JOHN WAYNE GACY: A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

Juazel Pieterse

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Supervisor: Prof J.G. Howcroft

Co-supervisor: Ms A. Sandison

Photographs of John Wayne Gacy





Photos retrieved on January 22, 2011 from Bardsley, M., & Bell, R. (2008). *John Wayne Gacy Jr.* Tru TV Crime Library

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Table of Contents

Photographs of John Wayne Gacy	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	XV
List of Appendices	xvi
Abstract	xvii
Chapter 1	
Introduction	
1.1 Chapter Preview	1
1.2 General Orientation to the Research Study	1
1.3 Research Context and Problem Statement	1
1.4 Primary Aim of the Study	3
1.5 The Researcher's Personal Passage	3
1.6 Overview of the Study	5
1.7 Conclusion	5
Chapter 2	
The Psychobiographical Approach	
2.1 Chapter Preview	6
2.2 Defining Psychobiography	6
2.3 A Brief History of Psychobiography	7
2.4 Psychobiography and Related concepts	9
2.4.1 Biography and psychobiography	9
2.4.2 Ethnography, grounded theory and phenomenology	9
2.4.3 Narrative psychology	10

2	2.4.4 Psychological profiling	11
2	2.4.5 Personality psychology and psychobiography	11
2	2.4.6 Life history, psychohistory and case study	13
2.5 V	alue of Psychobiography	14
2	2.5.1 The uniqueness of an individual's case	15
2	2.5.2 Subjective reality	16
2	2.5.3 The socio-historic context	16
2	2.5.4 Patterns and themes over time	16
2	2.5.5 Theory testing and development	17
2	2.5.6 Developing skills	18
2.6 C	Conclusion	18
	Chapter 3	
	Overview of Theoretical Framework: Development according to Erikson	
3.1 C	hapter Preview	20
3.2 D	Development of Personality	20
3.3 T	heoretical Context	21
3	3.3.1 Psychoanalytical approach	21
3	3.3.2 Id, ego and superego	23
3.4 E	rikson's Psychosocial Approach	26
3	3.4.1 Epigenetic principle	26
3	3.4.2 Processes of organisation	28
3	3.4.3 Biological processes: psychosexual stages and modes	30
	3.4.3.1 Oral-sensory stage	31
	3.4.3.2 Anal-muscular stage	32
	3.4.3.3 Phallic stage	34

	3.4.3.4 Latency stage	36
	3.4.3.5 Genital stage	36
	3.4.3.6 Modes and pathology	38
	3.4.4 Social processes: Environmental influences on development	39
	3.4.4.1 Child-parent relationships and development	39
	3.4.4.2 Society and development	40
	3.4.5 Ego processes: Identity	42
3.:	5 Eight Stages of Developmental Crises of Erikson's Psychosocial Theory	43
	3.5.1 Trust versus mistrust – Ages birth to eighteen months	46
	3.5.2 Autonomy versus shame and doubt - Ages one to three years	49
	3.5.3 Initiative versus guilt – Ages three to six years	54
	3.5.4 Industry versus inferiority – Ages six to twelve years	58
	3.5.5 Identity versus identity confusion – Ages twelve to eighteen years	62
	3.5.5.1 Time diffusion versus temporal perspective	65
	3.5.5.2 Self-certainty versus self-consciousness	66
	3.5.5.3 Role experimentation versus role fixation	66
	3.5.5.4 Apprenticeship versus work paralysis	67
	3.5.5.5 Identity versus identity confusion	67
	3.5.5.6 Sexual polarization versus bisexual confusion	67
	3.5.5.7 Leader and followership versus authority confusion	68
	3.5.5.8 Ideological commitment versus confusion of values	68
	3.5.5.9 Conclusion of the part symptoms	68
	3.5.6 Intimacy versus isolation – Early adulthood, ages eighteen to forty	70
	3.5.7 Generativity versus Stagnation – Adulthood, ages forty – sixty-five	72
	3.5.8 Integrity versus despair – Old age, age sixty-five – death	74

3.5.9 Developmental crisis as a cycle	76
3.6 Erikson and Pathology	78
3.7 Critique of Erikson's (1950) Psychosocial Theory	79
3.8 Erikson and psychobiography	80
3.9 Conclusion	81
Chapter 4	
Biographical Overview of the Life of John Wayne Gacy	
4.1 Chapter Preview	82
4.2 The Significance of the Historical Context	82
4.2.1 Life and times of the 1940's to 1950's	82
4.2.2 Cultural context of John Wayne Gacy's identity development: America	
and identity	83
4.2.3 Chicago police in the late 70's	86
4.3 Infancy and Family	86
4.4 Childhood	87
4.4.1 Sexual abuse	88
4.4.2 Friends and games	88
4.4.3 The swing	89
4.4.4 Boy Scouts	90
4.4.5 Making money	90
4.5 Adolescence	91
4.5.1 Schools	91
4.5.2 Traditions	92
4.5.3 Making more money	92
4.5.4 Dreams of the future	92

	4.5.5 Gacy and his adolescent peers	92
	4.5.6 Las Vegas	93
	4.5.7 Health	93
4.0	5 Early Adulthood	94
	4.6.1 First love	94
	4.6.2 Junior Chamber of Commerce, Springfield	95
	4.6.3 Thrill seeking	95
	4.6.4 Fried chicken and Iowa	95
	4.6.5 Gacy family	96
	4.6.6 Jaycees, Waterloo	96
	4.6.7 First arrest	97
	4.6.8 Prison life	100
	4.6.9 First divorce	102
	4.6.10 Other losses	102
	4.6.11 Life after prison	102
	4.6.12 A new home, new start	103
	4.6.13 New friends, new love	104
	4.6.14 Parties	105
	4.6.15 PDM Contractor Inc	106
	4.6.16 Old habits	107
	4.6.17 Divorce	110
	4.6.18 Politics	112
	4.6.19 Disappearances	113
	4.6.19.1 Butkovich	113
	4.6.19.2 Carroll, Jr.	114

	4.6.19.3 Bonnin, Johnston, Reffett and Stapleton	115
	4.6.19.4 Jamie	115
	4.6.19.5 Godzik	116
	4.6.19.6 Szyc	117
	4.6.19.7 Prestidge	118
	4.6.19.7 Gilroy	118
	4.6.19.9 Mowery	118
	4.6.19.10 Nelson	119
	4.6.19.11 Kindred	119
	4.6.19.12 Landingin Jr	120
	4.6.19.13 James Mazzara	120
	4.6.19.14 Robert Piest	120
	4.6.20 Social façade.	121
4.7	7 Late Adulthood	121
	4.7.1 Initial investigation, finding Piest	122
	4.7.2 The arrest	127
	4.7.3 The death house	128
	4.7.4 Recalled victims	132
	4.7.5 Missing persons	133
	4.7.6 Charges	135
	4.7.7 Psychiatric assessment	136
	4.7.8 Second prison stay	138
	4.7.9 The trial	139
	4.7.10 The verdict	148
	4.7.11 Awaiting death	149

4.8 Execution	152
4.9 Conclusion	152
Chapter 5	
Preliminary Methodological Considerations	
5.1 Chapter Preview	153
5.2 Limitations and Considerations in Psychobiography	153
5.2.1 Researcher bias	154
5.2.2 Inflated expectations	155
5.2.3 Analysing an absent subject	156
5.2.4 Cross-cultural differences	157
5.2.5 Reductionism	158
5.2.6 Infinite amount of biographical data	159
5.2.7 Elitism and easy genre	162
5.2.8 Validity and reliability	163
5.3 Psychobiographical Ethics	165
5.4 Conclusion	168
Chapter 6	
Research Design and Methodology	
6.1 Chapter Preview	170
6.2 Psychobiography as a Methodology	170
6.2.1 Choosing a subject	170
6.2.2 Using published data	170
6.2.3 Analysing unpublished data	171
6.2.4 Interviewing colleagues, friend and relatives	171
6.2.5 Choosing a theory	171

6.2.6 Choosing a method of analysis	171
6.2.7 Practice reflexivity	172
6.3 Research Design	172
6.4. Research Method	173
6.5. The Psychobiographical Subject	174
6.6. Aim of the Research	175
6.7. Data collection	175
6.8. Data Analysis	177
6.8.1. Data reduction	179
6.8.2. Data display	180
6.8.3. Conclusion drawing and verification	184
6.9. Conclusion	184
Chapter 7	
Findings and Discussion	
7.1 Chapter Preview	185
7.2 Conceptual Outline for the Presentation and Discussion of Findings	185
7.3 Trust versus Mistrust – Ages Birth to Eighteen months	186
7.3.1. Trust	186
7.3.2 Mistrust	188
7.3.3 First stage biological processes	189
7.3.4 Hope	191
7.4 Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Ages One to Three Years	192
7.4.1 Autonomy	192
7.4.2 Shame and doubt	195
7.4.3 Second stage biological processes	198

7.4.4 Will	200
7.5 Initiative versus Guilt – Ages Three to Six Years	202
7.5.1 Initiative	202
7.5.2 Guilt	205
7.5.3 Conscience	206
7.5.4 Third stage biological processes	208
7.5.5 Purpose	211
7.6 Industry versus Inferiority – Ages Six to Twelve Years	212
7.6.1 Industry	212
7.6.2 Inferiority	215
7.6.3 Fourth stage biological processes	216
7.6.4 Competence	217
7.7 Identity versus Identity Confusion – Ages Twelve to Eighteen Years	218
7.7.1 Identity	219
7.7.2 Identity confusion	223
7.7.2.1 Time diffusion versus temporal perspective	223
7.7.2.2 Self-certainty versus self-consciousness	223
7.7.2.3 Role experimentation versus role fixation	224
7.7.2.4 Apprenticeship versus work paralysis	225
7.7.2.5 Identity versus identity confusion	225
7.7.2.6 Sexual polarization versus bisexual confusion	226
7.7.2.7 Leader and followership versus authority confusion	227
7.7.2.8 Ideological commitment versus confusion of values	227
7.7.2.9 Conclusion of part symptoms	228
7.7.3 Fifth stage biological processes	229

7.7.4 Fidelity	229
7.8 Intimacy versus Isolation – Early Adulthood, Ages Eighteen to Forty	230
7.8.1 Intimacy	230
7.8.2 Isolation	233
7.8.3 Fifth stage biological processes	235
7.8.4 Love	236
7.9 Generativity versus Stagnation – Adulthood, Ages Forty – Sixty-five	237
7.9.1 Generativity	237
7.9.2 Stagnation	240
7.9.3 Care	241
7.10 Integrity versus Despair – Old age, Age Sixty-five – Death	241
7.11 The Life Cycle Completed	243
7.12 Conclusion	247
Chapter 8	
Conclusions, Limitations and Recommendations	
8.1 Chapter Preview	248
8.2 The Purpose of the Study Revisited	248
8.3 The Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research	249
8.3.1 The conceptual model	249
8.3.2 The psychobiographical case study method	251
8.3.3 The psychobiographical subject	252
8.4 The Value of the Study	252
8.5 Conclusion	254
Reference list	255

List of Tables

Table 6.1 Salient events in	the life of John	Wayne Gacy	spanning Pe	ersonality
		, ,	1 0	

Development 180

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Summary of Erikson's life cycle of psychosocial crisis and	
the resulting virtue (Erikson, 1982)	
Appendix B: Summary of Erikson's identity versus identity confusion stage	266
(Erikson, 1968)	
Appendix C: Summary of the psychosocial and modal elements of Erikson's	267
developmental theory (Erikson, 1980)	
Appendix D: Identified Victims of John Wayne Gacy	268

Abstract

The study is a psychobiographical study, aiming to explore and describe the life of John Wayne Gacy. He was a well-respected man in his community, entertaining the neighbourhood as Pogo the clown. But there was a dark side to his nature that he tried to keep hidden; yet glimpses of it appeared throughout his life. This dark side was exposed to the public when the police found twenty-seven dead bodies ranging from boys of nine to young men twenty years of age hidden in his basement. The study utilises the Erikson's psychosocial developmental theory in order to examine Gacy's life and attempt to establish unique character traits. The study utilises a qualitative single case study approach, and the subject was selected through purposive sampling based on interest value. Archival data was collected from secondary sources to enhance validity. Data was analysed by first organising and reducing information obtained; and then displaying it for discussion of Gacy's life. Gacy's life was reconstructed from birth, through adolescence and adulthood and his death. The findings suggest that the theoretical approach considered the biopsychosocial as well as cultural and historical influences of situations and experiences in Gacy's personality development throughout his lifespan. The main themes of discussion centre around the abuse he experienced and the influence this had on his development, the lack of crisis resolution and thus achievement of virtues, Gacy's lack of difficulty in establishing attachment and the resulting narcissism and lack of self-abandon, as well his homosexuality, sadism and the murders ultimately committed. highlighted he The study the importance of psychobiographical studies and the value of Erikson's theory in understanding development. Recommendations for future research in this field was made in the hope of further uncovering and understanding the personality and its development.

Key Concepts: Psychobiography, John Wayne Gacy, Erik Erikson, psychosocial development, interpersonal relationships, homosexuality, abuse, virtues.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter the researcher introduces the research study and provides the reader with an orientation to the chapters that follow. The context of the research is briefly described after which the research problem and the aim of the study are provided. The researcher then provides a brief personal reflection of the study. In conclusion, an overview of the chapters in the study is given.

1.2 General Orientation to the Research Study

In this study, the researcher explored and described the life and development of John Wayne Gacy. The research study is classified as a psychobiographical case study design and methodology. This allowed the researcher to holistically investigate the personality development of this inscrutable individual. Using the stage concepts of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development, the researcher attempted to conceptualise and interpret the personality of John Wayne Gacy. A document study was undertaken to reconstruct John Wayne Gacy's life, the materials used that allowed for the biographical content of the life history of John Wayne Gacy to be reconstructed and analysed, comprised predominantly of published materials written on Gacy. Following this, the psychological theory was applied to the biographical data in order to create a psychological narrative of Gacy's life history.

1.3 Research Context and Problem Statement

Life is not predictable and cannot be manipulated as is done in a laboratory setting, rather it involves complexities and requires interpretation (Schultz, 2005). Psychobiographical

research aims to close the gap between the *en masse* and the *en solo*. The research changes the emphasis of obtaining statistically significant information gained through research done on the general population to applying this information to an individual level in order to determine its personal significance (Elms, 1994). This is done to find the value in what can be learned from the individual as "even great men live only a single conflicted life in a special conjunction of time and place, a psycho historical conjunction where commonly experienced conflicts are consensually validated as belief and concerns" (Coltrera, 1981, p. 4).

Crime is rife around the world, prisons are being overpopulated and deterrents to criminal activity are few. It is the opinion of the researcher that the developmental psychopathology of the criminal is important to begin to understand, as it is only in beginning to understand that suffering caused by crime can begin to be alleviated. At the root of this understanding is beginning to understand the individual, as the individual defines himself, thus allowing for unique representations of the self. Therefore, by studying each individual, unique knowledge can be gained (Coltrera, 1981). In constructing and reconstructing this uniqueness of each individual, the whole person should be taken into account. In exploring and defining the complexities of a whole individual, motivations may be found.

The research problem is related to the need for an increase in academically institutionalised psychobiographical research. It is further responding to a need to recognise the value of studying whole individual lives (Fouche & van Niekerk, 2010). The research is further reacting to a need for research to allow for a better understanding of the influence of the psychosocial context on development. Through utilising Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development to study the entire lifespan of John Wayne Gacy, the researcher hopes to open further areas of study to begin to understand the development, motivations and influences that lead to an individual acting outside of societal norms.

1.4 Primary Aim of the Study

The primary aim of the research was to explore and describe the personality development of John Wayne Gacy throughout the chronological history of his life. The psychosocial theory of development as proposed by Erikson (1963) was used in order to conceptualise the lifespan development of John Wayne Gacy's personality. This provided a stage approach to explore and describe the life of John Wayne Gacy. The further aim was, in keeping with the psychobiographical approach, to contribute to the body of knowledge on the theory used, which is known as the construct of analytical generalisation (Yin, 2003). In conducting an in depth study across the entire life span of an individual, the researcher was provided the opportunity to add to the existing theory of development (Fouche & van Niekerk, 2010). Furthermore, the psychobiographical approach is of an explorative-descriptive nature, which aims to provide a description of the phenomena that is studied (Creswell, 1998).

1.5 The Researcher's Personal Passage

"I was amazed by the power these killers wielded – not just their physical power in some cases but their power to stun a nation" (Moss, 1999, p. 8).

Part of the researcher's motivation to undertake this study stemmed from her special interest in the field of personology. As well as developing a greater knowledge about the development of each unique individual personality and the multifaceted influences on development. Furthermore, the researcher has an interest in the potential that lies within each individual for greatness or for horror. Fyodor Dostoyevski (as cited in Kamal, 2001, p.1) stated that "nothing is easier than to denounce the evildoer; nothing is more difficult than to understand him". Undertaking a psychobiographical study allowed the researcher to adopt a scientific approach to gain insight into the life of John Wayne Gacy. The researcher chose the

subject out of interest value and her desire to understand the enigmatic personality development of a serial killer. In this regard, the researcher relates to the quote: "I am intrigued by what I don't understand" (Moss, 1999, p. 160). In order to reconstruct for analysis the subject's life, the researcher undertook a preliminary literature review on the subject, determining availability of sources of information and the suitability of the subject with the aim of studying the life of a serial killer. In the closing argument of Gacy's trial, his defence lawyer stated "What do you do? Do you hold him responsible...or do you take the first step of having him studied to try prevent something like this from happening again?" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 365). The researcher further evaluated different theoretical perspectives in analysing the life narrative of John Wayne Gacy, Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory was thought to be appropriate as it explored the development of an individual across their lifespan. It further incorporated both the psychological inner world influences and the social outer world influences on the uniqueness of the individual (Erikson, 1963).

Throughout her own development, the researcher was exposed to a variety of environments, societies and individuals, and her interest in the uniqueness of each individual lifestyle was piqued. The researcher further had an inquisitive nature fostered by her own environment that contributed to the interest in the questions of 'why' behind human behaviour. It is the researchers own personal belief that no one individual engages in any act without there being some meaning behind it. Her other interest in pathology and the abnormal psyche led the researcher to a penchant for trying to understand why deviants engage in these acts. The researcher thus undertook a psychobiographical study in order to satisfy some of this curiosity in understanding the question of 'why' behind puzzling figures such as John Wayne Gacy

1.6 Overview of the Study

The research study consists of eight Chapters; the first chapter presented here offers an introduction to the research context, problem statement and aim. Chapter 2, 3 and 4 are provided as literature review chapters. In Chapter 2 a theoretical overview of psychobiographical research follows. Chapter 3 presents a theoretical overview of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of personality development. A comprehensive overview of the salient aspects of the life of John Wayne Gacy as found in the literature is offered and described in Chapter 4. The methodological considerations as related to the field of psychobiographical study are discussed in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6 the design and methodology of this psychobiographical study is discussed. Chapter 7 presents the research findings and discussion. The study is concluded and a discussion of the value, limitations and recommendations for future research is provided in Chapter 8.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the context, problem statement and aim of the research study. Personal reflection from the researcher was provided, and an overview of the study was outlined. Chapter 2 follows with an overview of psychobiography as a research approach to provide a more theoretical orientation to the study.

Chapter 2

The Psychobiographical Approach

2.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter, psychobiography as a research approach is explored and discussed. In order to provide a meaningful understanding of this approach, definitions of psychobiography are provided. A brief history of psychobiographical studies is given. Furthermore, basic distinctions between psychobiography and relating terms and concepts are made. Finally, the value of psychobiographical research is presented.

2.2 Defining Psychobiography

A psychobiographical study involves adopting a psychological frame of reference in order to conduct a systematic study of an individual within their socio-historical contexts (Fouche & van Niekerk, 2010). Psychobiographical studies aim to transform an individual's life through the methodical use of psychological theory in order to create an illuminating story. The psychobiographer aims to discern, discover and formulate the story of that person's life through the undertaking of research. The story created by psychobiography is being used as guiding frames for human understanding (McAdams, 1988).

The primary focus of a psychobiography is on the psychological background and behaviour of the individual. It is grounded in broad psychological knowledge and reconstructs through retrospection of data (Cara, 2007). Psychobiographical studies may vary in format, but they all attempt to reconstruct an individual's life through researching archival documents and materials, or through communication.

A large part of conducting a psychobiographical study lies in producing a psychological profile. A psychobiographical study may be seen as a form of applied psychoanalysis, as it allows for the development of psychoanalytical theories through the use of empirical data (Coltrera, 1981). Furthermore, a psychobiography aims to construct the mental make-up of an individual; it explores the ideas, personality, motives and scripts that drive that individual in order to obtain meaning from the individual's life (Schultz, 2005).

Psychobiography entails researching and interpreting cause, consequences and relationships of an individual (Patton, 2002). Simply put, psychobiography is utilising psychological theory, conceptual models, empirical proof and knowledge in order to perform a biographical study of an individual's life, emphasising the uniqueness of the individual, their behaviour and their development (Elms, 1994; Fouche & van Niekerk, 2010).

2.3 A Brief History of Psychobiography

The study of personal accounts in psychology has a lengthy history (Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003). Applying insights to life stories is not a new phenomenon; in fact it began with the Greeks and spread throughout the Middle Ages (Elms, 1994). Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans* is estimated to have been written somewhere during the time period of 46-120 AD. Since then various individuals have created testimonials to the lives of men and women considered by them to be great (McAdams, 1988). Throughout the 19th and 20th century personal accounts were studied by a steady stream of psychologists in order to deepen their understanding of the human condition; this was despite the domineering behaviourism approaches of the time. In the current popular culture and human sciences personal stories are popular. In literature there are autobiographies, in television there are talk shows, life stories are prominent as there is an enthusiasm to tell and listen to popular life stories (Camic et al., 2003).

Freud coined the term psychobiography and wrote the famous biography, *Leanardo da Vinci and a Memory of Childhood* (Elms, 1994). Freud invented psychobiography as an approach with the goal of theory generation, development and testing. Over the years psychobiography has become more popular with various disciplines; as it opens possibilities for extending knowledge (Carlson, 1988).

In the 1930's Henry Murray advanced the field through his interest in studying life narratives. Gordon Allport, Buhler and Dollard were also considered significant contributors during this time. During the time from the 1940's to the 1960's interest in biographies declined; although there were significant contributions from Erikson and White (Runyan, 1982). Through his developmental ideas, Erik Erikson generated psychological biographies of both Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi (Cara, 2007). These studies conducted by Erikson were considered prime examples of the maturation of the psychobiographical method. Erikson explored psychosocial issues from Luther's younger years as well as the impact and effect of historical trends on the man and vice versa (McAdams, 1988). Since the mid 1960's there has been an increase in the amount of studies produced focusing on the lives of individuals. The emphasis has been placed more on lifespan development as well as how the course of life is influenced by demographic, social, environment and historical conditions (Runyan, 1982). In the 1980's the publication of Runyan's (1982) *Life histories and psychobiography: Explorations in theory and method* increased interest in the field further (Cara, 2007).

It has been noted that there has been a growth in the recognition of what biographical and autobiographical approaches contribute to psychology over the past three decades. Contributors to this growth include Irving Alexander in 1990; Alan Elms in 1994 and more recently by Todd Schultz in 2005. In South Africa the amount of psychobiographical studies

being undertaken appear to be increasing, especially with post-graduate students completing research at a masters and doctoral degree level (Fouche & van Niekerk, 2010).

2.4 Psychobiography and Related concepts

Psychobiography falls into a category of research sometime referred to as 'life-writing' which is undertaken in order to create an awareness of the multi-layered contexts of lives (Stroud, 2004). In order to allow for a richer understanding of psychobiography as a form of life writing a brief description of other related concepts and areas of research follows.

2.4.1 Biography and psychobiography.

As a part of an individual's daily life, one creates biography, discusses the personal history of those one knows, of those an individual admires and despises. Through the years this story telling has developed into a formal discipline; one in which the researcher bases the story telling on facts. Exploration of the deeper identity of the individual occurs, not simply an orderly account of an individual's life, but rather an identification of the dreams, goals, motivations and drives of the individual (Elms, 1994).

As the field of biography grew, it became more objective, and theories of personality began to be adopted into the process of understanding the life of an individual, this is what has become known as psychobiography (Elms, 1994). Psychobiographical studies require the researcher to *integrate psychological concepts* into the biography in order to achieve assimilation of information (Schultz, 2005).

2.4.2 Ethnography, grounded theory and phenomenology.

Qualitative research may be done with various strategies, each with their own procedure and inquiry procedures. Ethnographical research involves the study of an intact cultural or social group in a natural setting. It primarily involves observations and interviews, evolving contextually into a description, analysis and interpretation of the realities encountered in the field setting. In grounded theory research, the researcher attempts to develop a general, abstract theory which is grounded in the data obtained from interviews with participants. This type of research involves multiple changes of data collection and refinement in order to develop a theoretical model of a process, action or interaction. Phenomenological research is conducted with the aim of describing the essence of a human experience. The researcher conducts in-depth interviews with participants and analyses statements, meanings and descriptions. A small number of participants are engaged in the process for a prolonged period of time in order for the researcher to develop patterns and relationships of meaning (Creswell, 1998).

2.4.3 Narrative psychology.

Narrative psychology works from the assumption that each individual lives in a storied world and that it is through the stories one exchanges that the individual interprets the actions of others and himself. The emphasis in narrative psychology is placed on the structure, content and function of these stories. It is through the narratives that the individual creates and shapes the world and himself. Narrative psychology explores a form of knowing that is in contrast to a formal mathematical explanation; as it connects events over time through stories. There are some features that are distinguishable in narrative approach. Narratives provide a shape, structure or plot in providing a coherent account of an event that has or will still occur. A narrative derives its structure and meaning from the plot, as it brings a sense of order to finer details, connecting the beginning to the end of the story. Narrative psychology allows an individual to express life events through social constructions (Camic et al., 2003).

2.4.4 Psychological profiling.

Profiling can be seen as the process through which psychological techniques, research and analysis is applied to available information on an individual in order to make predictions of their personality and behaviour. The goal of profiling is to identify characteristics that an individual is likely to possess (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2006). Profiling involves the social and psychological assessments of an individual. It draws on the basic precepts and principles of both social and behavioural sciences in order to form an understanding of what is revealed through physical and nonphysical evidence (Holmes & Holmes, 2002). How an individual shapes their world is related to their underlying psychological motivations. Profiling is done in order to gain a better understanding of why individuals engage in the behaviour. Through understanding the motivation behind an individual's behaviour the profiler is able to make certain predictions about their future behaviour. Predictions with regards to individual's behaviour based on psychobiographical portraits can be done only in a conditional sense. This is because profiling may provide information on the individual's personality but the situation will influence the elicited response (Jerrold, 2006).

2.4.5 Personality psychology and psychobiography.

As each individual has their own unique face, with unique features and quirks, so too do they have their own unique personality (Alexander, 1990). Personality assessments and personology, which is the study of an individual through the investigation of their life narrative, is done to study lives in progress (McAdams, 1988). Personality assessments and personology looks at what the individual is presently like, what the future might look like for that individual and how their present personality has been moulded. It is concerned with continuities and discontinuities of that individual over time and in varying contexts. Studies of personality place emphasis on certain features which will be briefly outlined: the

development of the personality; the influence certain experiences have on the development of the personality; the constants and the changes in a personality across time and contexts as well as descriptions of the personality at particular points in time. When producing a study of an individual's personality one attempts to develop a description of the individual's personality. In addition, one aims to gain understanding of the behaviour and cognitions resulting from the individual's personality (Alexander, 1990).

Although similar to personology, psychobiographical studies examine lives that have already been lived. It explores aspects of the individuals' life history, who the person was, and how they became that person, the influences and developments. It seeks to explain the individual through the use of psychological principles (Alexander, 1990).

Both personology and psychobiography is concerned with exploring and describing the individual's personality over time, looking at different influences that leads to the personality development resulting in an inclusive description of that personality. The difference between personality assessment and psychobiography is that in psychobiography the individual is deceased, and the life has already been lived, thus allowing for focus only on the understanding. Personality studies are done on individuals who still have a future, resulting in the challenge of understanding as well as prediction (Alexander, 1990).

With both psychobiographies and personality studies it is important to note that individuals cannot be understood from only one point of view and they cannot be explained by only one motive. Different reasons can be ascribed to the same behaviour, thus it is important not to simplify personality research to a single aim (Schultz, 2005).

2.4.6 Life history, psychohistory and case study.

"Even great men live only a single conflicted life in a special conjunction of time and place, a psycho historical conjunction where commonly experienced conflicts are consensually validated as belief and concerns" (Coltrera, 1981, p. 4).

Life histories are a reproduction of an individual's life story as told in their own words; it places emphasis on the subjective reality of that individual and allows for a historical tool that gives a perspective on the totality of that individual and their context (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Life histories are reflexive narratives done in order to produce a text reconstructing an individual's life as it intersects with the lives of others; the context is explored, and emphasis is placed on both life and history. It is done as explanatory research aiming for understanding individual and collective meanings, with historical institutional markers providing objective information and the life of the individual adding a subjective component (Chambon, 1995).

Psychohistorical studies focus on non-contemporary events. They do tend to focus on reallife situations and thus one cannot separate the context and phenomenon in a historical study. A historical study is done when there is limited or no access to the relevant persons, and the data for the study is obtained through primary and secondary documents (Yin, 1994).

A case study is conducted in a similar fashion to a historical study; however it places emphasis on contemporary events, and adds interviews and observations to its data collection.

A case study tends to have access a greater variety of data then a historical study (Yin, 1994).

Within a case study, the phenomenon occurs within a real-life context, thus the boundaries between context and phenomenon is not always clear. Case studies allow for an in depth exploration of complex phenomena, thereby creating a more holistic understanding of an individual's life cycle. As a result of the boundaries between context and phenomenon not always being separable; the case study research method utilises a variety of sources in data

collection, explores many variables and employs theoretical propositions to collect and analyse the data (Yin, 1994).

Case studies examine how the unit of analysis interacts with its context and aims for a greater understanding of the multi-faceted variables and social systems that influence the individual's behaviour and perspectives. A case study's defining feature is having a single unit of analysis; which may be an individual, organisation, event, community or family (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

It is important to distinguish between case studies used in educational endeavours and case study research. Case studies used for the purpose of education are less rigorous, and may be altered for the purpose of demonstration. However, case study research has to be done with a rigorous methodology and be reported fairly and objectively (Yin, 1994).

Case studies may be used for explorative, descriptive or explanatory purposes; they may also be qualitative or quantitative in nature. Case studies may not allow for generalisation to the population as the subject of the case study does not represent a sample; however it may be used to generalise and develop theoretical propositions (Yin, 1994).

Psychobiography allows for the development and training of the researcher in single-case research, it allows for a deeper understanding of social, personality, developmental and clinical psychology as the researcher applies rigorous methodology to understanding an individual (Elms, 1994). Psychobiography adopts an individual as the primary unit of analysis. One case can result in further explorations, in questions being raised and in extrapolations being made (Schultz, 2005).

2.5 Value of Psychobiography

The contributions made by psychobiographical research stretches across the field of personality theory development, life history research in psychopathology and lifespan

development. Psychobiographical studies are indispensable and have provided a rich and diverse tradition to draw upon in the study of lives (Fouche & van Niekerk, 2010). Some of the greatest areas of gain emanating from psychobiographical studies are highlighted in the following section.

2.5.1 The uniqueness of an individual's case.

Psychobiographical studies allow for the exploration of an individual's life in its fullness. Life is not predictable and cannot be manipulated as is done in a laboratory setting; rather it involves complexities and requires interpretation. A psychobiographical study aims to construct the mental make-up of an individual, the ideas, personality, motives and scripts that drives that individual in order to obtain meaning from the individual's life (Schultz, 2005). This makes psychobiography an important field of study as it accesses information that in its distinctive nature would be otherwise inaccessible (Berg, 1995). A psychobiographical study is concerned with studying the pattern by which a person's individuality was formed, thus researching an area otherwise unavailable to researchers (Elms, 1994). The individual defines themselves, thus allowing for unique representations of the self. Therefore, by studying each individual, unique knowledge can be gained (Coltrera, 1981).

Schultz (2005) expands on the value of psychobiographical studies in stating that it allows for the understanding of people on an individual level, to develop deeper understandings of people and that the subjects are often the very individuals that create boundaries of the human mind. As a result, by taking a holistic view of one life at a time one can gain much knowledge (Elms, 1994).

2.5.2 Subjective reality.

In order to come to an understanding of an individual one needs to enter into their subjective reality (Schultz, 2005). According to Berg (1995), psychobiography allows for the understanding of subjective experiences of unique individuals. This is a result of a psychobiographical study utilising various documents to re-create the subjective reality of an individual's life (Elms, 1994). Research can be done from the perspective of wanting to simplify, and unify individuals. But it may also be done in order to explore the details or the diversity of individuals (Elms, 1994). It is done to explore the development of a personality, to observe patterns and to explore the formation of individuality (Elms, 1994).

2.5.3 The socio-historic context.

According to Patton (2002), psychobiography also has value in that it is not only able to look at individual stories in isolation, but also within the social, cultural, political and psychological context of that individual's environment. In addition, results from a psychobiographical study hold much relevance in an existential context (Schultz, 2005). Existential theories of personality place emphasis on the internal dynamics, both conscious and unconscious, that shape personality development. Psychobiographical studies allow these theories to be further explored and developed (Thomas, 2006). Jean-Paul Sartre conducted a psychobiographical study of Flaubert in order to expand his knowledge on both existential and psychoanalytical knowledge (Hogan, 1997).

2.5.4 Patterns and themes over time.

As psychobiographical research allows for the focus on one individual only, a much more comprehensive study can be done, resulting in the emergence of new patterns and themes and the confirmation of existing ones (Schultz, 2005). As a psychobiographical study progresses

patterns begin to emerge, themes develop and further questions about the individual's life are raised (Patton, 2002). An interesting psychobiography examines the unexplained, the puzzles and the inconsistencies in the development of a personality (Elms, 1994). Thus, in addition to emerging patterns and themes, consistency or inconsistency between information sources, salient information, omissions and significant information may also become apparent throughout the course of the research (Delport & Strydom, 2005).

2.5.5 Theory testing and development.

Schultz (2005) discusses the benefit of psychobiographical research leading to the formulation of new hypotheses through the patterns, themes and insights that result from the study of an individual. Psychobiography studies allow for progression and testing of theories relating to development and personality. Studies using the psychobiographical methodology may also allow for the extension and investigation of sub-disciplines in order to refine theory in areas such as career, health and positive psychology (Fouche & van Niekerk, 2010). According to Elms (1994), research is considered significant not only when it has passed a statistical test, but when it is applicable to a life. Psychobiographical studies focus on applying psychological theories to a life.

A large portion of research focuses on the general, rather than on the specific, although it allows for some insights, it does not account for individual differences. Thus psychobiographical studies fill the gap between the *en masse* and the *en solo*. This is achieved by comparing the personally significant against the significant statistical data of larger groups. One disadvantage of using statistically significant information generated from research done under controlled conditions is that lives are not lived under controlled conditions. People cannot be placed within statistically defined compartments. Psychobiography allows the social scientist to examine the statistical significant information

gained through research done on the general population, against personal significance on an individual level. Often in research, individual variations are not given enough attention, they may be discounted or not taken into account when analysing data of the more general population. Psychobiography allows for an exploration of these 'outliers' (Elms, 1994).

Psychobiography also allows for new theories to be developed, and for theories that have already been established to be explored in order to tease out new theoretical understanding, and expanding on the theoretical constructs and conceptualisation (Elms, 1994).

2.5.6 Developing skills.

Psychologists deal with complex, whole individuals in their daily practice, they come into contact with real people, who are not simply a bundle of nerves or confined to theory (Elms, 1994). Studies of an individual's life provide the researcher with knowledge of theoretical constructs. It allows for the creation and development of new frameworks of knowledge and understanding. The researcher may find ways in which the insights gained through the study of the subject's life has practical applications (Bloom, 1993). Thus in exploring the life of one individual, a psychologist is developing skills which are incorporated into daily practice.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter presented a theoretical overview and contextual foundation of psychobiographical research. The approach and its focus on the study of lives was explored and defined. Terminology related to psychobiography was briefly defined to allow for a greater understanding of the context of the approach. In concluding the chapter, the advantages and contributions of psychobiographical research were presented. In chapter 5, the criticism and considerations of the approach are discussed as well as recommendations to

minimalize the disadvantages that one may experience in conducting a psychobiographical study. In chapter 3 the theory of Erik Erikson is presented, discussed and explored.

Chapter 3

Overview of Theoretical Framework: Development according to Erikson

3.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the theoretical framework is introduced and discussed. For this psychobiographical study, the life and personality development of John Wayne Gacy is conceptualised and described by the theoretical framework of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory. The development of personality and the theoretical departure is provided as a context for Erikson's (1963) theory of development, which is then introduced. The development of personality as outlined by the modes of psychosexual development is mentioned in accordance with Erikson's theory (1963). The influence of parental figures and society upon development is briefly discussed, after which the eight crises of psychosocial development as proposed by Erikson (1963) is described and discussed. Pathology as viewed by Erikson is briefly mentioned. Criticism of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory is discussed as well as some of the ways in which Erikson responded to this criticism. Reference to Erikson and psychobiography is briefly made before the chapter is concluded.

3.2 Development of Personality

Personality is that which makes an individual who he is and that which distinguishes him from others (Millon & Davis, 2004). Personality is said to be the manner in which individuals behave and think. Personality is thought to form within the early years of an individual's life span, and becomes ingrained in the individual's adult years (Barlow & Durand, 2005) and refers to the observable and explicit features of the individual and the inner traits that characterise an individual. The character of an individual refers to the influence that nurture has upon personality or the characteristics acquired from the social environment. The

temperament of an individual refers to the influence of nature on personality, in other words, the basic biological disposition the individual has towards certain behaviours (Millon & Davis, 2004). An individual's personality is changing all the time, yet retains stable physical, psychological and spiritual characteristics. Furthermore, these characteristics influence an individual's behaviour across different contexts (Meyer, Moore, & Viljoen, 2003). The complex pattern of deeply embedded psychological patterning of characteristics that form the personality is expressed automatically in almost every area of the individual's psychological functioning as it spans across the entire matrix of the person (Millon & Davis, 2004). Erikson quotes Marie Jahoda in providing a definition of what constitutes a 'healthy personality' in an adult. The individual who has a healthy personality is able to actively master his environment, has a certain unity of personality and his perceptions of the world and himself are accurate and correct. All of these aspects are relative to the individual's cognitive and social development in childhood (Erikson, 1968).

3.3 Theoretical Context

3.3.1 Psychoanalytical approach.

Psychoanalysis changed the way of viewing the world in a fundamental way. It allowed theorists to look into the internal world of the individual (Bornstein, 2003). Erikson has been cited as one of the most distinguished psychoanalysts (Mooney, 2010). Psychoanalysis began to identify stages of childhood through the typical inner crisis experienced by children as well as the instinctual wishes which are responsible for the core-conflicts. The stages of development became what the individual unconsciously wanted in that period of development; the sum of the stages became man (Erikson, 1964). "Psychosocial strength, we conclude, depends on the total process which regulates individual life cycle, the sequence of

generations, and the structure of society simultaneously, for all three have evolved together" (Erikson, 1968, p. 141).

The utility of psychoanalysis is thought to be far reaching as it touches upon a multitude of aspects of human mental life, including motivation, emotion, memory and information processing. All psychodynamic frameworks of theories of personality have the premises that: (1) a majority of psychological processes take place outside of conscious awareness; (2) the premise of psychic causality that sees all cognitions, motives, emotional responses and expressed behaviour as arising from a combination of biological and psychological processes and that nothing in the mental life of an individual happens by chance and; (3) the early experiences of an individual is of critical importance in determining the individual's personality development and dynamics (Bornstein, 2003). The defining characteristic of a psychoanalytical approach is the view that the personality and pathology develops and results from inner conflict in the mental life of the individual. A large part of the conflict occurs outside of the individual's awareness (Wolitzky, 2006).

Erikson's (1963) theory of personality development is considered 'neo-psychoanalytical' or 'neo-Freudian' as it stems from the theories of the father of psychoanalysis, Freud (Mooney, 2010). This implies that Erikson accepted Freud's theories and concepts, adding to them. The psychosocial theory that Erikson developed was embedded in a psychoanalytical context, and was meant to complement the dominant theory of psychosexuality (Erikson, 1982).

Erikson's (1963) theory is considered inseparable from the founding tradition of psychoanalysis, yet it is said to differ from that of Freud's psychosocial development in three distinct ways. Erikson was of the opinion that Freud's theory of development placed emphasis on 'backward, downward and inward' to beginnings, drives, instincts, internal worlds, and mental illness (Erikson, 1982; Hoare, 2005). In his theory, Erikson aimed to

place the emphasis on 'outward, forward and upward'. The 'outward' emphasis refers to Erikson's inclusion of the role of the social world in the individual's development (Hoare, 2005). Erikson added to Freud's theory by expanding his ideas to include society and culture and the interplay between the individual and his context (Boere, 2006). Moving 'forward' was used to indicate that Erikson's (1963) theory considers the personality formation and individual development to continue past childhood (Hoare, 2005). There are continuous moments of progression and regression, of integration and retardation throughout the individual's life cycle of development (Erikson, 1963). This aspect of Erikson's theory implied that an individual is able to rectify difficulties that have arisen in their development, as a new sense of identity is used to redeem a senseless past (Erikson, 1963). Finally, the move 'upwards' refers to the focus Erikson placed on the ego development and the ego as enabling co-ordinated or planned functioning as it is an executive element of personality (Erikson, 1963, Hoare, 2005). This aspect of Erikson's (1963) theory was thus a move 'upward' in consciousness from Freud's emphasis on unconscious drives (Hoare, 2005). Erikson's (1963) theory is considered one of the few theories that continues to have a strong impact on personality and developmental research (Bornstein, 2003).

3.3.2 Id, ego and superego.

In psychoanalysis terms, individuals can be seen to be striving both towards and away from equilibrium between thoughts regarding fantasies of the things one wishes one could do or had done and thoughts of 'oughtness', what one should do or should have done (Erikson, 1980). Fantasies involved in the 'wishes' may step out of the confines of the individual's circumscribed existence. The individual may imagine events of "omnipotent control or of sovereign choice or of sexual licence" (Erikson, 1963, p. 171) and what it would be like to realise these fantasies. These fantasies lose their innocence when the individual allows the

daydreams to spread into their everyday life ignoring, manipulating or damaging those close to them. The 'oughtness' on the other hand can result in anxiety and fantasies of atonement. In the position of equilibrium, the resting place between the wishes and ought's, the individual can be impulsive, feeling trapped between the 'coulds' and the 'shoulds'. In this resting place the individual is conscious of themselves and can be themselves. For most individual's, daydreaming for any length of time without transgressing against someone else is difficult, which leads to once again atoning; thus oscillating between the two positions. The individual is only aware of a fraction of these conflicts, as it occurs largely on the unconscious level. The individual can bring some of them into the conscious level through dreams, play and fantasy (Bornstein, 2003; Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982).

The pressure of excessive wishes is known as the id, the oppressive force of the conscience is known as the superego and the mechanism attempting to maintain balance is known as the ego (Erikson, 1980). The id and the superego are viewed as a dichotomy, with the ego being the inner psychic regulator (Erikson, 1964). The id is considered the oldest province of the mind, and is thought to be "everything that would make us mere creatures" (Erikson, 1963, p 174). It is thought to be a bestial layer that operates on impulses and needs. The superego is described as being the 'automatic governor', the conscience which limits the expression of the id and is the internalised sum of all restrictions (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). The ego is placed in the middle in order to reach compromises between the impulses and untimely drives of the id and the compulsions and objections of the superego (Erikson, 1980). Where the ego meets the superego the self can either live in harmony with a positive conscience or be estranged from a negative one (Erikson, 1958).

The ego is central to personality formation as it is serves to bring integration and coherence to the individual's mental processes. The ego further allows the individual to bind together his inner life and social planning. The ego is also the guardian of meaningful

experience, as well as protector of the individual's sense of wholeness, freedom of choice and sense of uniqueness in time and space (Erikson, 1964). It is charged with keeping in harmony with the reality of the culture and historical day in which individuals find themselves, governing actions and testing perceptions (Erikson, 1968). The ego is not the individual, but rather a safeguard that has evolved to maintain order; it is thus indispensible to the individual (Erikson, 1963).

The study of the ego involves exploring the interdependence between the social organisation and the inner organisation of the individual. A weak ego is unable to integrate sexual needs with economic virtues. A strong ego entails an individual who has a firm core, yet is flexible in reconciling contradictions in human organisation and is able to integrate individual difference (Erikson; 1963). Most importantly, an individual with a strong ego is able to develop a sense of identity and knowledge of integrity as they emerge from an extensive and anxiety provoking infancy (Erikson, 1964).

Freud first proposed the id, ego and superego and referred to the conception of personality according to the id with its drives and instincts; the superego and it's moral guidelines and the reality and logic oriented ego as the 'structural model' through which the id-ego-superego dynamics determine personality traits and coping strategies (Bornstein, 2003). Erikson accepted major portions of Freud's structural theory (Hoare, 2005). 'Ego psychology' evolved from the structural model, placing emphasis on the coping and adaptations incorporated and went beyond the id and superego. Erikson (1963) contributed to the study of ego psychology building on Freud's psychosexual stages and contributing theories on psychosocial adaptations, ego identity and the life cycle (Wolitzky, 2006). Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development completes Freud's theory of psychosexual development, as he became a leader in the field of ego-psychology (Carrey, 2010). Erikson as an 'ego-psychologist' attributes significant influence from a well-developed ego; however, he does

not deny the passion of the id or the conscience of the super-ego. Rather, he places stress on the ego's capacity to master strength against the psychic struggle at each stage of the life cycle (Mooney, 2010).

3.4 Erikson's Psychosocial Approach

In conducting a study of the development of an individual, Erikson (1963) proposes that emphasis should be placed on the homeostatic quality of the organism as opposed to pathological items (Erikson, 1963). In exploring an individual's development, the following should be covered: (1) the measurable aspects of growth; (2) the expanding libidinal needs of the individual as well as the possibility of satisfaction, of frustration and of sublimation; (3) the widening social radius which the individual is a part of; (4) the individual's development and differentiation of capacities; (5) each development crisis that occurs at a given time as the individual manages new encounters; (6) the individual's increased sense of awareness of both dependence and estrangement; (7) the psychosocial strengths gained by the individual from each successive stage of development; and (8) the contribution of each stage to the endeavour of the individual to become a functioning whole (Erikson, 1968). It also needs to be remembered that the constitution, temperament and stage of development all influence the individual (Erikson, 1963).

3.4.1 Epigenetic principle.

The progression of the individual's development is pre-determined by a genetic blueprint and societal influences (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). A genetic blueprint implies that the individual has an inborn disposition allowing him to negotiate the sequence of generations while living within his organised society (Erikson, 1964; Muuss, 1996). The maturing individual continues to develop according to the prescribed sequence of locomotor, sensory

and social capacities (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). The epigenetic principle whereby Erikson theorised development occurs, proposes that each ego-quality is present throughout life, yet each ego-quality has a time of 'ascendance' (Erikson, 1964). In 1963, Erikson theorised that development occurs in a normative sequential progression of eight stages. At each stage, demands are set on the individual from his society, resulting in a developmental crisis. If the individual is able to resolve successfully this crisis, a psychosocial gain is made as the individual adds another ego quality to his development (Erikson, 1963). The principle holds that everything has a ground plan or blueprint and each ego quality arises from this ground plan at the time determined by the inner laws of development. When all of the ego qualities have emerged, they form a functioning whole (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

The epigenetic principle implies not a mere succession of events, but rather it explains laws of fundamental relations between the growing parts of the individual (Erikson, 1982). Each of the ego-qualities are present throughout life, but it is not until a certain period that they arise and the individual experiences the critical alternative in the crisis. At that crisis, the individual is both at a period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential in the area of growth opportunity that arises (Erikson, 1980; Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). If properly guided, it can be anticipated that the order of significant events the healthy individual experiences will conform to the epigenetic laws of development. Although these experiences are governed by the traditions of the individual's culture, the society within which the individual's development takes place must ensure some proper rate and proper sequence corresponding to what is necessary and manageable for all humans (Erikson, 1982).

The pre-determined genetic blueprint and cultural bearing resulting in development does not imply a neglect of diversity or a mass production of a set personality within a society. In fact it is the opposite, as the genetics and life experiences of each individual differ, so do their reactions, adaptations, human strength and ultimately their personality (Erikson, 1964; Muuss, 1996).

3.4.2 Processes of organisation.

According to Erikson, in studying an individual the researcher must begin with the processes inherent in the organism. The ego must be recognised as one of three essential, interdependent and ceaseless processes through which the individual's being becomes, and remains, continuous and structured in form; namely the biological or id processes; the social or superego processes and the psychic or ego processes (Erikson, 1980).

The biological process is composed of the organ systems, namely the body or soma (Erikson, 1982). The biological processes refer to the biological and physiological modes of thought, that is, the individual's mental make-up which is the individual's primary process of organisation. Through the stages of modes of development, the individual matures into an organism with an organisation of organ systems living out the life cycle (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

The cultural context or communal process refers to the organisation of the interdependence of individuals or the ethos (Erikson, 1982). The social processes refer to the geographically, historically and culturally defined groups into which the individual is organised. From this process an individual's roles develop. At all times human beings are part of the process of family, class, community and nation; organised into groupings of historical and geographical coherence (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

The psychic process is the ego synthesis or psyche of the organisation of an individual's experiences (Erikson, 1982). The organisational principle by which the individual maintains himself as a coherent personality with sameness and continuity is referred to as the ego processes. The ego processes enable the individual to maintain the coherent personality both

in his self-experiences and in his actuality for others. The process of organisation second to this is referred to as *organisation of experience of the individual ego*. This process is considered to be the central process ensuring that a sense of coherent individuation and identity is experienced by the individual. Through this the individual is able to integrate endowment and social opportunities. This process further allows the individual to anticipate dangers from both their inner and outer world. In order to conduct an analysis of the ego the ego identity, historical influences and physiological modes that dominated the individual's infancy, childhood, adolescences and adult maturity should be included. The individual is able to develop ego identity if he is able to apply that which he has been given to that which must be done (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). The different levels of personality development, that is, the identity element added at each life crisis as well as the psychosocial and psychosexual aspects of development, are integrated by the ego (Erikson, 1980).

At all times a human being is involved in all three process of organisation: organism or somatic process, ego process and societal process (Erikson, 1980). The stages of life remain linked to the somatic processes, dependent of the psychic processes and reliant on the ethical power of the social processes (Erikson, 1982). Different disciplines tend to emphasise one of these processes, depending on the disciplines area of practice. Nevertheless, all three processes remain of importance, as they are all part of the principal process of human life. The processes are different ways in which human anxiety present itself for investigation (Erikson, 1963). This anxiety can be somatic tension, individual anxiety or social panic (Erikson, 1982). An individual's destiny can be found in the combination of his anatomy, history and personality (Erikson, 1968). These three processes are relevant to Erikson's (1963) theory of development and are further discussed below.

3.4.3 Biological processes: psychosexual stages and modes.

The somatic process of an individual is made up of zones and modes (Erikson, 1963). Erikson's psychosocial theory of development is underpinned by the psychosexual schedules of progress (Erikson, 1964; Erikson, 1982). Individuals are said to act out the emotional implications of the primary bodily functions. The psychosexual energies of an individual can be sublimated as creative adaption is learnt by man from the modes of his psychosexual and psychobiological make up (Erikson, 1958).

Zones indicate the body part that forms part of the concern. Modes refer to the acts in which the individual engages in relating to the zonal aspect (Erikson, 1963). The organ modes serve as the prime link between psychosexual and psychosocial development. Each of the organ modes are related to a social mode, at each stage of psychosexual development (Erikson, 1982). Freud and other early psychoanalysts first pointed out bodily orifices as zones of importance with regards to emotional health and illness (Erikson, 1963). During different stages of childhood, different zones became endowed with libido that provides sexual gratification. The term libido referred to the sexual energy that was focused on the specific zones. The zones were further associated with vital functions, such as eating, and in fulfilling these functions, specific pleasures were reached (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1964). Freud further developed a life cycle according to the theory of libido. In order for optimal development to occur each area of psychosexual growth needs to arise at its appointed time and grow to maturity. In each of the stages a dominant mode is identified, however the other modes may also be present. Normal development results in integrated maturation. If the rate of growth in each stage of impulses is disturbed the individual may become fixated on that stage (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982).

Freud also proposed a second primal drive or energy, namely the death drive. This is considered to be the instinct of destruction; it contributes to man's irrational enmity and eagerness to destroy. Organ modes are initially considered to be ad-gression, indicating that they come before the aggression and are rather modes of approach or seeking relationships. The zones and modes later provide the child with a sense of autonomy and independence within the mutuality of the family. They become a vehicle of aggression through which the individual is able to act out his hostile fantasies of controlling others (Erikson, 1963).

Throughout childhood the individual learns modalities of social life through the modes of physical approach (Erikson, 1963). In the childhood years, the sexual roles have not yet been defined, and neither has the economic ones been fully defined (Erikson, 1974). As the child expands his radius of awareness, he expands his coordination and responsiveness. He learns the basic modalities of human existence as the expanding radius meets the educative patterns of his culture (Erikson, 1963, Erikson, 1980).

3.4.3.1 Oral-sensory stage.

In the first psychosexual stage of development the mouth, known as the oral zone, is considered the zone through which the infant interacts and thus this stage in psychoanalysis is referred to as the oral-sensory stage (Boere, 2006; Erikson 1963, Erikson, 1968). The mode that characterises this stage is that of incorporation (Erikson, 1963). As the infant has been separated from the mother through birth, the infant continues to incorporate the mother through the mouth (Erikson, 1968). The oral libido allows for the experiences from which hope emerges (Erikson, 1964). The incorporative mode is also demonstrated by the infant clamping his jaws and gums (Erikson, 1980). Although the dominant mode in this stage is that of incorporation, the presence of the eliminative mode is also evident in the infant spitting up. In addition, the retentive mode is also displayed in the closing of the lips by the infant. Each of these modes is variable in their prominence in a child depending on that child's temperament (Erikson, 1963). The first social modality learnt is 'to get', that is, to

receive and to accept what is given (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). As the child incorporates through the oral mode, the infant also incorporates through other senses, taking in what is seen with the eyes and what feels good in the environment (Erikson, 1980). The implication of 'to get' implies that the infant does not have 'to go and get' but rather it is a sense of receiving and accepting what is given. This further lays the groundwork for the infant's ability to 'get to be' the giver in the future as he learns a mutual regulation in his relationships (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). It is from the oral stage that the infant forms a basic sense of trust or a basic sense of mistrust which shall be discussed later in section 3.5.1. (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980).

3.4.3.2 Anal-muscular stage.

The second stage concerns the anal zone and is also known as the anal-muscular stage of early development (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1963). The child begins to develop the ability to evacuate his bowels and bladder at will (Erikson, 1968). This stage is characterised by the modes of withholding or retention and expelling or elimination (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). The child may initially experience discomfort as the bowels begin to learn to do their daily work, and the procedure of evacuating the bowels becomes a major job, providing satisfaction when well done (Erikson, 1969). The conflicting impulses around the child's ability to hold on or throw away, to reach out or to let go, to push away or appropriate things lends itself to the expression of stubborn insistence and becomes a battle for autonomy (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). This is further discussed in section 3.5.2.

In this stage the child is also able to develop a more active mode of incorporation as he becomes able to grasp (Erikson, 1968). In the process of the infant getting teeth and being weaned, the child is exposed to 'traumatic change.' It is at the stage that good and evil first

enters the child's world (Erikson, 1963). In this stage the child experiences three concurrences of development: (1) through teething and the more active mode of incorporation the child experiences an increase in the aggressive drive; (2) the child develops an increased awareness of himself as a distinct organism, separate from the mother; and (3) the mother begins to gradually return to pursuits which she had given up during pregnancy and postnatal care, turning away from the infant (Erikson, 1968). The child experiences anger against the hurting teeth and the mother's withdrawal (Erikson, 1963). The weaning should be handled carefully so that there is a less drastic loss of mother-love experienced; otherwise the child may experience an 'infantile depression' which may then develop into a depressive undertone of the individual's life (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968). Anal fixations on any of the modes of interaction are apt to prepare for a homosexual attitude in later life. This could occur as the infant attempts to gain love and control through anal incorporation (Erikson, 1980).

In this stage the individual can develop autonomy from a sense of inner goodness. From the sense of badness the individual may develop shame and doubt. In this stage the infant also needs to be able to maintain the trust developed in the first stage and to ensure that it is not jeopardised by the desire 'to get' demandingly and eliminate stubbornly. The second social modality is that of taking and holding on (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). The child is able through increased mobility to grasp, appropriate and hold on to things that are more or less freely offered (Erikson, 1968). Anxieties related to the organ modes of elimination and retention lead to defiant behaviour in children and ambivalent behaviour in adults. The ambivalent adult may have a many-sided personality, being at times restrained and retentive and other times finding release in self-expression (Erikson, 1958). Fear of losing autonomy is experienced by the child in the anal stage; the counterpart of this fear is that of being closed up. A further alliance in muscular and anal sadism occurs as a result of the sense of being

restrained and the counterpart of losing outer bounds in the struggle for autonomy. The anal stage is about power and control (Erikson, 1963).

3.4.3.3 Phallic stage.

In the third stage the child begins to identify their roles within the economy. The zone that is of importance is the genital zone (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). This stage is characterised by learning and intrusion. The modes of this stage are intrusion and inclusion. The intrusive mode is characteristic of much of the child's behaviour in this stage (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). The various motions of intrusion includes: (1) the child's vigorous locomotion 'intruding into' space and others; (2) the child's overwhelming curiosity intruding into the unfamiliar; (3) the aggressive voice of the child intruding into others ears and minds of others; (4) the child using physical attack to intrude upon other bodies; and (5) often the most frightening, the thought of the phallus intruding into the female body (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982).

It is in the phallic stage that children become aware of differences between genders. This results in 'infantile genitality', that is, a rudimentary awakening of the sexual organs and a promise of the genital stage to come (Erikson, 1963). The child may engage in a series of fascinating experiences about the zones and modes. If precocious manifestations are not incited by unusual frustrations or customs in this stage the experiences will be repressed in the latency stage (Erikson, 1968). Both boys and girls engage in vigorous locomotor, mental and social intrusiveness (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982).

The boy child in this stage is orientated to the phallis. In this stage there also occurs a realisation in boys and girls that there is an inferiority in terms of sexual organs with regard to the same sexed parent (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). Furthermore, the child has a realisation that they are unable to engage in a sexual relationship with the parent of the

opposite sex. Freud referred to this as the Oedipus complex (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). Erikson, being a Freudian, includes the Oedipus complex in his theory of development, as it corresponds to the development of a sense of initiative versus a sense of guilt further discussed in section 3.5.3 (Boere, 2006). Boys experience their first sexual affection towards their maternal figure who has provided them with comfort and nurturance. They further experience their first sexual rivalry to the genital owner of their maternal figure (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). Girls experience their first sexual affection towards their paternal figure. The experience of sexual rivalry to the maternal figure results in anxiety as it blocks the girl's retreat to the self-same mother (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). This then is what underlies the intrusion mode as the child 'intrudes' on others in both fantasy and action (Erikson, 1980). Sexual acts in adults appear to be aggressive from a child's perspective. They view the act as intrusive, a possible attack in interpreting the sounds and at times being aware of menstrual blood (Erikson, 1963). Children in this stage also have a fascination with the sensations, purposes and meanings of the sexual organs and may engage in playful sex acts or sexual investigations (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). Girls at this stage of development realise that they are lacking with regard to sexual organs. They do not have a penis to attach dreams of 'adult bigness' to (Erikson, 1968). In response the girl develops modes of feminine inception and maternal inclusion and tend to become more dependent and more demanding as a result (Erikson, 1963).

In the third stage both boys and girls develop the social modalities of 'making' and of 'being on the make'; thus the child begins to develop initiative. However the oedipal wishes and expressed intrusions result in a feeling of guilt (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). In both boys and girl, it translates into the libidinal and aggressive mode of intrusion and that of inclusion or 'catching'. Although both boys and girls have a combination of the modalities at their disposal, boys tend to have a more dominant mode of

intrusion and girls a more dominant role of inclusion (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). This difference in the modalities most commonly used by each of the genders appears to remain into maturity. Girls tend to favour inclusion whereas boys tend to favour intrusion (Erikson, 1963). This suggests that these modalities express some sense of masculinity or femininity which develops in this stage (Erikson, 1980).

3.4.3.4 Latency stage.

This stage of development is made up of the time between infantile sexuality and sexual maturation (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). The focus is placed on the social crisis of industry versus inferiority that is distinguished from the other stage of development, as it is more concerned with social processes, rather than internal libidinal and aggressive drives (Erikson, 1964). Freud refers to this period as the latency period as the aggressive and libidinal drives are dormant (Erikson, 1968: Erikson, 1982). In the latency period a psychosexual moratorium in human development occurs, as the individual is taught the technical skills and exposed to the rudiments of the work situation offered by society (Erikson, 1980). Both boys and girls, before a full differentiation of the genital modes takes place, must assume this latency period (Erikson, 1982). This fourth social modality builds on the modality from the previous stage, in the phallic stage the child learns 'to make', in this stage the child learns to work cooperatively, 'to make together'. Furthermore, the child learns to complete that which he is making (Erikson, 1980).

3.4.3.5 Genital stage.

In this stage, the individual reaches genital maturity (Erikson, 1963). Genitality is considered one of the development conditions for full maturity in psychoanalysis (Erikson, 1980). The beginning of this stage is in the adolescent years when the physiological

revolution of the genital maturation besets the individual. Genital puberty floods the body and

imagination of the adolescent (Erikson, 1968). In this stage of genitality, the adolescent

engages in the social modality 'to be oneself' (Erikson, 1980). At the onset of the adult years

the individual enters the psychosocial stage of intimacy versus isolation, further discussed in

section 3.5.6. It is in this stage that true genitality is fully developed as a supreme experience

of mutual regulation of two beings. This occurs via the climatic turmoil of the orgasm

(Erikson, 1963). The orgasmic potency referred to is the affinity with another loved partner,

with full genital sensitivity and an overall discharge of tension from the whole body, rather

than being a discharge of only sexual products (Erikson, 1980). Although the individual may

have experimented with sex previously it is considered to have been of an identity searching

kind, dominated with the phallic and vaginal strivings as each individual emphasises finding

themselves (Erikson, 1968). "Genitality should include the following to be of lasting social

significance:

Mutuality of orgasm

With a loved partner

Of the other sex

With whom one is able and willing to share a mutual trust

And with whom one is able and willing to regulate cycles of

Work

Procreation

Recreation

So as to secure to the offspring, too, all the stages of a satisfactory development"

(Erikson, 1963, p. 239).

If satisfactory sex relations are achieved by the individual then it makes sex less obsessive, it becomes less necessary for the individual to overcompensate and the use of sadistic controls become superfluous (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

It is in this stage that the individual learns to be an organism within the space and time of their culture. Each organ mode becomes integrated as each part function is learnt, and furthermore the integrated organ modes become integrated with the world image of the child's culture (Erikson, 1963). Adult modes of genitality continue to be influenced by the more or less distorting earlier organ mode experience; or by the over or under development of one or the other basic organ modes (Erikson, 1980). Every form of interaction is underlined by the characteristics of one sided forms of aggression or a mutuality of modes of approach. The ratio is established by early modes of approach as well as societal practice of sexual energy (Erikson, 1963). In the stage of genitality in which the individual enters adulthood, he engages in the social modality 'to lose and find oneself in another' (Erikson, 1980).

Traditional child rearing completes the fragmented drive patterns with which the child is born. Through the process of exposure to the traditions and institutions of the milieu in their childhood, the individual's drive patterns develop (Erikson, 1980). In addition these traditions and institutions become forever incorporated as the inner governor of the individual, that is, the conscience (Erikson, 1963).

3.4.3.6 Modes and pathology.

Individuals who are 'oral' or 'anal' types have over developed organ modes, leaving them bewildered as the modes are not in correspondence with a homogenous cultural reality (Erikson, 1963). Individuals who are what are known as 'oral characters' who have been unable to resolve the conflicts of the first stage can give rise to either a dominant fear of being abandoned by loved ones or a depressive form of feeling empty (Erikson, 1980). Oral

sadism can result from the fears in which the individual develops a cruel need to get and take from others in ways harmful to others or themselves. The degree of the pathology resulting from this depends on the integration it has with the rest of the individual's personality and the general pattern of interpersonal techniques of expression within the culture (Erikson, 1968).

According to Freud individuals with anal fixations, have the following typical traits: "compulsive ritualization; pedantic bickering; suspicious miserliness; retentive hoarding; orderliness" (Erikson, 1963, p. 161). Compulsive in the western society is seen by Erikson (1980) to be the expression of a general avoidance of contaminations. Anal types have overdeveloped retentive and eliminative potentialities which are keeping them fixated within that stage (Erikson, 1963). The anal or compulsive type of individual are found to be stingy, retentive and meticulous in the management of bowels as well as in matters spanning affection, time and money (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

3.4.4 Social processes: Environmental influences on development.

3.4.4.1 Child-parent relationships and development.

An individual's image of the world, their sense of decency and above all sense of identity is largely impacted by the child rearing practices of their parental figures (Erikson, 1963). Small differences in child rearing practices can have a lasting and significant effect on the individual. Values continue to be anchored in child rearing; child-rearing practices remain consistent as the systems of continued cultural and economic synthesis in which they are embedded remain sound. (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968). In the early stages of life, the individual's development is largely influenced by the parental caregivers. In the first psychosocial crisis it is the parental caregivers that influence the resolution of the conflict the infant and child experiences. This is further discussed under section **3.5.1** (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). The child is able to feel the tensions, rages and insecurities of

their parents, despite not understanding the cause and without having to witness their most overt manifestations (Erikson, 1980).

The Oedipus complex, the individual's wish to replace the parent of the same sex and possess the parent of the opposite sex, is experienced in the initiative versus guilt psychosocial stage and coincides with the phallic psychosexual stage of life. The Oedipus complex is considered to be a universal wish and part of development in all cultures (Erikson, 1968, Erikson, 1980). This is further discussed under section 3.5.3. Erikson theorised that in males, the result of the individual's love of his mother and hate for his father assumed morbid proportions, as he saved or destroyed others, these being 'stand ins' for his mother and father, propelled by this conflict of love and hate (Erikson, 1963). Erikson (1958) theorised that a pathological relationship with the father provides a context for an individual's sexual scruples. In addition, Erikson (1963) conceived that in a patriarchal society the mother becomes the 'go between' as she is split between the childlike and generous caregiver and the traitor in league with the evil forces. The father hates the child within her, while the child hates in her mother the affiliation with the aloof father, thus she becomes the 'go between'.

3.4.4.2 Society and development.

Inquiring into the character of an individual involves beginning to gain understanding of the values of their culture as well as provision the culture makes for individual's to 'get away' with their transgressions (Erikson, 1963). The infant, the child and the individual grow and develop reflecting the quality of the milieu in which they grow up (Erikson, 1980). Erikson's (1963) theory is well known for the developmental importance of the context of family and culture or society. Culture gives specific meanings to a child's early bodily and interpersonal experiences (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). Culture allows for the 'correct' amount of emphasis to be placed on social modalities and organ modes. This allows the child

to develop into an individual who is able to systematically and carefully channel the energies through the intricate patterns of daily life (Erikson, 1963). Individuals derive their stature as social beings from the collective integrity and collective identity of the cultural group to which they belong (Erikson, 1980). Whether or not an individual achieves in life is determined by cultural relativity (Erikson, 1968). Systems tend towards creating similar individuals of its members; however it makes exceptions on the demands it places on the individuality of the individual ego. These exemptions are inclined to be less obvious then the rules (Erikson, 1963). The societal influence on the development of the individual's ego identity throughout the life cycle can be through minute displays of emotions such as pride, anger, guilt, anxiety, and sexual tension (Erikson, 1980). The symbols with which an individual identifies are seen to be important to the development of the personality. The symbols in society can take on meanings and become all-important to the individual. They may be symbols of status, choice, challenge, sameness, possession, good or evil (Erikson, 1963).

Western civilisation is thought to have the conviction that in order to guide against the functions and impulses of early childhood, systematic regulation is required, thus leading to effective functioning in society at a later stage. Routine is used to regulate the child and their first experiences with their body and surroundings. Only later are they encouraged to develop into individuals and pursue ambitious strivings. Reform and striving after higher standards are placed central in the western consciousness. In western cultures, emphasis is placed on individuality. As civilisation in the western cultures is expanded, it becomes more specialised and stratified. Thus children raised in this society are able to include only segments of relevance from the society in which they develop into their ego synthesis (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968). When an individual takes on a role that is considered to be especially evil

according to the colloquial designations of the group; they begin to feel isolated and barred from the collective strength sources (Erikson, 1963).

3.4.5 Ego processes: Identity.

The idea of identity formation has been a large focus of Erikson's work (Muuss, 1996). Erikson (1963) defined identity as being the individual's image of himself, how he believes others view him and whether the two images of him coincide. Identity refers to both the unique inner qualities, characteristics and temperaments of the individual and the unique history and values of his culture that he incorporates into his own sense of ego identity. It is in mutual relation to the sameness within oneself and the sharing of essential character with others that the individual is able to discover his identity (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1980). The identity is formed as the individual gradually examines and integrates experiences and earlier identifications (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). Identity further refers to the individual's experience of a feeling of continuity that runs through his life and his sense of self-image (Erikson, 1968). Through the many stages of development, the realistic development of the individual's self-esteem is contributed to by the individual being able to experience a sense of physical mastery as well as cultural meaning, of functional pleasure and of social prestige. Self-esteem becomes a conviction that through learning the steps of development effectively one is moving forward into a tangible future. The individual becomes a defined self within a social reality (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980).

As the individual masters the various steps of development, they achieve a sense of actuality (Erikson, 1963). The individual develops ego synthesis as they become a successful variant of a group identity (Boere, 2006, Erikson, 1968). The ego strength of an individual is only developed through genuine and consistent recognition of real accomplishments (Erikson, 1980). Throughout childhood, a number of opportunities are present in which the

child can identify themselves with habits, traits, occupations and people of either sex. The usefulness of each of these identifications is found in the organism's maturational stage as well as the ego's habit of synthesis (Erikson, 1963). Various elements comprises a developing identity, these include the temperament, maturational stage, social stage, social situation, capacities, and current historical prototypes. These elements need to synthesize successfully in order for growth and accomplishment to occur; if they do not then the individual may experience conflict which is expressed in delinquency (Erikson, 1968). From a genetic point of view, the identity emerges through a gradual configuration of "constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favoured capacities, significant identifications, effective defences, successful sublimations, and consistent roles" (Erikson, 1980, p. 163).

Favourable conditions will allow the child to develop a separate sense of identity early in life (Boere, 2006, Erikson, 1968). Without ego identity, the individual has difficulty feeling 'alive.' From the gradual integration of all identification, the psychosocial identity of an individual develops (Erikson, 1963). The crisis of identity is most prominent in the adolescent years, however identity issues remain a lifelong concern (Muuss, 1996). The identity of an individual is never fully established, as it does not remain static but rather is continually revised as the individual continues adjust his sense of self within the social reality (Erikson, 1968; Muuss, 1996).

3.5 Eight Stages of Developmental Crises of Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

The developmental theory as put forward by Erikson proposes that the individual develops as a result of genetic and social influences across a life cycle of birth to old age and death (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1968). Each individual that is born has some capacity and right to develop his potential. Each individual is born into a community, and the community is

expected to ensure the fullest development of all of its members (Erikson, 1974). The psychosocial stages of development are proposed by Erikson (1963) to be the "ontogenetic unfolding of the main components of psychosocial vitality" (Erikson, 1968, p. 180). Erikson's theory proposes eight stages of development that occur throughout the human life span, each consisting of a developmental task or crisis which the individual is required to resolve (Santrock, 2006). The term crisis is used to explain a crucial turning point at which the individual finds himself. At this point a decisive turn for better or for worse, one way or another, is required (Erikson, 1964).

According to Erikson's theory, the socio-emotional process of each stage results in changes and development in the personality of the individual. The term socio-emotional process is used here to explain the changes in an individual's relationships and emotions (Santrock, 2006). Erikson's theory holds that, although there is a broad trend of development, an individual's development is influenced largely by their social environment. Furthermore, the nature and quality of the interpersonal relationships of an individual will have a substantial effect on the success of their development (Meyer et al., 2003).

The growth of an individual can be explained as a series of alternative basic attitudes (Erikson, 1963). In explaining each of the crises the term 'sense of' is used in order to pervade the surface and depth of the experience (Erikson, 1968). The term 'sense of' as used in the explanation of the series of crises refers to the experience the individual has as well as its availability for introspection. It further refers to the individual's way of behaving which is observable by others. Finally, it refers to the inner state of the individual which is unconscious, only determinable by psychoanalytic tests and interpretations. All three of these dimensions, the unconscious, behaviour and experiences, should be kept in mind with regard to each of the crises (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

In order to reach a resolution of each of the crises the individual is required to reach a favourable balance of two complementary opposing developmental opportunities (Boere, 2006; Mooney, 2010). Erikson's (1963) developmental theory referred to 'positive' and 'negative' qualities in each of the developmental crises. For example, in the first stage of development Erikson referred to trust as the 'positive' quality and mistrust as the 'negative' quality. In 1982 Erikson substituted the term 'positive' with 'syntonic' and 'negative' with 'dystonic'. These terms continue to be used interchangeably in literature (Muuss, 1996). If the individual has an excess of the 'positive' or syntonic quality it is said to result in a maladaptive tendency, if the individual has a surplus of the 'negative' or dystonic quality it results in a malignant tendency. Both a maladaptive and malignant tendency endangers development (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1980, Erikson, Erikson, & Kivnick, 1986; Muuss, 1996). When an individual is rigid in one of the areas of development, only one part of their personality genuinely matures (Erikson, 1963).

As a result of successfully resolving each of the developmental tasks an individual will gain an inherent virtue (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). The 'virtues' become a part of the individual identity and add a positive quality to the developmental life tasks (Boere, 2006; Welchman, 2000). A virtue is considered to be a basic human quality. This quality is further explained to be active, and an inherent strength (Erikson, 1980). The virtues are related to the process whereby ego strength develops from stage to stage, allowing the individual to progress successfully to another level of development (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). The virtues are not moralistically demanding or punishing ideals, but rather capacities found in the individual who has achieved a degree of fulfilment in his life (Mooney, 2010). The virtues are all interrelated, each dependant on the others. In addition the virtues are all integrated with all segments of human development, such as the psychosexual crises, and the steps of cognitive maturation, each virtue continuing to evolve with each new stage of development

(Erikson, 1964). Each virtue is grounded in the previous ones, while each developmental crisis gives new meaning to the already developed virtues (Erikson, 1982). The balance of these virtues and the modes previously discussed will be determined by cultural variations (Mooney, 2010). Following is the eight stages of development as identified by Erikson as well as the ego strength and virtue gained in each. A table that provides a summary of Erikson's (1963) life cycle can be found in Appendix A.

3.5.1 Trust versus mistrust – Ages birth to eighteen months.

Erikson's initial stage occurs in the period from birth to eighteen months, in other words infancy (Santrock, 2006). In this stage the ego faces its first task as the individual develops enduring patterns of resolution with regard to the conflict of basic trust versus basic mistrust (Erikson, 1963; Mooney, 2010). Basic trust implies that the individual develops a fundamental sense of their own trustworthiness along with an essential trustfulness of others (Erikson, 1968). In the first year of life, an infant is extremely dependent on adults for physical and emotional need satisfaction (Corey, 2009). The infant's development of trust is largely influenced by the quality of the maternal relationship or the infant's relationship with their primary care-giver (Erikson, 1963; Meyer et al., 2003; Mooney, 2010). The mother creates a sense of trust as she combines sensitive care of the infant's needs with a firm sense of personal trustworthiness; this is all within the cultural life style's trusted framework (Erikson, 1964). As a result of the mothers care, the infant develops trust in the continuity of the outside world, as well as trust in themselves and their own capacity to cope with urges (Erikson, 1968). However, if the infants needs are not met, this trust does not develop, rather a sense of mistrust results (Corey, 2009).

An individual's possible attachment style is seen as a result of the successful or unsuccessful resolution of Erikson's first stage of development (Santrock, 2006). Attachment

refers to the emotional ties that develop between two individuals. Furthermore, the attachment formed in the trust versus mistrust stage is said to have a large influence on the child's development and continues to have an effect on an individual, even into adulthood (Edwards & Louw, 1997; Mooney, 2010).

Through the development of trust the child is able to form a sense of identity from which a sense of being 'all right' and being oneself stems. Within the 'musts' of care that the parental figures provide, the infant also experiences certain frustrations. This occurs both in this stage and in subsequent stages (Erikson, 1980). Parents should guide the individual by both prohibition and permission towards a sense of societal meaningfulness from frustrations. This allows the individual a stronger sense of continuity in development, and in finding a meaningful belongingness, they are better able to move towards an integration of the individual life-cycle (Erikson, 1963). Child training varies within different cultures, each culture has a sense of intrinsic wisdom and unconscious planning with regards to the upbringing of the child, an instinctive logic as to what is 'good for the child' (Erikson, 1968). Trust is born of care. An affinity has been recognised between the initial and deep mental disturbances and a drastic loss of basic trust. If mistrust is created the individual may become fearful, cautious or suspicious (Erikson, 1980). A pervasive sense of mistrust can further result in the individual developing feelings of worthlessness in later life (Mooney, 2010). A dominance of basic mistrust resulting from a radical impairment of basic trust may lead to the individual withdrawing themselves. Extreme withdrawal may result in psychosis (Erikson, 1968).

If the individual has maladaptive tendencies from this stage they may have sensory distortions as they can be overly trusting and gullible. If they have malignant tendencies they may be withdrawn, and may even become paranoid or depressed (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982).

The infant first demonstrates trust in the regulation and ease of feeding and sleeping, as well as the relaxation of their bowels. As the infant develops, an experience of mutual regulation occurs through the infant's increased receptive capacities and the provision of maternal techniques (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). People and the associated forms of comfort become familiar to the infant. By letting their mother out of sight without undue anxiety or rage the infant has their first social accomplishment (Erikson, 1980). This is due to the inner certainty as well as outer sense of predictability that the mother has become to the infant (Graves & Larkin, 2006). The outer world of familiar and predictable things and people become firmly correlated with the inner world of the infant's remembered and anticipated sensations and images (Erikson, 1980). A sign that the infant is developing trust is in his developing ability to wait for satisfaction of his needs (Boere, 2006). Trust refers not only to the trust that the infant has in the outer world, but also to the trust in oneself. The infant is able to develop a trust in their own organs to cope with urges and the sense of one as trustworthy. A step in this stage of development is that of tasting and testing the relationship in the rages of biting (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982).

The infant engages in two defence mechanisms, that of introjection and projection as they begin the process of differentiation between the outside world and that of their inner world (Erikson, 1963). Introjection refers to the process whereby the infant internalises pleasure from the outer world into their inner world, experiencing the goodness as an inner certainty. Projection refers to the process whereby the infant endows the outer world with an inner harm, experiencing the evil from the inner world as existing in the outer world and thereby externalising pain (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). As the infant matures and develops maturing senses and reasoning they must yield these mechanisms. In acute crises of love, trust, and faith in later life, the individual may reinstate these mechanisms and develop irrational attitudes to their adversaries (Erikson, 1980).

Through successfully resolving the life task of basic trust versus basic mistrust, an individual will develop the virtue of hope (Erikson, 1982; Welchman, 2000). Hope then is the earliest of the ego-qualities to develop and the most childlike in its dependence on others. Hope is also the most indispensable virtue, as an individual without hope regresses into a lifeless state (Erikson, 1964; Mooney, 2010). Hope is the individual's persistent penchant to believe that primal wishes are attainable, despite rebellious urges and rages of dependency (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). The basis of hope is in the infant's ability to perceive the enduring and coherent qualities of the outside world (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). A maturing hope is able to maintain itself despite changed facts and through hope the individual develops the ability to 'change the facts' of a life situation. The individual develops the ability to focus hopeful expectations on what is possible, to transfer dissatisfied hopes to better prospects and to hope for what is imaginable (Erikson, 1964). Self-confidence and optimism are both allied with hope (Mooney, 2010). Hope is the ability to sustain an enduring trust in the attainability of fervent wishes despite dark rages and impulses which mark the beginning of an individual's existence (Erikson, 1964). At the conclusion of this stage, the infant's personality begins to crystallise around the conviction that 'I am what I am given' (Erikson, 1980).

3.5.2 Autonomy versus shame and doubt - Ages one to three years.

The second stage in Erikson's theory takes place around the second and third year of an individual's life, namely the last part of infancy stretching into toddlerhood (Santrock, 2006). During this stage the individual is required to resolve the developmental task of autonomy versus shame and doubt (Meyer et al., 2003). Autonomy refers to the individual's state of freedom and independence, a self-governing state (Graves & Larkin, 2006). The child is able to test the world around him as he advances from crawling to running (Mooney, 2010). In this

developmental stage, children are better able to perform tasks independently, if the child is unable to do things and complete tasks he risks failure. This success or failure has a considerable influence on the child's confidence (Edwards & Louw, 1997; Mooney, 2010). The primary caregivers' reactions to the child's attempts have a large influence on the resolution of this stage. The primary caregivers should allow the child to experience new things, test their boundaries and learn from making errors (Boere, 2006; Santrock, 2006). In order to develop autonomy, the child needs to have a firmly developed sense of basic trust (Erikson, 1968; Mooney, 2010).

Developing a sense of autonomy is closely related to the social modalities of holding on and letting go. The child develops wishes to appropriate demandingly and to eliminate stubbornly in this stage (Erikson, 1980). The individual should come to feel that the sense of basic trust developed in the previous stage would not be destroyed by the sudden violent wish to have a choice (Erikson, 1963; Graves & Larkin, 2006). The caregivers should employ firmness against the consequences of potential anarchy (Erikson, 1968). The parents should protect the child, as he is not yet trained in the sense of discrimination and circumspection (Graves & Larkin, 2006). However, the environment also needs to be encouraging, in order to allow the child to achieve. The parental figures should protect the child from meaningless experiences of shame and early doubt that occur if the child feels that he has exposed himself prematurely (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). If the child is denied or does not experience well-guided autonomy of free choice, the urges to discriminate and manipulate will be turned inward by the child, developing a precocious conscience (Erikson, 1963). The precocious conscience refers to the individual believing that he is in more control then he really is. The danger of this is that the child may continuously test limits that have been set; he may also become preoccupied with his own power and control (Graves & Larkin, 2006).

Mutual regulation takes on more importance within the parent-child relationship if too rigid or not enough control is experienced. If the training of autonomy is experienced too early, the child may either regress or advance with a 'false' autonomy (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). The child fears being manipulated or being interrupted as they have intolerance to outer control. This leads to an impulsive self-will or an exaggerated selfcoercion (Erikson, 1980). In self-will the origins of compulsions and obsessions can be found, in self-coercion the origins of manipulation and coercion of others can be found (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). If the child regresses, he will return to oral control, becoming demanding or wilful and hostile. If the child continues with a false autonomy, he will pretend he is able to get on without any help, yet he has not developed that ability, leading to shortfalls later in life and a 'shaky' foundation for development (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). In being unable to find large-scale mutual regulation, the child will find it in minute control. The child may become obsessed by his own repetitiveness, as he is unable to take possession of things in his external world and test them by purposeful repetition (Erikson, 1963). The repetitiveness will further serve a purpose as the child wants to have everything 'just so' (Erikson, 1980). Through the obsessiveness, procrastination and ritualistic repetitions the child is able to gain power over the parents in the area of minute control (Erikson, 1968).

Harsh punishment or excessive restraint from the primary caregivers may result in a sense of shame and doubt and hamper the child's capacity to deal with the world (Corey, 2009). Shame implies that one is conscious of being completely exposed and having others looking at one. The individual who is experiencing shame is not yet ready to be visible yet is visible. Through hiding his face or wanting to disappear, the individual is expressing his shame (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). This could also be rage against the self as the individual is unable to destroy those to whom he is visible, thus he wishes his own invisibility (Erikson,

1968). Shaming further creates a sense of being small, which the child experiences as he becomes aware of his own relative size and power (Erikson, 1963). If the child experiences too much shame, he may develop a secret determination of defiance or even a shamelessness of defiance. The individual may shamelessly engage in activities and behaviour that is against the social norm (Erikson, 1980; Graves & Larkin, 2006). This occurs as the shaming extends past the child's limit of endurance to consider himself, his body and his wishes evil and dirty (Erikson, 1968). This is further contributed to by the child's belief that those who are passing the judgement are infallible. The child may also be able to turn this around and view the person who is causing the shame to be evil, and form a belief that his own chance will come when that person is gone (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). Erikson (1980) considered many a defiant child to have become that way because of the desire to express defiance after 'being pushed' past their level of endurance of shame. If the individual has maladaptive tendencies from this stage they may become impulsive or develop a sense of shameless wilfulness, and may enter into things without proper consideration of the situation, his abilities and possible consequences. If he develops malignant tendencies, he may be compulsive as he attempts to do everything perfectly and avoiding making mistakes at all costs (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982).

The brother of shame is doubt. Doubt stems from the individual's consciousness of having a front and a back, whereas shame is reliant on the individual's consciousness of being erect and exposed (Erikson, 1968). The libidinal and aggressive focus is placed on the sphincter and the buttocks of the child in this stage, yet the child cannot see them. The buttocks and sphincter can however be dominated and evaded by the will of others (Erikson, 1980). The child experiences the outside world as attacking his autonomy as they designate as evil the products of his bowels (Erikson, 1963). Later forms of compulsive doubting are developed from the basic sense of doubt experienced by the child over whatever has been left behind

(Erikson, 1968). If the child is exposed to domestic violence in this stage of development, the child may feel uncertain about the predictability of others. Furthermore, he may develop a poorly modulated impulse control and affect regulation, which could lead to aggressive acting out against themselves or others. The child may also have strong startle reactions and be prone to aggressive outbursts and may regress (Keene, 2006).

As the child develops a sense of self-control without losing self-esteem, they develop a lasting sense of good will and pride The child could develop a lasting propensity for shame and doubt if he experiences a loss of self-control and feels over controlled from his outer world (Erikson, 1963). This stage is thus important as it becomes decisive for the ratio between love and hate, cooperation and wilfulness, freedom of self-expression and its suppression through self-restraint and meek compliance (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). The sense of autonomy, which the child develops from this stage, becomes fostered and modified as the individual progresses through life (Erikson, 1963). The preservation of a sense of justice in economic and political life serves and is served by the sense and degree of autonomy achieved by the individual (Erikson, 1968).

Through successfully resolving this developmental crisis, the individual will obtain the virtue of will (Erikson, 1982; Welchman, 2000). Will refers to the individual's increased judgement and decision making ability in the application of drives. The child is required to learn to "will what can be, to renounce as not worth willing what cannot be and to believe he willed what is inevitable" (Erikson, 1964, p. 194). The parental figures require stamina and flexibility in training the child's will in order for the child to develop 'good will' and maintain an autonomous sense of free will while not being overcome by too much wilfulness (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1980). An individual's ego is unable to remain intact without hope and will. Through the incorporation of will into the individual's developing ego, knowledge is gained of what is expectable from the outer world and what is expected from him. The ego

strength is dependent on the individual's belief that they have had an active part in the chain of the inevitable (Erikson, 1964). Will is maintaining determination to exercise both free choice and self-restraint, despite the inescapable developmental stage experiences of shame and doubt (Erikson, 1968). A basic weakness in will has been associated with compulsive and impulsive symptoms of mental disturbances (Erikson, 1964). The crystallisation of the child's personality grows around the conviction that 'I am what I will' (Erikson, 1980).

3.5.3 Initiative versus guilt – Ages three to six years.

This stage of Erikson's theory occurs in a child's preschool years. In this stage, the outside world should allow the child to start making his own decisions. The child should be given the opportunity to select personally meaningful tasks as he begins to resolve the developmental crisis of initiative versus guilt (Corey, 2009). The child builds on autonomy with initiative as they develop the qualities of undertaking, planning and attacking a task (Erikson, 1963). In the previous stage the child was able to develop the sense that he is a separate individual, in this stage the child faces the challenge of discovering what kind of person he is going to be (Erikson, 1980). The child encounters more challenges than in previous stages as their social context widens. The outer world expects the child to assume more responsibility, for themselves, their belongings and their behaviour (Santrock, 2006). If caregivers create a supportive environment, the child will develop initiative and respect for themselves and others (Edwards & Louw, 1997). In the resolution of the crisis, the child seems to 'grow together' in person and in body as a new miracle of vigour unfolds in him. Through the achievement of resolving the crisis the individual becomes more himself, more relaxed, developing more love, better judgement and becomes more activated and activating overall (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

This stage is characterised by an eagerness to learn and a bigger sense of obligation. Children begin to learn to combine with other children, making things cooperatively (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968). The child further identifies with possible future roles, deciding which are worth imitating (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). All the developmental tasks undertaken in this stage underlie the play of the child; playfulness is the essential ingredient of childhood development (Erikson, 1982). While aggression in the stage of developing autonomy focused on those who attempted to encroach on the child's independence, in this stage of developing initiative the individual begins to develop anticipated rivalry towards those who may have the equipment towards which the initiative is directed (Erikson, 1963). The two facets of development, (1) the child learning to move more freely and establishing a wider radius of goals, and, (2) the developments in language allowing for a higher level of communicative ability, both contribute to bringing about the crisis of this stage as well as being a support to the child. The child expands his imagination to many new roles through his increased language and locomotor abilities. These roles are both exciting and frightening in their possibility as the child develops a high, yet realistic, sense of ambition and independence (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

At the age of three or four, males go through a development phase that is characterised by developmental intolerance of restraint. During this time a sadistic kind of infantile maleness appears along with an increase in mental curiosity and locomotor vigour (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). The presentation of this is influenced by child's individual temperament. There is an increase in initiative in both the deed and fantasy of the child, and the child will be resistant to being restrained from engaging in their own movements and from questioning persistently (Erikson, 1963).

In this stage of development, the child experiences a unity between infantile sexuality, incest taboo, castration complex and the superego (Erikson, 1980). This occurs as the child

begins to split between their pre-genital attachment to their parents and the slow process of potentially becoming a parent one day. In this the child becomes a carrier of the tradition (Erikson, 1963). The castration complex refers to the male's fear that he may be castrated and the female's fear that she has been castrated as a punishment for secret fantasies and deeds (Erikson, 1968). This also results in a split in the child's emotional powerhouse as there is a differentiation between the potential of human glory as well as the potential of total destruction. The fragments of this split of the child's instinct remain forever divided between the perpetual growth potential of the 'infantile set' and that of the increased self-observation, self-guidance, self-punishment and self-support of the 'parental set' (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968). The child further develops the ability to mutually regulate the sets. The parent set becomes the superego, filled with the insight into institutions and traditions of society and the participatory responsibility (Erikson, 1963). The parental roles and adults become the inner voice of the child's conscience, which defines permissible actions and thoughts; the development of the conscience separates play and fantasy from the future (Erikson, 1964). Each new generation carries a conscience implanted by the generation before (Erikson, 1974). The individual develops the capacity for moral judgement in this stage, as the superego is developed (Boere, 2006). At this stage of development the superego is still primitive and cruel and in some children it may become uncompromising, resulting in the child being over-controlled and over-obedient. They may even develop a deep resentment as their parents may not live up to their conscience (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

At this juncture, the individual begins to repress some of their wildest fantasies. The conclusion of this phase of development results in the establishment of a moral sense within the child (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). At this time, ideal adults recognised in the economic ethos of the child replace heroes of fairy tales (Erikson, 1968). The child begins to identify restrictions on the horizons of permissibility. Furthermore, the goals of adult life

begin to be incorporated into the dreams of early childhood (Erikson, 1963). If the child is 'too successful' in inhibiting their fantasies, he may develop a sense of self-righteousness, resulting in intolerance in later life. However, the individual's initiative is bound to burst through the boundaries of self-restriction, resulting in him being able to do to others what he would not tolerate (Erikson, 1968). If the child is exposed to domestic violence it may result in a lack of emotional self-regulation. The child may experience flashbacks and nightmares, and have negative reactions to memory triggers. The child may also become hyper-vigilant, argumentative, or hyperactive. Fears or separation anxiety may also develop (Keene, 2006).

The other side to the development of a sense of initiative is the conflict with a sense of guilt experienced by the child over the goals contemplated and the acts initiated. These guilt feelings develop because the child may feel like they are intruding on others' lives (Meyer et al., 2003). The child may also experience guilt over fantasies that reach terrifying proportions from the combination of the oedipal wishes and increased locomotor powers (Erikson, 1980). Guilt is also experienced if the child has a sense that his initiatives are unable to fulfil all that is expected (Mooney, 2010). When the child experiences a sense of being blamed for intrusive actions, further guilt may result. When there is blame, there is also irrational guilty attempts at restitution. Neither blame nor guilt helps; in fact it may cause more damage (Erikson, 1963). These guilt feelings may lead to them only taking initiative in situations with which they are familiar (Santrock, 2006). The child may also overcompensate for the feelings of guilt, developing into adults who find their worth only in what they are doing and what they are going to do next (Erikson, 1980). If the individual has maladaptive tendencies from this stage he may become ruthless as he has his plans and sets his goals, not giving a thought or care to who it hurts or what it takes to achieve them. The extreme form of ruthlessness is sociopathy. If he has malignant tendencies he may become inhibited, as he does not try new

things as this prevents him from doing anything that he may possibly feel guilty about (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982).

The sense of initiative gained by the child in this stage provides the basis of a realistic sense of ambition and purpose (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1968). It is upon resolution of this developmental crisis that the individual will attain the virtue of purpose (Welchman, 2000). Purpose refers to the courage an individual has in visualising and pursuing valued goals, despite infantile fantasies or fear of punishment (Erikson, 1964). Purpose is limited by feelings of guilt and restrained by the individual's morals (Erikson, 1980). Purpose allows the individual to invest in the ideals of action and allows for the development of the strength of aim-direction (Erikson, 1964; Mooney, 2010). The personality of the child further crystallises around the conviction that 'I am what I can imagine I will be' (Erikson, 1980).

3.5.4 Industry versus inferiority – Ages six to twelve years.

In this stage the child enters 'life', the first form of life the child enters is that of school life (Erikson, 1963). This phase of development occurs in the child's early school going years, the individual is required to resolve the task of industry versus inferiority, and is mainly concerned with the discovering, learning and mastering of new knowledge and skills (Erikson, 1982; Santrock, 2006). By the time the child has reached the crisis of industry versus inferiority, he has mastered the ambulatory field and organ modes and has prepared to apply himself to particular tasks and skills (Erikson, 1980). The child is able to sustain initiative and purpose in larger projects, utilising these in gaining the skills of his culture (Mooney, 2010). The child begins to cultivate skills to become a worker and potential provider. The child is required to tame and harness his imagination to the laws of impersonal things, forgetting past dreams and wishes as they begin to be superseded by the determination to bring a productive situation to a completion (Erikson, 1963). If the child has progressed

normally, in this stage he will begin to sublimate the necessity to 'make' people by direct attack. Instead, the child learns that by producing things he can attain recognition (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). The ego boundaries now include the child's tools and skills as he learns to complete work through perseverance and steady attention (Erikson, 1963). The child begins to share in construction and making with others. The child attempts to gain recognition for producing things, becoming eager to be able to 'make things well' (Erikson, 1968). In other words, as the child amends himself to the inorganic laws of the tool world he begins to develop a sense of industry (Erikson, 1980). Children should be encouraged and commended for their efforts thereby fostering their belief in their own competencies and feelings of efficiency (Edwards & Louw, 1997; Erikson, 1968). The child finds himself in a much wider social sphere, including not only family members but also peers, teachers and members of the community at large (Boere, 2006).

This stage differs from the others, as there is no swing from an inner turmoil to a new mastery. This stage is more influenced by the outer hindrances then the internal hindrances as it is based on the child's social world (Erikson, 1968). It involves doing things with others as the child grows a sense of the technological ethos of their culture. It is in this stage of development that the wider society becomes significant to the child as he begins to expand his understanding of meaningful roles in his culture's technology and economy (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982).

Common across all cultures in this stage is that the child receives some sort of systematic instruction, whether it is in a school that pursues literate education or the teaching of adults in the culture who have gifts and inclinations (Erikson, 1963). Children also gain knowledge about the basic skills of simple technologies of their culture from their older peers (Erikson, 1968). In cultures in which the training is done by appointed teachers with the goals of making the child literate in order to pursue a wider education and specialised career, the goals

of initiative become indistinct. The more variety and confusion in specialisation the more complicated the social reality becomes and the vaguer the parental roles in the life of the child (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). School with its own goals and limits, achievements and disappointments, becomes a society and culture of its own. In this environment, children learn not only the mastery of objects and toys, but also the beginnings of social capabilities. Through experimenting, planning and sharing the child is able to develop an infantile way of mastering social experiences (Erikson, 1968). The culture of school education places emphasis on self-restraint and a duty in doing what one is supposed to do. The child is able to discover through play and interaction with the environment not only what he must do, but also the ability to complete the required tasks through methods which he enjoys doing (Erikson, 1980).

The one danger of this stage is in the possible sense of inferiority or inadequacy that the child may experience (Erikson, 1982). Children develop the ability to set and achieve personal goals; if they are unable to attain these goals they may develop a sense of inferiority and feelings of inadequacy (Corey, 2009; Meyer et al., 2003). If the child feels inferior to his tool partners or is despondent over his tools and skills, he may not be able to identify with his peers and a section of the tool world. The loss of hope in his sense of industry may result in a regression to an earlier stage of the more isolated, less tool conscious oedipal time (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). The child may also have a sense of inferiority if he has not fully resolved a previous stage, wanting to remain 'the baby' and not being prepared to enter the school life (Erikson, 1968). A second danger of this stage is that the child begins to accept work as his only obligation. The individual's identity may become only that of the 'good little worker' (Erikson, 1980). This can result in him becoming a conformist and a thoughtless slave of technology, finding value only in 'what works'. In this, the individual restricts his horizon to include only his work (Erikson, 1963). If the individual has maladaptive

tendencies from this stage, he may have a narrow virtuosity as he develops one area of competency without having or being allowed to have broader interests. If the child has malignant tendencies he may develop a sense of inertia as he develops a belief that if you are unable to succeed on the first try, do not try again (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982). If the child is exposed to domestic violence within this stage of development, he may experience a fear of recurrence. The child may develop depressive symptoms and distorted perceptions of himself. The child may also lack the motivation to master his environment and may attempt to avoid situations that remind him of the trauma and he may also become socially inhibited. The child may experience difficulties at school and could become preoccupied with words or symbols that relate directly or indirectly to the trauma. The child may also begin to view the intentions of others as hostile (Keene, 2006).

If this life crisis is effectively resolved, the individual will arrive at the virtue of competence (Boere, 2006; Welchman, 2000). Having achieved hope, will and purpose the individual is only able to anticipate vaguely future tasks; with competence, the individual is able to apply basic methods and skills to achieve these tasks (Erikson, 1964; Mooney, 2010). As the child begins to learn a variety of roles, he develops the ability to act in these competently (Erikson, 1974). Competence is freely unimpaired by infantile inferiority, using dexterity, intelligence and skills in order to complete tasks. Children in this stage are taught the skills that are of practical use and which lead to lasting achievements within their culture (Erikson, 1968). The child makes methods his own and develops the ability 'to manage' as he gains competence in technological specialisation (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). Competence develops into workmanship at later stages in life (Erikson, 1964). The virtue of competence is developed in line with the ethos of production (Erikson, 1982). The individual is required to develop the capacity to work in order to maintain ego power, without a sense of workmanship, their individual

will feel inferior and be unable to match their ability to their reality (Erikson, 1964). The child's personality continues to crystallise around the conviction that 'I am what I learn' (Erikson, 1980).

3.5.5 Identity versus identity confusion – Ages twelve to eighteen years.

The fifth stage takes place between the ages of twelve and eighteen years (Corey, 2009). In this stage, childhood ends as the individual enters into adolescence. It is the psychosocial stage where the individual is between childhood and adulthood (Erikson, 1980). The individual is between the morals learnt as a child and the ethics that shall be established as an adult (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). Adolescents find themselves between the past and the future, both in their individual lives and in society. In this span of time they have ceased being children yet they have not yet reached a time in which their deeds and works define a future identity and contribute towards society (Erikson, 1958). In this stage of transition, the individual is occupied with the developmental task of identity versus identity confusion. The individual is occupied with finding his own identity, setting life goals and finding meaning (Corey, 2009). In establishing an identity the individual remains in connection with others as relationships are an essential part of the process of identity formation (Mooney, 2010). The larger cultural society in which the individual finds himself is considered more tolerant of adolescent behaviour, which may be unacceptable in other psychosocial stages as adolescents often come into conflict with the norms and rules of society in their quest to establishing an identity (Erikson, 1982; Meyer et al., 2003). The adolescent is said to be in a 'moratorium' as there is a delay in their adult commitments as well as permissiveness from society of the often provocative play of the youth (Erikson, 1968).

The primary concern of the adolescent is how they appear in the eyes of others as compared to how they feel they are. The question of how to connect the occupational prototypes of the day to their own roles and skills becomes foremost in importance (Erikson, 1968). The combination of rapid growth that echoes that of childhood and the adolescent reaching genital maturity results in the sameness and continuities that he previously relied on being questioned again (Erikson, 1980). The adolescent has to re-contest the battles of earlier crises, and rely on well-meaning others to play the role of adversaries. Adolescents are also quick in placing idols and ideals as the guardians to their identity (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982).

In this phase of life, the ego identity is developed as integration takes place. The term ego identity refers to the individual's sense of knowing who he is and how he fits into the rest of society (Boere, 2006). In this stage, the individual is able to develop as a defined personality and grow a conviction that they are learning effective steps towards a tangible future within a social reality which he understands (Erikson, 1980). Ego identity refers to the process that allows an individual to experience himself as having continuity and sameness; and therefore to act accordingly. The ego identity is achieved through the ego's ability to integrate an accrual of the experiences gained from the previous crisis (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). Although the identity crystallisation takes place at this stage of the individual's life, the prior stages each fill an aspect of development as they lead to the identity establishment from infant to adolescent (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). In the first stage of life the individual learns to trust in mutual recognition versus autistic isolation of mistrust. The individual must now be able to trust others in order to place faith in others and in ideas, while he is holding himself trustworthy. The paradox to the trust established being in the adolescent's fear of being too trusting and foolish, thus proclaiming cynical mistrust while wanting faith. The second stage of life allowed the individual to experience the will to be oneself versus the selfdoubt he may experience. The individual needs to be able to establish his own identity through his free will. The adolescent fears being forced into activities, and would rather act

shamelessly out of free will then to be forced into activities by parental figures which would be considered shameful by his peers. In the third stage of life, the child is able to anticipate roles versus role inhibition. The individual further needs to have a desire 'to make', in making a choice of future occupation and roles the adolescent requires an established purpose in life. Finally, through task identification versus a sense of futility; the adolescent should be able to identify with roles of competency in order to accept a more implicit ideological outlook (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). The identifications with the variations of libido and the organ modes, the individual's endowment that allowed them to develop their abilities and the prospects offered in social roles are all assimilated to form the ego identity (Erikson, 1963).

The adolescent is most susceptible to the propaganda of ideological systems and most willing in their need for decisions and search for identity to find new beliefs and discard old ones (Erikson, 1958). This is as the mind of an adolescent is ideological, as they search for values that guide their identity (Erikson, 1963). They are faced with issues of ideology and aristocracy, as they convince themselves that those who succeed in later adult life are those who are the best. It is of great importance for ego development for the adolescent to experience an ideological simplification of the universe. Without this ideology, the ego is unable to organise experiences according to their specific capacities (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982).

The adolescent seeks affirmation from their peers, and the group to which they belong consists not only of creeds, programmes and rituals but also of definitions as to what is evil and inimical (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). An aspect of the identity crisis is that of the need for devotion. Devotion can be to leaders, teams, activities, techniques; at the same time the adolescent may also experience an intense intolerance to those who are different (Erikson, 1958). The crowds and cliques of the adolescent stage tend to be very 'clannish' as they

exclude those who are 'different' (Erikson, 1963). In-groups and out-groups develop in the society of the adolescent, and in order to defend against the ego-identity of the members in the group, those who are different from the in-group are excluded. These differences may be due to race, gender, cultural background, tastes, dress and gestures (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). It is in this stage that the individual begins to 'fall in love'; a lot of the young love of the adolescent consists of conversation. This is another attempt of the adolescent to arrive at their own identity as they see a reflection of their own diffused ego-image projected onto the other individual (Erikson, 1963). The adolescent may also be required to reach certain accomplishments or undergo certain rituals in order to pass from childhood into adulthood; these are referred to as rites of passage (Boere, 2006).

In establishing an identity, the individual grapples with identity confusion. It is from the identity conflict, urgent questions and vague inner states arises (Erikson, 1958). The various part symptoms of identity confusion can be explained in relation to derivatives and precursors of the elements of the psychosocial crisis (Erikson, 1968).

3.5.5.1 Time diffusion versus temporal perspective.

In the first psychosocial crisis, the infant developed trust through an inner conviction that satisfaction is predictable and reliable. The routine enables the infant's development of temporal perspective. The ego's inability to maintain this perspective as a result of identity confusion is explained in juxtaposition to this first crisis as the individual develops a mistrust of time, it is referred to as the temporal perspective versus time confusion. The adolescent experiences a regression into the infancy stage in which time does not exist. The adolescent experiences difficulty being able to delay gratification, plans become catastrophes in the eyes of an adolescent and providers become traitors. This yields to an outlook of a number of

possible futures as the individual establishes an identity and cultivates a perspective worth investing energy into (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996).

3.5.5.2 Self-certainty versus self-consciousness.

The second stage is that of self-certainty versus self-consciousness and is in conjunction with the second psychosocial crisis in which the child experiences shame and doubt in coming to establish a sense of autonomy. The adolescent experiences doubt over the reliability and reconcilability of the whole span of childhood that is being left behind. He further experiences a sense of being exposed to age-mates and leaders while attempting to establish an identity that is distinct and distinctive. This is resolved as the individual develops a sense of self-certainty in the accrued identity from the resolution of each previous crisis. This self-certainty is added to as the adolescent gains independence from his family (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996).

3.5.5.3 Role experimentation versus role fixation.

The third part symptom of identity confusion refers to role experimentation and role fixation, the establishment of roles in adolescence has been previous discussed and can be seen to relate to the third psychosocial crisis during which time the individual learns to balance a sense of initiative with a sense of guilt. It is normal in this stage for the adolescent to have a relatively guilt-free initiative in disciplined role experimentation. This experimentation occurs in conjunction with the codes of the individual's adolescent sub societies (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996).

3.5.5.4 Apprenticeship versus work paralysis.

Apprenticeship versus work paralysis refers to the fourth part symptom of identity confusion as the individual attempts to find a niche in his social environment for his true gifts. The individual may experience a sense of inadequacy as in this stage the ego ideal of an adolescent may want to settle for nothing less than the unobtainable omnipotence or omniscience. Through competition in work and play, the individual is able to discover his own kind of achievement and consolidate his work identity (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996).

3.5.5.5 Identity versus identity confusion.

The fifth part symptom is that which is the overall focus and corresponds to the fifth psychosocial crisis currently being discussed (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

3.5.5.6 Sexual polarization versus bisexual confusion.

The sixth part symptom of identity confusion is the first of the three precursors to future psychosocial crises. It is the precursor to the crisis of intimacy versus isolation, and it is in this that the individual contends with his sexual identity. The adolescent tends to have a 'totalistic' frame of mind, thus if he feels he is a little less of one sex it means he is all of the other. If the individual has a negative experience with regard to sexual identity or if something happens in this time that marks him as socially deviant, he may develop a deep fixation. Intimacy may seem dangerous to an individual who does not have a firm sense of identity. The development of sexual identity is largely influenced by the individual's cultural psychosocial differentiation of masculine and feminine qualities. In order to establish a firm sense of identity the adolescent is required to find a balance between concentrating on genital activity and concentrating on social, artistic and intellectual aims in order to avoid an over or

under developed genital polarization with the other sex. The identity gain is made in the individual's discovery of preferred sexual behaviour (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996).

3.5.5.7 Leader and followership versus authority confusion.

In establishing an identity, the adolescent makes an important step towards adult responsibility in learning to take leadership and in gaining the ability to follow higher leaders. This is a precursor to the psychosocial stage of generativity versus stagnation as the individual begins to replace the parent images in the infantile super ego with the hierarchy of leader-images from his own sub culture. This develops the adolescent's sense of responsibility and brings clarification to individual's status, resulting in a firmer identity formation (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996).

3.5.5.8 Ideological commitment versus confusion of values.

The ideological requirement for an ideological system in the adolescent years has been discussed previously. A precursor to the final psychosocial crisis of integrity versus despair can be seen in relationship to this part symptom of identity confusion as the adolescent finds his 'way of life'. The adolescent becomes aware of other styles of life and through ideology finds his own style and meaning in life. This can be seen to closely relate to ego integrity found in the last stage of life (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996).

3.5.5.9 Conclusion of the part symptoms.

It is at the conclusion of each of these part symptoms that the individual is able to extract and establish his own identity from the identity confusion (Erikson, 1980). The individual

should have acquired an identity that has been firmly established and informed enough to act (Erikson, 1974). If the individual has maladaptive tendencies, he may become a fanatic as he may come to believe that his way is the only way. If he has malignant tendencies he may experience a sense of repudiation, as he abandons his need for an identity. He may become fused with the social group within which he finds himself. These individuals are also particularly vulnerable to becoming a part of a group that is eager to provide details of his identity for him, for example, a religious cult or delinquent groups (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982).

At the resolution of this life stage, fidelity will be gained as a virtue by the individual (Welchman, 2000). Fidelity refers to the ability the individual develops to sustain freely promised loyalties despite inescapable inconsistencies of value systems (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). At the core of fidelity is the intent to remain loyal to role choices, others and ideologies (Erikson, 1974; Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). What one cares about, to what or whom one is faithful provides a footing for an identity that has been established on a firm sense of where one belongs or fits in (Mooney, 2010). Achieving the virtue of fidelity implies that the individual has found a place in their community and that they are able to contribute to this community (Boere, 2006). Fidelity forms the cornerstone of identity and contains the following characteristics: accuracy, sentiment, truthfulness, sincerity, conviction, loyalty, devotion and fairness. Sanctioning ideologies and affirming companions inspire fidelity. Although identity and fidelity are necessary for ego strength, they do not provide it; it is the individual's place in culture and the reciprocal relationship between him and society that complete the foundation (Erikson, 1964). A summary of Erikson's (1963) identity versus identity confusion stage can be found in Appendix B.

3.5.6 Intimacy versus isolation – Early adulthood, ages eighteen to forty.

After an individual has established their identity, they are able to move into the next stage of developing a relationship with another individual (Meyer et al., 2003). As the young adult emerges from adolescents, they become eager to merge the found identity from the previous crisis with that of others. The individual is now ready to commit to others, to form affiliations and partnerships and to engage in intimacy with others, and to resolve the developmental task of intimacy versus isolation. (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982) The focus of this stage is forming meaningful relationships (Edwards & Louw, 1997). The individual discovers romantic relations, but also develops and realises a capacity for affinity in his relations with family, neighbours, co-workers and teammates (Mooney, 2010).

The individual must develop the ego strength, the virtue of fidelity gained from the previous stage, to abide by the commitments made to others (Erikson, 1963; Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). In order to face the ego loss that comes from the self-abandon to the other in situations such close friendships and sexual unions the individual's body and ego should have mastered the organ modes and previous nuclear conflicts (Erikson, 1980). More successful, warm, companionate and close relationships are associated with active forms of identity (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). If the individual avoids the situations that call for self-abandon in the fear of ego loss it leads to a sense of isolation and self-absorption (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). The tendency to remain absorbed in oneself instead of losing oneself in another is the malignancy of narcissism in some individuals. This total absorption can further be viewed as a 'bisexual' fascination as the individual turns the intimacy onto themselves and their own gender (Erikson, 1974). The individual who is unable to accomplish intimate relationships with others may retain a deep sense of isolation and loneliness (Edwards & Louw, 1997; Erikson, 1968). The individual may enter into highly stereotypical interpersonal relationships in order to compensate for the lack of genuine

intimacy (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). The term *distantiation* is used to refer to the individual's readiness to isolate himself and his wish to destroy others who intrude on his 'territory' or seem dangerous to his essence (Erikson, 1968).

The differentiation, which occurred as part of the pursuit of establishing an identity of the previous stage, may lead to prejudices and competitive or combative relations being experienced (Erikson, 1980). The mark of an adult is when the combative encounters along with those that involve sexual embrace eventually become subject to the ethical sense (Erikson, 1963). This ethical sense of the adult overtakes the ideological conviction of the adolescent and the child's moralism (Erikson, 1968).

The adult gains love as a virtue if this crisis is successfully resolved (Welchman, 2000). There are many forms of love which bind together various stages of development, ranging from the infant's comfortable attachment to his mother to the adolescent's passionate infatuation. Love as a virtue gained in this stage of development is the transformation of love received in childhood and adolescent into that given in the adult stages of development (Erikson, 1964). This love is that found in the mutuality of devotion in mates and in partners who begin to share identity. This mutuality takes place as the individual loses himself in another and thereby finds himself through mutual verification (Erikson, 1968; Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). For love to be experienced in its truest sense the individual is required to have a strong foundation of identity and fidelity, as only one who has a strong identity is able to take chances with himself (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). This love is a chosen and active love in a new adult affiliation which is cultivated in mutual concern (Erikson, 1964). Both the virtue of love and the virtue of fidelity contain the trait of commitment (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). The individual's ego strength is dependent on the individual's ability to affiliate with others (Erikson, 1964). If the individual has maladaptive tendencies from this stage they may become promiscuous, if they have

malignant tendencies they may become overly exclusive in their interactions (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982). If the individual is unable to resolve this crisis and therefore does not gain the virtue of love, the antipathy of adult love, exclusivity, will result (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001).

Love may also become an affiliation of selfishness, in service of some territoriality (bed, home, village or country). The individual's ego-coherence may then become dependent on that affiliation and it's associations. If challenged the man may enter into a rage, and in defending the identity of that affiliation he may sink to levels of sadism (Erikson, 1964).

3.5.7 Generativity versus Stagnation – Adulthood, ages forty – sixty-five.

During middle adulthood, an individual experiences the seventh stage of development and attempts to resolve the developmental task of generativity versus stagnation. A large focus of this stage is aiding in the development of the next generation (Erikson, 1964; Mooney, 2010). The individual is concerned with generativity, both in the form of guidance being offered to the next generation and in producing and creating (Erikson, 1968; Graves & Larkin, 2006). This stage is characterised by the modes of procreating, producing and creating (Erikson, 1982). Certain individuals may create a sense of generativity through creative outlets, for example, art work that may pass on knowledge, values and skills to generations to come (Meyer et al., 2003). The established adult involves themselves with the community, work and family life. In this stage the individual must define for themselves what and whom they care for (Erikson, 1969; Graves & Larkin, 2006). In addition the individual will have established what they care to do well and how they intend to take care of what they have started or created (Erikson, 1969; Mooney, 2010). There is also an adjustment between what the individual had dreamt of in their younger years and the accomplishments which they have made (Corey, 2009).

The individual's ego-interests as well as libidinal investments are expanded through that which is being generated (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). Where the individual is unable to achieve this productivity, a regression into a need for pseudo intimacy occurs (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). Stagnation in development may occur if an individual does not have a sense of having helped the next generation (Santrock, 2006). Early childhood impressions may cause retardation in the ability to develop in this stage as the individual may have excessive self-love or too strenuous a self-made personality (Erikson, 1963). In a stagnated state the individual may indulge himself as if he was his own child (Erikson, 1968). If the individual has maladaptive tendencies from this stage, they may overextend themselves, if they have malignant tendencies they may develop a sense of rejection (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982). The individual may develop a sense of being rejected, or 'rejectivity' towards others, excluding others from generative concerns (Erikson, 1982).

If this developmental task is resolved, the resulting virtue will be care (Welchman, 2000). In this stage, the individual has developed the capacity to take care of and to care for (Erikson, 1982). Essential for psychosocial evolution, is the virtue of care. The adult transmits the rudiments of the virtues of hope, will, purpose and competence, imparting meaning to the next generation's experiences (Erikson, 1964). Human beings are such that they have a need to be needed, perpetuating humankind through generative encounters as they create, produce and leave behind (Erikson, 1968). The individual may also develop a sense of universal care. Universal care leads the individual to not only being concerned with improvement of the lives of his own children, but also with providing some joint guarantee of a chance for vital development of every child born (Erikson, 1982). Care is therefore the concern for what has been generated by love, necessity or accident. Care overcomes the feeling of ambivalence toward irreversible obligations (Erikson, 1964).

3.5.8 Integrity versus despair – Old age, age sixty-five – death.

The final stage of Erikson's theory begins when an individual is approximately sixty or seventy years of age. During this stage an individual develops a feeling of being close to the end of their life, and reflection on their life occurs (Meyer et al., 2003). During this last stage, the individual is required to resolve the developmental task of integrity versus despair (Santrock, 2006). In this stage, the linkages of all three organisational processes experience loss. In the soma, the individual undergoes a weakening in the muscle system, blood vessels, and in connecting tissues. The gradual loss of mnemonic coherence in experience, past and present, occurs in the psyche. The individual experiences a threat from the sudden and near total loss of responsible functioning in the generative interplay, influencing the ethos processes. The tendency to keep things together despite the weakening linkages is referred to as integrity (Erikson, 1982).

The seventh stage is a culmination of the crises resolved before it. In order to resolve this final stage, the individual is required to have achieved in the other seven stages (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). This stage is mainly concerned with the ego's propensity for order and meaning in life (Graves & Larkin, 2006). If an individual has largely resolved the conflicts of each stage in a predominantly positive manner, they may achieve a sense of satisfaction (Mooney, 2010; Santrock, 2006). The ego has achieved an assurance of order and meaning by this phase of life. Ego integrity is an acceptance of one's life cycle, an awareness of various life styles, finding meaning in human striving, and a dignity in one's own style (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980; Graves & Larkin, 2006). Integrity is the acceptance by the individual that his life is his own responsibility, and in this acceptance, a new love for his parents emerges as he no longer wishes they had been different (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). The individual realises that his life has formed one segment of history, and the integrity he develops is rooted in his culture (Erikson, 1963). He is able to accept that

his own transient historical identity is the only chance he has to be alive, to be somebody in the here and now (Erikson, 1974). The individual develops an affinity with men and women of different times and pursuits who, in order to convey human dignity and love, have created mandates, articles and sayings (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

Lack or loss of ego integration is shown by despair and the fear of death (Graves & Larkin, 2006). An individual who is unable to achieve integrity experiences despair and disgust over his life cycle and the inability to start again in order to attempt other avenues to achieving integrity (Erikson, 1968; Mooney, 2010). Each individual must for himself develop the ego qualities through the crisis experienced in life, so that in the final stages of life all individuals recognise in each other integrity (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982; Mooney, 2010). The life cycle is completed as the individual achieves integrity. As trust is the assured reliance on another's integrity, the life cycle finds its end in the beginning of the next generation's life cycle. "Healthy children will not fear life if their elders have integrity enough not to fear death" (Erikson, 1963, p. 242).

Any span of the cycle that is not lived with meaning endangers the sense of life as well as the individual's sense of death. All of the life stages are intertwined, completing the cycle by beginning life and ending life with a period of relative helplessness (Erikson, 1964). If the individual views the stages of development through which he has passed in a predominantly negative fashion, they may cultivate a sense of despair. Feelings of despair can stem from and result in guilt, resentment, hopelessness and self-rejection (Corey, 2009). If the individual has maladaptive tendencies from this stage they may become presumptuous. If they have malignant tendencies they may develop a sense of despair (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982).

Resolving the conflict of this stage is achieving the virtue of wisdom (Welchman, 2000). Wisdom allows the individual to maintain integrity of the experience of this stage of life in which a decline in bodily and mental functions takes place (Erikson, 1964). Wisdom is the

strength that is gained from accumulated knowledge, mature judgement freed from temporal relativity and inclusive understanding (Erikson, 1968). Wisdom "is detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself" (Erikson, 1964, p. 206). The antithesis to wisdom is disdain that refers to the reaction an individual may have to feeling finished, hopeless and confused (Erikson, 1982). In wisdom the individual is able to represent the next generation of the closure of the life style, balancing the knowledge of a limited life with the wholeness that transcend the helplessness once again experienced in this stage (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). Wisdom is able to offer the individual a last, but firm, whisper of confirmation of a self-contained long productive life (Erikson, 1964).

3.5.9 Developmental crisis as a cycle

Although the crises are presented as a series of stages, development should be seen as occurring as critical steps or turning points that can be revisited throughout life (Erikson, 1963). These conflicts will arise again in each development stage; the individual will continue to resolve them throughout his development in order to remain psychologically alive (Erikson, 1968). None of the crises which the individual faces throughout development are resolved once and for all; they continue to influence an individual at each new stage of development, and will continually have to be re-evaluated (Santrock, 2006). An individual continues to build on the values obtained in childhood as they are revalidated or rendered obsolete as wider truth is discovered (Erikson, 1969). Each of the qualities are in existence from birth, however they have encounters with the environment at different stages, allowing them to become the dominant critical experience (Erikson, 1964).

Although a sequence of development is proposed it occurs at a different tempo and intensity for each individual (Erikson, 1963). It is the ego that is responsible for the regulation of this process within the individual (Erikson, 1964). Although only one conflict is

predominant at certain times in an individual's life, the pursuit of a total configuration of all of the stages is always kept in mind, resulting in a global form of thinking and rethinking (Boere, 2006). The outcomes of each stage continue to mature within the subsequent stages. No one 'positive' or 'syntonic' sense that has been achieved is achieved for life. The dynamic counterpart of the 'positive' sense, namely the 'negative' or 'dystonic' sense, remains throughout one's life, and as new inner conflicts arise are once brought into the struggle for a meaningfully existence (Erikson, 1963). The manner in which each of the developmental tasks are resolved and the impact thereof will continue to be a part of the individual's personality (Santrock, 2006).

In addition to the life cycle of the individual, the life cycle of one generation concluding itself in the next is taking place (Erikson, 1974). The development of virtues occurs not only through the individual moving through the continual stages, but also through the successive and overlapping generation, as the individual's life stages are 'inter-living' with the stages of others (Erikson, 1964). Erikson called the interactions between different generations mutuality. Parents not only influence the development of the child, but the child influences the development of the parent. The lives of the different generations become enmeshed through the overlapping of the development life stages (Boere, 2006). The generator will be survived by what he generated (Erikson, 1982). The environment of the individual is what provides continuity, permitting him to develop his abilities and, through a series of psychological crises, to unify them (Erikson, 1964). Erikson's theory puts forward that the virtues emerging from the individual's life cycle further finds their replenishment and mutual activation within the strengths of the human institutions of their society (Graves & Larkin, 2006). This is as the human life cycle and human institutions have developed together, each consecutive crisis experienced by the individual having a distinctive relation to the basic institutional endeavours of man (Erikson, 1968). Erikson's theory of development thus

attempts to delineate the life cycle as an integrated psychosocial phenomenon (Erikson, 1964).

3.6 Erikson and Pathology

Erikson viewed pathology as resulting from a maladaptive or malignant tendency, as these endanger development (Boere, 2006; Erikson et al., 1986; Muuss, 1996). Symptoms of pathology may be partially understood as the defence mechanisms the individual developed in the process of attempting to gain ego integration or synthesis (Erikson, 1963). Unsuccessful resolution of a crisis in a stage of development will result in all subsequent stages of development reflecting this failure in the form of physical, cognitive, social or emotional maladjustment (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

In his theory Erikson refers to a *constitutional intolerance*, the term 'constitutional' indicated that the individual had always been that way and there was no event or stimulus to create the intolerance. Intolerance referred to the individual's inability to control or tolerate their aggressive tendencies. The already low frustration tolerance may then be further lowered by the family and social environment (Erikson, 1963).

In defending their developing identity against thoughtless guidance or punishment, the individual may develop neurotic or delinquent symptoms (Erikson, 1980). Neurosis occurs as irrational trends in an individual are split off from the rationality that is relatively advanced; this split becomes irreconcilable (Erikson, 1963). Anxiety from neurosis may also develop, anxiety has origins in the individual feeling 'hemmed in', trapped by self-imposed and self-conscious prisons established by the earlier frame of life (Erikson, 1958). Anxiety refers to a diffuse state of tensions or apprehension that occurs as a result of an upset in the control of libidinal and aggressive controls as a loss of mutual regulation occurs. Irrational tensions result when a rational adult fear becomes associated with infantile anxieties resulting in a

'short circuit'. This state of irrational tension may lead to irrational action, flight or denial (Erikson, 1963). Delinquency may result as an individual identifies with that which is opposing to his culture and societal beliefs, identifying with deviance (1968). The individual identifies with the 'negative' identity, engaging in the socially 'unacceptable' behaviour (Erikson, 1982). Individuals who develop into delinquents find that they can yield power through the 'negative' identity of 'living symptoms' (Erikson, 1968).

There has always been a debate around the question of where the location and cause of the disturbance that results in psychopathology resides. Erikson (1963) expressed the opinion that this confusion results as the cause cannot be attributed to one location, but rather disturbances result from psycho- and somatic, psycho- and social, as well as interpersonal causes.

3.7 Critique of Erikson's (1963) Psychosocial Theory

Erikson's theory has been criticised for the lack of specific information regarding the structural transitions from one stage to the next (Muuss, 1996). Erikson continued to expand and modify his theory, and partially responded to this criticism in the description of the epigenetic principle and social demands, resulting in the developmental stages unfolding in a natural progression (Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). Erikson also did not fully operationalize or conduct extensive research that complied with scientific rigour, as he was of the opinion that the existing research methodologies were unable to capture the full complexity of his constructs. He did however; conduct life history research as discussed in the next section (Hoare, 2005; Muuss, 1996; Welchman, 2000). Since 1966 other theorists have begun using empirical testing to refine and expand Erikson's theory providing notable support for his theoretical constructs (Muuss, 1996). Erikson's theory has been said in the past to have universal application, although there are certain cultural nuances that defy the eight stages of development (Carrey, 2010). Erikson has attempted to allow for different cultural influences,

such as child-rearing practices and rites of practices, in his theory and in his anthropological interests that contributed to the development of his theory (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1963). Erikson believed that the culture within which an individual developed gave specific meaning to their interpersonal, intrapersonal and bodily experiences (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). Erikson viewed the individual and society to have an interrelationship, as the context of the individual is understood to influence the individual's personality (Erikson, 1980).

3.8 Erikson and psychobiography

Erikson wrote several accounts of the development of prominent figures, referring to this as psychohistory. Erikson believed in reconstructing the life history and personality of an individual, entering into the domain of psychohistorical research to expand his knowledge (Erikson, 1974). It was from his life-historical research that he developed the assumption of three processes of organisation, namely the body, ego synthesis, and cultural organisation (Erikson, 1982). To broaden his own psychoanalytical understanding, Erik Erikson generated psychological biographies of both Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi, as well as psycho historical research into the life of Thomas Jefferson. He explored psychosocial issues from childhood and adulthood developmental years as well as the impact and effect of historical trends on the personality and vice versa (Cara, 2007; McAdams, 1988). In order to do this he needed to combine his skills as a biographer, developmental psychologist and historian (Mooney, 2010). Erikson held that society was composed of individuals each in the process of emerging from childhood as the next generations of parents, each with a life cycle that is interwoven throughout history and their community (Erikson, 1980). It is through the descriptions and interpretations of lives that Erikson (1958) believed psychological conceptualizations and assumptions were to be found. Erikson (1980) also put forward that a source of insight into the development of identity was to be found in the biographies of extraordinary individuals. It was his hope that the depictions of individual lives would allow for an illumination on the tumultuous search for identity (Mooney, 2010). The comprehensive theory offered by Erikson (1963) allows for an overall description that spans the entire lifespan.

Erikson (1980) expressed a belief that defiant individuals deserve an investigation as to why they have become that way. Erikson (1963) cautioned that when conducting a psychobiographical study, one needs to be able to keep oneself intact while at the same time having empathy in order to be open to what is inside the other's mind (Erikson, 1963).

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter the psychosocial theory of personality development of Erikson (1963) was presented and discussed. The different processes that influence development were explicated and the life cycle as proposed by Erikson (1963) explained. A table that provides a summary of the psychosocial and modal elements of Erikson's (1963) developmental theory can be found in Appendix C. Erikson's theory will be applied to the life of John Wayne Gacy in Chapter 7 in order to facilitate an understanding of his development across his life span. In Chapter 4 a comprehensive historical overview of the life of John Wayne Gacy is elucidated.

Chapter 4

Biographical Overview of the Life of John Wayne Gacy

4.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter, a historical overview of the life of John Wayne Gacy is presented from his birth in 1942 to his death in 1994. This chapter aims to present the reader with an in-depth description of John Wayne Gacy's life within his particular social and historical context.

4.2 The Significance of the Historical Context

4.2.1 Life and times of the 1940's to 1950's.

John Wayne Gacy Jr. was raised in a blue collar neighbourhood in Chicago. A melting pot of nationalities was represented in his neighbourhood as well as different religious views (Boschelli, 2008; Taylor, 2003). Chicago has been associated with acts of violence on more than one occasion; in 1886, the Haymarket Riot occurred in Chicago. In 1929, the St Valentine's Day Massacre occurred (Linedecker, 1986). Yet, in Gacy's neighbourhood homes were not locked, as it was considered safe (Boschelli, 2008). The war America had entered into shortly before John Wayne Gacy's birth reportedly did not influence his life directly, as he lived with his family in the north side of Chicago, away from the urban violence. His family moved around somewhat in his early childhood years. He attended neighbourhood Catholic schools along with his sisters, and later attended public school when the family settled into a neighbourhood. Gacy was reported to live in a house that was always clean and neatly kept (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986).

In the 1950's families from the neighbourhood would gather on a Saturday night for 'block parties'. The adults would converse while the children played hopscotch and the like in the streets. Family lunches were shared on the porch, and the basement was the place of

monsters in the minds of the children. The children would walk to school together. The boys would wear their blue jeans and white shirts, with their sleeves rolled up to hide illicit cigarettes. The boys' hair was short in 'crew cuts' and some had 'duck tails' (Boschelli, 2008).

In the winter, the weather was cold and snowy (Linedecker, 1986). In those days, a furnace that required coal warmed the house. In addition to the coal man delivering coal, there was the iceman, delivering ice. Products like milk and eggs were kept cold in a wooden box with big blocks of ice. In later years the first of what is known as refrigerators entered into the homes, using coolant instead of ice to keep food from spoiling, eventually becoming gas and electric operated. Telephones required coins to operate, even those within households. A man would come to the street weekly with a cart of fresh fruit and vegetables to sell to those in the neighbourhood (Boschelli, 2008). Family entertainment came from radios and later years the 'magic box' entered homes. Theatres would hold matinees of Disney movies which all of the children in the neighbourhood would go watch (Boschelli, 2008).

4.2.2 Cultural context of John Wayne Gacy's identity development: America and identity.

Gacy entered adolescence in 1955 and became a young adult in 1962. Erikson theorised that during the time of 1950 to 1968 the following could be said about the American adolescent and identity formation; American society was considered to be an individualistic culture, and the decisions that a person made in their lifetime were considered to be a private and individual choice. American child rearing methods aimed to allow the child to be autonomous yet reliable, individualistic yet predictable. The final ego-identity of a functioning American was considered to be placed "on some tentative combination of

dynamic polarities such as migratory and sedentary, individualistic and standardised, competitive and cooperation, pious and freethinking, responsible and cynical" (Erikson, 1963, p. 259).

The adolescent of this time wore his identity confusion on his sleeve. The adolescent in this culture was developing what could be said to be a 'negative identity' as he was determined to be everything society told him not to be. This included traditional sexual roles, resulting in what appeared to be an increase in sexual identity confusion (Erikson, 1968). Those within American society kept their choices open by maintaining two sets of truth, allowing them a set of shifting slogans in keeping with the above mentioned polarities. These polarities resulted in individuals being unsure of their final identity. The individualistic nature of the culture further resulted in a loss of flexibility in relations and overdeveloped self-control (Erikson, 1963).

Rapid changes in America's history such as migration of the native population, immigration, industrialisation, urbanisation, class stratification and female emancipation resulted in emotional tension. The global acceleration in development had further threatened the traditional American identity (Erikson, 1968). Americans began to go on the defensive, becoming rigid. Yet the post-revolutionary man and newly equal women possessed the ideas of freedom, adding to the tension in the polarities (Erikson, 1963). The anxiety and tension experienced were submerged as the nation practiced a 'feel better' approach, encouraging artificial inflation of an individual's ego (Erikson, 1968).

The freeborn child became an emancipated adolescent; later the adult refuted the conscience of his father and longed for the comfort of a mother. In the songs of the times, especially in the love songs, a theme of a sense of abandonment was felt as well as a fear of committing emotions lest you get hurt. A denial of trust as well as a denial of a need for trust was expressed in these more intimate declarations of freedom. Sentiments of not taking life

too seriously were also expressed in the songs to which Americans of the times sang and danced to. American families become smaller, and the parents engaged in more intensive individual parenting. As the mother was able to engage more with each child, the child was 'trained' from an earlier age to control bowel movements, entering into developmental stages on a social level before they are psychologically prepared to. Thus the child may have had a sense of matters of apparent choice being fixed in advance as some resolution was trained into them by the parents before entering the crisis.

The development of the superego in this system allowed for a greater separation between the internal 'big-but-angry adult' and the 'small-but-bad child'. This in turn resulted in a deeper conflict between the super-ego and ego identity. In the new family system fathers to the sons related on a more fraternal level as real friendships were formed between them. The exception to this is in those homes where the father maintains the 'old fashioned' 'boss type' man, in which case the resentment from son to father as is prototypical of the Oedipus complex remains (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1974; Erikson, 1980).

The new adolescent had a protected life, restricted in his own individual decisions. The American family members each reflected their own changing interests and needs from activities outside of the group. This family became a training ground for tolerance not of different beings but of different interests. Overt loving and overt hating was kept low key in the family, preventing 'inequality' in the family. This resulted in the adolescent no longer having an uncompromising ideology, but rather a sense of uncertainty to what is right, learning that all must compromise in order to have a future chance. Adolescents found themselves in 'freedom' but lack understanding of what they are free of (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1974; Erikson, 1980).

4.2.3 Chicago police in the late 70's.

In the year 1977, 19, 455 men, women and children were listed by the Chicago police as missing. 14, 000 of these were minors and approximately 6,700 were children under the age of seventeen. All of the missing persons reported to Chicago police was the responsibility of the Youth Division, regardless of the missing persons age. The Youth Division consisted of six hundred officers and a few clerical workers. In addition to dealing with an estimate of 50 new missing persons cases per day, the department had to carry out the duties traditionally assigned to work with missing minors and persons. There were further limitations as laws of confidentiality prevented a circulation of lists of missing children under seventeen to other police departments. Although a computer was available to input data of missing persons, in the late seventies the computers had not yet been programmed to pinpoint common denominators in cases (Linedecker, 1986). From the 1960's and into the 70's all types of homicide started to rise in America (Seaman & Wilson, 2007). In the 1970's serial killing had become more rampant, at least thirty-five serial killers were estimated by the FBI to be active in America (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). It is into this society to which John Wayne Gacy was born.

4.3 Infancy and Family

John Wayne Gacy Jr. was born in the northwest side of Chicago on March 17, 1942 (Boschelli, 2008; Lohr, 2001; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). Gacy's early life was described as average; he was the middle child of three, and the only boy (Lohr, 2001). He was born after his due date and was reported to have had some oxygen deprivation at birth, being born blue (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). At the time of his birth, his father was 41 and his mother was 33. The Gacy family was composed of John Wayne Gacy Sr., who was Polish and an authoritative father. His mother was described as a warm and comforting Danish woman,

who obeyed her husband (Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy's parents had been married in 1938; his mother was a homemaker and his father a machinist who manufactured electrical panels. His serious responsible sister was two years older than he was, and his nurturing and caring sister was two years younger than he was. (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986). Gacy's father was said to drink alcohol heavily and become violent after drinking (Boschelli, 2008). A few days after Gacy's birth he was found to be allergic to all kinds of milk and experienced difficulty breathing, at times, as a result of allergic reactions (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). His mother would on occasion give baby Gacy enemas and rectal suppositories, which she believed helped with his breathing problems (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). Despite these difficulties, Gacy was reported not to have any childhood delays and developed normally by all accounts (Boschelli, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

4.4 Childhood

In his childhood years, Gacy was doted on by his mother and sisters and appeared to be liked by his peers and teachers. The descriptions of him as a scholar ranged from good to indifferent (Linedecker, 1986; Moss, 1999). As a young boy, he washed windows and cut grass for a neighbour voluntarily and was described as being courteous and kind (Boschelli, 2008). The only relationship that remained troublesome in Gacy's childhood was the one with his father (Taylor, 2003). The elder Gacy continued to have 'drunken bouts' and was physically and emotionally abusive to the rest of the family, especially towards John Wayne Gacy Jr (Linedecker, 1986). Although Gacy Sr.is reported to have abused the entire family after bouts of drinking, Gacy received the majority of the abuse, as he was the legacy of masculinity to Gacy Sr., the 'male lineage' extension of himself (Boschelli, 2008; Moss, 1999). He was reported to repeatedly abuse and belittle his son. Gacy Jr. continued to attempt

to earn his father's praise (Davis, 2008; Linedecker, 1986). Yet Gacy was continually criticised by his father, unable to live up to his expectations, referring to Gacy as stupid, dumb, idiot or crazy (Boschelli, 2008; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

Gacy helped his mother with the washing at times, taking it out of the machine and putting it through the wringer. His father did not approve of this, and became enraged if he found out his son was helping his mother with what he referred to as 'women's housework'. He did not want his son to become 'sissified', forbidding Gacy from engaging in 'feminine' activities (Boschelli, 2008; Dobbert, 2009). John Sr. aimed to raise a tough male child and Gacy tried to be masculine in order to gain his father's approval (Boschelli, 2008).

4.4.1 Sexual abuse.

Gacy stated that he was undressed and sexually abused on one occasion by a male friend of his parents at the age of eight years old. The details and validity of this incidence is not known (Buller, McGinnis, & Weatherby, 2009; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004).

4.4.2 Friends and games.

In his childhood years, Gacy's best friend was Barry Boschelli. The two grew up together on the same block, and were bonded through the fear that came from both having abusive fathers. The Gacy children and Boschelli children would play together on an vacant lot, which they referred to as 'The Prairie'. It was here that they built their fort from scrap metal and wood, where their friends would gather and childhood hopes and dreams came together. Over weekends the children would have 'cook-outs' in their fort, cooking potatoes over an open flame (Boschelli, 2008). Gacy had built forts before, and enjoyed developing his

elementary building skills. His father destroyed all of Gacy's building attempts with the exception of the one built in the lot as Gacy kept it hidden from his father (Dobbert, 2009).

In their younger years, Gacy and Boschelli engaged in fantasy play to ease the tension from the struggles that came from being under their father's critical eyes. One such example is that of an event recalled in which they imagined travelling in the jungle. They created a mobile home, from roller-skates and boxes, in which their two younger sisters sat, while they pulled them around the neighbourhood. The cars were the wild animals, and the streets the jungle (Boschelli, 2008).

Boschelli once walked in on Gacy trying on women's underwear, the two friends never discussed the incident (Boschelli, 2008). On one occasion, Gacy's mother found a bag of underwear under the porch where Gacy played. Gacy reported that he liked the feel of the silk. His mother reportedly made him wear a pair of the panties to embarrass him, and his father gave him a beating when he heard about it (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.4.3 The swing.

In the morning the children attended school and the afternoon would become a variety of adventures. Some of these excursions would take place at the park, as children would journey together to play on the wooden and steel swings or the slide. On such an occasion, when Gacy was eleven years of age, it became a challenge amongst them to stand on the swings and jump off. One of these swings struck Gacy in the forehead and he lost consciousness. The children had to pull him home on a toy wagon that had been used to bring along picnic supplies. For two to three weeks after the injury Gacy struggled with language, mixing up his words and having difficulty forming sentences. In the years that followed Gacy would have occasional black outs while attending high school (Boschelli, 2008; Goldberg & Morrison,

2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Boschelli (2008) further explains that he felt that Gacy was never the same after this injury. However, after a few months there was reported to have been no change in his schoolwork and no lasting visual problems that are the usual indications of permanent damage after a head injury (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

4.4.4 Boy Scouts.

Gacy belonged to the Boy Scouts, although he had difficulty fitting in at times, as he struggled at times to control his anger (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986). He questioned the rules and regulations of the Scouts and had further difficulty with some of the members of his troop. All the difficulties came to a head on a Jamboree camp of Scouts from various areas. Gacy got into an argument with one of the members that he disliked and left the camp. He was later found dehydrated on the side of the road. After this incident, he was no longer allowed to be a Boy Scout (Boschelli, 2008).

4.4.5 Making money.

Gacy enjoyed developing ideas to make money. As a child he was very convincing, involving children in projects and controlling the nature and direction of these projects. The children would plan adventures, up to a week in advance, they would work out the details of the next adventure, and each child was assigned their own responsibility. At times more than ten children of different ages would become involved. If Gacy did not get his way, he would walk away. Throughout his younger years, Gacy wanted to be right, and he was willing to lie at times in order to get what he wanted (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Boschelli, 2008).

One of the schemes that Gacy and Boschelli developed to make money, was to start a small 'restaurant' and run it from the basement of Boschelli's home. They sold soup, sandwiches, burgers and hotdogs. They used an old stove that had once belonged to the

Boschelli family and set up small tables with tablecloths. Gacy was in charge of the money transactions and Boschelli and their sisters helped in serving the customer's, mostly children from the neighbourhood (Boschelli, 2008). Gacy had also developed his ability to build things in his childhood years, building his own bookcase out of wooden crates (Boschelli, 2008).

4.5 Adolescence

Gacy had a close relationship with his mother and both of his sisters (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy had occasional mood swings in his adolescent years (Boschelli, 2008), was reported to be well behaved, and ranged between being a good to indifferent student (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy's father continued to be abusive towards his son (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010; Seaman & Wilson, 2007), and was unhappy with his lack of sporting ability. On occasion he would refer to Gacy as queer and weak (Dobbert, 2009).

4.5.1 Schools.

Gacy began high school at Providence St. Mel High School. The second school he attended was a co-educational public school, Carl Schurz, where he earned the reputation of being easy-going. He was known to always be neatly dressed and his outfits carefully chosen. The school subjects he enjoyed were English and Science. He transferred to a Cooley Vocational high school, where he began business courses (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986), and later transferred to Charles A. Professor Vocational high school. From the time he transferred to his third school he began to miss classes and dropped out after a few months (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.5.2 Traditions.

At Christmas time, the Gacy and Boschelli family would go carolling together with John Wayne Gacy Jr. directing the carols. He himself would sing solo's at times, and his tenor voice would 'move people to tears'. For their efforts, they would receive warm milk, cookies and at times monetary rewards. One Christmas the two families children decided to put on a Christmas show. Gacy helped in building the set and played Santa in the show. Afterwards he had the smaller children sit on his lap and tell him what they wanted for Christmas. He would then produce a small surprise gift for each of them, which he had supplied himself (Boschelli, 2008).

4.5.3 Making more money.

In their adolescent years, Gacy and Boschelli were 'junk pickers' as they would refurbish their neighbours 'junk' and either gave these as presents to family members or sell them to raise money (Boschelli, 2008). Gacy worked at the IGA, an independent general store, in his adolescent years. He would stack shelves and deliver groceries in the neighbourhood (Boschelli, 2008). In his early adolescent years, prior to his job at the grocery store, he had a newspaper route (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

4.5.4 Dreams of the future.

At the age of sixteen, Gacy dreamt of being involved in government, of being in politics and possibly even becoming governor (Boschelli, 2008).

4.5.5 Gacy and his adolescent peers.

A favourite place for the young adolescents to go after school in Gacy's neighbourhood was to the 'Malt Shop', owned by a married couple. It supplied soda pop, candy, ice-cream

and gifts. Here the youngsters could sit, eat and talk to their friends. Gacy and Boschelli would do their homework at the booths, catch up on local gossip and listen to the latest music. It is here that young loves were discussed and both Boschelli and Gacy brought their girlfriends on dates (Boschelli, 2008). Gacy dated girls in his high school years and was reported to have had sexual intercourse for the first time at the age of eighteen (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.5.6 Las Vegas.

Gacy left home in his adolescent years after dropping out of high school (Buller et al., 2009; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He moved to Las Vegas where he found part time work as a janitor, cleaning up at the Palm Mortuary. He was said to be a good and reliable worker, as well as a polite and cooperative young man (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy reported that during this time, he climbed into a coffin to experience the feeling of death (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Vronsky, 2004). After a few months he returned home where his mother and sisters welcomed him. He then enrolled at North Western Business College where he graduated (Linedecker, 1986).

4.5.7 Health.

At the age of fifteen Gacy had his appendix removed and was hospitalised for five days (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986). In the year 1958 Gacy began taking medication for a heart ailment. Gacy had a problem with weight which resulted in him developing a heart condition. Between 1958 and 1961 he was hospitalised at various times as a result of heart difficulties (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986). In 1961, he was further hospitalised for a spine injury (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Taylor, 2003). At the age of sixteen Gacy suffered from black outs which were a result of a blood clot that had formed following

the head injury sustained at the age of eleven when a wooden swing hit his head (LaBrode, 2007; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). The clot was dissolved with medication and the black outs ceased (Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy's father became angered by Gacy's ill health, labelling it as 'girlish' and despising his 'sickly ways' (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

4.6 Early Adulthood

After leaving school, Gacy worked at various jobs in Chicago (Boschelli, 2008). As an adult Gacy was described as articulate, ingratiating, and naturally gregarious (Linedecker, 1986). He was charming and persistent, as well as dedicated to completing tasks (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010). After Gacy left school he attended a Business College (Lohr, 2001). Upon graduating, Gacy went to work for Nunn-Bush Shoe Company as a management trainee. By 1964 the company transferred him to Springfield, Illinois. As a result of his good work ethic, he was promoted to manager of the company's retail outlet of men's clothes, Roberts Brothers (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). Gacy had a persuasive personality that drew people to him (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.1 First love.

While working in Springfield Gacy met his first wife to be, a co-worker named Marlynn Meyers. The two were married in September 1964 in a Catholic Church ceremony. They moved into the Meyers family home after Gacy's new in-laws moved to Waterloo (Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979; Seaman & Wilson, 2007; Vronsky, 2004).

4.6.2 Junior Chamber of Commerce, Springfield.

Gacy also discovered the Junior Chamber of Commerce (the Jaycees) in Springfield, joining in order to aid in making the community a better place (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010; Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). Gacy dedicated himself to the Jaycees and won acclaim and recognition as one of the up-and-coming bright young men in the state capital. In 1965, a year after arriving in Springfield, Gacy was elected the first vice-president of that chapter's Jaycees as well as the chapter's outstanding man of the year (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010; Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). He was considered to be a devout husband and a dedicated Roman Catholic. Gacy was known as energetic, ambitious and outgoing by those in the Jaycees. He was also described as 'being bright', a family man and a rapid talker (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.3 Thrill seeking.

Gacy is reported to have been a fast driver, receiving several tickets. His wife also reported that he would do 'crazy things' every once in a while, for example, joining a funeral procession of drivers in order to miss the traffic (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.4 Fried chicken and Iowa.

Gacy's father offered him a job at the Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise in Waterloo, Iowa. Although Gacy had been offered the job by his father-in-law, he was required to learn the job from the bottom up (Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). He began by sweeping floors, packaging chicken, learning to cook the chicken and progressing up to manager, where he worked for a salary and commission (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy was reported to notice the young adolescent boys working at the Kentucky Fried Chicken and would occasionally offer the best-looking one's rides home. Those who turned him down would

avoid him at times, and rumours began to circulate about Gacy having a possible attraction to young boys (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999).

4.6.5 Gacy family.

After moving to Waterloo, Iowa, Marlynn had their first child, a son in 1966, and then a second, a daughter, in 1967 (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Seaman & Wilson, 2007; Vronsky, 2004). Neighbours, who knew the Gacy's at the time, reported that Gacy had appeared to be a devoted parent (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The full names of the children are not known as they have been adopted by their stepfather and are not associated with Gacy. Gacy had broken all contact with his children before the time that he had been arrested, and reported wanting nothing to do with them. In his spare time, Gacy pursued gardening and woodwork as hobbies (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986). Gacy was reported to have had his first homosexual experience after his wife's first pregnancy. After overindulging in alcohol with a friend, the friend reportedly performed fellatio on him (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.6 Jaycees, Waterloo.

In Waterloo Gacy once again joined the Jaycees, impressing those in the new chapter with his enthusiasm and tireless energy (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The Gacy family would often host parties, forming close friendships within the club (Linedecker, 1986). He was known as a hard worker and driven to obtain success. This drive led him to brag and at times lie in order to obtain the admiration of his peers (Buller et al., 2009; Linedecker, 1986). If he was caught stretching the truth, he would simply manufacture another lie and was reportedly unconcerned if accused of lying. He told stories of 'his years in the marines' and his life

'driving ambulances in Las Vegas' (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy was known to be talkative, a self-proclaimed 'motor-mouth' (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). Gacy was fascinated with the paramilitary trappings of police work. He reportedly had a red light that he attached to his dashboard, stating that he had been authorised to use the device while living in Chicago (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). If the subject of homosexuals ever came up amongst Gacy and his friends from the Jaycees, Gacy would be one of the first to sneer and belittle them. In 1967 Gacy was named outstanding vice president of the Jaycees. He was poised to take over as the president of his chapter of the Jaycees (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.7 First arrest.

In May 1968, Gacy was arrested for allegedly committing sodomy with a teenage boy. Two boys told the jury that Gacy had attempted to lure or coerce them into sexual encounters on separate occasions (LaBrode, 2007; Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979; Vronsky, 2004). James Tullery reported that he had been invited by Gacy to come home with him, play pool, drink a beer and watch stag movies while his wife and children were out of town. After drinking and playing pool for a while, Gacy reportedly suggested that the loser was to perform oral sex on the winner, when Tullery refused, Gacy laughed and stated it had been a joke. Gacy then set up a screen and him and Tullery watched stag/pornographic movies. After this a series of events unfolded in which Gacy threated Tullery with a knife, tied him up with ropes, strangled him until he went limp and then untied him (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Taylor, 2003).

Another youth, Mark Miller stated that Gacy had coerced him into performing oral sex on him. Gacy denied the allegation, but after failing a lie detector test he admitted that Miller had performed fellatio on him. Gacy reported that Miller had offered and Gacy had paid him

for the act. Gacy further stated that he was unable to maintain an erection and had not climaxed; he further reported the youth had come by his house to attempt the act again and this time Gacy had been able to climax. Gacy stated that it had only been an experiment and that he had not forced the boy into performing the act (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

Gacy insisted that he was being framed by other individuals who wanted to obtain the Jaycees presidency, and as he did not fit the expected image of a homosexual and had never been in trouble with the law previously, a large number of his friends believed his claims. He withdrew from the competition for presidency of the Jaycees, reporting it was in the interest of his family and the organisation (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986).

Four months after the accusations by Miller, Gacy was accused of hiring an eighteen-year-old to beat up and threaten Miller. Gacy was unable to raise bail and was forced to remain in jail. Gacy maintained that he was innocent of the charges of sodomy and of paying the eighteen-year old to cause bodily injury to Miller. He admitted to making a verbal threat himself towards Miller in December 1967 when the youth threatened to tell his father of the events unless Gacy gave him an amplifier (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

Gacy underwent psychological testing at two different psychiatric facilities while awaiting trial. Both assessments indicated that he was fit to stand trial and that he should receive firm and consistent external control (Linedecker, 1986; Taylor, 2003). It was reported that Gacy would "twist the truth in such a way that he would not be made to look bad and would admit to socially unacceptable action only when directly confronted" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 271). In addition, it was reported that Gacy had a "high degree of social intelligence or awareness of the proper way to behave in order to influence people" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 271).

The findings that were noted by a psychiatrist, Dr Gauron, were as follows:

The most striking of the test results is the patient's total denial of responsibility for anything that has happened to him. He can produce an 'alibi' for everything. He alternately blames his environment, while presenting himself as the victim of others who are out to get him. Although this could be construed as paranoid, I do not regard it that way. Rather, the patient attempts to assure a sympathetic response by depicting himself as being at the mercy of a hostile environment. To his way of thinking, a major objective is to outwit the other fellow and take advantage of him before being taken advantage of himself... He does things without thinking through the consequences and exercises poor judgement (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, pp. 271-272).

Reportedly, the psychiatrists, Dr. Heston and Dr. Amick, had found that Gacy was an antisocial personality (Dietz, 1986; Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986). This suggested that he was likely to remain in conflict with society, and that due to his personality structure he would not learn from experience and would be unlikely to benefit from medication. His behaviour was reported to be based on thrill-seeking and exploration (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The findings of Gacy having an antisocial personality was based on the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of mental disorders second edition's criteria, published in 1968, and were stated as follows:

301.7Antisocial personality

This term is reserved for individuals who are basically unsocialized and whose behaviour pattern brings them repeatedly into conflict with society. They are incapable of significant loyalty to individuals, groups, or social values. They are grossly selfish, callous, irresponsible, impulsive, and unable to feel guilt or to learn from experience and punishment. Frustration tolerance is low. They tend to blame others or offer plausible rationalizations for their behaviour. A mere history of repeated legal or social offences is not sufficient to justify this diagnosis. *Group delinquent reaction of childhood (or adolescence)* (q.v.) and *Social maladjustment without manifest psychiatric disorder* (q.v.) should be ruled out before making this diagnosis (American Psychiatric Association, 1968, p. 43).

Gacy was further found to be bisexual, and reported not to have an absolute fixation on abnormal sexual objects (Linedecker, 1986).

On November 7, 1968 Gacy entered a plea bargain of guilty to the charge of sodomy and as a result a few months later all the other charges had been dropped. Arguments as to the sentencing on the sodomy charge were presented from both attorneys. Gacy's attorney recommending probation and the state prosecutor recommending maximum sentence, Judge Van Metre sentenced Gacy to ten years at the Iowa State Reformatory for men at Anamosa. At the time, this was the maximum sentence for that offence. At the reading of the sentence, Gacy reportedly showed no signs of surprise or emotion (Linedecker, 1986). At the age of twenty-six, Gacy became inmate number 26526 in prison (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.8 Prison life.

Gacy was reported to apply himself to prison life, making friends with those who were also first time offenders and not convicted of violent crimes. He expressed a pronounced dislike of homosexuals and avoided those known to be homosexual. In prison he was known to be interested in material success, he was reported to brag to other inmates about the investments he had made, and that he would be opening fancy restaurants when he was

released from prison. In a routine psychological evaluation done at the prison, no indications were found that Gacy's emotional or sexual problems were 'incurable'. On January 7, 1969 Gacy filed for an appeal; on August 28, 1969, the Supreme court of Iowa dismissed the appeal (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

In prison Gacy was assigned to be a cook and salad man in the kitchen. He was enthusiastic and known to be industrious, impressing prison staff and inmates alike (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). Gacy identified with the guards, earning himself privileges and a 'late out card' meaning he did not have to return to his cell until midnight (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). One of the first Jaycee chapters in an American prison happened to have been started at the prison in which Gacy found himself. He thus threw himself once again into the work of the service club (Linedecker, 1986). He impressed others with his business and organisational ability as he worked on projects and arranged Jaycee banquets. He earned the Jaycee Sound Citizens award and honours, even while in prison. He received state-wide publicity from a newspaper article that featured his work with the service club and was elected president of the Anamosa chapter of the Jaycees (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

During his stay in prison Gacy did not get into any arguments; he was well behaved and was a model prisoner (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). Despite all he had lost, some of his friends maintained a belief in his innocence and would on occasion visit him (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy also completed sixteen high school courses while in prison and received his diploma after taking the General Education Development test (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). After serving eighteen months of his prison sentence, Gacy was paroled from prison on the 18th of June 1970 (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979).

4.6.9 First divorce.

On the same day that Gacy was sentenced, his wife filed for a divorce. She divorced Gacy on the grounds of her husband's inhuman conduct that threatened her life and health, which was in violation of their marriage vows (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). On September, 18, 1969 Gacy's divorce from Marlynn was made official. Marlynn was awarded custody of the children, as well as the house, car and most of the furniture. Gacy was awarded his personal items, including his projector screen and other film equipment. Marlynn agreed to provide Gacy with photos of the children twice a year. Visitation and child support was deferred until such time that Gacy was released from prison (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy stated to his fellow inmates that as far as he was concerned, his children were dead from that point on (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.10 Other losses.

Gacy's father passed away while he was in prison on the 25th of December 1969. He had not been able to attend the funeral. Gacy continued to visit the his father's grave after being paroled from prison. It was reported that he would often become sad during the Christmas period and cry on Christmas day. Gacy reportedly never gained his father's approval and continued to regret not having had the opportunity to improve his relationship with his father before his death (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.11 Life after prison.

After being released from prison, Gacy told a friend who had maintained belief in him that he was going to Chicago to visit his mother and never returned. Gacy moved in with his sixty-one year old mother, and managed to find employment as a chef. He once again applied himself to the job, bragging of the time he was married to the Kentucky Fried Chicken

founder's daughter (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986). Gacy changed employment a few times, finally taking on a position as a chef at an eating spot that was popular with the Blackhawks, the professional hockey team of Chicago. With Gacy's talent of ingratiating himself with others, he was able to obtain free tickets to the games, which he would give away, obtaining prestige as a 'friend' of the hockey team (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He further continued to relate exploits of winning and losing thousands in Las Vegas while working as an ambulance driver and memories of being in the Marines (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.12 A new home, new start.

Four months after being released from prison, Gacy decided to invest in a home, his mother helped him to finance a two bedroom ranch house. The house was situated in Norwood Park Township, number 8213 Summerdale Avenue, a few blocks outside of the North-west Chicago city limits (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). The houses in the neighbourhood each had a driveway, garage and lawn in the front and the back. It was a blue-collar neighbourhood and its members were mostly family orientated. The house that Gacy had bought had a living room, utility room and a bathroom. There was also a further two rooms added on by the previous owner. In the bedroom cupboard was a trap door leading to a crawl space under the original part of the house, most of the other homes in the neighbourhood that had been created in the 1950's decade had a crawl space as they were more economical then basements. The crawl space of Gacy's house had been known by previous owners to become wet and damp as it was suspected that an underwater stream passed underneath it (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

Gacy appeared to his neighbours to be always busy with a project to improve the house to his taste, whether it was adding to the walls outside, laying cement, digging holes or adding lime to the crawl space to fight the damp.

In the extended area Gacy created a recreation room, he added sliding doors, a pool table, game machines and a bar (Linedecker, 1986; Moss, 1999). He hung bright hued paintings on the wall and pictures of clowns. (Linedecker, 1986).

Gacy neglected to trim the bushes around the property, effectively closing off the view neighbours may have had of his backyard. In later years, Gacy added a shed to the end of his garage and moved the entrance of the garage to the side, rather than the front. Members of the neighbourhood were now no longer able to see into his garage and the work that he spent hours doing in it. He was reported to often be working in his garage until late hours at night or early hours of the morning. Through the years, despite the many changes he made, Gacy continued to have odd jobs around his home. On occasion he would have the youths who worked for his contracting business dig in the crawl space underneath his house, explaining to them exactly where to dig and providing them with tools. He reasoned it was to install different pipes or tiles in order to clear up the persisting smell. Working in the crawl space was difficult as it was narrow, cramped and contained a sour odour (Linedecker, 1986).

The neighbours expressed concern that there seemed to be a musty smell at Gacy's house. Gacy closed off the vents that came from the crawl space and insisted it was the moisture that seeped in. He continued to haul more lime into the crawl space in an attempt to contain the smell (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.13 New friends, new love.

After Gacy had been settled in his new home for a few months, he began to socialise with the neighbours, beginning a friendship that lasted over the next seven years with the couple who lived next door to him. They would play card games as they visited back and forth, and during this time Gacy began to date Carol Hoff (Linedecker, 1986). Carol Hoff had two daughters and had recently been divorced. Hoff and Gacy had dated in their younger years, and she had been good friends with his sisters. Gacy and Hoff were engaged and were married on June 1, 1972 (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). Gacy was engaging and a considerate companion, he was reported to have gotten along well with Carol's daughters and his industrious and generous personality impressed her. Carol's mother had some reservations over the wedding as she felt Gacy had mood swings and could at times have unpredictable episodes of rage (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). The wedding went ahead and the reception took place in Gacy's back garden, thus allowing him to do a large portion of the catering and planning himself (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.14 Parties.

Gacy enjoyed hosting themed parties for his neighbours, his first was in 1974 and was of an Hawaiian theme. The guest list would vary, ranging from two hundred to four hundred guests at times. Gacy continued to entertain his guests with tales of his year as a colonel for KFC, he would tell of many occupations and accomplishments he had achieved, and most left him unchallenged (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004). When questioned over how he was able to accomplish these things in the short period of his life, he became irate. Over the years he continued to host the parties, his neighbours recalled that it appeared that more and more male youths attended the parties. In 1976 the party was a bicentennial fete theme, in 1977 it was themed to be a Southern Jubilee and in 1978 the party was Italian themed. The food was catered to match the theme and Gacy

would wear elaborate themed outfits. With each year, the parties grew in size as Gacy expanded his number of friends and associates (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.15 PDM Contractor Inc.

Gacy formed his own company towards the end of 1974; he called it PDM Contractor Inc., for painting, decorating and maintenance. Although Gacy was reported not to be a skilled craftsman, he was able to build his business successfully and soon was making about \$300,000 a year. (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). He knew how to use those who could do professional work and made use of subcontractors. He was a good organiser, and was able to branch out, taking jobs from outside of his neighbourhood and even began bidding on jobs in other cities (Linedecker, 1986). He impressed business men with the diligence, efficiency and speed with which he completed jobs (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

Gacy continually hired teenage boys, despite their lack of experience (Vronsky, 2004). The reasons he provided for this was that they followed instructions well and tried harder, furthermore they worked for lower wages. Gacy was known to have disputes with several of the youths who worked for him with regard to wages (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). Gacy was hard on the youths who worked for him, however respectful to the more skilled older workers and to subcontractors. However, Gacy was reported to cause friction at times when he assumed on the spot ownership of a job, of equipment or men who formed part of the sub-contractor business. Those he worked with came to accept this as a quirk in his personality, along with the apparent need he had to be the biggest and best, sharing regular self-important stories. He was also reported to be slow in making payments, making his money work for him as long as possible (Linedecker, 1986).

Gacy continued to help in the community, ploughing snow in the winter, doing odd jobs for neighbouring houses and hosting parties and dinners (Linedecker, 1986). Over the years, the company continued to grow, and by the year 1977 Gacy had branched out further. He was doing jobs in Minneapolis, New Jersey, Florida, and Texas. Gacy continued to obtain work in his home area, including the remodelling of drugstores (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.16 Old habits.

A bus station in Chicago's loop was reported to be one of the busiest stations in the world, and youths from out of town would make their first trips away to this station. On February 12, 1971, Gacy was accused of attempting to force an adolescent to commit a sexual act with him after picking him up at the bus terminal. The adolescent failed to arrive for court and the case was dismissed. Neither the parole board nor Gacy's new friends and neighbours learnt of the case (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004). On October 18, 1971, Gacy was officially discharged from parole based on reports that he adjusted well to his freedom in Illinois (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

On June 22,1972 Gacy was once again arrested, this time he was accused of aggravated battery and reckless conduct (SAC, St. Louis, 1979). An adolescent accused him of picking him up on the street posing as a police officer. After driving for a while, Gacy pulled over and demanded sex from the youth, the youth was reported to have jumped out of the car and run away, with Gacy running after. The case was never brought to trial (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986).

In 1975, Gacy reportedly made a pass at Tony Antonucci. The youth was sixteen at the time, and a wrestler at his school. He reported having picked up a folding chair and

threatened Gacy with it before Gacy backed down and tried to laugh it off as a joke. The next month Gacy visited the youth at his home, bringing along wine, heterosexual pornographic movies and a pair of handcuffs. Gacy reportedly challenged Antonucci to unlock the handcuffs once they were placed on, as they had a secret method of unlocking. As soon as Antonucci appeared cuffed, Gacy began to attempt to undress him, Antonucci reported being able to slip his one hand out, as he had not placed it completely inside the cuff. He was able to wrestle Gacy to the ground, and obtain the key from him (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

Gacy is reported to have told him "you are the first one to get the cuffs off" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 71). Gacy reportedly never attempted to overpower the youth again, although Antonucci continued to work for him for several months after the incident (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

On March 21, 1978, Jeffrey Rignall left his apartment in New Town, Chicago. A heavyset man driving a black Oldsmobile with spotlights stopped him and offered him a joint. Rignall was happy to get out of the cold and relaxed while smoking the marijuana. Then suddenly the man whirled and shoved a rag on his face, Rignall felt his arms and legs flailing as he tried to draw a breath, but soon he was overcome and passed out. Rignall was dimly aware of driving as he drifted in and out of consciousness, spotting some street signs and expressway exits. He experienced being carried in powerful arms into a house, and into a lowered room. As he regained consciousness he realised he was on a couch, fully dressed. The rag was pressed into his face again, and when he woke up he was naked. He was tied up and the man from the car was naked in front him. On the floor were several whips, chains and dildos lined up. The man explained to Rignall exactly how each of the items were going to be used, and then the torture began. The man continued to use the different instruments until the boy turned grey with pain and fear, he would then apply the chloroform again, and waited for

Rignall to regain consciousness before beginning the torture again. Rignall varied between begging for his life and wishing that he would die, after the last time he blacked out, he woke up under a statue in Lincoln Park. His money was still in his pockets but his driver's licence was missing, he was able to stumble to his girlfriend's house and collapsed on her bed. Rignall reported the kidnap, torture and rape to the police a few hours later. He was admitted and treated in hospital for six days, for damage that the chloroform had done to his lungs as well as facial burns from the chemicals and bleeding from his rectum. As Rignall was unable to recall a name, licence number or address the police were pessimistic about finding his attacker. Rignall was not willing to give up and spent four to fifteen hours a day driving the streets and expressways that he could remember, searching for the car and the man. He was able to find the Oldsmobile after two weeks as it drove past him and followed it to 8213 West Summerdale Avenue in Norwood Park Township. He checked the real estate records and discovered it belonged to John Wayne Gacy Jr. He then provided the police with the information. The police discovered Gacy's prior sodomy conviction but took a further two weeks to act on it. Becoming impatient, Rignall went to Gacy's house planning to confront him himself. He knocked on the door and an elderly woman reporting to be Gacy's mother answered, informing Rignall that her son was not home. He waited for Gacy outside his house, however he was unable to confront him as the police had arrived. They were unable to make an arrest as the property was outside city limits and thus outside of their jurisdiction (Linedecker, 1986).

On July 15 the police finally arrested Gacy on the charge of battery, but refused to file a more serious complaint as the use of chloroform had rendered Rignall an unreliable witness. Rignall was saddled with emotional difficulties as well as debt from medical expenses as a result of the attack. His lawyer informed Gacy that they planned to file a civil suit to collect for medical bills. Gacy suggested that they talk things over, and in the meeting Rignall was

able to come face to face with his attacker for the first time since the incident. He felt certain that it had been Gacy despite Gacy's denial that he knew Rignall or was anything but innocent. The matter was referred to Gacy's lawyer, LeRoy Stevens, who was the registered agent for PDM Contractor Inc. A settlement of \$3 000 was agreed upon despite the medical bills being \$7 000. The battery charges remained although Gacy maintained his façade of calm and innocence (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Seaman & Wilson, 2007).

A few months prior to the event with Rignall, another nineteen year old male had reported to the police that Gacy had forced him to engage in unnatural sexual acts, but although Gacy admitted to sexual intercourse he reported it was consensual and there was no further evidence to prove otherwise (Linedecker, 1986; Moss, 1999).

4.6.17 Divorce.

By 1975, his marriage to Carol had begun to sour; Carol reported it was as if Gacy did not have enough time for her. She further reported he was prone to outbursts as he had an erratic and volatile temper. When in a temper, Gacy was reported to clench his fist, scream in rage and at times break furniture. Carol also recalled that Gacy did not sleep, as he was often up during the night leaving the house late at night and returning in the early morning, sleeping only two or three hours at night. This resulted in him being tired during the day, often slumping on the living-room couch in exhaustion, staring into space (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The odour in the house had continued to bother Carol, as it became steadily worse. She reported being frustrated that Gacy did not resolve the problem but continued to dismiss it as dampness in the crawl space. Gacy also began to have difficulty performing sexually in their marriage. Carol reported that she had found a billfold belonging to a young man in her husband's automobile. When she questioned him about the

owner he exploded into a rage (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004). Although she continued to find bits of identification belonging to young men, she did not question Gacy again. Carol also found a mattress with a red light in the garage on one occasion, but when questioned about this he refused to answer and became hostile (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

Towards the end of their marriage, Gacy had begun to openly bring magazines with naked males into their home. He kept it hidden from the little girls, but admitted to Carol that he preferred boys (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986). Things continued to worsen as Gacy became more domineering, he began locking the phone so that his wife could not make calls and locking the office (Linedecker, 1986). The divorce became final on March 2, 1976. Despite the deteriorating relationship it was said to be amicable, and Gacy helped Carol move her furniture and installed carpeting for her in her new home (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). They continued to remain friends and Gacy spent hours confiding to her about his bisexuality (Linedecker, 1986; Moss, 1999). It was reported that Gacy did not engage in any further sexual intercourse with women after his divorce from Carol (Moss, 1999). Carol continued to play hostess at some of Gacy's parties. After the divorce Gacy continued to throw himself into work with increased vigour (Linedecker, 1986).

Sometime after Carol moved out, a new young, slim woman moved in. Gacy reported to his friends that he was getting married again. However, a few weeks before the wedding took place, Gacy reportedly kicked his new fiancée out. When asked why, he told his neighbour it was because she was a slob, never cleaning up after herself. Gacy continued to take Carol to events and seeing her on a regular basis, they were last seen together on Memorial Day, 1978 (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy was reported to have been a neat and clean individual who liked to keep everything in its place (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983)

4.6.18 Politics.

Gacy was becoming too old for the Jaycees, as it was a young man's organisation. He still longed for the companionship and ego boost it provided, and thus he turned to politics. The Democratic party was nearly synonymous with politics in Chicago and Cook County (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). Gacy sought out the Democratic committee leader of the Norwood Township. The leader, a lawyer Robert F. Martwick, admired Gacy's aspirations to better the community, and although he thought his goal of running for public office may be premature, he advised Gacy to become more involved in the community. He further advised him to become involved in service projects, Gacy was already familiar with these from his days in the Jaycees (Linedecker, 1986).

Gacy's first plan to become known in the community was 'Pogo the Clown'. Gacy designed clown costumes for himself, painted his face into a big grin and before long began entertaining small groups of children at picnics or parties sponsored by the Norwood Township Democrats (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004). He became known as the jovial clown who appeared at birthday parties (Hanson, 2002; Landry, 2008). Gacy spoke about appearing at children's hospitals for performances, but no one was able to confirm this. Gacy volunteered himself and his young contractor workers to help keep the Democratic Party building clean, Martwick was impressed and pleased with the offer. Gacy become known as a dependable volunteer who was available to run errands or make repairs to the building (Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy was nominated for a position on the Norwood Park Township Street Lighting District. Maintaining streetlights in the unincorporated areas was the commission's responsibility. Gacy continued to build his reputation as a tirelessly dedicated Democrat and minor township official (Linedecker, 1986).

In 1978 Gacy had the opportunity to meet Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, the wife of the President (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004). It was the 187th anniversary of democratic government in Poland and was marked with the Chicago Polish Constitution Day Parade on May 6th. She autographed a picture of her and Gacy: "To John Gacy. Best Wishes. Rosalynn Carter." (Linedecker, 1986, p. 143). Gacy had been the parade director for three consecutive years. In 1978 it consisted of fifty-four floats, twenty bands and ten thousand marchers. Gacy had obtained the position of director of the parade after the excellent job he did on a Democratic Day parade in Springfield. As part of the proceedings, Gacy had been cleared by the secret service, qualifying him to wear a pin on his lapel with the letter S. The secret service, despite consulting with the FBI, National Crime Index, regional Secret Service agents and local police did not discover Gacy's conviction for sodomy nor his questioning with regards to the disappearances of several youths (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004).

Gacy was also photographed during his meeting with Chicago mayor Michael Bilandic at a ground breaking ceremony. The ceremony was for a senior citizens facility not far from Norwood park, the picture showing Gacy and the mayor shaking hands (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19 Disappearances.

4.6.19.1 Butkovich.

John Butkovich was a young, likeable boy who worked in one of the hardware stores that Gacy frequented the store to buy building supplies. He was glad for the opportunity to earn extra income and an opportunity to expand his skills when Gacy offered him a job in construction (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). He worked long hours on occasion along with his boss, and would sleep over at times at Gacy's home. Carol who was still married to Gacy at this stage, was used to a

variety of youths coming and going from the house. At times, the youths would smoke marijuana cigarettes, although Carol objected to this. After a time the youths who worked for Gacy would vanish and new ones would replace them. John Butkovich was one of those who disappeared; this was after approximately seven months of working for Gacy. He had quit due to not being paid, after going to Gacy's home to claim his wages, he dropped off his two friends who had accompanied him and never came home. The following day his car was found with the key in the ignition, his wallet and jacket were on the front seat. The police believed he was like many other adolescent runaways who had simply left home. Although his parents continued to call and question the police, it seemed the police had accepted the disappearance of their son. Butkovich parents mentioned the disagreement with Gacy to the police, and they in turn reported that he did not want to answer their questions. Butkovich telephoned Gacy himself, who reportedly stated he had heard nothing from the boy and asked if there was something he could do to help (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.2 Carroll, Jr.

On June 13, 1976, Billy Carroll Jr. aged sixteen left his family apartment, slid into a car with his friends, and did not return home. He had been in trouble with the police from the age of eight, snatching purses and stealing bicycles. Uptown was the area of Chicago where boy prostitutes favourably competed with female ones. Billy was reported to be heterosexual, but used his good looks to charm the men of Chicago, specialising in earning money by procuring boys for the enjoyment of homosexuals. He had never gotten into the cars himself yet it was from here that he disappeared (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.3 Bonnin, Johnston, Reffett and Stapleton.

Ten days before Carroll had gone missing, Michael Bonnin, a seventeen-year-old boy, had disappeared. Fifteen-year-old Randall Reffett and his friend Samuel Dodd Stapleton had been reported missing a mere two weeks before Bonnin. Rick Johnston, a seventeen-year-old who was last seen attending a rock concert with his friends, reported missing on August 6, 1978. All the boys were thought to be runaways by the police; the disappearances were reported not to have been taken seriously despite the families' disbelief that the boys would run away. There appeared to be no disruptions in the home life of each of the boys and they were thought of as happy, well-adjusted adolescent boys. All of the boys went missing from the North side of Chicago and adjoining suburbs (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003).

4.6.19.4 Jamie.

One of the youths who worked as a male prostitute in Uptown was known as Jamie. He reported, along with some of the other youths, a man who was big, rugged and cruised in a Oldsmobile with a spotlight. The man was reported to be Gacy, who drove him to his home in Summerdale Avenue in Norwood Township. The first meeting was reportedly uneventful, the two shared a few drinks and Gacy paid him thirty dollars, although the youth reported feeling bothered by 'bad vibrations' at Gacy's home. The second meeting went rather differently, as there were no pleasantries and when the two entered Gacy's room and stripped naked, Gacy reportedly began to beat Jamie. Gacy produced a pair of handcuffs, but before he could place them on, Jamie was able to break a vase on his head and hurled the handcuffs away. He reportedly bit Gacy, after which he lied and stated that his friends had taken down the licence plate number, he told Gacy it was how they protected each other. Gacy threw him on the bed and proceeded to lie on top of him. After a few minutes he let Jamie get up and

paid him fifty dollars before driving him back to the streets. Jamie warned his friends to stay away from the man in the future (Linedecker, 1986). Other youths reported seeing him in the area looking for a male prostitute but they were wary and kept their distance as word spread (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). There was further speculation that he had been involved in the disappearance of a nine year boy who had been a boy prostitute. The nine year old had last been seen with Gacy, and disappeared from his old hangouts. It was reported to the police, but after following Gacy and questioning the youths who worked for him, nothing suspicious was found (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.5 Godzik.

Gregory Godzik was a handsome seventeen year old who had some academic problems due to bunking classes. He was well liked by both his peers and his school faculty, despite his academic record trailing his social accomplishments. He was anxious to make his own spending money and accepted the offer to work for Gacy readily. He confided that it was the best job he had ever had reportedly enjoying any task he was given. After taking his girlfriend out one night in November, 1976 with a promise to call her the next day, he did not return home. When he did not return home after a day and neither his friends nor girlfriend could explain his disappearance, his parents contacted the police. The police assured the parents that he was most likely another runaway. His parents did not believe this as he was a few months away from graduation, had a girlfriend, good friend and a job that he loved. There had been no difficulties at home and no reason for him to run away (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The police found his car abandoned the afternoon after his date. His parents contacted Gacy to enquire if he had heard anything, but he denied any knowledge of the boy's whereabouts. As Butkovich and Godzik were from two different districts, no one linked Gacy's name with the two missing boys. Nor did the police

from either district check Gacy's record as there was no indication of violence or abduction having taken place (Linedecker, 1986). The family hired a private investigator, but even though he had been able to track an estimate of four thousand adolescents before, he was never able to find Greg (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.19.6 Szyc.

On January 20, 1977, a youth named John Szyc was reported missing, a mere two months after the disappearance of Godzik. Although he had not worked for Gacy at PDM contractors, he was a known acquaintance of Gacy. He had graduated from high school the same year that Butkovich had gone missing. He disappeared along with his car, although he had no history of running away and no report of anything from which he needed to run away. The missing car later provided the police with the first clue linking Gacy to the missing youths (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The police had been called to a service station where a Mike Rossi had been accused of filling up the tank without paying. The car was found to have belonged to Szyc, Rossi indicated that the man he lived with could explain. Mike Rossi was living with Gacy at the time, who explained that he had purchased the car from Szyc and had then sold it to Rossi. Gacy reported that the boy had told him he needed the money to leave town as the reason for selling the car (Lindecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The police were unable to explain why Szyc had left behind two pay-checks despite reportedly needing money, and that he had purchased new licence discs for the car on the day he went missing, several days after Gacy had claimed to purchase the car (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.7 Prestidge.

Jon Prestidge was a twenty-year-old male who completed his high school years at Kalamazoo Central High School. After dropping out of the Kalamazoo Community College he came to Chicago to visit friends. He decided to make use of his free year after school by travelling and hitch hiking. He would always phone home to let his family know where he was and that he was safe. On March 14, 1977, he was back in Chicago, preparing for an interview at a nursing school where he planned to pursue anaesthesiology. He left his apartment for a walk along Broadway, and was never heard from again. His family reported him missing to the police when they heard no news of his interview or his future arrangements. He was no longer a juvenile and with no evidence of abduction or homicide, he was listed as voluntarily missing (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.19.7 Gilroy.

The son of a Chicago police sergeant disappeared on September 15, 1977. Robert Gilroy was an outdoorsman who often went camping and was scheduled to join his equestrian club for a day of horse riding. He never showed up for the bus that would be taking the group of fifty the several miles for the days riding. His father and other policemen began searching for the youth, generating over forty pages of reports, yet nothing in the investigation led to finding the boy (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.9 Mowery.

On September 25, 1977, the eighteen-year-old John Mowery was last seen alive by his family. Five years earlier Mowery's sister had been murdered, and he had been the one to discover the body. When he went missing, his family were extremely concerned, fearing their son had been murdered too. He had been discharged from the Marines earlier that year and

was taking steps to becoming an accountant. Mowery went out one night prior to moving out of his parents' home into an apartment with a friend and never returned (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.10 Nelson.

Russell Nelson was similar in age to Jon Prestidge, he too came from a small town in the Midwest. Less than a week after arriving in Chicago, Nelson disappeared. Nelson was a honours student at his high school and in September 1974 he enrolled at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis as a major in pre-architecture. After two years of studying he had gone to the city of Minneapolis during the summer holidays to make money. He socialised in the gay community at times, though it was unknown whether he himself was gay. He met a young man who he referred to as the cowboy, aka Robert Young. The two headed off to Chicago together where Young stated he knew a contractor. On October 19, 1977 Nelson and Young went out to a bar and Nelson disappeared. Nelson's family came to Chicago to search for him and to file a missing persons report with the police. The search was fruitless, Nelson had vanished, leaving behind his savings from summer working as well as all his other possessions (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.11 Kindred.

William Wayne Kindred and his girlfriend had been talking about marriage when he went missing on February 16, 1978. The nineteen-year-old was of a muscular build and supported himself by doing odd jobs. According to reports from his friends he knew how to make money on the streets and worked in the New Town area, close to Uptown. His girlfriend reported him missing to the police and spent many nights searching for him, unable to find him (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.12 Landingin Jr.

Frank W. Landinging Jr., known as Dale by some, was a youth who worked the streets of Chicago, he would obtain money from men for sex and then run away before the pay offs. On November 3, 1978, he was nineteen years old after an argument with his father the day before; he was reported missing from the Uptown area (Linedecker, 1986).

4.6.19.13 James Mazzara.

On thanksgiving, the Mazzara family celebrated together, James was at the family home. He was considered a loving son, and at twenty-two enjoyed his independence with his friends, yet never missed a birthday or anniversary with his family. He telephoned home every week to share any news on his latest part time job. After leaving thanksgiving eve with the promise to see the family again around Christmas, the family never heard from him again (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.6.19.14 Robert Piest.

On December 11, 1978 Elizabeth Piest was waiting outside of Nisson Pharmacy in Des Plaines to pick up her fifteen-year old son, Robert Piest. Robert was the baby of a family of three children who were all to celebrate their mother's birthday that night. He was the clean cut all-American boy with good grades and a varsity athlete in gymnastics. When his mother entered the store to collect him, he asked her if she could wait a few minutes to head outside and speak to a contractor about a summer job. When her son had not returned after half an hour Elizabeth went searching for him. He was not the kind of boy who would disappear and after informing the rest of the family and searching a further two hours, the family went to the police to report Robert missing (Dobbert, 2009; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Seaman & Wilson, 2007; Vronsky, 2004).

4.6.20 Social façade.

Although Gacy had become known in the Uptown area amongst male prostitutes, he continued to frequent local bars (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). He would often stop for a drink with a female cousin or Carol. The heavy set constructor with the vivacious and pretty women he brought in was never suspected of being bisexual. Gacy remained caring of his family, visiting with his mother and sisters and providing them with money when they needed assistance. He was always available to his family if they needed his help (Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004).

Around the time that Gacy was entering the arena of politics, he began to form a friendship with Donald Czarna, a cement contractor. The two had much in common, not only were they both in contracting, but they were both known to boast, their physical builds were similar and both used intimidation tactics with those who were in disagreement with them. After Czarna completed a few jobs for Gacy, and he had attended some of Gacy's parties, the two became close friends; even taking some vacations together. The favourite spot for holidays was Las Vegas, where Gacy would spend a few hours at the black jack table before enjoying a meal with his friends, boasting of all he had won. Czarna had a hatred of homosexuals, and reported not being able to tolerate 'he-she's', never suspecting that his rugged friend was a bisexual (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.7 Late Adulthood

The last meeting with Gacy that childhood friend Boschelli recalls occurred in 1978. Boschelli received a call from Gacy to come over to his house, to make amends after an argument the two had had years before. Boschelli recalls a pungent smell coming from Gacy's house, when questioned Gacy explained that a broken sewage pipe had flooded his crawl space. In this meeting, the two reminisced about childhood years. After some time,

Gacy asked if he could show his old friend something, bringing out a pair of handcuffs and requesting that Boschelli put them on. Boschelli requested a glass of water, and left the house, hearing Gacy shouting "please don't leave me". As Boschelli drove away Gacy came out his house, shouting and threatening that he was going to kill him. Later that year, the dark secret of Gacy came to light, and he was arrested for killing a series of young men and boys (Boschelli, 2008).

4.7.1 Initial investigation, finding Piest.

On December 12, 1978, at 1:54 am information about a missing boy, Robert Piest was entered into the state and national computers by Officer George Konieczny from the Des Plaines Police Department. The boy had been reported missing the night of December 11 by his mother, Elizabeth Piest, after he had gone to discuss a summer job with a contractor named John Gacy (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). The Lieutenant Joseph Kozenczak of the Investigations Divisions of the Des Plaines Police Department walked into his office on Tuesday morning and found the report about the missing Piest boy amongst the previous night's reports. Within minutes, he was talking to Mrs. Piest as he did not believe the boy was a runaway. Piest had made the honour role at his school, was a gymnast and an amateur photographer. He had been a well-adjusted happy teenager and very much involved in his family life (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). Lieutenant Joseph Kozenczak instructed his team of detectives to scrutinize missing persons report, looking for those who did not resemble the routine runaways. He launched an in depth investigation, beginning by questioning those who worked at the pharmacy. It was again reported that Piest had left to speak to a contractor named John Gacy, described as a grey-haired, middle aged man, who was heavy set. He was reported to have been seen in a pickup truck and had previously done some remodelling work

at the store. Gacy had further been seen in the store twice on Monday night, offering Piest a job (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003).

Detective Ron Adams from the Juvenile Bureau telephoned Gacy that afternoon and questioned him about Piest. Gacy denied any knowledge about the missing boy. Lieutenant Kozenczak himself followed up later that night, he knocked on Gacy's door in Norwood Park Township and requested that he came to the police station for questioning. Gacy was unwilling to accompany them as he claimed he was awaiting a call from his mother as his uncle had passed away. Lieutenant Kozenczak was not willing to wait and requested that Gacy either telephone immediately or do so on his return home, but the missing boy made it imperative that Gacy came in now. Gacy was unhappy about the pressure from the Lieutenant but agreed to come to the police station in a few hours after taking care of his business. At 3 am Gacy reported to the police station, his clothes and shoes caked with mud. He gave his statement to the detectives on duty after which it was requested that he return to the police station again later that morning. At 9:15am, Gacy reported to the police department, he denied any knowledge of the boy's disappearance. He was permitted to leave after being questioned extensively about the missing boy (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

A background check was conducted on those who had encountered the boy, and Gacy's prior sodomy conviction was discovered. Lieutenant Kozenczak obtained a search warrant from Judge Marvin J Peters after citing Gacy's criminal record, factors indicating probable cause and the Piest boy's exemplary reputation (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The search the police conducted turned up the following:

A section of rug with stains on it, suspected to be dried blood.

Clothing, including a pair of yellow undershorts.

Colour photos of drug stores.

An address book.

More than a dozen books, including Bike Boy, Pederasty, Sex between Men and Boys, Twenty-One Abnormal Sex Cases, Tight Teenagers, The American Bi-Centennial Gacy Guide and The Rights of Gay People.

Seven erotic films.

A hypodermic needle and syringe.

A quantity of crushed green plant like material and rolling papers.

Bottles of pills, including capsules thought to be Valium, and another containing amyl nitrate.

A scale.

A switchblade knife.

A pistol, and a bag containing possible gun caps or rivets.

A pair of handcuffs and keys.

A length of nylon rope.

A thirty-nine-inch-long two-by-four board with two holes in each end.

A temporary drivers licence issued to Michael B Baker.

A Maine High School class ring with the initial J.A.S.

A drivers licence issued to James G. O'Toole.

A receipt from the Nisson Pharmacy for a roll of film being developed.

(Linedecker, 1986, p. 162)

The police confiscated Gacy's Oldsmobile, the Chevrolet pickup truck with PDM Contractors inscribed on it and a late model van with PDM Contractors emblazoned on the side. In the trunk of the car the police found bits of hair, the colour matched that of the missing boy and was sent to the police crime laboratory. A trained dog was given articles of

Robert's clothes to smell and released inside the building in which confiscated cars were kept, the dog ran passed other vehicles and jumped into Gacy's car (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

It was discovered that the film receipt belonged to Kim Beyers who had forgotten it in Robert Piest's pocket when he lent it to her. Twenty-four hour surveillance was ordered for Gacy, in the hope that he would lead them to Piest. Fourteen policemen worked double shifts, were formed into surveillance teams, spreading out to talk to Gacy's friends and associates (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy told his friends that the police were investigating him in an attempt to tie him to a drug offense. He claimed his innocence and complained about his 'police body guard'. He further instructed his friends that if anyone questioned them they were to direct them to his lawyer. The search for Piest continued, his family handing out flyers, the police searching with dogs and the coast guard searching with helicopters along the Des Plaines River. Gacy filed a civil suit against the city of Des Plaines for harassment and wanted an injunction to halt all investigations (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He sought damages for "mental anguish, loss of reputation in the community, deprivation of liberty, and loss of personal property" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 165).

Gacy's attitude towards the officers who trailed him changed from hot to cold and back, he would invite them into his house for coffee or he would shoot photographs of them and attempt to lose them through rambling car chases (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). On one occasion, he invited the investigative officers who were on surveillance for a meal. In conversation with the officers, he informed them about his role as a clown and the tricks he performed (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He went on to query why they were following him, admitting to abuse drugs at times but denying any other criminal activity. Gacy told the officers that he had health difficulties that would have prevented him from

harming anyone if he tried (Buller et al., 2009; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He claimed to have leukaemia and that he would be dead in four years' time (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He also spoke to the officers about his work in construction, admitting that he was hard on his employees yet he paid them well (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He also admitted that he liked to hire young males, as he wanted to train them to work according to his preferences. He also reported to the officers that some of the youths had lived with him in the past but gave up the practice when rumours began to circulate among the neighbours that he was homosexual (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Seaman & Wilson, 2007).

Gacy's friends were beginning to become frustrated by the police questioning, during the first four or five days of investigation police questioned more than a hundred people connected to Gacy (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). On December 21, 1978, Gacy went to his lawyer's offices, the police who were trailing him at this stage were invited into the offices and offered hot coffee, Gacy was reported to be asleep on the couch in the office. By the next morning, Gacy left the lawyers office and drove his car erratically along busy streets (Linedecker, 1986). The police officers following him at the time were forced to pull him over and cautioned him to drive more carefully (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He then drove to Park Ridge service station where he gave one of the petrol attendants what appeared to be marijuana. One of the officers questioned the attendant, who freely gave him the home made cigarettes, claiming he had not wanted them in the first place (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The officers did not make an arrest as they continued to hope Gacy would lead them to Piest. Gacy drove home where he informed his neighbours that the police were trying to 'pin a murder rap' on him. Gacy travelled to Czarna's home where he asked for a drink and informed his friend that "the end is near", he walked outside, turned around and confessed to his friend "I killed thirty people, give or take a few". When Czarna questioned him about the victims he replied that they had been "bad people, they were blackmailing me. They were baaad people" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 169). Following this Gacy began to cry, he left his bewildered friend and headed to the home of one of the youths who had worked and lived with him for a time. He asked the youth to drive him to his father's grave in Maryhill Cemetery, and to inform the officer who was trailing him. When the youth, spoke to the police he revealed to them that Gacy had confessed to over thirty murders to his lawyers and requested that they follow closely as he feared Gacy might harm him or take his own life (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.7.2 The arrest.

Minutes after Gacy had begun the drive to the cemetery; the officers were informed that they were to arrest Gacy for possession of marijuana (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). The police obtained another search warrant and informed Gacy that they would have to pull apart his floorboards in an attempt to find the youth. Gacy informed them it was unnecessary, he admitted that he had killed a man in self-defence and that he was buried under the garage. He offered to show the police the makeshift grave. He pinpointed the spot on the garage floor with a spray painted X (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004). Despite this, the investigators returned to the home to investigate the crawl space of Gacy's home. Gacy began to complain of chest pains and the fire department paramedics found that his blood pressure was high; he was taken to the local hospital but later returned to the police station (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The police investigators continued to search the house, and at 10pm on the 21st of December, 1978, the Cook County Medical Examiner, Dr Robert J Stein was contacted as what appeared to be human remains had been found in the crawl space (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Upon arrival at the house in Norwood Park Township, officers from the Major Investigations Unit as well as town police officers greeted him. He entered the crawl space where the remains of at least one human being had been uncovered. There were further suspicious mounds in the crawl space and what appeared to be human hair was found at the other end. The efforts to recover the remains were postponed until the next morning and guards were posted at the house overnight (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.7.3 The death house.

"If I am the chief of sinners, then I am the chief of sufferers" Sam Amirante, Gacy's defence lawyer (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004, p. 114).

In December 1978, twenty eight bodies were found on Gacy's property, buried under the garage and in the crawl space of the house, all were males ranging from age nine to age twenty (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Seaman & Wilson, 2007; Taylor, 2003; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy made a confession to murdering 'at least thirty people'. He reported that he had used his experience as a clown to lure youths to be handcuffed, telling them that he was going to show them a trick. He would then sexually abuse them and force them into performing homosexual acts (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). The use of the tricks in he performed as 'Pogo the Clown' in committing the murders resulted in Gacy becoming known as 'The Killer Clown' (Dobbert, 2009; Vronsky, 2004). He confessed to killing them by either strangling them with a rope or a board that he held to their throats and pulled back. He had disposed of the bodies in the crawl space, and one had been buried under his garage (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). As he became older and his health was no longer allowing him to dig in the crawl space, he disposed of a further five victims in the Des Plaines River close to his house. Gacy, escorted by his lawyer, sister and the prosecutor showed several officers where exactly he disposed of

the bodies in the river (Linedecker, 1986; Lohr, 2001; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). This brought the total number of victims to thirty-three, the largest number of murders linked to one individual in the United States history at that stage (Clarke, 1994; Linedecker, 1986).

Gacy admitted that victim Robert Piest had still been in his home on December 12 when Kozenczak had questioned him and that he had driven that night to the Kankakee Bridge where he tossed the boy's body and clothing (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy was formally charged on December 23 with murdering Robert Piest and escorted to the Des Plaines Branch of Cook County Circuit Court where Judge Peters ordered that he was to be held with no bail and a formal arraignment was scheduled (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; SAC, St. Louis, 1979).

In order to provide easier access into the crawl space in which the bodies had been found, the Cook County Highway Department ripped up the floor of Gacy's office. Sound recordings of the voices of the evidence technicians as well as video recordings of the proceeding in removing the bodies from the crawl space were made for trial use. Numbers were painted on the concrete sides of the foundations in order to provide markers for burial spots. Workers sifted through the dirt in order to find bones, when evidence of remains were found the worker would dig by hand in order to remove the various skeletal parts (Linedecker, 1986). The medical examiner cautioned that the utmost care be used in retrieving the human remains and fragments of clothes in order to preserve the remains and to avoid destroying any evidence (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003).

One body was removed from the crawl space on the first day as well as remains from the floor in the garage as indicated by Gacy. Lime was found in the crawl space and theorised to have been used as it hastens decomposition. The methane gas from the decomposing bodies were so strong that workers had to cease work as gas masks were unavailable and they were

becoming lightheaded. (Linedecker, 1986). Before the excavations could be continued all of Gacy's furniture and personal belongings were removed. Carpeting from the bedroom was later found to have bloodstains on the bottom and padding. Records and papers were stored in boxes for later scrutiny in the hopes of identifying the victims. The documents found amongst the papers included those relating to Gacy's democratic party involvement and his company, telephone numbers as well as pornographic materials. In the garage police found mirrors on the ceilings as well as rubber sexual devices and prophylactics (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

After the first day, the medical examiner requested the help of two other medical examiners, Professor Charles P. Warren and Dr Edward J. Pavlik were called in on the investigation. Prof. Warren was to focus on finding hair, fingernails or bone fragments that would provide DNA for identification from anything ranging from jewellery to clothing. Dr. Pavlik focused on the dental records to identify the victims through dental characteristics such as fillings and caps. Dr. Stein ensured each piece of potential evidence was carefully catalogued as well as the exact location it was found. The following days the count of bodies found on the property mounted to four (Linedecker, 1986).

On the 24th and 25th of December the search was suspended and around-the-clock guards were posted to preserve evidence. When the excavation resumed the body count increased (Linedecker, 1986). On the 26th of December, ten bodies were removed from the crawl space and on the 27th another six were removed. Three of the bodies were found in a common grave, another two bodies were found in a separate common grave, speculations held that the youths had been buried together. Gacy confirmed in his confessions that at times he would kill two people in one night, he referred to these as having 'doubles' (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

The placement of the bodies appeared to be well thought out and orderly, they had been arranged in lines along the foundation and then placed diagonally inside the outer patterns of bodies towards the centre of the crawl space. Gacy had drawn a map as to where to discover the bodies and it was found to be incredibly accurate, the bodies appeared to have been arranged in a manner resembling the spokes of a bicycle wheel (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). After drawing the map, Gacy stated that 'Jack' was the one who drew the map, not him. He explained that he had multiple personalities and 'Jack' was the personality that had committed the murders. He used lines to indicate where the 'graves' were and stated that he could not remember where there may be more than one body buried together (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Some of the individuals whose remains were recovered, had pieces of cloth in their mouths, some were wrapped in material such as tarpaper used in construction. December 28th Dr Stein announced a further six bodies had been removed from the crawl space. This brought the total known dead to twenty-seven (Linedecker, 1986).

In order to continue the search, the search warrant was to be extended. The lawyers who defended Gacy opposed the extension stating there was no probable cause of wrongdoing. The search warrant was nevertheless granted on February 21, 1980 (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The search continued and in the concrete on the stoop a .38 calibre gun was found. Under the patio another body was found, this time it appeared to belong to an older male and a chain and wedding ring was distinguishable from the remains. A further body was found a week later from under the recreation room. A further three youths were pulled from the Illinois River, bringing the total victims found to thirty two. The body of Piest, the youth who's disappearance had started the search, remained missing for a further four months. It was after a storm that had inflicted more than \$10 million damage on the state that a body was discovered in the Illinois River and identified to be that of Robert Piest. It was

determined that he had died of suffocation after paper towels had been pushed down his throat (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.7.4 Recalled victims.

Gacy continued to cooperate with the police investigation, talking freely of the time, place and descriptions of each victim and their deaths. He was unable to recall the names of the victims and he reported they had mostly been chance encounters. He reportedly killed his victims, as he did not want retaliation from them at a later stage with regards to the sexual abuse (Davis, 2008; LaBrode, 2007; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy was reported to appear confident and relaxed as he related to the police all the information about the murders. He was described as being clinical in his retellings, showing no signs of remorse (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy had been able to gain control over his victim through convincing them of tricks he was going to perform, his ability to entertain the victims and lure them into 'his domain' showed some sophistication in his interpersonal skills (Moss, 1999).

Gacy admitted his first victim had been a youth he had picked up at the Greyhound Bus Terminal in Chicago on January 3, 1972, he was unable to recall his name and admitted to stabbing him to death. The next two victims Gacy recalled were John Butkovich and Gregory Godzik who had been his former employees. Gacy admitted that another of his victims had been John Szyc. The police identified the body of Frank Wayne Landingin who had washed up from the Des Plaines River the previous month and his driver's licence was discovered at Gacy's house. Wallets, driver's licences and other personal items of the victims were found, indicating that he had kept souvenirs. Gacy further admitted to keeping the bodies in his house for several hours after killing the youths but never admitted to molesting them after their death (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). All of Gacy's victims shared

similar features; furthermore, they all resembled the employee who had accused Gacy of committing sodomy in May 1968 resulting in his first prison sentence (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Moss, 1999).

His lawyer, Amirante, had advised Gacy not to talk, however he wanted to and continued providing the police with information. In follow up interviews, Gacy assured the police officers that the twenty-seven bodies found and those he had dumped in the river were his only victims (Linedecker, 1986). In one of his statements to the police, Gacy claimed that he was merely ridding the world of bad kids, and that those he had murdered had deserved it as they had been hustlers (Haggerty, 2009).

Gacy related stories of other sexual encounters he had had with youths for a price, stating that he would go 'whoring' after 10 pm at night. He further explained that on one occasion he had been propositioned which made him angry, he would be the one making any and all propositions. Gacy would always be the dominant one (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983) and admitted that he enjoyed being the aggressor, making his sexual partner his 'slave in bed' (Moss, 1999).

As some of the youths that had been killed by Gacy were identified as transients heading for the action of Chicago, the telephone numbers of Operation Peace of Mind and of the National Runaway Switchboard were disseminated. This was done in order for runaway youths to reassure their families of their safety and not among those who had been murdered (Linedecker, 1986).

4.7.5 Missing persons.

During the time that the medical examiner and his team were excavating the Gacy house, Sergeant Howard Anderson coordinated the police work. Inquiries of missing youths who may have been victims flooded in from other states as well as London, England and Sydney, Australia (Linedecker, 1986).

On New Year's Day positive identification had been made of Godzik, Szyc and Rick Johnson. Another victim that had been recovered from the Des Plain River and linked to Gacy was identified as James Mazzara, the discovery of his body brought the total body count to twenty nine. The victims were all found to be males and Caucasian and the approximate ages were calculated by the fusion plates of the long bones. A large number of the remains were skeletons, thus there were no distinguishing marks or tattoos to enable identification of the youths. A few days later Robert Gilroy, Jon Prestidge, Michael Bonnin, and Russell Nelson were identified. John Mowery and Matthew Bowman were identified on the 27th of January. In February the body that had been found in the Illionois River was identified as Timothy O'Rourke. Dr. Stein identified another victim, Billy Carrol, from his dental records. Four months after the discovery of the bodies, Randall Reffett was identified from an X ray that had been taken at a Chicago Hospital. A few days later, another victim was identified as Sam Dodd Stapleton, a friend of Randall. Another set of x rays was used a month later to identify William Kindred (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Further identifications were made of Timothy McCoy; Darrel Sampson; Kenneth Parker; Michael Marino and Tommy Boling (Dobbert, 2009). Eight bodies remained unidentified, despite continued efforts from police and forensic anthropologists (Vronsky, 2004).

On January 4, 1980 a memorial service was held at the St Eugene Catholic Church for all those whose lives had been taken by Gacy. Those who had lived in the neighbourhood with Gacy were stunned by the findings. They were unable to reconcile the horrors found in his home with the popular and trusted friend (Linedecker, 1986). A list of the identified victims of John Wayne Gacy is presented in appendix D.

4.7.6 Charges.

On January the 8th, 1979, Gacy was accused of murdering seven young men by the Cook County Grand Jury. It was announced that State Attorney Carey would be seeking the death penalty at trial. According to the statutes of Illinois as of June 21, 1977, a conviction of multiple murders would result in capital punishment, death by electrocution. Three of Gacy's victims had disappeared months after this law had passed. Gacy had provided a list of names as well as the various cities and towns from which the named male youths had disappeared. This was held as key evidence along with the diagram Gacy had drawn to pinpoint the location of the bodies. The prosecuting attorneys would be Chief Deputy State Attorney William Kunkle and Assistant State Attorneys Robert R. Egan and Terry Sullivan. Later, Cook County's State Attorney Bernard Carey headed up the team (Linedecker, 1986).

Prior to Gacy's arraignment in Third District Circuit Court elaborate security was planned, despite several precautions being taken including thirty seven armed police guards, metal detectors and false information with regards to the timing of the hearing, it was decided that Gacy would not appear in court. This was as the community was in uproar over the murders and fears for Gacy's safety resulted in Judge Fitzgerald ruling that the hearing would continue without him. Furthermore, in order to ensure safer transport in future the case was moved for further hearings to the Criminal Courts Building which was adjacent to the county jail. Amirante protested Gacy's rights to be present, nevertheless the hearing continued without his presence in court. The judge granted permission for Gacy to undergo psychiatric testing both at the Cook County Psychiatric Institute as well as by a private psychiatrist selected by Amirante. A 'gag order' was issued by the judge preventing witnesses and officials from discussing the case with the press or making statements that would impact on the fairness of the trial. It was petitioned by Amirante that his client had already received

massive publicity making it impossible for a fair trial to take place (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

Hearings were underway in Des Plaines in the Criminal Courts Building in front of Jude Fitzgerald. Each individual entering the building was searched and Gacy made his first appearance behind a high protective glass partition. Amirante entered not-guilty pleas on behalf of his client. Amirante presented eleven motions to the trial judge, rulings on nine of the motions were reserved. The request to release Gacy on bail was overruled and the order for psychiatric evaluation was repeated. A further twenty-six charges of murder were brought against Gacy, indicating that he would be tried for thirty-three counts of murder, Amirante pleaded not guilty on behalf of his client on each count. It was further made known by the prosecuting attorneys that Gacy would be tried first for the murder of Robert Piest as this involved kidnapping as well as other felonies and in Illinois murder in the commission of another felony was a capital offense (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.7.7 Psychiatric assessment.

Six months after Gacy's arrest, Amirante filed court documents stating, "The defendant will rely on the state's inability to prove him guilty beyond a reasonable doubt in addition to the affirmative defence of insanity" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 215). If a mental defect or disease prevented the person from understanding the criminal nature of what he was doing at the time of the offense he was considered not responsible for the crime according to the Illinois law (Linedecker, 1986). The Illinois Supreme Court stipulates that evidence of sociopathic personality, mental disease, or defect was not sufficient to establish insanity as a defence. The state penal code at this time held that:

a person is not criminally responsible for conduct if at the time of such conduct, as a result of mental disease or defect, he lacks substantial capacity to appreciate the criminality of his conduct or to conform to the requirement of law (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004, p. 102)

Gacy stayed at the psychiatric ward of Cermak Hospital where it was reported he had been strapped to the bed by leather restraints (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). He was assessed by the Director of the Psychiatric Institute, and found to be mentally fit to stand trial. A 24 hour guard was placed on Gacy (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy pleaded insanity as the reason for committing the murders; more specifically he claimed to have multiple personality disorder (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Beattie, 2007). Gacy claimed to have four different personalities, 'John the contractor, John the clown, and John the politician.' The fourth personality went by the name of Jack Hanley. According to Gacy, 'Jack was the killer and did all the evil things' (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Lohr, 2001; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). It was later found that an officer Hanley was indeed a real police investigator whom Gacy had met in 1971 before committing his first murder. Gacy was thought to have used the name to deter further investigations if any allegations were made (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy was described as being an 'organised' type of serial killer as he kept smaller memorabilia of his victims that was easily hidden. He had sustained a social façade and been married, no one suspecting that he was leading a double life (LaBrode, 2007; Understanding the Disorganized/Organized Typology, 2010; Vronsky, 2004).

4.7.8 Second prison stay.

Gacy was reported to adjust well to life in prison, as he had done previously when at Anamosa after his first sentence of sodomy. He began collecting articles of himself not long after he first arrived at the county jail complex. Two other prisoners shared the isolation ward with him and he would play chess, checkers or scrabble with them. Gacy befriended the other two inmates, both of whom had been accused of murdering small boys (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy was considered to be in danger from the general prison population, some of whom hated child molesters and others who may have killed him to gain reputation for murdering the celebrity inmate. Gacy referred to himself as a Very Important Prisoner (VIP), as he had guards assigned to watch only him (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Traditionally sexual offenders, especially those who molested children, were looked down upon by other inmates and often received brutal treatment (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). Gacy reportedly found religion again in prison after a social worker provided him with a Bible which he claimed to read every day, especially enjoying the psalms. (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy began to feel isolated and wrote the following letter to a friend:

Since the dark shadow of Satan has come over me, it seems my fair weather friends have run away, When things were good and I was giving, everyone was on my bandwagon, but as soon as I am accused and suspected, they run and hide. May God have mercy on them... If it wasn't for God's will, I would have never given or helped so many people. Oh, I am no saint or anything like that, just one of God's children. I do not take the right to sit in judgement of others or myself. (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 237)

Gacy had several visits to the hospital as he suffered from angina pectoris, a chronic heart condition. Gacy also had a history of fainting spells and chest pain, however according to his medical records he had no heart attacks or brain damage, no organic disorder had been found, and it was felt that in the past these had been due to anxiety (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.7.9 The trial.

"...he was so good and he was so bad, and the bad side of him is the personification of evil" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 365)

The jury selection for Gacy's trial on charges of murdering thirty-three young men and boys began in Rockford, Illinois thirteen months after Gacy's arrest. After an extended legal battle that resulted after the defence attorneys filed a motion to move the court proceedings due to the influence of publicity, the judge ruled that the proceedings would take place in the Cook County Criminal Courts building. However, the jury would be chosen from the industrious metropolis near the Wisconsin border and sequestered in a Chicago hotel. In the selection of the jury, the judge questioned each individual on his or her opinions on the death penalty and the insanity defence (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He further enquired if they would be able to give a fair hearing by suspending their views on homosexuality. Gacy appeared to enjoy the proceedings, looking jovial as he swivelled on his chair, chatted to his lawyers and scribbled on a notepad. Four days after the jury selection began the twelve members as well as four alternates were selected (Linedecker, 1986).

State Attorney Casey turned the case over to his Chief Deputy Kunkle again as he ran for re-election (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Assistant State Attorney's Lawrence Finder and James Varga assisted with legal research, the preparation of evidence and other chores

(Linedecker, 1986). It was decided not to try Gacy for each case individually but rather to engage in a single proceeding. Trying Gacy for each individual case would have taken years, the defence preferred trying for one case as it backed up the main argument of not guilty by reason of insanity (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

Gacy's trial began on February 6, 1980, at the Cook County Criminal Courts Building in downtown Chicago (Taylor, 2003). The prosecution opened the case against Gacy, Assistant State Attorney Robert R. Egan opened with a description of how Gacy stabbed his first victim and used a 'rope trick' to garrotte the other thirty-two victims (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004). The first victim had been murdered in 1972 and the last, Robert Piest, on December 11, 1978. Egan used the words 'planned, mechanical and premediated' in describing the acts committed by Gacy to the jury. Gacy had recounted several of the murders in detail in the statements he gave to the police. Furthermore, the investigators recalled that he had been engaging and occasionally laughing while giving the accounts of the killings. He had admitted to sexually torturing his victims before informing them he was going to show them one more 'trick', tying a rope around their necks to strangle them (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999). He had further recounted how he had one of his victims, Greg Godzik, dig his own grave while he was working for him before later torturing and killing him. Egan cautioned the jury to be sceptical when the psychiatrist testified, as Gacy was "nothing more than an evil, evil man" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 222).

In his opening statements, Robert Motta who had joined Amirante as Gacy's defence lawyer claimed that Gacy could not be held responsible for his actions as he had an unconscious and uncontrollable mental illness. He further explained that Gacy had immersed himself in the other activities in his life, work, politics and being an amateur clown, as he knew something else was going on against which he was helpless. Motta stated that a

psychiatrist had found the presence of various mental illnesses that proved that his client was insane, to the extent that no label could comprehensively explain the 'incomprehensible' illness (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The defence's main argument as stated in the words of Maiken and Sullivan (1983) was that Gacy was "one of the greatest accused mass-murderers of all time, and everybody was saying he's gotta be nuts" (p. 288).

Thus the long and arduous case began and over the first few days the family and girlfriends of the victims who had been identified were called to testify. Only twenty-two of the thirty-three victims were identified by the commencement of the trial. The family members were highly emotional and at times had to be escorted from the court room. A large white board had been mounted with the names of each of the victims, as the family member recounted the last memory of their beloved they were allowed to place a photo above the name. The family members were also asked to identified various trinkets found in Gacy's house as belonging to their son, brother or boyfriend (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

As the trial progressed, Gacy's friends, neighbours and those who had worked with and for him were asked to testify. Other youths who had had sexual or violent encounters with Gacy and survived were asked to testify. Police investigators were called next to provide their accounts. One of the detectives, David Hacmeister recalled Gacy's statement that 'clowns can get away with murder' (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004).

Assistant State Attorney Finder testified about the explanation and demonstration Gacy had given him as to how he strangled his victims. Finder proceeded to demonstrate for the court what Gacy had shown him, tying three knots in a rope and placing a piece of wood in one of the knots so that when the victim struggled the garrotte tightened. The medical examiner, Dr. Robert J. Stein was called next to testify along with the footage of the victim

recovery process at Gacy's home. The state rested two and a half weeks after opening the case (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

A routine move of asking for a directed verdict of not guilty was the opening of the defence on the 24th of February, 1980. The first witness called was Jeffrey Rignall, to the surprise of many as they would have expected him to testify for the prosecution (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He testified that Gacy was not able to appreciate the criminality of his acts due to the "beastly and animalistic ways he attacked" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 227). Rignall vomited and cried during his testimony and had to be led from the court room. Amirante and Motta continued to bring more witnesses to the stand as they attempted to build a case for their client's insanity (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). His neighbour testified that she did not believe he was crazy, as he was a brilliant man (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

The medical professionals were called to the stand next. The first expert was a clinical psychologist from Rockford, Thomas Eliseo, who had assessed Gacy for five and a half hours. He reported his findings that Gacy was very bright, his intelligence ranking among the top ten percentage of the population (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). He added that he considered Gacy to be 'borderline schizophrenic 'which was used to describe an individual who "on the surface looks normal but has all kinds of neurotic, antisocial, psychotic illnesses" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 228). Other medical experts provided similar testimony, stating the defence's case that Gacy had been helpless against the uncontrollable compulsion to sexually abuse, torture and murder the young men (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). In addition the expert witnesses stated that Gacy did not recognise the criminality of his acts while they were occurring (Linedecker, 1986).

Other witnesses called were Gacy's former wife, Carol Lofgren, his mother and his sister. Gacy showed the first emotion when his ex-wife was questioned and stated she did not recognise the sadist and sex killer as the man she knew as her husband. Gacy's mother described him as a good and loving son, she further recounted the abuse he had suffered at the hands of his father and the deep love that had remained from the Jr. Gacy to his father despite repeated beatings and verbal abuse (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy's sister recalled that her brother had always been "sweet, loving, understanding and generous" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 229). She also testified to the abuse that Gacy had suffered at the hands of his father, at times being called stupid and a coward (Linedecker, 1986). She maintained that Gacy was a good man, with a giving nature who would go out of his way to help others. She also stated that he was protective of his family, caring for their mother after his father died (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

After the accounts from those who had loved Gacy, the expert witnesses once again began taking the stand. Gacy was described as a pseudo-neurotic paranoid schizophrenic by Dr. Lawrence Z. Freedman who further tied the mental illness to the abuse Gacy underwent as a child (Linedecker, 1986). He went on to state that Gacy was obsessive and compulsive. He also reported that he had not seen Gacy in a dissociative state and did not believe his claim of multiple personalities (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

Robert Traisman, a clinical psychologist, testified that according to the results of a Rorschach Ink Blot Test administered to Gacy it was found that he was:

a paranoid schizophrenic who had homosexual conflicts, marked feelings of masculine inadequacy, a man who lacked empathy, a lack of feeling for other people, an individual with an alarming lack of emotional control or ego control under stress,

who had strong potentials for emotional or ego disintegration and expression of very hostile, dangerous impulses, either to others or to himself (Linedecker, 1986, p. 230).

He further allowed that Gacy may have been aware of the criminality of his actions, but despite that was unable to control his impulses (Linedecker, 1986).

A Chicago veteran professional witness, psychiatrist Dr Richard Rappaport, conducted sixty-five hours of interview with Gacy. In addition, he had an array of other consultations and tests that he had ordered as well as Gacy's own medical records. He determined there was no critical physical illness or organic brain disorder that resulted in Gacy's actions (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He testified that Gacy did not suffer from multiple personality disorder but rather that the use of the name Jack Hanley had been a ploy to prevent his identification (Linedecker, 1986). He stated that Gacy had a "borderline personality organisation with the subtype of psychopathic personality and with episodes of and an underlying paranoid schizophrenia" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253). He reported that the paranoid schizophrenic episodes occurred when Gacy was under extremely stressful conditions and at times when he "loses control over his defences as inhibitions are removed and the underlying psychological conflicts are expressed in the concrete form of acting out" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253). Gacy was described as having the following borderline personality characteristics:

Intense affect (such as angry eruptions in an impulsive manner), usually hostile or depressed... the depression characterised by loneliness rather than guilt or shame... history of impulsive behaviour...a lack of integrated identity or self-concept, difficulty with self-image and gender identity...superficial interpersonal and chaotic sexual relations...use of primitive ego-defenses, mechanisms such as splitting,

projecting, projective identification and gross denial (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253)

Dr Rappaport stated that Gacy also had psychopathic personality and attributed the following characteristics to Gacy: "Unusual degree of self-reference...great need to be loved and admired...exploitative...charming on the surface, cold and ruthless underneath...noticeable absence of feeling remorse and guilt... history of continuous chronic antisocial behaviour" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253). He further testified that Gacy exhibited psychosexual disorders, including fetishism, sadism, homosexuality, and necrophilia. He further concluded that during the time of his examination Gacy was not psychotic and had been found fit to stand trial (Linedecker, 1986). The borderline schizophrenic characteristics that had been ascribed to Gacy were later thought to be due to the fact that Gacy derived enjoyment from killing his victims (Dietz, 1986).

The prosecution called Dr Heston who had examined Gacy prior to his sodomy conviction in Iowa; Dr Heston reiterated that Gacy was an anti-social personality, although he believed Gacy had been sane at the time of the offenses (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Dr Heston further discredited the previous testimony of Dr Freedman, stating that Dr Freeman's conclusions were based on theoretical assumptions that could not be tested, rather than diagnostic criteria such as those on which Dr Heston had based his conclusions (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

The chief psychologist of the Psychiatric Institute of the Cook County Circuit Court, Dr Arthur Hartman reported that he had found no mental illness or disturbance in the defendant (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He did however report that Gacy was a "psychopathic or antisocial personality with sexual deviation" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 232). He further stated that in his opinion Gacy had been aware of the criminality of his actions (Linedecker, 1986;

Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He explained that "almost any possible range of sexual deviant behaviour seems to be consistent or compatible with otherwise normal or even good adjustment from the usual social considerations" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 346).

Dr Robert A. Reifman, the director of the Psychiatric Institute at Cermak Hospital testified that he was of the opinion that Gacy had attempted to fake a multiple personality, he did not believe that Gacy truly suffered from it. Traditionally individuals with this disorder are not able to recall events that occurred while one of the other personalities was in control and Gacy was able to, disproving his claims of multiple personalities (Linedecker, 1986). He further stated that he did not believe it was possible for an individual to have thirty-three instances of temporary insanity and that Gacy suffered from a personality disorder, not a mental illness (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). Dr Reifman also stated that it would have been unlikely that Gacy would have been able to lure his victims if he had been out of touch with reality. He expressed the opinion that Gacy had not displayed irresistible impulses as he had planned for these events in advance. He described Gacy as being an efficient, functional person despite the personality disorder (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

Another clinical psychologist, Richard Rogers, diagnosed Gacy as being obsessive-compulsive and a sexual sadist (Dietz, 1986; Linedecker, 1986). He stated that sexual sadism, which Gacy had experienced in the past, was a "psychosexual disorder in which the person intentionally inflicts either physical or psychological suffering on another person against their will for the sake of sexual arousal" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 347). He further stated to the court that he believed Gacy had been aware of the criminality of his actions and, if he so wished, he was able to conform to the rules of society (Linedecker, 1986).

Dr Helen Morrison, a psychiatrist, stated that although Gacy did have a high intellectual quotient, he had not matured past the emotional stage of an infant (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Morrison explained that as a serial killer, Gacy had an id, ego, superego

structured personality, yet it was all in 'bits and pieces'. This resulted in a lack of conscience and a lack in his ability to feel guilt. Furthermore, he lacked a sense of self and modelled his behaviour and social activity on the observations he made of others day-to-day social acts. Morrison diagnosed Gacy as having 'mixed psychosis', further stating that this implied he exhibited different aspects of mental diseases and symptoms (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

One of the expert witnesses who had been of the opinion that it was possible for Gacy to have a multiple personality disorder, Dr James Cavanaugh Jr., went on to testify that it was possible that those criminals who had been found not guilty by reason of insanity would be discharged from the mental hospital. He cited the reason being that indefinite hospitalisation is a deprivation of civil rights of the individual. The defence objected to the statement and requested a mistrial as the jury had been allowed to picture Gacy being discharged and possible committing the acts again, the call for a mistrial was denied and the trial continued (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

As the trial began to wind down, Gacy gave a statement that he would not be exercising his right to take the stand in his own defence. The prosecution began closing arguments, with Assistant State Attorney Sullivan talking on behalf of the state. Amirante gave the closing on behalf of the defence, citing the insanity plea, describing Gacy not as an evil man but rather one who was driven by "perverted obsessions and compulsions he could not control" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 235). Kunkle spoke again for the state, and in a dramatic gesture took all of the photos of the victims provided by the families and flung them in the reassemble door of the crawl space that had been placed in the court. He demanded that the jury show no sympathy, but rather justice in making a verdict (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

4.7.10 The verdict.

During the almost five week trial a hundred and eight witnesses had testified, the judge ordered the courtroom locked in order for him to provide the jury with instructions. The verdicts on each of the thirty-three murders had to be unanimous, the possibilities being guilty, not guilty or not guilty by reason of insanity. Judge Garippo was informed less than two hours later those verdicts had been reached. Jury foreman, Ronald L. Beaver was instructed to pass the thirty-five indictments to the bailiff who in turn passed them to the clerk (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The clerk read the following "We, the jury, find the defendant, John Wayne Gacy, guilty of the murder of Robert Piest. We, the jury, find the defendant, John Wayne Gacy, guilty of indecent liberties with a child upon Robert Piest" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 236) The clerk continued to read the jury's findings of the defendant, John Wayne Gacy, as guilty of the remaining thirty-two murder indictments as well as guilty in the deviate sexual assault of Robert Piest. On March 13, 1980, Gacy was convicted of committing more murders than anyone in American history (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). Despite the convictions, Gacy was not broken, he even went so far as to wink at the deputy sheriff when led from the court room after proceedings had concluded (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

After the court was reconvened for sentencing, the state moved for the death penalty. The defence argued the jury had been biased based on the short time of deliberation and stated that their minds may already be made up on the death penalty, the argument was denied. The defence was left to make the decision of whether the judge or jury would be responsible for sentencing. It was decided to conduct the death penalty hearing in front of the jury, as Gacy would be spared the electric chair if even one member voted against it. After arguments were presented by both sides, the judge instructed the jury for the last time (Linedecker, 1986;

Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). After a longer deliberation, the jury sent word that a verdict had been reached. Gacy stood between his two lawyers in front of the bench as the clerk read the verdict:

We, the jury, unanimously conclude that the defendant, John Wayne Gacy, attained the age of eighteen years at the time of the murders, and has been convicted of intentionally murdering the following individuals: Matthew H. Bowman, Robert Gilroy, John Mowery, Russel O. Nelson, Robert Winch, Tommy Bolin, David Paul Talsma, William Kindred, Timothy O'Rourke, Frank Landingin, James Mazzara, and Robert Piest. That these murders occurred after June 21, 1977. We, the Jury, unanimously conclude that the court shall sentence the defendant, John Wayne Gacy, to death (Linedecker, 1986, p. 239).

Gacy continued to appeal in the state and federal courts after the sentencing of twenty-one life terms with no provision for parole and twelve death sentences (Beattie, 2007; Linedecker, 1986; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). The Illinois Supreme Court upheld both the convictions and death sentences and rejected Gacy's appeal in June 1984. The U.S. Supreme Court further voted six to two, denying an appeal on Gacy's behalf that the Illinois death penalty law violates the U.S. Constitutions bar against cruel and unusual punishment in March 1985 (Linedecker, 1986).

4.7.11 Awaiting death.

After the sentencing, Gacy was imprisoned at Menard Correctional Centre in Illinois, awaiting his execution for seventeen years (Landry, 2008; Moss, 1999). Gacy occupied a small private cell for twenty-three hours a day and found diversions in the correspondence

with 'fans'. Thousands contacted him in the form of letters, although he only corresponded with a few. A university student, Jason Moss, engaged in correspondence with Gacy. Moss states that in one of Gacy's letter he stated that he is an "open-minded, outspoken, not very tactful, non-judgemental, liberal bisexual" (Moss, 1999, p. 64).

Being in prison, Gacy had his own television set in his cell and spending money, which he earned from creating paintings (Moss, 1999). The subjects and themes of the paintings varied, although a large number of them were of clowns. His paintings were sold as 'murderabilia' and could be purchased for up to \$10,000 (Why do Americans idolise serial killers, 2006). Other subjects for his paintings included landscapes and the thorn-crowned head of Jesus Christ. Gacy also painted the seven dwarfs, entitling it 'Hi-ho, Hi-ho', however he ceased creating these paintings when Disney asked him to (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). Gacy had also befriended the guards, and many years in the prison system taught him how to manipulate the system to obtain just about whatsoever he wanted in prison, including pornographic movies and books (Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy also enjoyed building puzzles and had several completed puzzles glued onto the walls of his prison cell (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). Gacy was able to choose from a multitude of requests for interviews and received wide spread publicity and fame (Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004).

Amongst those with whom Gacy maintained correspondence was Helen Morrison who had assessed him prior to his trial. Gacy wrote the following in one of his letters to her:

During the month of May, I received 143 pieces of mail, and sent out 59 pieces. During 1982, I received 1167 pieces...out of 8.760 hours in the year (1982) I was out of my cell 2,274 hours and 20 minutes. I sent out 568 pieces of mail, took 353 showers, blood pressure taken 16 times, and out of 1095 meals served, I ate 463...Today marks the 39th month here (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004, p. 118).

In another letter to Morrison, he informed her how his work as a contractor had come in handy in allowing him to help with construction work and further to paint the area blue. He wrote the following to her:

I have been busy with plastering and painting. They changed the visiting area, and I was going to do the remodelling, but after thinking about it, told them that they would have to do it by there other crew. See I don't mind doing work for them, but building security areas is not in keeping the inmate code, and I would only have problems with it... After they built it I took over and did the taping and plastering, now all I got is the painting to do (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004, p. 118).

Gacy had befriended another serial killer named Andrew Kokoralies; the two were neighbours on death row. Gacy never expressed a single regret for the torture of his victims or the murders (Dobbert, 2009; Moss, 1999). When interviewed about his victims he showed no remorse (Landry, 2008), on one occasion he stated to an FBI agent that he had murdered "worthless little queers and punks" (Vronsky, 2004, p. 201). Gacy appeared to revel in his fame, he was described as having enjoyed the celebrity status that the murders had brought him, and was reported to have bragged that he had been the subject of "eleven hardback books, thirty-one paperbacks, two screenplays, one movie, one off-Broadway play, five songs, and over 5,000 articles" (Haggerty, 2009, p. 174). Gacy also wrote his own autobiography, although it was never published and only a few copies were circulated (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

In his correspondence with Jason Moss, Gacy shared his techniques of seduction and sexual instructions, 'passing on' his knowledge (Moss, 1999). Gacy kept a folder labelled 'Top Secret Case Files' in which he recorded copies of his case, a 'dossier' on each of his

victims as well as their autopsy reports, appeals, in addition to a log of every interaction he had with each individual while in prison (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Moss, 1999).

4.8 Execution

Gacy was known for his success in industry, his generosity and his 'neighbourliness' before being convicted of thirty-three murders and sentenced to death in 1980 (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010; Linedecker, 1986; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). On May 10th, 1994, his life ended (Boschelli, 2008), after his execution had been postponed seven times, the lethal injection took eighteen minutes to take effect and Gacy was pronounced dead (Clarke, 1994; Moss, 1999). Gacy's last words are reputed to be 'kiss my ass' (Lohr, 2001; Taylor, 2003). After his death, an autopsy of Gacy's brain was conducted, no signs of abnormalities were found in the physiological analysis of his brain (Buller et al., 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004) The important events of John Wayne Gacy's life highlighted here are summarised according to Erikson's life stages in Chapter 6, Table 2.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, the individual personality development of John Wayne Gacy throughout his lifespan was presented and discussed. The longitudinal description took into consideration the influence of the social environment in which Gacy's development took place. In Chapter five that follows the considerations that need to be made in conducting a psychobiographical study is given after which the methodology of the research is presented in chapter six. In chapter seven, the constructs of Erikson's 1954 psychosocial theory of development is applied to the life of John Wayne Gacy as explored and discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5

Preliminary Methodological Considerations

5.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter seeks to illuminate some of the methodological concerns, challenges and considerations when conducting a psychobiographical study. Recommendations on how to handle the challenges with regards to their specific applicability to this study are also provided. Furthermore, ethical considerations are highlighted to ensure that the study presented is compliant with relevant codes and requirements.

5.2 Limitations and Considerations in Psychobiography

Important in creating a good psychobiography is grounding it in solid psychological theory, thorough research of the subject and innovative conceptualisation (Elms, 1994). McAdams (1988) states that according to Erikson a good psychobiography comprehends an individual on three complementary levels. The first is the constitutional fundamentals and the body of the individual. The next level is that of the individual's ego which refers to the individual's ability to cope with both anxiety and conflict. The ego is further involved in the way in which the individual makes meaning in the world and how experiences are synthesised. The last level is that of the individual's social environment. The environment includes the family, society and developmental history. The present researcher should explore the individual's societal, cultural and historical ethos which contributes to the shaping of the individual (McAdams, 1988). Elms (1994) and Schultz (2005) point out that psychobiographical studies have endured some criticism in the past, thus in order to ensure that the study is beneficial to scientific psychology certain considerations are made and steps followed to avoid possible transgressions.

5.2.1 Researcher bias.

Elms (1994) acknowledges that a potential flaw of psychobiographical studies is that of researcher bias. If the researcher has either strong negative or positive feelings towards the subject the study may become slanted to their view. This is further supported by a caution that a known pitfall in the field of psychobiography is that of depreciating or idealising the biographical subject (Anderson, 1981).

Berg (1995) indicates that it is important for the researcher to be aware of personal motivations that led to the chosen study, in order not to enter into a study in which one cannot be objective. In order to increase objectivity, the present researcher strived to make systematic observations and utilise the proper design in order to reduce errors in research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

It is thought that every biographer will have a personal reaction to their subject (Anderson, 1981). It is thus important to identify and be aware of one's biases (Shultz, 2005). In order to reduce researcher bias a large variety of methodological guidelines should be used, and it may be beneficial for more than one researcher to research a specific case (Schultz, 2005).

The researcher should constantly explore and examine her relationship and motives to the subject in order to determine the influence of personal reactions on the study. The researcher's reactions, rather than being a pitfall, may then be used as a tool, as it could indicate new areas of objective study of that individual's life (Anderson, 1981). For example, dislike over the individual's sexual practices may lead to an exploration of the subject's sexual orientation and development which may have otherwise been overlooked. In addition the researcher should, throughout the process clarify bias, being open and honest in the narrative being created (Creswell, 2003).

The researcher can also utilise peer debriefing which involves locating individuals who can review and ask questions about the research; allowing for enhancing of the accuracy of the account. In doing this, the researcher ensures investigator triangulation. The researcher can also make use of supervision; whereby the research supervisors provide comments and feedback regarding the research procedures thereby decreasing bias and increasing objectivity (Creswell, 2003).

The researcher entered into the current research with feelings of ambivalence towards John Wayne Gacy. The researcher was interested to discover what led to an individual becoming a serial killer and driven to understand Gacy's unique personality and the development thereof. The researcher was able to view Gacy with a neutral attitude as a result of examining and exploring her feelings in the literature review stage. Throughout the research, the researcher reflected on her feelings towards the subject and in this manner reflected on the impact the feelings may have had upon the research. The researcher initially lacked empathy towards Gacy as he had committed various acts of sadistic murder. In coming to know his life development, the researcher was able to gain insight into his experiences. The researcher began to feel empathy for the child of abuse and in discovering acts of kindness, formed a more rounded opinion of Gacy. The researcher further discussed her emotional reaction with peers, in so doing she was able to form a balance between objectivity, subjectivity and empathy. The researcher's supervisors were further helpful in exploring the researcher's emotional reactions and ensuring that these did not impact upon the objectivity of the research.

5.2.2 Inflated expectations.

Inflated expectations can result if the researcher looks for results outside of the research design (Elms, 1994). In conducting the research study, the researcher should be mindful of

the limitations to the findings of the research. The researcher should acknowledge that the explanations in the course of the research do not replace, but rather supplement existing explanations. The findings should be seen as speculative, and the research cannot claim to have interpreted the entire complexity of another's life (Anderson, 1981).

In order to avoid the pitfall of inflated expectations, the researcher should acknowledge the importance of being familiar with the scope of psychobiography as a research approach. The researcher should furthermore be familiar with the advantages as well as disadvantages of the approach. Additionally, the researcher should acknowledge that it is a form of explorative-descriptive research and thus be tentative in drawing conclusions and making generalisations (Delport & Strydom, 2005; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005).

The researcher engaged in an extended literature review in order to become familiar with the psychobiographical approach. In the writing of the current chapter, the potential pitfalls of the approach were addressed. The researcher emphasised the exploratory nature of this study and avoided drawing conclusions that were generalised. In drawing conclusions, the researcher ensured multiple examples were provided in order to support a theoretical supposition. The researcher further acknowledges that she cannot, and has not, uncovered the full complexity of the lifestyle and psychosocial development of John Wayne Gacy.

5.2.3 Analysing an absent subject.

Although psychobiographical research has much to contribute, it also has its limitations due to obtaining data from documents rather than a present subject. The researcher is never able to question the subject directly. As the information that is collected is through secondary sources and largely not for research purposes, the researcher may not have an adequate understanding of the problem. Furthermore, the researcher can only use data that is already available, some sources may be difficult or impossible to obtain. The documents used may

also have been written for other purposes, containing prejudice which may not be directly identifiable and thus detracting from an accurate representation of the subject (Anderson, 1981; Delport & Strydom, 2005).

However, there are also certain advantages to working with an absent subject, namely that there is no data collection necessary as the data has already been generated. Multiple sources of data allow for a reduction in prejudice and by utilising triangulation of data this becomes less of a concern. Subject bias (the subject reacting to being studied) is eliminated; it also avoids harmful effects and ethical dilemmas. Using documents for data allows for a more comprehensive analysis (Anderson, 1981; De Vos et al. 2005).

In order to build a coherent justification for themes in the present study, the researcher utilised data triangulation, whereby different sources of information were examined for evidence and consistent information. The present researcher further aimed to discuss contrary information to provide a complete view from different perspectives (Creswell, 2003). The researcher gathered biographical data from a wide range of sources. These sources were compared to one another in order to ensure consistency and reliability.

5.2.4 Cross-cultural differences.

One cannot learn about an individual without acknowledging and understanding the circumstances within which their development occurred (Berg, 1995). According to Patton (2002), psychobiography has further value in that it is not only able to look at individuals stories in isolation, but also within the social, cultural, political and psychological context of that individual's environment. In order to gain better insight into the meaning of the subject's actions or statements, the culture as understood from the viewpoint of those individuals who lived in it should be explored by the present researcher (Neuman, 2006). A critique to biographical and historical writing is that the psychological concepts may be context bound

and not necessarily applicable to a subject's behaviour (Runyan, 1982). The subject's behaviour may not have the same meaning within their culture as it does within the present researcher's. In order to prevent the differences in context from becoming a limitation to the study, the present researcher may gain valuable insight into the subject's way of seeing things and understanding by attempting to reconstruct the subject's cultural context (Anderson, 1981).

To avoid cross-cultural differences leading to misinterpretations within the study, the context in which John Wayne Gacy's development took place was acknowledged by the researcher. As part of the present researcher's literature review, the historical period, community and culture in which John Wayne Gacy lived was included. Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory was developed and assimilated within Gacy's culture and lifespan. The theory is thought to be applicable to the individualistic culture within which Gacy developed.

5.2.5 Reductionism.

An individual may be regarded as a 'hero' or 'murderer;' their lives summed up in a simple adjective (Schwarz, 1990). Below are different forms of reductionism that may contribute to a bad psychobiography as identified by Schultz (2005) and include:

- (a) Pathography, which refers to the study focusing only on the pathologies of the individual;
- (b) Single cues, which indicates that excessive emphasis is placed on one part of the data;
- (c) Reductionism of development, which occurs when the researcher does not pay adequate attention to all the different stages of development.

A psychobiographer should therefore aim to recognise the complexities of each individual. A good psychobiographical study allows for the exploration of the individual

throughout their lifespan, recognising them as vulnerable to influences and capable of a wide range of actions and emotions. The researcher explores the forces that drive the subject, affect them and shape them (Schwarz, 1990).

In conducting a psychobiographical study, conclusions must flow naturally from the information presented. The information provides a narrative to the life of an individual. It is important to avoid presenting only descriptive information, for example diagnosis, which are simply labels and tend to oversimplify. The researcher should also present explanatory information (Schultz, 2005).

In order to reduce the possibility of reductionism occurring in the study; the present researcher focused on the holistic individual as recommended by Elms (1994). This included using Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development to look at all stages of development throughout Gacy's life. Focus was placed not just on John Wayne Gacy's pathology, but adopting a eugraphic approach in also focusing on health and normality (Elms, 1994, Schultz, 2005). Information presented was comprehensive in that it explored all avenues of explanation. The researcher similarly avoided using an excessive amount of esoteric psychological terminology in presenting the research (Runyan, 1982). The researcher utilised multiple sources of data obtained from a variety of sources and in a variety of forms and ensured that the information presented is consistent across the different sources (Schultz, 2005).

5.2.6 Infinite amount of biographical data.

At times it happens that a great amount of information accumulates, and often these documents could be incomplete, unorganised or incorrect, complicating the collection of data (Delport & Strydom, 2005). Elms (1994) quotes Alexander (1988) in proposing a methodology for making the material more manageable. It includes the following:

- (a) Primacy refers to examining the first information presented by a document. An initial sense of the themes that may emerge is provided by the introductory remarks, early memories and experiences provided in a document.
- (b) Frequency refers investigating information that is often repeated. The importance of information may be indicated through repeated reference to the message or incident.
- (c) Uniqueness refers to finding and exploring the information that is not repeated or departs from the collected information.
- (d) Emphasis refers to further studying the different amount of focus placed on information. Information that is over- underemphasised, or has misplaced emphasis should be further explored.
- (e) Omission refers to identifying information that should be there but is not and the importance thereof.
- (f) Error of distortion refers to discovering the importance of information that may not have been intentionally presented or information that has been presented in an unusual manner.
- (g) Isolation refers to examining information that is presented unexpectedly and individually. In other words, the information that does not 'fit' with the collected information.
- (h) Incompletion refers to analysing a story that the teller did not finish telling. The information that is presented does not come to a satisfactory closure. A sense that an essential aspect of the 'story' is missing remains.

(i) Negation refers to the process of exploring that which the subjects emphasis he is not. Psychological or biological fact that is denied or disavowed may serve to provide insight into repressed or unconscious material.

These steps were applied by the researcher in order to manage the data, aiding in both data collection and data analysis. In conducting the literature review on John Wayne Gacy, the researcher noted themes that arose. These themes were then used for further data collection and in constructing Gacy's life story. The researcher further noted events or occurrences from Gacy's life that were found to be repeated across documents. Two such examples include the abuse Gacy experienced from his father and Gacy's fame as a serial killer. In contrast to this, information that was unique and found not to be repeated allowed the researcher to explore alternative avenues of data. One such example was the sexual abuse Gacy suffered as a child, after discovering this to be unique, the researcher was able to further explore it and found several other sources supporting the occurrence of this event.

The researcher was further cognisant of overemphasis placed on certain information, for example, the emphasis on Gacy as a serial killer. In the same instance, the researcher took note of information that was under emphasised, such as Gacy being a hard worker. In noting these discrepancies of emphasis in the data, the researcher aimed to represent all the data with equal emphasis in her reconstruction of the life of John Wayne Gacy. The researcher further noted omissions in data and listed these as a limitation of this study. The researcher further attempted to identify information that had been distorted and aimed to represent the information accurately by using multiple reputable sources. The researcher further noted and represented information that appeared to occur in isolation, for example, Gacy's childhood dream of becoming a politician. In noting incompletion in data, the researcher attempted to gather further data and remained cognisant of this in her discussion of the limitations of a

document study in providing certain information. In the data, it was found that Gacy himself practiced in negation as he emphasised that he was not homosexual, this provided insight into repressed material which is further discussed in the findings chapter. By utilising these steps in conducting the study, the researcher was able to extract from the multitude of data that which was of importance in order to reconstruct and analyse the life of John Wayne Gacy.

5.2.7 Elitism and easy genre.

A criticism that has been made against psychobiography as a form of research is that it is only directed at the socially elite. According to Elms (1994) this is not the case, the subject choice of the researcher can be anyone, and the variety of people studied is wide. Schultz (2005) states that the individuals who are studied are often those who set the boundaries of the human mind.

The researcher selected Gacy as a subject for the research firstly based on his interest value to the researcher. This was not as a result of notoriety but rather due to an interest in the different façades he presented, which contrasted so significantly from one another. In a preliminary literature review, Gacy was thought to be suitable for a psychobiographical study as he was accessible and a variety of sources of biographical data was available. Gacy is not considered to be 'elite', as his fame was gained from his arrest and the details around the murders which he committed. It is thought that he was not an icon, but rather an individual who demonstrated different boundaries of the human mind.

Schultz (2005) states that in the past psychobiographical studies have been criticised as being an 'easy genre,' he explains this as being a result of 'bad psychobiography.' He explains that a bad psychobiography can be written with minimal effort. This is not the case for a good psychobiography that contributes to the knowledge base of psychology. This is due to the large data base that has to be examined, evaluated and coded; the analysis that has

to take place of that data and developing viable conclusions that are of relevance to the field of psychology (Schultz, 2005).

The researcher aimed to produce a good psychobiography and would have to disagree with the criticism of psychobiography as being an easy genre. The extended review and understanding of the psychobiographical approach, the theory of development as well as the life of John Wayne Gacy increased the amount of data that needed to be collected and analysed. The further exploration of the multi-dimensional personality of Gacy across his entire unique lifespan further made for a complex initiative.

5.2.8 Validity and reliability.

Important in any study is the extent to which it is reliable and valid. Criticism against the psychobiographical methodology is predominantly with regards to validity and reliability (Yin, 2003). As a form of qualitative, it is essential that the present psychobiographical study complies with the principles the trustworthiness of the study. This term, 'trustworthy' refers to the applicability and dependability of the study. The trustworthiness of the study pertains to the clarity, credibility and communicative resonance of the study. In other words, the research is required to be systematically worked through and coherently described. Furthermore, the findings should convincingly match the evidence presented and the interpretations made be the present researcher should be justified (Finlay, 2006).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) developed a model of trustworthiness for qualitative research. According to the model four aspects can be used to ensure trustworthiness: truth-value, applicability, consistency and neutrality. Truth-value refers to inquiring how one can establish the actuality of the findings and is also referred to the credibility of the study. The present researcher increased the confidence of the 'truth' to the findings through data triangulation and engaging in supervision. Applicability refers to the extent to which the

findings are applicable to other settings. This can also be referred to as transferability and can be increased through providing detailed descriptions of the research subject and the setting of the research. Consistency refers to whether the same results would be found if the study were to be replicated. It may also be referred to as dependability and concerns the process of the research. Dependability can be increased through the researcher documenting sources of data and the methodology used in the research. Neutrality refers to the objectivity and the avoidance of bias to the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Objectivity in research can also be referred to as the 'confirmability' of the research (Yin, 2003). The researcher ensured that the interpretations are supported by the results and aimed to make the present study internally coherent in order to increase confirmability. If these aspects are accounted for within the research it is said to increase the trustworthiness of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Reliability refers to the extent in which the study will yield the same results if replicated, in other words the confidence in the methodology. It is thus important to be clear on the exact methodology and maintain concise records of data collection, in order to enable replication of the study (Ramasamy, Richards, Richards, & Taylor, 1999). Reliability can also be seen as the dependability of the research (Yin, 2003). In order to increase the dependability of the research triangulation can be used. A consistency between the data and the findings needs to be evident. This can be ensured by replicating steps of the study and engaging in coding and re-coding (Krefting, 1991).

Validity refers to the strength of the relationship between data. The conclusions of the study and its consistency with the information presented is referred to as internal validity (Ramasamy et al., 1999). Internal validity can also be understood to be the credibility of a qualitative study (Yin, 2003). To increase the credibility of the study a variety of sources of data needs to be accessed. Reflexivity can be used by the researcher, in other words reflecting

on the approach, preconceptions and ideas. Peer review and examination can also be used to increase the credibility of the research (Krefting, 1991).

The amount of generalisations that can be made from the study is referred to as external validity (Ramasamy et al., 1999). Transferability can be used in qualitative research to refer to the external validity of the study (Yin, 2003). In order to increase the transferability of the research a dense description needs to be provided in the findings (Krefting, 1991). In the case of a psychobiographical study the conclusions should be generalised to the theory and not to the population.

Another form of validity that needs to be considered is that of construct validity which refers to utilising appropriate frameworks for conceptualisation. In order to ensure construct validity the present researcher should carefully select and conceptualise the concepts being studied (Yin, 2003). In other words in keeping with the aim of the present study and relevant to the concept being studied: applying Erikson's framework of development to the life of John Wayne Gacy.

In order to increase validity and reliability the present researcher will utilise triangulation of data; comparing different sources of information. Validity and reliability were also increased by exploring inconsistencies in data. As patterns and themes emerged, the present researcher engaged in the 'research cycle' various times. The research cycle implies that as assumptions and inferences were made they were checked and re-checked. By engaging in the research cycle and gathering more information hypotheses can be tentatively confirmed and refined; increasing the validity (Coolican, 2009).

5.3 Psychobiographical Ethics

In conducting a psychobiography there are a number of ethical considerations to be made. In the selection of the subject; the question arises whether research should be conducted on a deceased or living individual (Elms, 1994). The present research was focused on the life of a deceased individual, John Wayne Gacy. Various ethical considerations still needed to be made as the present researcher remains responsible to monitor her conduct to ensure it is in keeping with ethical guidelines. In keeping with The Health Profession Council of South Africa's (HPCSA) Ethical Code of Professional Conduct, approval from the university was obtained prior to commencement of the research. In addition, the data used for this present study was from the public domain, and all knowledge obtained was treated with respect (Health Professions Council of South Africa).

A rigorous methodology was employed, implying that data was carefully collected, verified and treated objectively. Moreover, confidentiality and anonymity with regards to personal identities was adhered to. Information presented in the research was already freely accessible in the public domain and thereby preventing any new revelations or breach of confidentiality resulting in embarrassment to any relation of John Wayne Gacy (Delport & Strydom, 2005).

In keeping with the Ethical Code of Professional Conduct the following was taken into consideration in conducting the present research:

10.5. Dispensing With Informed Consent

Before determining that planned research (such as research involving only anonymous questionnaires, naturalistic observations, or certain kinds of archival research) does not require the informed consent of research participants, psychologists shall consider applicable regulations and institutional review board requirements, and they shall consult with colleagues as appropriate.

In conducting the present research, the present researcher made use of documents readily accessible in the public domain and thus informed consent was not required. This research was submitted to an ethical committee, which determined that it was in keeping with the ethical regulations.

The present researcher took into account the following as set out in the Ethical Code of Professional Conduct:

10.1. Compliance With Law and Standards

Psychologists shall plan and conduct research in a manner consistent with the law, internationally acceptable standards governing the conduct of research, and particularly those national and international standards governing research with human participants and animal subjects (Health Professions Council of South Africa).

In order to conduct the present research with internationally acceptable standards, the following additional guidelines regarding informed consent according to the American Psychological Association Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct was taken into account:

8.05 Dispensing with Informed Consent for Research

Psychologists may dispense with informed consent only (1) where research would not reasonably be assumed to create distress or harm and involves (a) the study of normal educational practices, curricula, or classroom management methods conducted in educational settings; (b) only anonymous questionnaires, naturalistic observations, or

archival research for which disclosure of responses would not place participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or damage their financial standing, employability, or reputation, and confidentiality is protected; or (c) the study of factors related to job or organization effectiveness conducted in organizational settings for which there is no risk to participants' employability, and confidentiality is protected or (2) where otherwise permitted by law or federal or institutional regulations (American Psychological Association, 2010).

This research is not expected to cause harm as it utilised information already made public as it is a form of archival research. The research could not lead to the distress or harm to the subject as the subject is deceased. In addition, no new information that is not readily available to the public has been revealed.

In further keeping with to the Ethical Code of Professional Conduct the researcher did not fabricate or falsify data being reported. If the present researcher is made aware of errors in the research after it has been published, reasonable steps will be taken to correct or retract the errors through appropriate publication means. The present researcher has not plagiarised in the writing of the thesis and has cited the appropriate sources. In publication, the present researcher shall ensure that the credits accurately reflect the relative scientific and professional contributions. The present researcher shall also not withhold data from other competent professionals who seek to verify the research through re-analysis (Health Professions Council of South Africa).

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted criticisms and thus important considerations with regard to conducting psychobiographical research. In recognising the preliminary methodological

issues the chapter aimed to minimise the disadvantages of the psychobiographical research method. Validity and reliability issues were explored in order to increase the trustworthiness of the research. Ethical considerations were made in order to ensure that this research complies with the relevant codes and standards. In chapter 6 the research design and methodology of this psychobiographical study will be presented.

Chapter 6

Research Design and Methodology

6.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter the research design and method are outlined and described. In addition the selection of the psychobiographical subject is presented. The specific aim of the research is described and the data collection and data analysis procedures are delineated.

6.2 Psychobiography as a Methodology

According to Elms (1994) the research steps to conducting a psychobiographical study are as follows (Cara, 2007)

6.2.1 Choosing a subject.

A psychobiographer chooses their subject for a variety of reasons that include: the interest value to the researcher, the possible ambivalence felt towards the subject and the personal interest in the understanding of the subject's life (Falk, 2010). The present researcher chose to use John Wayne Gacy as the subject of the research, based on her interest in understanding the development and life of a serial killer.

6.2.2 Using published data.

The data collection in a psychobiographical study entails collecting and interpreting information from a range of published documents (Yin, 2003). Multiple sources of data can be utilised in order to study the personality of an individual and to allow for investigations of correlation within the biographical works (Alexander, 1994). Published documents that were available in the public domain was used for the present study are highlighted in section 6.7.

6.2.3 Analysing unpublished data.

Data that was made available on the internet was scrutinised for further consistencies or inconsistencies with published data by the present researcher to further add to the data collected.

6.2.4 Interviewing colleagues, friend and relatives.

No colleagues, friend or relatives were available to the present researcher for interviews.

6.2.5 Choosing a theory.

The systematic application of psychological theory to the biographical data collected allows for the interpretation and hypothesis formulations as to the subject's life and development (McAdams, 1988). Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development was utilised and applied to the life of the subject in order to provide a theoretical understanding of the life and development of John Wayne Gacy. This is further discussed in chapter 3.

6.2.6 Choosing a method of analysis.

Data analysis allows the researcher to examine, extract, categorise and recombine evidence in order to achieve the research objectives (Yin, 2003). In the present study content analysis was used in order to allow for the data to be reduced to discover the core significance of the volume of information (Patton, 2002). Both inductive and deductive analysis was used and is further discussed in section 6.8.

6.2.7 Practice reflexivity.

This implies that the researcher is able to critically analyse the methodology used in the research as well as acknowledge the role of the researcher in the documentation of the research (Henwood & Pigeon, 1992). The present chapter as well as the previous chapter served to account for the reflexive evaluation of the present study.

In the chapter that follows the selection of the subject and methodology of research, data collection and data analysis will be further explored.

6.3 Research Design

In order to explore and describe the life of John Wayne Gacy, a qualitative single-case research design was utilised. More specifically, the single-case design which is of a biographical nature; classified as a psychobiographical study of a single-case over an entire life span was used in this study (Yin, 2003). Psychobiographical research can be described as life history research (Runyan, 1982). This implies that the study undertook to systematically use psychological theory to explore and enquire into an individual case, transforming a life into a coherent story and contributing to knowledge building (Yin, 2003). A study that is of a biographical nature focuses on exploring the life of an individual, resulting in a detailed picture of that individual's life. Its roots lie in anthropology, literature, history, psychology and sociology (Creswell, 1998).

According to Patton (2002), the information that is obtained and formed into a case study should allow for the reader to gain insight into the individual's life experience. Thus, multiple sources of information from a variety of contexts was utilised in order to explore, describe, document and report on the life of John Wayne Gacy (Delport & Strydom, 2005). According to Neuman (2006), case studies allow researchers to connect an individual from a micro level to larger social constructs that take place on a macro level. Case studies can also be used to

test and clarify specific theories. A case study may also allow for the emergence of new theoretical frameworks, which can then be further researched and established (Neuman, 2006) Through the systematic use of psychological theory in reconstructing and reinterpreting the subject's life the research can contribute to both knowledge and theory building (McAdams, 1988).

In conducting the psychobiographical study of the life of John Wayne Gacy, an explorative- descriptive approach was utilised. Explorative research is conducted in order to discover new information and the results are often used in order to establish a better understanding of the subject-matter or individual (Neuman, 2006). Explorative research allows for better insight into an area of study or the life of an individual. Descriptive research allows for a more detailed understanding of the individual, and often combines with explorative research (Delport & Strydom, 2005; Neuman, 2006). Utilising a descriptive approach in the present study allowed for a more defined and in depth study of the subject's development and lifespan. It further allowed for an understanding of the subject within his socio-historical context (Delport & Strydom, 2005).

6.4. Research Method

The research design was that of a single-case study; which is of a qualitative method. Qualitative research primarily aims to describe and understand actions, events or individuals. The emphasis of qualitative research is not placed on generalising to a population, but rather on developing a deeper understanding of specific social contexts, groups, individuals or theories. Qualitative research allows for 'naturalism;' in other words, it allows for knowledge about attitudes and behaviours being generated within natural settings rather than the artificial settings of experiments. Furthermore, the qualitative researcher aims to be as unobtrusive as

possible and to simply report events and actions as they happened or have happened (Babbie & Mouton, The practice of social research, 2001)

A qualitative mode of inquiry involves several assumptions which will now be discussed. Qualitative research places emphasis on the process of research rather than the outcome or products. Researchers undertaking qualitative research are interested in finding meaning. The primary instrument for data collection and analysis with qualitative research is the researcher themselves. As the researcher is interested in the process, meaning and understanding the research is descriptive. The aims of the research are achieved through words and pictures. The researcher creates concepts, hypothesis and theories from details through the process of qualitative research (Creswell, 1994).

6.5. The Psychobiographical Subject

The present study is a single-subject qualitative psychobiography; and as such John Wayne Gacy's life story was used for this study. In selecting the subject, non-probability purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling is done in case study research in which (a) the case is unique, (b) the research is done on a difficult-to-reach or specialised population, or (c) where the study's purpose is to gain a deeper understanding of a specific individual or phenomenon rather than to generalise to a larger population (Neuman, 2006). John Wayne Gacy was selected based on his interest value and his applicability to the aim of examining the life-structure development of a serial killer. John Wayne Gacy has become well-known, and public interest in his case is reflected in the multitude of information that is available on his life. The selection was informed by a pilot literature study of John Wayne Gacy. Through the literature review it appeared that John Wayne Gacy's personality development would have theoretical significance and applicability to Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory. No psychobiographical study on the life of John Wayne Gacy was found in the literature review

to have been done previously. In addition, there did not appear to be any biographies on John Wayne Gacy that had a formalised academic-psychological focus with regards to his personality or life span development.

6.6. Aim of the Research

The primary aim of the present study is to explore and describe the personality development of John Wayne Gacy, within the formal theoretical framework of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial developmental theory. The researcher aims to *describe*, *conceptualise* and *theorise* about the life of John Wayne Gacy. Describing involves depicting or telling a story without interpreting or explaining events and occurrences. Conceptual ordering refers to the classifying of events along stated dimensions without forming an overarching explanatory framework. Finally, theorising is 'the act of constructing,' in other words, creating a systematic explanatory formulation (Creswell, 1998). In order to achieve this aim the present researcher examined John Wayne Gacy's life experiences. The study involved exploring and describing John Wayne Gacy's development throughout his lifespan within his sociohistorical context. Thus the psychobiographical study allowed for the conceptualisation of personality development within a specific setting. Through describing, conceptualising and theorising the present researcher reflected the exploratory-descriptive design of the study.

6.7. Data collection

Data was gathered from the public domain, with the information being retrieved from published documents (Creswell, 1994). Data may be collected from primary or secondary documents. Primary documents refer to those that were produced by John Wayne Gacy. Secondary documents refer to documents that were produced by other individuals (Yin, 2003). Due to a lack of availability of primary documents, secondary documents were utilised

for the present study. John Wayne Gacy only wrote one book, of which only a few copies were ever printed. There are no other known documents manufactured by him in public domain (Lohr, 2001). Caution was exercised in utilising these documents due to the sensationalism of 'the John Wayne Gacy story'. On March 13, 1980, Gacy was convicted of committing more murders than anyone in American history (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). After the discovery of the first human remains underneath John Wayne Gacy's home, crowds gathered at the house to watch the proceedings of the police. At times those watching would take photographs, drawn by the horror and macabre curiosity (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). From the time of John Wayne Gacy's arrest, throughout his trial and after his conviction, "eleven hardback books, thirty-one paperbacks, two screenplays, one movie, one off-Broadway play, five songs, and over 5,000 articles" (Haggerty, 2009, p. 174) were based on his life story with journalists at times sensationalising the events (Boschelli, 2008). Data triangulation was also used in order to reduce bias (Delport & Strydom, 2005), and to increase internal validity and reliability (Yin, 2003). This implies that a variety of sources was used to gather the information, namely published materials, articles and media forums. The diversity of sources used is indicated in the reference list.

The advantage of this form of data collection is that it provides access to inaccessible subjects. The subject is no longer alive and those who may have had contact with him are situated across the world from the present researcher. Documents provide the only access to information on the subject. Document study as a method of data collection provides a variety of perspectives as various sources of information are utilised. It also has a 'non-reactivity' as documents do not 'anticipate' the analysis being done by the present researcher and the activities of the present researcher had no influence on the document (Delport & Strydom, 2005). The data may also be accessed at any convenient time by the researcher and will be

readily available to others who wish to verify the findings. This form of data collection is unobtrusive as it is written evidence (Creswell, 1998).

The disadvantages of this form of data collection is that the information may be found to be incomplete, there may be more information needed that is unavailable and the documents may not have been preserved. Furthermore, the origins and motive of the document may be unclear and they may not be objective. There is also a lack of standard format in secondary documents that are not produced for research purposes (Delport & Strydom, 2005). Document studies may also be difficult to conduct as some material is unavailable for access. Documents may also not be accurate or authentic (Creswell, 1994). It is important that the researcher remains cognisant of the disadvantages and of possible inaccuracies in order to avoid drawing conclusions that are not adequately substantiated.

6.8. Data Analysis

Data collection and data analysis of a qualitative study generally occur in a circular relationship as opposed to a linear fashion as the one inevitably leads back to the other. As the data is collected themes for analysis emerge, as the data is analysed further data collection may take place to confirm hypotheses, leading to further analysis (Delport & Strydom, 2005). As data collection takes place possible patterns begin to emerge, themes develop and further questions about the individual's life are raised (Patton, 2002). Qualitative data occurs in a textual narrative from which themes or constructs can be extracted to be analysed. The researcher reduces the voluminous data collected into patterns, categories and themes. Using schema the researcher can then interpret the information. In accordance with the biographical approach and case study design, data analysis will involve stories, descriptions, themes and historical content (Creswell, 1998). In order to organise the data, the researcher should identify and extract the salient events on the individual's life. Understanding of the

individual's life should be gained from the social, cultural and historical context. Psychological theory can be applied to the individual's life in order to develop interpretations; creating a complementary relationship between the data and the theory (McAdams, 1988). Historically, analysis of qualitative data has allowed for subjective interpretations from the researcher, resulting in the explanation of the process being vague at times. It is thus of great importance to explain how the data is analysed, allowing for further inspection of the research and a clearer understanding of how conclusions are drawn (Neuman, 2006).

In order to identify themes and patterns for conclusion drawing, content analysis was used. Content analysis refers to any process whereby qualitative data is reduced to discover the core significance of the volume of information (Patton, 2002). Content analyses can involve either inductive analyses, deductive analyses or a combination of both (Berg, 1995). In the present study, a combination of both was employed. Initially data was analysed through inductive analysis, implying that the researcher analyses the data with no preconceived patterns or ideas but rather allows the themes, categories and patterns to emerge (Patton, 2002). Themes refer to categorical findings, while patterns refer to more descriptive findings (Patton, 2002). Concepts refer to "words grouped together into conceptual ideas" (Berg, 1995, p. 182). In analysing data it is important to utilise a theoretical framework in order to have a basis for assumptions, explanations and conclusions (Neuman, 2006). The data in the present study was then organised into Erikson's framework and deductive analysis was used in order to draw conclusions (Patton, 2002). Data analysis involves sifting through a vast amount of raw information; reducing it into manageable units; transforming the information into findings; identifying patterns and developing a framework, which is then documented and communicated in the findings of the study (De Vos, et al., 2005). In order to engage in this process of data analysis, Miles and Huberman (1994) linked three subprocesses of data analysis, namely data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification. These were utilised in the present study and are discussed below.

6.8.1. Data reduction.

As qualitative data is often voluminous it is important that as the researcher retrieves data, it is organised into manageable units for analysis. According to De Vos et al. (2005) organising the data leads to the identification of categories and themes. The present researcher initially read through the available information in order to get a sense of the whole. After this, documents were carefully examined in order to explore underlying meanings which were then jotted down. The topics found were listed and taken back to the data. In applying the categories to the data it can also be seen if new categories emerge. After this process was completed, the present researcher was able to group categories and assemble data material (Creswell, 1998). This is presented in Chapter 4 as the life story of John Wayne Gacy. The data on the events of his life were arranged chronologically as well as according to salient themes. The data was then further organised within the theoretical framework of Erikson's (1963) theory.

Coding of the data involved information being classified according to each stage of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development and the theoretical constructs that relate to that stage. Within this framework, identifying emerging patterns and themes, consistency or inconsistency between information sources, salient information, omissions in the life story of John Wayne Gacy and significant information was made possible (Delport & Strydom, 2005).

6.8.2. Data display.

A chronological story telling approach was used in order to focus on the development of Gacy over time (Patton, 2002). Furthermore Erikson's (1963) life stages were used to establish a descriptive framework within which to integrate the data obtained (Yin, 2003). This was done in order to aid in the understanding of the information presented and to make it more accessible. In order to display this organisation a matrix was used to categorise the stages of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory across the major life events over John Wayne Gacy's lifespan. This 'Matrix of Personality Development across the Historical Lifespan of John Wayne Gacy' is presented in the table below:

Table 6.1 Salient events in the life of John Wayne Gacy spanning Personality

Development

DEVELOPMENTAL	LIFE STAGE	VIRTUE	SALIENT EVENTS IN THE LIFE
TASK and AGE		OBTAINED	OF JOHN WAYNE GACY
Trust vs Mistrust	Infant	Норе	1942 Born in Racine, Wisconsin
Birth - 18 months			
Autonomy vs Shame	Toddler	Will	Gacy was doted on by his mother and
and Doubt			sisters
18 months - 3 years			Gacy was physically and verbally
			abused by his father
Initiative vs Guilt	Pre-school	Purpose	1947 Gacy played with matches
3 - 5 years			Engaged in imaginary play
Industry vs	Primary	Competence	Gacy's mother found a bag of
Inferiority	School		underwear under the porch where
5 - 13 years			Gacy played around the age of ten.
			1953 Head injury
			Gacy belonged to the Boy Scouts

			Gacy enjoyed developing ideas to
			make money as a child
Identity vs Identity	Teenager	Fidelity	1958 Blood clot on the brain
Confusion			identified
13 - 18 years			Attended Providence St. Mel High
			School
			Transferred to Carl Schurz College
			Transferred to Cooley Vocational
			high school
			Transferred to Charles A. Professor
			Vocational high school.
			Gacy worked at the IGA, an
			independent general store, in his
			adolescent years
			1958 Gacy has sexual intercourse for
			the first time with a female
			1958 Moved to Las Vegas where he
			found part time work as a janitor,
			cleaning up at the Palm Mortuary.
			Gacy began taking medication for a
			heart ailment
			1959 Returned home and enrolled at
			North Western Business College
Intimacy vs Isolation	Early to	Love	1960 Began work for Nunn-Bush
18 - 40 years	Middle		Shoe Company
	Adulthood		1964 Transferred to Springfield,
			Illinois as manager of Roberts
			Brothers
			1964 Married Marlynn Myers

1965 Gacy was elected the first vicepresident of Springfield's chapter of the Jaycees as well as the chapter's outstanding man of the year. 1966 Moved to Iowa 1966 - 1968 Birth of two children 1966/67 Gacy's first homosexual experience 1967 Gacy named outstanding vice president of the Jaycees, and further acknowledged as the best Jaycee club chaplain in the state of Iowa. 1968 First jail sentence for attempting to coerce a teenage employee into sodomy 1969 Divorced first wife 1970 Gacy's father deceased 1971 Parolled and Released from jail 1971 Moved to Norwood Park Township, 8213 Summerdale Avenue 1972 Married Carol Hoff 1972 Murdered first victim 1974 Gacy formed his own company called PDM Contractor Inc. 1975 Entertained small groups of children at picnics or parties sponsored by the Norwood Township Democrats as "Pogo the Clown" 1976 Nominated for a position on the Norwood Park Township Street **Lighting District** 1976 Divorced from Carol Hoff

			1978 Accused of attacking Jeffrey
			Rignall
			1978 Met First Lady Rosalynn Carter
Generativity vs	Late		12 December 1978 Robert Piest
Stagnation	Adulthood		reported missing, investigation of
40 - 65 years			Gacy launched
			22 December 1978 First human
			remains found in the crawl space
			under Gacy's house
			December 1978 – February 1979
			Twenty eight bodies found on Gacy's
			property, a further five pulled from
			the Illinois River
			January 4, 1980 memorial service
			held at the St Eugene Catholic
			Church for all those who's lives had
			been taken by Gacy
			January the 8, 1979, Gacy accused of
			murdering seven young men by the
			Cook County Grand Jury
			1980 Found guilty on thirty-three
			murder indictments as well as guilty
			in the deviate sexual assault of
			Robert Piest. Sentenced to death
			1994 Executed by lethal injection
Integrity vs Despair	Late	Wisdom	
65 - Death	Adulthood		

6.8.3. Conclusion drawing and verification.

Once the data was organised and reduced, conclusions were made from the convergence of evidence (Schultz, 2005). Within the conclusion stage the aim of the present study was accomplished, in that it presented a better understanding of the life of John Wayne Gacy (Delport & Strydom, 2005).

Neuman (2006) advises that a researcher should aim to be objective, value free and unbiased in drawing conclusions. The present researcher was thus objective in drawing conclusions that were created by logical procedure, that were observable and factual. The researcher took cognisance of remaining value free in not allowing the conclusions drawn to be influenced by any prejudice, cultural or moral values that the researcher may hold. Finally, remaining unbiased implies that the researcher followed a neutral, systematic process in drawing conclusions from the encoded data.

6.9. Conclusion

In order to produce a psychobiography of a high standard, it is important to have a rigorous methodology. Erik Erikson placed great emphasis on proper methodology (Elms, 1994). In this chapter the design and methodology used in this psychobiographical study of John Wayne Gacy's life was outlined and explained. The methods of data collection and analysis were presented as well as the data display. The findings of this study are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 7

Findings and Discussion

7.1 Chapter Preview

The personality development of John Wayne Gacy according to Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory is presented in this chapter. A conceptual outline for the presentation and discussion of findings is provided as a way of introducing the chapter. Thereafter each of the life stages as proposed by Erikson (1963) that was experienced by John Wayne Gacy are expounded upon.

7.2 Conceptual Outline for the Presentation and Discussion of Findings

The psychobiographical approach allows the salient biographical data to be collected, extracted, analysed and presented within the context of the theoretical approach to the subject (Fouche & van Niekerk, 2010). The presentation and discussion of the present research involves the biographical account of John Wayne Gacy being examined and integrated within the descriptive framework of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development.

There has always been a debate around the question of where the location and cause of the neurotic disturbance is that results in psychopathology. This is because pathology does not originate from one point but rather results from psycho- and somatic, psycho- and social, and interpersonal causes (Erikson, 1963). As discussed in chapter 3, according to Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory, at each stage of sequential development, demands are placed on the individual from his society, resulting in a developmental crisis. If the individual is able to resolve successfully this crisis, a psychosocial gain is made as the individual adds another ego quality to his development (Erikson, 1963). In order to reach a resolution of each of the crises the individual is required to reach a favourable balance of two complementary

opposing developmental opportunities (Boere, 2006; Mooney, 2010). This implies that a sense of both qualities presented within the developmental conflict will remain as a part of the individual's ego identity. If a stage is unsuccessfully resolved it will continue to impact on later development (Erikson, 1968). In order to avoid reducing Gacy's life to a particular stage or maladaptation and to provide a complete view of his life, each of these aspects are taken into account and explored in this chapter. In order to provide a holistic view of the development and lifespan of John Wayne Gacy, the psychological conflict, social influences and biological processes as proposed by each of the eight stages of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory are each explored with examples from Gacy's life.

7.3 Trust versus Mistrust – Ages Birth to Eighteen months

The first stage proposed by Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development is the 'trust versus mistrust' stage. The first stage occurs between the period from birth to eighteen months, in other words, infancy (Santrock, 2006). Gacy was born on March 17, 1942 (Dobbert, 2009; SAC, St. Louis, 1979), in Racine, Wisconsin (Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). John Wayne Gacy's early emotional development is not recorded, however, based on his later development and what is known about his family life may allow for certain inferences to be made with regards to this stage of development.

7.3.1. Trust.

As previously discussed in chapter 3, basic trust implies that the individual develops a fundamental sense of his own trustworthiness along with an essential trustfulness of others (Erikson, 1968). As an infant, Gacy's development of trust would have largely been influenced by the quality of the maternal relationship (Erikson, 1963; Meyer et al., 2003, Mooney, 2010). It is known that John Wayne Gacy's mother was a homemaker and that she

doted on her only son (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986). His mother was further described as warm and comforting (Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). It is the opinion of the researcher that as Gacy's mother was available at home and she is thought to have provided him with nurturance, it allowed him to develop a sense of trust. In the first year of life, Gacy as an infant would have been extremely dependent on the adults in his home for physical and emotional need satisfaction (Corey, 2009).

Impeding on the development of this sense of trust may have been the other parental role, Gacy's father. Despite the largest influence in the first stage of development being hypothesised to be the mother, an infant is extremely dependent on all the adults in the household for physical and emotional need satisfaction (Corey, 2009). Gacy was born into a household of aggression. Gacy's father was reported to have unpredictable outbursts and this may have created a threatening environment, to the infant Gacy. In addition, as Gacy's mother was physically abused by his father, it is tentatively hypothesised that her own sense of personal trustworthiness was comprised. If this was the case, it is pertinent as to the effect it may have had on Gacy's development of trust as a mother creates a sense of trust not only through sensitive care of the infant's needs but also with a firm sense of personal trustworthiness (Erikson, 1964). As Gacy's father was abusive, his mother may have lacked a personal sense of trustworthiness which may have transferred to the infant Gacy. There is however, no literature available to explore this hypothesis further.

As a result of the mothers care, the infant is theorised to develop not only trust in the continuity of the outside world, but also trust in themselves and their own capacity to cope with urges (Erikson, 1968). Trust refers not only to the trust that the infant has in the outer world, but also to the trust in oneself (Boere, 2006). Gacy as an infant would have been expected to develop a trust in his own organs, the ability to cope with urges and the sense of himself as trustworthy (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). In his later life however, Gacy was

described as being unable to control his impulses and said to lack emotional control (Linedecker, 1986). In one assessment, a psychiatrist stated that Gacy had not matured past the emotional stage of an infant (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). This may indicate that despite a certain degree of trust being fostered, Gacy had not fully developed the ability to cope with his internal urges. If Gacy was unable to control his own impulses it may have been a reflection of a lack of trust he had not only in his outer world but also in his own ability to cope with his urges. Gacy is hypothesised to have had a limited development of trust, and therefore a limited development of the ability to wait for satisfaction of his needs (Boere, 2006).

7.3.2 Mistrust.

If John Wayne Gacy had been able to resolve the conflict of the first stage of development, he would have been expected to develop a sense of trust. Although it has been suggested that Gacy developed a degree of basic trust, the conflict presented in this stage is hypothesised not to have been adequately resolved by Gacy. In lieu of a basic sense of trust having been established, a dominance of basic mistrust may have resulted. An affinity has been recognised between initial and deep mental disturbances and a loss of basic trust. If mistrust is created the individual may become fearful, cautious or suspicious (Erikson, 1980). After his first arrest for sodomy, Gacy was described as presenting himself as the victim of others who are out to get him. An evaluation of Gacy lead to him being described as aiming to 'outwit the other fellow' and take advantage of him before being taken advantage of himself (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). These evaluations of Gacy may have developed from the foundation of mistrust that was laid in his first year of life. If Gacy had indeed developed a stronger sense of mistrust then trust, malignant tendencies may have resulted, leading to him being described as a paranoid schizophrenic (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

An individual with a strong sense of mistrust may be withdrawn, and may even become paranoid or depressed (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982).

An individual's possible attachment style is seen because of the successful or unsuccessful resolution of Erikson's first stage of development (Santrock, 2006). Attachment refers to the emotional ties that develop between two individuals. Furthermore, the attachment formed in the trust versus mistrust stage is said to have a large influence on the child's development and continues to have an effect on an individual, even into adulthood (Edwards & Louw, 1997; Mooney, 2010). Through psychological assessments, Gacy was found to be incapable of significant loyalty to individuals, groups, or social values. He was also seen as having a lack of feeling for other people (Linedecker, 1986). Although Gacy had been able to sustain two marriages as well as various friendships, he was thought to have superficial interpersonal relations, exploiting relationships to others for his own gains. He was described as being charming on the surface and cold and ruthless underneath (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). This is suggested by the researcher to be indicative of a lack of attachment as a result of malignant tendencies from the first stage of development. Gacy may not have been able to successfully resolve the task of trust versus mistrust, resulting in an excess of the dystonic or negative quality, mistrust.

7.3.3 First stage biological processes.

In the first psychosexual stage of development the mouth, known as the oral zone, is considered the zone through which the infant interacts and is referred to as the oral-sensory stage (Boere, 2006; Erikson 1963, Erikson, 1968). The mode that characterises this stage is that of incorporation (Erikson, 1963). Gacy was born after his due date and was reported to have had some oxygen deprivation at birth, being born blue. A few days after his birth he was found to be allergic to milk and experienced difficulty breathing on occasion as a result of

allergic reactions (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). After being separated from his mother through birth, Gacy would have been expected to have continued to incorporate his mother through the mouth (Erikson, 1968). Having had a traumatic birth, Gacy may have experienced the world as threatening. It may be further hypothesised that his inability to 'incorporate the mother' and being unable to find comfort through breast feeding contributed to his difficulty in resolving the conflict of trust versus mistrust; as it is from the oral stage that the infant forms a basic sense of trust or a basic sense of mistrust (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980).

The first social modality learnt is 'to get', that is, to receive and to accept what is given (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1984). The implication of 'to get' implies that the infant does not have 'to go and get' but rather it is a sense of receiving and accepting what is given. (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). Gacy's mother would on occasion give baby Gacy enemas and rectal suppositories, which she believed helped with his breathing problems (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). It is the opinion of that researcher that Gacy was exposed to the mode of incorporation not only through the dominant zone of this stage, the oral zone, but also through the anal zone which only becomes dominant in the next stage of development. It is thus hypothesised that Gacy may have learnt to accept what is given not only through the oral zone but also through the anal zone.

Individuals who are 'oral' types have an over developed organ mode, leaving them bewildered as the mode is not in correspondence with a homogenous cultural reality (Erikson, 1963). Individuals who are what are known as 'oral characters' who have been unable to resolve the conflicts of the first stage can give rise to either a dominant fear of being abandoned by loved ones or a depressive form of feeling empty (Erikson, 1980). Sadism can result from these fears resulting in the individual developing a need to get and take from others in ways harmful to others or themselves. Gacy exhibited psychosexual disorders,

including fetishism and sadism (Linedecker, 1986). Sexual sadism, was described as being a "psychosexual disorder in which the person intentionally inflicts either physical or psychological suffering on another person against their will for the sake of sexual arousal" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 347). The degree to which Gacy developed a sadistic pathology is postulated to have been further dependent upon the integration it had with the rest of Gacy's personality and the general pattern of interpersonal techniques of expression within his culture (Erikson, 1968). Gacy was said to be incapable of significant loyalty to individuals, groups, or social values. He was found to have an antisocial personality, which indicated that he was 'basically unsocialised' and his behaviour pattern led him to be repeatedly in conflict with society.

7.3.4 Hope.

If the individual is able to resolve successfully the life task of basic trust versus basic mistrust, he will develop the virtue of hope (Erikson, 1982; Welchman, 2000). Although Gacy may not have fully resolved the conflict of this stage, it may be hypothesised that he still held a degree of ability to trust. This hypothesis is made by the researcher as the basis of hope is in the infant's ability to perceive the enduring and coherent qualities of the outside world (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982) and Gacy was not withdrawn from social interactions in his childhood or adulthood.

Despite some evidence that Gacy had a predilection for hope, the virtue of hope is the individual's persistent penchant to believe that primal wishes are attainable, despite rebellious urges and rages of dependency (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). Gacy was found to have an antisocial personality and was furthermore described as being grossly selfish, callous, irresponsible, impulsive, and unable to feel guilt or to learn from experience and punishment. He had a low frustration tolerance and tended to blame others or offer plausible

rationalizations for his behaviour (American Psychiatric Association, 1968; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The biological processes and oral libido of this stage, which should have allowed for Gacy to have experiences from which hope emerges (Erikson, 1964) may have impeded his development of hope. This impairment resulting in Gacy lacking the ability to sustain an enduring trust in the attainability of fervent wishes despite dark rages and impulses, which mark the beginning of an individual's existence (Erikson, 1964). At the conclusion of this stage, Gacy's personality would have begun to crystallise around the conviction that 'I am what I am given' (Erikson, 1980).

7.4 Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Ages One to Three Years

The second stage in Erikson's theory takes place around the second and third year of an individual's life, namely the last part of infancy stretching into toddlerhood (Santrock, 2006). During this stage the individual is required to resolve the developmental task of autonomy versus shame and doubt (Meyer et al., 2003). In this stage the individual can develop autonomy from a sense of inner goodness. From the sense of badness the individual may develop shame and doubt. In this stage the infant also needs to be able to maintain the trust developed in the first stage and to ensure that it is not jeopardised by the desire 'to get' demandingly and eliminate stubbornly (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982).

7.4.1 Autonomy.

Autonomy refers to the individual's state of freedom and independence, a self-governing state (Graves & Larkin, 2006). In this developmental stage, a child is expected to be better able to perform tasks independently, if the child is unable to do things and complete tasks he risks failure. This success or failure has a considerable influence on the child's confidence (Edwards & Louw, 1997; Mooney, 2010). In order to develop autonomy, the child needs to

have a firmly developed sense of basic trust (Erikson, 1968; Mooney, 2010). It may be hypothesised that Gacy's lack of a sense of trust in himself and others led him to be unable to develop autonomy fully, continuing to lay the precarious foundation of maladaptive development. As Gacy continued to develop with malignant tendencies in this stage, he may have developed a false autonomy. As a result of false autonomy, an individual is able to pretend he is capable to get on without any help, yet he has not developed that ability to do so. This may have led to shortfalls later in life and a 'shaky' foundation for development (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). Although limited information is known about Gacy's development at this age, certain inferences may be made based on his later life. As an adult, Gacy appeared confident in his interactions, and was known to boast about his abilities. He however appeared to be not only driven for success, but admiration, and would at times lie in order to obtain the esteem of his peers (Buller et al., 2009; Linedecker, 1986). It is the opinion of the researcher that this may have been 'symptomatic' of a sense of false autonomy (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

Gacy's inability to develop true autonomy and advancement with a 'false' autonomy may provide some insight into the obsessive traits described by medical professionals who examined him in his later life. A sense of false autonomy may have resulted in Gacy developing fears of being manipulated as he may have developed an intolerance to outer control. This may have been what led to an impulsive self-will or an exaggerated self-coercion (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). In self-will the origins of Gacy's compulsions and obsessions may have originated (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). Gacy was described as being an 'organised' type of serial killer which may also be attributed to his obsessive traits as he had been found to be obsessive-compulsive (Dietz, 1986; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; LaBrode, 2007; Understanding the Disorganized/Organized Typology, 2010; Vronsky, 2004). He was described during his murder trial as driven by "perverted obsessions and compulsions

he could not control" (Linedecker, 1986, p. 235). In self-coercion, the origins of Gacy's manipulations and coercion of others may be found (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). Gacy had a persuasive personality that drew people to him (Linedecker, 1986). He could be seen as being manipulative as he was able to charm his victims into his car and into handcuffs.

The preservation of a sense of justice in economic and political life serves and would have been served by the sense and degree of autonomy achieved by Gacy in this stage (Erikson, 1968). If Gacy had developed a 'false' sense of autonomy, he may not have developed a sense of justice. He was said to model his behaviour and social activity on the observations he made of others day-to-day social acts, rather than through his own sense of right and wrong (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

If the child is denied or does not experience well-guided autonomy of free choice, the urges to discriminate and manipulate will be turned inward by the child, developing a precocious conscience (Erikson, 1963). The precocious conscience refers to the individual believing that he is more in control then he really is. The danger of this is that the child may continuously test limits that have been set. The child may also become preoccupied with his own power and control (Graves & Larkin, 2006). Gacy appears to have formed a precocious conscience, this is demonstrated in the various ways in which he tested the boundaries. He did so by driving fast and receiving several tickets (Linedecker, 1986). The assault and murders he committed later in life may also be seen as a continual testing of the limits, as he began by sodomising others and this escalated to murder. Gacy tested the limits throughout his life in that he reportedly told lies throughout his life in order to obtain the admiration of his peers (Buller et al., 2009; Linedecker, 1986). If he was caught stretching the truth, he would simply manufacture another lie, and was reportedly unconcerned if accused of lying (Linedecker, 1986). The other danger of the precocious conscience is that the individual may also become preoccupied with his own power and control (Graves & Larkin, 2006). Gacy

was reportedly fascinated with the paramilitary trappings of police work. He was known to have had a red light that he attached to his dashboard, stating that he had been authorised by the police in Chicago to use the device (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983), once again indicating Gacy's development of a precocious conscience.

7.4.2 Shame and doubt.

Although Gacy's mother was reported to have been caring and supportive to her children, Gacy Sr. is reported to have abused his entire family after bouts of drinking. John Wayne Gacy received the majority of the abuse (Boschelli, 2008; Moss, 1999). It is not clear from the literature at what age Gacy was first exposed to direct abuse from his father, however it is possible that his environment felt unsafe from a young age as a result of Gacy Sr.'s abuse of the family. Gacy's primary caregivers' reactions to his attempts would have had a major influence on the resolution of the autonomy versus shame and doubt stage. The parental figures are required to allow the child to experience new things, test their boundaries and learn from making errors in order to develop their autonomy in this stage (Boere, 2006; Santrock, 2006). The environment also needs to be encouraging, in order to allow the child to achieve. The parental figures should protect the child from meaningless experiences of shame and early doubt (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). Gacy may have experienced a sense of shame and doubt as a result of criticism from his father, who was known to refer to Gacy as stupid, dumb, idiot or crazy (Boschelli, 2008; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). The support from his mother may have been outweighed by the control his father exerted over the household. Gacy may have experienced doubt in his abilities and shame as a result of his home experiences. Harsh punishment or excessive restraint from his father may have resulted in a sense of shame and doubt and hampered his capacity to deal with the world (Corey, 2009).

The researcher formulated hypothesis based on research done by Keene (2006), that as Gacy was exposed to domestic violence in this stage of development, he may have felt uncertain about the predictability of others. This may also have contributed to Gacy developing poorly modulated impulse control and affect regulation, which eventually led to aggressive acting out against others (Keene, 2006). Gacy was described as an individual with an alarming lack of emotional control or ego control under stress, who had strong potentials for emotional or ego disintegration and expression of very hostile, dangerous impulses, either to others or to himself (Linedecker, 1986).

Shame implies that one is conscious of being completely exposed and having others looking at one. The individual who is experiencing shame is not yet ready to be visible yet is visible. Through hiding his face or wanting to disappear, the individual is expressing his shame (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). Gacy designed clown costumes for himself, painted his face into a big grin and entertained small groups of children at picnics or parties sponsored by the Norwood Township Democrats (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy became known as the jovial 'Pogo the Clown' (Hanson, 2002; Landry, 2008). Part of the clown persona may have been to hide his face, Erikson (1963) theorised that the western culture's clown was the individual's ego attempt to overcome feelings of anxiety. It is further hypothesised that Gacy utilised hiding behind the clown persona as a defence mechanism aimed at suppressing deviance (Erikson, 1963). It may also be that the defence mechanism Gacy began to develop resulted in symptoms of pathology, which continued to develop as he attempted to gain ego integration or synthesis (Erikson, 1963).

If the child experiences too much shame, he may develop a secret determination of defiance or even a shamelessness of defiance. The individual may shamelessly engage in activities and behaviour that is against the social norm (Erikson, 1980; Graves & Larkin,

2006). This occurs as the shaming extends past the child's limit of endurance to consider himself, his body and his wishes evil and dirty (Erikson, 1968). Gacy may have developed a 'shamelessness of deviance', as he acted out his wishes and gave in to his impulses. Gacy may have become a defiant child, and later a deviant adult, as a result of the desire to express defiance after 'being pushed' past his level of endurance of shame (Erikson, 1980). This may have led to the events of which Gacy was found guilty on March 13, 1980 of thirty-three murder indictments as well as deviate sexual assaults and indecent liberties with a child (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003).

As a result of having maladaptive tendencies from this stage, Gacy may have become impulsive or developed a sense of shameless wilfulness. This could be what led to him entering into situations without proper considerations of the context, his abilities and possible consequences later in life (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982). This may have been further contributed to by Gacy's belief that those who are passing the judgement are infallible (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). Gacy Sr. was reported to have repeatedly abused and belittled his son, yet despite this Gacy Jr. continued to attempt to earn his father's praise (Davis, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

The brother of shame is doubt. Whereas shame is reliant on the individual's consciousness of standing upright and being exposed, doubt stems from the individual's consciousness of having a front and a back (Erikson, 1968). The libidinal and aggressive focus is placed on the sphincter and the buttocks of the child in this stage, yet the child cannot see them. The buttocks and sphincter can however be dominated and evaded by the will of others (Erikson, 1980). In May 1968, Gacy was arrested for allegedly committing sodomy with a teenage boy. It was further found that he had sodomised each of his thirty-three victims before murdering them. This may be seen as an invasion of the will of others. In his sexual encounters, Gacy admitted that he would always be the dominant one (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983) and further

disclosed that he enjoyed being the aggressor, making his sexual partner his 'slave in bed' (Moss, 1999). Gacy also described an occasion where he had been propositioned, stating that this made him angry as he should be the one making the propositions (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). This may have stemmed from the early development of aggression in the stage of developing autonomy, as he learnt to focus his aggression on those who attempted to encroach on what he viewed as his independence (Erikson, 1963).

7.4.3 Second stage biological processes.

The second stage of development concerns the anal zone and is also known as the analmuscular stage of early development (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1963). In this stage the child begins to develop the ability to evacuate his bowels and bladder at will (Erikson, 1968). This stage is characterised by the modes of withholding or retention and expelling or elimination (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). The conflicting impulses around the child's ability to hold on or throw away, to reach out or to let go, to push away or appropriate things lends itself to the expression of stubborn insistence and becomes a battle for autonomy (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). According to the literature, Gacy reached all developmental milestone age appropriately. No data was found by the researcher on Gacy's toilet training or young Gacy's development of the modes of withholding or expelling. The researcher was however able to make certain inferences regarding Gacy's development in this stage based on some of the hypotheses formulated regarding Gacy's development of autonomy. Developing a sense of autonomy is closely related to the social modalities of holding on and letting go. Some of Gacy's personality development in the stage of autonomy versus shame and doubt may therefore be attributed to the retention and elimination of the biological processes of this stage of development (Erikson, 1980). Gacy was exposed to the anal zone and the mode of incorporation in his first stage of development, a premature

exposure may have led him to some insecurity with regard to this zone (Erikson, 1963). It is suggested by the researcher that Gacy may have developed an anal fixation through the mode of incorporation in the previous stage, as he was learning 'to get' and received enemas from his mother which is further hypothesised to have resulted in Gacy developing the need to gain love and control through anal incorporation (Erikson, 1980). Anal fixations on any of the modes of interaction are apt to prepare for a homosexual attitude in later life (Erikson, 1980). Gacy had his first homosexual experience after his first wife gave birth to his son. After overindulging in alcohol with a friend, the friend reportedly performed fellatio on him (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Prior to divorcing his second wife, he admitted to her that he preferred males to females as sexual partners. After their divorce, they maintained a friendship, as Gacy was able to confide in Carol about his bisexuality (Linedecker, 1986; Moss, 1999). As discussed previously, Gacy had sodomised various young boys and appeared to obtain enjoyment from dominating others. It is suggested by the researcher that part of the reason he performed the act of sodomy on others was to obtain power and control. He may have developed a further alliance in muscular and anal sadism as a result of experiencing the sense of being restrained and the counterpart of losing outer bounds in the struggle for autonomy. This is suggested as the anal stage is about power and control (Erikson, 1963).

It is at this stage that good and evil first enters the child's world (Erikson, 1963). Anxieties related to the organ modes of elimination and retention lead to defiant behaviour in children and ambivalent behaviour in adults. The ambivalent adult may develop a many-sided personality, being at times restrained and retentive and other times finding release in self-expression (Erikson, 1958). Gacy may be described as having a 'many-sided personality'. As part of his defence against the thirty-three murder charges, Gacy claimed to have multiple personality disorder, now known as dissociative identity disorder. Although this was

considered to be untrue after multiple psychological and psychiatric assessments, it may still provide information as to the ambivalence of his personality. Gacy described four different personalities, and although they were not separate personalities in themselves, they were different sides to his façade. Gacy claimed to have four different personalities, 'John the contractor, John the clown, and John the politician.' The fourth personality went by the name of Jack Hanley. According to Gacy, 'Jack was the killer and did all the evil things' (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Lohr, 2001; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). Gacy was able to sustain a successful contracting business and sustain various business relations. He was further involved in politics, becoming respected and dependable. He was also known to be sociable, not only in entertaining others as Pogo the Clown, but in also hosting various parties at his home. He had been able to enter into two marriages, his second wife reporting that she did not recognise the sadistic killer he was later found to be. Yet, he would find release to his darker impulses and wishes though the 'evil acts' that he claimed Jack committed. The inability to successfully resolve this stage may have been what led to not only the acts of coercion, aggression and sodomy to others but the ambivalence in his personality and lack of integration between his public persona and that of his night time outings.

7.4.4 Will.

This stage is important as it becomes decisive for the ratio between love and hate, cooperation and wilfulness, freedom of self-expression and its suppression through self-restraint and meek compliance (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). As the child develops a sense of self-control without losing self-esteem, they develop a lasting sense of good will and pride (Erikson, 1963). Gacy may have developed self-control and self-esteem to a degree as he was described as confident and even arrogant. However, he was also viewed as needing admiration from others, perhaps requiring the bolstering of his

esteem from outside influences. Gacy was able to demonstrate self-control to a degree, but also gave in to his impulses to rape and murder male youths. It may be that he was able to develop a superficial control, allowing him to maintain a public façade of love and cooperation.

If successfully resolving this developmental crisis, the individual will obtain the virtue of will (Erikson, 1982; Welchman, 2000). The child is required to learn to "will what can be, to renounce as not worth willing what cannot be and to believe he willed what is inevitable" (Erikson, 1964, p. 194). Gacy lacked the virtue of will that would have led to increased judgement and decision-making ability in the application of drives. This is hypothesised as Gacy was said to be unable to control his drives that led him to commit various acts of sexual torture and murder. Gacy furthermore appeared to lack judgement and decision-making ability in applying his drives in a manner that was dictated by social norms, committing multiple acts outside of the law. Gacy's parental figures may not have applied the required flexibility in training his will, therefore leading to a lack of the development of 'good will'. Will is maintaining determination to exercise both free choice and self-restraint, despite the inescapable developmental stage experiences of shame and doubt (Erikson, 1968). It is the opinion of the researcher that Gacy was overcome by too much wilfulness as he was unable to maintain an autonomous sense of free will (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1980). As previously mentioned Gacy was found to have compulsive traits as well as low impulse control. It is hypothesised that although he appeared to be in control, Gacy had been unable to obtain a strong virtue of will, resulting in mental disturbances in his later life. A basic weakness in will has been associated with compulsive and impulsive symptoms of mental disturbances (Erikson, 1964).

An individual's ego is unable to remain intact without hope and will. Through the incorporation of will into the individual's developing ego, knowledge is gained of what is

expected from the outer world and what is expected from the individual. The ego strength is dependent on the individual's belief that they have had an active part in the chain of the inevitable (Erikson, 1964). Gacy may not have obtained either of the first essential virtues, thereby impacting on his development throughout life. He had a tendency to blame external circumstances, events and people for his actions. He eschewed all responsibility, perhaps contributed to by the inner belief that he did not have an active part in the events that unfolded in his life. Despite knowledge of what was expected of him, Gacy entered into acts that were outside of the expectations and norms of the social world within which he found himself. This may have resulted from a lack of hope and will. Gacy lacked remorse over any of his actions, and as mentioned did not hold himself responsible for his actions. It may be that he did not develop the conviction that 'I am what I will' from which the crystallisation of the child's personality grows (Erikson, 1980).

7.5 Initiative versus Guilt – Ages Three to Six Years

This stage of Erikson's theory occurs in a child's preschool years. In this stage, the outside world should allow the child to start making his own decisions. The child should be given the opportunity to select personally meaningful tasks as he begins to resolve the developmental crisis of initiative versus guilt (Corey, 2009).

7.5.1 Initiative.

At this stage, the child encounters more challenges than in previous stages as their social context widens. The outer world expects the child to assume more responsibility, for themselves, their belongings and their behaviour (Santrock, 2006). As previously mentioned, in his later life, Gacy did not assume responsibility for his own behaviour. In explaining his various actions, he blamed the external environment and other individuals who he indicated

were jealous of him (Linedecker, 1986). It is hypothesised by the researcher that he did not develop the ability to assume responsibility for himself. Gacy would have been expected to build on autonomy with initiative in order to develop the qualities of undertaking, planning and attacking a task (Erikson, 1963). As Gacy was unable to resolve the previous stages in a satisfactory manner and thereby unable to develop fully the sense that he is a separate individual, he may have encountered difficulties in facing the challenge of establishing what kind of person he was going to become (Erikson, 1980).

As with previous stages, if caregivers create a supportive environment, the child will develop initiative and respect for themselves and others (Edwards & Louw, 1997). The two facets of development, (1) the child learning to move more freely and establishing a wider radius of goals, and, (2) the developments in language allowing for a higher level of communicative ability, both contribute to bringing about the crisis of this stage as well as being a support to the child (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). In his childhood years, Gacy was doted on by his mother and sisters and appeared to be liked by his peers (Linedecker, 1986; Moss, 1999). He was reported to have friends in his neighbourhood, indicating some adjustment to the wider social context. However, the abuse of his father is suggested by the researcher to have resulted in the environment feeling unsupportive, according to Erikson's (1963) theory if this was the case it would have kept Gacy from developing esteem for others. In his later life, Gacy would often use others for his own ends, make claims to work, equipment or staff that was not his own (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy's sadistic acts are further evidence of a lack of respect for others. Gacy Sr. reportedly abused Gacy more than the other members of the family, as Gacy was the legacy of masculinity to Gacy Sr., the 'male lineage' extension of himself (Boschelli, 2008; Moss, 1999). Gacy Sr. did not want his son to become 'sissified', forbidding Gacy from engaging in 'feminine' activities. Gacy helped his mother with the washing at times, taking it out of the machine and putting it through the wringer. His

father did not approve of this, and became enraged if he found out his son was helping his mother with what he referred to as 'women's housework' (Boschelli, 2008; Dobbert, 2009). This may have contributed to the presentation of the need for control and sadistic acts in which Gacy engaged in his later life.

It is in this stage that the child begins to identify with possible future roles, deciding which are worth imitating (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). The child expands his imagination to many new roles through his increased language and locomotor abilities (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). These roles would have been both exciting and frightening in their possibility as Gacy attempted to develop a high, yet realistic, sense of ambition and independence (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). It is possible that in this stage Gacy began to explore the roles that he undertook later in his adult years. The four different personalities that Gacy claimed to have: John the contractor, John the clown, John the politician and Jack Hanley may give insight into roles Gacy explored as a child. Gacy was reported to enjoy building and creating things from a young age, it is possible that he began exploring the role of a contractor. The politician may be the role in which Gacy engaged to give rein to his verbal abilities, persuasive nature and being in control (Boschelli, 2008; Linedecker, 1986). John the clown could be seen to represent the imaginary and childlike pleasures that remained. John the clown may further be viewed as representing the masks of different personas he put on. Gacy did not only hide his identity when he was a clown, but he hid behind a façade from all who knew him. The last facet of his personality has a different name to the three 'John's', it may be that Gacy attempted to separate this part of himself from the rest of the roles that he showed to those who knew him. At the age of three or four, males go through a development phase that is characterised by developmental intolerance of restraint. During this time a sadistic kind of infantile maleness appears along with an increase in mental curiosity and locomotor vigour (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). There is an increase in initiative in both the deed and fantasy of the child (Erikson, 1963). In the role of Jack, Gacy may have been able to give in to the more sadistic mental curiosity, which had developed in this stage from his infantile maleness.

7.5.2 Guilt.

The other side to the development of a sense of initiative is the conflict with a sense of guilt experienced by the child over the goals contemplated and the acts initiated. Gacy would have experienced guilt if he had a sense that his initiatives were unable to fulfil all that was expected (Mooney, 2010). These guilt feelings may also have developed if he felt like he was intruding on others' lives (Meyer et al., 2003). When the child experiences a sense of being blamed for intrusive actions, further guilt may result. When there is blame, there is also irrational guilty attempts at restitution (Erikson, 1963). The only relationship that remained troublesome in Gacy's childhood was the one with his father (Taylor, 2003). The elder Gacy continued to have 'drunken bouts' and was physically and emotionally abusive to the rest of the family, especially towards John Wayne Gacy Jr (Linedecker, 1986). It is suggested by the researcher that Gacy may have experienced guilt as a result of being abused by his father, he may have interpreted the abuse as resulting from his intrusion in his father's life through his mere presence. He may also have felt that he did not measure up to his father's expectations as his father referred to him as a coward or as stupid. As a further result of being exposed to domestic violence in this stage, Gacy may have developed a further lack of emotional selfregulation, which may have led to Gacy becoming hyper-vigilant and at times argumentative (Keene, 2006).

7.5.3 Conscience.

At the juncture of initiative versus guilt, Gacy would have begun to repress some of his wildest fantasies. If the child is 'too successful' in inhibiting his fantasies, he may develop a sense of self-righteousness, resulting in intolerance in later life (Erikson, 1968). If the subject of homosexuals ever came up amongst Gacy and his friends from the Jaycees, Gacy would be one of the first to sneer and belittle them (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986). He expressed a pronounced dislike of homosexuals and avoided those known to be homosexual (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Later in life, Gacy made a confession to murdering 'at least thirty people'. He reported that after he had used his experience as a clown to lure youths to be handcuffed, he sexually abused them and forced them to perform homosexual acts (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). Despite attempting to inhibit his fantasies, his initiative burst through the boundaries of self-restriction, resulting in him being able to do to others what he would not tolerate (Erikson, 1968).

The conclusion of this phase of development should have resulted in the establishment of a moral sense within Gacy (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). It is in this stage that Gacy would have developed the capacity for moral judgement, as the superego is developed (Boere, 2006). Part of the formation of the superego can be attributed to the castration complex (Erikson, 1963). The castration complex refers to the male's fear that he may be castrated and the female's fear that she has been castrated as a punishment for secret fantasies and deeds (Erikson, 1968). This would have resulted in a split in Gacy's emotional powerhouse, as there is a differentiation between the potential of human glory as well as the potential of total destruction. Henceforth, the fragments of this split of Gacy's instinct remained divided between the perpetual growth potential of the 'infantile set' and that of the increased self-observation, self-guidance, self-punishment and self-support of the 'parental set' (Erikson,

1963; Erikson, 1968). Gacy would have been expected to further develop the ability to mutually regulate the sets. The parent set became Gacy's superego, filled with the insight into institutions and traditions of society and the participatory responsibility (Erikson, 1963). The parental roles and adults become the inner voice of the child's conscience, which defines permissible actions and thoughts; the development of the conscience separates play and fantasy from the future (Erikson, 1964). Each new generation carries a conscience implanted by the generation before (Erikson, 1974). In this, the child becomes a carrier of the tradition (Erikson, 1963). Traditional child rearing completes the fragmented drive patterns with which the child is born. Through the process of exposure to the traditions and institutions of the milieu in his childhood, Gacy's drive patterns would have developed (Erikson, 1980). In addition, these traditions and institutions would have become forever incorporated as Gacy's 'inner governor', that is, the conscience (Erikson, 1963). As a serial killer, Gacy had an id, ego, superego structured personality, yet it was all in 'bits and pieces'. This resulted in a lack of conscience and a lack in his ability to feel guilt (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004). It was further found in other psychological assessments that Gacy had a lack of remorse and guilt leading to antisocial behaviour (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

As a result of having maladaptive tendencies from this stage Gacy became ruthless in how he made his plans and set his goals, not giving a thought or care to who he hurts or what it takes to achieve them. The extreme form of ruthlessness is sociopathy (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982). Gacy was described as having had a "borderline personality organisation with the subtype of psychopathic personality and with episodes of and an underlying paranoid schizophrenia" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253). Dr Rappaport stated that Gacy also had a psychopathic personality and attributed the following characteristics to Gacy: "Unusual degree of self-reference...great need to be loved and admired...exploitative...charming on the

surface, cold and ruthless underneath...noticeable absence of feeling remorse and guilt" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253).

7.5.4 Third stage biological processes.

In the third stage, the child begins to identify their roles within the economy. The zone that is of importance is the genital zone (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). It is in the phallic stage that children become aware of differences between genders. This results in 'infantile genitality', that is, a rudimentary awakening of the sexual organs and a promise of the genital stage to come (Erikson, 1963). Children in this stage also have a fascination with the sensations, purposes and meanings of the sexual organs and may engage in playful sex acts or sexual investigations (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). This stage is characterised by learning, the modes of this stage are intrusion and inclusion. The intrusive mode is characteristic of much of the child's behaviour in this stage (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). As discussed previously, Gacy appeared to have an anal fixation, evident in his homosexual inclination. As hypothesised previously, the anal fixation related to power and control, Gacy may have built on this basis of psychosexual development by using the mode of intrusion on the anal zone, evident in his later acts of sodomy (Erikson, 1963). Both boys and girls engage in vigorous locomotor, mental and social intrusiveness in this stage (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). As Gacy did not successfully resolve the crisis and conflicts of development, he may have retained the mode of intrusiveness. Gacy would often make claims to work, equipment or staff that was not own in his adult life (Linedecker, 1986). The further development of this may be seen as remnants of intrusiveness from the third phallic stage.

In resolving the phallic stage, the child may engage in a series of fascinating experiences with regard to the zones and modes. These precocious manifestations may have been incited by unusual frustrations or customs in this stage of Gacy's development, as the experiences

were not, as would be expected, repressed in the latency stage (Erikson, 1968). This is hypothesised as in Gacy's later childhood, his mother found a bag of underwear under the porch where he played. Gacy reported that he liked the feel of the silk. Gacy's childhood friend once walked in on him trying on women's underwear (Boschelli, 2008). His mother reportedly made him wear a pair of panties to embarrass him, and his father gave him a beating when he heard about it (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

In this stage, there also occurs a realisation in boys and girls that with regard to the same sexed parent there is an inferiority in terms of sexual organs (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). Furthermore, the child has a realisation that they are unable to engage in a sexual relationship with the parent of the opposite sex. Freud referred to this as the Oedipus complex (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). Erikson, being a Freudian, includes the Oedipus complex in his theory of development, as it corresponds to the development of a sense of initiative versus a sense of guilt (Boere, 2006). Boys experience their first sexual affection towards their maternal figure that has provided them with comfort and nurturance. They further experience their first sexual rivalry to the genital owner of their maternal figure (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). This then is what underlies the intrusion mode as the child 'intrudes' on others in both fantasy and action (Erikson, 1980). The Oedipus complex, the individual's wish to replace the parent of the same sex and possess the parent of the opposite sex, is considered a universal wish and part of development in all cultures (Erikson, 1968, Erikson, 1980). Gacy is suggested to have experienced this love of his mother and hate for his father. As this conflict of love and hate assumed morbid proportions, he would have saved or destroyed others, these being 'stand ins' for his mother and father (Erikson, 1963). Gacy's pathological relationship with his father is hypothesised by the researcher to have provided a context for his later sexual activities (Erikson, 1958). It is the opinion of the researcher that Gacy may have intruded on

others through sadistic sexual acts and sodomy, using males as counterparts for the dominant masculine figure in his life, his father.

In addition to the Oedipus complex, Gacy may have experienced his mother as becoming the 'go between' as she is split between the childlike and generous caregiver and the traitor in league with the evil forces. It is suggested based on Erikson's (1963) theory of patriarchal societies that Gacy's father hated the child within her, while Gacy hated in his mother the affiliation with his aloof father, thus she became the 'go between'. As Gacy's family may have been viewed as a 'patriarchal society' as explained by Erikson (1963) his mother acted to fulfil his father's whims as she feared angering him, young Gacy being aware of this. His father expected compliance from all in the household and did not indulge in 'silliness' of the feminine mood or childish playfulness. Gacy's mother reinforced this at times as she attempted to protect Gacy by keeping such 'nonsense' from his father. Yet at times, she did share this with him, upon which he would dole out punishment. Through all this, love and respect from Gacy as the son is suggested to have existed concurrently with fear and resentment. According to Erikson's (1963) theory of patriarchal familial relationships, as Gacy is hypothesised not to have experienced a sense of obligation in command and a sense of dignity in voluntary obedience, the aloofness and harshness from his father would not have been productive, but rather harmful.

In the third stage both boys and girls develop the social modalities of 'making' and of 'being on the make'; thus the child begins to develop initiative. However, the oedipal wishes and expressed intrusions result in a feeling of guilt (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). In both boys and girl, it translates into the libidinal and aggressive mode of intrusion and that of inclusion or 'catching'. Although Gacy as a boy would have had a combination of the modalities at his disposal, he, as a boy, is posited to have had a more dominant mode of intrusion as opposed to a girl who would have had a more dominant

role of inclusion (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). This suggests that these modalities express some sense of masculinity or femininity that develops in this stage (Erikson, 1980). Gacy developing a dominant role of intrusion would have resulted in his masculinity in later life. The pressures from his father to be the carrier of the male lineage in the family may have further contributed to this. This could further explain Gacy's desire to hide his homoerotic acts, as he may have felt it did not correspond to his masculinity. In the homosexual acts that Gacy committed he utilised the act of intrusion through sodomising others, not allowing for inclusion, or for others to intrude upon him.

7.5.5 Purpose.

It is upon resolution of this development crisis that the individual will attain the virtue of purpose (Welchman, 2000). The sense of initiative gained by the child in this stage provides the basis of a realistic sense of ambition and purpose (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1968). Purpose refers to the courage an individual has in visualising and pursuing valued goals, despite infantile fantasies or fear of punishment (Erikson, 1964). Gacy may have been able to develop initiative, but this was tempered by the guilt he was suggested to have experienced from the abuse from his father. Gacy's sense of purpose would have been limited by feelings of guilt. It is the opinion of the researcher that as a result of the aggression in his early development, the fragmented drive patterns with which Gacy was born is suggested not to have formed a conscience (Erikson, 1980). Gacy's maladapted sense of purpose would therefore not have been restrained by morals (Erikson, 1980). Gacy's personality would have crystallised around the conviction that 'I am what I can imagine I will be' (Erikson, 1980). This conviction was not moderated by societal norm and laws as Gacy developed a fragmented personality, id, ego and superego. This allowed him to become all of the roles in

which he engaged in this stage in his adult years, finding purpose not only in being a contractor, politician, and community-man but also in being a sadistic murderer.

7.6 Industry versus Inferiority – Ages Six to Twelve Years

This phase of development occurs in the child's early school going years, the individual is required to resolve the task of industry versus inferiority, and is mainly concerned with the discovering, learning and mastering of new knowledge and skills (Erikson, 1982; Santrock, 2006). Gacy was both physically and emotionally abused by his father in his childhood, and showed fear when in his presence. At the age of eight, Gacy harboured a great deal of anger regarding his father's abuse of him, yet he wanted what every child wanted, to be accepted by his peers (Boschelli, 2008).

7.6.1 Industry.

At the stage in his development that Gacy reached the crisis of industry versus inferiority, he would have been expected to have mastered the ambulatory field and organ modes and been prepared to apply himself to particular tasks and skills (Erikson, 1980). In this stage, Gacy would have begun to cultivate skills to become a worker and potential provider. As a result, he was expected to be able to sustain initiative and purpose in larger projects, utilising these in gaining the skills of his culture (Mooney, 2010). As a young boy, he washed the windows and cut the grass for a neighbour for free and was described by those in the community as being courteous and kind (Boschelli, 2008). Gacy further enjoyed building forts in his childhood years. Through the task of building forts, he was able to develop his elementary building skills. He may have been laying the foundation upon which he later built PDM Contractor Inc., his own company that provided painting, decorating and maintenance for buildings. As in other stages of development, children should be encouraged and

commended for their efforts thereby fostering their belief in their own competencies (Edwards & Louw, 1997; Erikson, 1968). Impeding this development of industry was Gacy's father who destroyed all of Gacy's building attempts with the exception of one, built in an empty lot as Gacy kept it hidden from his father (Dobbert, 2009). This could thus have influenced Gacy's own feelings of efficiency (Erikson, 1968).

This stage differs from the others, as there is no swing from an inner turmoil to a new mastery. Gacy would have been more influenced by the outer hindrances of his social world then the internal hindrances that had been the focus of attention previously (Erikson, 1968). This stage involves doing things with others as the child grows a sense of the technological ethos of their culture. It is in this stage of development that the wider society would have become more significant to Gacy as he began to expand his understanding of meaningful roles in his culture's technology and economy (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). Gacy found himself in a much wider social sphere, including not only his family members but also peers, teachers and members of the community at large (Boere, 2006). In this stage, the ego boundaries begin to include the child's tools and skills as he learns to complete work through perseverance and steady attention (Erikson, 1963). Gacy shared in the construction and making of this stage with others. It is the opinion of the researcher that Gacy would have attempted to gain recognition for producing things, becoming eager to be able to 'make things well' (Erikson, 1968). Gacy played together with other children on a vacant lot, which they referred to as 'The Prairie'. It was here that they built their fort from scrap metal and wood, where their friends would gather and childhood hopes and dreams came together. Over weekends the children would have 'cook-outs' in their fort, cooking potatoes over an open flame (Boschelli, 2008). In other words, as he began to adjust to the inorganic laws of the tool world he began to develop a sense of industry (Erikson, 1980). Gacy also enjoyed developing ideas to make money. As a child, he was very convincing, involving children in projects and

controlling the nature and direction of these projects. The children would plan adventures, up to a week in advance, they would work out the details of the next adventure, and each child was assigned their own responsibility (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Boschelli, 2008).

If the child has progressed normally, in this stage he will begin to sublimate the necessity to 'make' people by direct attack. Instead, the child learns that by producing things he can attain recognition (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). As discussed, Gacy had difficulties at each of the developmental stages prior to this one. As a result, he is hypothesised by the researcher not to have fully sublimated the necessity 'to make' people by direct attack. This is suggested by the researcher to have further built onto Gacy's need to dominate and exert power over others, as manifested later in torturing the youths before murdering them. In this stage, anger and difficulty in sublimating this necessity was also demonstrated in Gacy's time as a boy scout. Gacy had difficulty fitting in, as he struggled to control his anger (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986). He further questioned the rules and regulations of the Scouts, having trouble adjusting to the ethos of this expansion in his social world. Gacy also had difficulties with some of his peers in his troop, all the difficulties coming to a head on a Jamboree camp of Scouts from various areas. Gacy became involved in an argument with one of the members that he disliked, and left the camp. Later he was found dehydrated on the side of the road. After this, he was no longer allowed to be a Boy Scout (Boschelli, 2008).

Common across all cultures in this stage is that the child receives some sort of systematic instruction (Erikson, 1963). In Gacy's culture, he received training from appointed teachers. The goals of his education would have been to ensure that he was literate in order to pursue a wider education and specialised career. In this type of training, the goals of initiative may become indistinct. The more variety and confusion in specialisation the more complicated the social reality becomes and the vaguer the parental roles in the life of the child (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). School with its own goals and limits, achievements and disappointments,

becomes a society and culture of its own. In this environment, Gacy would have learnt not only the mastery of objects and toys, but also the beginnings of social capabilities (Erikson, 1968). The culture of school education places emphasis on self-restraint and a duty in doing what one is supposed to do (Erikson, 1980). It is suggested by the researcher that Gacy may have further built on his personas that had begun to develop in previous stages, enriching the social skills and façade of each. The descriptions of Gacy as a scholar ranged from good to indifferent (Linedecker, 1986; Moss, 1999). He was viewed as a leader by his peers and would often direct projects. Gacy was also reported to have been willing to lie at times in order to get what he wanted, as he always wanted to be in control (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Boschelli, 2008). As his reality was vaguer in his new social context, Gacy is hypothesised to have been attempting to control the environment as far as he was capable. He may also have feared becoming inferior, and in his attempt to avoid this strived to become superior. This is hypothesised to have continued into his later life as he would present himself as being in higher positions of employment then what he actually was and would exaggerate accomplishments. One such example suggested by the researcher is Gacy's claim to have owned Kentucky Fried Chicken, although in reality he only worked for his father-in-law (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999).

7.6.2 Inferiority.

The danger of this stage is in the possible sense of inferiority or inadequacy that the child may experience (Erikson, 1982). Children develop the ability to set and achieve personal goals; if they are unable to attain these goals they may develop a sense of inferiority and feelings of inadequacy (Corey, 2009; Meyer et al., 2003). Gacy was criticised by his father and his attempts at industry were broken down. As a result he may have been sensitive to failure. If things did not go his way or if he was not able to complete a task through his

'toolset' he would become angry and walk away (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Boschelli, 2008). Gacy appeared to have difficulty identifying with his peers, which is suggested by the researcher to have resulted from feelings of inferiority. Because of this, it is hypothesised by the researcher that Gacy developed different skills, those of lying and manipulation, in order to compensate for a loss of hope in his sense of industry. He may also have experienced some regression to an earlier stage of the more isolated, less tool conscious oedipal time. His need to dominate other male figures may be evidence of regression to earlier stages of maladaptive development (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980).

As Gacy was exposed to domestic violence within this stage of development, he may have developed a fear of recurrence. Gacy was said to display depressive symptoms, and it is suggested to have been partly due to a vulnerability developed from the exposure to the domestic violence (Keene, 2006). Gacy's difficulties with anger and occasional difficulties with his peer group is suggested by the researcher to have been 'symptoms' of the violence he incurred at home. Individuals exposed to domestic violence in this stage were found to view the intentions of others as hostile and it is the opinion of the researcher that this is what occurred in the case of Gacy (Keene, 2006).

7.6.3 Fourth stage biological processes.

This stage of development is made up of the time between infantile sexuality and sexual maturation and is known as the latency stage (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). The focus on the social crisis of industry versus inferiority is distinguished from the other stages of development by the concern the individual places on social processes, rather than internal libidinal and aggressive drives (Erikson, 1964). Both boys and girls, before a full differentiation of the genital modes takes place, must assume this latency period (Erikson, 1982). Gacy stated that he was undressed and sexually abused on one occasion by a male

friend of his parents at the age of eight years old. The details and validity of this incidence is not known (Buller, et al., 2009; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004). This sexual abuse may have impeded the latency period as he received exposure to sexual acts before he was socially, emotionally or biologically prepared. In addition, as this was considered to be abuse from Gacy's viewpoint, the researcher suggests that in keeping with Erikson's (1963) theory, he could have developed distorted views on sexual activities. As this sexual experience occurred with an adult male, it may be that the homosexual tendencies that had been sowed in his early development were stimulated in the biological process.

7.6.4 Competence.

If this life crisis is effectively resolved, the individual will arrive at the virtue of competence (Boere, 2006; Welchman, 2000). Having been unable to fully achieve hope, will and purpose, Gacy may have had trouble in developing the ability to anticipate future tasks. As a result, he may not have been able to apply competencies achieved in this stage adequately as it is generally expected that the individual learns the capability to apply basic methods and skills to achieve tasks as conceived by the virtues of hope, will and purpose (Erikson, 1964; Mooney, 2010).

As competence is freely unimpaired by infantile inferiority, using dexterity, intelligence and skills in order to complete tasks, Gacy appeared to have been able to develop this virtue. Children in this stage are taught the skills that are of practical use and which lead to lasting achievements within their culture (Erikson, 1968). Gacy is suggested by the researcher to have been able to make methods his own and developed the ability 'to manage' as he gained competence in technological specialisation (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). This competence developed into workmanship at later stages in Gacy's life (Erikson, 1964). He was reported to be a hard worker, described as articulate and ingratiating, as well as naturally gregarious

(Linedecker, 1986). He was charming and persistent, as well as dedicated to completing tasks (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010). Gacy would have been required to develop the capacity to work in order to maintain ego power. Without a sense of workmanship, the individual will feel inferior and be unable to match their ability to their reality (Erikson, 1964). Gacy was able to form his own contracting company towards the end of 1974. Although Gacy was reported not to be a skilled craftsman, he was able to build his business successfully and soon was making about \$300,000 a year. (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). He was said to be a good organiser and impressed businessmen with the diligence, efficiency and speed with which he completed jobs (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986). This appears to indicate that Gacy was able to develop a sense of competence, despite his development setbacks and was thus able to gain some personality crystallisation around the conviction that 'I am what I learn' (Erikson, 1980).

7.7 Identity versus Identity Confusion – Ages Twelve to Eighteen Years

The fifth stage takes place between the ages of twelve and eighteen years (Corey, 2009). In this stage, childhood ends as the individual enters into adolescence (Erikson, 1980). Adolescents find themselves between the past and the future, both in their individual lives and in society. In this span of time they have ceased being children yet they have not yet reached a time in which their deeds and works define a future identity and contribute towards society (Erikson, 1958). In this stage of transition, Gacy would have been occupied with finding his own identity, setting life goals and finding meaning as he attempted to solve the task of identity versus identity confusion (Corey, 2009).

7.7.1 Identity.

In establishing an identity, Gacy would have been expected to remain in connection with others as relationships are an essential part of the process of identity formation (Mooney, 2010). The larger cultural society in which the individual finds himself is considered more tolerant of adolescent behaviour, which may be unacceptable in other psychosocial stages as adolescents often come into conflict with the norms and rules of society in their quest to establishing an identity (Erikson, 1982; Meyer et al., 2003).

In this phase of life, the ego identity is developed as integration takes place. The term ego identity refers to the individual's sense of knowing who he is and how he fits into the rest of society (Boere, 2006). In this stage, Gacy would have been expected to develop a defined personality as he began to grow a conviction that he was learning effective steps towards a tangible future within a social reality which he understood (Erikson, 1980). In his later life, it was reported that Gacy had a "high degree of social intelligence or awareness of the proper way to behave in order to influence people" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 271). It may be that Gacy was able to cultivate a high understanding of the social realities in which he found himself, thereby reaching success in this sphere of development. However, Gacy's development of his ego identity was impeded on by his earlier development. Ego identity refers to the process that allows an individual to experience himself as having continuity and sameness; and therefore to act accordingly. The ego identity is achieved through the ego's ability to integrate an accrual of the experiences gained from the previous crisis (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1980). It is the opinion of the researcher that Gacy was unable to successfully resolve the first three stages of development. Therefore, in this stage Gacy lacked the required grounding to integrate different aspects of his ego identity. As discussed in the second stage of development, autonomy versus shame and doubt, Gacy may be described as having a 'many-sided personality'. This being due to the appearance of ambivalence in his

personality, a contrast existing between John the contractor, the clown, the politician and Jack the serial killer (Linedecker, 1986; Lohr, 2001; Seaman & Wilson, 2007). In addition, it is suggested by the researcher that despite Gacy lacking a sense of self, he was able to model his behaviour and social activity on the observations he made of others day-to-day social acts (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

Although the identity crystallisation takes place at this stage of the individual's life, the prior stages each fill an aspect of ego identity development as they lead to identity establishment from infant to adolescent (Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). In the first stage of life, Gacy was expected to learn to trust in mutual recognition versus the autistic isolation of mistrust. Gacy is hypothesised by the researcher to have developed malignant tendencies from the first stage of development, resulting in an excess of the dystonic or negative quality, and an inability to trust others. It is suggested by the researcher that Gacy was therefore unable to place faith in others and their ideas, while holding himself trustworthy, which impeded his development of identity. The second stage of life allowed Gacy to experience the will to be himself versus the self-doubt he may have experienced. In the fifth stage of development, Gacy would have been required to have the ability to establish his own identity through his free will. The adolescent fears being forced into activities, and would rather act shamelessly out of free will then to be forced into activities by parental figures which would be considered shameful by his peers. As discussed in the second stage of development, it is the contention of the researcher that Gacy was pushed past his limits of shame and thus developed a shameless wilfulness. This may then have directed his identity formation, resulting in Gacy developing a psychopathic personality. The lack of successful resolution of the second stage of development may have further contributed to Gacy developing the following personality "Unusual characteristics: degree of self-reference... exploitative...charming on the surface, cold and ruthless underneath...noticeable absence of

feeling remorse and guilt... history of continuous chronic antisocial behaviour" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253).

In the third stage of life, Gacy was expected to have developed the ability to anticipate roles versus role inhibition. Despite difficulties in successfully resolving this stage, Gacy was able to develop a desire 'to make', in making a choice of future occupation and roles. He was therefore able, as an adolescent to established purpose in life, although it is hypothesised that this purpose was not tempered by societal norms or moral restrictions. Finally, through task identification versus a sense of futility, Gacy as an adolescent would have been expected to develop the ability to identify with roles of competency in order to accept a more implicit ideological outlook (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). The identifications with the variations of libido and the organ modes, the individual's endowment that allowed them to develop their abilities and the prospects offered in social roles are all assimilated to form the ego identity (Erikson, 1963). As Gacy was unsuccessful in resolving each of the developmental conflicts prior to the task of establishing an identity that he faced in his adolescent stage, the various subparts of his ego may not have been assimilated. In his later life he was found to have "strong potentials for emotional or ego disintegration and expression of very hostile, dangerous impulses, either to others or to himself' (Linedecker, 1986, p. 230). This reiterates the researcher's position that Gacy had not been able to mature past the first stage of development as an infant. Gacy had an id, ego, superego structured personality, yet it was all in 'bits and pieces' (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

The adolescent seeks affirmation from their peers, and the group to which they belong consists not only of creeds, programmes and rituals but also of definitions as to what is evil and inimical (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). It is in this stage that the individual begins to 'fall in love'; a lot of the young love of the adolescent consists of conversation. This is another attempt of the adolescent to arrive at their own identity as they see a reflection of

their own diffused ego-image projected onto the other individual (Erikson, 1963). Gacy appeared to have the normal adolescent experiences with regard to social interactions and young love. He belonged to a group of friends, dated girls and developed his social skills. A favourite place for the young adolescents to go after school in Gacy's neighbourhood was to the 'Malt Shop'. It supplied soda pop, candy, ice-cream and gifts. Here the youngsters could sit, eat and talk to their friends. Gacy and his best friend Boschelli would do their homework at the booths, catch up on local gossip and listen to the latest music. It is here that young loves were discussed and both Boschelli and Gacy brought their girlfriends on dates (Boschelli, 2008). Gacy dated girls in his high school years and was reported to have had sexual intercourse for the first time at the age of eighteen (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

An aspect of the identity crisis is that of the need for devotion. Devotion can be to leaders, teams, activities, techniques; at the same time, the adolescent may also experience an intense intolerance to those who are different (Erikson, 1958). As with each stage of development, Gacy relationship with his father may have had a large impact on him. Despite the abuse that he experienced from his father, he was reported to idealise him and crave his approval. Gacy's devotion to his father is hypothesised by the researcher to have contributed to Gacy's acts of violence in later life, as it may be that he was following his father's example. This devotion may have further contributed to Gacy's confusion over his homosexuality. It is suggested by the researcher that Gacy did not want openly give in to his homosexual desires as his father had often spoken out against it, and abused Gacy if he engaged in any activity that was construed by his father as being homosexual. Despite appearing to have homoerotic desires, Gacy spoke out fervently against homosexuality, even into his adult years (Linedecker, 1986).

7.7.2 Identity confusion.

In establishing an identity, the individual grapples with identity confusion. It is from the identity conflict, urgent questions and vague inner states arises (Erikso, 1958). The various part symptoms of identity confusion can be explained in relation to derivatives and precursors of the elements of the psychosocial crisis as experienced by Gacy (Erikson, 1968).

7.7.2.1 Time diffusion versus temporal perspective.

In the first psychosocial crisis, Gacy was unable to develop trust as he lacked an inner conviction that satisfaction is predictable and reliable. The ego's inability to maintain temporal perspective as a result of identity confusion is explained in juxtaposition to this first crisis as the individual develops a mistrust of time, it is referred to as the temporal perspective versus time confusion. As an adolescent, Gacy would have experienced a regression into the infancy stage in which time did not exist. An adolescent experiences difficulty being able to delay gratification, plans become catastrophes in the eyes of an adolescent and providers become traitors. This yields to an outlook of a number of possible futures as the individual establishes an identity and cultivates a perspective worth investing energy into (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). The researcher suggests that Gacy was unable to solve this confusion, as he remained distrustful of others and experienced difficulty delaying gratification.

7.7.2.2 Self-certainty versus self-consciousness.

The second stage is that of self-certainty versus self-consciousness and occurs in conjunction with the second psychosocial crisis in which Gacy experienced shame and doubt in attempting to establish a sense of autonomy. As an adolescent, Gacy would have experienced doubt over the reliability and reconcilability of the whole span of childhood that

is being left behind. He would have further experienced a sense of being exposed to agemates and leaders while attempting to establish an identity that is distinct and distinctive. Gacy was unable to resolve previous stages and lacked the sense of self-certainty that is expected to result from the accrued identity as a result of the resolution of each previous crisis. Some degree of self-certainty may have been fostered when Gacy was able to gain independence from his family (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). Gacy left home in his adolescent years after dropping out of high school (Buller et al., 2009; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). He moved to Las Vegas where he found part time work as a janitor at the Palm Mortuary. He was said to be a good and reliable worker, as well as a polite and cooperative young man (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). In this time Gacy admitted that he had climbed into a coffin to experience the feeling of death (Dobbert, 2009; Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Vronsky, 2004). It may be that at this stage of development Gacy had already developed an allure to death. The description offered of him as a worker and individual contradicted with some of his more morbid fascinations, once again indicating multiple façades.

7.7.2.3 Role experimentation versus role fixation.

The third part symptom of identity confusion refers to role experimentation and role fixation. The establishment of the roles Gacy undertook has been previously discussed and can be seen to relate to the third psychosocial crisis during which time he learnt to balance a sense of initiative with a sense of guilt. It is normal in this stage for the adolescent to have a relatively guilt-free initiative in disciplined role experimentation. This experimentation occurs in conjunction with the codes of the individual's adolescent sub societies (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). Gacy was reported to be liked by his peers, worked hard at various jobs and was considered a fair student. Although no events are

known of in Gacy's adolescent years in which he experimented with a role that was outside of his society, it could be that some of the activities he engaged in as Jack the serial killer may have been explored in this stage.

7.7.2.4 Apprenticeship versus work paralysis.

Apprenticeship versus work paralysis refers to the fourth part symptom of identity confusion as the individual attempts to find a niche in his social environment for his true gifts. Through competition in work and play, the individual is able to discover his own kind of achievement and thereby consolidate his work identity (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). Gacy appears to have been able to overcome any work paralysis he may have experienced as he developed his work identity through various moneymaking activities. As discussed in chapter four under section 4.5.3., in their adolescent years, Gacy and his friend Boschelli were 'junk pickers' as they would refurbish their neighbours 'junk' and either gave these as presents to family members or sold them to raise money (Boschelli, 2008). Gacy worked at the IGA, an independent general store, in his adolescent years. He would stack shelves and deliver groceries in the neighbourhood (Boschelli, 2008). He had a newspaper route in his early adolescent years, and later began working part time at a grocery store. He went on to work hard in his adult ears, earning a reputation as being diligent and efficient (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986).

7.7.2.5 Identity versus identity confusion.

The fifth part symptom is that which is the overall focus and corresponds to the fifth psychosocial crisis currently being discussed (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

7.7.2.6 Sexual polarization versus bisexual confusion.

The sixth part symptom of identity confusion is the first of the three precursors to future psychosocial crises. It is the precursor to the crisis of intimacy versus isolation, and it is in this that the individual contends with his sexual identity (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). Gacy's father continued to be abusive towards his son (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010; Seaman & Wilson, 2007), and was unhappy with his lack of sporting ability. On occasion he would refer to Gacy as queer and weak (Dobbert, 2009). It may be that in Gacy's adolescent 'totalistic' frame of mind the fact that he was expressed as having a little less of masculine sexuality, translated to more of the other. Gacy may have attempted to overcompensate for this, as in his later life he was described as being masculine and outspoken against 'queers'. The development of sexual identity is largely influenced by the individual's cultural psychosocial differentiation of masculine and feminine qualities. In order to establish a firm sense of identity the adolescent is required to find a balance between concentrating on genital activity and concentrating on social, artistic and intellectual aims in order to avoid an over or under developed genital polarization with the other sex. The identity gain is made in the individual's discovery of preferred sexual behaviour (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). In this stage, an individual may develop a deep fixation in sexual behaviour, if he has a negative experience with regards to sexual identity or if something happens in this time that marks him as socially deviant (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). Although it is not known if Gacy experienced an event that marked him as socially deviant, his difficulty relating to his peers at times and the insults of his father may have developed a feeling of deviance in him. Gacy's previous development of deviance is suggested by the researcher to have borne fruit to developing sexual deviance in this stage, later leading to Gacy's performance of sadistic acts.

7.7.2.7 Leader and followership versus authority confusion.

In establishing an identity, the adolescent makes an important step towards adult responsibility in learning to take leadership and in gaining the ability to follow superiors. This is a precursor to the psychosocial stage of generativity versus stagnation as the individual begins to replace the parent images in the infantile super ego with the hierarchy of leader-images from his own sub culture (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). Gacy had a difficult relationship with his father as a result of the domestic violence in their home, consequently, Gacy may have had parent images of violence, and thus had difficulty replacing the parent images in his infantile superego. Gacy was unable to establish responsibility and lacked the ability to follow superiors. He had conflict with the law and lacked in the development of a moral code that was in keeping with his society. He is hypothesised not to have been able to progress past the infantile stage of superego development.

7.7.2.8 Ideological commitment versus confusion of values.

A precursor to the final psychosocial crisis of integrity versus despair can be seen in relationship to this part symptom of identity confusion as the adolescent finds his 'way of life'. The adolescent becomes aware of other styles of life and through ideology finds his own style and meaning in life. This can be seen to closely relate to ego integrity found in the last stage of life (Erikson, 1956; Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Muuss, 1996). It is the opinion of the researcher that Gacy gained awareness of different styles of life, and may have found a style of life in which he was able to find meaning. Maladaptive development from different stages may have impacted on the meaning which he found. Gacy enjoyed power and control, and is hypothesised to have found meaning in which he was able to exert

these and be recognised for them. This driving force may be what led to his manipulative behaviours, boasting, lies and ultimately sadistic acts and murder.

7.7.2.9 Conclusion of part symptoms.

It is at the conclusion of each of these part symptoms that the individual is able to extract and establish his own identity from the identity confusion (Erikson, 1980). Gacy should have acquired an identity that has been firmly established and informed enough to act (Erikson, 1974). As Gacy had malignant tendencies from each stage, it is possible that he had further malignant tendencies in this stage. He may have experienced a sense of disallowance, as he abandoned his need for an identity. Although Gacy did not become fused with the social group within which he found himself, he was able to change his identity in different social groups (Boere, 2006; Erikson, 1982). Gacy had become known in the Uptown area amongst male prostitutes, partly for sadistic acts he wanted to engage in (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). Gacy was also known in the political sphere as he became involved in the Democratic party. He continued to socialise in bars, where he would often stop for a drink with a female cousin or Carol. The heavy set constructor with the vivacious and pretty women he brought in was never suspected of being bisexual. Gacy remained caring of his family, visiting with his mother and sisters and providing them with money when they needed assistance. He was always available to his family if they needed his help (Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). All of the shifts in his façade may be indiciative of an indentity that did not fully develop, allowing him to wear identities like coats, putting them on and taking them off as he wished.

7.7.3 Fifth stage biological processes.

Genitality is considered one of the development conditions for full maturity in psychoanalysis (Erikson, 1980). The beginning of this stage is in the adolescent years when the physiological revolution of the genital maturation besets the individual. Genital puberty floods the body and imagination of the adolescent (Erikson, 1968). In this stage of genitality, the adolescent engages in the social modality 'to be oneself' (Erikson, 1980). Gacy engaged in heterosexual activities in this stage of his development. He is reported to have had sexual intercourse for the first time at the age of eighteen with a woman. Gacy appeared not to have explored his homosexual tendencies at this stage, and it is the opinion of the researcher that he did not engage in the modality of being himself fully. It may be hypothesised that Gacy later revisited this stage when he had his first homosexual experience.

7.7.4 Fidelity.

At the resolution of this life stage, Gacy would have been expected to gain fidelity as a virtue (Welchman, 2000). Fidelity refers to the ability the individual has developed to sustain freely promised loyalties despite inescapable inconsistencies of value systems (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1982). Achieving the virtue of fidelity implies that the individual has found a place in their community and that they are able to contribute to this community (Boere, 2006). Gacy is hypothesised not to have had the footing for an identity as he lacked a firm sense of where he belonged. It is contended furthermore by the researcher that Gacy had been unable to fully establish what he cared about outside of himself and to what or whom he was faithful, as a result it is suggested that he was unable to gain the virtue of fidelity (Mooney, 2010). Fidelity forms the cornerstone of identity, and contains the following characteristics: accuracy, sentiment, truthfulness, sincerity, conviction, loyalty, devotion and fairness. Sanctioning ideologies and affirming companions inspire fidelity. In his work environment,

Gacy was reported to make claim to that which was not his, and was willing to manipulate to achieve his own ends. It may be said that Gacy did not develop loyalties outside of those he had to himself. Gacy's inability to form significant loyalty to individuals, groups, or social values stemming from his infant years was found throughout his life (Linedecker, 1986). He lacked in accuracy, truthfulness, conviction and fairness. It is the opinion of the researcher that this resulted from Gacy's lack of fidelity, the core of which is suggested to be his lack of intent to remain loyal to role choices, others and ideologies (Erikson, 1974; Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001).

7.8 Intimacy versus Isolation – Early Adulthood, Ages Eighteen to Forty

After an individual has established his identity, he is able to move into the next stage of developing a relationship with another individual (Meyer et al., 2003). As the young adult emerges from adolescence, they become eager to merge the found identity from the previous crisis with that of others. The individual is now ready to commit to others, to form affiliations and partnerships and to engage in intimacy with others and to resolve the developmental task of intimacy versus isolation (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). As Gacy had trouble in establishing his identity, the researcher suggests that he experienced difficulty in resolving the stage of intimacy versus isolation. As he did not have a firmly established identity, it is thought that he would not have been able to merge with another individual.

7.8.1 Intimacy.

The focus of this stage is on forming meaningful relationships (Edwards & Louw, 1997). The individual discovers romantic relations, but also develops and realises a capacity for affinity in his relations with family, neighbours, co-workers and teammates (Mooney, 2010). Throughout his adult years, Gacy was able to establish and maintain various relationships.

Gacy married a co-worker named Marlynn Meyers in September 1964 in a Catholic Church ceremony (Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979; Seaman & Wilson, 2007; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy also discovered the Junior Chamber of Commerce (the Jaycees) in Springfield, joining in order to aid in making the community a better place (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010; Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979). In 1965, a year after arriving in Springfield, Gacy was elected the first vice-president of that chapter's Jaycees as well as the chapter's outstanding man of the year (Buckholtz & Kiehl, 2010; Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Vronsky, 2004). He was considered to be a devout husband and a dedicated Roman Catholic. Gacy was known as energetic, ambitious and outgoing by those in the Jaycees (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). After moving to Waterloo, Iowa, Marlynn had their first child, a son in 1966, and then her second, a daughter in 1967 (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Seaman & Wilson, 2007; Vronsky, 2004). Neighbours who knew the Gacy family at the time, reported that Gacy had appeared to be a devoted parent (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). After moving to Waterloo, Gacy once again joined the Jaycees, impressing those in the new chapter with his enthusiasm and tireless energy (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). The Gacy family would often host parties, forming close friendships within the club (Linedecker, 1986).

Despite the various relationships Gacy was able to maintain, he lacked the virtue of fidelity gained from the previous stage, as a result he lacked the ability to abide by the commitments made to others (Erikson, 1963; Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). Gacy maintained relationships on a more superficial level rather than forming deep connections. More successful, warm, companionate and close relationships are associated with active forms of identity which Gacy lacked (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). Gacy was first arrested in May 1968, for allegedly committing sodomy with a teenage boy (LaBrode, 2007; Linedecker, 1986; SAC, St. Louis, 1979; Vronsky, 2004). On November 7, 1968 Gacy

entered a plea bargain of guilty to the charge of sodomy, Judge Van Metre sentenced Gacy to ten years at the Iowa State Reformatory for men at Anamosa (Linedecker, 1986). At the age of twenty-six, Gacy lost all of his barbeque parties in the backyard, relaxing drinks and being a respected man in the community to become inmate number 26526 in prison (Linedecker, 1986). On the same day that Gacy was sentenced, his wife filed for a divorce. She divorced Gacy on the grounds of her husband's inhuman conduct that threatened her life and health, which was in violation of their marriage vows (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). This other side to Gacy's relationships may be indicative of the lack of a firmly established identity. The lack of resolution in pursuing and establishing an identity during the previous stage, is hypothesised to have resulted in competitive or combative relations being experienced (Erikson, 1980). Gacy was described during his second trial as having "a lack of integrated identity or self-concept, difficulty with self-image and gender identity...superficial interpersonal and chaotic sexual relations..." (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253). The researcher suggests that Gacy had been unable to face the ego loss that comes from the selfabandon to the other in situations such as close friendships and sexual unions. Gacy instead attempted to gain control through acts of sodomy at first and later, through the sadistic sexual acts he committed with his victims. This is suggested to have stemmed from Gacy's body and ego inability to have mastered the organ modes and previous nuclear conflicts (Erikson, 1980).

Further evidence of the lack of fidelity Gacy had towards others is shown in his relationship to his wives. Gacy was divorced from his first wife after his first arrest. He remarried a woman named Carol Hoff on June 1, 1972. She had two daughters and had recently been divorced. Hoff and Gacy had dated in their younger years and she had been good friends with his sisters (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Taylor, 2003). Gacy was at first an engaging and considerate companion. Carol's mother had

some reservations over the wedding as she felt Gacy had mood swings and could at times have unpredictable episodes of rage (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004; Linedecker, 1986). Gacy continued to be involved with teenage boys, despite his marriage, and by 1976 the marriage ended. Reasons cited provide further insight into Gacy's difficulties in establishing deep levels of intimacy, as Carol reported it was as if Gacy did not have enough time for her. She further reported he was prone to outbursts as he had an erratic and volatile temper (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy also began to have difficulty performing sexually in their marriage. Carol reported that she had found a billfold belonging to a young man in her husband's automobile. When she questioned him about the owner, he exploded into a rage (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004). Towards the end of their marriage, Gacy had begun to openly bring magazines with naked males into their home. He kept it hidden from the little girls, but admitted to Carol that he preferred boys (Dobbert, 2009; Linedecker, 1986). The relationship continued to deteriorate as Gacy became more domineering, such as locking the phone so that his wife could not make calls and locking the office (Linedecker, 1986). Despite the deteriorating relationship it was said to be amicable, they continued to remain friends and Gacy spent hours confiding to her about his bisexuality (Linedecker, 1986; Moss, 1999). It was reported that Gacy did not engage in any further sexual intercourse with women after his divorce from Carol (Moss, 1999).

7.8.2 Isolation.

The researcher suggests that Gacy avoided situations that called for self-abandon due to the fear of ego loss, which lead to his development of a sense of isolation and self-absorption (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1982). Gacy's tendency to remain absorbed in himself instead of losing himself in another is hypothesised to have resulted in the malignancy of narcissism.

Gacy was found to have had an "unusual degree of self-reference...great need to be loved and admired..." (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 253). This total absorption may have been what led to a further 'bisexual' fascination. Individuals with malignancies of narcissism may turn the intimacy onto themselves and their own gender (Erikson, 1974). Gacy was reported to have had his first homosexual experience after his wife's first pregnancy. After overindulging in alcohol with a friend, the friend reportedly performed fellatio on him (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983).

The individual who is unable to accomplish intimate relationships with others may retain a deep sense of isolation (Edwards & Louw, 1997; Erikson, 1968). The individual may enter into highly stereotypical interpersonal relationships in order to compensate for the lack of genuine intimacy (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). Gacy was able to maintain relationships that were based on superficial interests, and maintained a public façade of politician and businessman. He was able to 'read' social situations and to act appropriately, yet he remained isolated in his home and reacted possessively over his 'territory'. Gacy neglected to trim the bushes around his property, effectively closing off the view neighbours may have had of his backyard. In later years, Gacy added a shed to the end of his garage and moved the entrance of the garage to the side, rather than the front. Members of the neighbourhood were now no longer able to see into his garage and the work that he spent hours doing in it. He was reported to often be working in his garage until late hours at night or early hours of the morning, although no one was aware of what he was doing (Linedecker, 1986). As discussed, towards the end of Gacy's second marriage, Gacy was prone to outbursts as he had an erratic and volatile temper (Bardsley & Bell, 2008; Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy appeared to have developed distantiation, the term referring to his readiness to isolate himself and his wish to destroy others who intrude on his 'territory' or seem dangerous to his essence (Erikson, 1968).

7.8.3 Fifth stage biological processes.

In this stage Gacy would have reached genital maturity (Erikson, 1963). It is in this stage that true genitality is fully developed as a supreme experience of mutual regulation of two beings. This occurs via the climatic turmoil of the orgasm (Erikson, 1963). Although the individual may have experimented with sex previously, it is considered to have been of an identity searching kind, dominated with the phallic and vaginal strivings as each individual emphasises finding themselves (Erikson, 1968).

"Genitality should include the following to be of lasting social significance:

Mutuality of orgasm

With a loved partner

Of the other sex

With whom one is able and willing to share a mutual trust

And with whom one is able and willing to regulate cycles of

Work

Procreation

Recreation

So as to secure to the offspring, too, all the stages of a satisfactory development" (Erikson, 1963, p. 239).

If satisfactory sex relations are achieved by the individual then it makes sex less obsessive, it becomes less necessary for the individual to overcompensate and the use of sadistic controls become superfluous (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980). Gacy was unable to achieve satisfactory sexual relations. Because of the inability to resolve previous organ modes, he was not able to resolve the task of genitality. Adult modes of genitality continue to be influenced by the more or less distorting earlier organ mode experience; or by the over or under development of one or other basic organ modes (Erikson, 1980). The suggested over

development of Gacy's anal mode may be what impeded his ability to resolve this psychosexual stage. Every form of interaction from this stage onwards becomes underlined by the characteristics of one-sided forms of aggression or a mutuality of modes of approach. The ratio is established by early modes of approach as well as societal practice of sexual energy (Erikson, 1963). Despite being married twice and having procreated with his first wife, Gacy was unsatisfied. It may be that Gacy was unable to achieve a supreme experience of mutual regulation of two beings, or that the relations with a partner of the opposite sex did not provide this. The homosexual tendencies developed throughout the resolution of different crisis, may have led to Gacy being unable to achieve genitality and thus needing to overcompensate through sadistic controls. Gacy exhibited psychosexual disorders, including fetishism, sadism, homosexuality and necrophilia (Linedecker, 1986). Gacy was described as being obsessive-compulsive and a sexual sadist by mental health care professionals (Dietz, 1986; Linedecker, 1986). The sexual sadism, which Gacy had experienced in the past, was described as a "psychosexual disorder in which the person intentionally inflicts either physical or psychological suffering on another person against their will for the sake of sexual arousal" (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983, p. 347).

In the stage of genitality in which the individual enters adulthood, he engages in the social modality 'to lose and find oneself in another' (Erikson, 1980).

7.8.4 Love.

The adult gains love as a virtue if this crisis is successfully resolved (Welchman, 2000). There are many forms of love which bind together various stages of development, ranging from the infant's comfortable attachment to his mother to the adolescent's passionate infatuation. Love as a virtue gained in this stage of development is the transformation of love received in childhood and adolescent into that given in the adult stages of development

(Erikson, 1964). This love is found in the mutuality of devotion in mates and in partners who begin to share an identity. It is the viewpoint of the researcher that Gacy did not experience this mutuality, as it takes place as the individual loses himself in another and thereby finds himself through mutual verification (Erikson, 1968; Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001). As Gacy lacked a strong foundation of identity and fidelity, he is thought to have been unable to experience love in the truest sense (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). Both the virtue of love and the virtue of fidelity contain the trait of commitment, which Gacy lacked (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001).

As a result of the inability to solve this crisis, the love Gacy developed may have become an affiliation of selfishness. If challenged Gacy entered into a rage, and in defending the identity of that affiliation he sunk to levels of sadism (Erikson, 1964).

7.9 Generativity versus Stagnation – Adulthood, Ages Forty – Sixty-five

During middle adulthood an individual experiences the seventh stage of development and attempts to resolve the developmental task of generativity versus stagnation. A large focus of this stage is aiding in the development of the next generation (Erikson, 1964; Mooney, 2010). At this stage of his development, Gacy was in jail after being convicted of intentionally murdering the following individuals: Matthew H. Bowman, Robert Gilroy, John Mowery, Russel O. Nelson, Robert Winch, Tommy Bolin, David Paul Talsma, William Kindred, Timothy O'Rourke, Frank Landingin, James Mazzara, and Robert Piest (Linedecker, 1986).

7.9.1 Generativity.

In this stage, the individual is concerned with generativity, both in the form of guidance being offered to the next generation and in producing and creating (Erikson, 1968; Graves & Larkin, 2006). This stage is characterised by the modes of procreating, producing and

creating (Erikson, 1982). Gacy no longer had any contact with his children, and thus was not able to engage in generativity through guiding his own offspring. Nevertheless, it is thought that Gacy was passing along his knowledge and experience to those with whom he came into contact. This included the many individuals with whom he corresponded through letters. Amongst those with whom Gacy maintained correspondence was Helen Morrison who had assessed him prior to his trial. Gacy wrote the following in one of his letters to her:

During the month of May, I received 143 pieces of mail, and sent out 59 pieces. During 1982, I received 1167 pieces...out of 8,760 hours in the year (1982) I was out of my cell 2,274 hours and 20 minutes. I sent out 568 pieces of mail, took 353 showers, blood pressure taken 16 times, and out of 1095 meals served, I ate 463...Today marks the 39th month here (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004, p. 118).

Although all of the information conveyed in these letters is not known, one of those with whom Gacy corresponded, Jason Moss, shared some of the discussions which he had with Gacy. Moss (1999) explains how Gacy shared his techniques of seduction and provided Moss with sexual instructions. It is the viewpoint of the researcher that this is an example of Gacy passing on his knowledge to another. It is further hypothesised that Gacy passed on his knowledge through his various other correspondences. Gacy further demonstrated to individuals in the prison, guards and prisoners, how he strangled his victims. During Gacy's trial, Assistant State Attorney Finder testified about the explanation and demonstration Gacy had given him as to how he strangled his victims. Finder proceeded to demonstrate for the court what Gacy had shown him, tying three knots in a rope and placing a piece of wood in one of the knots so that when the victim struggled the garrotte tightened (Linedecker, 1986;

Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). This could be seen as another example of Gacy passing his 'expertise' on sexual sadism and murder.

Gacy may also have created a sense of generativity through creative outlets, for example, art work that may pass on knowledge to generations to come (Meyer et al., 2003). Being in prison, Gacy had his own television set in his cell and spending money, which he earned from paintings (Moss, 1999). Gacy had maintained a fascination with clowns, which is suggested by the researcher to have been a representation of the facades he used to hide behind. It is thus not surprising that although the subjects and themes of the paintings varied, a large number of them were of clowns. His paintings were sold as 'murderabilia' and could be purchased for up to \$10,000 (Why do Americans idolise serial killers, 2006). Other subjects for his paintings included landscapes and the thorn-crowned head of Jesus Christ (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

As an established adult, Gacy would have been expected to be involved with the community, work and family life (Erikson, 1969; Graves & Larkin, 2006). Before Gacy's arrest he had immersed himself in politics, in 1978 Gacy had the opportunity to meet Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, the wife of the President (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy had been the parade director for three consecutive years, having obtained the position of director of the parade after the excellent job he did on a Democratic Day parade in Springfield (Linedecker, 1986; Maiken & Sullivan, 1983; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy was also photographed during his meeting with Chicago mayor Michael Bilandic at a ground breaking ceremony. The ceremony was for a senior citizens facility not far from Norwood park, the picture showing Gacy and the mayor shaking hands (Linedecker, 1986). However, his arrest and imprisonment brought an end to his involvement in politics and his residential community. Nevertheless, being in prison did not stop Gacy from immersing himself in 'community' activities. Gacy befriended the guards, and many years in the prison system

taught him how to manipulate the system to obtain just about whatever he wanted in prison, including pornographic movies and books (Moss, 1999; Vronsky, 2004). Gacy further engaged in construction work for the prison, aiding in remodelling, plastering and painting (Goldberg & Morrison, 2004).

In this stage, the individual is expected to experience an adjustment between what he had dreamt of in his younger years and the accomplishments that he made (Corey, 2009). Despite being in prison, Gacy appeared to revel in his fame, he was described as having enjoyed the celebrity status that the murders had brought him, and was reported to have bragged that he had been the subject of "eleven hardback books, thirty-one paperbacks, two screenplays, one movie, one off-Broadway play, five songs, and over 5,000 articles" (Haggerty, 2009, p. 174).

7.9.2 Stagnation.

Stagnation in development may occur if an individual does not have a sense of having helped the next generation (Santrock, 2006). Gacy did not appear to experience a sense of stagnation, as he continued to generate knowledge and art, immersing himself in community life regardless of the surroundings. It may be that early childhood impressions caused some retardation in the ability to develop in this stage as Gacy may have developed excessive self-love (Erikson, 1963). It is therefore possible that despite not reconciling his childhood dreams with being in prison, he had been able to engage in those darkest fantasies and giving in to his own wants and needs in committing the acts that led to his imprisonment. The self-love that Gacy had developed may have been what lead to him developing a feeling of generativity, as he left behind a legacy, albeit one of murder and torture.

7.9.3 Care.

If this developmental task is resolved, the resulting virtue will be care (Welchman, 2000). At this stage of his life, Gacy had not developed the capacity to take care of and to care for (Erikson, 1982). Essential for psychosocial evolution, is the virtue of care. Gacy would have been unable to transmit the rudiments of the virtues of hope, will, purpose and competence, as he lacked in these virtues of development. He would therefore have been able to impart limited meaning to the next generation's experiences (Erikson, 1964). Human beings are such that they have a need to be needed, perpetuating humankind through generative encounters as they create, produce and leave behind (Erikson, 1968). Gacy is conjectured to have never developed a sense of universal care. This lack of universal care led to Gacy neglecting the development of the lives of his own children. Gacy therefore never had the care or the concern for what has been generated by love, necessity or accident (Erikson, 1964).

7.10 Integrity versus Despair – Old age, Age Sixty-five – Death

John Wayne Gacy's life ended at the age of fifty-two on May 10th, 1994 (Boschelli, 2008). The final stage of Erikson's theory begins when an individual is approximately sixty or seventy years of age. Although Gacy did not live until the age at which this last stage occurs, it is during this stage that an individual is expected to develop a feeling of being close to the end of his life, and reflection on his life occurs (Meyer et al., 2003). The individual is required to resolve the developmental task of integrity versus despair (Santrock, 2006). It may be possible that Gacy did experience this crisis as he awaited his death, knowing that the end of his life was near. Therefore, some tentative hypotheses may be made based on his development prior to this stage and some of his last reflections before death.

The seventh stage is a culmination of the crisis resolved before it. In order to resolve this final stage, the individual is required to have achieved in the other seven stages (Erikson,

1963; Erikson, 1982). As Gacy appeared not to have been able to resolve all of the development tasks before this final one, it can be deducted that he would not have been able to resolve this stage. If Gacy did experience this stage, he would have been mainly concerned with his ego's propensity for order and meaning in life (Graves & Larkin, 2006). As Gacy had not resolved the conflicts of each stage in a predominantly positive manner, he may not have been able to achieve a sense of satisfaction (Mooney, 2010; Santrock, 2006).

Lack or loss of ego integration is shown by despair and the fear of death (Graves & Larkin, 2006). An individual who is unable to achieve integrity experiences despair and disgust over his life cycle and the inability to start again in order to attempt other avenues to achieving integrity (Erikson, 1968; Mooney, 2010). Gacy's last words are reputed to be 'kiss my ass' (Lohr, 2001; Taylor, 2003). It is not known if this expression came from a place of self-disgust or a lack of despair. As Gacy did not complete the life cycle and was unable to resolve various crises, it is hypothesised by the researcher that he did not achieve integrity. Integrity is the acceptance by the individual that his life is his own responsibility, and in this acceptance, a new love for his parents emerges as he no longer wishes they had been different (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980; Erikson, 1982). Gacy is hypothesised by the researcher not to have achieved a sense of responsibility for his life, or an acceptance of the role his parents played in who he became.

Resolving the conflict of this stage is achieving the virtue of wisdom (Welchman, 2000). Wisdom "is detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself" (Erikson, 1964, p. 206). It is the opinion of the researcher that Gacy did not achieve this virtue, not only as he did not engage fully in this life crisis, but also as he appeared to lack inclusive understanding. Gacy lacked responsibility for his actions, and thus lacked the strength that is gained from accumulated knowledge, mature judgement freed from temporal relativity and inclusive understanding that is wisdom (Erikson, 1968). It is unclear if Gacy was able to achieve the

last, but firm whisper of confirmation of a self-contained long productive life offered by wisdom, but it is suggested by the researcher that he did not (Erikson, 1964). Rather, if Gacy had been able to engage fully in this stage, it is suggested by the researcher that he would have been left with the antithesis to wisdom which is disdain, this refers to the reaction Gacy as an individual may have had to feeling finished, hopeless and confused (Erikson, 1982).

7.11 The Life Cycle Completed

In understanding Gacy as a whole personality, it is important to be cognisant that although the crises are presented as a series of stages, development should be seen as occurring as critical steps or turning points that can be revisited throughout life (Erikson, 1963). Gacy continued to build on the values obtained in childhood as they were revalidated or rendered obsolete as wider truth was discovered (Erikson, 1969). The manner in which each of the developmental tasks was completed although not resolved and the impact thereof continued to be a part of Gacy's personality (Santrock, 2006).

In his theory Erikson (1963) refers to a *constitutional intolerance*. It may be that Gacy was predisposed to develop pathology, he may have begun life with an intolerance, an inability to control or tolerate his aggressive tendencies. His family and social environment may then have further lowered the already low frustration tolerance (Erikson, 1963). It is the opinion of the researcher that domestic violence influenced Gacy's development and his lack of resolution of all of the childhood crises. The threatening environment created by domestic violence is hypothesised to have impeded infant Gacy's development of trust, both in himself and the outer world, further resulting in a lack of his ability to cope with his urges. This was built on in the second crisis in which the exposure to domestic violence is suggested to have resulted in Gacy developing poorly modulated impulse control and affect regulation. The development of mistrust is also suggested to have been what led to Gacy's suspiciousness and

paranoia in later life and the need to take advantage of others before being taken advantage of himself. The suspiciousness and paranoia further led to him blame the external environment for events that occurred. It is also hypothesised that the culmination of the lack of crisis resolution led to Gacy developing a lack of esteem for others in the third stage of development. Gacy's continual exposure to domestic violence in his fourth stage of development may have been what further contributed to his viewing the intentions of others as hostile. Gacy's distrust of others and difficulty in delaying gratification is hypothesised to have been cemented into his personality during his quest for identity.

Gacy further lacked a sense of justice and is hypothesised to have developed a precocious conscience. Gacy lacked the virtue of will that would have led to increased judgement and decision-making ability in the application of drives. Gacy further lacked esteem for others as developed in the initiative versus guilt stage and this may have contributed to his later sadistic acts. It is suggested that Gacy was unable to sublimate the necessity to 'make' people by direct attack in the fourth stage of development. This could have further built onto the need to dominate and exert power on others. Gacy's further lack of the virtues of love and fidelity are hypothesised to have resulted in an affiliation of selfishness, and in defending the identity of that affiliation he sunk to levels of sadism.

It is suggested by the researcher that Gacy's lack of attachment led to him being described as charming on the surface, cold and ruthless underneath (Maiken & Sullivan, 1983). Gacy's lack of identity and fidelity is hypothesised to have contributed to this and led to him having had difficulty achieving intimacy as he maintained relationships on a shallow level. Gacy is further hypothesised to have developed combative relationships because of a lack of an established identity. Gacy was unable to face the ego loss that comes from the self-abandon to the other in situations such close friendships and sexual unions and instead developed a sense of isolation and self-absorption. This can be explained as being the

malignancy of narcissism. Individuals with malignancies of narcissism may turn the intimacy onto themselves and their own gender.

Gacy's lack of development of a moral sense in the initiative versus guilt stage is suggested by the researcher to have been a result of his lack of respect and esteem for others and his precocious conscience. As a result of the aggression in his parental child rearing, the fragmented drive patterns with which Gacy was born is suggested to have further compromised the development of a conscience. This resulted in an extreme form of ruthlessness or sociopathy. The driving force of finding meaning and power and control in his adolescent development may be what further led to manipulative behaviours becoming a part of Gacy's identity. It may be that delinquency resulted as Gacy identified with that which was opposing to his culture and societal beliefs. Gacy is hypothesised to have found that he could yield power through the 'negative' identity of 'living symptoms' (Erikson, 1968).

Gacy was exposed to the anal stage before he was developmentally mature, this is thought to have impacted on how he experienced the anal zone. In the first stage, the fears from mistrust that Gacy had resulted in sadism as he developed a cruel need to get and take in ways harmful to others. He may have developed a further alliance in muscular and anal sadism as a result of experiencing the sense of being restrained and the counterpart of losing outer bounds in the struggle for autonomy. As part of experiencing doubt in his second stage of development, Gacy is thought to have developed a need to dominate the sphincter of others. An anal fixation on modes of interaction is further hypothesised to have prepare for a homosexual attitude in later life. As a result of developing a dominant mode of intrusion it is suggested that Gacy developed a strong sense of masculinity in later life. The pressures from his father to be the carrier of the male lineage in the family may have further contributed to this. This could further explain Gacy's desire to hide his homoerotic acts, as he may have felt it did not correspond to his masculinity. It is also suggested that Gacy intruded on others

through sadistic sexual acts and sodomy, as he was using the males as counterparts for the dominant masculine figure in his life, his father. Gacy's body and ego inability to have mastered the organ modes and previous nuclear conflicts is hypothesised to have resulted in him attempting to gain control through acts of sodomy at first and later, through the sadistic sexual acts he committed with his victims. The homosexual tendencies developed throughout the resolution of different crises, may have led to Gacy being unable to achieve genitality and thus needing to overcompensate through sadistic controls.

Gacy's claim to have multiple personalities, although found to be false, provides insight to the many façades he maintained. This is hypothesised to have developed from a lack of ego integration. As an ambivalent adult he is suggested to have developed a many-sided personality, being at times restrained and retentive and other times finding release in selfexpression. Gacy's difficulty in resolving the third stage of development would have let to the conviction of 'I am what I can imagine I will be' around which Gacy's personality would have crystallised not to be moderated by societal norm and laws. It further led to Gacy developing a fragmented personality, id, ego and superego. This allowed him to become all of the roles in which he engaged in this stage in his adult years, finding purpose not only in being a contractor, politician, and community-man but also in being a sadistic murderer. The lack of ego integration and the lack of accrual of the resolution of earlier stages are hypothesised to have led to the ambivalence of Gacy's personality. All neurotic symptoms that developed from the lack of crisis resolution, consists of an intrinsic ambivalence or an inner 'two-facedness' (Erikson, 1958). Gacy's further inability to resolve the identity versus identity confusion stage is hypothesised to have contributed to him being able to change his identity in different social groups, as he experienced a sense of disallowance, as he abandoned his need for an identity. It was in this way that he was able to personify his different roles through whims of fate (Erikson, 1963).

Despite Gacy's pathological development, he is hypothesised to have maintained the ability to generate both guidance and creation. Gacy's legacy as a serial killer has lived on after his death, as did his letters and paintings.

7.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, the life of John Wayne Gacy was discussed through the application of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development. Gacy's life was divided into the eight stages as proposed by Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development in order to analyse his experience and attempted resolutions of the ego crisis. In doing so, the development of Gacy's personality and pathology was explored and enabled the researcher to make interpretations and hypotheses. In the following chapter the study is brought to a conclusion and the limitations as well as recommendations for future research is discussed.

Chapter 8

Conclusions, Limitations and Recommendations

8.1 Chapter Preview

The purpose of the study is revisited in this final chapter, furthermore, the limitations and of the study are discussed and recommendations for future research are made. Finally, the value and contributions of the research is provided before the chapter is concluded.

8.2 The Purpose of the Study Revisited

The primary aim of this study was to explore and describe the personality development of John Wayne Gacy as a serial killer, within the formal theoretical framework of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial developmental theory. The study was exploratory-descriptive in nature and the findings regarding Gacy's personality development were evaluated and interpreted within the framework of the psychosocial concepts and constructs of personality development. The researcher initially depicted a story without interpreting or explaining events and occurrences. The events were classified along stated dimensions and the researcher engaged in 'the act of constructing,' in other words, created a systematic explanatory formulation (Creswell, 1998). In order to achieve this aim the researcher examined Gacy's life experiences. The study involved exploring and describing Gacy's development throughout his lifespan within his socio-historical context. In the following section, a critical discussion of the limitations of the study is presented and recommendations for future research is made. The limitations and recommendations are discussed with reference to (a) the conceptual model, (b) the psychobiographical case study method and (c) the psychobiographical subject.

8.3 The Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

8.3.1 The conceptual model.

One of the limitations found in utilising Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development was the limited interpretations available in the case of the individual coming to the conclusion of a crisis without having satisfactorily resolved it. Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development was found to place more emphasis on successful development and is thought to lack detail concerning specific development as a result of unsuccessful crisis resolution. The theory was found by the researcher to emphasise the lack of what would be observed as a result of unsuccessful resolution, rather than what would be observed in development. As a result, it is recommended by the researcher that future research is done in determining what would be observed if the individual failed to resolve a stage. This research would then add to the limited body of knowledge on pathologies that result from a lack of crisis resolution.

Closely related to the criticism above, is the lack of exploration of the course of development that resulted from an excess of positive or negative qualities that is theorised by Erikson (1963) to result in malignant or maladaptive behaviour. Furthermore, limited information about the relationship between the two is currently available, which is thus recommended for future research. The researcher believes it would be valuable to study how maladaptive development from one stage would affect the resolution of the next crisis in more detail. It is further thought that it would be valuable to explore whether it is possible for the individual to develop maladaptive tendencies in a stage following a stage that concluded with malignant tendencies. The relationship between malignant and maladaptive development is recommended, as a further area of study. For example, if an individual develops malignant tendencies from one stage, is it possible that it will continue to result in malignant

development or may the individual develop maladaptive tendencies in an attempt to restore a balance.

Another area considered a limitation of Erikson's (1963) theory is a lack of information with regards to certain of his theoretical concepts. The first such example is a lack of theory regarding the concept of 'meaning in life' within the context of his theory. As Erikson's (1963) theory places emphasis on optimal development, it is not fully explored if meaning in life can be found despite pathological development. In the case of Gacy, it is thought that he was able to find meaning in the sadistic acts and murders that he committed, yet it is unclear if this would be considered finding meaning in life as proposed by Erikson's (1963) theory. The concept 'meaning in life' is proposed by the researcher to provide a rich avenue for future research. Another set of concepts thought to lack in adequate research and information is that of the precocious conscience and conscience. Further research could investigate the development that would result from the formation or lack of formation of each.

In using Erikson's (1963) theory of development it was discovered by the researcher that limited research is available on special populations and their resolutions of the crisis. One such is example as taken from Gacy's life is victims of abuse and the impact that this abuse may have had on their development. Another example from Gacy's life is that of the prison population. It is thought that Gacy was able to resolve the crisis of generativity versus stagnation within a prison setting. However, it is unclear how imprisonment might impact on development across the lifespan. Future research could thus focus on the application of Erikson's (1963) theory to special populations and the resulting impact on their development.

Erikson's (1963) final stage of development, integrity versus despair is also thought to have limitations. Taking the example of Gacy's life, it is hypothesised that he found meaning in his serial murders and sadistic acts. What would the impact thereof be on achieving integrity. Furthermore, if Gacy did not view himself as having developed pathologically

would he have been able to achieve integrity as he did not experience the despair of the lack of crisis resolution. The last stage of development is thus thought to offer many opportunities for future research.

8.3.2 The psychobiographical case study method.

As with all methods of research, there were certain limitations to the study done from a psychobiographical case study method. The first is limited external validity, as the research is limited to one subject and the findings cannot be generalised to a larger population. The study also has limited internal validity as to causal explanations. In dealing with these limitations the research emphasised generalisation to Erikson's (1963) theory and creating a dialogue between the theory and the life story of Gacy. Future research may aim to explore the findings presented through using a different research method with a larger sample.

As the research findings were at times speculative, the researcher recognises that future researchers may generate alternative descriptions and explanations with regard to Gacy's personality development. It is recommended that Gacy's life be further analysed through the application of a different developmental theory in order to provide for richer insights into his development and to open further avenues of study.

The nature of a psychobiographical study is that it is time consuming owing to the comprehensive study of the subject and infinite amount of biographical data available. One limitation to the current study has been that the research forms only a partial fulfilment of the degree and thus had to be limited in the number of dimensions of Gacy's that the researcher was able to explore. Future research is thus recommended in order to further explore untapped facets of Gacy's personality such as those of his years spent in prison.

In conducting a psychobiographical study, the researcher was limited by the absence of the subject. The biographical information used, although providing the data used for the study, was limited in that the researcher could not question as one would in interviewing a subject. With regard to the available data, the researcher was limited in knowledge of the motivation behind the generation of the data. A cautious approach was adopted in utilising the information. Data obtained was retrieved from reviewed documentation that was considered more reliable. In order to further increase reliability, multiple sources were used where possible.

8.3.3 The psychobiographical subject.

A limitation to the study with regard to Gacy's development has been the emphasis of Gacy as a serial killer in the biographical data. An abundance of the biographical data emphasised the notorious and sadistic serial killer. As a result, limited documentation was available providing information on certain periods of his life. Limited documents provided details as to the childhood development of Gacy, and at times information has remained unknown. Limited information about Gacy's family members was available which may have provided greater insight into Gacy's upbringing. It is thus recommended for future research that the family dynamics and childhood years of Gacy be further explored. Another area in which information was lacking was Gacy's time in prison, although he was reputed to have produced thousands of letters. In future research it would be recommended that primary documents of this nature be obtained in order to provide more insight into Gacy's imprisonment.

8.4 The Value of the Study

The value of this study is thought, in part, to be found in the use of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development to explore the development of pathology. In doing so, the researcher hoped to provide insight into possible pathologies resulting from difficulties in

resolving the crises as set forth by Erikson (1963). The research is further thought to have contributed to a lack of knowledge of the impact abuse has on the development crisis as proposed by Erikson (1963). Exploring Gacy's life in prison further allowed for Erikson's (1963) theory to be applied to explore the development of an individual who has been imprisoned. The research is further thought to have contributed to the understanding of Erikson's concept of a conscience, and provided insight into the development thereof. It is also thought that the research on Gacy's life provided some understanding into the lack of development of a conscience resulting in lack of guilt and remorse.

This research is believed by the researcher to have made a valuable contribution to the body of knowledge of psychology, specifically in contributing to the growing field of psychobiography. It is hoped that this research has contributed to this method of study in the South African academic field. The psychobiographical study in and of itself illustrated the value of synthesising biography and psychology, giving a richer description and understanding of a life while testing and expanding psychological theory. Psychobiographical studies provide for the opportunity to analyse an individual's life across the lifespan, making valuable contributions to the field of personality and developmental psychology.

In studying the life of a serial killer, it is hoped that the research stimulates interest in developing further understanding of individuals who engage in criminal activity. In studying the development and motivations for Gacy's criminal acts, the importance of reconstructing the lives of criminal perpetrators within context and psychological paradigms is highlighted. This study will thus find further value in contributing to the forensic and investigative fields of psychology.

The value of this research is further thought to be found in presenting the life of an individual as unique. This study further allowed the socio-cultural and historical influence to

be explored, placing individual development within a context. This is thought to illustrate the importance of understating the influence of contextual forces on human development.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the limitations and value of the study in a brief analysis. Recommendations for future research related to Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development, in the area of psychobiography, as well as related to the life of John Wayne Gacy, was made. This study aimed to provide an exploration and description of the personality development of John Wayne Gacy, within the formal theoretical framework of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial developmental theory. It is felt that this was achieved and hoped that the reader of this research was able to achieve an insight and understanding of the context and process of Gacy's development.

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Appendix A
Summary of Erikson's life cycle of psychosocial crisis and the resulting virtue (Erikson, 1982)

								Integrity vs.
Old Age VIII								Despair, Disgust Wisdom
Adulthood VII							Generativity vs. Stagnation <i>Care</i>	
Young Adulthood VI						Intimacy vs. Isolation Love		
Adolescence V					Identity vs. Identity confusion Fidelity			
School Age IV				Industry vs. Inferiority Competence				
Play Age III			Intiative vs. Guilt Purpose					
Early Childhood II		Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt Will	•					
Infancy I	Basic trust vs. Mistrust Hope							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Appendix B
Summary of Erikson's identity versus identity confusion stage (Erikson, 1968)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	Hope							
Infancy	vs. Mistrust				vs. Autistic Isolation			
	Basic trust				Mutual Recognition			
II		Will						
Childhood		Shame, Doubt			Self-Doubt			
Early		Autonomy vs.			Will to be Oneself vs.			
Play Age III			Intiative vs. Guilt Purpose		Anticipation of Roles vs. Role Inhibition			
School Age IV				Industry vs. Inferiority Competence	Task Identification vs. Sense of Futility			
Adolescence V	Temporal perspective vs. Time confusion	Self-Certainty vs. Self- Consciousness	Role Experi- mentation vs. Role Fixation	Apprentice- ship vs. Work Paralysis	Identity vs. Identity confusion <i>Fidelity</i>	Sexual Polarization vs. Bisexual Confusion	Leader- and Followership vs. Authority Confusion	Ideological Commitment vs. Confusion of Values
Young Adulthood VI						Intimacy vs. Isolation Love		
Adulthood VII							Generativity vs. Stagnation <i>Care</i>	
Old Age VIII								Integrity vs. Despair, Disgust Wisdom

Appendix C
Summary of the psychosocial and modal elements of Erikson's developmental theory (Erikson, 1980)

	Psychosocial Crisis	Radius of Significant Relations	Psychosocial Modalities	Psychosexual Stages
Ι	Basic trust vs. Mistrust	Maternal Figure	To get To give	Oral stage (Incorporative mode)
II	Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt	Paternal/Maternal Figure	To hold (on) To let (go)	Anal stage (Retentive-Eliminative mode)
III	Intiative vs. Guilt	Basic Family	To make To 'make like'	Phallic stage (Intrusive-Inclusive mode)
IV	Industry vs. Inferiority	Neighbourhood, School	To make together To make to completion	Latency
V	Identity vs. Identity confusion	Peer Groups, Out Groups Models of Leadership	To be oneself	Genitality - Puberty
VI	Intimacy vs. Isolation	Partners in Friendship, Sex, Competition, Cooperation	To lose and find oneself in another	Genitality
VII	Generativity vs. Stagnation	Divided Labour and Shared Household		
VIII	Integrity vs. Despair, Disgust	Mankind, 'My Kind'		

Appendix D

Identified Victims of John Wayne Gacy

T. 4 M.C		
Timothy McCoy	18	January 3, 1972
John Butkovich	17	July 21, 1975
Darrel Sampson	18	April 6, 1976
Randall Reffett	15	May 14, 1976
Sam Stapleton	14	May 14, 1976
Michael Bonnin	17	June 3, 1976
William Carrol	16	June 13, 1976
Rick Johnston	17	August 6, 1976
Kenneth Parker	16	October 25, 1976
Michael Marino	14	October 25, 1976
Gregory Godzik	17	December 12, 1976
John Szyc	19	January 20, 1977
Jon Prestidge	20	March 15, 1977
Matthew Bowman	19	July 5, 1977
Robert Gilroy	18	September 15, 1977
John Mowery	19	September 25, 1977
Russell Nelson	21	October 17, 1977
Robert Winch	16	November 1, 1977
Tommy Boling	20	November 18, 1977
David Talsma	19	December 9, 1977
William Kindred	19	February 16, 1978
Timothy O'Rourke	20	June 1978
Frank Landingin	19	November 4, 1978
James Mazzara	21	November 24, 1978
Robert Piest	21	December 11, 1978