A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF JOSEPH STALIN

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Declaration

I, Vuyiswa Matsolo (student number: 213305097) hereby declare that the thesis for Master of Arts: Psychology (Research) to be awarded is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another University or for another qualification.

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Vuyiswa Matsolo

Photography of Joseph Stalin

Source: Khlevniuk, 2015.

Abstract

Joseph Stalin was the dictator of the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1953. Stalin ruled by terror and millions of people died during his term as leader. Stalin was known as an evil man, however, he was also hailed as a hero who was able to transform Russia into a major super power. Stalin died in 1953 at the age of 74, after suffering a massive stroke. The aim of the current study was to explore and describe the personality development of Stalin, by applying Alfred Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Theodore Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality to the context of his life experiences. The research design is a psychobiography, which is a single case study, and non-probability purposive sampling was used to select Stalin. The data consisted of primary and secondary data sources that described Stalin's life experiences, and Yin's (1994) guidelines for data collection were followed for data collection, which include using multiple sources of evidence, creating a case study database, and keeping and maintaining a reliable chain of evidence. The data was analysed in accordance to Miles and Huberman's (1994a) model of data analysis. The findings of the study indicated that Stalin's striving for significance was largely influenced by the social environment and cultural context in which he lived. These factors influenced his need for perfection and superiority, which became prevalent in his behaviour within his childhood years and throughout his quest for power in the Soviet Union. Stalin presented with Adler's active-destructive lifestyle, which aligns with Millon's antisocial personality pattern which focuses more on meeting the needs of the self at the expense of others.

Key Concepts: Alfred Adler, Individual Psychology, Joseph Stalin, Psychobiography, Theodore Millon

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Problem Statement

Chapter Preview

This chapter orientates the reader to the research study. The chapter includes a summary of the psychobiographical approach to research as well as an overview of Alfred Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. A brief summary of the life of Stalin is provided. The aim and methodology of the research study is then discussed. The chapter is concluded with an overview of the chapters that make up the research study.

Overview of the Psychobiographical Approach

The study is a psychobiography. McAdams (2005) described a psychobiography as a study of a complete life, from birth to death, with the aim of "discerning, discovering and formulating the central story of a person's life, structuring it according to a psychological theory" (p. 12). Various scholars within the field of life history research have argued for the significance of this formulation, and consequently there has been an increase in the use of this approach to research. This said, Fouchê and van Niekerk (2010) have further suggested that more studies need to be undertaken within the African continent. The study involved an enquiry into Stalin's life through the systematic use of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality, and aimed at transforming it into a "coherent and illuminating story" (Elms, 1994, p. 2).

Overview of Theoretical Framework

Alfred Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality were both used as the theoretical frameworks from which to explore Stalin's personality development.

Adler's Theory of Individual Psychology

Adler's theory of Individual Psychology can be described as holistic. Adler indicated that the individual consists of constitutional attributes, and a creative self within a social environment (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). He proposed that genetic inheritance provides the individual with certain abilities that interact with the social environment and the creative self; together these parts form a functional whole.

Within the personality that forms, feelings of inferiority play an important role. These feelings are "inescapable" and emerge from a child's earliest dependence on adults; inferiority feelings are "necessary because they provide the motivation to strive and grow" (Schultz, 2005, p. 133). Adler asserted that people strive to overcome feelings of inferiority through compensation, and identified striving for superiority and striving for success as two avenues of compensation. Striving for superiority is aimed at personal gain and security rather than cooperation with others. Striving for success is primarily motivated by an interest in the wellbeing of fellow human beings.

During the individual's striving to overcome feelings of inferiority, the individual develops a pattern of characteristics, behaviours and habits that form their style of life (Adler, 1929). Adler described the style of life as the "visible expression of personality, the common thread that weaves together an individual's thoughts, feelings and actions into a coherent pattern" (Adler, 1929, p. 12). Adler proposed four styles of life namely, active-destructive type, passive-destructive type, passive-constructive type, active-constructive type. This pattern or style of life determines which goals the individual strives towards, and whether they are striving for superiority or success, in their strategy toward compensation. Adler believed that as people move through life, they are confronted by certain tasks in different stages of their lives which they need

to accomplish in order to function effectively within their social context. The three main life tasks identified in Adler's theory are the social task (building friendships), occupational task (contributing to society) and love/marriage task (establishing intimacy) (Adler, 1958; Corey, 2009).

Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality

Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality has its roots in evolutionary theory, which seeks to analyse the structure and styles of personality with regards to evolutionary principles or drives (Millon & Grossman, 2013). There are four evolutionary drives namely, existence, adaptation, replications and abstraction. Each drive has polarities that fall along a continuum, and individuals use strategies associated with each of the different polarities to cope with that particular evolutionary drive.

The *existence* drive is associated with pleasure and pain. On one end individuals cope with the existence drive by being orientated towards life preservations which entails the improvement of quality of life in order to ensure survival and thus enhance pleasure (Millon., et al., 2004). On another end individuals cope with the existence drive by being orientated towards life enhancement that protects an individual from environments that threaten their existence and avoid pain (Millon., et al., 2004).

The *adaptation* drive is associated with the polarity of passive and active. On the one end, individuals cope with this drive through passive adaptation which is the tendency to adjust passively to the environment. On the other end, individuals cope with this drive through active adaptation, which is the tendency to intervene or modify certain aspects within ones surroundings (Millon & Grossman, 2013).

The *replication* drive is associated with the self – other polarity. Individuals cope with the drive of replication by, on the one hand, replication strategies concerned with self-centered, egocentric and propagandist tendencies associated with many partners and many offspring (Millon & Grossman, 2013). On the other hand, they may cope with this drive by focusing on the affection and nurturance of others, thus limiting partners/offspring, and providing more input into them.

Lastly, the *abstraction* drive is associated with the capacity to symbolise the self and the events that happen in one's environment (Millon & Grossman, 2013).

The kind of strategies that individuals use within each drive, along with the deficiencies, imbalances and conflicts that emerge while coping with that evolutionary drive, reflect the individual's personality pattern (Millon & Grossman, 2013). In particular, the polarities of the first three drives constitute Millon's personality taxonomy.

Overview of Joseph Stalin's Life

Joseph Stalin was born on the 18th of December 1887 as Iosif Vissarionovich Dzuhugashvili, in a small peasant village of Gori in Georgia (Rigby, 1966). Stalin was born into a poor family where his father, Bersarion, was a shoemaker, and his mother, Ekaterina, was a domestic worker (Murphy, 1945). Stalin was their only surviving child.

Bersarion had difficulties with alcohol use, which over time increased in severity and contributed to his loss of employment and his physical and emotional abuse of Ekaterina and Stalin. Bersarion abandoned his family when Stalin was only five years old. Ekaterina worked hard, with the intention to afford her son a good education in order for him to live a better life (Rigby, 1966). Stalin attended the Church Day school of Gori in 1888. He was intelligent and in 1894 received a scholarship to attend the Theological Seminary. During his time at the seminary

Stalin started reading the work of Karl Marx which he forwarded to students within the seminary. These readings influenced his revolutionary ideals.

Stalin lost interest in his studies, and engaged more and more in underground activities. These activities led to his expulsion from the seminary in April 1899, for disrespecting authority, for reading forbidden books and being regarded as "politically unreliable" (Radzinsky, 1999, 50). Stalin then worked as a tutor and later a clerk at the Tiflis Meteorological Observatory. He joined the Social Democrat movement, which provided him with a foundation he used to rise above the ranks. Over time he developed a reputation for being ruthless and controlling. In particular, his appointment within the position of General Secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party in 1922 was pivotal in his rise within the party. Eventually he was elected as the leader of the Bolsheviks after the death of Lenin in 1924.

Stalin was married twice. His first wife was Ekaterina Svanidze, but this marriage did not last long as she died in 1906 of tuberculosis. Stalin married Nadezhda Alliluyeva in 1919; however, he had a number of affairs. His adulterous behaviour led to heated fighting within his marital relationship, and ultimately led to Nadezhda committing suicide in 1932 (Khlevniuk, 2015). Stalin had five children, one from his first marriage, two from his second marriage, as well as two other children from his affairs.

Stalin passed away on 5 March 1953 in Moscow, at the age of 74 years from a stroke. The official funeral took place on 9 March, which thousands of people attended, and Stalin was put to rest at the Lenin's Mausoleum in Red Square.

Aim and Methodology of the Research

The aim of the study was to explore and describe the personality development of Stalin by applying Alfred Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of

Personality to his life experiences. The findings of the study were not generalised to the broader population but to Adler and Millon's theoretical framework, through a process is called analytical generalisation (Yin, 1994).

The study used a psychobiographical single case research design, and Stalin was selected as the subject through nonprobability purposive sampling. This selection was made due to the researcher's interest in life history and his immense impact he had on the world. Data was collected from primary and secondary data sources, and Yin's (1994) guidelines for data collection were followed, which include using multiple sources of evidence, creating a case study database, and keeping and maintaining a reliable chain of evidence. Data was analysed using Miles and Huberman's (1994a) three-step process of data analysis, which is data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification.

Overview of the Dissertation

The dissertation consists of seven chapters. The current chapter, Chapter 1, contains the introduction and provides an overview of the research. Chapter 2 provides an overview of psychobiography as well as of the research methodology employed by the study. Chapter 3 discusses Alfred Adler's theory of Individual Psychology followed by Chapter 4 which discusses Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. Chapter 5 consists of a historical context and an overview of the life of Joseph Stalin. The findings and discussions of the study are discussed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation and provides a discussion on the limitations of the study as well as the recommendations for future research.

Conclusion

The chapter orientates the reader to the study by briefly introducing the two theoretical frameworks used, the life of Stalin, the aim and methodology of the study, and format of the

chapters. The following chapter will unpack psychobiography and the methodology used in the study in greater detail.

Chapter: 2

Psychobiography: Overview and Methodology

Chapter Preview

The chapter provides a description of some of the underpinnings of psychobiography, whereafter it defines psychobiographical research through the exploration of various definitions of psychobiography, the exploration of the value of psychobiography, and the methodological and ethical considerations important to psychobiographical research. It then provides the research aim. Thereafter it explores the research methodology used by outlining the research design, sampling method, and the data collection and analysis procedures. Finally, it highlights the ethical considerations that were noted within the study.

Underpinnings of Psychobiography

The study of lives has evolved over time, in various forms which share philosophical underpinnings. It aids the conceptual understanding of Psychobiography to examine some of the forms in which lives have been studied, and their shared underpinnings (Sandison & Stroud, 2018). These are explored below.

Biographical Research

A biography or biographical research is a structured account of an individual's life history that has been written by someone else other than the subject themselves (McAdams, 2005; Schultz, 2003). It utilises a variety of sources of information, such as diaries, letters, and pictures, to construct the life story of the individual. Biography may not be scientifically comprehensive and accurate, as it relies heavily on secondary information (Fouchê, 1999). As a method, biography may be conducted on a subject that is alive or deceased (Fouchê, 1999). Elms (1994) expanded that biography places emphasis on what is unique, important and apparent in the life of an

individual in order to illuminate a story or narrative of the individual throughout their lifespan. It is a method that has become popular as a framework for understanding and representing individual's lives (Muller, 2010). However, biographies overlook the psychological viewpoint, and the use of psychological theory is a secondary aim (Schultz, 2003). Furthermore, a biography draws on a variety of sources and types of information from a range of fields, such as history, art and literature.

Psychohistory

Psychohistory is defined as the use of a psychological theory to interpret political, social and cultural events (Mayer, 2017; Runyan, 1988b). Psychohistory seeks to analyse historical information of a particular subject or event, to reconstruct and develop in depth understanding and meaning (Berg, 1995). Thus, psychohistory places more emphasis on history than understanding life itself and further uses psychology to explore and understand history.

Life Story and Life History

Storytelling, according to Atkinson (1998), is a fundamental part of human communication, which individuals use all the time to think, speak and bring meaning to their lives. Life stories are thus the "stories that people tell about their life experiences" (Sandison & Stroud, 2018, p. 14). Life stories are narratives which emphasise important aspects of an individual's life (Runyan, 1984; Atkinson, 1998). A life story may be written or told orally (Schultz, 2005; Atkinson, 1998).

Life history focuses on the entire life story. It examines the experiences that relate to the story being told. It may interpret various layers or stories within the life, within the individual's socio-historical context. Mayer (2017) further claimed that life history "tries to find and understand differences and similarities in the lives of different individuals" (p. 22).

The areas of biography, psychohistory, life story, and life history are all rooted within narrative, and involve the storying of lives. They have overlaps with Psychobiography which studies a single life, across its lifespan, and includes many of the elements expanded on above.

<div align="center">**Psychobiography**</div>

Defining Psychobiography

According to Runyan (1984) a psychobiography is defined as the "explicit use of a systematic or formal psychology in biography" (p.202). Psychobiography thus applies psychological theory to a life in order to "transform a life into a coherent and illuminating story" (Elms, 1994. p.2). The life that a psychobiography focuses on is usually a "renowned, enigmatic, exceptional, or even contentious individual" (Carlson, 1988, p. 106). Elms (1994) described psychobiography is an "amphibious creature" (p.296) as it exists both in the world of biography and psychology.

McAdams (2005) highlighted that a psychobiography studies an entire life, from birth to death, with the aim to "discern, discover, or formulate the central story of the entire life, structuring it according to a psychological theory" (p.12). This level of understanding is achieved through the provision of "psychological descriptions pertaining to the behaviours, actions, decisions and achievements" of the life subject (Elms, 1994, p.32), and these descriptions take into account the individual within "their socio-historical context" (Carlson, 1988, p. 106). This unique way of doing research allows the researcher to trace and create insight into the development of an individual in ways that are not possible in other research fields (Carlson, 1988). Fouchê and van Niekerk (2010) suggested five universal characteristics believed to be common amongst all psychobiographies namely:

- Psychobiographies use qualitative data.

- Psychobiographers make use of a holistic and in depth analysis in order to understand their subject's life.

- Psychobiography subjects are identified by name, rather than being anonymous.

- Psychobiographies make use of biographical information that has been collected by other researchers.

- Psychobiographers collect data that is "inherently interesting and valuable" and contains "historical and personal significance" (p. 496)

History of Psychobiography

Prior to the twentieth century, biographers rarely focused on psychological concepts to interpret the lives of their subjects, instead their emphasis lied on idealising testimonials (Muller, 2010; Scalapino, 1999). This emphasis was despite the fact that psychobiographies existed before. However, Freud's 1910 publication of *Leonard da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood* highlighted psychobiography as a method, and is regarded as the real beginning of the field of psychobiography. The aim of Freud's publication was to develop knowledge and insight into areas that biographies had not previously explored (Scalapino, 1999). In addition, Freud's intention was to examine how a given psychic concern could generate a both neurotic and creative masterpiece (Elms, 1988; Muller, 2010; Runyan, 1984).

The earlier psychobiographies employed a psychoanalytical tradition that was greatly criticized. Irrespective of this, after Freud's publication a great interest in psychobiographical studies grew amongst psychoanalysts who utilised it to investigate the personalities of artists (Kòvảry, 2011). Psychobiographies of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Richard Wegnar and Martin Luther King were among the first psychobiographical studies written (Fouchê & van Niekerk,

2010). Psychobiography continued to grow as a research method throughout the 1930s. However, it is reported that in the 1940s, there was a decline in psychobiography studies, which according to Elms (1994) and Runyan (1984) was due to the increased interest in experimental and quantitative methods. Despite this decline, the mid 1960s was marked by a great increase in psychobiographical studies which created a more "eclectic and differentiated self-conception" (Runyan, 1988b, p. 29). This increase was attributed to the influence of works by Allport and Murray (Kövåry, 2011; Runyan, 1988a).These authors had a great impact on the application of personology, which focuses on the studying of life narratives. The outcome was an increase in psychobiographical publications, and as a result it was accompanied by a growing institutionalization of the field of personology, as indicated by the development of professional organisations, conferences, journals, and dissertations (Runyan, 1988b; Muller, 2010; Roberts, 2002). Roberts (2002, p. 8) attributed the rise in publications to factors such as:

- Increasing concern on lived experience

- Disillusionment on the static approaches to data collection

- Increasing interest on life course, and

- Increasing interest in qualitative research.

From the mid-1960s to present, there has been an acknowledgment of the significance that psychobiography has in the field of psychology (Fouchê & van Niekerk, 2010; Muller, 2010).

As a result, according to Fouchê and van Niekerk (2010), the number of psychobiographies undertaken internationally and in South Africa has increased. Furthermore, the South African academic community has recognised psychobiography as an important and effective tool in theory development within psychology (Fouchê & van Niekerk, 2010).

The Value of Psychobiography

The value and principals of psychobiography have been covered extensively by authors as well as scholars within the field of studying individual lives. This information is discussed here in five areas:

The uniqueness of the individual case within the whole.

Runyan (1984) emphasised the value of individualism of the entire person. He indicated that psychobiography is morphogenic in nature as it seeks to study an individual with the purpose of revealing "individual traits and their patterned relationship within the individual" (p.167). Psychobiography tries to provide a holistic description of the individual that is in-depth and unique. The essence of an individual is drawn from the person's own individuality within their context.

The socio-historical context.

The exploration of the social and historical context provides the researcher with a better understanding of the individual within their context, thus leading to a more detailed understanding of the findings of the study. Roberts (2002) stated that the individual's socio-historical cultural experiences, ways of socialization and family history are amongst the salient factors to be taken into account.

Process and pattern over time.

A psychobiography tends to focus on "finished lives" (Carlson, 1988, p. 106). This timespan allows the researcher to find and track the subject's development patterns throughout their lifespan. This enables the researcher to document different aspects and ways of functioning at any given point in time, in a given situation.

Subjective reality.

Köváry (2011) defined subjectivity as the "meaning of human experience and behavior" (p. 740). In relation to this, Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2008) emphasised that in order to understand an individual fully the individuals subjective perception of themselves and the world needs to be taken into account. Runyan (1984) asserted that the subjective reality gives a "feel for the person", and provides the researcher with a deeper level of "sympathy or empathy" for the subject (p.152).

Theory testing and development.

Carlson (1988) contended that a psychobiography is an instrument that can be used to develop and test theories. Schultz (2005) further confirmed that case studies provide the "ideal format to put theories to test by applying them to real lives, to ensure they enhance our evolving understanding of human experience" (p.107).

Methodological Considerations of Psychobiography

Despite the strengths psychobiography brings to the study of lives, Anderson (1981) highlighted several methodological difficulties which should be addressed when using a psychobiographical approach. The difficulties together with the strategies employed by the researcher to overcome and avoid their influence are discussed below:

Research bias.

The "fluidity and open ended nature of qualitative designs increases the likelihood of biased subjectivity" from the researcher (Anderson, 1981, p. 23). This subjectivity can lead to inaccurate and unfavorable interpretations of the subject under study. Anderson (1981) asserted that a psychobiographer may feel privileged to be connected to such an extraordinary person to an extent that they can find fault with the subject's life in order to convince themselves that they

smarter and friendlier than the subject. Bias is a result of emotional responses that hinder the research process, instead of adding value to the understanding of the subject being studied (Anderson, 1981). The emotional reactions are not usually deliberate or conscious, rather the author may believe he or she is describing the subject's personality accurately (Anderson, 1981). According to Elms (1994) the following steps can be used to minimise research bias:

- Develop empathy for the subject. This is useful as a safeguard against the inclination to be reproachful (Anderson, 1981).

- Request close acquaintances and biographical specialists to read the manuscript and comment on the degree of subjectivity within the writing (Anderson, 1981).

- Analyse all feelings about the biographical subject (Elms, 1994).

- Include an appendix within the written work that contains descriptions of the researcher's thoughts about the subject, preconceptions, and a commentary on the manner in which the researcher decided to write about the person (Elms, 1994).

The researcher is aware of her subjectivity in the research process, but acknowledges that all interpretation is subjective. Any interpretation should thus be engaged with in an accountable manner, and should include the researcher's reflection of her own influence on the data that is created. This reflection can be found here as Appendix A. The researcher also guarded against subjectivity through interaction with her supervisor, who closely engaged with the researcher and manuscript, and commented on overly subjective interpretations or views. This helped to address any outstanding bias, and reduced its impact on the analysis.

Reductionism.

Anderson (1981) asserted that reductionism is one of the major criticisms within the psychobiographical method. Runyan (1984) suggested that reductionism develops when

extensive focus is placed on "psychopathological processes" thus failing to pay attention to "normality and creativity" (p. 214); research may also explain the adult character and behaviour in terms of childhood experiences and neglecting later formative processes and influences. In this way the psychopathological or childhood factors are "overemphasized at the expense of external social, and historical factors" (Runyan, 1988a, p. 223). Altogether this leads to psychobiographies being flawed. It is important to note that focus should also be channeled to the cultural and historical context of the subject.

In order to minimise the possibility of reductionism, the researcher analysed the life of Stalin holistically and applied the identified theoretical frameworks throughout his lifespan. The researcher also included data on the social, cultural and historical context of Stalin, and remained cognizant of the influence of context on his behaviour. A heightened awareness of context helped to form a holistic understanding of the subject.

Cross cultural differences.

Researchers of psychobiography have been accused of applying psychological concepts developed in the twentieth century to cases that have lived in the past. Runyan (1984) described this as problematic as it ignores the critical importance of the "changing context" (p. 215) in terms of religious, moral, cultural, economic, social and political factors. Anderson (1981) explained that cultures from historical eras are different from the time the psychological concepts have been developed. Anderson (1981) further suggested that it is important for the researcher to undertake in depth and extensive historical research, in order to develop a culturally empathetic understanding of the subject.

Within the current research the researcher dealt with this dilemma by consulting multiple historical texts in order to familiarise herself with the cultural and historical context Stalin lived

in. The researcher thus familiarised herself with the cross cultural differences in order to minimse the impact of these differences on the research.

Analysis of absent subject.

The process of data collection is different in psychobiographical studies, because the vast majority of the information is available from historical texts rather than from the actual subject. Because the subject is studied "from a distance" unique information may be lost and this may lead to inaccurate interpretations of subject (Anderson, 1981, P. 470). Anderson (1981) asserted that this is a disadvantage when it comes to psychobiographical writing. However, he further stated that it can also be an advantage because the psychobiographer has "access to informants other than the subject"; furthermore, the "researcher [can] analyse events in the light of their eventual effects" (p. 470). The outcome can be a more accurate and objective view of the subject's life.

In order to analyse and develop an accurate picture of the absent subject, the researcher needs to collect and collate personal data that is available about the subject being studied from a variety of different sources (Stroud, 2004). The researcher consulted numerous secondary sources (biographies, journal articles and newspaper articles) to develop a picture of Stalin. She formed a database of sources, and within this database triangulated data to corroborate life experiences, and thereby verify the data. This corroboration helped to ensure the data's trustworthiness. An extract from the database is attached as Appendix B , and the list of sources consulted is attached as Appendix C.

Inflated expectations.

Researchers tend to place emphasis on psychological explanations and interpretations and often place less focus on other possible explanations regarding the behaviours and actions of the

subject (Anderson, 1981). It is essential that the researcher should understand that other explanations or disciplines could play a part in effectively explaining a subject's life. The study aimed to provide an understanding of Joseph Stalin's life through the use of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. The researcher is aware that the study employs a psychological frame, and that there are a variety of other approaches that could be used to gain insight into the life of Joseph Stalin. Other frames may create a different and equally valuable understanding of Stalin's lifespan.

Infinite amount of biographical data.

Another challenge faced by psychobiographers includes the infinite amount of information at their disposal. Anderson (1981) suggested that psychobiographers should utilise data reduction methods in order to guide them into finding relevant material within the data provided. Yin's (1994) guidelines for data collection were used here for their additional effect of reducing data. These guidelines include using multiple sources of evidence, creating a case study database, and keeping and maintaining a reliable chain of evidence. Through the triangulation of multiple sources, data was reduced to noteworthy experiences, which were corroborated between sources. Thus, triangulation of data, and the formation of a database of this data, served as a data reduction technique. This enhanced data reliability, and reduced the data to a manageable format.

Elitism and easy genre.

Psychobiographical research has been criticised for being elitist. Runyan (1988a) indicated that psychobiographies have focused on prominent rather than ordinary figures. Runyan (1988a) recommended that studying and understanding individual lives should be emphasised rather than social status.

Psychobiography has also been accused of being an easy research genre. Runyan (1988b) challenged this notion saying that good psychobiographies are difficult to write as they require in depth knowledge of the subject's socio-historical context, consultation of a range of sources and extensive psychological knowledge. When done well, they are useful in enriching the body of knowledge within the area of psychology.

In the current study, to avoid elitism, the researcher consulted a range of sources written about Stalin in order to gain an understanding about Stalin as a person rather than focusing on his career, social standing and celebrity status. Furthermore, care was taken to draw on Stalin's socio-historical context, as well as a wide range of sources and psychological knowledge to create of an understanding of Stalin that is robust and accountable.

Validity and reliability.

Yin (1994) asserted that the quality of empirical social research can be assessed with the use of construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. These constructs are applied to the current study.

Construct validity. Construct validity is regarded as the ability to adequately and accurately explain and define the constructs or concepts within a study (Anderson, 1981). The main constructs in the study are found in the theories of Adler and Millon. Effort was made to clearly define these constructs, and to stay true to their definitions throughout the study.

Internal validity. Internal validity is regarded as the credibility of the study (Foxcroft & Roodt, 2009). It refers to the methods used within the study to generate findings, and whether they can be trusted. Internal validity establishes whether the data collected is adequate to support the conclusions drawn in the research (Yin, 1994). This support was established through the use of Yin's (1994) recommended data collection methods. This includes the use of multiple sources

of data, the establishment of a chain of evidence, and the creation of a case study data base; all these methods which were used in the study. Wherever possible, data was triangulated to increase its trustworthiness. A concerted effort was also made to explore alternative explanations in the data and in this way to avoid foreclosure on interpretation or meaning of the emerging data. These methods were all focused on enhancing internal validity.

External Validity. External validity refers to the generalisability of data. Yin (1994) expanded that external validity is "an establishment of a domain to which a study's findings can be generalized" (p.33). As the sample size of this study is one, generalisation to a larger population is not possible. Rather the study adopted an analytical generalisation approach, where the findings were generalised back to Adler and Millon's theories (Yin, 1994). It was important to create a depth understanding of the theory to facilitate this process. This depth facilitates this generalisation, and enhances the ability to extract learnings for concept refinement and clinical application.

Reliability. Reliability is the extent to which the study being done can be repeated by another researcher and in that process, generate the same results (Foxcroft & Roodt, 2009). The researcher clearly documented the research processes involved in order to enhance transparency. Yin's (1994) methods of the use of multiple sources of evidence, the establishment of a chain of evidence, and the establishment of a data base further enhanced transparency, and increased reliability. The researcher further made use of a data collection matrix as the lens through which to collect data. The data collection matrix links the data to the theoretical framework in a concise manner (Yin, 2009). This further enhances transparency of the research process. The data collection matrix used in the currently study is presented as Appendix D.

Research Aim

The aim of the study was to explore and describe the personality development of Stalin by applying Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality to his life experiences. In achieving this aim, the findings of the study were generalised to Adler theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality, through a process called analytical generalisation (Yin, 1994).

Research Methodology

Research Design

The study explores the life experiences of Joseph Stalin and may be described as life history research (Runyan, 1988a); it falls within the qualitative research paradigm. The qualitative paradigm aims to explore and understand a social subject or phenomena within its natural setting (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport, 2011). Qualitative research works with words or pictures, rather than numbers, and places emphasis on "process and meaning" with the aim of gaining an in-depth understanding of a particular subject or event (Berg, 1995, p. 35). It focuses on exploring and describing personal and social experiences. Thus, qualitative researchers gain insight and understanding into the life of a subject or event (Roberts, 2002, De Vos., et al., 2011). Roberts (2002) furthermore added that qualitative research is a social intervention. This is because it helps to raise consciousness and empower others.

Case study is a research design that falls under the umbrella of qualitative research. Yin (2009b, p. 18) and Woodside (2010, p. 1) defined case study research as an "empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon" within a specific time and contextual setting (Berg, 1995, Runyan, 1984). Case studies are complex as they can be utilised when studying single or multiple cases. When the investigation takes the form of a single unit, this is usually of

an individual, family, group or an organisation. Case study places emphasis on the holistic and meaningful detail of real life events through depth exploration (Yin, 1994a). It is versatile as it can be applied in both qualitative and quantitative research (Berg, 1995).

Case study as a research method is a systematic tool that adopts an analytical generalisation of evidence, which entails generalising results to theoretical propositions rather than the whole population (Yin, 1994a). Case study research has been heavily criticised for its lack of rigor and lack of external validity or generalisation. However, Yin (2009b) argued that because situational factors are considered and are kept constant in case study research, this increases the external validity of generalisations made within the research. The present study is a single case psychobiographical study over a lifespan wherein the main focus is on a single unit that is deemed rare, atypical and extraordinary. Single case studies enable the researcher to provide an in-depth and meaningful description of the individual's life (Yin, 1994a, 2009b) through the use of multiple sources of information. Sources of information can include personal documents, recorded and archival information (Yin, 2009b).

The study is also defined as psychobiographical. Psychobiography examines the life of an individual subject through the application of psychological theory to their life story. Psychobiography can be described as exploratory – descriptive and descriptive- dialogic in nature (Du Plessis, 2017). The exploratory descriptive component primarily refers to the in-depth understanding of an individual within their social context (Du Plessis, 2017). The descriptive – dialogic component refers to the generalisation of essential descriptions of the subject's life to a specific theory, in particular here, Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. Elms (1994) further described the research method used within the study as morphegenic in nature, which means that it aims to provide a holistic

description of the life within the individual's socio-historical context, thus highlighting the individuality of the whole person (De Vos & Fouche, 2005).

Sampling Method

The research subject was selected via nonprobability purposive sampling. Nonprobability sampling means that the sampling is not a representative of a broader population but rather refers to "intentional selection" by the researcher (De Vos., et al., 2011, p. 85). According to Neuman (2006) purposive sampling base's its selection on the judgement of the researcher and the characteristic attributes that are relevant to the study. Neuman (2006) stated that the purposive sampling method is specifically suitable to case study research in the following three instances:

- To select unique, informative cases

- To select members that form part of a specialised population

- When the purpose is less that of generalising to the larger population than it is to gain a better understanding of a specific type.

Purposive sampling thus, makes it possible to select a subject that consists of the particular characteristics the researcher is looking for. This sampling method is appropriate for the current study, as it allows the researcher to select a specific case, to gain an indepth understanding of a particular subject. The case selected in the study is the life of Joseph Stalin. Stalin was specifically selected based on the researcher's subjective intrigue of his notoriety. Stalin's life is well documented, with extensive literature focusing on his controversial life events and career within Russia. However on the basis of research, little existing literature adopts a psychological focus into his personality development. Thus, the researcher attempted to gain a better understanding of Stalin's personality development and underlying psychological makeup through the exploration of his life experiences with psychological theory.

Data Collection and Analysis

Psychobiography uses published data. The researcher accesses information that is already in the public domain, as is needed. Yin (2009b) suggested that published documents are helpful in verifying correct spellings and titles, and also offer an opportunity to corroborate or contradict information provided by other sources. All the information collected for this psychobiographical study of Stalin was extracted from published materials already in the public domain. A list of sources is attached as Appendix C. This material is both primary and secondary in nature. The primary sources of information include materials personally produced by Stalin, and the secondary sources include biographical literature written by others that focused on Stalin's life history. Data management is an important component of a psychobiographical. Several strategies were utilised as means to organise, analyse, and interpret the information collected on Stalin.

Yin (1981) proposed that a clear conceptual framework, which enable a researcher to make meaning of, and interpret data in a systematic way. In this study, the researcher developed a conceptual framework or data collection matrix to organise and interpret the essential components of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality, across Stalin's entire lifespan.

Data collection matrix.

The researcher used the data collection matrix to organise and integrate the components of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and of Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality across Stalin's lifespan. The data collection matrix is attached as Appendix D. The left vertical column consists of constructs from the theories. The horizontal row represents the historical periods over Stalin's lifespan. The data collected was understood in relation to the constructs of

personality development proposed by these theories. The aim of was to identify themes overtime, that provide insight into Stalin's personality.

Yin's guidelines of data collection.

The data collection matrix was used to capture and organise data related to Stalin's life. This was used in conjunction with Yin's (1994) guidelines that recommend the use of multiple sources of evidence, creating a case study database, and keeping and maintaining a reliable chain of evidence. The data collection matrix formed the lens through which data was selected. Yin (2009b) warned against the danger of author bias in published material, as each biographical work is influenced by the subjectivity of its author. Thus, the data was triangulated to highlight data as corroborated and thus trustworthy. Triangulation also served to reduce information to important or noteworthy experiences. Thus, triangulation helped to uncover the data pattern. Uncorroborated data was also kept, but this was highlighted when used in interpretation.

Miles and Huberman's process of data collection and analysis.

Miles and Huberman's (1994a) data collection and analysis process was furthermore used to analyse data. Miles and Huberman identified three stages which are ongoing and reciprocal in nature (Miles & Huberman, 1994a, Yazan, 2015). These stages are

- Data reduction
- Data display, and
- Conclusion drawing and verification.

The process of the three stages is depicted in Appendix E.

Data reduction. Data reduction is an ongoing process that includes the summarising, discovery of themes, conceptualising and explanation of data (Huberman & Miles, 1994). The ultimate aim of data reduction is to reduce large volumes of data without any significant loss to

the data collected. Miles and Huberman (1994b) asserted that data reduction takes a form of analysis that "sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards and organizes data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified" (p. 11). According to Miles and Huberman (1994b) data reduction initially takes place through the choice of a conceptual framework, in the formulation of a research question and when selecting the case to be studied. As described above, the researcher used a database of triangulated sources to reduce the data to a manageable format. The theories of Adler and Millon focused the choice of what data to include; triangulated data furthermore highlighted what data was more reliable.

Data display. After the data has been conceptualised and further reduced, it is displayed to aid its accurate interpretation. Miles and Huberman (1994a) asserted that data displays "organize, compress and assemble information" (p.174) which permits for conclusion drawing and action. Thus, data display is an essential part of the process, in which an accurate qualitative analysis takes place into the life of the selected subject. Data displays take a form of structured summaries and diagrams of information collected. The researcher worked to highlight corroborating data, and displayed this in thematic format, to make it accessible for the reader.

Conclusion drawing and verification. In this stage, the exploration of the data allows for the interpretation and understanding of meaning within the received data. Miles and Huberman (1994b) described data verification as the identification of themes, which involves the comparison and clustering of data. The verification and confirmation of data was ongoing, through the interaction of data and theory.

The three stages of analysis are interactive and occur recursively. This continued until the researcher felt that data verification had been reached.

Ethical Considerations

Haverkamp (2005) asserted that case study research contains unique ethical issues because of the "emergent nature, methodology and nature of the relationship between the researcher and subject" (p. 150) that the research employs. Elms (1994) contended that the ethical guidelines issued by the American Psychological Association (APA) in 1976 are still applicable. The APA asserts that psychobiographies should be conducted on deceased persons, who have no close relatives that could be impacted by the revelations of the study. The APA further stipulates that psychobiographies may be conducted on living persons who have freely consented to being studied, interviewed, and their data written up for publications. The issue surrounding the matter is that of the invasion of privacy, and avoiding hurt that may occur in revealing personal information.

Elms (1994) emphasised the importance of confidentiality in the guidelines of writing a psychobiography, suggesting that all knowledge obtained by the psychobiographer should be treated and documented with respect. The researcher adhered to the ethical guidelines proposed by Elms (1994) and the APA (1994). Stalin is long deceased. It is highly unlikely that this research would impact or embarrass any of his remaining relatives. The information collected on Stalin's life was information already available within the public domain. All the information collected was treated with utmost respect throughout the period of the study.

Conclusion

The chapter examined psychobiographical research by exploring the underpinnings of psychobiography, definitions of psychobiography, the value of psychobiography, and the methodological considerations related to psychobiographical research. The aim and research

methodology were further reviewed, through the exploration of the research design, sampling method, data collection methods and data analysis procedures used.

This psychobiography explores the life of Stalin according to Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. These theories form the framework through which Stalin's life is examined. Therefore, it is important to gain an understanding of these theories. The following two chapters will examine the two theories in order to gain this understanding.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework: Alfred Adler's Theory of Individual Psychology

Chapter Preview

The focus of this chapter is on Adler's theory of Individual Psychology. Individual Psychology as a theory has played a significant role in the understanding of personality development within the field of psychology. The theory places importance on the uniqueness of an individual as well as an emphasis on understanding the individual as a whole, striving to attain a goal.

To gain an understanding of this theory, the chapter first explores the background of Alfred Adler. It then discusses Adler's views on human nature, the structure and development of personality, the underlying motivational dynamics, style of life and life tasks. Finally, the chapter provides an evaluation of the theory.

Biography of Alfred Adler

Alfred Adler was born in Vienna, Austria on 7 February 1870. His father was a grain merchant, and his mother a housewife. Adler's family was Jewish and he was the second child of six children. According to Hergenhahn (1984), Adler grew up under comfortable circumstances where his utmost growth and development was encouraged. Adler, however, looked upon his childhood as miserable, because he thought of himself as undersized and ugly. This self-perception had its foundation on Adler having grown up as a sickly child. He suffered from rickets which caused him difficulty with walking until the age of four; he also suffered from pneumonia which almost took his life when he was five years old (Maddi, 1980). Other than the health challenges he faced while growing up, Adler was very jealous of his older brother. Adler ascribed the jealousy to his brother being a very good athlete and a model child, as well as his brother's closer relationship with their mother. The combined effect of the illness and his

experience of jealousy towards his brother led to Adler experiencing feelings of inferiority. Adler compensated for these feelings of inferiority by working hard at school. Adler's early life experiences, which included the death of his younger brother, and being run over by a car almost three times, convinced him beyond a doubt that he should become a medical doctor when he grows up.

Living up to his childhood ambition, Adler studied medicine at the University of Vienna where his initial interest was in incurable diseases. However, he became discouraged as he realised that he could not prevent death especially in children. He then advanced to specialise in neurology and psychiatry. As a psychiatrist, Adler became interested in the work of Sigmund Freud with whom he would later collaborate. Adler's relationship with Freud began in 1902 when he was invited to join the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society where he became one of Freud's earliest colleagues, and was elected as president of the society in 1910. Alongside Freud and Carl Jung, Adler helped to further the belief of in-depth psychology, which emphasises the importance of unconscious processes. Adler worked closely with Freud, and his work had a huge impact within the society; however, his perceptions and beliefs within the theory of psychoanalysis differed exceptionally to Freud's. According to Golombo, Santaniello and Lehrer (1999), the main focal difference between Adler and Freud was that Freud was interested in what caused people to be the way they are, while Adler was interested in what people pursue, to become who they are becoming.

These differences in thought led Adler and his followers to break away from the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, and in 1912 form a group called Society of Free Psychoanalytic Research (Corey, 2009). Adler's theory of Individual Psychology moved away from

psychoanalytical understanding towards a person centered approach. Adler's goal was to create a psychological movement that argued for a holistic view of an individual.

Adler's View of Human Nature

Adler's work was strongly influenced by the Genzheit and Gestalt approaches in German psychology as well as by the writings of South African statesman, Jan Smuts. Genzheit and Gestalt approaches rejected the idea of viewing the person according to separate parts but rather explain the psychic phenomena within an individual as properties that are holistic and represent wholeness (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008, Corey, 2009). Smuts created the term "holism" which argues that people can only be understood as unified wholes within their contexts (Adler, 1929; 1930; 1958; Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008, p. 130). According to Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2008), these influences fueled Adler's viewing of a person in a holistic manner, meaning that an individual functions as a self-conscious whole that does not consist of a collection of parts. Adler's saw human beings as "integrated and complete beings" (Corey, 2009, p. 9). Adler's view of human behaviour was based on a teleological point of view which understands behaviour in human beings as goal directed. Thus, Adler argued that people are motivated more by their expectations of the future than they are by their past. This means that humans are motivated by a fictional or subjective future experienced in the present. According to Brett (1997), Adler's view suggests that goals are set by an individual without their conscious realisation; goals are what motivate the individual, and what they regard as being the best way forward, for their survival. Adler stressed the need to understand the uniqueness of an individual within the platform of the social context (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008).

Adler's theory of Individual Psychology is divided here into four subdivisions namely: structure and development of personality, motivational dynamics, style of life and life tasks. Each subdivision includes different factors that together describe the unified personality.

Structure and Development Personality

Childhood Experiences

Adler (1929 & 1958) did not differentiate between formal development stages but rather emphasised the first five years of a child's life as important to their development. Adler (1958) asserted that as children grow older, they are exposed to many events, and experiences that allow them to draw conclusions about themselves, others and the world. These early experiences, interactions and perceptions are important events that form a prototypical style of life. Adler believed that there are no random selections or chance memories (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Adler, 1958; Lekhelebana & Sandison, 2014). Thus, of all the possibilities an individual will remember the events and experiences that express and reinforce the important aspects of their personality, philosophy of life, anxieties, ambitions and goals (Frick, 1991). Adler suggested that the events individuals experience are the result of subjective reality filtered through a personal lens, and inform an individual's self-concept, self-ideal, world image and ethical convictions (Adler, 1958). Adler termed this personal lens of the world *private logic* or *schema of apperception*. Private logic includes an individual's personal beliefs that guide their feelings and actions.

Social Environment

Adler argued that an individual cannot be understood fully without taking their context into consideration. He believed that the social environment in which an individual exists plays an important role in the development of their personality (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). The

social environment includes the experiences within the family constellation, the family atmosphere and the cultural context.

Family constellation.

Adler adopted the term family constellation to explain the relationship between family members and an individual's position within the family. Adler considered family constellation as the primary social environment, where a child develops meaning and seeks attention within the family. According to Adler (1958) an important element of the family constellation is birth order. This is because Adler maintained that "there are certain roles and behaviour patterns associated with birth order position which give rise to typical personality traits in all children who occupy a particular position in the family" (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008, p. 140).

Corey (2009) stated that the positions consist of views individuals have of life which have a great influence on how the individual interacts in the world. An individual's birth order and interpretation of their position is associated with a "certain style of relating to others in childhood" (Corey, 2009, p. 101) that further develops a picture of themselves that they carry into adult interaction. Thus, the experiences inherent to each of these positions have certain influences on the personality. Adler identified the following positions: first child, second child, middle child, youngest child and the only child, and identified qualities that individuals within each of these positions could develop (Corey, 2009). Adler further suggested that there are potentially favourable or unfavourable outcomes based on each birth order position.

First child. According to Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2008), first born children receive undivided attention, and live a happy and secure existence. Corey (2009) stated that they are dependable and hardworking and strive to keep ahead. This, however, lasts until the second child arrives where a change in position propels the first child to experience 'dethronement'.

According to Adler this experience influences the adult personality (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). Adler believed that first-borns who have experienced dethronement in early life are, amongst other things, oriented toward the past, relatively more nostalgic, and pessimistic about the future. As adults they exhibit traits such as perfectionism, conscientiousness, meticulousness, and conservative and authoritarian attitudes (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008).

Second child. The second child is born into a competitive atmosphere, where they are constantly in competition with their older sibling. They are born into a position where they share parental time and attention. Contrary to the first child, they appear to be optimistic about the future, ambitious and are high achievers, because they are not primarily concerned with the loss of power and authority (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). However, if the second child feels they may never surpass the eldest, they may give up trying thus never realising the above mentioned characteristics as part of their lifestyle.

Middle child. Middle children often become competitive (Education.com, 2010). They may assume a "poor me" attitude because they are convinced of the unfairness of life and feel cheated and "squeezed out" (Corey, 2009, p.100). They may also have difficulty figuring out their place in the family (Livestrong.com, *n.d.*). Middle children are likely to develop characteristics of being rebellious and envious and have difficulty with being a follower. However, on the positive side they are often flexible, diplomatic (Education.com, 2010), ambitious and have a strong sense of social interest.

Youngest child. The youngest child is at the advantage of never experiencing the shock of dethronement. However, they are often subjected to the negative influence of being spoilt and pampered by the whole family (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008, p.141). This leads the child to develop feelings of helplessness and prevents the development of independence within the child.

They may find adult responsibilities challenging and as a result become dependent on using their charm to convince others to meet their needs for them. A favourable outcome of being the youngest child is that they receive a lot of stimulation and opportunities to compete (Lekhelebana & Sandison, 2014).

Only child. The only child receives undivided love from their parents. Because of this the child may not learn to cooperate with other children. Like the youngest child they are exposed to the negative influence of being spoilt and pampered, and if their position is challenged, they view that as being unfair. In Adler's view, only children tend to be timid and over dependent on others. However, because they spend a great deal of time alone they are likely to develop rich imaginations (Lekhelebana & Sandison, 2014).

Family atmosphere.

Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2003, p. 123) described a family atmosphere as a family force and a climate relationship created between family members, whereby family values are "planted and cultivated". The family atmosphere makes up the child's outer environment and becomes the determining force that will either help or hinder the development of the child's personality (Cloninger, 2004). Ansbacher and Ansbacher (1956) expanded on the family atmosphere saying that it is a form of household climate that a person "remembers perceiving and experiencing in childhood" (p. 125). The individual's evaluation of their family atmosphere provides the background for the judgements they create about life from early childhood, when the individual's basic convictions about self, others and the world are formed. The family atmosphere is therefore of significance in illuminating the context of the individual's perceptions and expectations of what "life provides and requires" (Ansbcaher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 126). Cloninger (2004) has elaborated that a mother is more likely to influence the development of social feeling and

cooperative attitude within a child, whereas in contrast, the father is more inclined to teach the child about power and its selfish or socially responsible expressions in society.

Adler identified two types of parenting styles evident in a family atmosphere that give rise to problems within an individual into adulthood. These parenting styles are *pampering* and *neglectful*. Adler described pampered children as excessively spoilt, given too much attention by parents, and protected excessively from the harsh frustrations of life (Engler, 2009). According to Adler (1958), this prevents the child from becoming independent and acquiring responsibility to become a useful member of society because they expect others "to cater for their needs" (p. 186). Pampered children are highly dependent; they have difficulty in solving their own problems, and making decisions on their own. Adler described neglected children as unloved, unwanted and rejected. Cloninger (2004) suggested that neglect contributes to "maladaptive development" (p. 113). The child's parents are mostly absent or busily preoccupied with work, wealth, alcoholism or divorce. Thus, the child grows up lacking the ability to form close relationships with others; they often feel that there's never someone to care about them or support them, fear the world, and distrust others.

Cultural context.

Adler emphasised the importance of culture within the development of an individual, because the individual's being is embedded within a social context; the individual cannot be understood in isolation (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Adler, however, realised that masculinity is favoured more than femininity culturally, and that there are negative consequences to this. Adler coined the term *masculine protest* to explain society's overvaluation of masculinity. In men, the masculine protest means "the striving to be strong and powerful in compensation for feeling unmanly" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 45). Because men are often taught at an early age

what masculinity means, they tend to hide their feminine traits and as a result have exaggerated masculine wishes and efforts. If, however, men fail to attain goals that render them manly, they become discouraged and withdrawn or overcompensate. Adler did not research the masculine protest in application to women in detail. However, he said that some women tend to fight against their feminine roles and develop a masculine orientation; this orientation allows them to strive for superiority in their professional fields, especially in fields that are male dominated. Adler further highlighted that "all these modes of adjustment are a result of cultural and social influences" rather than the "inherent psychic difference between the two genders" (Jarvis, 2004, p. 84).

Creative Power

The creative power or creative self is not a structural part of personality; it is a concept that merely places an emphasis on the individual's ability to be creative. Individuals form their own life goals and plan how to achieve them; the creative power is particularly evident in which goals individuals choose, and the plans they form to pursue them (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). Jarvis (2004) asserted that the creative power "places people in control of their own lives, is responsible for their final goal, determines their method of striving for that goal" (p. 79). Thus, creative power is defined as a dynamic concept implying movement; movement is considered the leading characteristic of life (Jarvis, 2004). Adler believed that individuals are responsible for who they are and how they behave (Jarvis, 2004), in essence saying that they are responsible for their own movement. As the creative power "establishes, maintains and pursues the goals of an individual" (Engler, 2009, p. 93), Adler argued that individuals are active, creative and purposeful in shaping their response to the environment.

The creative power is influenced by various factors, such as the social environment, feelings of inferiority, physiological attributes and perception of weakness. The interplay between these factors determines the strength of the individual's creative power. However, Adler also emphasised the existence of free will that allows individuals to create goals from the abilities given to them through genetic inheritance and by their experiences in their social environment. Thus, although the strength of their creative power may vary, individuals are not merely at the mercy of their circumstances, but are self-determined beings that imbue situations with meaning.

Motivational Dynamics

Striving for Significance

Feelings of inferiority.

Central to Adler's theory of Individual Psychology is the concept of inferiority, which Adler believed is the motivating force behind an individual's behaviour (Corey, 2009). Adler asserted that each individual enters the world with a definite inferiority complex and spends a lifetime trying to overcome it (Frick, 1991). Adler (1929) suggested that personality can be understood by taking into account the way in which individuals compensate or overcome their inferiority or weaknesses. Feelings of inferiority are present throughout life (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008) and each individual's sense of what is negative and what would be more positive emerges in a unique and personal way (Cloninger, 2004). Adler further stated that inferiority feelings should not always be perceived negatively, as they are inevitable, normal and universal (Corey, 2009). Feelings of inferiority are "inescapable", and are "necessary because they provide the motivation to strive and grow" (Schultz, 2005, p.133).

Lekhelebana and Sandison (2014) explained that Adler identified three possible sources of feelings of inferiority. The *first* source is a child's perceived small size and intellectual or social

incompetence in relation to adults. This according to Adler is a result of a child's first social interaction within their social environment, where the child sees itself as "small and dependent" on parents for survival (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008, p. 133). The *second* source of feelings of inferiority is organ inferiority. Adler stated that defective parts or organs of the body shape an individual's personality through the individual's efforts to compensate for the defects or weakness. The *third* source emerges from the parenting style, particularly pampering and neglecting. Adler pointed out that a pampered child becomes the centre of attention at home and as a result they constantly demand their needs to be satisfied. The neglected child's infancy and childhood lacks love and security, because their parents are indifferent or hostile. This in return results in the child developing feelings of worthlessness, anger and mistrust.

The experience of inferiority may emerge in a superiority complex or an inferiority complex. The *superiority complex* according to Boeree (2006) involves covering up an individual's inferiority by pretending to be superior. These individuals are likely to be bullies and dictators. Adler (1958, p. 45) described the *inferiority complex* as evident when an individual is unequipped to solve a problem and restricts his actions, and becomes preoccupied with avoiding defeat rather than striving for success.

Compensation.

Compensation is the response individuals engage with to make up for their inferiorities. Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2008) described compensation as an "attempt by an individual to overcome a weakness by developing the weak organ or function to an extraordinarily high degree" (p. 136). However, compensation can also involve the development of a different organ or function (not only the weak one), also in order to overcome the perceived weakness. Adler (1965) expanded that "a person who compensates for felt inferiorities makes necessary adjustments to eliminate

those feelings, whether it means fighting back to succeed or finding a different area to excel"

(p.56). Adler (1965) suggested that compensation is a response against difficulty or hardship and

indicated that it occurs consciously or unconsciously. The experience of feelings of inferiority

automatically propels an individual to strive for superiority. The creative power guides the

individual to identify goals to strive for. The attainment of an individual's goals allows them to

achieve a sense of superiority. The methods used by individuals to strive towards their goals are

driven by their personality. Adler (1963) perceived striving for superiority as the overriding goal

of all humans.

Adler identified two ways of striving for superiority. In the first expression, striving for

superiority is concerned with striving for power. According to Adler striving for power is a

socially unproductive attempt at compensating that is aimed at personal gain and security rather

than cooperation with others (Meyers, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). In the second expression,

striving for social interest or success is concerned with goals that a beyond the self. In the

process of compensation individuals help others, and the individual is able to see others as

individuals, and cooperate with them to achieve social benefit.

The striving for power or for social interest is achieved in different ways, as individuals use

their own methods and ways to achieve their desired goals. Compensation is seen as an inherent

process that Adler (1929) described as having a powerful reparatory force. However,

compensation can be negative when individuals engage with overcompensation and

undercompensation. Adler described *overcompensation* as an overemphasis of strengths within

an individual in order to hide their weaknesses (Adler, 1929, 1958). These individuals are overly

concerned with themselves and lack consideration for others. Individuals who overcompensate

are preoccupied with gaining power, status, wealth and are convinced that problems can only be

solved in a selfish manner (Jarvis, 2004). *Undercompensation* includes individuals who lack courage and fear life to the extent that they develop passive attitudes that place excessive expectation and demand on other people.

Fictional goal.

Adler's ideas of goals were influenced by Hans Vaihinger book entitled *The Philosophy of "As if"* (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). This became the foundation of Adler's concept *fictional finalism.* Vaihinger believed that ultimate truth is beyond us, and thus for practical reasons individuals create partial truths, that he referred to as fictions. According to Vaihinger, people live by many fictional ideas that are not related to reality and cannot be tested and confirmed (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). Similarly, Adler believed that individuals develop beliefs and act as though the beliefs are true. An example of a fiction would be the concept of God who rewards good and punishes evil. Such a belief guides the lives of many people and allows them to shape their actions according to what they believed to be acceptable in God's eyes. Thus, whether true or false, fictions have a powerful influence on individual's lives. According to Adler (1963), fictional goals provide individual's lives with direction, purpose and meaning. From this he meant that goals, although fictions, are experienced by individuals as real, and "become[s] the ultimate explanation of an individual's conduct" (Hall & Lindzey, 1978, p.213).

Social Interest

Adler (1958) defined social interest as an innate desire to live cooperatively with others and serve the community. Social interest is expressed through group formation and communion with others. A strong social structure allows individuals within a group to compensate for the weaknesses of its members. Adler explained that individuals who have developed social interest

feel their "existence to be worthwhile" and "create efforts that are channeled into shared tasks, rather than selfish goals" (p. 118) that serve the interest of society (Adler, 1929, Cloninger, 2004, Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). Individuals who do not have a strong social interest are generally preoccupied with the self. Adler believed that social interest, or lack thereof, is strongly influenced by parents; he asserted that the child identifies and sees the world through them (Meyer, Moore, Viljoen, 2008). Adler further asserted that strong inferiority feelings may also restrict individuals from developing social interest, and instead they develop "personal, egocentric striving for superiority and power" (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008, p. 144).

Style of Life

The style of life may be thought of in terms of the individual's positioning towards life. Adler (1929) defined style of life as "the common thread that weaves together an individual's thoughts, feelings and actions into a coherent pattern" (p. 12). This pattern influences the types of goals the individual identifies and the methods the individual uses in order to achieve their goals. This pattern is associated with the individual's attempt to compensate for feelings of inferiority and to strive for superiority; the pattern determines how this compensation is achieved. The individual's style of life impacts their perceptions of self, others and the world which shapes their personality (Corey, 2009). The style of life is developed through social interactions that take place early in life (Schultz, 2005). Adler proposed four styles of life namely, active-destructive type, passive-destructive type, passive-constructive type and active-constructive type.

Active-Destructive Type

The active-destructive type comprises of individuals' that have the tendency to be dominant and aggressive. They lack social awareness and often behave without regard for other people (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Boeree (2006) stated that active-destructive, also called dominant

types, are power seeking individuals who tend to be "push overs" to anything or anyone in order to get their way. According to Boeree (2006) the most energetic of them are bullies and sadists, and those with less energy tend to be people that hurt themselves in order to hurt others, such as alcoholics, and suicides. However, they generally pursue their goals in an active manner, and their goals are self-focused, in line with a striving for power.

Passive-Destructive Type

The passive-destructive type survives by avoiding life and other people. Their style of life relates to the world in a passive way and they assume antisocial and selfish life goals (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). According to Cloninger (2004) these individuals tend to be "isolated" and are perceived by others as "cold" (p. 112). They have their own personal worlds. These individuals avoid situations in order to avoid defeat (John, 2011). They generally pursue their goals in an passive manner, and their goals are self-focused, in line with a striving for power.

Passive-Constructive Type

The passive-constructive type refers to passive individuals who may pursue community orientated goals, but do so in a passive manner. Boeree (2006) explained that these individuals are "sensitive and they have developed a shell around themselves to protect them" (p. 9). They may have low energy levels and adopt a dependent style of life that is characterised with getting satisfaction from others instead of from themselves (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Although they are likely to be perceived as "friendly and charming", they rely on "other people to take the initiative" (Meyer, Moore and Viljoen, 2008, p. 135). When they get overwhelmed, they develop symptoms such as obsessions and compulsions, phobias and general anxiety. They generally pursue their goals in a passive manner, and although their goals can be other-focused, in line with a striving for social interest.

Active-Constructive Type

The active-constructive type is also known as the socially useful type. These individuals' cooperate with others and act in accordance with their needs. This is an ideal type of life style that consists of both social interest and energy (Boeree, 2006). These individuals are able to solve life problems effectively within a framework of social interest (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). Individuals with this style of life are optimistic and have a positive, supportive, community orientated approach to problem solving. Their goals are community based and they are active agents in their striving towards the successful achievement of their goals. Adler believed that this style of life "represents the highest form of humanity in the evolutionary process and are likely to populate the world of the future" (Jarvis, 2004, p. 78). These individuals generally pursue their goals in an active manner, and their goals are focused on others, in line with a striving for social interest.

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Life Tasks

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As individuals move through life, they are confronted by certain tasks in different stages of their lives which they need to accomplish in order to function effectively within their social context. According to Corey (2009) life tasks are not regarded as the onset of new developmental stages but rather are "new situations in which the basic style of life which has already taken shape, is expressed and tested" (p.144). Adler (1958) asserted that the success with which individuals meet the challenges involved in each task is an indicator of the degree to which they have developed social interest. Siedlecki (2013) stated that a healthy individual is guided by cooperation, social equality, respect for cultural diversity, and an authentic concern and compassion towards others. These qualities facilitate the meeting of the three life tasks. The three main life tasks identified in Adler's theory are: social tasks (building friendships), occupational

task (contributing to society) and love/marriage task (establishing intimacy) (Adler, 1958). Mental health issues arise when individuals retreat from or fail to solve these life tasks effectively.

Social task.

Adler believed that individuals have one basic goal and desire, which is to belong and to feel significant. According to Adler human beings are never seen as isolated but are always seen in relation to the world (Orgler, 1963). Adler (1958) stated that individuals belong to a human race, and live in association with others of their kind. Thus, Adler maintained that an individual's mental health is influenced greatly by their ability to establish friendships and maintain meaningful relationships with others; through this, social feeling and cooperation is achieved. Adler stated that difficulty in establishing and maintaining these relationships leads to personal distress and misbehavior (Ansabacher & Ansabacher, 1956; Adler, 1958). These negative psychosocial experiences may lead an individual to experiencing varying degrees of depression, anger, frustration, and social alienation.

Occupation task.

Occupation task arises from the need to make a living, which according to Adler (1958) contributes to the "common welfare, relief from insecurities and increased opportunities for members of society" (p. 240). Adler suggested that work can be perceived as a creative fulfilment or burden and that the way an individual handles the task of occupation is an indication of their style of life. Individuals who take up this task have a great deal of self-confidence, which in turn gives individuals the desired recognition to strive for superiority (Orgler, 1963). However Orgler (1963) stated that an "exaggerated striving for recognition is a hindrance to great achievement" (p. 89). In relation to this, Adler (1958) explained that

exaggerated ambitions in individuals create mental tension and inhibit the development of their full development.

Love and marriage task.

Adler (1958) described love and marriage as a task of two individuals, and provided the following definition of love and marriage: "love, with its fulfillment, marriage, is the most intimate devotion towards a partner of the other sex, expressed in physical attraction, in comradeship, and in the decision to have children" (p. 263). He further contended that love is a beautiful gift given to mankind and described it as a reciprocal give and take situation (Adler, 1958). According to Orgler (1963), the "way a person loves is an expression of their whole personality including their style of life" (p. 92). This attitude tends to be consistent with all the individual's efforts and aims. Individuals are trained to an extent to work alone and therefore have little experience in working in pairs. Adler believed that the love and marriage task can be successful if each partner is interested in the other, rather than himself. This leads to equality with neither partner feeling subdued or overshadowed. Equality creates an effort where each partner is able to ease and enrich the life of the other, where each partner feels safe, worthwhile and needed by the other.

The successful resolution of love and marriage requires lifelong commitment to partnership and the decision to have children, which Adler (1958) believed is a necessity in solving the problem of love and marriage effectively. Adler (1958) asserted that children gain the earliest impressions of love and marriage from the life of their parents. Therefore the more harmonious the parents life is, the more favourable the children's impression of love and marriage will be. In contrast, however, if the parent's life is dysfunctional in terms of love and marriage, the children's impression will also be dysfunctional. According to Adler (1958) it becomes

impossible for parents to teach their children cooperation when the parents are not able to cooperate themselves. Adler (1963) suggested that monogamy is the most socially responsible approach to marriage, attributing polygamy and the lack of commitment to one partner at a time as a lack of social interest and a failure to undertake the full responsibilities of love and marriage. On the issue of divorce, Adler (1958) claimed that there is always a possibility of a break up in a marital relationship, but that this is easier to avoid if the individuals involved consider love as a social task which they are expected to solve.

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Evaluation of Adler's Theory

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Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2003) asserted that the most important contribution Adler has made in behavioral sciences is the role of birth order and the emphasis of early memories within the development of personality. Associated to this contribution, Boa (2004) emphasised Adler's view that individuals are socially embedded beings, and that in order to understand their development, they need to be evaluated within their socio-cultural and historical context. Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2003) highlighted that even though family experiences, birth order [and the social environment] play major roles in the development of personality, the overemphasis of these factors may result in overlooking other aspects of an individual's unconscious which may be equally important.

Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2008) stressed the issue of empirical validation, saying that it is difficult to test the validity of Adler's theoretical concepts, as his work is not scientifically measured, but rather is based on clinical observations and intuitions. They stated that Adler's concepts of striving for perfection, and feelings of inferiority are not measurable and cannot be manipulated, unlike theories that are based on experimental orientation. Boree (2006) expanded on this saying that many details of Adler's theory are anecdotal, that is they may be applicable in

particular cases, but do not necessarily have the generality Adler claimed they possess. Finally, inherent to Adler's theory are a variety of sexist philosophy's such as the love and marriage task requiring a heterosexual union that gives rise to children, that has questionable application to current times. These may all be seen as critiques against Adler's theory.

Despite the criticisms of the theory, some of the beauty of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology is its flexibility. The theory is easy to engage with and to apply. Adler's theory has made significant contributions in psychology, and according to Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (2008), has received rather limited recognition for its great influence on psychology.

Conclusion

This chapter explored Adler's theory of Individual Psychology. The chapter provided a brief overview of the background of Alfred Adler. It then examined Adler's views on human nature, the structure and development of personality, the underlying motivational dynamics, style of life and life tasks. Finally, it provided an evaluation of the theory.

Chapter 4

Millon's Biopsychosocial Model

Chapter Preview

This chapter will focus on Theodore Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. The chapter explores Theodore Millon's background. It then explores Millon's view of personality theory, and then introduces Millon's biopsychosocial model of personality, Millon's evolutionary drives, and Millon's taxonomy. Finally, an evaluation of the theory is provided.

Biography of Theodore Millon

Theodore Millon was born in Brooklyn, New York on 18 August 1928. Millon was the only child of Abraham Millon and Molly Gorkowitz. Throughout his childhood years Millon was known as "Ted". During his early school years he was preoccupied with theatre and imitative singing, suggesting these as his possible career directions (Strack, 2005). This perception, however, was dismissed by his family who saw them as "inappropriate aspirations" (Strack, 2005, p. 548). Millon completed his schooling in 1945 at Lafayette High School. He proceeded to the City College of New York, where he obtained a Bachelor's Degree majoring in Psychology, Physics, and Philosophy by the year 1950. Thereafter, Millon enrolled for a Doctor of Philosophy degree (PhD) at the University of Connecticut, which he was awarded in 1953.

Millon became intrigued by the different personality types he observed in everyday life, on the bus, train and at work. These experiences together with an "appetite for multiple scientific literatures" (Millon & Grossman, 2013, p. 2) and a desire to develop a unified clinical science led Millon to establish an Evolutionary model (1990) which later became known as Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. Millon believed that theorists' desire to unify science

should not be limited to Physics, but should include newer sciences such as Personology (Millon & Grossman, 2013). Much of Millon's career was focused on the development of this model.

However, Millon also made other major contributions in the field of psychology. In total he wrote twenty-five books related to the field, established the Journal of Personality, and played an important role in the development of earlier versions of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, known as the DSM (Pincus & Krueger, 2015).

Millon's View of Personality Theory

Millon argued that rather than developing independently and being left to stand autonomously, a mature clinical science of mental functioning should provide a "synergistic bond amongst its element[s]" (Millon & Grossman, 2013, p. 16). He believed such a theory should include the following five elements (Davies, 1999, Millon & Lerner, Weiner, 2003, Millon., et al., 2004, Millon, 2004, Strack, 2005, Millon, 2011):

- *Universal scientific principles* that are developed and explained in accord to the laws of evolution (Grossman 2014, Millon & Grossman, 2013). These principles are found in nature. Millon believed that these principals would create an evolutionary framework to guide and construct subject orientated theories (Millon, 2004).

- *Subject orientated theories* that are consistent with available knowledge in both itself and other related sciences (Grossman, 2014, Millon & Grossman, 2013). This principle would make it possible to develop a classification system that compromises of accurate propositions for clinical conditions (Millon, 2004).

- *A taxonomy of personality patterns and clinical syndromes* that is able to describe and delineate the parts, expressions and structures of the theory (Grossman, 2014). A

taxonomy should be able to construct a classification of disorders as derived from theory, and should group and differentiate them according to their major categories.

- *Integrated clinical and personality assessment instruments* that are reliable and valid to demonstrate the relationship between the established elements. Millon asserted that the tools developed should be empirically grounded, investigated, and evaluated. This is in order to be able to identify and measure elements, and further specify areas for intervention (Millon, 2004, 2011).

- *Synergistic therapeutic interventions* that are aimed at modifying maladaptive characteristics. According to Millon the strategies or techniques adopted should speak to the theory employed for "effective therapeutic direction" (Grossman, 2014, p. 437).

Millon asserted that the classification of personality disorders should derive their structure and logic from these specified five elements. Millon built and refined a comprehensive model of personology and psychopathology based on these principals that "takes the whole person as its subject matter within their biopsychosocial context" (Strack & Millon, 2013, p.528). This model provides the basis onto which various psychological tests were developed by Millon. Examples of Millon's tests include the Millon Clinical Multi-Axial Inventory (MCMI), Millon Adolescent Personality Inventory (MAPI) and Millon Behavioural Medicine Diagnostic (MBMD). These psychological tests are still relevant and are used within research and clinical settings today (Strack & Millon, 2013).

Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality

Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality has its roots in evolutionary theory, which seeks to analyse the structure and styles of personality with regards to evolutionary principles or drives

(Millon & Grossman, 2013). Millon believed that personality is influenced by the interaction between an individual's genetic make-up, their actual environment, other individuals, and their social experiences (Millon, 2011). He further believed that as these variables interact together continuously (Millon, 2011), personality develops as a result of an individual's adaptation or preferred way of coping with the world.

There are 4 evolutionary drives that represent conflicts with which the individual needs to cope. The four evolutionary drives are *existence, adaptation, replication* and *abstraction*. Each drive has a polarity, and individuals use strategies associated with each of the different polarities to cope with that particular evolutionary drive. The kind of strategies that individuals use within each drive, along with the deficiencies, imbalances and conflicts that emerge while coping with that evolutionary drive, reflect the individual's personality pattern (Millon & Grossman, 2013). For example, the *existence* drive is associated with the *pain- pleasure polarity;* individuals will use strategies that assist them to avoid pain (e.g. avoiding experiences that cause uneasiness) or that enhance their experience of pleasure (e.g. engaging with experiences that cause satisfaction). The way in which individuals engage with these strategies is important, and can provide an understanding of normal and pathological mental functioning.

Millon defined normal functioning as the adaptive functioning an individual exhibits in relation to their particular environment. Millon et al. (2003) suggested that "normal functioning in an individual calls for a flexible balance that interweaves both polar extremes" (p. 14) within an evolutionary drive. Thus, the individual is able to engage with strategies from both sides of the polarity, when meeting the drive, depending on what is contextually appropriate.

Millon et al. (2003) argued that there is no absolute or singular form of normal personality, rather the various polar positions, either severe or imbalanced, as well as personality attributes an

individual possess, which manifest themselves in diverse styles of normality (or abnormality). Thus, because of the complexity of modern environment people live in, they are likely to develop multiple adaptive styles that will allow them to "to shift from one position of the polar continuum to another as the circumstances of life change" (Millon et al., 2003, p. 11). This is evident in an individual evolving over time and experiencing what Millon terms as an "expansion of systems concept" (Millon, Grossman, Millon, Meaghar & Ramnath, 2004, p. 61). For example a child might grow from being passive within their environment to being active in modifying certain aspects of it.

Although it is clear that there is no prescribed coping mechanism that is healthy or normal, Millon attributes pathological mental functioning of an individual to deficiencies, imbalances, and conflicts within their environment (Strack, 2005). This means that there are deficiencies, imbalances and conflicts in the manner in which the individual meets the evolutionary drive. They are likely to use a more severe or imbalanced strategy to resolve the conflict. For example in a schizoid patient, both polarity levels of existence are deficient; that is they lack the capacity to experience life events as either painful or pleasurable (Strack, 2005, Millon, 2011). The evolutionary structure or function employed, in this case pain avoidance or pleasure enhancement within the existence drive, is important as it serves to identify the domain in which pathology manifests itself, which in return allows for the understanding of the pathology (Millon & Grossman, 2013). Thus, we understand pathology in the schizoid patient through the manifestation of deficiencies in both polarities.

Millon argued that the individual's personality is not a random make up but rather compromises of processes and systems that work together in an individual to ensure its survival and actualisation of innate potentials (Pincus & Krueger, 2015). In summation, Millon viewed

personality as an evolutionary adaptation and personality disorder as a reflection of problems in adaptation.

<center>**Millon's Evolutionary Drives**</center>

Millon identified four evolutionary drives, namely, existence, adaptation, replication and abstraction. These are expanded on below:

Existence: The Pleasure-Pain Polarity

Millon et al. (2004) indicated that the first drive is *existence* which is based on survival. The evolutionary strategies related to the survival task are orientated towards life enhancement and life preservation. These strategies form a polarity of pleasure and pain. Millon et al. (2004) termed these strategies existential aims. Life enhancement is focused on achieving existence which is done through creating, protecting and strengthening the survival environment. Life enhancing acts merely include pleasurable events (positive reinforcement), and are focused on "recognising and pursuing positive sensations and emotions" (Millon et al., 2003, p. 11).

On the other end life preservation is focused on preserving existence (Millon, 2011) which is done through avoiding circumstances that might threaten ones survival within the environment (Millon et al., 2003). Life preserving behaviours are orientated towards avoiding events that are characterised as painful (negative reinforcement), and thus entail "recognizing negative sensations and emotions" (Millon et al., 2003, p. 11).

Thus, individuals may engage in strategies that are orientated towards maintaining existence by either enhancing pleasure or avoiding pain. Practically, the drive is associated with the question, what reinforcement does the individual seek? Does the individual seek pleasure enhancement or pain avoidance? (Millon & Grossman, 2013). It is imperative to note that deficiencies, imbalances and conflicts can develop as a result of the strategies employed by the

individual to meet this evolutionary aim. For example a masochistic personality is conflicted in the meeting of this aim, while a narcissistic personality shows an imbalance in meeting the aim (Choca, 1999). Millon and Grossman (2005, p. 339) asserted that an individual's orientation towards pain and pleasure is established within their first year of life.

Adaptation: The Active-Passive Polarity

The second drive is *adaptation* and it views the individual as adapting within their own environment (Millon et al., 2004). Organisms have evolved evolutionary strategies "to sustain their existence" (Millon et al., 2003, p. 14). The evolutionary strategies are thus related to the adaptation task of sustaining life and are focused on how the individual adapts to their environment. The strategies form a polarity of active and passive. Millon termed these strategies modes of adaptation.

Adopting an active adaptation entails active intervening or modifying aspects within ones surroundings or environment (Millon & Grossman, 2013). These strategies are concerned with taking initiative in altering and shaping life events (Strack, 2005). These individuals are best characterised by their alertness, liveliness, forcefulness, stimulus seeking energy and drive (Strack, 2005). However, Strack (2005) also stated that these individuals can display characteristics of being impulsive, rash and hasty.

On the other end, adopting a passive adaptation entails adjusting passively to the environment. These strategies are reactive and accommodate to events in the environment (Strack, 2005, p. 535). Stack (2005) suggested that individuals who are passively orientated manifest few overt strategies to gain their ends. They display characteristics such as being inactive, lack ambition or persistence, tendency towards acquiescence, restrained attitude where

little initiative is taken to modify events, and the tendency to wait for circumstances within their environment to happen before taking any initiative (Strack, 2005).

Thus, individuals may engage in strategies that are orientated towards adapting to the environment by either actively changing or passively accepting the environment. The drive to adaptation is associated with the question, how does the individual gain reinforcement. Do they gain reinforcement actively or passively? (Millon & Grossman, 2013). Millon suggested that deficiencies, imbalances and conflicts can occur as a result of the strategies used by an individual to meet this evolutionary aim. For example, the avoidant and dependent personalities show imbalances in the meeting of this aim (Choca, 1999). Millon and Grossman (2005) identified that an individual's orientation towards an active or passive stance is developed within their second year of life.

Replication: The Self-Other Polarity

The third drive is *replication.* Millon and Grossman (2013) asserted that "all life forms are time limited and to circumvent this limitation organisms have developed replication strategies" (p.4). These strategies ensure survival of the species. The strategies focus on reproductive styles that, individuals may use "to maximize [their] representation in the gene pool" (Millon et al., 2003, p. 60). The evolutionary strategies associated with the replication task are orientated toward self and other to achieve replication. These strategies form the polarity of self – other, which Millon termed strategies of replication.

Self-strategies – which Millon called the *R strategy* - are aimed at producing a great number of offspring which are left to fend for themselves within their environment. These individuals adopt self-centered, egocentric and propagandist tendencies that are associated with many partners and many offspring (Millon & Grossman, 2013). Millon et al. (2003) claimed that these

individual's exhibit characteristics of being insensitive, inconsiderate, uncaring, and minimally communicative. Strack (2005) asserted that males lean more towards being self-orientated because their "competitive advantages maximize the replication of their genes" (p. 209).

Other strategies – which Millon called the *K strategy* - are aimed at fewer offspring which are given greater care and nurturance by parents. These individuals are focused on the affection and nurturance of others, thus limiting partners/offspring, and providing more input into them. Millon et al. (2003) defined these individuals as being affiliative, intimate, empathic, and communicative. Strack (2005, p. 209) asserted that females are more often perceived as leaning towards being other orientated, because their "competence in nurturing and protecting their limited offspring maximizes the replication of their genes".

Individuals may engage in strategies associated with either an "individuality self-orientation that seeks to realise personal potentials before attending to the needs of others" or a "nurturing tendency to value others", and attending to the needs of others before the self (Strack, 2005, p. 209). The drive to replication is associated with the question, who does the individual turn for reinforcement, self or others? (Millon & Grossman, 2013). Deficiencies, imbalances and conflicts can develop as a result of the strategies employed by the individual to meet this evolutionary aim. For example, the compulsive and negativistic personalities show conflicts in the meeting of this aim (Choca, 1999, Millon, 2003), while the schizoid personality shows deficiencies (Millon, 2001). Millon and Grossman (2005) identified that an individual's orientation towards a self- other stance is developed in adolescence.

Abstraction

The fourth drive is *abstraction* and is associated with the capacity to symbolise or represent the environment (Millon & Grossman, 2013). Millon explained that the drive belongs primarily to

the human personality. It is associated with the capacity for reflection and abstraction, and consists of competencies associated with higher order mental processes (Grossman, 2015). These competencies include rational decision making, executive functioning, and the ability to reflect (Grossman, 2015). Strack (2005) understood the abstraction drive to include the "sources employed to gather knowledge about life and the manner in which this information is registered and transformed" (p. 533). Strack (2005) further stated that the focus of abstraction is on the "differences in what people attend to in order to learn about their experiences and how they process this information internally" (p. 534).

There are four sets of polarities that constitute the abstraction function two are viewed as *information sources* and two are viewed as *transformative processes*.

Information sources.

These polarities are focused on the individual's sources of information. The first polarity is associated with looking outside of the self for information, inspiration and guidance, whilst the other polarity looks for this within (Strack, 2005). The second polarity is associated with an affinity for either direct observation experiences on the one hand or for intangible or ambiguous experiences on the other (Millon, 2003).

Transformative processes.

The third polarity makes a distinction between processes based on objectivity, logic and reason, from processes that are more emotionally or subjectively orientated (Millon, 2003). The fourth polarity is associated with ways in which "people evaluate and mentally reconstruct information and experiences after they have been apprehended and incorporated" (Strack, 2005, p. 536, Millon & Lerner, 2003, p. 25). Individuals may make new information conform to old

knowledge using present schemas, or may distance themselves from their known information, and from a position of openness to information, and creating new ideas (Millon, 2003).

The capacity for symbolism allows for the development of self-reflection, and the engagement with self-reflection is important to the formation of adaptive competencies (Millon & Grossman, 2013). This in turn allows the individual to symbolise the self, and thereby to develop an identity. Millon asserted that the conscious state of knowing the self as different from others is a powerful product of abstraction (Millon, Lerner & Weiner, 2003). The process of abstraction "creates new levels of reality, and consciousness" (Millon & Lerner, 2003, p. 25), and is the mechanism through which realities are reconstructed, transformed and uniquely interpreted.

Millon's Taxonomy

The polarities of the first three drives are called the evolutionary modes, and they constitute the development of personality patterns; these modes thus intertwine to form personality. A personality taxonomy is formed through strategies that are used by the individual, from the first three modes; patterns emerge in the form of deficiencies, imbalances and conflicts that develop while coping with these modes. Millon asserted that particular deficiencies, imbalances and conflicts are associated with particular personality styles (Millon et al., 2004). Thus, the intertwining of modes, and the strategies connected to them, form enduring patterns of personality functioning, which are evident across the entirety of the individual's functioning (Millon & Grossman, 2005). The taxonomy is visually depicted in tabular form as Appendix E.

It is evident that the taxonomy is a highly comprehensive matrix that depicts different personality styles (Grossman, 2014). It is furthermore useful in its emphasis of personality along normal and abnormal lines, and thus it allows for the conceptualisation of normal personality

patterns as well as personality pathology (Grossman, 2014). The coping strategies include complex forms of instrumental or functional behaviour, such as the ways of achieving positive reinforcement and avoiding negative reinforcements (Millon, 2004; Millon & Grossman, 2005). Furthermore, the strategies reflect the kind of reinforcement that is pursued (pain-pleasure), where it is pursued (self-other) and how individuals behave in order to get it (active-passive) (Millon, 1996, Millon & Grossman, 2006, Millon, 2011). These coping strategies may be seen, for example, in the schizoid personality. This personality shows a deficit in the pleasure and pain polarity, thus does not pursue pleasure enhancement or pain avoidance strategies. The personality strongly pursues or turns to the self for reinforcement, and adapts to their environment through passive adaptation.

Overall, Millon (2004) developed eight basic personality patterns, which correspond with the DSM 3 personality pathologies. These patterns emerge in three severe variants from his combination of nature (positive or pleasure versus negative or pain), source (self versus others) and instrumental behaviors (active versus passive). Millon termed the three severe variants as "levels of pathogenic processes" (Millon, 2004, p. 26) and they consist of, simple reactions, complex syndromes and personality patterns. These pathogenic processes lie along a continuum.

On one extreme lie simple reactions. Millon and Grossman (2005) described simple reactions as "highly specific pathological responses" (p. 367) that arise as a result of external events that are independent from an individual's personality. Simple reactions are rational and understandable; and are caused by "objectively troublesome" situations (Millon & Grossman, 2005, p. 367). On the other extreme lie personality patterns, that are considered to be behavioural constraints that exist primarily within the individual. According to Millon and Grossman (2005) pathologies or disorders develop from these personality patterns as a result of an individual's

dysfunctional coping in the "average or expectable environments" (p. 366). In between these extremes lies complex syndromes. Complex syndromes are defined as pathological responses to a situation that create "disruptions in an individual's personality pattern to which the individual's psychic makeup is vulnerable" (Millon & Grossman, 2005, p.366). Unlike simple reactions, complex syndromes are irrational and complicated and are caused by past adverse experiences. For example, individuals who develop avoidant personalities could have been propelled to behave in such a manner because of past social rejection experiences; individuals with paranoid personalities create "pseudocommunities" in order to make environmental realities tolerable and less threatening (Millon, 2004).

Evaluation

According to Davies (1999), Millon provided the field of psychology with many articles and books that illustrate an unprecedented effort to develop a unified science of personology and psychopathology, hence he is known as the "grandfather of personality disorders" (p. 330). Millon has made a major contribution to the field of psychology. Millon's theory has been found to be practical in its focus and assumption. Davies (1999) stated that the deviation Millon's theory took from psychoanalysis proved to be valuable in that it is able to illustrate "more simply and more clearly the essential personality styles and disorders that guide each person's coping behaviours" (p. 333). Millon's work has helped support the theoretical idea that in order to understand the different aspects of abnormal behaviour, personality and its disorders should be taken into consideration (Pincus & Krueger, 2015). Therefore, the theory speaks to the complexity of personality and personality disorder, and argues for an "evolutionary integration" that understands human functioning in its simplest form (Choca, 2004, p. 75).

Millon's model continues to have an impact and be of importance; however, his work is not without limitations. According to Pincus and Krueger (2015) the theory lacks empirical structure. This is because Millon did not collect sufficient data to test every unique aspect of what he was writing about. Pincus and Krueger (2015) further claimed that the procedure he followed was not that which is followed within the empirical and inductive psychological science. Thus, they argued that Millon's theory is based on rather theoretical and deductive methods. Choca (2004) also noted that the personality characteristics of individuals may not necessarily be presented in an internally consistent manner. For example some disorganised individuals who are easily distractible may be able to have and maintain organised offices (Choca, 2004).

Conclusion

This chapter explored Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. This was done by providing a background of Theodore Millon. The chapter then examine Millon's view of personality theory, Millon's biopsychosocial model of personality, Millon's evolutionary drives on which the model is based, and Millon's taxonomy, which emerges in coping with the drives. Finally, an evaluation of Millon's theory was provided.

Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality form the theoretical lens through which Stalin's life is examined. Thus, before this examination is conducted, it is important to gain and understanding of Stalin's life experiences. This will be outlined in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

The Life of Joseph Stalin

Chapter Preview

This chapter explores the life of Joseph Stalin, starting from his birth in 1878 until his death in 1953. It first examines the context of the Russian Empire, into which Stalin was born. Thereafter, it provides a description of Stalin's life experiences divided into phases, namely childhood and adolescence, young adulthood, middle adulthood and old age. Significant relationships are also explored. The purpose of the chapter is to provide an understanding of Stalin within his socio-historical context.

Context of the Russian Empire

Stalin was born in the late 19th century, when Russian emperor Alexander III ruled the Russian Empire. He was known as Tsar Alexander III, and was an absolute monarch, who held complete power as a ruler. Russian society was ordered along a strict hierarchy, with the Tsar seated at the top. The population was divided according to class as depicted in Appendix G (Nikula & Chernysh, 2010). Llewellyn, Rae, and Thompson (2018, p. 1) further depicted the class structure and percentage within the populace as follows:

- Upper class: Royalty, nobility, higher clergy: 12.5 per cent.

- Middle classes: Merchants, bureaucrats, professionals: 1.5 percent

- Working classes: Factory workers, artisans, soldiers, lower clergy, and sailors: 4 per cent

- Peasants: Landed and landless farmers: 82 percent

The upper class lived comfortably and owned most of the land in Russia. Kishore (2014, p. 1) indicated that the upper classes were "protective of their wealth and privilege", and that "many of the tsar's ministerial advisors were drawn directly from their ranks and worked to

block or shout down suggested reforms". The upper classes were invested in holding on to their wealth and this was done at the expense of the classes below them.

The middle class of citizens was growing within the 1900s, and included individuals that generally worked for the government or private sector and tended to be "educated, worldly and receptive to liberal, democratic and reformist ideas" (Llewellyn, Rae, & Thompson, 2018, p. 1). They also owned land, and tended to become involved in politics.

The working classes, being factory workers, soldiers, and lower clergy, were exposed to hard labour (Nikula & Chernysh, 2010). Unions that look after the rights of workers were not yet in existence. Consequently, the working classes worked long hours, and were often exposed to terrible and sometimes dangerous conditions.

The peasants made up the vast majority of the population. Many peasants were farmers. Overall, peasants used outdated farming methods, doing most farming work by hand, rather than machine. Wealthier farmers owned farm animals that could assist with the work (Llewellyn, Rae, & Thompson, 2018, p. 1), but most farmers did not. Overall, farming was a hard life. The peasants were generally illiterate, religious, and resistant to change (Nikula & Chernysh, 2010). Living conditions were terrible. Peasants were faced with overcrowded housing and deplorable sanitary conditions (Rappaport, 1999)

The Russian citizenry were expected to simply obey their ruler. The social hierarchy dictated "political structures, religious and social values, rules governing land ownership and Russia's legal code"; thus, the hierarchy "defined position and status" and restricted "social mobility" (Llewellyn, Rae, & Thompson, 2018, p. 1). Within the context of these restrictions, conflict among the populace gradually increased; this conflict was also, in part, as a consequence of the interaction of a multilingual, multireligious and multiethnic populace. Consequently, the Tsar

authorised a policy of russification, "forbidding the use of local languages" and suppressing "religious customs" (Simkin, 2015, p. 1). In other words, emphasis was placed on the Russian nationality that adopted Russian as the central language of communication and the Russian Orthodox Christen as the main religion (Burbank et al., 2007). In support of this position, the empire introduced an educational curriculum with Russian as the medium of education. The russification policy thus led to further restrictions, seen also in the limitation of the freedom of expression, and the censorship of books and newspapers. Laws were enforced by the military police, who threatened violence to citizens to ensure they toed the line (Nikula & Chernysh, 2010). The military police often executed people or sent them to exile for breaking the law. Russia as a country had the highest mortality rate in the world amongst both adults and children; this was in part due to these violent circumstances, and in part due to the hard life endured by peasants, who made up most of the citizenry. Furthermore, cholera, typhus, chicken pox and tuberculosis were common diseases prevalent at the time (Nikula & Chernysh, 2010), and as antibiotics had not yet been developed, these illnesses could not be effectively treated.

Peasant Life

The General Regulation on Peasants policy of 1861 gave peasants rights that allowed them to marry whomever they wanted, and to own property and vote (Brower, 1982 & Vucinich, 1968). This policy abolished slavery, but the broader hierarchical context, as indicated above, still caused great restriction, and caused inequality between classes. The peasants suffered as they worked long hours and earned little money. Outside of farming, peasants occupied jobs in either a) beekeeping, b) handcrafting for direct sale, and c) seasonal labour outside the village, in order to gain money (Brower, 1982). Peasant families were simply considered fortunate if they had enough to eat without acquiring debt. There was constant famine and starvation.

The peasant's culture revolved around village life and the church. Within the broader context enforced by the Tsar's laws and the military police, communities were controlled by community rule. This emerged through self-governing committees of peasants that addressed issues on a community level. The consequence of this system was rivalry, violence and theft amongst peasants.

The family life within peasant households was patriarchal; the head of the household was primarily responsible for all decisions within the house including those concerning the children (Radzinsky, 1996 & Montefiore, 2008). The man's work traditionally carried a symbolic significance (Vucinich, 1968). Women were primarily seen as the binding force in the family that was responsible for household duties and caring of the young. Marriage laws under Russia permitted peasants to marry at the age of 16 years for girls and 18 years for boys. However, Vucinich (1968) asserted that by the nineteenth century the average age for women to get married in Russia was 19 years. Economically and socially marriage was considered important in peasant families because it bought financial gain and tangible materials to support the families involved. Consequently, given the dire circumstances of many families, girls were forced into marriages, where they would live with their husbands, and start their own households. This role, however, began to change in the late nineteenth century with the General Regularity Policy, which allowed peasants to migrate into Russia's major cities to seek work. Through the policy, women gained independence and were able to go into cities to find work at factories or as domestic workers (Brower, 1982). Slowly women became slightly more empowered.

Under family life, parent approval was very important as parents were perceived as 'knowing best' for their children. The children were pressured to assume responsibilities in work for the family. They were forced to go to work at the factories to earn money. Schooling was not

encouraged, to the point where young boys dropped out of school to seek employment, thus only the privileged received higher education, including children of the nobility and clergy (Burbank., et al., 2007).

Over time, peasants became more and more unhappy about their circumstances. Young peasants working in factories were exposed to books and newspapers which, according to Burbank et al. (2007), "introduced them to their radical ways of thinking" (p. 78). Dissatisfaction with their life circumstances led to a peasant uprising in 1905 where peasants rebelled against the Tsar's policies, and looted the properties of landowners, and engaged in strikes. This was in response to some of the Tsar's strict policies, such as the russification policy. Ultimately this rebellion led to some leniencies, to quell the uprisings.

Childhood and Adolescence (1878-1899)

Family of Origin

Joseph Stalin was born on 6 December 1878 as Iosif Vissarionovich Dzuhugashvili, in a small peasant village of Gori in Georgia (Rigby, 1966; Khlevniuk, 2015). Georgia was situated in the borderlands of the Russian Empire, and was known for its traditions of rebellion, conspiracies and protest movements against the ruling majority. The long history of clashes "gave rise to a culture of resistance and rebellion" (Davies & Harris, 2005, p. 10).

Stalin's father, Bersarion, was a Georgian shoemaker, who owned his own workshop. Defined as attractive and humble, Bersarion came from an Orthodox Christian family. His wife, Ekaterina was known to her family as "Keke"; she was religious and illiterate, but was regarded as a strong woman who took good care of her husband. Ekaterina was only sixteen years old when she married Bersarion, who was twenty two at the time, in 1872 (Montefiore, 2008). After their marriage Ekaterina gave birth to two children that unfortunately died in infancy. Mikhail

was born on 26 February 1875, but was found dead in his carriage two months after his birth. Giorgi the second child was born on 5 January 1877, and in July the same year died after contracting measles. Ekaterina stated that after the death of both children, their happiness as a family turned into sorrow (Montefiore, 2008). The death of Ekaterina's sons affected her greatly and she continually bargained and prayed to God that he grant her a child that will live. Stalin recalled how his mother would put her hands on his shoulder and tighten her fingers when she thought of her babies (Lourie, 1999). He further described that Ekaterina would sing to herself and soon after begin "sobbing, with her face showing suffering and sorrow" (Lourie, 1999, p. 12). It is clear that Stalin was aware of her grief from these losses.

On 6 December 1878 at the age of twenty years, Ekaterina gave birth to her Stalin; she named him Joseph (Iosif). Stalin was known as "Keke's miracle" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 26, 2008, p. 28; Radzinsky, 1996, p. 16). Stalin had poor health during his childhood years. He contracted smallpox at the age of four, which left his face scarred. In part, due to the history of loss, Ekaterina was extremely protective of him. She "never let him out of her sight until he was six" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 40); She continued to pray for her son reportedly saying "Please God, spare my only son, Joseph, whom I named after the earthly father of your only son, and I will give my son to your church as a priest to praise your holy name." (Lourie, 1999, p. 10). Stalin lived. Ekaterina admired and treasured Stalin and called him "Soso" which was a Georgian diminutive (Murphy, 1945; Brackman, 2001).

Early Environment

Bersarion and Ekaterina both came from religious family backgrounds, which they perpetuated in their own nuclear family. Furthermore, Gori was a religious town. It is evident that religion played a major role in Stalin's early life (Khlevniuk, 2015 & Montefiore, 2003). Stalin and his

parents frequently attended church and Stalin sang in the church choir. At church Stalin was known as the "best reader of Psalms" and other children were only permitted to read the scripture after he had tutored them (Montefiore, 2008, p. 36). Lourie (1999) claimed that people would look at Stalin "smilingly, the way they always do when they see a boy is destined to go places" (p. 22). Lourie (1999) asserted that this special treatment led to Stalin constructing the belief that God was "stern and wrathful and had his own ways, his own justice and [that] he alone was free"; thus, Stalin found himself in a superior position to others and saw "All the people on earth [as] his serfs" (p. 21).

Stalin's family lived in great poverty. After Stalin's birth, business did not go well for Bersarion; this, coupled with the grief of losing two children led him to the consumption of alcohol (Montefiore, 2003). His friends claimed that Bersarion was a man who was "greatly consumed by anger" (p. 19) and when drunk, continuously looked for fights with others (Radzinsky, 1996). The financial impact of his drinking increasingly affected his family as they had to move from one cheap rented house to another. According to Rigby (1966), Stalin's family "moved from one rented room to another nine times over ten years" (p. 23). It is deduced that Stalin's family did not have a stable home.

During their difficult financial situation, friends and relatives assisted the family with donations of clothes and money. Unfortunately, as time passed, Bersarion's drinking problem escalated to a point where the family did not have sufficient money to live. Bersarion became "a drunkard that spent all his earnings on alcohol" (Brackman, 2001, p. 5). This forced Ekaterina to seek work, which she found as a domestic worker in upper class houses. Because Stalin was Bersarion's only son, he hoped that Stalin would take after him and become a shoemaker. This dream was, however, disputed by Ekaterina who insisted that Stalin receive a proper education

and become a priest. These contradicting ideas emerged in a family atmosphere of conflict and tension.

Family tensions were escalated by Bersarion's violent tendencies. When Bersarion was under the influence of alcohol, he severely abused both Ekaterina and Stalin emotionally and physically. As a result, when he returned home drunk, Stalin and Ekaterina ran off to their neighbour's houses in fear, where they stayed until Bersarion fell asleep (Radzinsky, 1996; Montefiore, 2003; Montefiore, 2008). In one incident, Bersarion picked Stalin up and violently threw him on the floor; Stalin had blood in his urine for almost a week (Radzinsky, 1996). There was another incident where Bersarion severely assaulted Ekaterina, to the extent that Stalin ran off to seek help from the Gori police reportedly shouting "Help! Come quickly! He's killing my mother" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 23 & Montefiore, 2008, p. 30). The violence was so severe that neighbours noticed Bersarion's "hat[r]ed" toward Stalin; he continuously cursed Stalin, calling him a "bastard" (Brackman, 2001, p. 4). As the years went by, Ekaterina started fighting back, until, according to Radzinsky (1996), she "fearlessly exchanged blow for a blow" (p. 24). As a result, Bersarion began to feel uncomfortable in his home. When Stalin was five years old in 1883, Bersarion abandoned his family. He went to Tiflis to work in a shoe factory. Ekaterina was hurt and teary when he left, and Stalin tried to console her by saying "Mummy don't cry or I will cry too" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 31).

Bersarion's departure meant that Stalin's upbringing rested solely on Ekaterina's shoulders and as a result she worked tirelessly to save up money for his education. Ekaterina's ultimate intention was to afford Stalin a good education in order for him to live a better life than she had (Rigby, 1966). Amid Ekaterina's sacrifices and focus on Stalin, she was also described as a strict parent whom at times severely punished Stalin physically. It is alleged that in the peasant village

"children were exposed to severity and cruelty as well as to the affection and indulgence" of their parents (Khlevniuk, 2015, p. 13; Montefiore, 2008). As such, physical punishment was systemically endorsed.

After Bersarion left, because of financial challenges, Ekaterina and Stalin moved in with a priest known as father Charkviani; he became a father figure in Stalin's life. At the time things were difficult for Ekaterina and Stalin. Ekaterina noticed a change in Stalin as he "became very reserved, frequently sat alone, and did not go out to play with other children anymore" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 31).

Stalin as a Child

As a child Stalin was exposed to both harshness from his parents, but also affection from Ekaterina (Khlevniuk, 2015). Unlike other children in Gori at that time, Stalin was fortunate to attend school and was not forced into work at an early age. Stalin started school in 1888, when he was eight years old. Ekaterina arranged for him to become a learner at the Church Day School of Gori (Rigby, 1966 & Khlevniuk, 2015 & Randall, 1965). The school was initially meant for the children of clergy men; however, father Charkviani ensured that Stalin received a place at the school by claiming that Stalin was the son of a deacon. This arrangement was however against the wishes of Bersarion, who upon its discovery, went on a drunken rampage where he attacked Ekaterina as well as the police. This in turn saw him being banned from Gori. This incident was one of the contributing reasons that Bersarion moved to Tiflis.

When Stalin started school at Gori he was beautifully dressed to the extent that "no one else dressed like that in the whole class, the whole school" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 40); this was despite Ekaterina's financial circumstances. At school Stalin proved to be intelligent and a favourite of his teachers. Stalin freely made suggestions to teachers to "forgive the offences and

shortcomings of his classmates and to advise them on how to help failing students" (Brackman, 2001, p. 8). There was a harsh regime at school, and they used corporal punishment, yet Stalin worked hard and excelled in subjects such as theology, geography and history. Even though he excelled academically he also displayed immense talent in painting and drama classes (Randall, 1965). He was an energetic child who took pleasure in reading, writing poetry, and singing and had a passion for outdoor activities. Stalin had friends both at school and in the community; he played in the mountains of Gori, and he was generally active. However, at the age of nine years, Stalin suffered from blood poisoning, and was run over by a horse carriage, which caused his left arm to grow shorter in proportion to the right arm. Furthermore, in comparison with other boys, Stalin appeared relatively small and this became a great embarrassment to him. Because his height caused him great distress, he started to wear platform shoes in order for him to appear taller. Despite his efforts, other children at school constantly teased Stalin, and as a result he became involved in many fights at school. Radzinsky (1996) stated that Stalin had a friend at school by the name of Peradze. Peradze was simply a friend that Stalin ordered to fight off children whom teased him at school.

Over time, Stalin developed a reputation for being callous and rude towards his fellow students, he bullied those weaker than him and was often in trouble with the authorities (Murphy, 1945; Radzinsky, 1996; Montefiore, 2008). His favourite childhood game was known as *Krivi,* which was boxing game between children. The game consisted of two teams of boxers, who came from lower and upper towns of Georgia. Stalin was always in the upper town team. The lower town opponents were often stronger, however, Stalin had a tendency to unexpectedly attack his stronger opponents from behind which made him win. In his team Stalin manipulated situations to be number one; "he never lost his love for beating" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 29) and

never stopped until one surrendered defeat (Lourie, 1999). The children in his neighbourhood and school feared Stalin.

Rigby (1966) asserted that Stalin's childhood friend remembered him as the "best but the naughtiest pupil in their class" (p. 20). During his early years, Stalin and his friends formed a "gang" wherein Stalin was simply known as the "master of mischief" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 35). Stalin's "gang" consisted of strong boys whom he organised fights for with other children in their neighborhood, and caused great havoc within the community. Stalin was involved in many fights and his friend Kote stated that not a day passed without Stalin being beaten up and sent home crying (Montefiore, 2003, 2008). Stalin believed that he was an outstanding boy who according to Lourie (1999) was "the best wrestler and the best student" (p. 22).

When Stalin was ten years old, Bersarion returned and kidnapped him, forcing him to work as a shoemaker at the factory he worked at in Tiflis. The conditions at the factory were "harsh and dispiriting" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 40; 2008, p. 43) to the extent that Stalin cried everyday. At this point that Stalin wished his father dead in order to "disappear with his problems" (Lourie, 1999, p. 30). With the help of priests, Ekaterina was able to rescue her son. During this time rumours surfaced that Ekaterina was involved in intimate relationships with various clergymen around Gori. This caused great embarrassment, humiliation and jealously to both Stalin and Bersarion (Montefiore, 2003, 2008). In 1890, when Stalin was eleven years old, Bersarion died from Tuberculosis and chronic Pneumonia. After his death there was a very somber atmosphere in their home. The death of Bersarion affected Stalin immensely because he had many questions pertaining to his father's death that neither his mother nor the priest could answer for him. Stalin continually questioned as to "where his father was? Was he in heaven? Or hell?" (Lourie, 1999, p. 30).

Stalin took great pleasure in reading books from the library, which in turn made him very opinionated. According to Lourie (1999) Stalin was profoundly influenced by three types of books: novels, history books and works of science. During his early school years he secretively started reading books on Darwin's *Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* (Montefiore, 2008). These books had a profound effect on Stalin, to the point that they destroyed his religious beliefs (Rappaport, 1999). Stalin was often regarded by others as "too mature" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 101) for his age, and Montefiore (2008) believed that the volumes of books he read were the contributing factor. Stalin emphasised the thought that no God existed, to his friends (Rigby, 1966). He urged them to read Darwin's book.

Stalin continued schooling at the Church School. In February 1892, Stalin and other pupils at school were taken by school teachers to witness the hanging of several peasants; the hanging was carried out by clergyman. This incident made a deep and lasting impression on Stalin. To Stalin, the execution of peasants by clergy created ambiguity as it contradicted the commandment "thou shall not kill" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 39; Radzinsky, 1996). According to Rigby (1966), Montefiore (2003) and Montefiore (2008), Stalin decided that when he grows older he wants to be an administrator "so that he could deal with the problems of poverty that affected the population around Gori" (Montefiore, 2003, p.21). Stalin completed his studies in 1894 with excellent marks and received a certificate of honour.

Stalin as an Adolescent

In 1894, Stalin received a scholarship to attend the Theological Seminary in Tiflis (Rigby, 1966). As much as Ekaterina wanted him to become a priest, Stalin had mixed feelings about this goal. Despite this conflict, he went to the seminary and found a deep interest in the study of literature, history, sociology and other sciences (Murphy, 1945). Stalin was an academic, and continued to

excel academically. Finances were still a problem, and consequently he sang in the seminary choir to make money.

The Theological Seminary had a longstanding reputation for seeing students merely as instruments of the church; the church itself was the instrument of the Russian government which was brutal and repressive in nature (Murphy, 1945). Within the shadow of the Russian regime, the seminary was very strict and routined. It had rules that forbade students from public libraries or holding meetings that were unrelated to the curriculum. Offences saw students confined to cells. On his arrival at the seminary, Stalin was well behaved and did exactly what was expected of him as a scholar. However, according to Montgomery (1972), Stalin detested the routine of the seminary that centered around prayer sessions and long hours in the classroom, and he expressed that the scholars "felt like prisoners" (p. 201). Stalin suppressed his irreligious views because he knew that there would be negative consequences within the seminary, should they come to light. Stalin continued to write poetry and often took some of his written work to a local newspaper that published them.

However, within a few years, Stalin's behaviour changed. He started joining secret organisations that exposed him to foreign books (Rigby, 1966) which he believed provided him with "knowledge which the seminary could not provide" (Montgomery, 1972, p. 18). Over time, Stalin became more and more involved with his own literary and political explorations, and lost interest in his studies, which became evident in his marks dropping dramatically. Montefiore (2003, p. 35) and Khlevniuk (2015, p. 20) asserted that the seminary used "Jesuitical methods" of surveillance, spying, invasion of the inner life, and the violation of people's feelings; this context provided Stalin with "an education in subterfuge". Suspicion amongst teachers at the seminary grew regarding his behaviour, and this led to investigations that found Stalin with

foreign readings within his possession, which led to his confinement. Amongst his many readings, Stalin came across the works of Marxists, which he forwarded to students within the seminary, who then also further advanced them to other groups. In an interview later conducted with Stalin, he admitted to joining a Russian Marxist group at the age of fifteen years and stated that it had a "great influence" on him and gave him a taste of "underground Marxist literature" (Davies & Harris, 2005, p.32; Radzinsky, 1996).

Gradually, Stalin became a central figure within the illegal groupings. He became self-confident and developed the ability to mobilise others. According to Davies and Harris (2005), these early experiences led Stalin to develop a preference for decision making in small informal groups rather than large committees, and caused him to adopt a conspirational mentality. He also seemed to accept violence and manipulation as tools to advance himself.

Radzinsky's (1996) described Stalin's friendships as those whom he used "in his struggle with people he regard[ed] as his enemies" (p. 68). His "friends" acted as his "spies" and he further used them to advance himself in relation to his enemies. The implication is given that Stalin's friendships were less about the connection between him and another, and more about using others to advance his political agenda. During these adolescent years, Stalin was involved in many romantic and intimate sexual relationships with women. Montefiore (2008) asserted that in Stalin's early life he was rarely without a girlfriend. However, again, Service (2004) described his motives here as being "sexual gratification and domestic comfort" (p. 65).

Stalin was expelled from the seminary in April 1899, for disrespecting authority, for reading forbidden books, and for being regarded as "politically unreliable" (Radzinsky, 1999, p. 50). However, Ekaterina stated that Stalin left the seminary due to his poor health. She was disappointed in Stalin, and assumed that all her sacrifices were in vain (Radzinsky, 1996). Upon

his expulsion, Stalin was given a certificate stating that he had completed four years in the seminary.

The rise of Stalin.

Although the certificate Stalin was issued from the seminary qualified him for a position in religion and elementary school, Stalin remained in Tiflis against Ekaterina's wishes and served the revolutionary movement. Stalin stayed with and was financially assisted by Mikho Davitashivili, whom was also expelled from the seminary. Concurrently, in order to earn an income, he became a tutor for children, but soon thereafter attained a position as a clerk at the Tiflis Meteorological Observatory. The position of clerk entailed little work and allowed him time to read and write while on duty. Stalin continued to read and encountered the works of Vladimir Lenin, which further inspired him further towards revolutionary ideas (Bychowski, 1971 & Montefiore, 2003 & Murphy, 1945). Stalin sent the majority of the money he earned at work home to Ekaterina (Montefiore, 2003 & Radzinsky, 1996 & Montefiore, 2008).

In his early years as a political activist in Tiflis, Stalin became involved in organising strikes and robberies. After his first engagement as an activist he stopped using his birth name, Iosif Vissarionovich Dzuhugashvili. He adopted the code name "Koba" as it was easily remembered and understood by others. This nickname was inspired by a book authored by Alexander Kazbegi where the central figure, Koba, was a glorified Robin Hood who fought cunningly and ruthlessly. According to Tucker (1973, p. 80):

Soso's ideal and dream figure was Koba. Koba had become Soso's god, the sense of his life. He wanted to become another Koba, a fighter and a hero as famous as he. His face would shine with pride when he was called Koba.

Stalin later changed his name to Stalin, which meant "the man of steel" (Radzinsky, 1996; Montefiore, 2008). Stalin chose the name "Stalin" simply because he wanted it to sound like "Lenin".

Stalin became involved with a variety of revolutionary actions, including giving classes on socialist ideas and organising mass meetings. He was arrested several times for illegal acts. Most notably, he was arrested in 1900 for not paying his father's taxes as required, although this may reasonably be seen as a strategy used by the police to disrupt his activities. He had difficulties with finances, and his friends assisted him to pay the taxes to ensure his release. Shortly thereafter Stalin spoke at a mass meeting calling for a strike, which then occurred (Brackman, 2001). Most of the leaders involved in this meeting were arrested, but Stalin managed to evade arrest. His actions were now so glaring that he became a "wanted man" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 105). At this point he did not go back to his position at Tiflis Meteorological Observatory but lived off donations from others.

Young Adulthood (1900-1921)

Stalin: the revolutionary

By 1901, Stalin's rise as a political leader was evident. He joined the Social Democratic Labour Party. He became further rebellious under the movement and he was wanted by the police; he continued to evade them for a time. However, he arranged a demonstration in 1902, at which point he was arrested and forced into exile in Siberia (Stalin, 1954; Radzinsky, 1996). Being in exile during that time was dangerous and required constant vigilance, and it exposed him to acts of brutality and death (Stalin, 1954). While in exile, because of the changes that were taking place systemically, the Social Democratic Labour Party broke into two groups- the Bolsheviks who were led by Lenin, and the Mensheviks who were led by Julius Martov. Because Stalin had

already admired the work of Lenin, he joined the Bolsheviks. Shortly after the split, Stalin escaped from exile, and made his way to Tiflis (Radzinsky, 1996; Brackman, 2001).

First marriage.

Next Stalin became involved in the formation of battle squads who were involved in a variety of activities in support of the revolution. They launched attacks on government troops, conducted robberies, including raided government resources where possible, and ran protection rackets on local businesses to raise funds (Service, 2004). Stalin also attended conferences, where he met Lenin in person for the first time.

In his young adult years Stalin was charming, attractive and educated and because of this women became attracted to him. He reportedly had many relationships, but in 1906 married Ekaterina Svanidze. She soon gave birth to their first child, Yakov. Stalin cared for Ekaterina, who was a quiet and religiously devoted wife who "with all her heart looked after her husband's welfare" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 284). Murphy (1945) labelled Stalin as "cold and lonely" (p. 39) which ironically became apparent in his marriage. Even though Stalin loved Ekaterina, his work took up most of his time to the extent that he showed her little affection. As a result, Stalin's appearances at his home were "irregular and unpredictable" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 29). A year later, in 1907, Ekaterina died of tuberculosis, at the age of twenty two years (Murphy, 1945). According to Murphy (1945, p. 45) and Lourie (1999, p. 163) this became an emotional time for Stalin as he felt that the "warm feelings he had for people died with her"; this comment eludes to Ekaterina as the only individual that could "melt his stony heart". Stalin was inconsolable and according to Rigby (1966), threw himself onto his wife's coffin; people felt great pity for him. Murphy (1945) stated that after Ekaterina's death, Stalin developed a "heart of steel" (p. 46)

Stalin and relationships.

After Ekaterina's death, Stalin continued with guerilla attacks/tactics. He rose up to the dominant leadership position of the Bolsheviks in his local area, and remained in contact with Lenin (Brackman, 2001; Service, 2004). In 1908 he was arrested and exiled again, but escaped to continue his activist work. Stalin never trusted people's intentions and this was evident within his interactions with others; if he suspected any disloyalty, he would kill them (Murphy, 1945).

Stalin started dating again, mostly while in exile. In 1909 he was involved in a relationship with a woman named Stefaniia Petrovskaia who was a young revolutionary, also in exile (Radzinsky, 1996 & Montefiore, 2003). The two were permitted by government officials to get married; however, the wedding never took place. A year later, Stalin became involved with his landlady, Maria Kuzakova, who gave birth to his second son, Konstantin. Stalin never had contact with Konstantin (Khlevniuk, 2015). In 1914, at the age of thirty five, Stalin was involved in a relationship with a thirteen year old girl named Lidia. The relationship was largely prohibited because of her young age, however, Stalin continued to live with Lidia (Khlevniuk, 2015). As a result, Lidia became pregnant and in response to this Stalin promised to marry her. In December 1914 Lidia gave birth to a son who died in infancy. In 1916, Lidia fell pregnant for the second time and this time Stalin abandoned her (Khlevniuk, 2015). It is believed that he was also involved in another relationship with a sixteen year old girl named Polia (Radzinsky, 1996; Khlevniuk, 2015) at this time. In April 1916 Lidia gave birth to Anderson, who also never met Stalin. According to Radzinsky (1996) Stalin seduced a lot of women, but to him the revolution always came first. During his relationships he promised many young girls marriage but later abandoned them (Radzinsky, 1996, Montefiore, 2003).

In 1917, Russia entered World War 1. Stalin was conscripted into the war, but did not pass the medical examination and was declared unfit for duty (Rappaport, 1999; Brackman, 2001). During this time there were many uprisings, and Tsar Nicolas abdicated his throne, and Russia became a republic, headed by a Provisional government made up of mostly liberals. Stalin became a member of the executive committee within the Petrograd Soviet, and came third in Bolshevik elections for their national committee (Service, 2004). Over time the Provisional government tried to suppress Bolshevik uprisings, but unsuccessfully so. The Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, conducted a coup and gained control of Petrograd. At the time Stalin was a senior member of the party's Central Committee and the editor of their newspaper.

Lenin became the new leader, but was closely backed in this position by three other strong Central Committee members, Trotsky, Sverdlov and Stalin (Brackman, 2001). Over time, Stalin's popularity among the Bolsheviks grew. Stalin became involved in the military. He took charge of regional military operations. A civil war broke out, and Stalin became known for his use of violence and terror as strategies within the conflict. The Bolsheviks won by the end of 1919 (Murphy, 1945; Rigby, 1966).

Middle Adulthood (1922-1943)

Second marriage.

In 1919, at the age of 41, Stalin felt the need to take a second wife. His initial intention was to return to Georgia, his home country, to look for a suitable second bride. However, he realised that he needed to find "a kind of wife that will be able to mix socially with intellectual elite and top political cadres of the new government" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 3). Stalin met Nadezhda Alliluyeva who was the daughter of a fellow revolutionary (Rappaport, 1999). According to Stalin, Nadezhda looked at him as if he was a hero and it was that look that attracted him to her

(Lourie, 1999). Stalin perceived her to be the right political noble (Rappaport, 1999), and in 1919, twelve years after the death of Ekaterina, they married. Nadezhda was eighteen years old and he was thirty six years of age. Montefiore (2008) described Nadezhda as "selfish, cold with a fiery temper" (p. 6).

In the early 1920s Stalin became a Chief Operator. As a Chief Operator Stalin was responsible for organising kidnappings, extortions and the spreading of propaganda. His organising skills and ability to mobilise others brought him close to Lenin and enabled him to rise effectively through the ranks of the Bolsheviks. In 1922, Lenin appointed Stalin as the General Secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party.

Within the General Secretary position, Stalin initially perceived himself as being insecure in his power, and even though he delegated responsibilities, he never entirely trusted those who worked for him. However, Stalin was "a gifted organizer" who never "improvised but took every decision, weighing it very carefully" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 49). As General Secretary, Stalin had the power to remove and replace people from important governmental positions; he used his skills at organisation and manipulation here. When he felt threatened in his position by someone not approving of his behaviour, he removed them from their position (Bychowski, 1971). He worked in small informal groups, and ruthlessly destroyed his political rivals. In order to protect his power Stalin used violence (Davies & Harris, 2005); people feared him and this in turn increased his confidence (Davies & Harris, 2005). Stalin selected workers and consolidated his power until all members of the central command owed their positions to him. According to Bychowski (1971) "Joseph Stalin knew how to persecute and avenge himself. He knew how to strike at weak spots." (p. 126). Consequently, the General Secretary position played a crucial role

in Stalin's further rise to power. Davies and Harris (2005) regarded him as a "sly, contradictory and complex figure"(p. 32).

Over time, conflict began to erupt between Stalin and Lenin with regards to Stalin's tactics to further himself within the party. As a result Lenin wanted to remove Stalin from his post. According to Rappaport (1999), Lenin became "alarmed by Stalin's growing abuse of power and in particular, his coarseness and ill manners" (p. 96). However, after several secret efforts to remove Stalin from power and give Trotsky, his partner, ultimate power, in 1922 Lenin had a fatal stroke. This became the opportunity Stalin needed to advance himself. Against the wishes of Lenin and his family, Stalin publicly arranged a praise and adoration for Lenin, while portraying himself as a saint and suitable successor of Lenin (Montefiore, 2003). In addition, Stalin publicly criticised Lenin as a man with "less than average stature" who was in "no way distinguishable from ordinary mortals" (Himmer, 1986, p. 271) while referring to himself as "the rightful, genuinely proletarian leader" (p. 285). This was a plan to build up his power.

Lenin died in 1924. After Lenin's death, in order to overturn the decision for Trotsky to become leader, Stalin secretively created an alliance with Kamenev and Zinoviev who held powerful positions within the Soviet Union. Through the alliance and his mobilised supporters, Stalin gained dominance in the Party and eventually became the leader of Soviet Union (Bychowski, 1971; Lourie, 1999).

Nadezhda became known as the "first lady" of USSR. Within Stalin's personal life, Nadezhda was not politically minded but focused on building a home for Stalin. They had two children; a son, Vasiiy (1921) and a daughter, Svetlana (1926), whom Nadezhda raised together with Yakov, from Stalin's first marriage. Nadezhda furthermore enrolled for a course in Chemistry in 1929 and focused on her studies. Stalin's marriage with Nadezhda wasn't

completely stable. Murphy (1945) described it as "tense" (p. 28). Stalin and Nadezhda often fought. Stalin drank heavily, and engaged in extramarital affairs, and this aggravated their conflict.

Political focus.

Stalin's views and consequent ruling was deeply entrenched in socialistic philosophies. This extended, in 1930, to Stalin launching a series of Five Year plans to transform the Soviet Union from a peasant owned society into a major industrial superpower. The Five Year plans were based on Stalin's policy of 'Socialism in One Country', which stressed the need for the Soviet Union to strengthen itself internally (Montefiore, 2003; McCauley, 1983). Stalin's Five Year plans centered on government control of the economy, and forced collectivism of Soviet agriculture, in which the government took control of farms. The Five Year plans entailed the relinquishing of land given to peasants and the construction of collective farms.

The Five Year plans were met with great distress and terror by farmers. The farmers land was taken away from them and there was utmost control of wages and food consumption which led to famine in Russia between 1932 and 1933 (Rappaport, 1999). Stalin was partly motivated by his belief that collectivism would increase food production; he believed that the plans would lead to a large increase in agricultural production which in return would raise the standard of living of the peasants as well as the urban population (Davies & Wheatcroft, 2006). However, Stalin's plans were ineffective and unrealistic given the short amount of time provided to meet the desired goals (Montefiore, 2008). Over time, the widespread famine across the Soviet Union killed millions of people. Many froze to death as they waited in line for their food rations. Stalin further refused to take ownership of the failure of his policy, attributing the famine to the

peasants own fault (Davies & Wheatcroft, 2006). According to Bychowski (1971) the famine between 1932 and 1933 killed over ten million people.

Stalin further called for rapid industrialisation that placed emphasis on heavy industry in order to increase economic growth. This was met with a lot of concern as the Soviet industrial growth was at the expense of consumer goods and exploitation of peasants. The rapid industrialisation placed emphasis on quantity over quality, and as a result unrealistic targets were set for workers (Scott, 1973). The industrialisation resulted in inefficiency because workers were illiterate and could not effectively use machinery. This in turn affected the production of consumer goods. According to Scott (1973) shelves in stores were often empty and "what one ate depended on what there was to buy in a particular store" (p. 42). Poor working and living conditions meant that peasants were exposed to sickness and physical exhaustion from working long hours. During this time the military police were harsh and merciless towards peasants who were resistant to Stalin's policies. Resistant peasants were either executed or sent to concentration camps to die. Regardless of societal impact, Stalin's order for rapid industrialisation became successful, albeit at the expense of its peasantry workers.

The Five Year plans reflected Stalin's personal and impatient response to a lack of economic progress within Russia (Rappaport, 1999). Rappaport (1999) stated that the manner in which the Five Year plans policy was instituted was through "a blind, dogmatic insistence that invited neither criticism nor informed suggestions" (p. 247). This creates the impression that the plans were an extension of Stalin's will, and were not established through collaboration with others.

Personal life.

Concurrent to Stalin initiating his first Five Year plan, Stalin had an affair with Rosa Kaganovich. Nadezhda found out about the affair and consequently committed suicide

(Khlevniuk, 2015). Stalin had struggled to deal emotionally with Nadezhda (Montefiore, 2008). Davies and Harris (2005) highlighted that Nadezhda "was expected to provide psychological support" (p. 30) for Stalin, but he never returned this. According to her daughter Sventlana, Nadezhda couldn't bear Stalin's brutality as "she was unhappy and irritated, withholding her feelings" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 5). Before Nadezhda's death, in 1932, she reported feeling "lonely, rejected and underappreciated" in her marriage with Stalin (p. 291).

Stalin was furious at Nadezhda for committing suicide, reportedly saying "how could she do this to me" and asking several questions pertaining to himself, such as "what was missing in him" (Montefiore, 2003, p.109). Montefiore (2003) described Stalin as angry and bitter after her death, and as a result said his wife "went away as an enemy" (p. 110). Stalin launched a cover up story of Nadezhda's suicide asserting that she died of appendicitis. This was the same story he told his children. Stalin's intention was to protect his public image as a leader (Service, 2004).

Within his personal relationships Stalin never seemed to compromise. According to people who knew him, Stalin became crueler after Nadezhda's death (Rigby, 1966). Montefiore (2003) asserted that Nadezhda's death wounded and humiliated Stalin, "breaking one more of his ties with human sympathy, doubling his brutality, jealousy, coldness and self-pity" (p. 112). Rappaport (1999) alleged that Stalin did not go to Nadezhda's burial, as he feared assassination. After her funeral, rumours emerged that Stalin actually killed Nadezhda, either through a fight they had, or through others on Stalin's order, however, no supporting evidence was found for these allegations. After Nadezhda's death Stalin never remarried again instead he committed more of his time to his role as the Soviet leader.

Reign of terror.

From 1936 to 1938 Stalin ruled by terror and with a totalitarian control. Many people were unhappy about Stalin's plans and policy's, and this resulted in unrest. The reign of terror was a political repression focused on bringing the masses under centralised control of the government. The repression was aimed at the persecution of individuals who were resistant to Stalin's demands - they faced dire consequences that resulted in death or being sent to concentration camps (Murphy, 1945). According to Lourie (1999) what mattered most to Stalin was to "kill his enemies, before they killed him" (p. 188). Bychowski (1971) explained that Stalin perceived opposition to his ideas and policy's as being disloyal and criminal, hence he killed individuals who opposed him. In order to know who was for and against him, he expanded the power of the military police, and encouraged citizens to spy on one another. According to Davies and Wheatcroft (2006), Stalin personally "initiated and endorsed the measures involving the large scale use of force" (p. 628). Throughout the period, many died, along with the effects of the famine.

Cult of personality.

The cult of personality had a long standing tradition in Russia. Powerful leaders strengthened their legitimacy and united their citizens into identifying themselves with the entity of their leader. As such, the leader's personality was branded, in order to engender a cult following. Stalin's cult of personality became part of the Soviet culture in 1929. To do so, Stalin manipulated propaganda, and mass media to present himself as a heroic, and powerful figure to his masses. Stalin was presented as an "architect of Socialism, a wise and paternal figure of the nation, and as a humble man with a close relationship to the ordinary people" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 60). History photographs and books were edited and rewritten in order to depict Stalin as the

hero of the Revolution. The Soviet press presented Stalin in this manner so that his name and image became universal. This was a process of indoctrination which became centrally focused on children. According to Montefiore (2003), at the beginning of 1935, the phrase "thank you dear comrade Stalin for a happy childhood" appeared in above doorways in nurseries, orphanages and schools. The intention of this was to use traditional religious symbols and language to shift away from church towards Stalin, and regard him as "father" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 115). During this time Stalin was praised and often described as the "great, inspirer and a caring yet strong father figure" (Montefiore, 2003, p.116). Brackman (2001) stated that as a result of Stalin's cult, millions of people looked up to Stalin as their protector from injustice and as an embodiment of all their hopes.

Stalin: Good intentions.

Stalin was harsh in his dealings under the Soviet Union, yet Davies and Harris (2005) believed that his intentions were greatly to help rather than harm. Davies and Harris stated that Stalin was "attracted to heroes and individuals who defended the interests of the needy" and dreamed of growing up to "participate in the struggle together with the poor" (p.34). Despite the destruction caused to individuals, Stalin's efforts transformed Russia into a global superpower. Despite the failures and breakdowns, Stalin's Five Year plans were a success to a certain extent as Russia made tremendous progress in economic development. Montgomery (1972) stated that Stalin's policies ensured that the Soviet people had universal access to healthcare; this in turn greatly improved the quality of life of the people while increasing their lifespan. Montgomery (1972) asserted that Stalin provided education for women and occupations that were equal to those of men. He argued for the equal rights of women and changed family life, so that women were no longer confined to traditional ideas of domestic chores and child rearing.

Old Age (1944-1953)

Health decline.

After the Second World War Stalin's health began to deteriorate. He suffered a severe heart attack in 1945, when he was aged 67. As his health began to deteriorate, his paranoia increased. According to relevant sources at the time, Stalin became a hypochondriac, where he became obsessed about the possibility of being poisoned (Radzinsky, 1996, Rappaport, 1999, Montefiore, 2003, 2008). As a result, all his foods were freshly harvested and tasted by his officials before he ate them. In early 1952, Stalin's doctor, Vladimir Vinogradov noticed a marked change for the worse in Stalin's health. He advised Stalin to take things easily as his condition was concerning. However, Stalin became angry and threw a furious rage that saw his doctor arrested. As time passed both his physical and mental health declined and he appeared weakened and short of breath (Rappaport, 1999). He began to feel his age and at times he would tell his colleagues that he did not have a long time to live. Eventually the deterioration of his health led to his resignation as the leader of Russia. After he resigned he spent most of his time in his *datcha (house)* in the Moscow suburb of Kuntsevo, wherein Rappaport (1999) reported that Stalin became increasingly isolated. During his time in his *datcha* Stalin enjoyed the company of his colleagues and they drank, watched movies and ate.

Death.

Sventlana and Yakov, Stalin's children, were summoned to Moscow to come see their father as he had wanted to see them (Rappaport, 1999). Both children came to his bedside. On 5 March Stalin died of a stroke (Rigby, 1966, Radzinsky, 1996, Montefiore, 2003, 2008, Khlevniuk, 2015) in his bedroom. According to Montgomery (1972), he lay dying alone in the floor of his bedroom. His guards became alarmed when they did not hear a sound from him all day. They

knocked several times trying to check if he was fine but he did not respond. However, because they feared him and they were given strict orders not to enter his private space, they left him to die alone. Montefiore (2003) asserted that "no one was left, wife child or friends to enter the private world of Stalin" (p. 114). Upon examination, the doctors announced that he had suffered a massive stroke.

According to Svetlana it had been a "difficult and terrible death" (Rigby, 1966, p.76). The news of Stalin's death sent shock waves throughout the Soviet nation; people were numb with shock and cried on the streets for Stalin. Stalin's body was embalmed for long term preservation and placed for display in Moscow House of Union for three days. The official funeral took place on 9 March, where thousands of people attended and Stalin was put to rest at the Lenin's Mausoleum in Red Square. According to Rappaport (1999), to the Russian people, the death of Stalin was a devastating blow as they had lost "the nations father figure" and the "embodiment of everything sacred" (p. 262).

Stalin's Relationships

It adds to the understanding of Stalin to explore some of his relationships in greater detail.

Yakov Stalin.

Yakov was Stalin's eldest son from his first marriage. After Ekaterina's [his first wife's] death, Stalin, did not have a close relationship with Yakov, whom he later lost contact with. At the age of one, Yakov was sent to Germany to be raised by his maternal family until Stalin recalled him to Moscow when he was fourteen years in 1922. As a child, Yakov never experienced Stalin's love. Stalin later had a daughter, Sventlana, who described Yakov as "peace[ful] loving, gentle and extremely quiet" (Radzinsky, 1996, p.16). Stalin continuously expressed his disappointment in Yakov, as a father he perceived his son as weak and they often fought (Rigby, 1966). Yakov

assumed duties within the Red Army during the World War Two. During this time he was captured by Germans who negotiated for an exchange of a German officer in return of Yakov. Stalin refused this offer, reportedly saying "I have no son named Yakov" (Khlevniuk, 2015, p. 96). As a result, Yakov felt that he had failed his father and confessed that during his capture he had tried shooting himself; he felt that Stalin would have preferred if he had (Davies & Harris, 2005).

In later years Yakov wanted to get married, and Stalin refused his permission. Consequently, Yakov tried to shoot himself again. However, he did not succeed. Yakov lay on the floor bleeding, and Stalin said "he can't even shoot straight" (Khlevniuk, 1996, p. 96; Montefiore, 2003). Yakov died at the age of thirty six, due to what was believed to be suicide (Murphy, 1945).

Sventlana Stalin.

Sventlana was Stalin's daughter from his second marriage. Stalin showed affection for Svetlana, who he adored and considered "his favourite child" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 25; 2008). This relationship was better than the relationships Stalin had with his sons. Sventlana commented on how she and her two brothers loved home and Nadezhda, and how their home was filled with happiness (Khlevniuk, 2015). Sventlana was only six years when her mother passed away. As a young girl, Stalin used to call her his "little hostess" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 69). However, as Sventlana, grew older and started asserting her independence things changed as she started to encounter the darker side of Stalin's nature. At the age of fifteen while she was reading an American magazine, she found out how her mother died. This, according to Sventlana, became a "harsh awakening" (Service, 2004, p. 20) that made her realise that her mother was a victim of his father's repressive policies. Sventlana believed that Stalin monitored and wanted full control

in everything she did. Sventlana said that he "controlled her life" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 70). When Sventlana was seventeen years old she fell in love with a thirty six year old filmmaker by the name of Alaskei Kapler. Stalin disapproved of this relationship and as a result sent Alaskei to a concentration camp. Stalin requested all the letters that Alaskei wrote to Sventlana, he read them and further tore them up. This control led to her developing a negative attitude towards him, defining him as a "moral and spiritual monster" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 70).

According to Rigby (1966) Stalin instructed Sventlana on what occupation to choose and controlled her relationships. While she was a student in Moscow University, Sventlana married a Jewish fellow student by the name of Grigory Morozov with whom she had a child by the name of Josef. In 1947, they got divorced and in an attempt to mend her relationship with her father, Sventlana got married to the son of a top party bureaucrat, Andrey Zhdanov, whom his father approved of. The couple had a daughter by the name of Katya. In 1952 the couple got divorced.

She married a third husband, an Indian communist by the name of Brajesh Singh, but he died in 1966. Sventlana was allowed an exit a visa to travel with his ashes to India. This became an opportunity for her to immigrate to the United States thus leaving her children behind. She died in 2012 (Rappaport, 1999).

Vasiliy Stalin.

Vasiliy was Stalin's son from his second marriage. When Nedzehda died, Vasiliy was twelve years old. Vasiliy recalled how Stalin became even more withdrawn, and concentrated immensely on politics, while giving no attention to his children (Rappaport, 1999; Montefiore, 2003). Vasiliy stated that as children at home they "lived badly" (Davies & Harris, 2005, p.18) with no relation to their father. At the age of seventeen years, Vasiliy was sent to the elite Kuchinsky Flying School of the Red Army in Moscow, even though he had obtained poor marks

at school. Stalin described Vasiliy as a "spoilt boy of average abilities, and a little savage who's not always truthful" (Khlevniuk, 2015, p. 160). At school Vasiliy used his surname to obtain privileges that were reserved for senior students. Upon hearing about this Stalin ordered an immediate end to Vasiliy's "special treatment" (Montefiore, 2003, p.50; Montefiore, 2008, p.66) further asking his teachers to be stricter towards him. As a result of this treatment, Vasiliy started to drink at a young age and developed suicidal thoughts; Stalin regarded this as blackmailing tactics. However, because Vasiliy was a talented pilot he passed and graduated from aviation school. Even after he graduated, Vasiliy continued to use his surname to his advantage in order to progress up the ranks both in his occupation and social life. According to Montefiore (2003), Vasiliy feared no one but Stalin, whom he became a "stammering wreck" in front of (p. 16). Occasionally when he reached out to Stalin, fights emerged which pushed him further into drinking. After serving his country as a pilot in World War 2 in 1948, he worked at the Soviet Air Force. In 1962 at the age of forty one he died of an alcohol overdose (Davies & Harris, 2005).

Mother son relationship.

After Stalin rose to power he uprooted his mother, Ekaterina, from "their humble home to the splendid isolation of the former palace of the tsar's viceroy in Tiflis" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 70). Being a modest peasant, Ekaterina never adjusted to the large living space, often confining herself to one little room; living "abstemiously" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 71), and made no material demands on her son. Stalin rarely visited Ekaterina, and she refused to visit him in Moscow. Stalin ensured that Ekaterina was well taken care of and often wrote letters to her. Ekaterina was never impressed with Stalin's rise to political power, often telling him that he "would have done better to remain a priest" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 70). On 4 June 1937 Ekaterina passed away due to

pneumonia. Her funeral was reported in Georgia; however, Stalin requested that it not be announced across the rest of Soviet Union. Stalin did not attend her funeral, instead sent a wreath that wrote "to my dear and beloved mother from her son Ioseb Dzuhugashvili" (Khlevniuk, 2015, p. 13). It is believed that the reason for not attending was because he disliked traveling and feared assassination. Georgians considered his absence as a "callous rejection of deeply held Georgian traditions regarding the proper burial of the dead" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 70).

Conclusion

The chapter provided a chronological overview of the Stalin's life history, including the historical context into which he was born, his childhood and adolescence, young adulthood, middle adulthood, old age and death. Significant relationships were also explored. The chapter aimed at creating an understanding of Stalin within his socio-historical context.

In the following chapter, Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality are applied to Stalin's life experiences. The following chapter provides the results of the study, and discussion thereof.

Chapter 6

Findings and Discussion

Introduction

The findings of the research study are presented in this chapter. The data collected on the life of Joseph Stalin is understood with the constructs of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology, as discussed in chapter 3, and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model, as discussed in chapter 4.

Overview of Aim

The primary aim of the study was to explore and describe the personality development of Stalin by applying Adler's theory of Individual Psychology theory and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality to his life experiences. Pivotal theoretical constructs from these theories were used to form a conceptual framework, which formed the lens through which Stalin's life experiences were examined.

Results and Discussion

The results of this analysis are presented within the structure of developmental life stages, namely, Childhood and Adolescence, Adulthood and Old Age. Young adulthood and middle adulthood are condensed here into an Adulthood section. This is as there is little personal information to analyse in the literature on Stalin's life, and sources focus more on his career. Consequently, there is not enough information in sources to warrant these sections to be separated.

Childhood and Adolescence

Adler's structure and development of personality.

Childhood experiences.

Childhood experiences refer to early recollections or memories that occur approximately before the age of 5. These memories are interpreted by individuals, who use them to draw conclusions about themselves, others and the world (Adler, 1958). They have bearing on the individual's present and future life (Meyer, Moore, & Viljoen, 2008) as they impact the personality that is formed. It is difficult to identify from Stalin's perspective, which early childhood experiences he deemed significant, because he revealed very little about his childhood. He went as far as actively protecting his childhood information, personally requesting biographers not to focus on it. In all the works they produced, only two paragraphs about his early childhood are included. He did say that he "wept a lot during his terrible childhood" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 31) which provides us with a sense of the tone that these early memories had. It can reasonably be deduced that the physical abuse Stalin experienced from his parents would have featured in these early memories. In terms of his interactions with his father, the violence was so severe that neighbors noticed how Bersarion "hated" Stalin and called him a "bastard" (Brackman, 2001, p. 4). This anger was physically imposed on Stalin and can reasonably be seen as out of proportion to any punishment Stalin may have deserved. There is no literature that describes life experiences associated with love and kindness from his father, and instead an overwhelmingly focus on life experiences involving his father's aggression toward him. Given that Stalin was physically punished to the point of abuse (Montefiore, 2008, Khlevnuik, 2015) by Ekaterina as well, current knowledge on physical abuse, would highlight that these abusive relationships are likely to have had a negative impact on him.

The other theme that is prevalent in the literature on Stalin's early life is the consistent moving of the family home, due to stressed financial circumstances. It is possible that this

inconsistency and stress impacted Stalin, and formed part of his early recollections, although there is no indication of the extent of this impact to draw on.

Bersarion abandonment of his family would have made a big impact on Stalin. After he left, Bersarion did not visit his family. Ekaterina initially felt conflicted and hurt, and it is likely that Stalin was aware of this. Ekaterina mentioned Stalin "became very reserved, frequently sat alone, and did not go out to play with other children anymore" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 31). It can be deduced that the behaviour change reflects a difficult time for him. The tendency towards withdrawal or introversion is an aspect of Stalin's life that seemed present there from. In adulthood, he was often alone and was not generally seen in public (Rappaport, 1999).

Stalin's health was a difficulty from the age of four years; he contracted smallpox which left his face scarred. Ekaterina had lost two children at this point, and was over protective. Beria, Stalin's lieutenant, later described Ekaterina as "severe and suffocating" (Brackman, 2001, p. 255). Ekaterina "never let him out of her sight until he was six" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 40). Stalin later experienced other illnesses which may have compounded the impact of his early smallpox experience. It is likely that Stalin's illnesses were responded to with immediacy and heightened concern. Ekaterina often feared for his life and tried to protect him from any perceived harm. It is clear from the literature that his physical deficiencies became a great embarrassment to him and thus the accumulation of health issues affected him. It is unclear whether this illness at age 4 was the primary event informing his doubt in his physical robustness, but it is a distinct possibility. Adler believed that recollections of sickness and death lead the individual to fear death and continuously seek to avoid exposure to death (Adler, 1929)

Adler (1929, 1958) stated that early recollections are incorporated in a person's style of life. These life experiences informed Stalin's pattern, positioning him to the world in a particular

way. His life experiences highlight Stalin's vulnerable position, on the receiving end of physical aggression, household instability and stress, with some measure of illness, along with indulgence coddling, and overprotection from his mother.

Social environment.

Adler stated that the social environment includes the family constellation, the family atmosphere and the cultural context.

Family constellation. Stalin was the third child born to Bersarion and Ekaterina. Both his older siblings, Mikhail and Giorgi, died in infancy thus making Stalin the only child. Thus the researcher considers Stalin's development as an only child. Adler believed that only children are spoilt and pampered by their parents. In Stalin's early life, he got almost everything he wanted from Ekaterina. Stalin was overprotected by Ekaterina who he reportedly "never let him out of her sight until he was six" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 40). Ekaterina "made him feel special and dressed him as well as her finances allowed" (Service, 2010, p. 16), which was described as better than others - "no one else dressed like that in the whole class, the whole school" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 40). This constructs an image of Stalin as being special and indulged.

Only children use their charm to elicit help from others, and to get others to meet their needs. At school, when Stalin was teased by his peers, he would order his friend, Peradze, to fight off the children who teased him. Stalin also used his charm when he formed a gang, the gang of strong boys; his motives were for the boys to gain victory over others, and through that gain superiority. Here we see him manipulating to have his needs met. Adler (1965) suggested that the only child constantly seek attention as it "acquires them the feeling that they count for something of great value" (p. 127). Stalin sought attention through being the best in everything he did. As a child he enjoyed playing *Krivi,* and in his team he was "always number one" and

through that he got praise from his fellow students. At the seminary he wanted all circle members to support and believe his opinions and did not accept any criticisms of his views (Brackman, 2001). In these examples we see him craving the limelight, seeking attention through a dominant role.

Thus, there is some evidence in Stalin's childhood for patterns around being special, manipulating others to meet his needs, and acquiring their admiration, which is somewhat congruent with patterns associated with the only child position.

Family atmosphere. Stalin did not mention anything about the family atmosphere growing up, but deductions can be made from his early experiences.

Before Stalin was born his parents experienced the death of two children, which was difficult for them. Ekaterina was overprotective of Stalin, and this can be attributed, at least in part, to these losses. Stalin's birth was a 'miracle' to Ekaterina, and she was prepared to do anything in order to ensure his survival. Ekaterina also understood the loss of her first two children as "shattering their happiness as a family and turning it into sorrow" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 21; Montefiore, 2008, p. 27), implying that despite Stalin's survival, he was born into an atmosphere of sorrow.

In part, as a result of his grief, Bersarion began drinking and this gradually worsened (Montefiore, 2003, 2008). Stalin was born into a family which was functioning within an alcoholic pattern. Brackman (2001) described Bersarion as "a drunkard that spent all his earnings on alcohol" (p. 5). This, along with evidence of the family often moving to increasingly deteriorating accommodation (Rigby, 1966), in a socio historical context that was already impoverished, points to financial strain.

Descriptions of conflict between Bersarion and Ekaterina convey a patriarchal family structure. Ekaterina stated: "Bersarion took it into his head to remove the boy from school so that he could teach Soso the shoemaking trade. I did oppose it and argued as much as I could; I even quarreled with my husband" (Brackman, 2001, p. 7). The word *even* here conveys a sense of extreme behaviour, implying that arguing or opposing Bersarion was not a normal occurrence. Bersarion was a powerful figure in contrast to Ekaterina (Radzinsky, 1996, Brackman, 2001). He was the head of the household who was primarily responsible for all decisions within the house, including decisions about Stalin (Radzinsky, 1996). Bersarion was also the sole provider, with Ekaterina assuming responsibilities of household duties and caring for Stalin. According to Montefiore (2003) a "son was the pride of a Georgian man" (p. 17). This pride was not seen in Bersarion's behaviour, as he was consistently cold and derogatory towards Stalin. According to neighbours he hated Stalin and continuously cursed him, calling him a "bastard" (Brackman, 2001, p. 4).

From a young age Stalin endured physical punishment from Bersarion. Ekaterina also punished Stalin physically, resulting in him fearing her. Bersarion was violent towards both Ekaterina and Stalin. This pattern of violence would have permeated their home, causing generalised fear and tension. It is possible to distinguish spousal abuse from the physical punishment of a child. However, there are indications that the punishment Stalin received was beyond what was reasonable. Khlevniuk (2015, p. 13) asserted that, at the time, "children were exposed to severity and cruelty as well as to the affection and indulgence" from their parents. This certainly seems congruent with how Ekaterina treated Stalin, although it is not congruent with how Bersarion treated him. It is reasonable to deduce that Stalin feared both his parents.

Even in adulthood, Sventlana, Stalin's daughter, recalled how Stalin feared no one else but his mother (Montefiore, 2003, 2008).

Adler (1930) suggested that if children experience their parents as uncaring and cruel, they may come to view society with mistrust. It is possible that the punishments sustained from his parents developed in Stalin mistrust for others, and possibly a suspiciousness of their motives. This may have been further cemented when Stalin was abandoned by his father, an event which was the ultimate signifier that his father could not be trusted. The researcher hypothesises that it is possible that Stalin's experiences fit with Adler's description of a neglected child. The neglected child is one who feels unloved, unwanted and unappreciated. These feelings are prevalent in the relationship Stalin had with both his parents.

Cultural context. Stalin was born into a poor village to a social strata of peasants, who experienced very poor living conditions. Within this community, individuals worked for little money, and life was hard for everyone. As a class, peasants were not considered important, and although they made up the majority of the population, very little was done to improve their circumstances. Amid these circumstances that challenged the individual's positive experience, the community was rooted in patriarchy, with men holding the greatest amount of power in the family, usually as the main breadwinner. Men would have experienced a lot of pressure to produce, within circumstances that were severely restricted. Adler argued that in such cultures that value masculine traits above feminine traits, men often develop high standards and unattainable goals in an effort to be perceived as a powerful (Adler, 1929, 1958).

These systemic influences are likely to have strongly affected Bersarion, and the systemic endorsement of male dominance may also be drawn on to understand his behaviour. It is important to note that this culture would have formed the background to Stalin's childhood

development, influencing his view of men and women, and what interaction is acceptable for men.

Adler's motivational dynamics.

Striving for significance.

Feelings of inferiority. Stalin's feelings of inferiority, like all children, would have been impacted by his perceived smallness and dependence on the adults in his life (Adler, 1929; Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008). However, these feelings were also generated through *negative life experiences* and *systemic endorsement*.

Personally, Stalin experienced abuse, abandonment and poverty. As a parental figure, Bersarion carried an image of being powerful, and with his aggressive tendencies, Stalin would have perceived himself as weak and helpless in comparison. His fear for Bersarion is shown in his running to the neighbours house to stay until Bersarion had fallen asleep. The need for protection may have led to perceptions of himself as weak for needing to run away.

Stalin also endured physical punishment from Ekaterina. According to Stalin's daughter Sventlana "she used to trash him" (Tucker, 1973, p.72). Here too, Stalin would have perceived himself as weak and helpless, because Ekaterina was bigger and stronger than him. Even though physical punishment was systemically endorsed, overall, in relation to other boys in town, Stalin had a "rougher upbringing" (Service, 2010, p. 21). It is likely that this heightened level of aggression directed at him would have made him fearful and would have engendered feelings of inferiority.

Stalin's family struggled financially. The need for assistance from others might have further fueled Stalin's feelings of inferiority, seeing his family as weak or less than others. Furthermore, at school Stalin was teased for his physical deficiencies, being smaller than other children his

age, and having marks on his face from smallpox, and one arm that was slightly longer than the other (Randall, 1965, Montefiore, 2008). Adler termed physical deficiencies, organ inferiorities, and claimed that unhealthy children may compare themselves to other healthy children and adults and thus decide that they are inferior (Adler, 1929, 1958). The deficiencies were a great embarrassment to Stalin, and caused him distress. The deficiencies gave him reason to believe that he was different, thus instilling feelings of inferiority (Radzinsky, 1996). Stalin was teased at school. He got into many fights and his friend Kote stated that not a day passed without Stalin being beaten up and sent home crying (Montefiore, 2003, 2008).

Stalin was born into a *lower class*, in a poor community; within that community, his family too suffered from poverty. On a systemic level, he was at the bottom of the 'food chain', and various experiences, such as the hanging of a peasant, sent Stalin the message that poorer classes were not valued.

Ekaterina engaged in promiscuous behaviour at times. Ekaterina said "when I was young, I cleaned house for people and when I met a good looking boy, I didn't waste the opportunity" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 30). When Stalin heard about her behaviour he felt embarrassed and humiliated, and started calling her a "bastard" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 27). It is likely that his embarrassment was rooted in systemic perceptions about how men and women behave, and at the time, this behaviour was not acceptable for women.

It is likely that this accumulation of organ inferiorities, negative life experiences, and systemic influences led to Stalin experiencing strong feelings of inferiority. These would have created the feeling that he is not okay.

Compensation. Adler (1929; 1958) described compensation as efforts aimed at overcoming perceived feelings of inferiority. This compensation may occur through the pursuit of social

interest or superiority through power. It is this later pursuit that is evident in many of Stalin's childhood experiences. He was preoccupied with attaining goals that were focused on personal gain, and gaining power.

Stalin had a driving need to excel in everything he did. He worked hard at school and thereby gained many *academic achievements* including the Seminary Scholarship. His academic achievements gave him status and admiration amongst his peers. He wanted to be the center of attention, and *be the best*. Whether at *Krivi* his boxing game, where he was always "number one", singing in the choir at Gori school, where his voice got him admiration, to being the "best reader of Psalms" at church (to the extent that other children were only permitted to read the scripture after he had tutored them) (Montefiore, 2008, p. 36). Stalin was dominant.

Stalin *manipulated* situations so that he could appear as the "winner", even if it was at the expense of others. For example, he always wanted to be in groups where he would be amongst stronger opponents, and he negotiated fights with other children whom appeared weaker, in order to achieve victory. He also challenged his classmates to wrestling matches whereby, without their awareness, he "seized his opponent from behind and slammed him to the ground" (Brackman, 2001, p. 9) and claimed his victory. Although he was bullied, he in return constantly bullied those weaker than him.

Stalin often compensated by *challenging authority*. He harboured resentment for people who were in authority, and was often in trouble as he was rude and disrespectful towards authority figures, speaking back to teachers (Brackman, 2001; Rappaport, 1999). He did so with confidence as he believed himself to be always "right" (Lourie, 1999, p. 14). The researcher hypothesises that this attitude could have originated from the treatment he received from his father, who had authority and treated him badly, but was in the wrong. Stalin's experience of

authority figures as not worthy or not always right would have led to his continued questioning of authority figures in later years.

Stalin also compensated for his physical deficiencies. To make up for his small size he started wearing platform. His *aggression*, seen in the willingness to fight both verbally and physically, can also be seen as compensatory mechanisms to prove his strength.

Academic achievement, striving to be the best, manipulation, challenging authority and aggression were all mechanisms Stalin used to compensate for his feelings of inferiority. Adler (1929, 1958) distinguished between normal compensation and negative compensation in the form of overcompensation and undercompensation. The researcher hypothesises that Stalin overcompensated in order to gain power. Literature on his childhood experiences is littered with his rallying for power, and it reasonably seems that too much of his energy went into activities associated with compensation.

Fictional goals.

Fictional goals develop during an individual's early childhood experiences and exist within the unconscious level of awareness. These fictional goals influence the way an individual thinks, feels and acts. According to Adler (1929) the perception of neglect drives an individual to develop fictional goals of superiority. The researcher argues that the fictional goal Stalin developed during childhood centered around perfection, success, and admiration. Stalin depicted himself as strong and mighty at school; he always wanted to be a winner in fights because through this he gained admiration from others.

Stalin was "attracted to heroes and individuals who defended the interests of the needy" (Davies & Harris, 2005, p. 34). At school Stalin challenged teachers when he disagreed with them, often to pursue the needs of his fellow students. Stalin wanted to see himself as a hero,

mighty and worthy. After his arm was hurt, Ekaterina was very concerned but Stalin said "before I'm a priest, my arm will heal so that I'll be able to hold up the whole church" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 66). It is clear that Stalin saw himself as becoming a strong and mighty hero that would be able to help others. This role continued at the seminary, where Stalin took on leadership positions and instigated protest against the policies of the time, seeing this as just. Adler (1958) affirmed that the goal enables individuals to think of themselves as superior thus achieving the possibility of success in the future.

Creative power.

Adler (1929, 1958) referred to creative power as the capability an individual has to creatively decide on which direction their lives will take. An individual's creative power places them in control of their lives; its responsible for identifying their own goals, and determines their own creative ways to achieve them (Meyer et al., 2003). Creative power serves as a form of movement that drives the individual to overcome obstacles placed in their way, if they choose to do so. One of Stalin's major obstacles in childhood was poverty. Stalin used his creative power to work towards academic achievement. By achieving good marks at school, he won a scholarship to the seminary, overcoming the restriction of poverty in terms of his education. Another example of his use of his creative power is overcoming poverty is his pursuit of employment through singing in the choir, in Tiflis. This helped to alleviate the financial burden that he and Ekaterina experienced

In his early life Stalin experienced a lot of teasing at school, because of the physical difficulties he had. This experience caused him great embarrassment and distress to the extent that he tried to cover up his deficiencies. For example, he wore platform shoes to make himself appear taller. The teasing continued thus Stalin's creative self found another way to strive

towards his goal of feeling superior. Stalin became involved in verbal and physical fights, to prove his physical dominance, both with peers and authority figures. These experiences pushed Stalin to establish a positive image of himself, where he was not the underdog but the winner in everything he did. The researcher deduces that Stalin's creative power helped him to find ways to alleviate inferiorities he experienced in his childhood.

Adler's style of life.

The visible expression of personality.

Adler (1929) defined style of life as "the visible expression of personality, the common thread that weaves together an individual's thoughts, feelings and actions into a coherent pattern" (p. 12). The style of life may be thought of as the individual's positioning towards life. It influences the type of goals they choose, and how they strive for superiority, towards those goals. Stalin's early experiences led to the establishment of an active-destructive style of life. In childhood, Stalin became power seeking, dominating and controlling in order to compensate for his feelings of inferiority. This behaviour is an extension of self-focused goals, designed to increase his personal power, and elevate his superiority. This positioning was seen in his tendency to dominate others within groups. In childhood, his organising skills led to the establishment of his social group, nicknamed the "Three Musketeers". In the group he was the 'master' who ordered and initiated fights with other children. This was also prevalent in *Krivi* where he was simply known as the strongest and always number one. In games where Stalin did not find himself as the leader, he "refused to obey his leader" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 60) and "undermined authority and tried to dethrone them" (p. 60).

Stalin was manipulative as he used others to get what he wanted. Stalin had the potential to be a good friend to others however on condition that "one bowed to his dictatorial will"

(Montefiore, 2003, p. 61) of always wanting to be in power. He developed a "vengeful feeling" (Tucker, 1973, p. 73) towards anyone who was positioned above him

Adler (1958) stated that an individual with an active-destructive style of life presents with antisocial and power hungry behaviour and traits. It is clear that Stalin's drive for power was for his own benefit, and that this pattern was evident in many of his interactions throughout his childhood. This pattern represents the striving for personal goals, to the benefit of self, aimed at the development of superiority or power.

Adler's life tasks.

Social task.

The social task refers to an individual's association with others, either individually or within a community, however excluding marital, sexual and familial commitment (Adler, 1958). Adler emphasised the importance of positive social relationships, and the resolution of the task through the development of social interest and cooperation. At school, Stalin had positive meaningful relationships with his friends; together they were known as "the three musketeers" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 43, 2008, p. 70). These friendships were meaningful to him. When Stalin acquired enough money in adulthood he sent his friends money reportedly saying "please accept a small gift from me. Yours, Soso" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 12). Despite indications of positive affiliations, Stalin was often teased by peers and was continuously involved in fights where children "unmercifully" beat each other; Stalin often went home crying. Thus, although Stalin showed the capacity to form friendships, and did so, he also showed the capacity for hurtful and vengeful interactions with others from a young age.

According to Fouchê et al. (2015), if a child perceives their environment and people within it hostile and feels he is surrounded by enemies, he does not make good friends, nor does he

become a good friend to others. This may hold true for Stalin. As he aged, the increased complexity expected in social relationships was not evident, and his fulfilment of the social task became less evident. There is less evidence of positive social ties. Stalin's mistrust and suspicion of others seemed to increase. At the seminary, he had friends whom he used "in his struggle with people he regard[ed] as his enemies" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 68). He became increasingly violent and manipulative towards others, to the degree that he forced students to drop out of the seminary and join the revolutionary underground - planting incriminating pamphlets in their rooms. This incident resulted in the students being expelled. Stalin justified his actions saying that he was giving the students "an opportunity to become good revolutionaries" (Brackman, 2001, p. 9).

Occupational task.

The second life task Adler referred to is the occupational task. Stalin's first attempt at the occupational task was forced, when he was a kidnapped by Bersarion and forced to work as a shoemaker at a factory in Tiflis. The second attempt was his singing in the seminary choir, which in return earned him money to send home to Ekaterina. Stalin loved singing and through this task, many people admired him. Through engagement with intellectual pursuits and talents, which may be thought of as the occupational task of childhood, Stalin excelled throughout his childhood years up until the seminary. His intellectual engagement and achievement influenced his choice of occupation towards philosophical engagement and the deconstruction of social systems.

Love and marriage task.

The love and marriage task is addressed from young adulthood, not yet in childhood. However, Adler (1958) stated that children gain their first impression of marriage from their parents. Adler

(1929, 1958) believed that a child who perceives his parents' marriage as harmonious will be better prepared for the love and marriage task. He believed that if the parents are not able to cooperate, then it is not possible to teach their child cooperation (Adler, 1958). Stalin's parent's marriage was unhappy and characterised by physical beatings, conflict and separation. It is unlikely that the model they presented to him of marriage was a positive one.

Millon's evolutionary drives.

  Existence.

Millon believed that the life enhancement occurs through the enhancement of pleasure, or avoidance of pain. The orientation towards pleasure or pain is established within the first year of life (Millon & Grossman, 2005, p. 339). Stalin's birth was seen as "Keke's miracle" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 16). Although the literature shows that she overprotected him, there is no evidence that this led to continued indulgence. There is also little evidence of him pursing pleasure. Later in his childhood, Stalin was continually involved in fights. He did not engage in behaviours associated with pain avoidance. It is evident that he must have used strategies from both poles to meet the existence aim.

  Adaptation.

The polarities associated with the adaptation drive are active and passive. Millon stated that this drive is concerned with "whether initiative is taken in altering and shaping life events or whether the behaviours are reactive and accommodates to those events" (Strack, 2005, p. 535). This orientation develops within the second year of life (Millon & Grossman, 2005). Stalin adopted an active adaptation in shaping his life events within his environment. Regardless of being born into poverty, Stalin's life was not defined by his oppressed environment; he actively furthered his interests which was "highly unusual for a boy with a peasant background" (Brackman, 2001, p.

4). He defied authority, stood up to bulling, and manipulated others to pursue his goal of being the best. Millon et al. (2003) and Immelman (1993) asserted that active adaptors plan strategies, scan alternatives, manipulate events and overcome obstacles in order to elicit pleasure and rewards or avoid the distress of punishment, rejection and anxiety. Stalin was able to influence others. He was a "gifted organizer" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 49) and manipulator, and did so successfully, whether this emerged in achieving a scholarship or winning a fight. His active orientation was evident his pursuit of Marxist ideas, whilst in a very constricting environment, despite the knowledge that this could lead to problems with authority. Active adaptors initiate events and energetically intend to control the circumstances of their environment (Immelman, 1993).

Replication.

The drive consists of self and other polarity, which Millon termed strategies of replication. This orientation develops within adolescence (Millon & Grossman, 2005). Stalin was more concerned with proving his superiority to others, than nurturing them, even if that was at the expense of others. At school Stalin freely made suggestions to teachers to "forgive the offences and shortcomings of his classmates and to advise them on how to help failing students" (Brackman, 2001, p. 8). Although Stalin meant well, his real intent was to show his superiority in relation to other students. At the seminary Stalin's dominant effect persisted as he manipulated others to support and believe his opinions and did not accept criticism of his views (Brackman, 2001). He forced students to drop out and join the revolution, believing that this was right, irrespective of what they wanted for themselves. The self polarity is associated with a strong need for control and dominate (Millon, Lerner, & Weiner, 2003), which is evident in Stalin's actions.

From these descriptions it is evident that Stalin's use of pleasure enhancement or pain avoidance strategies are unclear, but that he coped with the adaptation drive through active manipulation of his environment, and the replication drive through strategies associated with the enhancement of the self. Evidence points to patterns associated with the pattern in Millon's taxonomy associated with the Antisocial personality.

Adulthood: Adler's Structure and Development of Personality.

Social environment.

Family constellation.

Only child. Adler (1929) suggested that an only child is likely to develop an exaggerated view of their importance (Adler, 1930). Stalin's perception of self-importance, which was established in childhood, persisted into his adult life. Stalin was highly educated, which something most revolutionaries did not possess, as they were not privileged enough. The researcher hypothesises that Stalin used this status as a tool to gain admiration and achieve superiority within the revolution. The researcher further deduces that Stalin used his charm to elicit help from others to get others to meet his needs. Stalin was described as a "manipulator of man" (Bychowski, 1971, p. 126) who showed a remarkable ability to select workers and consolidate his power in pursuit of his goals to advance himself in power and in the ranks of the Bolsheviks party. Furthermore, Stalin used his friends "in his struggle with people he regard[ed] as his enemies" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 68). Stalin also used his charm and manipulation skills to deceive his partners. An example of such an incident was when Lidia, his thirteen year old girlfriend, became pregnant. Stalin negotiated his way out of the situation by promising Lidia marriage, which he never acted on. Stalin's self-importance is evident throughout his patterns in adulthood.

From Adler's perspective, only children may experience extreme inferiority feelings as everyone in the environment is older, stronger and more experienced. As a result the researcher deduces that this becomes part of the reason that only children develop a competitive desire to overcome and are often only "satisfied with the very best" (Adler, 1965, p. 123). In everything Stalin always wanted to be in power as a "leader" and as a result he detested people who held higher positions which he thought were prestigious. His self-importance may, in part, have had some of its origins in the patterns associated with the only child.

Family atmosphere.

The family atmosphere in which an individual is raised creates a model for how an individual expects life and the world to be (Adler, 1929, 1930). Stalin's family atmospheres in his adulthood are further explored below:

Mother son relationship. After Stalin was expelled from the seminary in April 1899, he decided to stay in Tiflis with the intention to further his career as a revolutionary. It is likely that Stalin's expulsion, and then choice of occupation would not have attained Ekaterina's approval as she worked hard for her son to be a priest. The decision Stalin made was therefore against Ekaterina's wishes, which the researcher deduces became a pivotal point where his relationship with his mother changed. Ekaterina was angry, and disappointed in Stalin. She was never impressed with Stalin's rise to political power, often telling him that he "would have done better to remain a priest" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 70). Even when Stalin moved Ekaterina to the Tsar viceroy in Tiflis, she never adjusted, and chose to confine herself to one little room, living "abstemiously" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 71). Furthermore, she never visited Stalin in Moscow. The researcher deduces that the actions of disapproval and detachment by Ekaterina could have made Stalin feel unappreciated and unloved by his mother, thus feeling neglected. The researcher

hypothesises that this could have further contributed to Stalin's behaviour of rarely visiting Ekaterina, and taking little responsibility of her wellbeing, as he assigned that responsibility to Beria, his lieutenant.

Adler (1958) suggested that a neglected child develops difficulty in developing interpersonal relationships as they rarely receive love and support, which means they do not learn how to be loved and experience cooperation with others. The neglect experiences Stalin endured in childhood may have contributed to the difficulty he had sustaining close interpersonal relationships in his adult life. This is evident in Stalin affectionless marital relationships, his relationships with his children, and with his numerous extra marital affairs. These are relationships which he began however did not seem to sustain.

First marriage. In 1906 Stalin married to Ekaterina. Ekaterina was a devoted wife who "with all her heart looked after her husband's welfare" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 284), however their marriage and home was described as "cold and lonely" (Murphy, 1945, p. 39). Stalin's appearances at his home were "irregular and unpredictable" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 29).

Second marriage. In 1919 Stalin married to Nadezhda Alliluyeva. Nadezhda just like Ekaterina had been devoted to her husband and focused on building a warm and happy home with her husband and children. However, Stalin's marriage with Nadezhda wasn't completely stable. Murphy (1945) described it as "tense" (p. 28). Nadezhda "was expected to provide psychological support" for Stalin, but he never returned it (Davies & Harris, 2005). The couple continually fought with each other because of Stalin's heavily drinking and adultery. As with his first marriage, Stalin appeared rarely in his household.

Relationship with his children. In his first marriage with Ekaterina, Stalin had a child by the name of Yakov. The boy's relationship with Stalin was strained, and they lost contact after the

death of his mother in 1907. Stalin continuously expressed his disappointment in Yakov, as a father he perceived his son as weak and they often fought (Rigby, 1966).

In his second marriage with Nadezhda, Stalin had two children, Vasiliy and Sventlana. Stalin adored Sventlana who he considered his favourite child. However, this was not the same with Vasiliy; their relationship was characterised by fights and fear. Stalin described his son as a "spoilt boy of average abilities, and a little savage who's not always truthful" (Khlevniuk, 2015, p. 160)

The researcher speculates that while Stalin had two marital partners, and children, he experienced difficulty in sustaining meaningful relationships, as the tone or atmosphere of many of these relationships was tense and conflictual.

Cultural Context.

Adler (1930) saw gender power relations as imbedded in culture, and suggested that a culture that values masculine traits above feminine traits can result in men setting high standards and almost unattainable goals for themselves in an effort to be perceived as "powerful like a real man" (Ansabacher & Ansabacher, 1956, p. 45). In Russia patriarchy was dominant in households; the head of the household was the man and the wife had to "please her husband, and obey her husband in everything" (Kollmann, 1998, p. 133). To be proven powerful within the revolution, men had to marry wives that were from elite families. This was evident in Stalin who felt he needed to find "a kind of wife that will be able to mix socially with intellectual elite and top political cadres of the new government" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 3). This influenced his choice of marriage and relationships, as he married Nadezhda whom he felt was the right political noble as she was the daughter of a fellow revolutionary (Rappaport, 1999).

Adler's motivational dynamics.

Feelings of inferiority.

Family and social interaction. Stalin was expelled from the seminary and decided to stay in Tiflis without his mother's approval. He became homeless and did not have any means to support himself for a time. His friend Mikho Davitashvili, who was also one of the students expelled from seminary, assisted him. This incident could have fueled his perceptions of himself as weak and helpless. The researcher speculates that he could have re-experienced the feelings of his childhood poverty where as a family they were dependent on others for survival.

Since Stalin's early years, his ultimate aim was to be a leader in everything he did, and as a result this aspect of him persisted into adulthood. Stalin was jealous of anybody who appeared better than him in any domain, especially those he considered prestigious, hence he disrespected authority. In this way the researcher deduces that Stalin perceived these individuals as threats or obstacles to achieving his perfect and powerful self, and thus they stimulated inferiority feelings in him. This was evident when he wanted to remove Lenin in power, and publically criticised him as a man with "less than average stature" who was in "no way distinguishable from ordinary mortals" (Himmer, 1986, p. 271) whereas in contrast referring to himself as "the rightful, genuinely proletarian leader" (p. 285) to enhance his leadership stature. The researcher hypothesises that when Stalin was not in the driving seat he developed a sense of worthlessness and incompetence.

Racial backdrop. During the 19th century, the russification policy ensured that Russian culture was dominant, and Stalin claimed to have rejected his Georgian background to adhere to this policy. As a revolutionary coming from Georgia, Stalin was described as a "low class, Georgian thug" (Brit, 1993, p. 609). The researcher hypothesises that this description reflects his

background as less than within the broader socio political context, which in turn forced him to reject his traditions and conform to new ones where he could be considered an acceptable Russian. Furthermore, Stalin felt that Georgian women were not elite enough to become his wive because the majority were uneducated. It is possible that Stalin felt embarrassed of his cultural background as it did not carry any importance in Russia, and this made him feel inferior. Therefore, to grant him popularity and promote himself politically, he deserted this aspect of his life. He furthermore did not engage with women who came from this background.

Negative life experiences. Stalin's deficiencies from his early years continued to have a negative impact on him in his adult life. Slavik and Carlson (2006) suggested that an individual's deficiencies become their most vulnerable spot. Stalin's face was badly scarred by smallpox, he had a defect in his left arm which was shorter than the right arm, and the toes of his left foot were fused. According to Rappaport's (1999) description Stalin was dwarfish "inappropriately broad and no longer than a twelve year old boy but with an older face" (p. 272). To compensate for his deficiencies, Stalin became extremely preoccupied with his image. Photographers were ordered to take his photos at particular angles in order to cover up his scarred face and his short arm. Stalin's photographs were "cosmetically retouched" to cover his scarred face and his short arm in order to develop a "new larger than life Stalin for mass public adoration" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 271). Furthermore, because he was self-conscious about his arm and height in public he was always seen wearing a glove and platform boots. It seems that Stalin's deficiencies created in him a negative self-image, which further developed his inferiority feelings.

The death of Nadezhda is another life experience that could have been a source of inferiority for Stalin. In 1932 Nadezhda committed suicide; she shot herself with a pistol in the head. Stalin felt that she had humiliated him and reportedly said "how could she do this to me" and asked

several questions pertaining to himself, such as "what was missing in him" (Montefiore, 2003, p.109). The researcher speculates that the use of these words show that internally, Stalin felt inadequate, helpless and weak.

In 1922, Lenin had the intention of removing Stalin from his General Secretary position. Lenin asserted that Stalin was "rude" and was not "considerate of the comrades and was capricious" (Stal, 2013, p. 2). Stalin would have been aware of these descriptions. The researcher deduces that critique from someone that Stalin had at least at some point esteemed, could have made him question his competence in his work, possibly triggering his feelings of inferiority.

Compensation.

Stalin compensated for his feelings of inferiority in a variety of ways. Stalin worked hard and was dedicated. He strove to prove his perfection over others throughout his adult life. Stalin was a "gifted organizer" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 49) and was known for his "slyness" (Davies & Harris, 2005, p. 32); mobilising others became a tool he used to advance himself in gaining power, achieving his need for superiority. Under the revolution Stalin gained power in the position of General Secretary and then later as the leader of Soviet Union. These achievements can be seen as outcomes of Stalin's compensation to overcome his feelings of inferiority.

It can be postulated that Stalin's need for admiration and superiority influenced his career choice of becoming a revolutionary. As a leader of the Soviet Union, Stalin saw himself as a "godlike figure" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 59) who was worthy of praise. This perception could have led him to create the cult of personality, which gave him affirmation that he was powerful, mighty and admired. Through the cult of personality, Stalin "was always hailed as the greatest intellect and creative force in the Soviet Union" (Stal, 2013, p. 3).

The researcher hypothesises that Stalin's experience of being a neglected child may have been a large contributing factor that led him to compensate and strive for power by seeking admiration from others. Stalin's deficiencies continued to be an inferiority that he experienced in adult life. To compensate for his inferiority Stalin destroyed any form of memory linking him to his childhood experiences and Georgian tradition, and sought power through the manipulation of others within his influential positions. Stalin used his positions to manipulate and consolidate his power in order to win support of fellow revolutionaries and prove his superiority.

Fictional goals.

Fictional goals influence the way people think, feel, and act throughout their lives. Stalin's fictional goals, that directed his behaviour, centered around perfection, success and admiration. Stalin was attracted to and identified himself with "heroes and individuals who defended the interests of the needy" (Davies & Harris, 2005, p. 34). The researcher hypothesises that Stalin's goals could have been influenced by his childhood experiences and poverty, leading to his identification with such heroes. At the seminary, Stalin read a book called *The Patricide*, which was a romantic novel by Georgian nationalist Alexander Kazibegi. The hero of the book was Koba, a glorified Georgian Robin Hood who fought cunningly and ruthlessly. For a time, Stalin took on the nickname Koba. According to Tucker (1973):

Soso's ideal and dream figure was Koba. Koba had become Soso's god, the sense of his life. He wanted to become another Koba, a fighter and a hero as famous as he. His face would shine with pride when he was called Koba (p. 80).

Adler (1930) stated that once a goal has been conceived, an individual behaves, feels and adopts all characteristics consistent with the goal. Therefore, the researcher deduces that Stalin perceiving himself as "Koba" gave him a sense of power and a perception of self as a winner, a

warrior and a conqueror. Later, from Koba, Stalin changed his name to Stalin, which meant the 'man of steel'. Stalin chose the name 'Stalin' simply because he wanted it to sound like 'Lenin'. It is therefore possible to deduce that Stalin identified himself with Lenin because he was an iconic man, prestigious, and had a great influence in his career as a revolutionary.

Slavik and Carlson (2006) stated that a fictional goal can be real or imagined. Stalin's need to gain power, admiration and success may have influenced the development of his cult of personality. The researcher deduces that through the cult Stalin gained superiority as he was depicted as a powerful, important leader known as "father" (Brit, 1996, p. 617), who resembled God during his rule. Through the cult of personality he attained his goal of admiration as he was hailed as a "Transformer of Nature, Father of the Peoples, and a Great Master of Daring revolutionary Decision and Abrupt turns" (Brit, 1993, p. 617).

Creative power.

Creative power drives an individual to rise above any obstacle placed in their way, if they choose to do so (Ansabacher & Ansabacher, 1956). One of the first documented obstacles Stalin encountered in his adult life was that of being homeless. After being expelled from the seminary, Stalin found himself in an unfavourable situation where he had no home or food. However, because he was admired at the seminary, he was provided with food and shelter from friends. Because of his hard work and talents he managed to attain work as a tutor and later a clerk at the Tiflis Meteorological Observatory. Thus Stalin's creative power is seen in his hard work and his ability to perseverance to overcome the difficulty of homelessness.

Stalin continued to work hard and perseverance throughout his adulthood when he became a revolutionary. Adult life as a revolutionary bought Stalin many obstacles that resulted in him being a 'wanted man', as he engaged in many illegal acts. In the revolution, Stalin was

rebellious; he was responsible for organising kidnappings, extortions and the spreading of propaganda. As a result he was arrested numerous times, and sent into exile (Rigby, 1966 & Montefiore, 2003 & Bychowski, 1971). The researcher speculates that Stalin's creative power of hard work and perseverance won him admiration in the revolution and through this he was able to rise within the ranks of Soviet Union to eventually being its leader.

Stalin's creative power reflects itself when he was in power. It took a lot of effort to maintain his power, seen for example in the establishment of the military police, and the development of the Five Year plans to advance Russia into a major super power. The researcher deduces that Stalin's creative power in the form of hard work and perseverance may have driven him to overcome his challenges throughout his lifespan and in different spheres of his life. However the researcher speculates that this strategy in Stalin's life could have worked when faced with some challenges, but did not work in his marital relationships. Stalin did not put in enough effort in overcoming the challenges his marriages faced and as a result this explains the hurt, frustration and anger he experienced in relationships (in particular with his wives).

Adler's style of life.

The style of life develops through social interactions that take place in the early years of life (Scharf, 2010, p. 136). Once a style of life is developed, it influences the individual's perception as it acts as lenses that an individual uses to organise experiences (Adler, 1952). The active-destructive style of life is characterised by control and dominance over others (Slavik & Carlson, 2006) and a strong need for power that pushes over anything or anyone that gets in the way (Adler, 1929, 1958). Stalin's active-destructive style of life became pronounced in his adult life where he was manipulative and controlling in the pursuit of his goals and used others as a means to an end. The researcher hypothesises that Stalin controlled everyone through fear. In Stalin's

positions as Chief Operator and General Secretary he used dominance and control in order to advance himself and gain power, and this he achieved by manipulating others. The power he gained further helped him to remove and replace people from important governmental positions, who threatened his position by not approving of his behaviour (Bychowski, 1971). As a leader, Stalin enforced rigorous laws and there were harsh consequences for anyone who contradicted him; "most people learned to accept the favoured opinion rather than risk punishment or death" (Stal, 2013, p.3).

Boeree (2006) described individuals with this life style as working with great dedication towards achieving their own goals, but at the expense of others. Stalin's need of power and dominance saw him attempting to remove Lenin in power so that he could be the leader of the Soviet Union. It also saw the institution of the Five Year plans at the expense of millions of lives; these plans were a reflection of Stalin's will, and were not established through collaboration with others.

Adler's life tasks.

Social. Adler (1930, 1958) emphasised the interdependent nature of human beings and the importance of positive social relationships. In adulthood there was no evidence of friendships in Stalin's life. The friendships that were evident were with his associates within the revolution that Stalin used as his "spies" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 68). Stalin further manipulated his associates to advance himself in relation to his enemies. According to Stal (2013) Stalin viewed people "as friends he can trust or as enemies that he must fight and overcome" (p. 3). The researcher hypothesises that Stalin only created friendships with powerful people in order to use them to advance himself. For example, the relationship he had with Lenin seemed mutually beneficial,

however they both had ulterior motives, which for Stalin was to use his position as General Secretary to further his own beliefs (Stal, 2013).

As he grew in power, Stalin's mistrust and suspicion of others grew to the extent that if he perceived anyone as his enemy, even his own family and friends, they were killed or persecuted. According to Brit (1993) Stalin's name became "synonymous to Hitler" and was described as "a merciless tyrant who had little concern for the value of human life" (p. 608). The researcher suggests that Stalin struggled to maintain meaningful relationships and therefore did not resolve the social task successfully in his adulthood.

Occupational. After Stalin's expulsion from the seminary, he worked as a tutor and later a clerk at the Tiflis Meteorological Observatory. This became the only paid occupation he ever had outside politics.

In 1901 Stalin became a revolutionary under the Social Democratic party. The Social Democratic Labour Party broke into two groups- the Bolsheviks were led by Lenin, and Julius Martov led the Mensheviks. Because Stalin had already admired the work of Lenin, he joined the Bolsheviks. Stalin's political promotion by Lenin came in 1912 when he was appointed as a Chief Operator of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks. Under the Bolsheviks he was responsible for organising kidnappings, extortions and the spreading of propaganda. In 1922, Stalin rised up the ranks as he was elected as the General Secretary of Bolsheviks party. In his pursuit of power after the death of Lenin, Stalin was eventually elected as the leader of the Bolsheviks party.

Adler asserted that people tend to devote most of their time to their occupation, because professional success gives them the desired recognition in their striving for superiority. This was particularly evident to Stalin as he spent most of his time within the revolution despite the strain

it caused in his two marriages. Adler believed that the task can be fulfilled "when what we do for work is meaningful and satisfying" (Carlson et al., 2005, p. 13).

Love and marriage. Adler (1929, 1958) claimed that the love and marriage task involves two people, and that in order for the partnership to be successful there must be equality, where neither partner feels dominated by the other. Adler (1958) further stated that children gain their first impression of marriage from their parents. This therefore means if a child perceives his parents' marriage as harmonious, they will be better prepared from the love and marriage task. Stalin's parent's marriage was unhappy and characterised by physical beatings, conflict and separation. It seems that the model they created for Stalin was an unhappy one. Adler (1958) believed that if parents are not able to cooperate, then it is not possible to teach their child cooperation Stalin's marital relationship with his second wife, Nadezhda was described as "cold and lonely" (Murphy, 1945, p. 39); in both his marriages, there was little sense of cooperation, and no sense of equality. Stalin never seemed to compromise and constantly fought with both spouses. Both his wives reported being lonely and unappreciated; Stalin's visits to them were "irregular and unpredictable" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 29). Despite this, the researcher hypothesises that Stalin showed immense affection for both his wives and daughter as he saw his mother through them. Sventlana further attested to this stating that Stalin felt attachment to people "he only associated with his mother" (Brackman, 2001, p. 10) and believed that his daughter Sventlana looked like his mother (Montefiore, 2008). However, this was not the case with the relationship he had with his sons.

Stalin viewed his son Vasiliy as "weak" and a "little savages" (Khlevniuk, 2015, p. 160) whereby Yakov experienced his father's neglect from childhood. The researcher hypothesises

that Bersarion's neglected of Stalin led him to experience difficulty with expressing affection to his sons. Stalin neglected his sons just like his father did to him.

Adler (1929, 1930, 1958) described a lack of commitment to one partner at a time as a lack of social interest and a failure to undertake the full responsibilities of love and marriage. During Stalin's marriage to Nadezhda, Stalin had an affair with a woman known as Rosa Kaganovich, whom it was believed that he was cohabiting with at the time. Nadezhda committed suicide. Besides this extramarital relationship, Stalin was involved in many other affairs which he could not commit to, as he became intimate, impregnated the women and later left them with children that he had no relation with later in life. Adler would believe that Stalin did not resolve the love and marriage task, as he was unable to commit and function within a monogamous union.

Millon's evolutionary drives.

Existence.

Millon et al. (2004) indicated that the existence drive is associated with the survival task. Individuals are orientated towards life enhancement and life preservation, and these strategies form a polarity of pleasure and pain. Stalin's life experience do not hold many examples where there is a clear striving toward the experience of pleasure or the avoidance of pain. It seems that he used strategies from both these polarities.

Adaptation.

In adaptation an individual can be inclined towards an active mode or a positive mode. These modes are used to sustain the existence of an individual. The researcher deduces that Stalin adopted an active adaptation mode in adulthood. The active individual actively seeks to reshape their world through alertness, vigilance, forcefulness, stimulus seeking energy and drive (Strack, 2005). Stalin's experiences reflect these qualities. He wanted to gain dominance in all his

activities, and his aim was to gain power which he achieved through manipulating and controlling others or events in order to reflect his superiority and perfection. His dominance was an active engagement in the world.

Through their actions active adaptors seek approval and affection. The researcher deduces that Stalin's need for admiration strongly influenced him. The cult of personality in particular gave Stalin the affirmation that he was a powerful and important leader. Millon (2005) claimed that active adaptors achieve their goals by engaging in activities characterised by manipulation and attention seeking maneuvers. Stalin was described as a "manipulator of man" (Bychowski, 1971, p. 126). He had a strong need for power and as a result pushed over anything or anyone that got in the way (Adler, 1929, 1958). He did not show humility, to the point that he was described as a "merciless tyrant who had little concern for the value of human life" (Brit, 1993, p. 608). Stalin's forcefulness was also evident in his family life especially with his daughter Sventlana. Sventlana described her father as a "moral and spiritual monster" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 70) who controlled her life.

Replication.

This drive consists of strategies that individuals adopt that are inclined either towards self or others to achieve replication. The self-other polarity is concerned with whether an individual "values the needs of others or values self-orientation that is concerned with one's personal potentials" (Millon, 2005, p. 209). Stalin was more inclined to the self polarity, as he was mainly concerned with achieving his personal goals at the expense of others. As deduced, Stalin's behaviour showed little sense of commitment to the human community as he became increasingly violent and manipulative towards others. The researcher hypothesises that this inclination could have been influenced by Stalin's need for power, and perfection which led him

to adopt selfish strategies to achieve his goals. This is seen in Stalin's extramarital relationships. He used his charm and unlimited power to attract women, who he used to satisfy his needs, and further abandoned.

Stalin's selfish strategies are further seen in his use of others to advance himself in relation to his enemies. He used associates and military police as "spies" (Radzinsky, 1996, p. 68) to expose his enemies and thus render his power secure. Stalin's Five Year plans also highlight his self-inclination; these plans reflected Stalin's "blind, dogmatic insistence that invited neither criticism nor informed suggestions" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 247). They were more concerned with the fate of industrialisation than with the life of peasants. The plans were constituted at the expense of others, thus proving Stalin's inclination towards self, and his lack of focus on others.

Old Age: Adler's and development of personality

Social environment.

Family constellation.

Only child. Stalin's exaggerated view of his importance continued in old age. He still use his charm and manipulation to elicit the help of others. During Stalin's old age years he was well known for hosting social events where associates would be invited, with the intention of getting them drunk in order to reveal secrets. Stalin needed to be seen as superior, he wanted to be viewed as a "godlike figure" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 59). The need to be superior was still enacted and was evident in the way that his guards treated him. At the end of his life, they did not realise he was dying, as they were too afraid to enter his room, despite having no contact with him that day. This need to be viewed as superior was evident throughout Stalin's life. Although by no

means only attributed to the only child role, it is possible that this role was an initial trigger for Stalin's exaggerated view of his own importance.

The only child position is furthermore associated with feeling that life is unfair when their position is challenged. In 1945, Stalin suffered a heart attack, which affected his health tremendously. Stalin was advised by his doctor to take things easily as his condition was serious. Because of this, Stalin became angry and had his doctor arrested. It seems that Stalin perceived this cautionary word as challenging and unfair, and responded with his anger directed at his doctor. It is likely that his reaction was furthermore rooted in his superior self view. Stalin still wanted to control his own and others' thinking, and wanted to be in the right, even when his health was deteriorating.

Family atmosphere.

From his childhood experiences it seems probable that Stalin was a neglected child. The neglect experiences Stalin endured may have contributed to the difficulty he experienced in sustaining close interpersonal relationships, even in his old age. Adler (1958) suggested that this difficulty develops when the individual rarely received love and support which means they could not learn how to be loved and experience cooperation with others. During his old age Stalin lived a lonely life. Stalin's life included his maids and guards, but these were people whom he never wanted close to his personal space. After his health declined Stalin was rarely seen in public as he was always confined in his *datcha's* reading books.

Adler (1929, 1958) asserted that neglected children grow to view society with mistrust and are suspicious of their motives. In Stalin's old age this was particularly prevalent. Although Stalin was often alone, he regularly invited his associates over to his house to share a meal, watch movies or drink. However, Stalin mistrusted the intentions and motives of his associates.

It seems he invited associates to visit in order to keep tabs on what was happening around him, rather than because he was interested in them (Rappaport, 1999). It seems likely that he projected his inability to be authentic and trustworthy in interaction onto them. The researcher deduces that Stalin's childhood introversion, and the mistrust he developed of people in childhood, persisted throughout his life.

Stalin never occupied a permanent residence. He had five houses around Moscow, several in Crimea, five in Abkhazia and two imperial palaces that he used regularly. It seems that Stalin never had a stable home during his childhood, and that this instability continued until old age. Furthermore the researcher hypothesises that the reason Stalin occupied so many residences was to protect himself from his enemies as a result of his mistrust and suspiciousness of others intentions within the revolution. After Stalin's health began to deteriorate, because of his mistrust, he believed that he was being poisoned. Stalin's food had to be freshly harvested and tasted by his officials before he ate them. By seeing society this way, Stalin perceived everyone including his maids and guards, as an enemy, who would sabotage his power and superiority and he had to fight to overcome them.

Adler's motivational dynamics

    Feelings of inferiority.

    Social interaction. Stalin was jealous of anyone whom he thought occupied a more prestigious position than his. The fact that his doctor proved to be more knowledgeable than him in terms of his health could have resulted in him feeling inferior.

    Negative life experiences. Stalin's loss of his wives and children could have made him feel inferior. The researcher deduces that Stalin's loneliness, particularly in light of his tendency to isolate himself socially, could have developed in him feelings of emptiness, and worthlessness as

an individual. Furthermore, Stalin's health deteriorated and he was no longer able to do things that he previously managed to do, as he became weak physically and mentally (Rappaport, 1999). When his health declined he had to step down from his position as leader. Stalin reportedly felt he was the "most unfortunate person" who was afraid of his own shadow (Montefiore, 2003, p. 526). Furthermore he became jealous and suspicious of others growing in power (Montefiore, 2003). It is likely that his sickness and the consequence of resignation could have caused feelings of inferiority. The researcher hypothesises that one of the reasons Stalin became more isolated, and confined himself to his *datcha* was because he did not want others to see him as powerless and weak.

Compensation. Stalin experienced feelings of inferiority in many areas in his old age, which he compensated for through methods of overcoming and removing people whom he felt were a threat to his power. For example after he was advised by his doctor to take things easy as his health was declining, Stalin fired him and sent him to concentration camp. Stalin also compensated for his fear of losing power by hosting social events and parties where he kept tabs on his associated. He also compensated for his feelings of loneliness by reading excessively. According to Service (2004) Stalin had more than twenty thousand books in his home library and he read more than five hundred pages a day. The isolation could be a compensatory mechanism to hide away from the world and not show himself when he felt that he was at his lowest.

Fictional goals. Stalin's fictional goals in old age continued to centre around perfection, success and admiration. The cult of personality in his old years continued to give Stalin admiration, as he still wanted to be seen as superior. Stalin was praised and often described as "great, inspirer and a caring yet strong father figure" (Montefiore, 2003, p.116). The success of his Five Year plans also gained him power and admiration as it turned Russia into a major

superpower, despite its failures and breakdowns. According to Bychowski (1971), Stalin was perceived as "one of the greatest heroes" (p. 10). Through Stalin, people had universal access to healthcare; Stalin provided education for women and occupations that were equal to those of men; he argued for the equal rights of women and changed family life. The researcher hypothesises that Stalin's achievements as leader would have been influenced by his upbringing especially his relationship with the mother. Furthermore, the researcher deduces that in his view, Stalin's goal of being a hero and an individual "who defended the interests of the needy" (Davies & Harris, 2005, p. 34) succeeded.

Creative power. Stalin's creative power of hard work and perseverance persisted into his old age. His efforts were all directed at gaining and maintaining power as the leader of the Soviet Union. This was evident in his maintenance of the cult of personality into old age. Through the cult Stalin continued to gain power, dominance and control over Russia. The researcher postulates that Stalin's creative power in a form of hard work and perseverance may have driven him to overcome challenges across his lifespan and in different spheres of his life. However, these mechanisms began to fail when his health began to deteriorate, and there was then an increase in his experience of loneliness.

Adler's style of life.

Stalin's style of life continued follow an active-destructive lifestyle in his old age. Stalin continued to control people through fear, especially his associates who he used and manipulated in order to gain and maintain his personal power. This is seen, for example, in Montefiore (2003) saying that if Stalin shouted his wishes, "he was instantly obeyed" (, p. 525). Previously, the control and dominance of Stalin was evident in his reign of terror, an era where Stalin ruled by terror and with a totalitarian control. During this repressive era Stalin expanded his military

police and encouraged citizens to spy on each other. It seems that Stalin initiated this in order to achieve dominance and maintain his power. Furthermore it is likely that this repressive use of force was also influenced by Stalin childhood experiences of living within the context of the Tsar regime. The Tsar ruled as an absolute monarch, amid rebellion and conspiracies; this is very similar to the reign of Stalin, and it may be that Stalin's feelings of entitlement to absolute control were initiated within this systemic influence.

Adler's life tasks.

Social. Stalin regarded friendships as important to gain and maintain power. Stalin developed friendships with associates to expose secrets and also to spy on each other. The researcher deduces that this was a result of Stalin's continued mistrust and suspicion of others. In old age, Stalin's hosting of social events were despised by his associates, who described them as "frightful" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 533). Stalin continuously forced them to drink and humiliated them. For example, Stalin would put a tomato on an associate's seat and wait for them to sit on it; this in return brought him great laughter (Montefiore, 2003; Montefiore, 2008). As a result many associates formed excuses to leave the parties, excuses that might not offend him. The researcher hypothesises that humiliating his associates made Stalin feel superior and in control of them. In his old age Stalin struggled to maintain meaningful relationships and therefore did not solve the social task successfully.

Occupations. After Lenin's death in 1924 Stalin became the leader of the Soviet Union and because he was determined to stay in power he stayed in the position until he resigned due to health deterioration in the 1950s. It is evident that he fulfilled this task successfully.

Love and marriage. There is no account or evidence that suggests that Stalin was involved in any other relationships after the death of Nadezhda in 1932. In 1952 Sventlana, Stalin's

daughter, returned to Moscow upon invitation to have dinner with her father and his associates. Just like other associates Sventlana found the dinner unpleasant and formed an excuse to leave. Grateful that his daughter came, Stalin wrote her a letter stating that "it's good you haven't forgotten your father. I'm well, I'm not lonely" (Montefiore, 2003, p. 534). It seems likely that this was contradictory because Stalin was indeed lonely. However; he never wanted people to think of him in that way, thus maintaining his superiority. In 1953, while Stalin was on his death bed, his children Yakov and Sventlana returned. Sventlana felt that she "loved her father more tenderly than she ever did before" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 657). On the other hand, Yakov feared his father even on his death bed and felt inadequate in his presence. The researcher suggests that the task of love and marriage was not successfully solved by Stalin.

Millon's evolutionary drives.

Existence.

No further evidence was found in this regard.

Adaptation.

Into his old age Stalin continued to adopt an active adaptation. Stalin actively sought to modify his environment through active means. Stalin's Five Year plans reflect his active adaptive mode where he ruled with manipulation, terror and totalitarian control. During these years Stalin personally "initiated and endorsed the measures involving the large scale use of force" (Davies & Wheatcroft, 2006, p. 628). As heavy as the cost of the plans and reign of terror were, there were distinct shifts in Russia, placing them in the position of a global superpower. In addition, Stalin's cult of personality continued to elevate him as superior and a hero of the people. The researcher deduces that Stalin's actively changed his environment. As mentioned in previous evidence, active adaptors seek to manipulate others in order to elicit pleasures and rewards.

Replication.

Stalin was inclined more to a focus on the self rather than on others. Stalin was preoccupied with maintaining and gaining power and he used his charm and manipulation skills to elicit what he needed from others. During the deterioration in Stalin's health, he elicited what he needed from others at his social events to bring associates to reveal secrets and to create allies that would guard against his enemies. This was to serve Stalin's own needs. His parties served the functioning of protecting his power and keeping him in control. During the events Stalin actively manipulated his associates, and had little regard for his impact on them; he felt entitled to humiliate them. The researcher hypothesises that this served Stalin's need to prove his superiority.

According to Millon's personality taxonomy depicted in Appendix F, Stalin adopted active adaptation mode and was inclined towards the self more than others. The predominant personality dynamic with which Stalin presented within the taxonomy is the antisocial personality.

Antisocial.

According to Millon (2011) antisocial individuals are harsh and ruthless when gaining power. Stalin spent most of his time in the revolution trying to gain power to the extent that his personal responsibilities as a son, husband and father were affected tremendously. As a result Stalin had difficulty in maintaining meaningful relationships throughout his life. The researcher deduces that this could have been because Stalin was more preoccupied with the self than others. According to Millon (2011) this orientation stems from the distrust that others are out to humiliate and exploit the individual. In childhood Stalin adopted tough and aggressive behaviour that was related to serving his own needs. In the revolution Stalin adopted many active

adaptation modes that selfishly exploited others in order to secure his power, prove his superiority and gain admiration. Through the Five Year plans, many people were hurt or killed. Stalin's behaviour showed little compassion or sense of commitment to the human community as he became increasingly violent and manipulative towards others.

Conclusion

In the chapter the life of Joseph Stalin was explored according to Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality. Constructs from both these theories were applied to Stalin's life experiences in childhood and adolescence, adulthood, and old age in order to explore his personality development.

Chapter 7

Conclusions, Recommendations and Limitations

Chapter Preview

This final chapter concludes the study by revisting the purpose of the study and summarising the research findings. The limitations and value of the study are presented and recommendations for future research are provided.

The Aim of the Study Revisted.

The aim of the study was to explore and describe the personality development of Joseph Stalin by applying Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality to his life experiences. The purpose of the study was to generalise the findings of the research to Adler's and Millon's theories through a process known as analytical generalisation (Yin, 2009). It was hoped that this generalisation would provide greater insight into the personality development of Stalin.

Summary of Research Findings.

In this section a summary of the main findings of the study is provided. The conclusions about the personality development of Stalin according to Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality are presented.

Adler's Theory of Individual Psychology

When considering the birth order, the researcher concluded that Stalin showed personality traits associated with an only child. Stalin's ability to manipulate and charm others may be rooted in the role of the only child. In particular, Stalin's need to persistently show his superiority and get what he wanted may have initially been triggered, in part, from the only child position.

Stalin's striving for significance was influenced by his social environment through the experience of abuse, abandonment and poverty, within a cultural context rooted in patriarchy. He grew up in a family atmosphere characterised by conflict and tension, Stalin learnt to compensate for the feelings of inferiority that developed as a consequence of these factors, by engaging in manipulation, challenging of authority and aggression. Stalin learnt early on to mistrust others, and developed and pursued life goals centered around his own perfection, power and success. The goals were thus influenced by his struggles in childhood, and the neglect and hardship he experienced. The drive to overcome the inferiorities he experienced and his need to be the best, in order to compensate, shaped many of his decisions. Throughout his life he identified himself with tough names such as, Koba and Stalin. To Stalin power became the ultimate compensatory tool used to achieve his goals of perfection and success. This is evident in how he consolidated his power throughout the Soviet Union to win and then maintain himself in the position of leader.

Stalin faced many obstacles in his life and worked hard to overcome them. His creative self used strategies associated with hard work and persistence when faced with problems. Stalin's creative power propelled him to overcome his challenges. This process of overcoming may be viewed within an active-destructive style of life, with Stalin's active positioning himself within his environment, and focusing on personal goals. It is seen in his ability to charm and manipulate others into satisfying his needs and goals. Stalin was known as a "manipulator of man" (Bychowski, 1971, p. 126) who controlled others in order to get his way. This aspect of Stalin is prevalent throughout his life.

Stalin's active-destructive style of life was further evident in how he performed the three life tasks. Stalin did not solve the social task successfully as his relationships gradually became used

as tools. As a result, Stalin struggled to maintain meaningful social relationships throughout his life. Stalin's dedication and commitment to his profession and professional success provided him with the power, perfection and success he required from his striving. Therefore, he successfully solved the occupational task. Stalin was "hailed as the best intellect and creative force in the Soviet Union" (Stal, 2013, p. 3). However, he achieved his professional success at the expense of the love and marriage task; all his marriages were negatively affected by his dedication to his work. His marriages were characterised by conflict tension and adultery. This tension was also evident in his relationship with his children. On this basis, the researcher concludes that Stalin was not able to form and sustain loving, intimate and respectful relationships with women and his children, and did not successfully resolve the love and marriage task.

Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality

Stalin showed no distinct strategy with coping with the existence drive. He coped with the adaptation drive by actively changing his environment to suit his needs. This was seen in his manipulation and domination of others, throughout his lifespan. Within the replication drive, Stalin used strategies associated with the self polarity. Stalin was more concerned with the self than other, seen in his continued focus on the gratification of his own needs, at the expense of others. According to Millon's taxonomy the predominant personality dynamic with which Stalin presented was the antisocial personality. Stalin adopted many behaviours throughout his life that selfishly exploited others in order for him to gain power, superiority and admiration.

<center>**Limitations to the Study**</center>

The researcher found it challenging to summarise Stalin's complex life as he was a prominent leader with a lot of information written about his career. Most of the information written was about Stalin's political career and controversial lifestyle, and the little information available

regarding his childhood and adolescent years limited exploration. Overall, it was difficult gaining a sense of the man and not his career. Interviews with Stalin's living relatives and associates would have yielded more valuable information and provided more depth and value to the study, although this was of course not possible.

A criticism often levelled against psychobiographical studies is that of reductionism. This is a tendency to explain adult behaviour in terms of early childhood experiences with reduced consideration of later formative years. The study was viewed in relation to the constructs of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality, which both placed an emphasis of a child's first five years as important in their development of personality. This presented various challenges for the researcher in terms of eliminating reductionism, but also given the limited childhood information to meet the focus of the theory. This difficulty may be considered a weakness within the study.

Another criticism is that of cross cultural differences. Stalin lived in a historical era that was politically, economically and culturally different from the researcher's. The social and cultural contextual background of Stalin's era was considered when describing and interpreting his personality, however, the researcher does live within another historical era and may have missed some of the nuances that impact interpretation because of this.

Value of the Study

The study is the first known psychobiographical research on Joseph Stalin's life to be undertaken. The study contributes to the number of psychobiographies conducted within South African academic institutions and adds on to the body of knowledge in psychobiographical research. Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality were used as theoretical frameworks for exploring and describing Stalin's life. Both

theories were able to explain and provide insight into the personality of Stalin as a functional whole, providing a framework to explore and describe a variety of factors that influenced his personality development, and proving their efficacy to do so.

Recommendation for Future Research

The study laid a foundation to studying Stalin's personality development, according to the scope of a masters dissertation. In the future, researchers could utilise other personality development theories, in order to present alternative views and explanations into the life of Stalin. This would provide further insight into his personality through different psychological lenses.

Final Conclusion

This final chapter outlined the conclusions of the study. The limitations of the study, value of the study, as well as the recommendations for future research was provided. The primary aim of the study was achieved, which was to explore and describe the personality development of Stalin by applying Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and Millon's Biopsychosocial Model of Personality to Stalin's life experiences.

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Appendix A: Researcher's Thoughts and Feelings about Stalin

I started the research study with the impression that Stalin was an evil leader who killed millions of people during his reign as leader. This was particularly influenced by taking History as a subject in high school. I was interested to know more about Stalin's life history and what made him to be the kind of leader he was. On the other hand, however, what I knew most was about his career and I did not know much about his personal life. Reading about Stalin's life from his childhood struggles to his death, brought in me many emotional reactions. I became very empathetic with regards to his traumatic childhood struggles. The hardships he experienced from both his social environment and cultural context saddened me and made me understand why at a young age he became aggressive towards his peers. This created in me a deeper understanding of him.

Stalin grew into being self-centered to a point where he used other people to satisfy his needs. It saddened me to realise the way many innocent people got hurt and were killed because of him. The way Stalin died, alone and lonely, made me re-experience the feelings of sadness and empathy. I imagined the pain and discomfort he must have experienced when he had his stroke. This aspect of him became personal to me particularly because my father too died of a stroke, and every account given about his last few days was what I had personally experienced with my father. However, this is one of the few parallels I noticed it my own life.

My biggest frustration about Stalin's actions stemmed from his lack of guilt and empathy towards others. There were times I questioned his humanness. I am aware that this subjective view could have developed bias perception towards Stalin. However, I consciously tried to counteract this negative view by trying to hold a view of both his good and bad, by keeping a view of his childhood history as the counterbalance. At times where I was overly negative or

positive, my awareness helped me to be conscious of how my feelings were effecting my interpretation. A complicating factor was that many of his actions may objectively be seen in a negative light. However, given his childhood history, I believe that through the exploration of his life experiences I came to an understanding of what led to his aggressive and callous stance in the world. This helped me to keep holding onto his good as well.

Appendix B: Extract of Stalin's Database

Murphy 1945   Khlevniuk 2015

Brackman 2001   Randall 1965

Montefiore 2003   Lourie 1999

Montefiore 2008   Rigby 1966

Radzinsky 1996

1878 – Stalin

Stalin was born in 1878 Murphy (1945) and Brackman (2001)

Joseph was named "Soso" (Murphy, 1945) – confirmed by Brackman (2001) stated it was a Georgian diminutive.

Stalin was the only surviving child of Bersarion and Ekaterina Montefiore, 2003 & 2008. "Keke's miracle" Radzinsky 1996

Ekaterina was protective of Stalin Montefiore 2008 she "never let him out of her sight until he was six" (p. 40). Brackman confirms that she was "severe and suffocating" (p. 255) towards Stalin. Ekaterina wanted his son to be a priest (Razinsky 1966; Brackman, 2001). Lourie confirms she prayed to God that she would give her son "to God's church as a priest" (p. 10). She worked hard to afford his son proper education to become a priest (Rigby, 1966)

The family lived in poverty (Montefiore, 2003). Bersarion used all his money to buy alcohol Brackman, 2001. The family did not have sufficient money to live (Montefiore, 2008). Brackman 2001 confirms they were assisted by friends and relatives for clothes and money. In addition they moved into cheap rented rooms "nine times over ten years" (Rigby, 1966, p. 23).

Stalin and Ekaterina, his mother, were physically abused by Bersarion (Montefiore, 2008) – Brackman 2001 confirms that the violence was severe. Stalin was also physically punished by his mother, Ekaterina Montefiore 2008 – Tucker, 1973 confirms that "she used to trash him" (p. 72).

Age of 4, Stalin contracted smallpox Montefiore 2008. Radzinsky 1996 confirms that he had a scarred face.

Age of five, Stalin and his mother was abandoned by Bersarion his father (Montefiore, 2008). He went to work in a factory in Tiflis. The lifestyle change affected both Stalin and mother. Ekaterina was hurt and teary when Bersarion left and Stalin became "reserved, frequently sat alone" Montefiore, 2008, p. 3. Financially they had challenges and as a result moved in with priest Charkviani confirm Khlevniuk 2015 and Montefiore 2003.

1888

Age of eight, Stalin began school at the Church Day School of Gori (Rigby, Khlevniuk & Randall). Stalin was teased at school (Radzinsky, 1996). Montefiore 2003 confirms it bought him great embarrassment. He got involved in many fights at school contends Radzinsky 1996 & Montefiore 2008

Appendix C: Sources used to explore Stalin's life

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Appendix D: Data Collection Matrix

Factors influencing the unified personality			Childhood and Adolescence	Young Adulthood	Middle Adulthood	Older Age
Structure and development of personality		Childhood experiences				
	Social environment	Family constellation				
		Family atmosphere				
		Cultural context				
	Creative power					
Motivational dynamics	Striving for	Feelings of inferiority				
		Compensation				
		Fictional goal				
Style of life	The visible expression of personality	passive-Destructive type				
		Passive-Constructive type				
		Active-Constructive				
Life tasks	Social task					
	Occupational task					
	Love and marriage task					

Factors influencing the unified personality		Childhood and Adolescence	Young Adulthood	Middle Adulthood	Older Age
Million 's Biopsychosocial Model	Existence What reinforcement? Pleasure/pain avoidance				
	Adaptation How elicit reinforcement in environment? Active/passive				
	Replication Who is source of reinforcement? Self or other				

Data Collection Matrix: The matrix includes the constructs that were explored according to the theories. Reprinted from *A Psychobiographical Study of Christiaan Neethling Barnard* (p. 105) by V. Lekhelebana and A. Sandison (2014). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

Appendix E: Three Stages of Data Collection: An Interactive Model
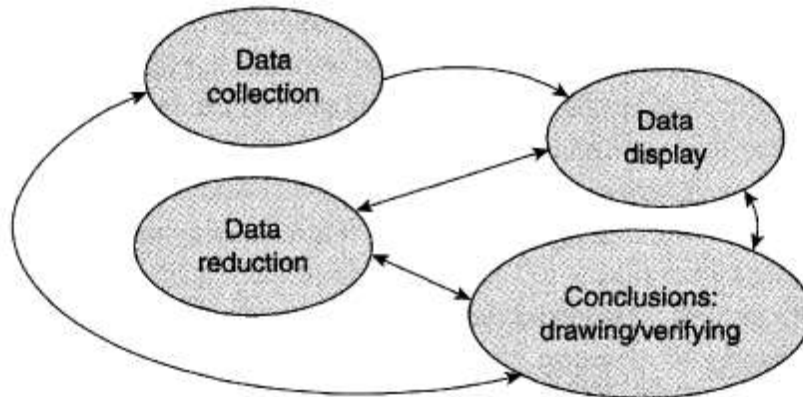
Three Stages of Data Collection: An Interactive Model: The diagram illustrates the process of data collection, data display and data reduction that form an interactive model of data collection and analysis. Reprinted from *Data Management and Analysis Methods* (p. 429) by M. B Miles and A. M Huberman (1994). Thousand Oaks : Sage Publishers.

Appendix F:Millon's Taxonomy

A COMPREHENSIVE CHART OF THEORY-DERIVED PERSONALITY DISORDERS

Polarity	Existential Aim		Replication Strategy		
	Life Enhancement vs. Life Preservation		Propagation vs. Nurturance		
	Pleasure vs. Pain		Self vs. Other		
	Pleasure (low) Pain (low or high)		Self (low) Other (high)	Self (high) Other (low)	Self-Other Reversal
	Personality Disorder				
Passive	Schizoid Masochistic	Masochistic	Dependent	Narcissistic	Compulsive
Active	Avoidant	Sadistic	Histrionic (Hypomanic)	Antisocial	Negativistic
	Structural Pathology				
Conflicted	Schizotypal	Borderline Paranoid	Borderline	Paranoid	Borderline Paranoid

Millons Taxonomy: This table illustrates how the first three polarities form eight basic coping patterns. Reprinted from Evolution-Based Personality Theory: The Role of Personality in an integrated Conception of Psychopathology. Institute of Advanced Studies in Personology and Psychopathology (p. 5). By T. Millon and S. Grossman (2013).

Appendix G: Russian Social Pyramid
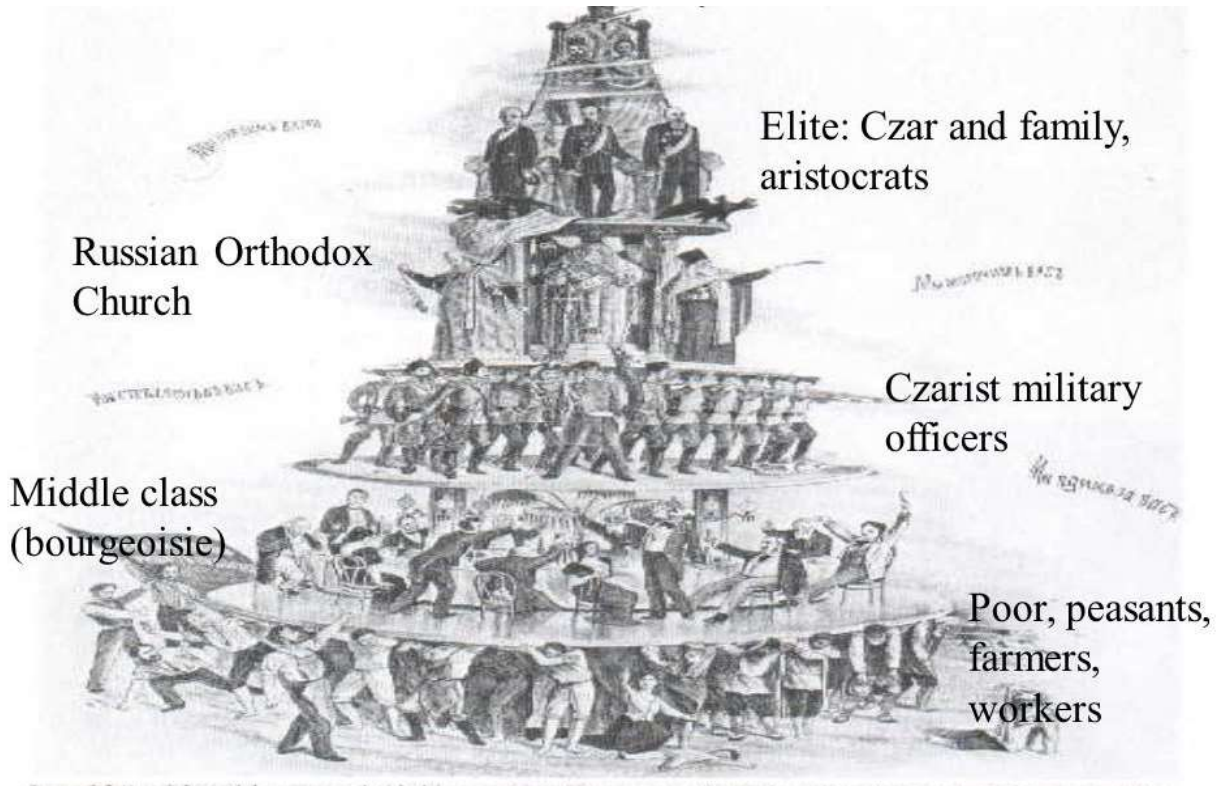
Russian Social Pyramid: The pyramid illustrates the social class classification in Russian during the ninetheeth century. Reprinted from *Social Class in Russian Society. Studies in the Social Classes and Social Change of Contemporary Russia* (p. 189). By J. Nikula and M. Chernysh (2010).