms. His search for an identity became life long and resulted in prolonged dependence on his parents (see sections 2.2.2 – 2.2.5.).

This stage held a lot of instability and uncertainty for Chase. Therefore, the researcher speculates that Chase did not resolve it successfully, but instead remained confused about himself – who he was, who he wanted to be, where he wanted to be, what he wanted from life and how he wanted to live his life – until the day he committed suicide. Moreover, without a promising self-definition and internalised societal values, Chase did not have much to be faithful to and thus probably could not have acquired the ego strength of fidelity. Successful resolution of this stage together with the preceding four stages is considered a prerequisite for successful resolution of stage six (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1980; Montgomery, 2005). Consequently, Chase failing to reach an integrated identity along with his prior unresolved crises probably paved the way for failing the crisis of intimacy versus isolation discussed in the ensuing sections.

8.3.6. Stage six: Intimacy versus isolation (18 – 40 years)

Due to the long period of time covered by this stage (approximately 18 to 40 years), it is discussed over four of the historical periods identified in Chase's life. In each historical period, socio-historical and personal events that might have had an effect on this developmental stage are highlighted. Because of the interrelated nature between this stage and the preceding five stages, the researcher also makes frequent reference to the reoccurrence of prior unresolved crises (further explained below). The hypothesised final outcome of the stage is discussed in the last subsection (see 8.3.6.5.)

According to Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) psychosocial growth continues during the adult years. The sixth stage of psychosocial personality development, intimacy versus isolation, roughly extends from late adolescence to early middle age. Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) also believed that successful resolution of prior crises is necessary for the individual to successfully resolve this stage. However, according to the epigenetic principle, this does not mean that the individual will not reach stage six at all if prior stages

have not been resolved successfully (Craig, 1996; Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). Instead, the individual will still face the crisis of intimacy versus isolation, but experience more difficulty in navigating it successfully and thus, be more likely to fail at the successful resolution thereof. Furthermore, if prior crises were unresolved, they are likely to resurface in this stage of development (Craig, 1996; Hook, 2002).

The essence of stage six is based on the choice to become involved in a relationship and achieve a sense of intimacy or to remain isolated (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). With the term, intimacy, Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) implied more than sexual intercourse alone. He described intimacy as the capacity to commit to concrete partnerships, including all close affiliations such as the relationships with acquaintances, family and friends, and the ability to accept and tolerate such commitments along with their compromises (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). If this is achieved the ego strength of **love** arises (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). Unsuccessful resolution of this stage, in turn, results in isolation by which Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) referred to a distantiation from any and all forces that the individual deems threatening to his or her personality.

8.3.6.1. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

Chase graduated from Mira Loma High School in 1968 with below average grades (Storey et al., 2005). In December of the same year, Chase consulted a psychiatrist about his erectile dysfunction and his failed attempts at having intercourse. He had also previously admitted to a friend that his inability to function sexually affected him deeply (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Furthermore, at the psychiatrist, he also communicated fears regarding his emotional stability as well as concerns about his family and the problems they were experiencing (Ramsland, 2012a). Except for finding out that he had repressed anger and possibly suffered from a mental illness (Sophia, 2010), the consultation did not prove fruitful in providing Chase with a sought after explanation or solution (see section 2.2.2.).

In spite of this failed anticipation of attaining help, Chase tried to pursue an education and a career in 1969 when he was 19 years old. He enrolled at American River College and applied for a job (unspecified), but it did not last long. In his extended moratorium (see sections 2.2.2; 2.2.3 & 8.3.5.), he oscillated between various courses and jobs, but could not

find comfort in any one of them. Motivated by the undercurrents of stage six, Chase moved out of his parents' house to share a house with two female friends in 1970 (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). However, his sense of shame and doubt soon presented itself in a resistance to hygiene (see sections 2.2.2 & 8.3.2.), causing his housemates to be repulsed. Additionally, his mistrust (see sections 2.2.2 & 8.3.1.) began to surface and drug abuse as well as peculiar behaviour (e.g., hiding in his closet in fear of being sneaked upon) caused his housemates to move out. At this point, Chase started to withdraw increasingly from his surroundings and the things and people he had known (Gilks & Saunders, 2013). Visits from his friends were few and eventually became virtually non-existent (Montaldo, 2013).

Chase's inability to attain an erection would have had an immense effect on his development during this stage. Although not solely defined by intimacy, sexual intercourse does form a significant part thereof (Elkind, 1970; Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978). Therefore, with an erectile dysfunction and thus an inability to be physically intimate, Chase's psychosocial development in this stage was vulnerable. Furthermore, as illustrated in the previous paragraph, the prior unsuccessfully resolved crises already started to hinder Chase's development in the early phases of this stage, steering him more into the direction of isolation than intimacy.

8.3.6.2. The delusional nomad (1971 – 1974)

In 1971 Chase dropped out of college (Storey et al., 2005). He did not work and spent most of his time lying around at his parents' house, his residence at the time. Still in search of his identity (see sections 2.2.3 & 8.3.5.), he went on a solitary journey to Utah in 1972 (Sallamy, 2011). There he was put in jail for drunk driving and returned to Sacramento after his father bailed him out. Pursuing his mistrust and sense of guilt (see sections 2.2.3, 8.3.1 & 8.3.3.), he told his parents that he had been gassed in jail and complained endlessly about somatic concerns to anyone who would listen, pushing them further away. In November 1972, Beatrice and Richard senior divorced (Nieto, 2012), probably challenging Chase's already disturbed view of relationships and, therefore, intimacy and love even further.

Pushed by the forces of intimacy versus isolation, Chase decided to join a small social gathering at an acquaintance's apartment in 1973 (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). There, Chase attempted physical intimacy – not necessarily sexual intercourse – with a female

friend. Conversely, she was not interested and when Chase would not stop fondling her after she insisted he quit, it resulted in a physical argument with the two men at the gathering (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Once again, the evening turned out quite the opposite from what Chase had envisioned and instead of making friends, he ended up with enemies. This was the last time that Chase had tried to connect with the social realm in, what he believed to be, a somewhat acceptable and reasonable manner (see Chapter 2).

After Chase's parents divorced, he stayed with his father for a while. During his stay, he helped Richard senior with several home improvement projects (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). His father encouraged him to get a paying job outside the family, but because of his lack of self-confidence and sense of inferiority (see sections 2.2.3 & 8.3.4.) Chase refused. This is another example of how a prior unresolved crisis stood in the way of Chase establishing work affiliations, and thus, hindered his development in this stage. Due to many arguments between the two of them, Chase finally moved in with his mother (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). At this time, his sister described him as "spooky" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 170). Both Beatrice and Pamela were often frightened by Chase's violent temper tantrums and as a consequence, Pamela ran away from the house several times. Eventually, Chase went to live with his grandmother in Los Angeles where his task was to help his uncle and her transport 'developmentally challenged children' to school (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). His angry, hostile and peculiar behaviour landed him back at his mother's house in Sacramento after only a few months (see section 2.2.3.).

Chase remained preoccupied with his bodily functions and went for several physical examinations only to get negative results. Throughout 1974, he was in and out of hospitals and finally received a diagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia (Dennison, 2009b; Gilks & Saunders, 2013). Labelled as a "crazy" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 167), Chase was subject to alienation and left alone with only his parents, who dreaded being in his presence (see section 2.2.3.).

8.3.6.3 Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 – 1976)

In 1975, when Chase was 25 years old, he applied for social security assistance and welfare (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). This necessitated another physical examination after which the physician recommended him for welfare based on the conclusion

that he was an impossible job candidate (Storey et al., 2005). Chase was still residing with his mother and it was also during this time that he started to accuse her of poisoning him (as explained in stage one, this is illustrative of mistrust) (Blanco, 2013; Castro, 2009; Sophia, 2010). He threw the meals she prepared on the floor, cooked for himself and refused to drink from an open milk carton. Furthermore, he accused Beatrice of controlling his mind and set forth his somatic delusions (as explained in stage three, this is illustrative of guilt) (Douglas & Olshaker, 1995). Estranged from the people around him, Chase created an imaginary person to converse with (Biondi & Hecox, 1992), possibly a last-ditch effort at intimacy. In the beginning of 1976, Chase's father demanded that he move from his mother's house and located an apartment for him on Cannon Street (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Isolated at his own residence, Chase began riding his bicycle to a nearby rabbit farm (see section 2.2.4.). He bought rabbits there and butchered them at home. Once he injected himself with a rabbit's blood and developed septicaemia (i.e., blood poisoning) (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Consequently, he was admitted to the emergency ward at Sacramento Community Clinic, but insisted to be moved because he was afraid of contracting a disease from one of the other patients in the ward (as explained in stage one, this is illustrative of mistrust). He was transferred to the American River Hospital and after psychiatric evaluation, to Beverly Manor, a facility specialising in the treatment of mental patients (Sallamy, 2011; Storey et al., 2005). There, he earned the nickname, "Dracula", which stemmed from his preoccupation with blood and animal murder. Nurses at the institution were terrified of Chase and two of them quit during his stay (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). On September 29, 1976, Chase was discharged with a summary stating that he had developed good socialisation skills, a realistic view of his problems, and that his thinking was clearer than when he entered the facility (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005).

For approximately two months Chase lived up to his obligations, kept doctor's appointments and did not have any peculiar complaints. He used his monthly social security grant to rent apartment number 12 at the Watt Avenue Complex, while his mother shopped and paid for groceries and additional utilities (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). However, he could not uphold his healthy and stable state and soon his problems reappeared (see sections 2.2.4 & 2.2.5.).

8.3.6.4. Murders, trial and death (1977 – 1980)

Still unable to find his place in the world (see sections 2.2.5 & 8.3.5.), Chase moved to Washington in the beginning of 1977. After 18 days, he returned to Beatrice's house with a silver 1966 Ford Ranchero, a car he bought with his social security payments (Storey et al., 2005). He stayed with her for a few days, but after an argument in which he slapped and knocked her to the floor (as explained in stage two, this is illustrative of limitless autonomy), moved back into the Watt Avenue Complex, this time into apartment number 15 (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Chase set forth his brutal acts towards animals (as explained in stage three, this is illustrative of *bad* initiative without guilt) and revisited his delusional ideas. He dismembered and ingested cats and dogs and believed that he was reincarnated as one of the bank robbers associated with Jesse James, that he was going to disappear, and that a Nazi crime syndicate from high school was after him (as explained in stage one, this is illustrative of mistrust) (Blanco, 2013; Bovsun, 2010; Douglas & Olshaker, 1995). He also developed a fascination with the Hillside Strangler, two men who were kidnapping, raping, torturing and killing female victims in Los Angeles at the time (Gibson, 2006).

At this point, Chase completely withdrew into isolation and 'shut out' even his parents (see section 2.2.5.). On August 3, 1977, police officers found Chase with blood smeared all over his face and body at Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). They asked him where the blood came from and Chase replied "it's seeping from me" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 3). Symbolically, this could be a good indication of his hurt and pain. Charges against Chase were dropped when laboratory tests revealed the blood to be from a cow (Shechter, 2004). Four months later, Chase murdered his first victim, Ambrose Griffin (51-year-old male). He kept an editorial about the Griffin killing along with its societal condemnation of the futile shooting (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Thus, it was clear to Chase that society condemned him, in much the same way as his parents had done in his early years (see sections 2.2.1 & 8.3.1. – 8.3.4.). In his mind, he was merely living up to what others expected of him (as explained in stage three, this is illustrative of *bad* initiative without guilt).

Chase proceeded to kill five more people, Theresa Wallin (22-year-old female), Daniel Meredith (52-year-old male), Evelyn (38-year-old female) and Jason Miroth (six-year-old boy) and David Ferreira (22-month-old boy) over the next month. Chase had no specific

criteria that his victims needed to fulfil, possibly indicating his hostility towards people in general. However, only his female victims were brutally cut open and their intestines consumed. He also sodomised Evelyn Miroth (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). The nature of Chase's murders and possible reasons for it is beyond the scope of this chapter and discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

On the 8th of May, 1979, Chase was found guilty and charged with six counts of first degree murder. The judge sent him to death row at San Quentin Prison to await the gas chamber (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a). Even in prison, Chase was alienated. The other inmates taunted him and encouraged him to commit suicide, which is exactly what he did on 26 December, 1980 (Blanco, 2013; Montaldo, 2013). Before his suicide, Chase made one last attempt at reaching out to anyone who would listen and wrote a message in which he warned that he might drink some tablets which could cause his heart to stop beating (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Nevertheless, his attempts seemed to go unnoticed (see section 2.3.5.).

8.3.6.5. Discussion of the sixth stage

These findings support Erikson's theory that prior ego strengths need to be mostly in place in order to navigate this stage successfully. As Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1978) suggested, prior unresolved crises which lead to the acquisition of mistrust, limitless autonomy, shame, doubt, detrimental initiative, guilt, inferiority and role confusion (see sections 8.3.1. – 8.3.5.) continued to occur and reoccur during this stage in Chase's life. These served as hindrances which, in the absence of an exceptionally favourable environment, made it almost impossible for Chase to acquire either a sense of intimacy or the ego strength of love. Although Chase died before reaching the end of stage six of psychosocial personality development, the researcher speculates that he had an acquired sense of isolation at the time of his death. In turn, the sense of isolation probably also contributed, to a large degree, to his choice to commit suicide. It is, however, impossible to say whether Chase would have resolved this stage successfully, had he lived longer, but in light of the above, the researcher is of opinion that it is implausible.

8.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter yielded a discussion on Chase's psychosocial personality development. A conceptual outline for the presentation of findings was provided after which the researcher illustrated each of the six psychosocial developmental stages that Chase underwent in his life. The five historical periods of Chase's life were thus illuminated in the context of Erikson's psychosocial personality development theory. In Chapter 9, the researcher attempts to explain Chase's functioning as serial killer in terms of the Schahriar syndrome model of Claus and Lidberg (1999).

Chapter 9

Findings and Discussion: The Schahriar Syndrome of Richard Chase

9.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter entails a presentation of the Schahriar syndrome of Richard Chase. First, a conceptual outline for the presentation is provided. This is followed by a discussion of each of the five primitive psychic mechanisms of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model within the context of Chase's historical life periods as organised in the conceptual matrix described in Chapter 7.

9.2. Conceptual Outline for the Presentation of Findings

The Schahriar syndrome model of Claus and Lidberg (1999) encompasses five primitive psychic mechanisms, namely omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation, and symbiotic merger, thought to be present in serial murderers' functioning. The model primarily focuses on the current functioning of the serial murderer and therefore the researcher presents the findings of this chapter in **a reversed chronological order**. Each primitive psychic mechanism is first explored and applied to Chase's latest historical period (i.e., the period in which he functioned as serial murderer). After this, the other four historical periods are explored and discussed in **a reversed order** within the context of the particular primitive psychic mechanism so as to illuminate its presentation and manifestation throughout Chase's life.

9.3. The Schahriar Syndrome of Chase

9.3.1. Omnipotence

Omnipotence refers to a sense of being *all powerful* (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Pierce & Pruss, 2012). It typically describes someone who has extreme control and unlimited power, a superior being like God (Ramsland, 2006). Claus and Lidberg (1999) believed that serial murderers commit their crimes partly to experience a sense of omnipotence. In their murders, they execute control over life and death, which implies that they are greater than other human

beings and thus, special in some superior way (Pistorius, 2000; Warren et al., 1996). According to Moes (1991) and Geberth and Turco (1997), omnipotence is often traceable, not only in the individual's functioning as serial murderer, but also in his or her general functioning throughout life. Thus, many actions, of which human murder is considered the most resourceful, because it involves ultimate power over life and death, can provide the individual with feelings of omnipotence (Lowenstein, 1992).

The serial murderer is regularly driven by a lifelong strive for omnipotence (Fox & Levin, 2012). Claus and Lidberg (1999) described this as "a striving towards an establishment of the infantile omnipotence" (p. 429). According to them and many other authors (Fox & Levin, 1994; Pistorius, 2000; Warren et al., 1996), striving towards omnipotence or outright control results from the loss thereof in the individual's early years. Hale (1993, p. 39) also suggested that early deprivation of autonomy or control might result in a drive "to regain lost power". In this context, predominantly infancy and early childhood are viewed as the most significant formation years (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). However, it is important to take note that experiences throughout life also play an eminent role either by reinforcing the infantile loss or by adding thereto in a vicious cycle (Fox & Levin, 1994; Geberth & Turco, 1997; Gresswell, 1991). In the following five subsections, the researcher explores the construct of omnipotence within the historical periods of Chase's life. The discussion is presented in a reversed historical sequence.

9.3.1.1. Murders, trial and death (1977 – 1980)

On 29 December 1977 Chase murdered his first victim, the 51-year-old male, Ambrose Griffin (Biondi, 2011). Less than a month later, on the 23rd of January 1978, he murdered his second victim, Theresa Wallin, a 12-week-pregnant female aged 22 years (Wilson, 2011). Finally, on the 27th of January, Chase murdered his last four victims, the 52-year-old male, Daniel Meredith, his 38-year-old female friend, Evelyn Miroth, her six-year-old son, Jason Miroth and the 22-month-old boy, David Ferreira, whom Miroth was babysitting (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a; Ressler & Shachtman, 1997).

During this time, Chase also performed various repugnant acts (e.g., he defecated on a child's bed and urinated in a drawer filled with baby clothes) (Wilson, 2011). Furthermore, while staying with his mother, Beatrice, for a few days in 1977, arguments during which

Chase slapped and knocked her to the floor occurred more frequently than not (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Additionally, he ripped apart her cat and mutilated her German shepherd in front of her (see section 2.2.5.). He also stole and devoured neighbours' pets and tormented the families if they attempted to find them or report them as missing (Stone, 2011).

Both Chase's murders and actions mentioned in the previous two paragraphs might be interpreted as acts of extreme control and power (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). It is, however, impossible to speculate that he committed these acts in an attempt to achieve a sense of omnipotence without looking at his inner dynamics as elucidated in his preceding life stages. Incidents that might, more specifically, indicate omnipotence in this particular historical period include the following. Firstly, Chase believed that he was reincarnated as one of the bank robbers associated with Jesse James (see section 2.2.5.), a legendary robber and murderer from the 1800's (Gibson, 2006). Thus, Chase possibly had a need to believe that he was special or superior in some way. Secondly, he kept an editorial about his first murder along with its societal condemnation (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). This could possibly indicate that Chase enjoyed being read about and considered himself as having celebrity status - above other human beings. Thirdly, in his confessional statement regarding his last four murders (see section 2.2.5.), Chase reported, "I shot the whole family" and "the police had been unable to locate me" (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 17). This might suggest a sense of pride and victory as he had outsmarted the entire police force. Lastly, and perhaps less significant, is Chase's suicide on 26 December 1980 (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). By taking his own life, he demonstrated his belief that he indeed had power over life and death. Nevertheless, at this point it is unclear whether Chase executed his murders and other offensive behaviours partly to experience a sense of omnipotence. In order to formulate a well-supported hypothesis regarding omnipotence, Chase's earlier historical periods are discussed below.

9.3.1.2. Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 – 1976)

A few events in the years of 1975 and 1976 might be suggestive that Chase had a pronounced need to exert outright control. During this time, Chase was preoccupied with his bodily functions and had several invalid somatic complaints (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Due to this, his mother, Beatrice, took him for repeated physical examinations and often bought appliances to satisfy his health demands (see section 2.2.4.). Her house was stocked with

oranges because Chase believed that he had to put them on his head in order to absorb the vitamin C (Douglas & Olshaker, 1995). Once, she even bought him an oxygen tent after he had read an article about cardiac patients (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Beatrice might have made these precautions out of care and concern for Chase or out of fear of what might have happened if she did not. Either way, the literature paints a picture in which Chase demanded this from her and she obeyed his orders (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Castro, 2009; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Sophia, 2010) which implies a level of dominance on his part. Thus, with his mother continually carrying out his commands, Chase succeeded in controlling her - to a certain degree at least.

Chase also accused Beatrice of controlling his mind (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). According to Bollas (1995) feelings of being controlled could stem from being severely inhibited by strict parents in the early years. This in turn could cause the individual to develop a strong need for outright control, which is often satisfied through relentless controlling or dominating behaviour (Bollas, 1995; Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Throughout 1976, Chase bought and killed rabbits and sometimes injected himself with their blood (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). As a consequence, Chase contracted septicaemia and was admitted to the emergency room of Sacramento Community Clinic (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). However, he demanded to be moved (due to irrational fears) and the physicians transferred him to the American River Hospital where he was to be psychiatrically evaluated for 14 days (see section 2.2.4.). At this time Chase consulted a lawyer about the proceedings in the instance of him leaving the hospital. Despite the lawyer's recommendation that Chase would be returned to the hospital or the sheriff, he ran away (Sallamy, 2011; Storey et al., 2005). This might not only illustrate Chase's demandingness, but also his thoughts of being superior to rules and the law.

Soon, Chase was found and transferred to Beverly Manor, a facility specialising in the treatment of mental patients (Storey et al., 2005). There, the staff and other patients nicknamed him "Dracula" (see section 2.2.4.). The only subject that Chase talked about was killing animals and how easy it was (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). He beheaded birds nearly every day and then went on boasting about it for hours (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). As mentioned previously, many actions other than human murder can deliver feelings of superiority or omnipotence (Geberth & Turco, 1997; Lowenstein, 1992; Moes, 1991). It is possible that Chase's animal murder was a way for him to exert control and experience a

sense of omnipotence. His boldness regarding his actions supports this possibility even more. Further clarification regarding the absence or presence of omnipotence in Chase's functioning is presented in the next historical period.

9.3.1.3. The delusional nomad (1971 – 1974)

In 1971 Chase dropped out of college, did not work often and had trouble holding jobs (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). Although Chase also thought about attending college initially, it was mostly his parents who wanted him to do so and to become employed (Storey et al., 2005). Thus, dropping out and refusing to pursue a career might be partially viewed as refusing to oblige to others' wishes or demands. Furthermore, the possibility that Chase had a strong need to be in control and to feel superior might be illustrated by the following events. Firstly, his refusal to stop fondling a woman at a social gathering after she insisted he quit (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) (see section 2.2.3.). And secondly, his declarations regarding this incident that (a) no one had a right to tell him what to do or when to leave, (b) no one could make him do anything he did not want to do, and (c) the world had no right to tell him what to do and that they could go ahead and call the police because he did not care (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Moreover, Chase frequently terrified and threatened both his mother and sister (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Montaldo, 2013), thereby coercing his authority and power. Chase also refused to keep himself or his clothes clean (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) which possibly portrays an intentional rejection of societal expectations and norms as well as self-produced beliefs of superiority. In conclusion of this historical period, when Chase's somatic concerns again landed him at the doctor's office in December, 1973 (see section 2.2.3.), he insisted that he knew as much about the subject of medicine as any of his attending physicians and then left the hospital (Gilks & Saunders, 2013; Ramsland, 2012a; Storey et al., 2005). Such grandiosity or narcissism is often used synonymously with omnipotence (Vaknin, 2003).

9.3.1.4. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

In this historical period two specific events occurred that might have had a negative influence on Chase's inner dynamics and functioning. These events encompass aspects over which Chase had little or no control. One of these events possibly stemmed from a loss of

control in Chase's earlier life and both of them might have reinforced a need for or strive towards control and, thus, omnipotence. The first event that the researcher refers to entails Chase's erectile dysfunction (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Wilson, 2011). In his early high school years, Chase attempted intercourse twice, but could not attain or maintain an erection (see section 2.2.2.). This resulted in his girlfriends ending their relationships with him (Wilson, 2011). It also caused Chase to seek advice from a psychiatrist, a gesture that delivered no solutions. Chase's inability to function sexually affected him deeply (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). This lack of control that Chase had over his penis could possibly have been an extension or prolongation of a loss of control in his earlier childhood (Bollas, 1987, 1995; Johnson & Becker, 1997). Furthermore, it might have accumulated to this early loss and reinforced a need in Chase to strive for ultimate control and power (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Hale, 1993).

The second event involves Beatrice and Richard senior's separation (Biondi & Hecox, 1992) that resulted in a lot of instability and relocations for Chase during this time of his life (see section 2.2.2.). He had no control over his parents' happiness, the schools he attended or the cities and residences in which he stayed (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Paul, 2010). This instability together with his erectile dysfunction and the possible deprivation of control in his early years could have resulted in behaviour driven by "an unconscious act intended to recover the lost part of the self" (Bollas, 1987, p. 167). As Chase progressed through high school he became more defiant towards authority and his defiance grew into open rebellion before his years at Mira Loma High School ended (Montaldo, 2013; Storey et al., 2005).

9.3.1.5. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

Although disagreements regarding the exact nature of Chase's upbringing exist in the literature – with some authors ("Athena Intelligence", 2012; Bovsun, 2010; Castro, 2009; Green, 2011; Nieto, 2012; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) claiming that Chase was subject to abusive and critical parenting and others (e.g., Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Morrison, 2011) alleging the opposite – the researcher speculated that Chase's early environment was rather antagonistic. This was already explained in the previous chapter (see Chapter 8). Therefore, the findings of this chapter also relate to the assumption that Chase was raised under unfavourable circumstances.

According to Bovsun (2010), Green (2011) and Nieto (2012) Chase's family environment was characterised by financial restraints, constant marital bickering, as well as physical and emotional abuse (see section 2.2.1.). The household was strict and Chase's father, who was described as an overly critical disciplinarian, often beat Chase for what most people would consider minor mistakes (Nieto, 2012). Additionally, Chase was also abused by his mother, whom the Sacramento community regarded as a mentally unstable woman (Castro, 2009; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Furthermore, the abuse was not restricted to Chase, but also occurred between Beatrice and Richard senior, whose marriage was far from ideal (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

In infancy and early childhood the individual is regarded and treated as an omnipotent being (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). When their baby cries, parents respond with food, hugs and lullabies. Parents, especially the primary caretakers, do (or are supposed to do) everything in their power to satisfy the young child's needs (Fox & Levin, 1994; Sigelman & Rider, 2009; Vaknin, 2003). Even throughout middle and late childhood, children take precedence and parents' lives entirely revolve around their descendants (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Greswell, 1991). If children are denied this right to omnipotence, they may suffer "lifelong feelings of being deprived of their own existence" (Claus & Lidberg, 1999, p. 431). This in turn, could result in a drive to regain lost power (Hale, 1993) or a "striving towards an establishment of the infantile omnipotence" (Claus & Lidberg, 1999, p. 429).

It is probable that neither of Chase's parents furthered a nurturing practice that would bolster feelings of omnipotence within Chase. Both of them possibly were too occupied by their continuous marital strife (Bovsun, 2010; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) to provide their son with the necessary attention and care he deserved. Furthermore, it is likely that, when Chase did receive attention, it was characterised by abusive criticism and hidings, quite the opposite of what an omnipotent child would get. Thus, instead of being the ruler, Chase was a powerless victim deprived of control and omnipotence.

Therefore, the researcher speculates that Chase's behaviour as discussed in the previous historical periods were attempts, at least partially, to redeem his 'lost throne' and that the primitive psychic mechanism of omnipotence was present in his functioning as serial murderer. Next, the second primitive psychic mechanism, sadistic fantasies, is explored within Chase's historical periods.

9.3.2. Sadistic fantasies

A significant amount of serial murderers exhibit fantasies of a sadistic nature in their mental makeup (Brittain, 1970; Johnson & Becker, 1997; Warren et al., 1996). Sadistic fantasies encompass fantasies in which physical or psychological pain that arouses sexual or nonsexual pleasure is inflicted on others (Glasser, 1996; Martens, 2011). The creation of such fantasies is often viewed as an escape from the agony and pain that individuals (e.g., serial murderers) experience in real life (Lachmann & Lachmann, 1995; Martens, 2011; Silverstein, 1994). Moreover, this agony and pain can be largely ascribed to early childhood difficulties such as abandonment or abuse (Juni, 2008; Lachmann & Lachmann, 1995). However, as was the case with omnipotence, many factors throughout life can produce additional suffering while also exacerbating already formed misery (Fox & Levin, 1994; Gresswell, 1991).

According to Ressler and Burgess (1985) these fantasies become so intense and vivid that they provide the impetus for the offender to act them out with victims of opportunity. Sadistic acts such as animal torture and serial murder could thus be viewed as enactments of the mental fantasies (Knoll, 2006). The primitive psychic mechanism of sadistic fantasies is further explained and explored within the historical periods of Chase's life below. The discussion is presented in a reversed historical sequence.

9.3.2.1. Murders, trial and death (1977 – 1980)

Sadism is evident in Chase's functioning during this historical period (see section 2.2.5.). The following are examples of this. In 1977 he slapped and knocked his mother to the floor after which he ripped open her cat and smeared its blood all over his face (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Stone, 2011). He also mutilated her dog and executed brutality towards other animals including neighbours' dogs (Stone, 2011). The incident on the 3rd of August, 1977, where Chase killed and dissected a cow (Shechter, 2004; Wilson, 2011) is also a clear indication of sadism. Furthermore, Chase's murders in itself could be considered sadistic, but even more so the actions performed after he killed some of them. He sadistically scarred Theresa Wallin's body by carving off her left nipple and cutting her torso from the sternum to the left hipbone (Biondi, 2011; Irey, 2011). The autopsy report indicated that her chest cavity

was the result of "forceful upward thrusts" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 47). He also mutilated and sodomised Evelyn Miroth's body (Dennison, 2009d; Montaldo, 2013), indicating that sexual pleasure was derived from his sadistic performance in this case. Lastly, and conceivably his most sadistic act, was the decapitation of the 22-month-old boy, David Ferreira (Ramsland, 2012a; Ressler & Shachtman, 1997).

The vicious brutality with which Chase dissected and mutilated his victims (see section 2.2.5.) as well as his method to *overkill* them (e.g., by shooting them in the head at least three times and by removing their organs) suggest severe aggression and anger (Vaknin, 2003). According to Claus and Lidberg (1999), sadism resembles the projection of primitive aggression stemming from early maltreatment by the primary caretaker onto others. Chase made the following statement regarding his first murder:

> Mother wouldn't let me in at Christmas. Always before, she let me come in at Christmas, have dinner, and talk to her, my grandmother, and my sister. That year she wouldn't let me in and I shot from the car and killed somebody. (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 17)

This statement indicates that Chase was angry at his mother and reasoned that she was to blame for him committing a murder. However, her denying him the opportunity to join the family at Christmas, as an isolated event, does not provide strong enough grounds for murder. Therefore, it is possible that Chase's reasoning was the result of longstanding underlying anger or primitive aggression towards Beatrice that he redirected towards his victims in his murders.

Chase's fascination with the Hillside Strangler (see section 2.2.5.), two men who were kidnapping, raping, torturing and killing female victims in Los Angeles at the time (Gibson, 2006) might be an indication that he fantasised about such sadistic acts. Furthermore, his suicide in 1980 (Bovsun, 2010; Ramsland, 2012b) suggests that he did experience agony and pain in his life which would postulate a need to escape from reality, possibly by creating a fantasy or fantasies in which he was free from misery (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). Although sadism is clearly indicated in Chase's functioning, further exploration of his fantasy life and primitive aggression and anger is necessary to formulate a hypothesis regarding sadistic fantasies as a whole.

9.3.2.2. Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 – 1976)

In 1975 Chase was described as "unkept looking" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 174) with his weight of approximately 65kg being dangerously underweight for his height of approximately 1.8m (Gilks & Saunders, 2013; Ramsland, 2012a). His appearance was poor and self-care was not one of his priorities (see section 2.2.4.). According to Claus and Lidberg (1999) primitive aggression can lead to "acting out towards the inner self or outer others or both" (p. 433). Although females tend to be more disposed to turning upon their own self, this phenomenon can also occur in males (MacCulloch et al., 1983). Thus, it is possible that Chase's lack of self-care and his self-starvation were the result of primitive aggression turned upon the self.

During this time Chase also frequently accused his mother of poisoning him and he threw the meals that she prepared on the floor (Blanco, 2013; Castro, 2009; Sophia, 2010). Again, this illustrates that Chase most likely had an underlying anger or primitive aggression towards his primary caretaker. Furthermore, Chase often conversed with an imaginary person whom he believed was sending him messages via telepathy (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). This, along with his other strange behaviours already mentioned numerous times (e.g., his beliefs about Jesse James and flying saucers), were typically classified as psychosis and resembled a diagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia (Sallamy, 2011; Storey et al., 2005). However, from a *Schahriar* perspective, Chase's delusions and strange behaviour might just as well have been considered as a self-produced make-believe world, a created fantasy that was far more important to him than reality (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). Consequently and contrarily, instead of psychosis, this would indicate an involvement in a vastly active fantasy life which would promote a speculation that Chase fantasised about sadistic acts as well.

Sadism, or more specifically, zoo sadism (animal torture and/or killing) (Miller, 2013) is also evident in this historical period (see section 2.2.4.). Not only did he butcher rabbits, he also beheaded birds, which secured him the nickname, "Dracula" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 178). He had a fervent preoccupation with blood and killing animals that conquered his thoughts and conversations (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). This strengthens the possibility that his fantasies also entailed blood, murder and torture and thus, sadism. The next historical period mostly involves indications of Chase's agony and pain that would call for the creation of

fantasy as well as primitive aggression and anger that would in turn call for sadistic acts according to Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model.

9.3.2.3. The delusional nomad (1971 – 1974)

This was the period of Chase's life in which his psychosomatic complaints were most prominent (see section 2.2.3.). His days were occupied by concerns regarding unusual and even impossible injuries and ailments (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Among these were that his stomach was upside down, his heart frequently stopped beating, his kidneys had stopped working, his pulmonary artery had been stolen, his blood had stopped flowing, and his entire body was numb (Dennison, 2009b; Lucas, 2012; Morgan, 2008; Sallamy, 2011). However, he also had less severe complaints such as heart and stomach discomfort as well as nervousness (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Throughout these three years, Beatrice took him to physicians several times, but despite multiple brain scans, electrocardiograms, and thyroid tests, they could not find any medical complications or explanations (Ramsland, 2012a). According to Brown (2004) and Clark (2008) such unexplained somatic concerns are often the result of unresolved underlying issues or a disordered psyche. Therefore, it is possible that Chase's formation of physical disabilities was a way for him to express his agony and pain through a type of embodiment (Gibbs, 2006; Clark, 2008).

A few aspects and events in this historical period might also suggest that Chase had repressed anger and possible primitive aggression. Firstly, acquaintances and relatives described Chase as an angry and hostile person (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Secondly, he was often outraged and experienced violent temper tantrums that terrorised his family, especially his mother and sister (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Montaldo, 2013). Lastly, he frequently engaged in physical disputes such as the brawl after he had attempted to force himself on a woman at a social gathering (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). All of these incidents might be interpreted as projection of primitive aggression onto others (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). This is better explained in Chase's earliest historical period (see section 9.3.2.5.).

9.3.2.4. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

In his early high school years, Chase dated several girls, two of whom he considered more serious than the rest (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). These relationships ended when Chase attempted intercourse but was unable to attain and maintain an erection (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Wilson, 2011). He was deeply affected by his erectile dysfunction (see section 2.2.2.), and in 1968 Chase consulted a psychiatrist who told him that repressed anger was the most common cause of male impotence and that the anger was often directed at women in general (Gilks & Saunders, 2013). Soon after his failed attempts at intercourse, Chase started experimenting with alcohol and drugs, which quickly turned into abuse (Blanco, 2013; Morrison, 2011). This indicates that his erectile dysfunction contributed to agony and pain from which he tried to escape, partly by consuming substances. It is also possible that he created fantasies in order to escape from this agony and pain (Claus & Lidberg, 1999), fantasies in which he was a *sexual master* with complete control over his penis. Enactment of such fantasies might explain the sodomy of his second female victim, Evelyn Miroth (Biondi & Hecox, 1992).

According to Bollas (1987, 1995) and Claus and Lidberg (1999), sadistic fantasies and resultant sadism are often the consequence of deep seated hostility towards others that was shaped by maltreatment during the early years. Bollas (1987, p. 166) described the bitter vengefulness and paranoid state of the sadist as ensuing the belief that "something hostile out there has taken something valuable from within". Chase did have such hostility towards people in general (see section 2.2.2.). A concrete example of this is at a party in 1970 where Chase leaned out the window to wave his gun at any strangers who walked by (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Additionally, he nearly always blamed his misfortune on others (Montaldo, 2013; Storey et al., 2005) and believed that people were spying on him and out to get him (Gilks & Saunders, 2013; Ramsland, 2012a). In support of Claus and Lidberg's beliefs regarding the importance of infantile and early childhood experiences, the next historical period provides more clarification about Chase's functioning.

9.3.2.5. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

In his later childhood, Chase began to operate sadistically (see section 2.2.1.). At the age of 10, he set a neighbour's garage on fire (Biondi & Hecox, 1992), probably a means to

cause psychological discomfort to them. It was also at this age that he started to perform zoo sadism by torturing and killing birds, cats, dogs and rabbits (Storey et al., 2005).

As mentioned previously (see section 9.3.2.1.), Claus and Lidberg (1999) viewed sadism as the projection of primitive aggression onto others. They explained primitive aggression as aggressive drives that are experienced by the infant or young child in response to abuse, neglect or other maltreatment by the primary caretaker. According to Ressler and Shachtman (1992), Castro (2009) and Nieto (2012) Chase was most probably both emotionally and physically abused by his parents, including his primary caretaker or mother, Beatrice (see section 2.2.1.). Thus, it is probable that Chase did suffer aggressive drives, but because he was unable to effectively process his emotions at that stage (Lagattuta, 2014) (i.e., he could not clearly express or act upon his felt aggression), it remained in his psychic structure as a primitive psychic mechanism that continuously surfaced throughout his life as a *need in need of satisfaction* (Bollas, 1995; Claus & Lidberg, 1999).

Lachmann and Lachmann (1995) postulated that it is as if the individual recurrently revisits infancy or early childhood in order to satisfy his or her aggressive drives. Thus, the sadistic serial murderer redresses his/her early painful experiences by reversing roles and inflicting his/her own torture on his/her victims (Lachmann & Lachmann, 1995; Vaknin, 2003). In addition to primitive aggression, early abuse causes agony and pain from which the individual wishes to escape (Juni, 2008; Martens, 2011). Such an escape becomes possible through the creation of fantasy that, together with primitive aggression, takes on a sadistic form (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Silverstein, 1994). This enables the individual to (a) be whoever he/she wants to be, free from pain, free from the deceitful external reality and (b) satisfy his/her primitive aggressive drives (Claus & Lidberg, 1999).

The abuse in his early years deprived Chase of care, love and trust in humankind. It instigated agony and pain which were aggravated by other damaging experiences throughout his life. Therefore, the researcher is of the opinion that Chase had enough reasons to withdraw into a safe inner world of imagination and that his sadistic acts were enactments of predefined sadistic fantasies. Thus, the researcher speculates that the primitive psychic mechanism of sadistic fantasies was present in his functioning.

9.3.3. Ritualised performance

Ritualised performance involves repetitive crime scene acts by the offender that are unnecessary for the perpetration of the homicide, exceed the cause of death, and occur with at least two victims (Schlesinger, Kassen, Mesa, & Pinizzotto, 2010). Examples include body posing, foreign object insertions, overkill, removal of parts of the victim or scene, sodomy, torture and wall graffiti (Bezuidenhout, 2011; Schlesinger et al., 2010; Van der Spuy, 2012). Most authors on serial murder agree that these seemingly unnecessary activities serve a psychological purpose (Grimes, 1996; Hoffmeister, 2007; Schlesinger et al., 2010; Vaknin, 2003). Furthermore, it is thought that the rituals are driven by a fantasy or strange belief and that the serial murderer needs to perform them in order to feel gratified. Thus, killing the victim is not sufficient (MacCulloch et al., 1983; Schlesinger et al., 2010).

Many factors such as early abuse and trauma, repressed aggression and adverse or punishing experiences throughout life can contribute to the execution of rituals in serial murder (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Vaknin, 2003). Ritualised performance together with its possible causes and purposes are explored and discussed in the context of Chase's life in the following subsections. The discussion is presented in a reversed historical sequence.

9.3.3.1. Murders, trial and death (1977 – 1980)

Based on the definition provided above, the brutal mutilation that Chase performed on his victims as well as the consumption of his victims' blood and intestines (see section 2.2.5.), could be regarded as ritualised performance. He brutally mutilated and concocted mixtures of blood and organs from two of his victims, Theresa Wallin and Evelyn Miroth (Biondi, 2011; Davidson, 2011; Irey, 2011; Sallamy, 2011). This was his 'signature' or 'calling card', terms sometimes synonymously used with rituals (Keppel, 1997). Rituals also enable forensic homicide investigation officers to connect a series of crimes to the same individual (Douglas & Munn, 1992; Keppel, 1997; 2000). Detective Lieutenant Ray Biondi stated that the victims' mutilated bodies from which organs were removed and the left behind yoghurt cans filled with bloody remains allowed them to *hunt* for a "blood thirsty killer" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 51).

According to Vaknin (2003), rituals are cathartic and allow the serial murderer to release repressed or primitive aggression. As mentioned previously (see section 9.3.2.1.) the brutal manner in which Chase overkilled his victims suggests that he experienced severe anger and aggression. Thus, it is possible that the brutal mutilation which is considered as part of Chase's ritual enabled him to release his primitive aggression as discussed in the previous section (see sections 9.3.2.1; 9.3.2.2; 9.3.2.3; 9.3.2.4.). Further motives for Chase's rituals are elucidated in the next historical period and support the notion that rituals are driven by a fantasy or strange belief.

9.3.3.2. Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 – 1976)

In 1976, Chase was admitted at Beverly Manor after he injected himself with a rabbit's blood (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). There he earned the nickname "Dracula" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 178), because he frequently consumed the blood of birds he beheaded. At the institution he explained to a nurse that he was being poisoned, that his body was falling apart and that his own blood was turning to powder (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). He added that he needed this other blood to replenish his own and to stave off death (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). Paradoxically, it was these beliefs that later landed him on death row at San Quentin State Prison (see section 2.2.5.).

Chase's paranoid state and consequential beliefs would explain, at least superficially, why he consumed his victims' (both animals and humans) blood and intestines. Consciously, he reasoned that he needed to perform these acts in order to keep his body intact. Thus, part of Chase's ritual, the consumption of his victims' blood and intestines, was driven by a strange belief as Schlesinger et al. (2010) proposed. However, a deeper unconscious motive, closely associated with his paranoia, might have also been present. This is better explained as symbiotic merger in section 9.3.5. In the next two historical periods, Chase's relationships are explored, an element which, if adversarial, can largely contribute to ritualised performance (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Gresswell, 1991).

9.3.3.3. The delusional nomad (1971 – 1974)

As discussed previously (see section 9.3.2.), serial murderers experience affective arousal when they commit their sadistic crimes (Glasser, 1996; Martens, 2011). Gresswell

(1991) described this affective arousal as a big win after a long series of losses. He added that, in a life empty of true relationships and feelings, the affective arousal must be repeated over and over again and thus, ritualised. Accordingly, the serial murderer experiences the affective arousal of which he was deprived in his previous relationships when he performs his rituals (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Gresswell, 1991).

A clear example of Chase being denied affective arousal entails the numerously mentioned incident at the social gathering in 1973 (see section 2.2.3.), where he attempted to become intimate with a female friend, but ended up in a physical argument with the two men at the gathering instead (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Furthermore, Chase's relationships in general were at best superficial and in most cases he was considered a burden. Both of Chase's parents and his sister grew tired of his angry, hostile and peculiar behaviour (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Montaldo, 2013) and even his grandmother and uncle did nothing but express their dissatisfaction with him (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Thus, it could be said that Chase's life was empty of true committed relationships and feelings and therefore it is possible that Chase brutally mutilated his victims and consumed their blood and intestines ritualistically, partially to experience long sought after affective arousal. Further aspects of Chase's relationships and social interaction that might relate to ritualised performance are explored in the next historical period.

9.3.3.4. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

Ritualised performance is also described by some experts on serial murder as a form of revenge (Bezuidenhout, 2011; Vaknin, 2003; Van der Spuy, 2012). This revenge is the result of poor relationships and unfavourable experiences that the individual or serial murderer interpreted as harm that was done to him or her (Keppel & Weis, 2004). Consequently, the serial murderer tries to find a way to get back at his *enemies* in what Vaknin (2003) described as a balancing of the books.

During this historical period Chase was subject to various negative experiences and adversarial social interactions (see section 2.2.2.). In his early high school years, two of Chase's steady girlfriends broke up with him because he could not perform sexually (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Wilson, 2011). This had a profound emotional effect on him and he

admitted that it bothered him a great deal (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ramsland, 2012a). In 1965 Chase's heavy experimentation with drugs called for an arrest and he was sentenced by the juvenile court to do community clean-up work on weekends (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). Furthermore, Richard senior refused to hire a lawyer in his son's defence and Chase was furious (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). It was also at this time in Chase's life when acquaintances and friends were repelled by him and labelled him as a "crazy" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 167). In 1970 his housemates on Annandale Lane tried everything to get rid of Chase and when they failed, they moved out, leaving him alone and debilitated (Montaldo, 2013; Morgan, 2008).

Thus, many events and incidents occurred that Chase could have interpreted as harmful. In his mind, he had more than enough reasons to seek revenge and therefore it is possible that his rituals, particularly the brutal mutilation, served this purpose. In the next historical period earlier events in relation to ritualised performance are explored and discussed.

9.3.3.5. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

The researcher stated previously that the nature of Chase's upbringing was antagonistic. Although no specific examples relating to this were found in the literature, it was frequently stipulated that Chase had been a victim of emotional and physical abuse by both his parents (Bovsun, 2010; Castro, 2009; Green, 2011; Nieto, 2012; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Various authors on serial murder and rituals view ritualised performance as a recreation of earlier conflicts with meaningful objects such as parents, authority figures or peers (Bateman & Salfati, 2007; Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Vaknin, 2003). Bollas (1995) described the serial murderer as an individual who has suffered an emotional death in childhood, which is then the death of the self that he forces his victims to undergo. According to this view, the difference lies in the outcome of the replay because the murderer now dominates the situation and is the one to inflict abuse and trauma on others (Vaknin, 2003). Similar to the purpose of seeking revenge discussed above (see section 9.3.3.4.), the ritual in this context could be described as an achievement of poetic justice (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003; Vaknin, 2003).

Thus, another possibility is that Chase's rituals recreated earlier conflicts with his parents, but instead of being the victim, he became the abuser, murderer and torturer akin to the way in which he reversed roles in his sadistic fantasies (see section 9.3.2.5.). Although many possible explanations for Chase's ritualised performance exist, the mere presence thereof in Chase's functioning as serial murderer, supports Claus and Lidberg's model. The fourth primitive psychic mechanism, dehumanisation, is discussed and illustrated in Chase's historical life periods next.

9.3.4. Dehumanisation

Dehumanisation is defined as the perception of others as objects, animals or machines and classification of them as being subhuman (Zimbardo, 2009). It encompasses the ability of humans to drop their inhibitions against harming others and committing ineffable acts of cruelty and revulsion (Smith, 2011). It is believed that dehumanisation enables serial murderers to torture, rape and murder their victims (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Levin & Fox, 2007; Warren et al., 1992). By regarding their victims as subhuman objects, serial murderers delude themselves into believing that their crimes are good rather than bad (Levin & Fox, 2007; Vaknin, 2003). In their minds they are saving their victims from degeneration and degradation, while simultaneously ridding the world of filth and evil. According to the serial murderer his victim was specifically chosen and should be grateful (Vaknin, 2003).

The characteristic of dehumanisation is not exclusively related to serial murderers, but is often visible in the everyday lives of regular people (Bandura, 1999; 2004; Levin & Fox, 2007). According to these authors, dehumanisation involves any and all actions by which people further their own interests at the cost of others. Thus, dehumanisation can also be detected in the individual's regular functioning throughout life and not only in his or her functioning as serial murderer. In addition to dehumanisation being considered a normal process, Biven (1997), Claus and Lidberg (1999) and Vaknin (2003) insisted that it is the experience of irrevocable childhood difficulties or trauma that instigate a wish in the child to obliterate all signs of humanness in the caregiver. In the following five subsections, the researcher explores and discusses the construct of dehumanisation within Chase's life. The discussion is presented in a reversed historical sequence.

9.3.4.1. Murders, trial and death (1977 – 1980)

When Chase was asked how he selected his victims, he replied: "If the door is locked, that means you're not welcome" (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 21). This implies that Chase believed he was welcomed into the homes of his victims and invited to brutally mutilate and murder them. An unlocked door served as a sign for Chase that *this was the one*. Thus, in his mind he was doing nothing wrong, but rather serving a good purpose to rid the world of these specific victims who left their doors unlocked for him. It is possible that Chase viewed his specifically chosen or sent victims as subhuman objects whom he needed to free from this world (Levin & Fox, 2007; Vaknin, 2003).

A few indications of dehumanisation are present in the nature of Chase's murders (see section 2.2.5.). After Chase had shot his second victim, Theresa Wallin, three times, he procured a steak knife and empty yoghurt can from her kitchen and dragged her to a bedroom (Biondi, 2011). He then opened her clothes from head to toe in order to have a "sufficient entrée to the corpse" (Biondi & Hecox, 1992, p. 47). Chase carved off her left nipple, cut open her torso from the sternum to the left hipbone, pulled out parts of her intestine and concocted a mixture of blood and organs inside the yoghurt can (Biondi, 2011; Davidson, 2011; Irey, 2011; Sallamy, 2011). Later, investigators also found fragments of a three-month-old fetus (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Chase dissected and mutilated his other female victim, Evelyn Miroth, in a similar manner. This brutality suggests that Chase had no respect for his victims and disregarded their humanity. Furthermore, upon investigation Chase stated: "I shot this lady – got some blood out of it" (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 17). Thus, Chase probably viewed his victims not as humans, but as *blood carriers* (Zimbardo, 2009, p. 299) or unadorned objects that had within them what Chase believed to be his ownership, blood and intestines (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Chase also decapitated the 22-month-old boy, David Ferreira, and dumped his body in a cardboard box in a vacant parking lot between a church and a supermarket as if he were garbage (Dennison, 2009d; Montaldo, 2013; Ramsland, 2012a; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Such disposal of a human body and moreover, a young child's body, resembles an inhumane action and thus, dehumanisation. Furthermore, Chase displayed no remorse or guilt during an interview regarding his crimes (Storey et al., 2005). Such a lack of guilt might be the result

of dehumanisation that enabled the serial murderer to overcome the forces of conscience, because in his mind he did not harm and murder people, but subhuman objects (Levin & Fox, 2007).

During this historical period Chase also frequently abused his mother (see section 2.2.5.). He slapped and knocked her to the floor, ripped open her cat in front of her and smeared its blood over his face, and he mutilated her German shepherd (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Stone, 2011). These incidents indicate severe anger and aggression towards Beatrice and might support the notion that Chase wanted to hurt his mother and possibly even obliterate all signs of humanness in her, a desire that, according to Biven (1997), Claus and Lidberg (1999) and Vaknin (2003) stems from adverse childhood experiences and leads to dehumanising others. Dehumanisation is further explored and discussed in the next historical period.

9.3.4.2. Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 – 1976)

In 1975 Chase applied for social security assistance and welfare that necessitated a physical examination in which the physician found him coherent and well behaved with proper judgement and an intact memory (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). If Chase did indeed know what he was doing as the physician suggested (Storey et al., 2005), it might follow that he needed to apply the process of dehumanisation in order to perform his brutal murders in the same way as other regular or normal human beings would when they perform actions that have injurious human effects (Bandura, 1999; 2004; Levin & Fox, 2007).

Throughout 1975 and 1976 Chase also rode his bicycle to a nearby farm where he bought rabbits and then butchered them at home (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). He drank their blood and once injected himself with it as well (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Regarding his animal murders, Chase once announced that it was easy to kill and butcher rabbits because they looked like mechanical toys (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). This suggests that Chase did not even view his animal victims as animals, but as lifeless objects, or as he stated, mechanical toys (see section 2.2.4.). Thus, a process similar to dehumanisation, de-animilisation (Walton, 2012), probably enabled Chase to commit his ineffable acts of cruelty towards animals. Therefore, it is likely that, if Chase de-animilised his animal victims, he

dehumanised his human victims. In the next historical period, further aspects from Chase's life are explored and discussed as they relate to dehumanisation.

9.3.4.3. The delusional nomad (1971 – 1974)

Many authors on serial murder believe that dehumanisation is the result of a desire to obliterate all signs of humanness in the caregiver that stems from early maltreatment (Biven, 1997; Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Vaknin, 2003). According to Biven (1997) this desire is accompanied by a desire for love and affection from the caregiver, which causes the child to long for, and wanting to destroy, the caregiver at the same time. Throughout life the individual remains caught between this longing for and destruction of the caregiver (Biven, 1997; Haggerty, 2009). In this view, the serial murderer's crimes become a repetitious and compulsive enactment of the past in which his victim symbolises the primary caregiver whom he causes to disappear (destruct/murder) and reappear (long for / the next victim) (Biven, 1997).

In this historical period (see section 2.2.3.), various factors might be an indication that Chase was caught between such a longing for and destruction of, not only the primary caregiver, in this case his mother, but also and to a lesser extent, his father. Chase's longing for his mother is displayed in the way he persistently requested her to (a) obtain the necessary equipment for his somatic concerns (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Storey et al., 2005), and (b) take him to numerous hospitals and physicians to ease his pain regarding his imagined physical conditions (Ramsland, 2012a; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). By doing this, Beatrice showed her son the affection and care that he longed for. However, as soon as this need was satisfied, Chase would 'destroy' his mother by abusing her and terrorising her with violence (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Montaldo, 2013).

In a less obvious way, Chase did the same with his father (see section 2.2.3.). At times Chase would please Richard senior and eagerly follow his advice and suggestions such as enrolling for college (Storey et al., 2005) and delivering perfectly acceptable home improvement projects (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). He would also long for his father when he needed to be bailed out of jail relentlessly and then promise to live up to his obligations for a while at least (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Chase willingly received his father's approval and faith only to destroy it again with subsequent arrests, drop-

outs and job refusals (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). Thus, because Chase both longed for, and wanted to destroy his parents it is possible that the dehumanisation of his victims was a symbolic representation of the destruction of his parents. In the following historical period more examples of dehumanisation as well as possible contributors thereto are provided.

9.3.4.4. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

As mentioned frequently, Chase had two serious relationships in his early high school years that ended due to his erectile dysfunction and consequent failed attempts at intercourse (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). It is possible that this also contributed to him dehumanising others. Vaknin (2003) suggested that the serial murderer is afraid that his victims will run on him or vanish as earlier objects had done. He furthered that, the serial murderer therefore dehumanises his victims in order to possess them like he would animals or other subhuman articles. Thus, the abandonment by Chase's girlfriends might have played an important role in this regard.

In his teenage years, Chase also displayed delinquent behaviour and committed various crimes (e.g., drunk driving, possession of drugs and theft) (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Storey et al., 2005). It was stated that he never showed any embarrassment or remorse concerning his crimes and that he was hopelessly selfish and inconsiderate most of the time (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Montaldo, 2013). Bandura and Zimbardo (2005) view dehumanisation as a process of moral disengagement in which people objectify and harm others in order to pursue their own attractions. Chase's selfishness and inconsideration of others (see section 2.2.2.) might thus be regarded as such a process.

Further indications of dehumanisation include the event at Chase's apartment in 1970 where he walked out of his room entirely naked, sat down and started an unintelligible conversation with female friends who were visiting his housemates (Davis, 2005) and the party in the same year when he leaned out a window to wave his gun at strangers on the street (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). These actions suggest that Chase completely ignored the human qualities of these people and Zimbardo (2009, p. 307) stated that "not responding to the human qualities of other persons automatically facilitates inhumane actions". Therefore,

dehumanisation was probably present in the above events. Dehumanisation is further explored in the context of Chase's earlier years, below.

9.3.4.5. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

In this subsection, the researcher once again refers to the emotional and physical abuse that existed in Chase's family environment (see section 2.2.1.). Chase was raised in a strict household and often beaten by his father (Nieto, 2012). Allegedly, he was also a victim of abuse at the hands of his mother (Castro, 2009). Beatrice was described as highly aggressive, hostile and provocative and she often accused her husband of infidelity, of poisoning her and of using drugs (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). Some authors believe that Chase's problems started with the marital strife of his parents (Bovsun, 2010; Green, 2011) and Richard senior himself once announced that the regular accusations and loud arguments had to have been overheard by his son (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

Biven (1997), Claus and Lidberg (1999) and Vaknin (2003) believed that dehumanisation is mostly caused by childhood difficulties or trauma such as abuse. Circumstances such as abuse and the consequential environment without proper nurturing tend to destroy the bond between the infant or child and his or her caregivers (Biven, 1997; Haggerty, 2009). This absence of a true bond prompts a desire in the child to annihilate all signs of being human in the caregivers (Biven, 1997; Claus & Lidberg, 1999). Because the child is unable to do this at a young age, the desire becomes life long and the individual attempts to fulfil it by dehumanising anyone and/or everyone he deems suitable. In a way, dehumanisation, similar to the other primitive psychic mechanisms, also becomes a re-enactment of the past (Biven, 1997).

It is probable that Chase's dehumanisation, as described in his other historical life periods, was driven by a hostile infantile desire caused by abusive and unfavourable parenting. Furthermore, it is likely that Chase's parents, especially his mother, often submerged into their own problematic marriage and left him neglected and uncertain of their attentive presence. Thus, it is also possible that he performed dehumanisation out of fear of abandonment like was done to him by his parents (Vaknin, 2003). Through dehumanisation, he prevented desertion and instead facilitated possession of subhuman items (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Vaknin, 2003).

In conclusion of this section, the researcher speculates that dehumanisation was present in Chase's functioning as serial murderer. The next section provides an exploration and discussion of the fifth primitive psychic mechanism, symbiotic merger, within the historical periods of Chase's life.

9.3.5. Symbiotic merger

Symbiotic merger refers to a delusive endeavour in which the serial murderer engages to achieve a fusion or symbiotic unity with his victim (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). Acts that indicate symbiotic merger in serial murderers' functioning include the ingestion of blood, organs and/or other parts of their victims as well as sexual intrusions such as intercourse and sodomy (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Grubin, 1994). The term stems from a phase in infantile development, *symbiosis*, during which the infant behaves and functions as though he and his mother were a dual unity separated from the external environment by a delusional common boundary (Mahler 1952; Mahler & Gosliner, 1955). The dual mother-infant unit constructs the primal basis from which all subsequent human relationships develop and symbiosis is essential for the origination of a sense of self (identity), establishment of true object relationships, recognition of an outer reality and attainment of object constancy (Mahler et al., 1975; Mahler & McDevitt, 1968).

According to Spitz (1965), vestiges of this phase remain with the individual throughout the entire life cycle and disruption thereof bears binding adversarial consequences such as serial murderers' strive for symbiotic merger. The often intrusive behaviour of the serial murderer is reflected by intercourse or organ ingestion that has the symbolic purpose of "getting under the victim's skin" (Claus & Lidberg, 1999, p. 430). By doing this, a symbiotic fusion is created and the serial murderer finally attains long sought after object constancy (Vaknin, 2003). In the following five historical periods, the researcher explores and discusses this primitive psychic mechanism. The discussion is presented in a reversed historical sequence.

9.3.5.1. Murders, trial and death (1977 – 1980)

Symbiotic merger is indicated in Chase's functioning as serial murderer by the ingestion of some of his victims' blood and intestines as well as the sodomy of one of his victims (see section 2.2.5.). Claus and Lidberg (1999) stated that "to incorporate a victim by eating her is indeed a physical merger; when the murderer has her in his body, she can never leave him" (p.431). According to them and many other theorists (Bollas, 1987; 1995; Fox & Levin, 1994; Geberth & Turco, 1997; Hale, 1993; Stein, 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2011), the central point in the process of symbiotic merger is the sense of loss stemming from early infancy. This can be explained as follows.

> When the serial killer feels attraction for a woman, his reaction is tainted by his inadequacy ('I can never have her'). This triggers a flashback to the painful void in the innermost core of his affections ('I never had anybody') and excites a violent adherence to the absent care-taker ('I will never let her go'). The completed homicide brings temporary relief ('Now she is mine forever'). (Claus & Lidberg, 1999, p. 431)

The nature of Chase's early years and the effects it might have had on his symbiotic process are discussed in his first historical period (see section 9.3.5.5.). Additionally, a few factors in this historical period point to a possible disruption of his infantile symbiosis. Firstly, Chase believed that he was reincarnated as one of the bank robbers associated with Jesse James (Blanco, 2013). This suggests that Chase had difficulty in distinguishing between self and other and that his sense of self or identity was distorted. According to Mahler (1952) a process of separation-individuation allows the individual a gradual increase in awareness of the separateness of self and other which paves the way for the origination of a sense of self. Furthermore, the phase of symbiosis is essential for successful navigation through the process of separation-individuation (Mahler & McDevitt, 1968). Thus, Chase's inability to distinguish between himself and Jesse James's bank robber and conjoint lack of identity (see section 2.2.5.) might have been contributed to by a flawed symbiotic process.

Secondly, Chase thought that a Nazi syndicate from high school was after him with a soap dish – a weapon that would turn his blood to powder (Bovsun, 2010; Douglas & Olshaker, 1995). This is an indication of hostility and paranoia and possibly even an inability to acknowledge and appreciate others, outside of the self, as potential nurturance givers.

Because symbiosis constitutes a central part in the evaluation of objects (other human beings) (Mahler & McDevitt, 1968), a loss of proper symbiotic contact might anticipate an inability to consider others as caring or nurturing (Mahler & Furer, 1968; Stein, 2009). Thus, Chase's negative evaluation of others as dangerous might have been partially caused by improper symbiosis. This is further discussed in the ensuing subsections.

9.3.5.2. Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 – 1976)

In this particular historical period (see section 2.2.4.), Chase's evaluation of others as it relates to symbiotic merger and possibly a disrupted symbiotic process in his early years, is further highlighted. Throughout 1975 and 1976, Chase frequently accused his mother of poisoning him and of controlling his mind (Blanco, 2013; Castro, 2009). He refused to eat the meals she prepared, cooked for himself and even refused to drink from an open milk carton (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Sophia, 2010). Moreover, after Chase was admitted to the emergency unit at Sacramento Community Clinic for septicaemia in April, 1976, he insisted on being moved because he was afraid that he would contract a disease from other patients in the ward (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). It was also during this time that Chase was diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia (Sallamy, 2011).

The events mentioned above exemplify Chase's negative evaluation of not only his mother, but also people in general. He strongly believed that others were dangerous and not to be trusted (see section 2.2.4.). According to Mahler and McDevitt (1968) the symbiotic mother-infant unit provides an important framework from which the individual forms perceptions of objects outside the self which ultimately direct his or her object evaluation. Thus, favourable and proper symbiosis is necessary for the infant to turn into an individual who perceives and evaluates others in a constructive light (Mahler et al., 1975; Meltzer, 1992). On the contrary, an infant without proper symbiotic contact would become the individual who suffers an inability to recognise and appreciate others as respectable and trustworthy human beings (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). Therefore, the possibility exists that Chase was subject to improper or unfavourable symbiosis in his early years which shaped his paranoid perceptions and evaluations. Support for this speculation is strengthened in the next subsection.

9.3.5.3. The delusional nomad (1971 – 1974)

This historical period provides supplementary emphasis on the extent of Chase's paranoia and harmful perception of others which might promote the importance of symbiosis and support Spitz's (1965) notion that remnants thereof can be critical and remain with the individual throughout life. In 1972, when Chase was 22 years old, he was arrested for drunk driving (Storey et al., 2005). After his father bailed him out, Chase told his parents that he had been gassed in prison (Biondi & Hecox, 1992). Also of significance in this historical period, are Chase's continuous somatic concerns that would not subside, but instead escalate (Lucas, 2012; Morgan, 2008; Sallamy, 2011). Somatic concerns such as the belief that his pulmonary artery had been stolen (Morgan, 2008; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) further exemplify Chase's paranoia and negative evaluation of others as dangerous and untrustworthy and of the world as an unsafe place. Furthermore, he became so preoccupied with his failing bodily functions and hostility towards others that he completely isolated himself in a world of paranoia (see section 2.2.3.).

If symbiosis influences our perceptions and evaluations of others (Mahler & McDevitt, 1968) and forms the basis of our relationships (Mahler et al., 1975), the above would serve as a clear indication that Chase's symbiotic process was disturbed. It would also illustrate the severity of the consequences that could result from disturbed symbiosis. Whether Chase's portrayal as an "angry, hostile and peculiar person" (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992, p. 12) was due or at least partly due to a disturbed symbiotic process, is further explored below.

9.3.5.4. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

According to Mahler and McDevitt (1968) symbiosis constitutes a central part in the attainment of object constancy. Object constancy, similar to object permanence (Piaget, 1975), refers to the ability to realise that important objects such as parents are separate individuals with separate identities who, in spite of this, remain permanent even when they are not in the physical presence of the individual (Louw & Edwards, 2008; Mahler et al., 1975). A disturbed symbiotic process would thus negatively influence the attainment of object constancy and leave the individual with a disturbed view that objects are not permanent and will inevitably disappear or run out on them (Mahler et al., 1975; Vaknin,

2003). If Chase's symbiotic process were disturbed, his resultant lack of true object constancy might have been further verified by the following two events in this historical period. First, in the middle of Chase's ninth grade at Mira Loma High School, his parents separated (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) and second, during this time, his two special relationships with girls ended (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992; Wilson, 2011). These events depict the departure of important objects and may have confirmed Chase's possibly already disturbed views regarding object constancy. Thus, his possible lack of object constancy in his early years (see sections 2.2.1 & 9.3.5.5.) together with adverse events such as these would enforce a strong desire to obtain symbiotic merger and thereby, long sought after object constancy (Claus & Lidberg, 1999; Vaknin, 2003).

As mentioned previously, symbiosis also constructs the primal basis from which all subsequent human relationships develop and a loss of proper symbiotic contact in infancy therefore anticipates the absence of satisfactory future relationships (Mahler & Furer, 1968; Mahler et al., 1975). The absence of satisfactory relationships is indicated in this historical period of Chase's life (see section 2.2.2.). According to Davis (2005), Chase's social encounters were characterised by unintelligible conversations, hostility and paranoia. Chase's behaviour such as frequently blaming others for his misfortune (Montaldo, 2013), waving a gun at strangers (Biondi & Hecox, 1992), and nailing his closet door shut because he believed he was being sneaked upon (Ramsland, 2012a) are examples of this. Furthermore, Chase started to withdraw increasingly from his surroundings and visits from acquaintances and friends became virtually non-existent (Montaldo, 2013). Chase's early years in relation to symbiosis and symbiotic merger are explored and discussed in the next section.

9.3.5.5. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

Symbiosis denotes the phase in the mother-infant relationship, whereby basic security is formed as an inner shell against a potentially threatening environment (Mahler & Furer, 1968). This step in psychic development is essential to gain the sense of a possible nurturing other outside of the self (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). Proper symbiosis requires the mother's nursing care which should incorporate affective, perceptual, and physical investment in the infant (Spitz, 1965). Abandonment, neglect, rejection and trauma in any of the

aforementioned domains could disrupt the symbiotic process and have adverse effects on future functioning (Mahler et al., 1975).

It is probable that Chase's symbiotic process was disrupted by emotional and physical abuse (Castro, 2009). Furthermore, his mother had the reputation of a highly aggressive, hostile, provocative and mentally unstable woman (Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). The likelihood that she invested sufficient attention, care and nurture in Chase is small (see section 2.2.1.). Additionally, even if symbiosis did occur it was probably improper and unfavourable at best, because Beatrice's own evaluations of the environment and other objects were clouded by hostility and suspicion. This can be explained by Mahler and Furer's (1968) statement that symbiosis also leads to the infant forming an internal representation of the mother that results in an image that guides all future object evaluation and relationship formation. Thus, it is possible that Chase was not only subject to abusive abandonment and neglect, but that his earliest evaluations and perceptions of others and the world were predetermined and shaped by his mother's antagonistic and hostile attitude.

According to Meltzer (1992), individuals who fear abandonment due to early neglect or rejection, develop the precondition of object merger for any further object relations. Therefore, the researcher speculates that Chase's infantile symbiotic process was disrupted and that he performed symbiotic merger by ingesting his victims' blood and intestines in order to create a symbiotic fusion by which his victims could never leave him.

9.4. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the Schahriar syndrome of Chase as serial murderer was discussed. Firstly, the researcher provided a conceptual outline for the presentation of the findings. After this, each of the five primitive psychic mechanisms included in the Schahriar syndrome model of Claus and Lidberg (1999) were applied to the five historical periods in Chase's life in a reversed chronological order. Chapter 10 provides an integrative discussion of the findings in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9.

Chapter 10

Integration of Findings and Discussion

10.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter entails an integrative discussion of Chase's psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome. Firstly, a conceptual outline for the presentation of the discussion is provided, followed by short conclusive summaries of Chase's psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome. Hereafter, similarities and differences between Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model are discussed. Next, the findings as related to Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory are compared to the findings as related to Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model in all of Chase's historical life periods. Finally, a summary of the major similarities and differences between the findings is provided.

10.2. Conceptual Outline for the Presentation of Findings

The presentation and discussion of Chase's psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome in this chapter are aimed at the integration of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model as applied to Chase's life in the two preceding chapters. First, conclusive summaries of Chase's psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome are provided. This is followed by a discussion of the similarities and differences between the theory and the model in order to introduce their integrative application to Chase's life. Lastly, the findings of the theory and the model as applied to Chase's historical development and functioning are compared as an attempt to evaluate how the theory and the model complement or contradict each other within this specific study.

10.3. Conclusive Summaries

10.3.1. Chase's psychosocial personality development

Chase's psychosocial personality development from his birth in 1950 to his death in 1980 was comprehensively explored and discussed in light of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) psychosocial personality development theory in Chapter 8. Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) identified eight psychosocial crises or stages across the lifespan that the individual needs to resolve successfully in order for adequate personality development to occur. Chase underwent six of the eight developmental stages (i.e., he faced six of the crises), because he died at the age of 30. The findings suggested that Chase's navigation through the six developmental stages were mostly unsuccessful. Additionally, the findings supported Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) epigenetic principle that states that the individual's success or failure in a particular stage greatly determines his or her progress in all the subsequent stages.

According to the findings, it was speculated that Chase did not resolve the first stage of basic trust versus basic mistrust successfully, which left him with an acquired sense of mistrust in himself, others and the world. This sense of mistrust incessantly presented itself throughout Chase's life and was recognised in his behaviour and interpersonal relationships. Chase's alcohol and drug abuse, suspicion of others, paranoid schizophrenia and self-doubt were regarded as consequences of his sense of mistrust. Despite this unsuccessful resolution, however, Chase seemed to have acquired the ego strength of hope. The findings indicated that Chase acquired a detrimental sense of autonomy and control as well as a devitalising sense of shame and doubt in stage two. He also failed to acquire the corresponding ego strength of will. Chase's lack of self-confidence, bedwetting, erectile dysfunction, delinquency, poor hygiene, persecutory delusions, and rebellion were most likely related to the outcome of the second stage.

The findings suggested that the result of the third stage of psychosocial personality development was (a) an acquired sense of initiative to do wrong without any guilt and (b) an acquired sense of guilt. Chase's sense of initiative to do wrong without any guilt was demonstrated by his delinquent and repugnant behaviour, while his sense of guilt was mostly

evident in his preoccupation with bodily functions and somatic delusions. Additionally, the findings suggested that Chase did acquire the ego strength of purpose and that he attempted to fulfil it in a socially undesirable manner. The findings further indicated that Chase did not resolve the fourth stage successfully and acquired a sense of inferiority with a corresponding lack of the ego strength, competence. Aspects such as a lack of ambition, irresponsibility, and a drive for money, power and prestige were linked to his sense of inferiority and incompetence.

According to the findings, Chase did not resolve stage five successfully and remained confused about himself until his death. An extended moratorium (i.e., period of persisted experimentation) and prolonged dependence on his parents were associated with Chase's lack of identity. Furthermore, Chase seemed not to have acquired the ego strength of fidelity. With all the prior unresolved crises, Chase was at a disadvantage when he had to take on stage six, intimacy versus isolation. The findings also indicated that, although Chase attempted to achieve intimacy, his prior unresolved crises recurrently surfaced and he failed to navigate the sixth stage successfully which resulted in an acquired sense of isolation and a lack of the ego strength, love. A conclusive summary of the Schahriar syndrome of Chase is provided in the next section.

10.3.2. The Schahriar syndrome of Chase

The Schahriar syndrome of Chase was comprehensively explored and discussed in Chapter 9. Claus and Lidberg (1999) proposed the Schahriar syndrome model for the systematic understanding of serial murder. They identified five personality traits or behaviour patterns thought to be present in the functioning of serial murderers. They termed it the five primitive psychic mechanisms, namely omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation and symbiotic merger. Furthermore, the model describes the primitive psychic mechanisms and incorporates other perspectives and theories for aetiological explanations of the mechanisms' presentation and manifestation. All five primitive psychic mechanisms were explored and discussed within Chase's functioning in all of his historical life periods. According to the findings all five primitive psychic mechanisms were present in Chase's functioning as serial murderer.

The findings indicated that the first primitive psychic mechanism of **omnipotence** was present is Chase's functioning as serial murderer. Furthermore, omnipotence was also related to his behaviour throughout life. In his early years, Chase was reduced to a powerless victim deprived of control. Instability and an erectile dysfunction during his teenage years accumulated to this early loss of control and reinforced a need to strive for omnipotence. This resulted in controlling and dominating behaviour that was interpreted as attempts to regain lost power and, therefore, suggested a sense of omnipotence.

According to the findings, the second primitive psychic mechanism, **sadistic fantasies**, was also present in Chase's functioning as serial murderer. Additionally, the findings indicated its presentation and manifestation throughout Chase's life. It was speculated that Chase was deprived of care, love and trust in humankind not only during his early years, but also throughout his life and that this deprivation caused agony and pain from which he wished to escape. Along with this wish to escape, Chase experienced primitive aggressive drives in response to abuse. The wish to escape together with the primitive aggression called for the creation of sadistic fantasies that allowed Chase to (a) escape from agony and pain into a fantasy world and (b) experience a cathartic release of primitive aggression.

The findings suggested the presence of **ritualised performance** in Chase's functioning as serial murderer. The rituals that Chase performed included brutal mutilation and consumption of blood and intestines. Furthermore, it was speculated that Chase performed the rituals during his murders, possibly for one or more of the following reasons. The rituals might have recreated early conflicts with meaningful objects in a reversed manner or Chase might have sought revenge for the alleged harm that was done to him throughout life. Additionally, the rituals could have allowed Chase to achieve affective arousal and experience catharsis, or to ease his paranoid thoughts.

According to the findings, the fourth primitive psychic mechanism, **dehumanisation**, was present in Chase's functioning as serial murderer and related to his functioning throughout life. Certain aspects, namely brutality, inhumanity and a lack of guilt were identified in the nature of Chase's murders and suggested the presence of dehumanisation. The findings indicated that Chase probably viewed his victims as unadorned objects from which he could gain some blood. Dehumanisation was also illustrated throughout his life by

delinquent behaviour and inhumane actions. Additionally, it was speculated that abusive parenting and harmful life experiences instigated a hostile desire within Chase to obliterate all signs of being human and contributed to a fear of abandonment which in turn, became the driving forces behind Chase's dehumanisation. Through dehumanisation, Chase was able to (a) satisfy his desire to destroy others and (b) possess others as if they were subhuman objects which facilitated the prevention of abandonment and desertion.

The findings indicated that the last primitive psychic mechanism, **symbiotic merger**, was present in Chase's functioning as serial murderer. Symbiotic merger was indicated by the ingestion of victims' blood and intestines as well as the sodomy of one of the victims. It was speculated that a possible reason for Chase's performance of symbiotic merger was an infantile symbiotic process disrupted by abusive abandonment and neglect. As a consequence, Chase developed a negative view of others and evaluated people as hostile objects that would indefinitely abandon him. This fear of abandonment resulted in the precondition of object merger and, therefore, Chase ingested his victims' blood and intestines and sodomised one victim in order to create a symbiotic fusion by which they could never leave him. An integrative discussion of the findings pertaining to Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model is presented in the next section.

10.4. Integration of Findings

10.4.1. Similarities and differences between the theory and the model

Various similarities and differences exist between Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model. These had a vital influence on the manner in which Chase's development and functioning were approached, explored and discussed. A comparison of the theory and the model is provided below.

10.4.1.1. Interrelated nature

Both Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model are representative of the characteristic of interrelatedness. They mutually recognise that early infantile and/or childhood failures and losses can contribute to future difficulties in development and functioning and that these future difficulties often accumulate to and

reinforce earlier failures and losses. Interrelatedness is also demonstrated within Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory, firstly by the epigenetic principle that describes the sequential unfolding of the different stages, and secondly by the notion that any of the psychosocial crises can potentially arise at any point in life (Capps, 2004; Coles, 2001). Furthermore, with regards to the Schahriar syndrome model, Claus and Lidberg (1999) indicated an assumed relationship between the five primitive psychic mechanisms of omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation and symbiotic merger.

10.4.1.2. Psychodynamic focus

Although both Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model leave room for the influence of biological and social factors on human development and functioning, their main concern lies with the inner dynamics of the personality and psyche. Erikson (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) concerned himself also with the inner dynamics of the personality and proposed that the personality evolves through systematic stages of development. Similarly, Claus and Lidberg (1999) were concerned with the inner dynamics of the psyche and proposed a model that described the functioning of serial murderers according to the core aspects in their psyche which they termed primitive psychic mechanisms. Thus, the theory and the model share a psychodynamic focus on development and functioning.

10.4.1.3. Aetiology over the lifespan

Another similarity between the psychosocial personality development theory and the Schahriar syndrome model involves the stance taken towards the aetiology of human behaviour, development and functioning over the lifespan. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory provides aetiological explanations for why the individual will reach a certain outcome of a certain stage (e.g., infants who are neglected cannot rely on their primary caretakers and will likely acquire a sense of mistrust). Aetiological explanations are provided for each of the eight psychosocial stages. Furthermore, the stages cover the entire lifespan and, therefore, the theory is a lifespan developmental theory that attempts to describe and explain development over the entire lifespan (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1968, 1977; Newman & Newman, 2006). In contrast, Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model does not primarily provide

its own aetiological explanations for the presentation and manifestation of the primitive psychic mechanisms, neither is it characterised as a lifespan model per se. However, the model relies on various other perspectives regarding the aetiology of the five primitive psychic mechanisms and most of these perspectives occupy a lifespan approach (Fox & Levin, 1994, 2012; Geberth & Turco, 1997; Gresswell, 1991). Therefore, both the theory and the model can be considered as lifespan approaches in their attempts to explore and describe development and functioning.

10.4.1.4. Explanatory theory versus descriptive model

The main difference between the frameworks is that one is a theory and the other a model. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory can be considered a proposition to explain normal human development, but it cannot be verified to be true in all cases. As a theory, it seeks to explain the 'what and why' of normal human development (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model can be considered a simplified description of the functioning of serial murderers. As a model, it seeks to explain 'how' the psyche of a serial murderer works and not 'why' it works in a particular way (Bartels & Parsons, 2009). Therefore, as mentioned in the previous section, Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory includes aetiological explanations, whereas Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model relies to an extent on the aetiological explanations of other theories.

10.4.1.5. Aim, content and structure

The theory and the model also differ from each other in the following ways. Firstly, the aim of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory is to explain the normal development of the individual throughout the lifespan, whereas Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model seeks to describe the pathological functioning of the serial murderer, specifically. Secondly, Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory consists of eight psychosocial stages through which the individual progresses in a sequential manner with regards to age (Capps, 2004). In contrast, the Schahriar syndrome model consists of five elements thought to be present in the functioning of serial murderers (Claus & Lidberg, 1999). Together, the five elements form a syndrome and they need not be present in any specific order (Levin & Fox, 2007). Thus, the theory and the model are distinct in terms of aim, content and structure. The findings based

on Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and the findings based on Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model are compared in the next section.

10.4.2. Theoretical similarities and differences in Chase's psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome

This section is based on the presentation of findings related to Chase's psychosocial personality development according to Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and his functioning as serial murderer (i.e., the Schahriar syndrome) according to Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model in Chapters 8 and 9, respectively. Each historical period in Chase's lifespan is discussed. First, a table of the findings related to the theory and the model is provided. This is followed by a discussion of the similarities and differences noted in the respective periods pertaining to the life of Chase.

10.4.2.1. Vampire in the making (1950 – 1962)

10.4.2.1.1. Psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome findings

The first historical period in Chase's lifespan ranges from birth until the age of 12 years (see Conceptual Matrix, Chapter 7). Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory holds that Chase faced four psychosocial developmental stages during this historical period. The Schahriar syndrome model posits that each of the five primitive psychic mechanisms already started to present and manifest in this earliest period.

Table 10.1.

Psychosocial Personality Development and the Schahriar Syndrome Findings in the First Historical Period

Psychosocial personality development	**Schahriar syndrome**
Stage one: Basic trust versus basic mistrust • The antagonistic nature of Chase's early childhood environment seemed to have disrupted his navigation	Omnipotence • Abusive and critical parenting seemed to have led to Chase being abandoned and neglected.

through the first stage. • Chase failed to resolve the stage successfully and acquired a sense of mistrust in himself, others and the world. • Despite this Chase seemed to have acquired the ego strength of hope. Stage two: Autonomy versus shame/doubt • Critical and strict parenting seemed to have hindered Chase's development in this stage. • This left him with a detrimental sense of autonomy and control on the one hand and a devitalising sense of shame and doubt on the other. • Excessive shaming contributed to Chase's delinquent and sadistic behaviour such as fire setting and zoo sadism that began when he was 10 years old. • Chase did not acquire the ego strength of will. Stage three: Initiative versus guilt • Chase's initiated *good* acts were criticised by his parents, which bolstered a certain degree of guilt. • Chase's initiated *bad* acts remained uncriticised by his parents, which reinforced his initiative to execute such acts without any guilt. • For Chase, the outcome of the third	• Chase became a powerless victim deprived of control and omnipotence. • This gave rise to his lifelong strive to obtain outright control and omnipotence. Sadistic fantasies • The abuse in Chase's early years deprived him of care, love and trust in humankind. • In response to the abuse, Chase developed aggressive drives (i.e., primitive aggression). • Additionally, the abuse caused agony and pain from which Chase developed a desire to escape. • His desire to escape was most probably fulfilled through the creation of fantasies. • At the age of 10, Chase began to operate sadistically, thereby satisfying his primitive aggressive drives. Ritualised performance • Chase had been a victim of emotional and physical abuse by both his parents. • The early conflicts that he experienced with his parents might have served as precursors to his ritualised performance later in life. • It is possible that the rituals Chase performed later in his life were a

stage encompassed (a) an acquired sense of initiative to do wrong without any guilt, and (b) an underlying sense of guilt fostered by stern and critical parenting in his early years. • Chase seemed to have acquired the ego strength of purpose which accompanied his sense of initiative to do wrong without any guilt. Stage four: Industry versus inferiority • An unfavourable family and home environment together with Chase's preceding failures overruled his promising academic and social contexts. • Chase resolved the fourth stage unsuccessfully and was left with an acquired sense of inferiority and a lack of the ego strength, competence.	recreation of the early conflicts in this historical period in a reversed manner – with him being the abuser instead of the victim. Dehumanisation • The abusive and unfavourable circumstances in Chase's early environment possibly destroyed the bond between him and his caregivers. • This absence of a true bond might have prompted a desire in Chase to annihilate all signs of being human in his caregivers. • Chase's dehumanisation later in life might have been driven by this hostile infantile desire and by a fear of abandonment. Symbiotic merger • It is probable that Chase's symbiotic process was disrupted by emotional and physical abuse. • This resulted in Chase evaluating others as dangerous, hostile and negative. • It also challenged his future relationship formation in a negative manner. • Furthermore, his fear of abandonment that was fostered in this historical period due to the early abuse, neglect and rejection might have caused

	Chase to develop a precondition of object merger for any further object relations.

10.4.2.1.2. Similarities and differences in the first historical period

Both Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model emphasised the importance of the early childhood environment and its effects on Chase's future development and functioning. Furthermore, both the theory and the model recognised that the antagonistic nature of Chase's early environment produced negative outcomes that could potentially remain with him throughout life. Additional similarities are indicated in the way that certain stages of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory coincide with and complement certain primitive psychic mechanisms of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model and *vice versa*. This is further explained in the next paragraph.

The first stage of the psychosocial personality development theory, basic trust versus basic mistrust, coincides with the primitive psychic mechanism of symbiotic merger. Although their terminologies differ, they share a similar focus on Chase's interpersonal relationships and view of others and the world. Chase's mistrust and disrupted symbiotic process led to his hostility, paranoia, negative evaluation of others and consequential absence of satisfactory relationships. The second stage, autonomy versus shame and doubt, and the primitive psychic mechanism of omnipotence are similar in that both of them deal with a sense of control. The findings indicated that critical and strict parenting deprived Chase of control which, in turn, gave rise to his detrimental sense of autonomy and lifelong strive for control or omnipotence.

Differences between the findings of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and that of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model include the following. Firstly, the delinquency and sadism that were evident in Chase's functioning at the age of 10 years were interpreted by Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory as the result of (a) an acquired sense of shame and doubt, and (b) an acquired sense of initiative to do wrong without any guilt. In light of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model, however, this behaviour was viewed as enactments of predefined sadistic fantasies. Secondly, while Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory incorporated the influence of Chase's academic and broader social contexts on his

development in stage four, Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model predominantly remained focused on the influence that Chase's immediate family environment had on his functioning. Lastly, although the theory and the model recognised the antagonistic nature of Chase's early environment, and agreed that the consequences thereof were adverse, the specific particulars of the outcomes differed. Chase's psychosocial personality development entailed the acquisition of mistrust, limitless autonomy, shame, doubt, detrimental initiative, guilt, and inferiority. In contrast, Chase did not leave this historical period with the diagnosis of the Schahriar syndrome, but instead with precursors that could possibly result in the Schahriar syndrome later in life. These precursors included powerlessness, agony and pain, primitive aggression, a hostile infantile desire to destroy, and a fear of abandonment. The findings related to the second historical period are compared and discussed in the next section.

10.4.2.2. The teenage drug user (1963 – 1970)

10.4.2.2.1. Psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome findings

The second historical period in Chase's lifespan ranges from the age of 13 years until the age of 20 years (see Conceptual Matrix, Chapter 7). Chase underwent Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980) fifth stage of psychosocial personality development and entered the sixth stage as well. All five primitive psychic mechanisms of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model were of note in this historical period, either through its presentation and manifestation or through important contributing factors.

Table 10.2.

Psychosocial Personality Development and the Schahriar Syndrome Findings in the Second Historical Period

Psychosocial personality development	**Schahriar Syndrome**
Stage five: Identity versus role confusion • Chase's failure of the preceding four stages put him at a disadvantage when he had to face the crisis of stage five. • Experimentation with alcohol, drugs	Omnipotence • Chase's erectile dysfunction might have accumulated to the loss of control he experienced in his earlier childhood and reinforced a need to

and sex became common practice for Chase. • His experimentation persisted, which resulted in an extended moratorium (i.e., period of persisted experimentation). • Throughout his teenage and early adult years, Chase searched for his place in the world. • Eventually, he withdrew from his surroundings and his lack of participation in society made it nearly impossible for Chase to internalise its cultural norms. • His search for an identity became life-long and resulted in prolonged dependence on his parents. • Without an established identity Chase probably could not have acquired the ego strength of fidelity. Stage six: Intimacy versus isolation • With an erectile dysfunction, Chase's psychosocial development in this stage was vulnerable. • Prior unsuccessfully resolved crises started to hinder Chase's development in the early phases of stage six and steered him into the direction of isolation rather than intimacy.	strive for ultimate control and power. • His parents' separation resulted in a great amount of instability and relocations over which Chase had no control. • The lack of control during this historical period together with the deprivation thereof in his early years, possibly resulted in a strong desire for omnipotence. Sadistic fantasies • His erectile dysfunction caused agony and pain from which Chase tried to escape, partly by consuming substances (i.e., alcohol and drug abuse). • Chase possibly also created fantasies in which he was a *sexual master* with complete control over his penis. • Chase displayed hostility towards people in general. • This hostility was probably shaped by maltreatment during Chase's early years and might have been a strong contributor to his sadistic fantasies and resultant sadism. Ritualised performance • Chase was subject to many negative experiences and adverse social interactions during this historical period (e.g., drug abuse for which he was arrested and sentenced to do

	community clean-up work). • He probably interpreted these events as harmful, which facilitated a desire to seek revenge. • It is possible that the rituals he performed later in life, were forms of revenge. Dehumanisation • The abandonment by Chase's girlfriends furthered his already established fear of abandonment. • This fear probably contributed to his dehumanisation of others. • Chase displayed dehumanisation in this historical period through his selfishness and inconsideration of others. Symbiotic merger • The possible lack of object constancy in Chase's early years together with adverse events in this historical period (i.e., abandonment by girlfriends and separation of parents), probably enforced a strong desire to obtain symbiotic merger and thereby, long sought after object constancy. • An absence of satisfactory relation-ships and withdrawal is taken as an indication of a possibly disturbed symbiotic process in Chase's early years.

10.4.2.2.2. Similarities and differences in the second historical period

A similarity between Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model is that both acknowledged that early failures and losses can contribute to current difficulties and that current difficulties, in turn, can add to previous failures and losses. Furthermore, both the theory and the model recognised the instability and uncertainty (e.g., Chase's erectile dysfunction and his parents' separation) that Chase was faced with in this historical period. Another similarity deals with the interpretation of Chase's erectile dysfunction as an inability to exert control over his penis. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory viewed the erectile dysfunction as a fixation at the second stage, autonomy versus shame and doubt. In a similar manner, Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model interpreted it as an extension or prolongation of a loss of control in Chase's earlier childhood. Thus, both agreed that Chase's erectile dysfunction represented a loss of control which stemmed from his early years and both were of the opinion that it might accumulate to this early loss and reinforce a need to exert ultimate control.

Additionally, both the theory and the model indicated (a) the agony and pain Chase experienced regarding his erectile dysfunction, (b) an absence of satisfactory relationships and withdrawal, (c) drug abuse, and (d) a lack of identity. However, the theory and the model differed in the ways that they explored and described Chase's development and functioning in relation to these core aspects. With regard to Chase's erectile dysfunction, Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory indicated that it would hinder his development in stage six and steer him more into the direction of isolation than intimacy. Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model indicated that the erectile dysfunction and consequential agony and pain would call for an escape facilitated by the creation of fantasy and thus contribute to the manifestation of the primitive psychic mechanism, sadistic fantasies. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory explained the absence of satisfactory relationships and withdrawal as consequences of Chase's acquired mistrust, while Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model interpreted it as the result of disrupted infantile symbiosis. Chase's experimentation with drugs was understood in light of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory, firstly as part of the normal experimentation common of the fifth stage and secondly, when it turned into severe abuse, as an attempt at self-nurturance and satisfaction. In contrast, Claus and

Lidberg's (1999) model considered Chase's drug abuse and its consequences as indications that sadistic fantasies and ritualised performance might manifest. Moreover, while both the theory and the model recognised that Chase lacked an established identity, Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980) theory viewed it as the unsuccessful resolution of stage five, whereas Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model regarded it as a consequence of flawed symbiosis that disrupted Chase's process of separation-individuation. Similarities and differences between Chase's psychosocial personality development and Schahriar syndrome in the third historical period are discussed in the following section.

10.4.2.3. The delusional nomad (1971 – 1974)

10.4.2.3.1. Psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome findings

The third historical period in Chase's lifespan ranges from the age of 21 to 24 years (see Conceptual Matrix, Chapter 7). During this time Chase was still facing the sixth stage of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial development. The presentation and manifestation of each of the five primitive psychic mechanisms of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model were also applicable to this life period.

Table 10.3.

Psychosocial Personality Development and the Schahriar Syndrome Findings in the Third Historical Period

Psychosocial Personality Development	**Schahriar Syndrome**
Stage six: Intimacy versus isolation • Prior unresolved crises continued to surface during this historical period and interfered with Chase's development in the sixth stage. • His parents' divorce challenged his already disturbed view of relation-ships and, therefore, intimacy and love even further.	Omnipotence • Chase displayed a strong need to be in control and to feel superior. • He often coerced his authority and power, especially towards his mother and sister. • Chase rejected societal expectations and norms and displayed self-produced beliefs of superiority,

• Chase made attempts at intimacy, but failed. • Due to the reoccurrence of prior unresolved crises, Chase was subject to alienation.	grandiosity and narcissism. Sadistic fantasies • Chase's unexplained somatic concerns and physical disabilities possibly were an embodied expression of his agony and pain. • The behaviour that Chase displayed in this historical period might have been interpreted as projection of primitive aggression onto others. Ritualised performance • An absence of true committed relationships and feelings were indicated in this life period. • This was taken as an important contributor to his ritualised performance later in life. Dehumanisation • Chase started to display that he was caught between a longing for and destruction of his caregivers. • This depicted the possibility that the dehumanisation of his victims later in life was a symbolic representation of the destruction of his parents. Symbiotic merger • Chase's paranoia and negative evaluation of others and the world as dangerous and untrustworthy as well

	as his consequential isolation were interpreted as an indication that his symbiotic process might have been disturbed.

10.4.2.3.2. Similarities and differences in the third historical period

Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model similarly identified some of the major aspects and events that related to Chase's development and functioning in this historical period namely: (a) dropping out of college and refusing to pursue a career, (b) fondling a woman at a social gathering, (c) endless somatic complaints, and (d) anger, hostility and paranoia. However, the theory and the model varied in its interpretations of these aspects and events as well as in its views regarding the implications of these aspects and events on Chase's development and functioning.

To begin with, Chase dropping out of college and refusing to pursue a career, were explained by Eriksonian theory as a resemblance of his previously acquired sense of inferiority. In Schahriar terms, this was seen as a refusal to oblige to others' wishes or demands and thus illustrated a need to be in control or omnipotent. The fondling of the woman at the social gathering was interpreted in light of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory as an attempt at intimacy and considered normal given the fact that Chase was in stage six. In contrast, Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model viewed it as an attempt to exercise ultimate control and to feel superior. Furthermore, Chase's psychosomatic complaints were thought to be resultant of an acquired sense of guilt, based on psychosocial theory, versus an embodied expression of agony and pain, based on the Schahriar model. To end with, Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory mostly viewed Chase's anger, hostility and paranoia as mistrust, while Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model mostly related it to a disrupted symbiotic process in his early years.

As mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, the theory and the model also had differing views regarding the implications of the identified major aspects and events on Chase's development and functioning. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory emphasised that the reoccurrence of prior unresolved crises as illustrated above, hindered

Chase's development in the sixth stage and made it almost impossible for him to acquire a sense of intimacy. The focus of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model was much broader in that it related the identified aspects and events to all relevant primitive psychic mechanisms including omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation and symbiotic merger. In the next section a comparison of the findings in the fourth historical period is discussed.

10.4.2.4. Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (1975 – 1976)

10.4.2.4.1. Psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome findings

This historical period ranges between the ages of 25 and 26 years (see Conceptual Matrix, Chapter 7). According to Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory, Chase was still in the sixth stage of psychosocial development. As was the case with the previous historical periods, all five primitive psychic mechanisms of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model featured in some way during this time period as well.

Table 10.4.

Psychosocial Personality Development and the Schahriar Syndrome Findings in the Fourth Historical Period

Psychosocial Personality Development	**Schahriar Syndrome**
Stage six: Intimacy versus isolation • Prior unresolved crises continued to resurface and hinder Chase's navigation through this stage. • Chase was estranged from the people around him and created an imaginary person to converse with. • This creation was interpreted as a possible last-ditch effort at intimacy. • Without an exceptionally favourable environment, Chase was deemed for	Omnipotence • Chase illustrated a level of dominance and control, especially over his mother. • This dominance and control possibly stemmed from a pronounced need to exert outright control. • In turn, Chase's need to exert outright control probably stemmed from severe inhibition by his strict parents in his early years.

isolation.	• Chase's animal murder and boldness regarding his actions were interpreted as a way for him to exert control and experience a sense of omnipotence. Sadistic fantasies • Chase displayed primitive aggression turned upon the self. • He also displayed primitive aggression towards his mother (i.e., his primary caretaker). • Chase's delusions and strange behaviour were considered an indication that he was involved in an active fantasy life. • Zoo sadism was also evident in this historical period and Chase's fervent preoccupation with blood and killing animals was taken as a strengthening factor to the possibility that his fantasies also entailed sadism. Ritualised performance • Chase's paranoia and consequential beliefs were seen as a partial and superficial explanation for his rituals. Dehumanisation • A physical examination indicated that Chase was well behaved with proper judgement and an intact memory. • As a regular or normal human being, Chase probably needed to apply the

	process of dehumanisation in order to perform his murders. • The process of de-animalisation was identified in this historical period which supported the likelihood that Chase also performed dehumanisation. Symbiotic merger • Chase's paranoid perceptions, evaluations and inability to recognise and appreciate others as respectable and trustworthy human beings suggested that he was subject to improper or unfavourable symbiosis in his early years.

10.4.2.4.2. Similarities and differences in the fourth historical period

In the fourth historical period, both Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model maintained a similar view that Chase's current problems might have been contributed to by previous difficulties and that his current problems would most likely accumulate to the previous difficulties and impact on his current development and functioning. Thus, both the theory and the model placed great emphasis on interrelatedness. An example from the findings of Chase's psychosocial personality development is his sense of mistrust. During this historical period Chase injected himself with a rabbit's blood (due to mistrust in his bodily functions, he believed that he needed the blood to replenish his own), and developed septicaemia (this strengthened his already established sense of mistrust in the world) which necessitated hospitalisation (where Chase scared other patients with his paranoid behaviour) and thus, interfered with his development in stage six (Chase could not achieve intimacy while pushing people away with mistrust and paranoia). Additionally, interrelatedness is demonstrated in the findings of the Schahriar syndrome of Chase as well.

One example is how the disrupted symbiotic process in Chase's early years (due to, among other aspects, abuse and neglect) contributed to his paranoia and evaluation of others as harmful objects which, in turn, contributed to a need for symbiotic merger as well as a need to perform rituals as a form of revenge.

A difference between the findings of Chase's psychosocial personality development and his Schahriar syndrome entails the varied interpretations of his delusions and strange behaviour. In this historical period, Chase created an unknown imaginary person to converse with. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory interpreted this as a last-ditch effort at intimacy, while Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model considered it an indication that Chase was involved in an active fantasy life. Furthermore, whereas Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory focused on aspects and events that would either support or hinder Chase's psychosocial development in terms of intimacy or isolation, Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model focused on aspects and events that would either contribute to or indicate the absence or presence of omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation, and symbiotic merger in Chase's functioning. Similarities and differences between the findings of Chase's psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome in the fifth historical period are discussed in the next section.

10.4.2.5. Murders, trial and death (1977 – 1980)

10.4.2.5.1. Psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome findings

The last historical period in Chase's lifespan ranges from the age of 27 years until his death at the age of 30 years (see Conceptual Matrix, Chapter 7). At this time, Chase was still in the sixth stage of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory of psychosocial development. It was also during this historical period that the five primitive psychic mechanisms of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model could be explored and discussed in his functioning as serial murderer.

Table 10.5.

Psychosocial Personality Development and the Schahriar Syndrome Findings in the Fifth Historical Period

Psychosocial Personality Development	**Schahriar Syndrome**
Stage six: Intimacy versus isolation • Prior unresolved crises continued to occur and reoccur during this stage in Chase's life. • These served as hindrances which, in the absence of an exceptionally favourable environment, made it almost impossible for Chase to acquire either a sense of intimacy or the ego strength of love. • It was speculated that Chase had an acquired sense of isolation at the time of his death. • In turn, the sense of isolation, probably also contributed to his suicide.	Omnipotence • Both Chase's murders and repugnant actions might have been interpreted as acts of extreme control and power. • Omnipotence was illustrated by (a) his belief that he was reincarnated as one of the bank robbers associated with Jesse James, (b) his keeping of an editorial about his first murder, (c) his confessional statement regarding his last four murders, and (d) his suicide. Sadistic fantasies • Chase's murders and methods of mutilation and overkill indicated sadism and severe aggression and anger. • Chase probably had a longstanding underlying anger or primitive aggression towards his mother that he redirected towards his victims in his murders. • The fascination that Chase had with the Hillside Strangler supported the possibility that he fantasised about sadistic acts. • His suicide suggested that Chase

	experienced agony and pain which would postulate a need to escape from reality, possibly by creating fantasies. Ritualised performance • The brutal mutilation that Chase performed on his victims and the consumption of their blood and intestines were regarded as ritualised performance. • It was speculated that the brutal mutilation allowed Chase to release primitive aggression. Dehumanisation • Dehumanisation was indicated in Chase's brutal murders. • Primitive aggression towards his mother was also illustrated. Symbiotic merger • Symbiotic merger was indicated in Chase's functioning as serial murderer by the ingestion of some of his victims' blood and intestines as well as the sodomy of one of his victims. • Chase's lack of identity and negative evaluation of others were possibly indicative of improper symbiosis in his early years.

10.4.2.5.2. Similarities and differences in the fifth historical period

The findings of Chase's psychosocial personality development and that of his Schahriar syndrome mutually complement each other. A degree of support rather than contradiction between the findings is indicated in this historical period. Chase's acquired sense of isolation, as was found in light of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory, would support the presence more than it would the absence of each of the five primitive psychic mechanisms of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model in Chase's functioning as serial murderer. Likewise, the presence of omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation and symbiotic merger in Chase's functioning as serial murderer, as was found in light of the Schahriar syndrome model, would support an acquired sense of isolation more than it would that of intimacy. In other words, Chase with his sense of isolation, might have been more prone to experience needs that could potentially have led to omnipotence, sadistic fantasies, ritualised performance, dehumanisation and symbiotic merger. Similarly, Chase as an omnipotent being with sadistic fantasies who performed rituals, dehumanised others and strived for symbiotic merger might have tended to drive people away and become isolated more than he tended to attract people and have his needs fulfilled through intimacy. Although no direct link or causality exists between Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model, it seemed, throughout the study, that the unsuccessful resolution of each of the crises of psychosocial personality development and not the successful resolution thereof, coincided, at least indirectly, with the five primitive psychic mechanisms of the Schahriar syndrome model.

A difference in this historical period entails the exploration of Chase's murders in the context of the theory versus the context of the model. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory focused on Chase's psychosocial personality development and the findings suggested that, except for imprisonment that contributed to isolation, the details of his murders were not significantly related to his development in the sixth stage. However, Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model included an in-depth exploration of Chase's murders in order to relate specific details of the murders to the presence of specific primitive psychic mechanisms. Thus, the murders that Chase committed were more extensively explored and discussed in the context of the Schahriar syndrome model than in the context of psychosocial theory. In addition to this varied focus, the theory and the model also differed in their interpretations of certain

identified aspects in this period of Chase's life. Whereas Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory mostly interpreted aspects and events as the reoccurrence of prior unresolved crises, Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model attempted to explain the same aspects and events in terms of the five primitive psychic mechanisms. An example of this is Chase's abusive behaviour towards his mother, Beatrice, which was explained as limitless autonomy in Eriksonian terms and viewed as omnipotence in Schahriar syndrome terms. A summary of the major similarities and differences between the findings of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model is presented in the next section.

10.4.3. Summary of findings

Both Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model emphasised the importance of the early childhood environment in the development and functioning of Chase. Furthermore, both the theory and the model agreed that Chase's social development and functioning, and thus, his interpersonal relationships and view of others and the world, were negative and unfavourable. Additionally, both had similar views regarding Chase's loss of control and the significant impact thereof on his development and functioning throughout life. The theory and the model also shared the similar principle of interrelatedness that acknowledged the contribution of early failures and losses to current problems and the accumulation of current problems to previous failures and losses. The major differences between Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model pertained to their focal points and interpretations. Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory focused on aspects and events that related to Chase's psychosocial personality development, whereas Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model focused on aspects and events that related to the presence of the five primitive psychic mechanisms in his functioning, particularly as serial murderer. Although the same aspects and events frequently were explored, the theory and the model often differed in their explanations and interpretations of these aspects and events.

10.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter yielded an integrative discussion of Chase's psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome. Firstly, a conceptual outline for the presentation of the findings was provided. Secondly, conclusive summaries regarding Chase's psychosocial personality development and the Schahriar syndrome were made. Thirdly,

Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model were compared. After this, the findings in relation to the theory and the model were discussed in terms of their similarities and differences over Chase's entire historical lifespan. Lastly, a summary of the major similarities and differences between the theory and the model as well as their findings within the view of Chase's development and functioning were provided. The conclusion, limitations and recommendations of the study are discussed in the final chapter.

Chapter 11

Conclusion, Limitations and Recommendations

11.1. Chapter Preview

In this final chapter, the study is concluded. This is followed by a discussion of the limitations of the study and accompanying recommendations for future research. After this, the value of the study is presented along with additional recommendations. In the last section, the researcher provides general reflective remarks about the study through the process of personal reflexivity.

11.2. Conclusion

This research project entailed a psychobiographical account of the life of serial murderer, Richard Trenton Chase (1950 – 1980). The primary objective of the study was to explore and describe the psychodynamic life of Chase. The focus was specifically on the exploration and description of (a) his psychosocial personality development through the use of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and (b) the primitive psychic mechanisms and their contributing factors prevalent in his functioning as serial murderer through the use of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. This objective necessitated a detailed biographical account of Chase's life to which the theory and the model could be applied.

The secondary objective of the study was to informally test the applicability and relevance of the content and aspects of psychosocial theory and the Schahriar syndrome model. This objective necessitated a comparison of the research findings with the propositions and conceptualisations contained in Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model. The exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic nature of the psychobiographical study facilitated the attainment of the two objectives (see section 7.4.).

The respective findings as related to the theory and the model were provided in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9. An integrative discussion of these findings was given in Chapter 10. With regard to this study, five primary conclusions may be drawn. First, the findings of this study suggested that Chase's navigation through the psychosocial personality development stages were largely unsuccessful. Second, according to the findings of this study Chase fulfilled the criteria of serial murder as a Schahriar syndrome. Third, the findings of this study supported the use of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory to gain a psychological understanding of Chase as an individual. Fourth, the findings of this study supported the use of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model to gain a psychological understanding of Chase as a serial murderer. Fifth, although no direct link or causality exists between Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model, the findings of this study suggested that the unsuccessful resolution of each of the crises of psychosocial personality development coincides, to an extent, with the presence of the five primitive psychic mechanisms of the Schahriar syndrome model. The limitations of the study and accompanying recommendations for future research are discussed in the next section.

11.3. Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

11.3.1. Psychological frameworks used

Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory posed a limitation to the study in that it lacked a clear and sufficient explanatory structure for some of its constructs. Although the theory provided possible aetiological explanations for why the individual would reach a certain outcome of a certain stage (e.g., critical and impatient caregivers might prompt a sense of shame and doubt in their children), it neglected to explain the specific criteria that would constitute an outcome. An example of this is the sense of initiative referred to in stage three of psychosocial theory. The theory indicated that successful resolution of the stage would result in the acquisition of a sense of initiative, implying the initiation of activities. However, the theory did not specify the nature of activities that would compose an established sense of initiative, thus any initiated activities, whether good or bad (i.e., adaptive or maladaptive), might be interpreted as representative of a sense of initiative. In this light, the researcher was confronted by the question of whether Chase's initiated *bad* acts (e.g., animal torture and fire setting) could be representative of a sense of initiative. Similarly, the theory did not stipulate inclusion-exclusion criteria for the constructs of industry (e.g., Chase

might have felt very industrious as a serial murderer) or identity (e.g., Chase's role confusion might have been an identity in and of itself). It is recommended that future research aim to re-evaluate the theory's explanatory framework in terms of its constructs and attempt to refine the criteria that make up the constructs within adaptive development and functioning versus maladaptive development and functioning.

Another limitation of the study, specifically related to the use of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory involves the insufficient differentiation between the two opposing outcomes of each stage and their maladaptations. Chase was deprived of control in his early years which contributed to him executing acts of extreme control later in life (e.g., abuse and murder) and thereby he displayed a detrimental sense of autonomy. However, these actions might as well have been interpreted as compensatory behaviour for an acquired sense of shame and doubt. In a similar manner, Chase's drive for prestige and power would represent, on the foreground, a sense of industry, when instead it was interpreted as a compensatory drive to fend off feelings of inferiority. Future research might consider exploring the relationship between the different outcomes of the various stages and malignant behaviour.

A third limitation closely associated with the preceding two is the limited available information regarding the relationship between Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) normal developmental theory and psychopathology. Because psychopathology was a key aspect in Chase's life, the researcher had to attempt to bring it into relation with his psychosocial personality development. This was exceptionally important, because the researcher attempted to refrain from pathologising Chase and instead aimed at conveying a psychological understanding and explanation of his actions and experiences. However, due to limited research done on this topic, the researcher found it difficult at times to provide in-depth explorations and descriptions of Chase's psychopathology in light of psychosocial theory. Therefore, it is recommended that more research be done on the relationship between psychosocial theory and not only, malignant behaviour, but also psychopathology.

Further limitations pertain to the use of Claus and Lidberg's (1999) Schahriar syndrome model. Firstly, the model has been criticised for its sole emphasis on the role of infantile and early childhood adversities in the presentation and manifestation of the five primitive psychic mechanisms. Although this criticism was overcome (see section 4.4.), it still complicated the researcher's task to explore and describe Chase's functioning as serial

murderer over his entire lifespan. Furthermore, even though the model made reference to some perspectives and theories in order to explain the development of the primitive psychic mechanisms, they were limited and not clearly demarcated. Thus, the researcher had to incorporate many other possible aetiological explanations - of which an endless amount exist - in order to have explored and described the presentation and manifestation of the primitive psychic mechanisms over Chase's lifespan. As such, the researcher was frequently confronted by the question of where to draw the line in terms of the inclusion and exclusion of perspectives and theories. Future research should aim at the re-evaluation of the Schahriar syndrome model and attempt to demarcate specific theories on which the five primitive psychic mechanisms are based. Moreover, it might prove fruitful to investigate each of the mechanisms separately and study their presentation and manifestation in order to arrive at a probable and universal understanding of their aetiology.

11.3.2. Subject of the study

A limitation related to the chosen subject of the study, Richard Trenton Chase, involves the limited scope of information provided by data sources. Rich biographies, in particular, were limited and most available sources focused almost exclusively on information regarding his murders. Therefore, the researcher had to rely heavily on Biondi and Hecox (1992) and Ressler and Shachtman (1992), because these biographies provided more detailed, although still restricted, information about Chase's life before he had become a serial murderer. Furthermore, although the mentioned authors included brief overviews of Chase's early life, family and development, detailed information regarding aspects such as his hobbies, religion, sleeping patterns, and strengths were ignored. As a result, some important themes have not been adequately explored and the richness of the study was mitigated. The researcher recommends that future psychobiographers choose a subject of whom there is a vast majority of biographical information available.

Another limitation is that the accuracy and objectivity of some of the data sources were questionable. Views regarding the nature of Chase's early life and upbringing were varied with some sources having indicated abuse, while others disregarded it completely. Thus, the researcher was faced with the possibility of having to draw conclusions from inadequate data. However, the researcher was able to refrain from doing so by engaging in in-depth and prolonged exposure to the data as well as adequate submersion in the data. This

allowed the researcher to investigate and validate any distortions, variations and recurrent patterns.

11.3.3. Psychobiographical research

The preliminary considerations related to the methodology of psychobiographical research and the manner in which they were dealt with were comprehensively discussed in Chapter 6. Additional limitations pertaining to the use of the psychobiographical approach in this particular study are discussed below.

Firstly, the study has a relatively low external validity, because the findings regarding Chase's psychological development and functioning cannot be generalised to a larger population group. However, the aim of the study was analytical generalisation and not statistical generalisation (see sections 6.2.8.2 & 7.4.). Therefore, the focus was on comparing the findings to the psychosocial personality development theory and the Schahriar syndrome model.

Secondly, the internal validity of the study, in terms of a causal relationship, is relatively low. This is because the aim of the study was not to explain a cause-and-effect relationship per se, but to explore and describe the historical life of the subject within the context of psychological frameworks. Credibility, however, was recognised as important and achieved through extensive and prolonged engagement with the data on Chase's life. This included an in-depth exploration and analysis of data samples, data triangulation, researcher triangulation and theory triangulation (see sections 6.2.8.2, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8 & 7.9.).

Thirdly, the findings of the study are tentative and restricted to the psychological frameworks of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory and Claus and Lidberg's (1999) model. Various other possibilities to explore and describe human development and functioning, as well as the functioning of serial murderers, exist and therefore the findings of the study should not give rise to any inflated claims. Instead, it might enhance alternative explorations and descriptions of Chase's psychological development and functioning.

Lastly, psychobiography with its qualitative character and narrative dimension is a comprehensive, lengthy and time consuming endeavour (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). In

light of this, the analysis, presentation and discussion of the findings required a great deal of time, complicated documentation and at times, replication. Future researchers considering a psychobiography should make sure that they realise the extensive nature of the approach. The value of the study and, where appropriate, further recommendations for future research are discussed in the next section.

11.4. Value of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

11.4.1. Psychological frameworks used

Because of its significance, Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory has been suggested for use in psychobiography (Noland, 1977). The theory enabled the researcher to analyse the subject of the study holistically and longitudinally over his entire lifespan. Furthermore, the theory allowed the researcher to explore and describe both the individual and communal elements of the subject's life, and link his inner experiences with outer reality.

Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory is widely used by practitioners in the psychological profession to conceptualise patients' problems and direct therapeutic interventions (Berzoff, Flanagan, & Hertz, 2011; Kivnick & Wells, 2014). The findings of the study supported the use of Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory to gain a psychological understanding of the individual and therefore it might ratify the continuing applicability and relevance of the theory. Additionally, psychology practitioners are often advised to keep an open mind when they utilise theories and models in their work with patients (Greene & Kropf, 2011). According to Berzoff, Flanagan and Hertz (2011), the constructs and outcomes proposed by theorists are not necessarily definite and must not be stringently followed without taking into account the immediate individual's uniqueness. This study demonstrated the importance of 'open mindedness', specifically with regard to Erikson's (1950, 1963, 1968, 1977) theory. An example of this is how Chase did not acquire either a sense of initiative or a sense of guilt in stage three of psychosocial personality development, but both a sense of initiative to do wrong without any guilt and a sense of guilt (see section 8.3.3.).

Claus and Lidberg (1999) proposed the Schahriar syndrome model for systematic understanding of serial murder. Thus, the model was especially suitable for use in this study,

because the subject formed part of the exclusive group for whom the model was intended, namely serial murderers. Furthermore, according to these authors, the purpose of the model was to facilitate risk assessment, crime prevention and treatment planning. Yet, the researcher could not find any other studies in which the model was used to explore and describe serial murderers' functioning. It seemed as though the model has been generally neglected by the forensic and investigative fields. The findings of this study supported Claus and Lidberg's (1999) suggestions in that Chase seemed to have fulfilled the criteria of the proposed Schahriar syndrome. Thus, this study might illuminate the relevance of the model and encourage involved disciplines (e.g., forensic and investigative stakeholders) to reconsider its usefulness. However, it is recommended that more research be done to evaluate and test the validity and value of the Schahriar syndrome model. This is particularly important, because even in the 21st century, still more can be learnt about the mind of a serial murderer and more research is needed to identify specific pathways in the development of serial murderers (Marlowe, 2014; Morton & Hilts, 2005).

11.4.2. Subject of the study

The subject of the study, Richard Trenton Chase, was a famous and significant serial murderer (Tochterman, 2011; Wilson, 2011). His case is often used for lectures and training in the fields of forensics and investigative services, specifically because he is regarded as a classic example of a disorganised offender (Biondi & Hecox, 1992; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992) (see section 4.2.2.2.). As such, this study might contribute to the existing body of knowledge regarding Chase and provide lecturers, trainers and trainees with additional ideas and perspectives on his development and functioning as serial murderer.

Most of the available biographical data on Chase focused almost exclusively on his murders. Emphasis was placed on the classification of Chase as a disorganised offender, which merely necessitated a description of the characteristics of him as a disorganised serial murderer (e.g., poor social skills, low intelligence, poor hygiene, psychosis) (see section 4.2.2.2.). None of the data had an exploratory-descriptive nature and information regarding Chase as an individual tended to be neglected. This study explored and described Chase's development and functioning within his particular life context, and without seeking to determine a cause-and-effect relationship per se, speculated about possible aetiological explanations for his murders. Therefore, the study introduced a new dimension to Chase's

life and hopefully shed light on him as an individual instead of merely labelling him as an evil disorganised criminal.

Additionally, Chase was selected on the basis of interest value and uniqueness as well as the many unsolved mysteries surrounding his life (e.g., abuse, murders, psychopathology and unusual behaviour). His uniqueness and the fact that he formed part of a specialised population, that of serial murderers, increased the effectiveness of purposive sampling (Neuman, 2003) and made him an especially suitable candidate for the study.

11.4.3. Psychobiographical research

The value of psychobiographical research in general was previously discussed in Chapter 5 (see section 5.7.). The value of following a psychobiographical approach in this particular study is outlined below.

Firstly, the study focused on Chase's psychosocial personality development and the primitive psychic mechanisms prevalent in his functioning as serial murderer. Thus, the study provided a novel and different dimension to the life of Chase that has not previously been portrayed. Secondly, the study utilised a detailed biographical account of Chase's life to which two psychological frameworks were applied in order to have gained a psychological understanding of the subject's development and functioning. Therefore, the study illustrated the value of biography for psychology and, in turn, the value of psychology for biography (Elms & Song, 2005; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Thirdly, the data gathered on Chase were situated within his particular socio-cultural and historical contexts which forced the researcher to interpret his development and functioning against that background. As such, the important influence of contextual factors (e.g., family, community and institutions) on human development and functioning were highlighted. Lastly, this study added to the available body of psychobiographies in South Africa and contributed to the field's growth within academic psychology. Due to the limited number of psychobiographies conducted on serial murderers and, particularly South African serial murderers (Chéze, 2009), it is recommended that future psychobiographers could consider using more serial murderers and moreover, South African serial murderers as their subjects. General reflective remarks about the study are made in section 11.5.

11.5. Reflective Remarks

Psychobiography is a highly personal endeavour for the researcher (Ponterotto, 2014). Therefore, it is useful to clarify the analyst's personal motivations through a process called personal reflexivity (Kóváry, 2011).

> Personal reflexivity involves reflecting upon the ways in which our own values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life and social identities have shaped the research. It also involves thinking about how the research may have affected, and possibly changed, us as people and as researchers. (Willig, 2008, p. 10)

According to Ponterotto (2014), these partly unconscious aims exist whether we take them into consideration or not, and they determine our approach. In light of this, the researcher thought it necessary to describe her relationship to the subject and "bracket out" (Ponterotto, 2014, p. 83) her biases and expectations. Therefore, the following reflective remarks are made.

One of the strongest incentives for having undertaken this study was the researcher's firm belief in a non-judgemental state of mind. It is undeniable that serial murderers, among other criminals, are most often demonised and made out by society as monsters. The tendency to forget that serial murderers are, in fact, also human beings just like the rest of us, is common. In stating this, the researcher does not attempt to justify serial murderers' behaviour; their acts truly are inexplicable. However, the researcher attaches great value to the ability to separate human beings from their behaviour and to not judge the person, but rather, if unavoidable, the action. This study allowed the researcher to provide possible explanations for Chase's actions and experiences and hopefully extended the view of him not as a monster, but instead a human being with a 'tortured soul' (Pistorius, 2000).

Another motivation for having embarked upon this study involved a fascination with and personal interest in forensic psychology. Firstly, the researcher is intrigued by the mysterious question of: "What is it that pushes people over the edge and makes them decide to commit the most ineffable acts of cruelty?" Secondly, and of even more importance to the researcher, is the opinion that criminals such as serial murderers might be the people who

experience the most pain, but have the strongest defences and require a great deal of empathy, understanding and psychotherapy. Thirdly, the researcher wishes to pursue a career in forensic psychology in future and this study served as a worthy point of departure.

The researcher would also like to point out that she was still in the beginning of her psychology career when this study was conducted. Through this psychobiography the researcher learnt more about conceptualising an individual's actions, experiences and problems holistically over the lifespan. Therefore, the researcher is of the opinion that it served as a helpful learning tool, because conceptualisation as was done in this study forms a great part of training and practice in the psychological profession. In conclusion, the researcher leaves the reader with the following thought, "With the right psychological makeup and in the right circumstances it might just as well have been me, you, anyone" (Van der Spuy, 2012, p. 455).

11.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter firstly provided a conclusion of the study. Secondly, the limitations of the study and possible recommendations for future research were discussed. Thirdly, the value of the study and further recommendations, where appropriate, were presented. Finally, the chapter was concluded with the researcher's general reflective remarks about the study.

References

Allan, S., & Gilbert, P. (1997). Submissive behaviour and psychopathology. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *36*(4), 467 – 488. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8260.1997.tb01255.x

Alexander, I. E. (1988). Personality, psychological assessment and psychobiography. *Journal of Personality*, *56*(1), 265 – 294. doi:10.1111%2Fj.1467 6494.1988.tb00469

Alexander, I. E. (1990). *Personology: Method and content in personality assessment and psychobiography*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Alter, M. A. (2002). The wounded healer spelled out: A review of Jesus. *Pastoral Psychology*, *50*(6), 447 – 458. doi:10.1023%2FA%3A1015495715395

American Psychiatric Association, Report of the Task Force of Psychohistory (1976). *The psychiatrist as psychohistorian*. Washington, DC: Author.

Anderson, J. W. (1981). The methodology of psychological biography. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *11*(3), 455 – 475. doi:10.2307%2F203628

Anderson, J. W. (1988). Henry A. Murray's early career: A psychobiographical exploration. *Journal of Personality*, *56*(1), 139 – 171. doi:10.1111%2Fj.1467-6494.1988.tb00465

Athena Intelligence. (2012). *Richard Trenton Chase*. Retrieved from http://www.athenaresearchgroup.org/

Athena Intelligence. (2013). Retrieved from http://www.athenaintelligence.co.uk/

Atkinson, R. (1998). *The life story interview*. London, UK: Sage.

Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Bandura, A. (1999). Moral disengagement in the perpetration of inhumanities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 3*(3), 193 – 209. doi:10.1207%2Fs15327957pspr0303_3

Bandura, A. (2004). The role of selective moral disengagement in terrorism. In F. M. Mogahaddam, & A. J. Marsella (Eds.), *Psychosocial aspects of terrorism: Issues, concepts, and directions* (pp. 121 – 150). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Press.

Bandura, A., & Zimbardo, P. G. (2005). The role of moral disengagement in the execution process. *Law and Human Behaviour, 29*(4), 371 – 393. doi:10.1007/s10979-005-4930-1

Baron, A., & Spear, H. (1989). *Surviving dysfunctional families*. Austin, Texas: The Clearinghouse.

Bartels, R., & Parsons, C. (2009). The social construction of a serial killer. *Feminism & Psychology, 19*(2), 267. doi:10.1177/0959353509102224

Bateman, A. L., & Salfati, C. G. (2007). An examination of behavioural consistency using individual behaviours or groups of behaviours in serial homicide. *Behavioural Science and the Law, 25*(4), 527 – 544. doi:10.1002/bsl.742

Berg, B. (1995). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Bertaux, D. (1981). *Biography and society: The life history approach in the social sciences*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Berzoff, J., Flanagan, L. M., & Hertz, P. (2011). *Inside out and outside in: Psychodynamic clinical theory and psychopathology in contemporary multicultural contexts* (3rd ed.). Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bezuidenhout, C. A. (2011). *A Southern African perspective on fundamental criminology*. Johannesburg: Heinemann / Pearson.

Biondi, R. (2011, September 24). Born to kill – Richard Trenton Chase (Video file). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=viYPTplgnsI

Biondi, R., & Hecox, W. (1992). *The true story of California's Vampire Killer: The Dracula Killer*. London, UK: Mondo.

Biven, B. M. (1997). Dehumanisation as an enactment of serial killers. *Journal of Analytic Social Work*, *4*(2), 23 – 49. doi:10.1300/J408v04n02_03

Blanco, J. I. (2013). *Richard Trenton Chase*. Retrieved from http://murderpedia.org/male.C/c/chase-richard.htm

Blatt, S. J., & Blass, R. B. (1996). Relatedness and self-definition: A dialectic model of personality development. In G. G. Noam, & K. W. Fischer (Eds.), *Development and vulnerability in close relationships* (pp. 309 – 327). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Blatt, S. J., & Levy, K. N. (2003). Attachment theory, psychoanalysis, personality development, and psychopathology. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry, 23*(1), 102 – 150. doi:10.1080/07351692309349028

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C., & Kagee, A. (2008). *Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective* (4th ed.). Cape Town: Juta.

Bollas, C. (1987). *The shadow of the object: Psychoanalysis of the unthought known*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Bollas, C. (1995). *Cracking up – the work of unconscious experience*. New York, NY: Hill & Wang.

Boon, S. D., & Holmes, J. G. (1991). The dynamics of interpersonal trust: Resolving uncertainty in the face of risk. In A. Hinde, & J. Groebel (Eds.), *Cooperation and prosocial behaviour* (pp. 190 – 211). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Bovsun, M. (2010, January 2). Just crazy for blood: Richard Trenton Chase, a.k.a. The Vampire of Sacramento. *New York Daily News*. Retrieved from http://www.nydaily news.com

Brittain, R. P. (1970). The sadistic murderer. *Medicine, Science & the Law, 10*, 198 – 207. Retrieved from Legal Source database.

Bromley, D. B. (1986). *The case study method in psychology and related disciplines*. New York, NY: Wiley & Sons.

Brown, C., & Lowis, M. J. (2003). Psychosocial development in the elderly: An investigation into Erikson's ninth stage. *Journal of Aging Studies*, *17*(4), 415 – 426. doi:10.1016%2FS0890-4065%2803%2900061-6

Brown, R. J. (2004). Psychological mechanisms of medically unexplained symptoms: An integrative conceptual model. *Psychological Bulletin*, *130*(5), 793 – 812. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.130.5.793

Bujold, C. (1990). Biographical-hermeneutical approaches to the study of career development. In R. A. Young, & W. A. Borgen (Eds.), *Methodological approaches to the study of career* (pp. 57 – 69). New York, NY: Praeger Press.

Burnell, B. (2013). *The life of Beyers Naudé: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Cahill, T. (2011). *Buried dreams: Inside the mind of a serial killer*. Chicago, Illinois: Premier.

Candy, P. C. (1989). Alternative paradigms in educational research. *Australian Educational Researcher*, *16*(3), 1 – 11. doi:10.1007/BF03219446

Canter, D. V., Alison, L. J., Alison, E., & Wentink, N. (2004). The organised / disorganised typology of serial murder: Myth or model? *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *10*(3), 293 – 320. doi:10.1037/1076-8971.10.3.293

Capps, D. (2004). The decades of life: Relocating Erikson's stages. *Pastoral Psychology*, *53*(1), 3 – 32. doi:10.1023%2FB%3APASP.0000039322.53775.2b

Carlson, R. (1988). Exemplary lives: The use of psychobiography for theory development. *Journal of Personality*, *56*(1), 105 – 138. doi:10.1111%2Fj.1467-6494.1988.tb00464

Carver, C. S., & Scheir, M. F. (2000). *Perspectives on personality*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Castle, T., & Hensley, C. (2002). Serial killers with military experience: Applying learning theory to serial murder. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, *46*(4), 453 – 465. doi:10.1177/0306624X02464007

Castro, E. (2009, April 20). Richard Trenton Chase Vampire of Sacramento (Video file). Retrieved from www.slideshare.net/.../richard-trenton-chase-vampire-of-sacramento

Cavaye, A. L. M. (1996). Case study research: A multi-faceted research approach for IS. *Information Systems Journal*, *6*(3), 227 – 242. doi:10.1111%2Fj.13652575.1996.tb00 015

Chéze, E. (2009). *Jeffrey Lionel Dahmer: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Claasen, M. (2006). *Hendrik Verwoerd: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Clark, A. (2008). *Supersizing the mind: Embodiment, action and cognitive extension*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Claus, C., & Lidberg, L. (1999). Serial murder as a 'Schahriar syndrome'. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*, *10*(2), 427 – 435. doi:10.1080/09585189908403694

Cohen, R. J., & Swerdlik, M. E. (2005). *Psychological testing and assessment: An introduction to tests and measurement* (6th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Colborn, A. P. (1996). A case for case study research. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 50*(7), 592 – 594. doi:10.5014%2Fajot.50.7.592

Cole, A. L., & Knowles, J. G. (2001). *Lives in context: The art of life history research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.

Coles, R. (1970). *Erik H. Erikson: The growth of his work*. Boston, MA: Souvenir Press.

Coles, R. (2001). *The Erik Erikson reader*. New York, NY: Norton.

Cook, P. E., & Hinman, D. L. (1999). Serial murder. In H. V. Hall (Ed.), *Lethal violence: A sourcebook on fatal domestic, acquaintance and stranger violence* (pp. 363 – 381). USA: Pacific.

Cooney, A. (2010). Choosing between Glaser and Strauss: An example. *Nurse Researcher, 17*(4), 18 – 28. doi:10.7748/nr2010.07.17.4.18.c7921

Corey, G. (2005). *Theory and practice of counselling and psychotherapy* (7th ed.). Belmont, CA: Brooks / Cole.

Cozby, P. C. (1997). *Methods in behavioural research* (6th ed.). California, CA: Brooks / Cole.

Craig, G. J. (1996). *Human development* (7th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall

Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Davidson, F. (2011, September 24). Born to kill – Richard Trenton Chase (Video file). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=playerembedded&y=viYPTplgnsI

Davis, J. (2005). *Richard Chase*. Retrieved from http://criminalminds.wikia.com/wiki/Richard_Chase

de St. Aubin, E., McAdams, D. P., & Kim, T. (2004). *The generative society: Caring for future generations*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

De Vos, A. S. (2005). Qualitative data analysis and interpretation. In A. S. De Vos, H. Strydom, C. B. Fouché, & C. S. L. Delport (Eds.), *Research at grass roots* (pp. 333 – 349). Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Dennison, V. (2009a). Richard Trenton Chase: The Vampire of Sacramento part 1. *Religion & Spirituality*. Retrieved from http://www.examiner.com/article/richard-trenton-chase-the-vampire-of-sacramento-part-1

Dennison, V. (2009b). Richard Trenton Chase: The Vampire of Sacramento part 2. *Religion & Spirituality*. Retrieved from http://www.examiner.com/article/richard-trent-chase-the-vampire-of-sacramento-part-2

Dennison, V. (2009c). Richard Trenton Chase: The Vampire of Sacramento part 3. *Religion & Spirituality*. Retrieved from http://www.examiner.com/article/richard-trenton-chase-the-vampire-of-sacramento-part-3

Dennison, V. (2009d). Richard Trenton Chase: The Vampire of Sacramento part 4. *Religion & Spirituality*. Retrieved from http://www.examiner.com/article/richard-trenton chase-the-vampire-of-sacramento-part-4

Dennison, V. (2009e). Richard Trenton Chase: The Vampire of Sacramento part 5. *Religion & Spirituality*. Retrieved from http://www.examiner.com/article/richard-trenton-chase-the-vampire-of-sacramento-part-5

Denzin, N. K. (1978). *The research act*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Direct Essays. (1969). *Richard Trenton Chase: The mind of a killer*. Retrieved from http://www.directessays.com/viewpaper/95476.html

Douglas, J. E., & Olshaker, M. (1995). *Mind hunter: Inside the FBI's elite serial crime unit*. New York, NY: Pocket Star Books.

Douvan, E. (1997). Erik Erikson: Critical times, critical theory. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, *28*(1), 15 – 21. doi:10.1023%2FA%3A1025188901554

Drukteinis, A. M. (1992). Serial murder: The heart of darkness. *Psychiatric Annuals*, *22*(10), 532 – 538. Retrieved from Psycinfo database.

Dunkley, D. M., Zuroff, D. C., & Blankstein, K. R. (2006). Specific perfectionism components versus self-criticism in predicting maladjustment. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *40*(4), 665 – 676. doi:10.1016%2Fj.paid.2005.08.008

Edwards, D. (1990). *Case study research method: A theoretical introduction and practice manual* (Unpublished manuscript). Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

Egger, S. A. (1999). Psychological profiling: Past, present and future. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, *15*(3), 242 – 261. doi:10.1177/1043986299015003003

Elkind, D. (1970, April 5). Erik Erikson's eight ages of man: One man in his time plays many psychosocial parts. *The New York Times Magazine*. Retrieved from http://www.pdx.edu/sites/www.pdx.edu.ceed/files/sscbt_EriksonsEightAgesofMan.pd

Elms, A. C. (1988). Freud as Leonardo: Why the first psychobiography went wrong. *Journal of Personality*, *56*(1), 19 – 40. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00461.x

Elms, A. C. (1994). *Uncovering lives: The uneasy alliance of biography and psychology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Elms, A. C., & Song, A. V. (2005). Alive and kicking: The problematic of political psychobiography. In T. W. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 301 – 310). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Elovitz, P. H. (2003). Psychoanalytic scholarship on American presidents. *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, *31*, 135 – 149. Retrieved from Academic search complete database.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society*. Michigan, USA: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1958). *Young man Luther: A study in psychoanalysis and history*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and society* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1969). *Gandhi's truth: On the origins of militant non-violence*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1974). *Dimensions of a new identity*. New York, NY: Norton

Erikson, E. H. (1977). *Toys and reasons*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1978). *Adulthood*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1980). *Identity and the life cycle*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1982). *The life cycle completed: A review*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1993). *Young man Luther: A study in psychoanalysis and history*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1994). *Insight and responsibility: Lectures on the ethical implications of psychoanalytical insight* (Reprint ed.). New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1998). *The life cycle completed. Extended version with new chapters on the ninth stage by Joan M. Erikson*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H., Erikson, J. M., & Kivnick, H. Q. (1986). *Vital involvement in old age*. New York, NY: Norton.

Evans, R. I. (1981). *Dialogue with Erik Erikson*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Fiske, D. W. (1988). From inferred personalities toward personality in action. *Journal of Personality*, *56*(4), 816 – 833. doi:10.1111%2Fj.1467-6494.1988.tb00478.x

Flick, U. (2006). *An introduction to qualitative research* (3rd ed.). London, UK: Sage.

Fouché, C. B., & De Vos, A. S. (2005). Problem formulation. In A. S. De Vos, H. Strydom, C. B. Fouché, & C. S. L. Delport (Eds.), *Research at grass roots* (pp. 100 – 110). Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Fouché, J. P. (1999). *The life of Jan Christiaan Smuts: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Fouché, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2005, June). *Psychobiography: An interdisciplinary approach between psychology and biography in the narrative reconstruction of personal lives*. Paper presented at the International Society of Theoretical Psychology Conference, Cape Town, South Africa.

Fouché, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2010). Academic psychobiography in South Africa: Past, present and future. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *40*(4), 495 – 507. doi: 10.1111/j.165122272010.02080.x

Fox, J. A., & Levin, J. (1994). *Overkill – Mass murder and serial killing exposed*. New York, NY: Dell Publishing.

Fox, J. A., & Levin, J. (2012). *Extreme killing: Understanding serial and mass murder* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Freud, S. (1930). *Civilization and its discontents*. New York, NY: Norton.

Freud, S. (1936). *The problem of anxiety*. New York, NY: Norton.

Freud, S. (1938). *The basic writings of Sigmund Freud*. New York, NY: Modern Library.

Freud, S. (1962). *Three essays on the theory of sexuality*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Friedman, L. J. (2000). *Identity's architect: A biography of Erik H. Erikson*. New York, NY: Scribner.

Garrison, A. H. (1996). The catathymic crisis: An explanation of the serial killer. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, *11*(1), 5 – 12. doi:10.1007/BF02803681

Geberth, V. J. (1990). *Practical homicide investigation: Tactics, procedures and forensic techniques*. USA: Elsevier.

Geberth, V. J. (2003). *Sex related homicide death investigation: Practical and clinical perspectives*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Geberth, V. J., & Turco, R. (1997). Antisocial personality disorder, sexual sadism, malignant narcissism, and serial murder. *Journal of Forensic Science*, *42*(1), 49 – 60. Retrieved from Ebscohost database.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of culture*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Gibbs, R. W. (2006). *Embodiment and cognitive science*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gibson, D. C. (2006). *Serial murder and media circuses*. Westport, USA: Greenwood.

Gilbert, P., & Allan, S. (1998). The role of defeat and entrapment (arrested flight) in depression: An exploration of an evolutionary view. *Psychological Medicine*, *28*(3), 585 - 598. doi:10.1017%2FS0033291798006710

Gilbert, P., Allan, S., Brough, S., Melley, S., & Miles, J. (2002). Anhedonia and positive affect: Relationship to social rank, defeat and entrapment. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, *71*(1), 141 – 151. doi:10.1016%2FS0165-0327%2801%2900392-5

Gilks, J., & Saunders, K. (2013). *Richard Chase*. Retrieved from http://www.serialkiller calendar.com/richardchase.html

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. New York, NY: Aldine.

Glasser, M. (1996). Aggression and sadism in the perversions. In I. Rosen (Ed.), *Sexual deviation* (3rd ed., pp. 279 – 299). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Gleason, P. (1983). Identifying identity: A semantic history. *Journal of American History*, *69*(4), 910 – 931. doi:10.2307%2F1901196

Goodson, I. F., & Sikes, P. (2001). *Life history research in educational settings: Learning from lives*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Greatschools. (n.d.). *Mira Loma High School*. Retrieved from http://www.greatschools.org/ california/sacramento/4793-Mira-Loma-High-School/

Green, S. (2011, September 28). Thriller Thursday: The Vampire of Sacramento (Web log post). Retrieved from http://stacygreenauthor.blogspot.com/2011/09/thriller-thursday-vampire-or-sacramento.html

Greene, R. R., Graham, S. A., & Morano, C. (2010). Erikson's healthy personality, societal institutions, and holocaust survivors. *Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment, 20*(4), 489 – 506. doi:10.1080/10911350903275069

Greene, R. R., & Kropf, N. (2011). *Human behaviour theory: A diversity framework*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Grimes, R. L. (1996). *Readings in ritual studies*. London, UK: Prentice - Hall.

Gronn, P. (1993). Psychobiography on the couch: Character, biography and the comparative study of leaders. *Journal of Applied Behavioural Science, 29*, 343 – 358. doi:10.1177%2F0021886393293005

Grubin, D. (1994). Sexual murder. *British Journal of Psychiatry, 165*(5), 624 – 629. doi:10.1192/bjp.165.5.624

Gunn, L., & Caissie, L. T. (2006). Serial murder as an act of deviant leisure. *Leisure, 30*(1), 27 – 53. doi:10.1080/14927713.2006.9651340

Haber, D. (2006). Life review: Implementation, theory, research, and therapy. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 63*(2), 153 – 171. doi:10.2190%2FDA9G-RHK5-N9JP-T6CC

Haggerty, K. D. (2009). Modern serial killers. *Crime, Media, Culture, 5*(2), 168 – 187. doi:10.1177/1741659009335714

Hale, R. L. (1993). The application of learning theory to serial murder: You too can learn to be a serial killer. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 17*(2), 37 – 45. doi:10.1007/BF02885952

Hall, C. S. (1954). *A primer of Freudian psychology*. New York, NY: New American Library.

Hall, G. S. (1917). *Jesus, the Christ, in light of psychology*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Hamachek, D. E. (1988). Evaluating self-concept and ego development within Erikson's psychosocial framework: A formulation. *Journal of Counselling and Development, 66*(8), 354 – 360. doi:10.1002%2Fj.1556-6676.1988.tb00886.x

Hart, C. (1998). *Doing a literature review: Releasing the social science research imagination*. London, UK: Sage.

Haverkamp, B. E. (2005). Ethical perspectives on qualitative research in applied psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*(2), 146 – 155. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.2. 146

Hazelwood, R. R., & Warren, J. I. (2003). Linkage analysis: Modus operandi, ritual, and signature in serial sexual crime. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour, 8*(3), 587 – 598. doi:10.1016/S1359-1789(02)00106-4

Hickey, E. W. (2010). *Serial murderers and their victims* (5th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson/ Wadsworth.

Hoare, C. H. (2002). *Erikson on development in adulthood: New insights from the unpublished papers*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hoare, C. H. (2005). Erikson's general and adult developmental revisions of Freudian thought: "Outward, forward, upward". *Journal of Adult Development*, *12*(1), 19 – 31. doi:10.1007%2Fs10804-005-1279-0

Hodgskiss, B. (2004). Lessons from serial murder in South Africa. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, *1*(1), 67 – 94. doi:10.1002/jip.2

Hofmann, A. (1980). *LSD: My problem child*. Washington, DC: McGraw-Hill.

Hoffmeister, M. (2007). Change of view: The ritual side of serial killings and the conditions for fortunate failure. In U. Hüsken (Ed.), *When rituals go wrong: Mistakes, failure, and the dynamics of ritual* (pp. 223 – 240). Danvers, MA: Brill.

Holz, T. (2014). *Roald Dahl: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Hones, D. F. (1998). Known in part: The transformational power of narrative inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *4*(2), 225 – 247. doi:10.1177%2F107780049800400205

Hook, D. (2002). Erikson's psychosocial stages of development. In D. Hook, J. Watts, & K. Cockroft (Eds.), *Developmental psychology* (pp.494 – 500). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Howe, M. (1997). Beyond psychobiography: Towards more effective synthesis of psychology and biography. *British Journal of Psychology*, *88*(2), 235 – 245. doi:10.1111%2Fj.2044-8295.1997.tb02632.x

Hurlburt, R. T., & Knapp, T. J. (2006). Münsterberg in 1898, not Allport in 1937, introduced the terms 'idiographic' and 'nomothetic' to American psychology. *Theory Psychology*, *16*, 287. doi:10.1177/0959354306062541

Irey, W. (2011, September 24). Born to kill – Richard Trenton Chase (Video file). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=viYPTplgnsI

Izenberg, G. N. (2003). Intellectual-cultural history and psychobiography: The case of Kandinsky. *Annual of Psychoanalysis*, *31*, 21 – 33. Retrieved from Academic search complete database.

Jacobs, A. (2004). *Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Jenkins, P. (1994). *Using murder: The social construction of serial homicide*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Johnson, B. R., & Becker, J. V. (1997). Natural born killers: The development of the sexually sadistic serial killer. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry & the Law*, *25*(3), 335 – 348. Retrieved from Medline database.

Josselson, R., Lieblich, A., & McAdams, D. P. (2003). *Up close and personal: Teaching and learning narrative methods*. Washington, DC: APA Press.

Juni, S. (2008). Conceptualisation of hostile psychopathy and sadism: Drive theory and object relations perspectives. *International Forum of Psychoanalysis*, *1*(1), 1 – 12. doi:10.1080/08037060701875977

Kasser, T. (2013). *Lucy in the mind of Lennon*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Keppel, R. D. (1997). *Signature killers: Interpreting the calling cards of the serial murderer*. New York, NY: Pocket Books.

Keppel, R. D., & Birnes, W. J. (2003). *The psychology of serial killer investigations: The grisly business unit*. San Diego, CA: Elsevier.

Keppel, R. D., & Weis, J. G. (2004). The rarity of "unusual" dispositions of victims' bodies: Staging and posing. *Journal of Forensic Science*, *49*(6), 1308 – 1312. doi:10.1520/JFS2004033

Kivnick, H. Q., & Wells, C. K. (2014). Untapped richness in Erik H. Erikson's rootstock. *The Gerontologist*, *54*(1), 40 – 50. doi:10.1093/geront/gnt123

Knight, Z. G. (2006). Some thoughts on the psychological roots of the behaviour of serial killers as narcissists: An object relations perspective. *Social Behaviour and Personality: An International Journal*, *34*(10), 1189 – 1206. doi:10.2224/sbp.2006.34.10.1189

Knoll, J. (2006). Serial murder: A forensic psychiatric perspective. *Psychiatric Times*, *23*, 64 – 68. Retrieved from Academic search complete database.

Kocsis, R. N. (2006). *Criminal profiling: Principles and practice*. New York, NY: Humana Press.

Kotton, D. A. (2002). *Bantu Stephen Biko: A psychobiographical case study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Kóváry, Z. (2011). Psychobiography as a method. The revival of studying lives: New perspectives in personality and creativity research. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, *7*(4), 739 – 777. Retrieved from Ebscohost database.

Krafft-Ebing, R. (1898). *Psychopathia sexualis*. Stuttgart, Germany: Enke.

Krefting, L. (1991). Rigour in qualitative research: The assessment of trustworthiness. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, *45*(3), 214 – 222. doi:10.5014%2Fajot.45.3.214

Lachmann, A., & Lachmann, F. M. (1995). The personification of evil: Motivations and fantasies of the serial killer. *International Forum of Psychoanalysis*, *4*(1), 17 – 23. doi:10.1080/08037069508409511

Lagattuta, H. K. (2014). Children and emotion: New insights into developmental affective sciences. *Contributions to Human Development, 26*, 1 – 12. doi:10.1159/000354346

Levin, J., & Fox, J. A. (2007). Normalcy in behavioural characteristics of the sadistic serial killer. In R. N. Kocsis (Ed.), *Serial murder and the psychology of violent crimes* (pp. 3 – 14). Totowa, NJ: Humana Press.

Lewicky, R. J. (2006). Trust, trust development, and trust repair. In M. Deutsch, P. T. Coleman, & E. C. Marcus (Eds.), *The handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and practice* (pp. 92 – 120). San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons.

Linn, M., Fabricant, S., & Linn, D. (1988). *Healing the eight stages of life*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

Loewenberg, P. (1983). *Decoding the past: A psycho-historical approach*. New York, NY: Alfred Knopf.

Louw, D., & Edwards, D. J. A. (2008). *Psychology: An introduction for students in Southern Africa* (2nd ed.). Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Louw, D., & Louw, A. (2007). *Die ontwikkeling van die kind en die adolessent*. Bloemfontein: Psychology Publications.

Lowenstein, L. F. (1992). The psychology of the obsessed compulsive killer. *Criminologist*, *16*(4), 26 – 38. Retrieved from Psycinfo database.

Lucas, D. (2012, September 18). *Richard Trenton Chase (serial killer)* (PowerPoint slides). Retrieved from http://prezi.com/l5tipctm90zk/richard-trenton-chase-serial-killer/

Maccoby, E. E. (2000). Parenting and its effects on children: On reading and misreading behaviour genetics. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *51*, 1 – 27. doi:10.1146/annurev.psychpsych.51.1.1

MacCulloch, M., Snowden, P., Wood, P., & Mills, H. (1983). Sadistic fantasy, sadistic behaviours and offending. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, *143*(1), 20 – 29. doi:10.1192%2Fbjp.143.1.20

MacDonald, J. M. (1963). The threat to kill. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *120*(2), 125 – 130. doi:10.1176/appi.ajp.120.2.125.

Mahler, M. S. (1952). On child psychosis and schizophrenia: Autistic and symbiotic infantile psychoses. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, *7*, 286 – 305. Retrieved from Medline database.

Mahler, M. S., & Furer, M. (1968). *On human symbiosis and the vicissitudes of individuation: Infantile psychosis*. Oxford, UK: International Universities Press.

Mahler, M. S., & Gosliner, B. J. (1955). On symbiotic child psychosis: Genetic, dynamic, and restitutive aspects. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, *10*, 195 – 212. Retrieved from Psycinfo database.

Mahler, M. S., & McDevitt, J. B. (1968). Observations on adaptation and defense in statu nascendi: Developmental precursors in the first two years of life. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, *37*, 1 – 21. Retrieved from Psycinfo database.

Mahler, M. S., Pine, F., & Bergman, A. (1975). *The psychological birth of the human infant*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Maier, H. W. (1988). *Three theories of child development* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: University Press of America.

Marlowe, J. (2014). *The world's most evil psychopaths*. London, UK: Arcturus.

Martens, W. H. J. (2011). Sadism linked to loneliness: Psychodynamic dimensions of the sadistic serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer. *Psychoanalytic Review*, *98*(4), 493 – 514. doi:10.1521%2Fprev.2011.98.4.493

Martin, J. (1996). Psychological research as the formulation, demonstration and critique of psychological theories. *Journal of Theoretical & Philosophical Psychology*, *16*(1), 1 – 18. doi:10.1037%2Fh0091149

Mason, P. (2003). *Criminal visions: Media representations of crime and justice*. Portland, OR: Willan.

Massey, R. F. (1986). Erik Erikson: Neo-Adlerian individual psychology. *Journal of Adlerian Theory, Research & Practice*, *42*(1), 65 – 91. Retrieved from http://0-web.ebscohost.com.wagtail.ufs.ac.za/ehost/detail?sid=ae63324f-38f9-4aad-a619-8e1b51b049d3%40sessionmgr104&vid=8&hid=122&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=psyh&AN=1986-26114-001

McAdams, D. P. (1988). Biography, narrative, and lives: An introduction. *Journal of Personality*, *56*(1), 1 – 18. doi:10.1111%2Fj.1467-6494.1988.tb00460.x

McAdams, D. P. (1994). *The person: An introduction to personality psychology* (2nd ed.). Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace.

McAdams, D. P. (2006). *The person: The new introduction to personality psychology* (4th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

McAdams, D. P. (2011). *George W. Bush and the redemptive dream: A psychological portrait*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

McAdams, D. P., & Adler, J. M. (2006). How does personality develop? In D. K. Mroczek, & T. D. Little (Eds.), *Handbook of personality development* (pp. 561 – 614). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

McAdams, D. P., Hart, H. M., & Maruna, S. (1998). The anatomy of generativity. In D. P. McAdams, & E. de St. Aubin (Eds.), *Generativity and adult development: How and why we care for the next generation* (pp. 7 – 44). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

McLeod, J. (1994). *Doing counselling research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Meissner, W. W. (2003). Methodological issues in the psychohistory: Psychobiography of religious figures. *The Annual of Psychoanalysis, 31*, 181 – 196. Retrieved from Psycinfo database.

Meltzer, D. (1992). *The claustrum: An investigation of claustrophobic phenomena*. Perthshire, WA: Clunie Press.

Meyer, W. F., & Moore, C. (2008). Personology. In W. F. Meyer, C. Moore, & H. G. Viljoen (Eds.), *Personology: From individual to ecosystem* (pp. 2 – 21). Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Miller, H. (2013, February 12). *Richard Trenton Chase AKA: The Vampire Killer* (PowerPoint slides). Retrieved from http://prezi.com/rnu7dtcqscn-/richard-trenton-chase

Moes, E. C. (1991). Ted Bundy: A case of schizoid necrophilia. *Melanie Klein & Object Relations, 9*(1), 54 – 72. Retrieved from Psycinfo database.

Montaldo, C. (2013). Profile of serial killer Richard Chase. *Crime / Punishment Newsletter*. Retrieved from http://crime.about.com/od/serial/p/richard_chase.html

Montgomery, M. J. (2005). Psychosocial intimacy and identity: From early adolescence to emerging adulthood. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *20*(3), 346 – 374. doi:10.1177%2F0743558404273118

Morgan, J. (2008). *Crime library: Richard Trenton Chase*. Retrieved from http://www.crimemuseum.org/library/serialKillers/RichardTrentonChase.html

Morrison, H. (2011, September 24). Born to kill – Richard Trenton Chase (Video file). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=playerembedded&y=viYPTplgnsI

Morrow, S. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *52*(2), 250 – 260. doi:10.1037%2F0022-0167.52.2.250

Morton, R. J., & Hilts, M. A. (2005, August). *Serial murder: Multi-disciplinary perspectives for investigators*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, San Antonio, Texas. Retrieved from http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/serial-murder/serial-murder-1#a

Moskowitz, A. (2008). *A review of prologue to violence: Child abuse, dissociation, and crime*. Mahwah, NJ: The Analytic Press.

Nel, C. (2013). *The life of Helen Suzman: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Neuman, W. L. (2003). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Newman, B. M., & Newman, P. R. (2006). *Development through life: A psychosocial approach* (9th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

Nieto, W. (2012, May 9). *Richard Trenton Chase* (PowerPoint slides). Retrieved from www.slideshare.net/Wendynieto01/richard-trenton-chase-12872856

Noland, R. W. (1977). Psychobiography of everyday life. *The Nation*, *224*, 570 – 572. Retrieved from Ebscohost database.

Pakes, F., & Winstone, J. (2013). *Psychology and crime: Understanding and tackling offending behaviour*. Cullompton, UK: Willan Publishing.

Paul, M. (2010, May 9). The Vampire of Sacramento – Truly scary person (Web log post). Retrieved from http://voices.yahoo.com/the-vampire-sacramento-truly-scary-person-5970052.html?cat=37

Paranjpe, A. C. (2000). Review of identity's architect: A biography of Erik H. Erikson. *Canadian Psychology*, *41*(4), 288 – 289. doi:10.1037/h0088184

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (3rd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Pearce, K. L., & Pruss, A. R. (2012). Understanding omnipotence. *Religious Studies*, *48*(3), 403 – 414. doi:10.1017/S0034412512000030

Perry, M. J. (2012). *The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Piaget, J. (1975). *Equilibration of cognitive structures*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Pistorius, M. (2006). *Profiling serial killers: And other crimes in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Penguin Books.

Pistorius, M. (2000). *Catch me a killer*. Johannesburg: Penguin Books.

Pistorius, M. (2002). *Strangers on the street*. Johannesburg: Penguin Books.

Plummer, K. (1983). *Documents of life: An introduction to the problems and literature of a humanistic method*. London, UK: Allen & Unwin.

Ponterotto, J. G. (2010). Qualitative research in multicultural psychology: Philosophical underpinnings, popular approaches, and ethical considerations. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *16*(4), 581 – 589. doi:10.1037/a0012051

Ponterotto, J. G. (2012). *A psychobiography of Bobby Fischer: Understanding the genius, mystery and psychological decline of a world chess champion*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas.

Ponterotto, J. G. (2014). Best practices in psychobiographical research. *Qualitative Psychology*, *1*(1), 77 – 90. doi:10.1037/qup0000005

Ponterotto, J. G., & Reynolds, J. D. (2013). The genius and madness of Bobby Fischer: Understanding his life from three psychobiographical lenses. *Review of General Psychology*, *17*(4), 384 – 398. doi:10.1037/a0033246

Pontius, A. A. (2002). A serial murderer learns to regain volition by recognising the aura of his partial seizures of "limbic psychotic trigger reaction". *Clinical Case Studies, 1*(4), 324. doi:10.1177/153465002236508

Prince, M. (1915). *Psychology of the Kaiser: A study of his sentiments and his obsessions*. London, UK: Badger.

Ramsland, K. (2006). *Inside the minds of serial killers: Why they kill*. USA: Praeger.

Ramsland, K. (2012a). *Richard Trenton Chase*. Retrieved from http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/serial_killers/weird/chase/index_1.html

Ramsland, K. (2012b). *Today in crime history: Serial killer Richard Trenton Chase commits suicide*. Retrieved from http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/blog/tag/richard-trenton chase/index.html

Ressler, R. K., & Burgess, A. W. (1985). Split reality of murder. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 54*(8), 7 – 11. Retrieved from SocINDEX database.

Ressler, R. K., Burgess, A.W., Douglas, J., Hartman, C., & D'Augostino, R. (1986). Sexual killers and their victims: Identifying patterns through crime scene analysis. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1*(3), 288 – 308. doi:10.1177/088626086001003003

Ressler, R. K., & Shachtman, T. (1992). *Whoever fights monsters*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Paperbacks.

Ressler, R. K., & Shachtman, T. (1997). *I have lived in the monster: Inside the minds of the world's most notorious serial killers*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Paperbacks.

Robert, L. J., Cullen, F. T., & Ball, R. A. (2007). *Criminological theory: Context and consequences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Roberts, B. (2002). *Biographical research*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Robertson, R. L. (2004). *Serial murder as allegory: A subconscious echo of unresolved childhood trauma* (Unpublished master's thesis). Queensland University of Technology, Queensland, Australia.

Rosenwald, G. C. (1988). A theory of multiple-case research. *Journal of Personality*, *56*(1), 239 - 264. doi:10.1111%2Fj.1467-6494.1988.tb00468.x

Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2001). *Surviving your dissertation: A comprehensive guide to content and process* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Runyan, W. M. (1982). In defense of the case study method. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *52*(3), 440 – 446. doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.1982.tb01430.x

Runyan, W. M. (1984). *Life histories and psychobiography: Exploration in theory and Method*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Runyan, W. M. (1988). *Psychology and historical interpretation*. New Jersey, NJ: Oxford University Press.

Runyan, W. M. (2002). *Interview with William McKinley Runyan*. Retrieved from http://www.psychobiography.com/macinterview.html

Sadock, B. J., & Sadock, V. A. (2007). *Kaplan & Sadock's synopsis of psychiatry* (10th. ed.). Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Salfati, C. G., & Bateman, A. L. (2005). Serial homicide: An investigation of behavioural consistency. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, *2*(2), 121 – 144. doi:10.1002/jip.27

Sallamy, F. (2011, September 24). Born to kill – Richard Trenton Chase (Video file). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=viYPTplgnsI

Scalapino, L. M. (1999). *Anne Sexton: A psychological portrait* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Alberta, Alberta, Canada.

Schlesinger, L. B. (2000). *Serial offenders: Current thought, recent findings*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Schlesinger, L. B., Kassen, M., Mesa, V. B., & Pinizzotto, A. J. (2010). Ritual and signature in serial sexual homicide. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*, *38*(2), 239 – 246. doi:10.1177/0093854812467948

Schultz, W. T. (2003). The prototypical scene: A method for generating psychobiographical hypotheses. In D. McAdams, R. Josselson, & A. Lieblich (Eds.), *Up close and personal: Teaching and learning narrative research* (pp. 151 – 175). Washington, DC: APA Press.

Schultz, W. T. (2005). *Handbook of psychobiography*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Schultz, W. T. (2011). *An emergency in slow motion: The inner life of Diane Arbus*. USA: Bloomsbury.

Schultz, W. T. (2011). *Tiny terror: Why Truman Capote (almost) wrote*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Schultz, W. T. (2013). *William Todd Schultz: A site devoted to (a) psychobiography and (b) writings by William Todd Schultz*. Retrieved from http://williamtoddschultz.wordpress.com/

Schurinck, W. J. (1998). Lewensgeskiedenisse: Die gebruik van persoonlike dokumente. In M. Ferreira, J. Mouton, G. Puth, E. Schurinck, & W. Schurinck (Eds.), *Inleiding tot kwalitatiewe metodes* (pp. 14 – 74). Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Seligman, L., & Reichenberg, L. W. (2010). *Theories of counselling and psychotherapy: Systems, strategies, and skills* (3rd. ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

Shah, T. (2007). *In Arabian nights*. New York, NY: Random House.

Sharma, D. (2011). *Barack Obama in Hawaii and Indonesia: The making of a global president*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Shechter, H. (2004). *The serial killer files: The who, what, where, how, and why of the world's most terrifying murderers*. Chicago, Illinois: Ballantine Books.

Sigelman, C. K., & Rider, E. A. (2009). *Life-span human development* (6th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Silverman, D. K. (2004). Cutting the symbiotic bond: A challenge to some female developmental mythology. In J. Reppen, J. Tucker, & M. A. Schulman (Eds.), *Way beyond Freud: Postmodern psychoanalysis observed* (pp. 238 – 263). London, UK: Open Gate Press.

Silverstein, J. L. (1994). Power and sexuality: Influence of early object relationships. *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, *11*(1), 33 – 46. doi:10.1037%2Fh0079513

Simonton, D. K. (2003). Qualitative and quantitative analyses of historical data. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *54*, 617 – 641. doi:10.1146%2Fannurev.psych.54.101601.145034

Skrapec, C. A. (2001). Phenomenology and serial murder: Asking different questions. *Homicide Studies*, *5*, 46 – 63. doi:10.1177/1088767901005001004

Slater, C. L. (2003). Generativity versus stagnation: An elaboration of Erikson's adult stage of human development. *Journal of Adult Development*, *10*(1), 53 – 65. doi:10.1023%2FA%3A1020790820868

Smith, D. L. (2011). *Less than human: Why we demean, enslave, and exterminate others*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Smith, L. M. (1998). Biographical method. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 184 – 224). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sneed, J. R., Whitbourne, S. K., & Culang, M. E. (2006). Trust, identity, and ego integrity: Modelling Erikson's core stages over 34 years. *Journal of Adult Development*, *13*, 148 – 157. doi:10.1007/s10804-007-9026-3

Sophia, R. (2010, February 9). The Vampire of Sacramento: On the life of Richard Trenton Chase, infamous murderer (Web log post). Retrieved from http://voices.yahoo.com/the-vampire-sacramento-5438973.html?cat=72

Spitz, R. A. (1965). *The first year of life: A psychoanalytic study of normal and deviant development of object relations*. New York, NY: International Universities Press.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. London, UK: Sage.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln, *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (pp.443 – 466). California, CA: Sage.

Stein, A. (2007). *Prologue to violence: Child abuse, dissociation, and crime*. Mahwah, NJ: The Analytic Press.

Stein, A. (2009). From their cradle to your grave: How child abuse and dissociation drive violent crime. *The Journal of Psychohistory*, *36*(4), 320 – 327. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/38031878

Steinberg, L., Elmen, J. D., & Mounts, N. S. (1989). Authoritative parenting, psychosocial maturity, and academic success among adolescents. *Child Development*, *60*(6), 1424 – 1436. doi:10.2307%2F1130932

Stone, M. (2011, September 24). Born to kill – Richard Trenton Chase (Video file). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player embedded &v=viYPTplgnsI

Stone, M. H. (2001). Serial sexual homicide: Biological, psychological and sociological aspects. *Journal of Personality Disorders, 15*(1), 1 – 18. doi:10.1521/pedi.15. 1.1.18646

Storey, A., Strieter, C., Tarr, C., & Thornton, K. (2005). *Richard Trenton Chase*. Retrieved from http://www.crimelibrary.com/serial killers/weird/index 1.html

Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. California, CA: Sage.

Stroud, L. (2004). *A psychobiographical study of Mother Teresa* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Strouse, J. (1988). Alice James: A family romance. In W. M. Runyan (Ed.), *Psychology and historical interpretation* (pp. 86 – 107). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Struwig, F. W., & Stead, G. B. (2004). *Planning, designing and reporting research*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

Strydom, H., & Delport, C. S. L. (2005). Information collection: Document study and secondary analysis. In A. S. de Vos, H. Strydom, C. B. Fouché, & C. S. L. Delport (Eds.), *Research at grass roots* (pp. 314 – 326). Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Timmer, E., Bode, C., & Dittmann-Kholi, F. (2003). Expectations of gains in the second half of life: A study of personal conceptions of enrichment in a lifespan perspective. *Ageing & Society*, *23*(1), 3 – 24. doi:10.1017/S0144686X0200898X

Tindall, C. (1999). Issues of evaluation. In P. Banister, E. Burman, I. Parker, M. Taylor, & C. Tindall (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in psychology: A research guide* (pp. 142 – 159). Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Tochterman, R. (2011, September 24). Born to kill – Richard Trenton Chase (Video file). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=viYPTplgnsI

Turco, R. (1998). *The architecture of creativity: Profiles behind the mask.* Yachats, OR: Dancing Moon Press.

Vaknin, S. (2003). *Malignant self love: Narcissism revisited*. Macedonia: Lidija Rangelovska Skopje.

Van der Spuy, C. (2012). *Mens of monster: Die psige van 'n misdadiger*. Pretoria: Lapa.

Van Niekerk, R. (2007). *'n Psigobiografiese ontleding van Christiaan Neethling Barnard se loopbaanontwikkeling* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, South Africa.

Verbraak, A. (2000). *Gerotranscendence: An examination of a proposed extension to Erik Erikson's theory of identity development* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Canterbury, Canterbury, New Zealand.

Vorster, M. S. (2003). *The life of Balthazar Johannes Vorster: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished master's thesis). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Wallace, D. B. (1989). Studying the individual: The case study method and other genres. *Archives de Psychologie, 57,* 69 – 90. Retrieved from Psycinfo database.

Walton, S. (2012). *Why would you want to deanimilise your pet?* Retrieved from http://www.pawsmission.com

Warmenhoven, A. (2006). *The emotional intelligence of Hansie Cronje: A psychobiographical study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

Warren, J., Hazelwood, R., & Dietz, P. E. (1996). The sexually sadistic serial killer. *Journal of Forensic Science, 41*(6), 970 – 974. Retrieved from Psycinfo database.

Welchman, K. (2000). *Erik Erikson: His life, work and significance*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Whitbourne, S. K. (2008). *Adult development and aging: Biopsychosocial perspectives* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Wiest, J. B. (2011). *Creating cultural monsters: Serial murder in America*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method* (2nd ed.). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Wilson, D. (2011, September 24). Born to kill – Richard Trenton Chase (Video file). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=viYPTplgnsI

Woolums, J. (2011). *Primary and secondary sources for education and psychology*. Retrieved from http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/EDP/primary.html

Wulf, C., & Zirfas, J. (2004). *Die kultur des rituals: Inszenierungen, praktiken, symbole*. Munich, Bavaria: Fink.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Designs and methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Youngs, D., & Canter, D. (2011). Narrative roles in criminal action: An integrative framework for differentiating offenders. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, *17*(2), 233 - 249. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8333.2011.02011.x

Zeigler, N., & Kurtz. (2007). *Inside the mind of a serial killer*. Retrieved from https://www.lycoming.edu/schemata/documents/SocCriminology_Fall2009Issue

Zimbardo, P. (2009). *The Lucifer effect: How good people turn evil*. London, UK: Rider.

Appendix A

Matrix of Personality Development over the Historical Lifespan of Richard Trenton Chase

Periods of historical development	**Schahriar syndrome model by Claus & Lidberg**					
	Primitive psychic mechanisms					
	Omnipotence	Sadistic fantasies	Ritualised performance	Dehumanisation	Symbiotic merger	
	Psychosocial personality development by Erikson					
	Trust vs. Mistrust (0 – 1)	Autonomy vs. Shame and doubt (1 – 3)	Initiative vs. Guilt (3 - 6)	Industry vs. Inferiority (6 - 12)	Identity vs. Role confusion (12 – 18)	Intimacy vs. Isolation (18 – 40)
Vampire in the making (0 – 12)						
The teenage drug user (13 – 20)						
The delusional nomad (21 – 24)						
Paranoid schizophrenic on the loose (25 – 26)						
Murders, trial and death (27 – 30)						